Hunnic Peoples in Central and South Asia

Sources for their Origin and History



Edited by Dániel Balogh

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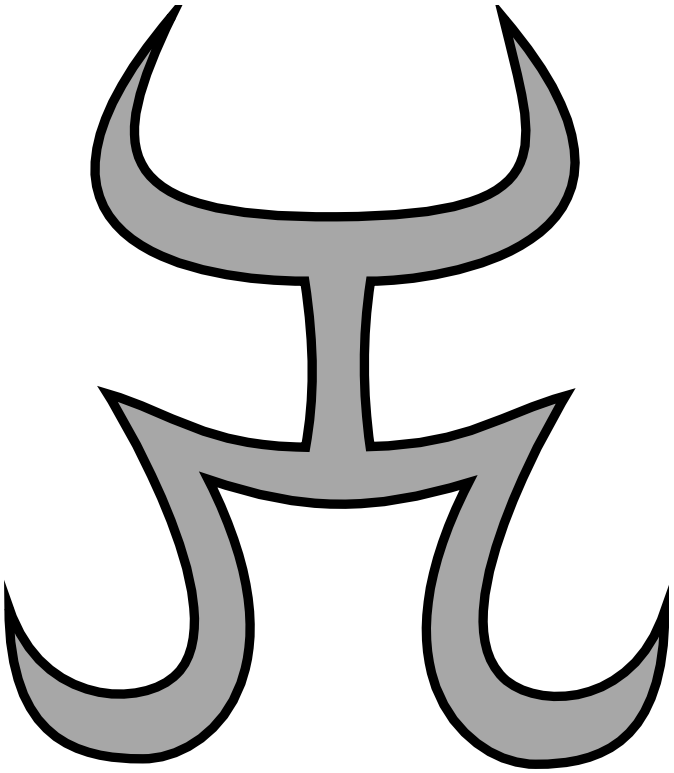
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Preliminaries



Foreword

Michael Willis

From 2014 to 2020, the European Research Council funded *Beyond Boundaries: Religion, Region, Language and the State*, a multi-disciplinary research project based in the British Museum. Co-hosted by the British Library, the School of Oriental and African Studies (University of London) and Leiden University, the project took South Asia, Central Asia and Southeast Asia as its geographical focus. The political and chronological horizon was the Gupta dynasty and their contemporaries in the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries CE. Although this time has been characterised as a 'golden age' in modern scholarship—and noted for developments that shaped facets of South Asian society for more than a thousand years—the exploration of this pivotal moment is largely fragmented and compartmentalised. Cultural and historical research are entrenched in 'silos of knowledge' thanks to modern nation states, regional languages and established disciplinary protocols.

The purpose of the *Beyond Boundaries* project has been to move beyond these limitations and recover a more compelling and complete picture of early medieval Asia. To achieve this aim, the key themes driving the research have been those in the project's subtitle: religion, region, language and the state. The distribution of royal, ritual and religious centres, their patronage and institutional arrangements reveal much about the relationship between religions and states, while inscriptions and texts show the nature and use of the languages that enabled interactions across Asia.

India needs no introduction as a place that has given birth to a number of religions that have impacted Asia as a whole. That influence was especially felt from the early centuries CE when Hinduism and Buddhism spread to Southeast Asia, and Buddhism alone to Central Asia and China. Texts of Indian origin were transmitted and translated, surviving today in Chinese, Tibetan and Pali, with traces of other campaigns of translation preserved in all but vanished languages such as Khotanese, Old Kannada and Pyu. Of course, the characterisation of the fourth to sixth centuries as a time of vibrant expansion and international exchange is only part of the story. Outside the circle of elite individuals who moved between regions and important centres—and were responsible for the texts, translations and inscriptions we know—merchants created and maintained wide networks. Occasionally their activities are recorded, but the main residues are archaeological and numismatic. Local populations, meanwhile, were sedentary and subordinate. Of them we hear little, their presence emerging only in land records which normally take the opportunity to remind farmers that taxes are due. People who lived in the forests and in the hills, like their village counterparts, had little voice. They are alluded to in texts and inscriptions, but figure as the quintessential opposite of the civilised world: wild, strange, disordered and dangerous. Despite these problematic qualities, forest people provided valuable products: ivory, honey, timber, resins, metals, minerals, medicinal plants, to name just some items. The general picture that emerges from the written records is that civilised identity was articulated against the otherness of the forest and the people in it. The tightly circumscribed world of South Asian civilisation, with its lowland agrarian footing and

settled focus, constituted itself against the peoples and regions who were perceived as lying beyond the pale. Ironically, this external world—at once alien, impure and always threatening—contained much that useful for the civilised order in material terms and everything that was essential for its existential stability. The matter is neatly summed up in the *Viṣṇusmṛti* (84: 3–4) which tells us that those countries are deemed barbarian where the system of the four castes does not exist—even drinking the water in such places turns one into a savage! The point is clear: the world outside offers nothing but chaotic barbarism because it does not conform to ordained standards. If you go there you will become unhinged, a common enough theme in the medical vision of Ayurveda where one's natural environment is key to balanced humours, good health and a sound mind. Any doubt is removed by Sanskrit, the language of elite discourse in South Asia and many regions beyond. We only need look at the name: it means 'perfectly formed', as every school master of Sanskrit is ready to explain. The pride in this perfection—the work of grammarians as the tradition itself confirms—reveals more than the tradition supposes and exposes it more to critical analysis than it might prefer. It is a matter of simple logic that any language—or indeed anything—that defines itself as 'perfectly made' has taken shape in opposition to difference, plurality and perceived imperfection. The perfect articulates itself against the imperfect. To put the matter another way, the perfectly made world of the Sanskrit cosmopolis—as some have described India—with its intricate arts, fine poetics, heroic fables and orchestrated rituals, has been created by pushing complexity, variety—and much of lived existence—to the periphery.

This is all very well as long as the elites are safe in their seats with social, physical and mental boundaries intact. Agrarian populations can attend to farming, husbandry and paying their share, while the lower orders otherwise can be instructed to get on with their functions in the ghettoes assigned to them. Forest dwellers can be left to their curious customs in the bush as long as the supply of forest products is not interrupted. The religion, location, language and social organisation of these peoples are of little concern and certainly of no account: ethnography in India did not exist until the Mughals introduced it. Problems come only when the world outside confronts the world within. And this is exactly the situation brought about by the Hunnic people. Despite accounts of them in Chinese, Khotanese, Pahlavi, Sogdian, Bactrian, Armenian, Syriac, Arabic, Sanskrit, Greek and Latin—all collected and translated here for the first time—the Hunnic people had little to offer in terms of religion, region, language or state, at least as far as the sources allow themselves to tell us. Ammianus is especially hostile, but his criticisms usefully sum up the difficultly that settled folk have with nomadic people: "No one in their country ever plows a field or touches a plow-handle. They are all without fixed abode, without hearth, or law, or settled mode of life, and keep roaming from place to place, like fugitives, accompanied by the wagons in which they live; in wagons their wives weave for them their hideous garments, in wagons they cohabit with their husbands, bear children, and rear them to the age of puberty. None of their offspring, when asked, can tell you where he comes from, since he was conceived in one place, born far from there, and brought up still farther away" (Text IX.004).

The Huns are a people beyond boundaries, certainly, and they seem to be people largely beyond comprehension. But to follow an established trope in post-modern analysis, we can approach the matter from the opposite end and observe that the sources tell us more about those who

wrote them than about the Huns *per se*. The profile of their anxieties is not documentation of the Huns in a direct or empirical sense, but they do reveal aspects of the world in which the Huns operated. For example, if we know that people in Byzantium during the mid-sixth century thought the Huns had "a sort of shapeless lump, not a head, with pin-holes rather than eyes" (Text IX.002/B), and that they have "compact, strong limbs and thick necks, and are so monstrously ugly and misshapen, that one might take them for two-legged beasts or for the stumps, rough-hewn into images, that are used in putting sides to bridges," (Text IX.004), we will have some measure of the mental landscape of those living in the eastern Roman empire and the presuppositions that informed their interactions with the Hunnic people they may have encountered.

The historical sources are thus a rich mine of information from every perspective, and now that they have been brought together progress can be anticipated in the study of the eastern Huns and the impact they had on India, Persia and Central Asia. Significant gaps remain nonetheless. To my mind, the most important is that despite an examination of the problem at the Budapest conference, we are left with no clear information about the language or languages that the Hunnic peoples spoke, other than those they adopted in the course of their interactions with others. Some of the sources are distinctly unhelpful and xenophobic. Iordanes recounts how Filimer, a king of the Goths, found witches among his people and had them expelled. As the women wandered in exile, they were picked up by 'unclean spirits' and eventually "begat this savage race, which dwelt at first in the swamps, a stunted, foul and puny tribe, scarcely human, and having no language save one which bore but slight resemblance to human speech" (Text IX.002). The *Liangshu* is at least objective: "their speech is different from that of the Ruanruan, Gaoju and other *hu*" (Text I.039). We should not complain, but sadly, the Chinese made no attempt to transliterate the Hunnic language as they did, for example, with early forms of Burmese. The language could be translated by the Tuyuhun, and that seems to have satisfied requirements (Text I.072/B). Hunnic names have a Turkic ring, certainly, but with the oldest forms of Turkish attested only from the eighth century in the Orkhon and Tonyukuk inscriptions of the Göktürks, names alone are inconclusive.

In general terms, the sources are remarkably Thucydidean. Their primary concerns are matters of state as conducted by those in power: politics, diplomacy, warfare, lands raided, occupied or put under tribute. Dress is described not from any love of haute couture but rather as a means identifying members of the alien elite when you see them. Despite the pragmatic orientation, we are told little about the system of governance and other matters of administration outside some basic military matters. These things we are unlikely to ever know, but an understanding might be gleaned from comparative studies of similar people, for example the Mongols, for whom we have much more information. This could be enriched by an examination of societies that may have had shared features, the Göktürks just mentioned seeming to offer a fruitful line of comparative investigation.

Having invoked Thucydides, we follow the western historiographical divide to Herodotus. His cosmopolitan worldview, fascination with human nature, interest in the influence of religion in history and curiosity about 'foreign' beliefs and habits are less well served by the sources, even if our interest in the Huns finds its roots in historians who admired Herodotus like Johan Huizinga and Marc Bloch. Here and there, the *Sourcebook* gives insights into social arrangements, such as

the detail that brothers shared the same wife, that Hunnic people ate meat, were good with the bow, wore long gowns with short sleeves and used gold and jade as ornaments. They buried the dead, and worshipped the 'spirit of heaven' and 'the spirit of fire' (Text I.043/B). Despite all this, it is astonishing that what the Hunnic people called themselves was of no direct or detailed concern. The ethnic name Alchon or Alkhan, used in South Asia at least, does not feature; it is known only from the seals and coins that they issued. In the Chinese sources, the term Yeda or Yida is regarded as a transliteration of the name for a Hunnic people but the link is tentative, being made through reconstructions (see notes to Text I.027/C.). One name that does appear across many sources is 'Hun' and its variants. With variations in western and eastern sources both, these cannot be exonyms. The certainty of this is shown by the seal of Ularg (Text V.008). While the case relationship of 'king' and 'Huns' is not settled fully, that the Huns are indeed named is certain. A seal is a public proclamation, made in multiples for circulation and meant to be recognised by those who read it. Thus, the word 'Hun' in the Ularg seals (of which there are several), can be taken to be a 'real world' reference to a people who where known by this name. If the matter is not settled with absolute finality, the compilation of the *Sourcebook* has, nonetheless, done much to fill historical gaps, and the companion volumes that will come on the Alchon and on the Yueban and Yeda will combine the sources assembled here with archaeological, numismatic and epigraphic information to map the wider history of the Hunnic peoples in Central Asia, Persia and South Asia.

In closing it is my pleasant duty to thank the scholars who travelled long distances and gave their time and effort to the conference in Budapest. Eötvös Loránd University generously hosted the event and supported it in every way. I am especially grateful to Hans T. Bakker for conceiving the need for the conference and *Sourcebook*, and for forging the scholarly networks needed to deliver the results. Csaba Dezső and Gergely Hidas graciously prepared and orchestrated the proceedings in Budapest, while Dániel Balogh undertook the Herculean task of assembling all the texts in their original and in translation. Thanks are due not only to all the contributors who came to Budapest, but also to those co-opted to the Sourcebook subsequently to deal with specialist details in an authoritative manner. The speed with which everyone contributed and engaged sympathetically is indicative of the synergy created and a general consensus that a *Sourcebook* was much needed. Behind this all stands the European Research Council whose support for our project has enabled this and many other publications.

Introduction

Dániel Balogh

The period from the fourth to the seventh century CE has long been considered a dark one in the history of Central Asia and Northwest India. The various ruling elites known to contemporaries as Hūṇa, Hephthalite, Alchon, or Kidarite, played pivotal historical roles. Though portrayed in colonial scholarship as a period of decline, with conventional notions of barbaric hordes, this was in fact a moment of great cultural and artistic development. The grand Buddhas at Bamyan were made under these rulers, and pilgrims carried Buddhist learning from India to China through their territory. Historians, working on diverse sources from coins to travelogues, have begun to recover the history of this fascinating period. This culminated in a public exhibition, 'The Countenance of the Other: The Coins of the Huns and Western Turks in Central Asia and India,' in Vienna from 2012 to 2014. Despite this there remain many controversies. The public identities that rulers adopted in their own coinage are often contradicted by the identities contemporaries ascribed to them. The complexity of the issue is raised to another power by the fact that textual sources pertaining to them are often brief and fragmentary, ever biased in one direction or another, and dispersed across thousands of kilometres of geography, several centuries of history and a dozen or so languages.

In August 2017, the ERC project 'Beyond Boundaries: Religion, Region, Language and the State'[i] in collaboration with the Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest organised a workshop titled 'Hunnic Peoples in Central and South Asia — Sources of their Origin and History.' The workshop convened a team of international scholars interested in this topic, and included a small number of keynote presentations by principal speakers. The bulk of the convention, however, consisted of introductions to textual sources across a range of languages by specialists and an open discussion of these sources by the participants, who included a diverse selection of linguists, numismatists, historians, and archaeologists. The sources that served as points of focus were selected in advance and aggregated into a "portfolio" distributed to all participants well in advance of the event. Subsequently, they were revised and are now being presented in the form of a sourcebook along with some commentary and translations, usually into English but occasionally into another international language in cases where a section coordinator deemed a published German or French translation to be best suited for the purpose. A similarly composed collection of texts (Yu 2018) has seen the light of day during the time our sourcebook was being readied for the press. While many of the excerpts in that compilation overlap with ours, we expect the present Sourcebook to reach out to a wider and disciplinally more diverse international readership thanks to its collaborative commentaries and extensive translations. In addition, this Sourcebook will be accompanied by a series of companion volumes with more profound analysis of specific aspects of Hunnic history. The first of these companions, treating on the Alchon (Bakker 2020), is to see the light of day around the same time as the present volume.

[i] An ERC Synergy project from the European Research Council under the EU's 7th Framework Programme (FP7/2007–2013)/ERC, grant agreement no. 609823

Being the work of various scholars and covering a material that is extremely diverse in genre, the Sourcebook is inevitably a slightly tangled affair. Collaborators were given free rein in arranging their contributions as they felt best, and some sections are much larger and more complex than others. The use of brackets and other editorial notation has been largely standardised (see 'Editorial conventions' below), and it is hoped that an occasional deviation from the standard will be obviously understandable in its context.

The overall structure of the present compilation is as follows. Primary sections are based on language, except that Greek and Latin sources, coming from a largely identical cultural milieu and manifesting a high level of intertextuality, have been bundled into a single section. Each section heading has Roman capital numeration. Sections may begin with an introduction to the material and/or an overview of the compiled texts. Some of the larger sections have the texts organised thematically. Thematic chapters are numbered in Arabic numerals suffixed to the section number, e.g. I.1. Some such chapters have subchapters, numbered in the same way, e.g. I.1.1. The individual text excerpts (or quasi-texts such as numismatic evidence) collected for the portfolio have three-digit Arabic numbers, to which the Roman number of the language section is prefixed, e.g. I.001. Text numbers are restarted in each language section, but run continuously through any thematic chapters and subchapters within a section. Some texts, especially those consisting of multiple, non-contiguous excerpts from a single source, are further subdivided, and have a Latin capital letter suffixed to their number, e.g. I.001/A.

To facilitate the use of the Sourcebook, primary and secondary text is differentiated visually in the following way.

> Original texts (regardless of the directionality of the script in which they are presented) are indented on the left and marked with a double vertical line on that side.
>
> Translations of original texts are marked with a single vertical line on the left-hand side.

Where applicable, the critical apparatus accompanying a text is surrounded by a box.

All non-primary material is printed without a line on the left.

Commentaries interspersed with or placed after texts are marked by a single vertical line on the right-hand side.

Credits

As intimated above, this Sourcebook is a product of synergistic collaboration between numerous scholars. Hans Bakker was the initiator and chief coordinator of the workshop, and Dániel Balogh has curated the texts discussed there and edited the final compilation. The individual sections were each compiled and, on many occasions, translated and/or commented on by a small number of specialists as listed below, yet most have received input from several other participants of the workshop. Comments and footnotes not otherwise attributed in the body of the book may be deemed to be by the author(s) of the section in which they appear.

Chinese	Ching Chao-jung and Imre Galambos, with contributions by Max Deeg, Inaba Minoru (Chinese Buddhist texts) and Wong Junfu (overview of sources)
Khotanese	Mauro Maggi
Pahlavi	Frantz Grenet
Sogdian	Nicholas Sims-Williams
Bactrian	Nicholas Sims-Williams
Armenian	Giusto Traina
Syriac	Mark Dickens (with a smaller core selection prepared for the workshop by Christelle Jullien)
Arabic	Étienne de La Vaissière (core selection of translated Islamic sources), Mark Dickens (selection of translated Christian sources) and Orsolya Varsányi (original texts and revision)
Greek and Latin	Timo Stickler
Sanskrit	Hans Bakker (epigraphic sources), Csaba Dezső (literary sources), Gergely Hidas (Buddhist texts) and Dániel Balogh (seal inscriptions)
Numismatic	Robert Bracey

The workshop that generated the fundament of this publication was organised by Csaba Dezső and Gergely Hidas with the aid of Robert Bracey and Dániel Balogh, and the advisorial support of Hans Bakker. In addition to the authors listed above, outstanding contributors to various panels included Bruno Bleckmann, Joe Cribb, Rene Pfeilschifter and Klaus Vondrovec, but congratulations and thanks are due to all the other participants not named here.

Editorial conventions

Manuscript/epigraph properties

—	space in original, except word spacing in texts that space words
(a)	unclear text [except Greek and Bactrian]
(a/b)	unclear text with ambiguous reading
.	one illegible character component (in alphasyllabic script)
×	one illegible character (in non-metrical text)
□	one missing or illegible character (in logographic script)
×…×	series of illegible characters
⏑ – ⏑ ⏑⏑	in metrical text: prosodic quantity of illegible or lost syllables
[ ]	lacuna, text lost
[a]	lacuna, text restored by editor
[a?]	lacuna, text tentatively restored by editor
[	lacuna to end of line (may contain partial editorial restoration)
\a/	scribal insertion
⟦ ⟧	scribal deletion (deleted text not read)
{abc}	commentarial (pre-modern) additions to core text

Editorial intervention

{a}	superfluous text deleted by editor
⟨a⟩	editorial insertion, scribal omission corrected by editor
⟨:a:⟩	text emended or standardised by editor (original reading not shown)
†	corruption, not emended by editor
[…]	text extant but excluded from this compilation
[1]	line, verse or paragraph number

Special conventions for Greek and Bactrian languages

α̣	underdot marks unclear characters
ᾱ	overline represents abbreviation marker in the original document

Conventions for translations

(abc) round parentheses in translated text are regular punctuation marks without any special function

[abc] editorial addition, clarification, comment or summary

⟦abc⟧ translation of lost and supplied text

{abc} translation of commentarial additions to core text

Editorial punctuation and numbering

Punctuation marks, sometimes including quotation marks and round parentheses, as well as verse numbers in Indic texts, have been added at the individual editors' discretion to many of the extracts herein. These are not flagged as editorial and are thus not distinguished from punctuation and numbering (if any) present in the original manuscript or epigraph.

Huns in Central and South Asia: a timeline

Hans Bakker

The following table provides an overview of the key dates and events related to Central and South Asian Hunnic peoples, and offers Hans Bakker's interpretation of the underlying historical processes. In case the actual source is not included in our Sourcebook, a reference is made to the author and the passage concerned.

year CE	Persia	India
350–388	Hunnic Peoples settling in Bactria Shāpur II defeated by the 'Kushans' (Text VI.002/C)	and South of the Hindu Kush
388–450	Sasanian–Kidarite Wars	**Kidarites and Alchons** establishing their rule in Gandhāra and the Punjab
453–459	The Sasanian king **Yazdegerd II** is engaged in a war with **Kidarite Huns** in *c.* 456 CE (Text IX.008/B). First embassy (AD 459) of 'Juchang' (= Kushan/Kidara) to the court of the Northern Wei (I.018/A).	The young **Skandagupta** fights adversaries referred to as *mleccha* (Text X.028) and Hūṇa (Text X.027).
459–484	**Pērōz** (r. 459–84) (1) Deposes his brother Hormizd in 459 (with help of the Huns?). (2) Deceives the Kidarite King Κούγγας and the Kidarite–Persian war is rekindled in 464–65 (Text IX.008/C). **Pērōz** is forced to leave his son Kawād as hostage (Text VII.001/A). (3) Successful campaign of Pērōz: conquers Βαλαάμ (Balkh?) in 467 (Text IX.008/D) and frees son(?). **This may mark the end of Kidarite power in Bactria.** (4) After 474 another campaign against the Hephthalites. Pērōz is taken captive and ransomed by Emperor Zeno (Text VII.001/A).[i] **The Sasanians become tributary to the Hephthalites.**	Last known date of Skandagupta (coins): 468. Installation by the Yeda (Hephthalites) of the first *chiqin* (**Khiṅgila**?) in Gandhāra (Text I.054/B).

[i] In line with Luther (1997, 120ff), Christelle Jullien (personal communication prior to the workshop) argues that this episode (4) may be a literary doubling of episode (2).

year CE	Persia	India
484	(5) **Pērōz** attacks the Hephthalites again under their King Xašnawāz/Akhshunwar (Texts III.002, VIII.002/B), and is destroyed together with his army (Texts VII.001/A, VI.007/A, IX.010, III.002, VIII.002/B). The good relations between the Sasanian and the Roman empires begin to unravel as the Roman Emperor Zeno denies the Sasanians further financial support.	Last known dated monument of the Imperial Guptas in Western India: *Eran Stone Pillar Inscription of* ***Budhagupta*** (476–95), Gupta Year 165. Column and twin temple erected by *Mahārāja* Mātṛviṣṇu and his younger brother Dhanyaviṣṇu in Eran (Betwā Valley).
484–488	Interregnum of brother of Pērōz, **Walāsh** (Text VII.001/B). Commander-in-chief Zarmihr Sokhra is the strong man in a country that is in disarray and broke. **Kawād** (488–96/498–531), son of Pērōz, replaces Walāsh in 488 (Text VII.001/B).	**Suraśmicandra** ruling (as viceroy) the Western Gupta Empire (*Eran Stone Pillar Inscription of Budhagupta*). **The Gupta Empire begins to fall apart.**
488–531	Socio-religious movement of **Mazdak**, tolerated by Kawād, weakens Zoroastrian orthodoxy and nobility (Texts III.002, VIII.004/D; cf. Joshua the Stylite 20).	Period of the **Alchon** (Hūṇa) invasions in India.
496–498	Kawād is dethroned (496) and confined to the 'Prison of Oblivion' (Text IX.011/B; cf. Procopius I, 5). Interregnum of **Jāmāsp** (496–98), brother of Kawād. Kawād escapes to the Hephthalites (Text VIII.002/C).	Year 68 (Kaniṣka Era?) of Text X.030, the *Schøyen Copper Scroll*, corresponds to 495/96 CE. Gandhāra – Punjab – NW Kashmir: a quadrumvirate of Alchon kings including *devarāja* **Toramāṇa**.
c. 498	With the help of the Hephthalite king (his father-in-law & brother-in-law?) **Kawād** reconquers the Sasanian throne (Texts VII.001/C, IX.011/B, VIII.002/C; cf. Procopius 1, 5).	**Toramāṇa** assumes the Indian titles *rājādhirāja mahārāja*, combined with the Central Asian title of *ṣāh(i) jaūḫkha* (*yabḡu*?) (Text X.031).
498–500		**Alchon invasion in Western India** in the first year of the reign of *mahārājādhirāja* Toramāṇa. Battle of Eran (Betwā Valley), in which Mātṛviṣṇu is probably killed. His younger brother Dhanyaviṣṇu installs a Varāha *mūrti* in Eran. (Text X.032)
498–515		First Hunnic War. **Sack of Kauśāmbī** by Toramāṇa (*c.* 499–502).

year CE	Persia	India
c. 502–505	First Sasanian–Roman (Byzantium) war. Kawād's army is reinforced by Hephthalite auxiliaries (Text VII.001/D). Kawād takes Amida (Jan. 503) (Joshua 53, Procopius I.7.29ff.).	In the third year of the reign of *mahārājādhirāja* Toramāṇa, *mahārāja* Bhūta in Vadrapālī / Sanjeli is holding the governorship over the Śivabhāgapura district (North Gujarat), thanks to Toramāṇa's grace (Text X.034/A).
510		Text X.035 reports that Goparāja and *rāja* Bhānugupta fought together in the **second battle of Eran** (against Toramāṇa?), in which Goparāja was killed.
515		The Later Aulikara king **Prakāśadharman of Daśapura** reports victory over the *hūṇādhipa* Toramāṇa (Text X.036). End of the First Hunnic War.
c. 518–532		Second Hunnic War.
519–520	The **Chinese envoy Song Yun** reports that the King of the Hephthalites receives tribute from 40 countries (Text I.046/A). Their territory stretches to Dieluo [Zabul] in the south, extends until Chiqin (?) in the north, encompasses the land up to Yutian [Khotan] in the east, and reaches to Bosi [Persia] in the west (Text I.046/A).	Song Yun meets a king of Gandhāra of a *chiqin* family, probably Mihirakula, in his army camp on the banks of the Jhelum River (Vitastā) in West Punjab (Text I.054/B). He describes the king as fierce and brutal, someone who often commits massacres (Text I.054/B).
527–532	Second Sasanian–Roman war.	
c. 530–531	Battle of Daras in 530. Kawād's army is defeated (Procopius I.13.13ff.). Death of Kawād in 531. (Procopius I, 12ff and I, 21.) He is succeeded by **Khusraw (531–79)** (Procopius I.21.17ff.), who kills Mazdak and his followers (Texts III.002, VIII.002/D).	**Toramāṇa's son Mihirakula**, Lord of the Earth, is bending to no-one save Śiva (Text X.037). Foundation of a Sun Temple in fortress of Gwalior (Gopagiri).
532	Khusraw concludes the **'Endless Peace'** with Emperor Justinian (Procopius I.22.17; Joshua 98). Beginning of the Sasanian revival.	*Rājādhirāja parameśvara* **Yaśodharman** of Daśapura reports the submission by force of the Northern Kings (Hūṇas) (Text X.038). **End of the Second Hunnic War.**

year CE	Persia	India
c. 532–534		Two victory pillars with identical inscriptions, found in Sondhni/Mandasor, claim that Emperor (*samrāj*) Yaśodharman had rescued the earth from rude and cruel kings of the present Kali age, and "had bent the head of Mihirakula" (Text X.039). The **Maukharis of Kanauj** claim in 544 (Text X.040), that their ancestor **Īśvaravarman** "had alleviated the distress caused by the arrival of cruel people" (i.e. Hūṇas). Īśvaravarman may have joined a coalition under Yaśodharman of Mandasor in 532.
c. 534–540	**Fading of Hephthalite power**. Khusraw breaks the 'Endless Peace' and captures the city of Antioch (Procopius II.8).	Maukhari king **Īśānavarman** claims to have "routed in battle the Sūlikas and their galloping arrays of innumerable horses" (Text X.041). The Sūlikas are to be located in the Northwest and may refer to Hunnic adversaries and/or their allies.
560–563	**Western Turks** under *khāqān* Ishtemi (= Σιλζίβουλος / Silzibul ?) conquer the Hephthalites in Transoxana (Sogdiana), killing their King W.r.z (Warāz?) (Text VIII.002/D).	
late 560s	**Khusraw** leads an expedition against the Hephthalites (jointly with the Western Turks?) and conquers Bactria (Texts I.068, VIII.002/D). End of the Hephthalites as dominant power in Bactria.	Period of peace in Northern India under the Maukhari king of Kanauj, **Śarvavarman**. Śarvavarman is believed to have sent the **game of chess** to the Sasanian King Khusraw (*Shāhnāma*).

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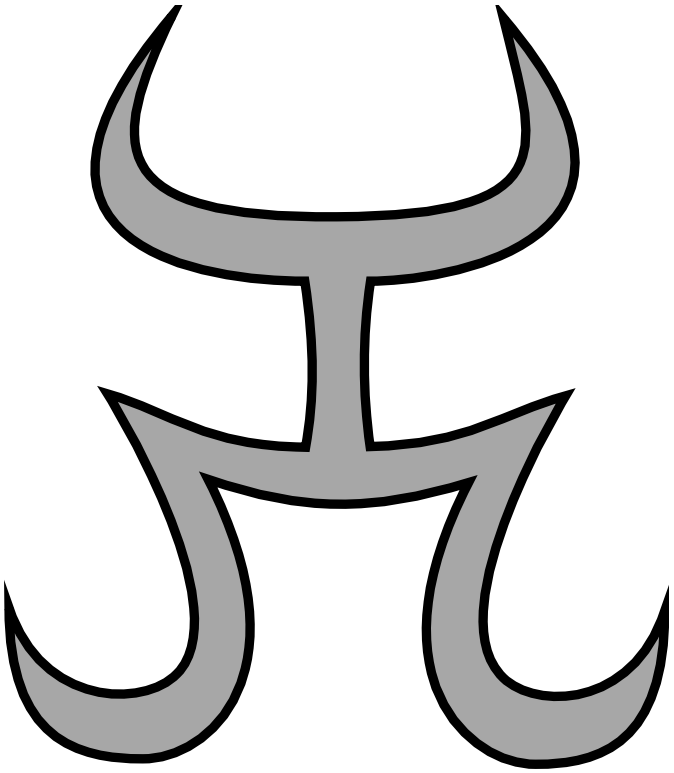
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I. Chinese Sources

Ching Chao-jung and Imre Galambos with contributions by Max Deeg and Inaba Minoru.

Translations in this section, unless otherwise specified, are collaborative products of Ching Chao-jung and Imre Galambos, in most cases building upon previous translations.



Introduction

Draft prepared in Chinese by Ching Chao-jung, translated into English by Imre Galambos

In order to remain faithful to the general theme of the 2017 Budapest workshop, i.e. the so-called 'Iranian Huns' of the fourth to sixth centuries CE,[i] we concentrate in this section on the primary regions of numismatic provenance, that is, Tokharistan and Gandhāra, and to a lesser extent Sogdiana, Xinjiang (Chinese Turkestan) and the Pamirs. Accordingly, we focus on sources about

(i) Jiduoluo 寄多羅 (EMC[ii] *kih-ta-la*) in the *Weishu* 魏書 accounts on the Great and Smaller Yuezhi;
(ii) Huni 忽倪 (EMC *xwət-ŋɛj*), a ruler of Sogdiana identified in the *Weishu* as belonging to the Xiongnu 匈奴; and
(iii) the newly emerging power called Yeda 嚈噠 (EMC *ʔjiap-dat/tat*)[iii] in the *Weishu* and Hua 滑 (EMC *γwəɨt*) in the *Liangshu* 梁書. Yeda and Hua, together with other variants including Heda/Yeda噷噠 in the *Luoyang Qielanji*,[iv] Yeda 囐噠 (EMC *ŋ(i)at-dat/tat*?) in the *Zhoushu* 周書, and Yida 挹怛 (EMC *ʔjip-tat*) in the *Suishu* 隋書, are generally considered to be different appellations of the Hephthalites in early medieval China.[v]

For the historical background before the 4th century, readers are invited to consult the publication *Kushan Histories* (Falk 2015), which includes a thorough introduction of the late Kushan period. Here we only supplement that material with some results of Chinese and Japanese scholarship (Chapter I.1.1).[vi] Our selected sources also include an overview of *Xiyu* 西域, i.e. the "Western Regions," in the eye of the Chinese before the 437 mission of DONG Wan 董琬 (departure from Dai [Datong, Shanxi Province] around September 436 [Yu 2005, 424]; see Chapters I.1.2 to I.1.5); information obtained as a result of the mission of DONG Wan, who was accompanied by GAO Ming 高明 (Chapter I.1.6); the major embassies after DONG, led by GAO Hui 高徽 (Chapter I.1.7) and later by SONG Yun 宋雲 (Chapter I.1.8). As to the selected texts in Chapter I.2 and onward, readers shall be able to find alternative English translations, useful comments and fuller references in Yu (2014a), La Vaissière (2007), Kuwayama (2002) and Enoki (1969), and this section only provides

[i] Cf. "Iranian Huns" in the online Encyclopaedia Iranica (Schottky 2004). "Nezak" is not discussed here because, as Inaba (2010) has demonstrated, most of the relevant Chinese material occurs in Tang records about the Tujue (Turks), and Chinese sources are still insufficient to establish any solid etymology for the name or document its history before the 7th century.

[ii] Early Middle Chinese reconstructed forms throughout this volume follow Pulleyblank (1991). (Ed.)

[iii] The pronunciation of *ye* 嚈 is given in the *Jiyun* 集韻 and *Leipian* 類篇 both as EMC *ʔjiap* (*yi-she qie* 益涉切). The *Zihui* 字彙 also gives it as EMC *ʔjiap* (*yu-ye qie* 於葉切, the same pronunciation as *ye* 靨).

[iv] is transliterated by Kuwayama (1989; 2002) as *he*. In Yu (2014a, 545), it is given as *ye*.

[v] See Note Ching and Galambos on Text I.027.

[vi] Other than mentioning the problem of the "five states" that Jiduoluo conquered (cf. Texts I.014 and I.021), we omit references to city-states when the information is of unknown provenance; for example, the parts of the *Weishu* dealing with the states of Jiaseni 迦色尼, Muzhi 牟知 or Zheshe 者舌 (i.e. old Kangju 康居). The reason for this decision is that such material has no direct relevance for documenting the movements of peoples but merely provides information on geographic names.

a concise bibliography of the most important scholarship concerning historical and Sinological issues.

From the point of view of chronology, the core of the *Weishu* entries on the Great Yuezhi and Sogdiana most likely derives from DONG's report or from slightly later sources; these descriptions were part of the original *Weishu*.[i] Many scholars believed that if one removes the parts erroneously interpolated by the editors of the *Weishu* from Han dynasty sources, the bulk of the entries on Sogdiana and the Great and Smaller Yuezhi comes from the report of DONG.[ii] But according to Matsuda Hisao's calculation, in the course of his journey, DONG did not reach Sogdiana and the Great Yuezhi but merely heard things about Huni and Jiduoluo on the road. Matsuda (1937, 40; 1970, 171) was once of the opinion that the information about the Smaller Yuezhi comes from DONG, but later in his life he (1970, 445, 447–48) believed that it was GAO who collected information about Jiduoluo when he arrived in Čač in 437.[iii]

Based on his analysis of *juan* 102 of the *Weishu*, Enoki Kazuo (1951, 142–43) thought that Sogdiana and the Great Yuezhi must have been among the sixteen states in DONG's report (Text I.011/C), whereas the description of the Smaller Yuezhi was very likely based on slightly later sources. He (1958, 8; Eng. 1969, 9) further assumed that DONG's report did not include two clauses that appear in the *Weishu* entry on the Great Yuezhi, namely, "[the city of Jianshi] lies west of Fudisha" and "[the city of Boluo is] at a distance of 2,100 *li* from Fudisha" (Text I.014). His reason for this is that the state of Fudisha 弗敵沙 was most likely not among the sixteen states in DONG's report. On the other hand, Funaki (1956, 98–99) proposed that the information on Huni was based on what DONG heard when he was in Liangzhou 涼州 (today's Wuwei, Gansu Province, China). This idea was supported by Naitō (1989, 169).

Yu Taishan (1986, 74, 59) and Frantz Grenet (2002, 205, 207–8) both thought that DONG Wan knew about Jiduoluo and Huni in 437. Nevertheless, based on a passage in the *Tongdian* 通典 (Text I.017), La Vaissière (2004, 99, esp. n. 57) suggested that the information on Huni was provided by the Sogdian envoys who came to the Northern Wei court in 457. His opinion was readily accepted by Rahman, Grenet and Sims-Williams (2006, 127). Later on, Yu (2005, 474, 502 n. 75, Eng. 2014a, 630, 662 n. 75) concurred that the information about Jiduoluo probably derived from DONG's report, whereas the news about Huni should date no earlier than Emperor Gaozong's accession to the throne, i.e. 452 (Yu 2005, 461 Comm. 208; Eng. 2014a, 617).[iv] He thought that it was impossible to identify the sixteen states from the content of the *Weishu* (Yu 2005, 425 Comm. 25; Eng. 2014a, 570). In his new book on the history of the Kushans (Yu 2015, 101), he goes a step further in proposing that the *Weishu* entry on the Smaller Yuezhi includes information from DONG's report as well, so that when DONG travelled through the Western Regions, the Kidarites—

[i] Matsuda (1937, 40–41); Uchida (1959, 24–25; 1972a, 62–65); Yu (2005, 473–75, 480–461, esp. 474, Comm. 292; Eng. 2014a, 629–31, 637–39, esp. 630). On the process of how the *Weishu* was lost and then recompiled, see Enoki (1955b); La Vaissière (2007).

[ii] Matsuda and Enoki further suggested that the confusion of Sogdiana with Yancai 奄蔡 during the Han period was also the result of a misunderstanding on DONG's part.

[iii] See further the commentary on "16,000 *li*" for Text I.016.

[iv] This view is also found in Appendix I of Yu (2012, 217; cf. Yu 2011, 84–85), but in Appendix II of Yu (2012, 257; cf. Yu 2014b, 40), he reaches the same conclusion as La Vaissière (2004).

following their conquest of Gandhāra—had already been driven out of Tokharistan by the Hephthalites.[i] In order to evaluate various solutions for dating the Kidarite conquest and, later on, the Hephthalite invasion of Central Asia, I would like to draw attention to the ambiguity of the words *shi* 世 and *dai* 代 in Chinese sources. This problem is relevant not only for the date of the "Xiongnu" conquest of Sogdiana (Text I.016), but also for the "Yeda" conquest of Gandhāra (Text I.054).

Concerning the Yeda or Hua—the latter cannot be easily identified as the name of a people or merely the name of a region—Matsuda (1937, 40–41) drew attention to the fact that the richest source of historical data about them was the *Weishu* entry on the Yeda and the seven smaller states under their control (Chapter I.6.12). In his view, these entries mainly derived from what SONG Yun and his companions saw as they passed through Yeda territory in 519 and then Gandhāra in 520. On the other hand, Enoki (1965a, 10) suggested that the *Weishu* entry on the Yeda was based on material obtained from tribute missions to the Northern Wei from 456 onward (Text I.069). We should not forget, however, that in the early sixth century GAO Hui led two embassies to the Yeda (Text I.012).[ii] Accordingly, even if we could successfully remove the parts mistakenly interpolated into the *Weishu* from the *Zhoushu* and *Suishu*, when it was reconstructed on the basis of the *Beishi* 北史 (Chapter I.6.16, cf. introduction of Chapter I.6), the original extent of the *Weishu* entry on the Yeda would still be a mixture of various sources and thus the individual events in it would remain difficult to date.

The material concerning the state of Hua in the *Liangshu* must be primarily based on information obtained from embassies sent by that state from 516 onward; this material in many ways overlaps with the *Liang zhigong tu* 梁職貢圖 ("Liang dynasty images of tributaries"), which was discovered in the 1960s. In other words, before DONG's report, apart from fragmentary bits of information preserved in the *Weilüe* 魏略 and *Yiwuzhi* 異物志, etc., the information on the Western Regions was almost exclusively provided by Buddhist pilgrims and translators. The entire fourth century remains virtually a white spot,[iii] inspiring conjectures and leading to controversy.

Taking the Yeda or the Hephthalites as an example, as Enoki summarized in 1959, there are four pre-modern theories concerning their identity: (i) Jushi 車師;[iv] (ii) Kangju 康居;[v] (iii) Great Yuezhi;[vi] and (iv) Gaoju 高車.[vii] In addition, there are also four modern theories: (i) the Hun Theory; (ii) the Mongol Theory; (iii) the Turk Theory; and (iv) the Altaic People Theory. Enoki believed that the Yeda/Hephthalites were an Iranian people that emerged in the mountain region of the Hindu Kush, supposing that the Yeda "moved south from the Altai Mountains" 自金山而南

[i] Nevertheless, see Note Grenet on Text I.032/B.

[ii] Cf. Matsuda (1970, 197–98, 218); Yu (1986, 123–24).

[iii] According to the *Weishu*, around 318 Yulü 鬱律, one of the ancestors of the Northern Wei, led a military campaign westward against the old territories of the Wusun. According to the *Jinshu*, in 382 LÜ Guang 呂光 (338–399) invaded the Western Regions. Yet very little information survives about the Western Regions from the 4th century.

[iv] Assumption of PEI Ziye, adopted in the *Liangshu* (Text I.028/A)

[v] EMC *k^{h}aŋ-kɨ̆ɜ̆*. An assumption included in the *Tongdian* (Text I.029/C).

[vi] An assumption adopted in the *Zhoushu* and then followed by the *Suishu* (Text I.027/B and I.027/C).

[vii] EMC *kaw-kɨ̆ɜ̆*. An assumption recorded in the *Beishi* and *Tongdian*, probably from the original *Weishu* (Text I.027/A and I.073).

(Texts I.027/A and I.073), was merely a fictional narrative added by the editors of the *Weishu* or the *Beishi* for the sake of explaining their ethnic affiliation that was said to be close to the Great Yuezhi or the Gaoju (Enoki 1951, 134). Even though the sentence "Until the reign of Emperor Wen[cheng] of the Later Wei (r. 452–466), eighty or ninety years have elapsed" 至後魏文[成]帝時已八九十年矣, quoted in the *Tongdian* (cf. commentary on I.027/A), may come from the original version of the *Weishu*, Enoki (1951, 149–50) thought that it could not be substantiated by any historical source.[i] In his theory, the Yeda/Hephthalites were different from the "Xiongnu" or Wennasha 溫那沙 (*ʔwən-nah-ʂaɨ* < **Hūnashāh*), who conquered Sogdiana (Text I.016). The latter were identified by him (1955c; 1965b) as the Chionites, whom he considered another Iranian people.

Nevertheless, some scholars in Japan, especially Matsuda, defended the Altaic theory. At the end of his life, Shiratori (1940, 123–24) emphasized his assumption, held since 1900–1901, that the Yueban 悅般 (EMC *jwiat-pan/paɨn/pɛːn*, or *jwiat-pa* if one reads *ba* 般 as *bo*), who only appeared in Chinese history in 437–448 (Text I.092), were to be identified with the true Avar/Obar/Ibar, etc. In his view, the "Xiongnu" who conquered Sogdiana (Text I.016) were the Yueban, a Turkic people distinct from the Yeda/Hephthalites (*op. cit.*, also *apud* Enoki 1955a, 35). In contrast, Matsuda (1936, 320) identified the Yueban with the Yeda/Hephthalites.[ii] He (1936; 1956; 1960; 1970) further argued for the reliability of the aforementioned statement in the *Tongdian*, suggesting that the Yueban who disappeared from Chinese records after 448 were not ran over by the Rouran 柔然[iii] but, instead, conquered Sogdiana and then resurfaced in historical sources as the Yeda. Naitō (1975) developed Matsuda's theory by dividing the history of the Yeda into five stages: 1) from the Altai until the Tianshan Mountains, from 366 or 376 onward; 2) from the Tianshan until Sogdiana, *c.* 420–437; 3) from Sogdiana until Tokharistan, *c.* 438–459; 4) a period of prosperity; 5) decline and disappearance, 563–569. However, Naitō's study (1974; 1975) did not discuss Jiduoluo or the Kidarites. It is unclear whether she agreed with Matsuda's view that Jiduoluo was an alternative transliteration of the ethnonym Hephthalites.

In China, Yu (1986; 2012) believed that before their Iranification, the Yeda originally used to be a branch of the Yifu Xianbei 乙弗鮮卑, then, taking advantage of the temporary weakness of the Rouran, they expanded westward and successively conquered Sogdiana (*c.* 366/376), Tokharistan (*c.* 438–440; i.e. driving out the Jiduoluo), and from the mid-fifth century began expanding towards Sasanian Persia and Gupta India. According to his "Yifu Xianbei Theory" concerning the ethnicity of the Hephthalites, the latter's language contains not only elements of the Xianbei language but also that of the Korean (Appendix II of Yu 2012, 276 n. 30; Eng. 2014b, 55 n. 30).

[i] For an overview and assessment of Enoki's theory on the origins of the Yeda, see La Vaissière (2007).

[ii] The Tang practice of naming area commands and loose-rein prefectures after ancient names (e.g. *Yueban dudufu* in Text I.091) is not in the scope of this section. On this practice, see Inaba (2015, 110–11 n. 33).

[iii] I.e. the Ruanruan in the *Weishu*, the Ruru in the *Liangshu*.



Figure 1. Picture of the Hua envoy in the *Liang zhigong tu*, currently housed in the National Museum of China.[i] (Public domain image from Wikimedia Commons)

As is well known, one of the focal points of the dispute whether the Yeda/Hua were an Iranian people is that the facial features of the Hua envoy in the *Liang zhigong tu* (Figure 1) do not look like those of Indo-Europeans. In this regard, Enoki emphasized that the envoy's curly hair was not a "Mongoloid" feature. He further argued that the Hua envoy was not necessarily a native Hua/Yeda himself.[ii] Ma Xiaohe (2008,429–79) suggested that the Yeda were an Iranian people who originally lived north of the Chinese frontier, and were different from Turkic peoples such as the Yueban and the Gaoju. In Ma's theory, the Yeda were referred to as "Xiongnu" in the *Weishu* entry on Sogdiana (i.e. the conquerors of Sogdiana) and were known in the West as the Chionites (i.e. the Alchon seen on coins). They occupied Sogdiana from the mid-fourth through the mid-fifth centuries. Their king Xinnie 囂噠 (i.e. Huni in his view) in 456 sent a tribute embassy to the Northern Wei and in 458 invaded the Gupta Kingdom. He was probably the king who had a bit earlier driven out the Kidarites, conquered Tokharistan and in 460 conquered Gandhāra (Ma 2008, 480–537). According to Ma (2008, 423), *Chion-*, *χον* (extracted from *αλχον* [sic]), *wenna* 溫那 and *wen* 溫 all represent the surname of the ruling clan of the Hephthalites.[iii] Nonetheless, his theory was refuted by Yu (2014b) who argued that 1) coins that bore the inscription *αλ-χονο* [sic] did not necessarily have anything do to with the Hephthalites; 2) even if *αλ-χονο* was engraved by the

[i] See also http://www.chnmuseum.cn/zp/zpml/201812/t20181218_26391.shtml.

[ii] Enoki (1964, 17; 1965a, 24). It is worth noting that Naitō (1974, 36) disagreed with this view, arguing that the situation of Hua envoys coming on a tribute mission to the Liang court was fundamentally different from that of the Turks sending Sogdians on an embassy to the Eastern Roman Empire, although she did not explain the nature of the difference. In contrast, Yu always considered that the Liang court would have made certain that they depicted the envoys in a way that matched the features of the people from a given state. In my view, the physical features of the Hua envoys are neither sufficient nor necessary to determine the ethnicity of their rulers, since some of the envoys depicted on the scroll, including the one representing the state of Kucha, might be Sogdians; see Note Ching on Text I.039.

[iii] Sims-Williams (2010, 33) prefers the reading *αλχανο* to *αλχονο*; see his note on Text I.016.

Hephthalites, this did not necessarily mean that the portraits on the coins were images of Hephthalite kings. More importantly, one should not assume that only the nomadic rulers had the right to mint coins. States under the Hephthalite rule were also likely to mint coins of their own. While Yu's theory is to be evaluated in light of new numismatic, archaeological, philological and linguistic evidence, readers should also note that some of the widespread ideas initially proposed by Josef Marquart, in particular his reconstruction of **paδiyān* for the name of the Yeda's capital in the sixth century, as well as his presumption of Balaam = Krasnowodsk near the southeastern shore of the Caspian sea, have been considered highly problematic by specialists.[i]

At the moment, most Japanese scholars have difficulties in deciding whether the Yeda or Hephthalites were closer to Iranian or Turkic people. Among them, Yoshida (2011, 23–24) points out that from a linguistic point of view, the Hephthalites were probably neither Iranian nor Turkic, as he had already argued in 2004. As the focus of the debate has recently shifted from Chinese sources to new numismatic and epigraphic evidence, we hope that the texts in this section will be helpful for integrating a variety of data concerning the Hunnic peoples in Central Asia in the fourth to seventh centuries into a broader historical context.

Overview of sources

Summarized by Ching Chao-jung, Imre Galambos and Wong Junfu on the basis of Kushan Histories *(Falk 2015).*

BS = *Beishi* 北史, "History of the Northern [Dynasties]," 100 *juan*, started by LI Dashi 李大師 (570–628) and completed by his son LI Yanshou 李延壽. It deals with events from the foundation of the TUOBA Wei 拓跋魏 (i.e. YUAN Wei 元魏) in 386 CE until the fall of the Sui in 618 CE. They used the original *Weishu* (*WS*, q.v.), *Beiqishu* 北齊書, *Zhoushu* (*ZS*, q.v.), *Suishu* (*SS*, q.v.) and other sources.

Ed.: *Beishi*, Beijing: Zhonghua, 1974, in 10 vols.

CF = *Cefu Yuangui* 冊府元龜, "Prime tortoise of the Record Bureau", 1,000 *juan*, is the largest encyclopaedia finished in the Song Dynasty (960–1279 CE). Coming in as the last book of the *Song si da shu* 宋四大書 ("Four Great Books of the Song"), it was compiled by WANG Qinruo 王欽若 from 1005 to 1013. Originally named as the *Lidai junchen shiji* 歷代君臣事跡 ("Narrative of Monarchs and Officials in the Past Dynasties"), this work contains more than nine millions words in thirty one sections (*bu* 部), covering a wide array of political texts which record the biographies of past monarchs and officials, together with a series of memorials submitted to the throne and decrees issued by past monarchs. It is a rich work for studying the political dimension of the Tang Dynasty (618–907 CE).

Ed. *Cefu Yuangui*, Beijing: Zhonghua, 1960, 12 vols.

[i] See Text I.024 and I.030/A, as well as Note Grenet on Text I.014 and the notes of La Vaissière, Grenet and Sims-Williams on Text I.030.

Gaoseng zhuan 高僧傳 (*T.* 2059), "Biographies of Eminent Monks," 14 *juan*, is the earliest of the collections of biographies of eminent monks in China. It was completed by the monk Huijiao 慧皎 (497–554) around 530, although a considerable amount of information is taken over from earlier sources. The biographies are arranged into ten categories, such as Translators (*yijing* 譯經) or Performers of Miracles (*shenyi* 神異). In terms of their time frame, the biographies begin with the introduction of Buddhism to China around the beginning of the Common Era and go up to the beginning of the 6th century.

Ed. *Gaoseng zhuan*, Beijing: Zhonghua, 1992.

GFZ = *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan* 高僧法顯傳 (*T.* 2085), "Records of the Eminent Monk Faxian," 1 *juan*, is a compilation of travelogues that record the pilgrimage of a group of monks who embarked on a journey from Chang'an to India from 399 to 413. It was composed in 416 by Fǎxiǎn 法顯, one of the pilgrims.

Ed. Zhang Xun 章巽, *Faxian zhuan jiaozhu* 法顯傳校注, Beijing: Zhonghua, 2008. See also Drège (2013), Deeg (2005).

HHS = *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, "Book of the Later Han," 120 *juan*, continues where the *Hanshu* has left off, in 24 CE, and ends with the enthronement of the Emperor Xiandi 獻帝 (181–234) in 189 CE. It was compiled by historians under the supervision of FAN Ye 范曄 (398–445) at the court of the LIU Song 劉宋 Dynasty (420–479). It seems that for the chapters on the Western Regions, the *Hou Hanshu* mixes data from the Later (i.e. Eastern) Han with the text in *Shiji* and *Hanshu*.

Ed.: *Hou Hanshu*, Beijing: Zhonghua, 1965, in 12 vols.

HS = *Hanshu* 漢書, "Book of the Han," 100 *juan*, also called *Qian Hanshu* 前漢書, "Book of the Former Han." It deals with the history of the Western (i.e. Former) Han Dynasty from the rise of its founder LIU Bang 劉邦 in 206 BCE up to the fall of WANG Mang 王莽 in 23 CE. The text evolved within one family, BAN 班, from 36 CE to *c.* 140 CE.

Ed.: *Hanshu*, Beijing: Zhonghua, 1962, in 12 vols.

Huanyuji = *Taiping Huanyuji* 太平寰宇記, "Universal Geography of the Taiping Era," 200 *juan*, is a geographical treatise written by YUE Shi 樂史 around the 10th century. Since this treatise structurally follows the Tang system of geographic division, recording the names of the places, population, religious temples, as well as the regional customs, it also contains invaluable sources for the study of Tang geography and ethnography.

Ed. *Taiping Huanyu ji*, Beijing: Zhonghua, 1985.

Jiji = *Chu sanzang jiji* 出三藏記集 (*T.* 2145), "Collection of notes on the translation of the Tripiṭaka," 15 *juan*, is the earliest Buddhist bibliography composed by Sengyou 僧祐 (445–518). It can be subdivided into two major sections. The first is an explanation of the provenance of Buddhist scriptures that had been translated.

The second is the biographies of Buddhist monks. Because of the early bibliographic evidence preserved in these two sections, the collection has been commonly used in Buddhist studies to identify apocryphal texts.

Ed. *Chu sanzang jiji*, Beijing: Zhonghua, 1995.

Jinshu 晉書, "Book of Jin," 130 *juan*. It presents the history of the Western and Eastern Jin Dynasties (265–420 CE). It was compiled in 646–648 under the direction of the Prime Minister FANG Xuanling 房玄齡 (579–648), based on more than ten versions of the "History of Jin" (*Jinshi* 晉史) written before the Tang Dynasty. Ed.: *Jinshu*, Beijing: Zhonghua, 1974, in 10 vols.

JTS = *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書, "Old book of Tang," 200 *juan*. The work is "old" in comparison to the *Xin Tangshu* (*XTS*, q.v.). It presents the history of the Tang Dynasty (618–907 CE). It was compiled by ZHANG Zhaoyuan 張昭遠, JIA Wei 賈瑋 and others under the direction of ZHAO Ying 趙瑩 (885–951), one of the most important Chinese officers in the court of the Later Jin 晉 (936–947 CE). It was completed in 945 when LIU Xu 劉昫 was the Prime Minister of the Later Jin. Ed.: *Jiu Tangshu*, Beijing: Zhonghua, 1975, in 16 vols.

LS = *Liangshu* 梁書, "Book of Liang," 56 *juan*. It deals with the XIAO Liang 蕭梁 Dynasty (502–557), started by YAO Cha 姚察 (533–606) and completed by his son YAO Silian 姚思廉 (557–637).

Ed.: *Liangshu*, Beijing: Zhonghua, 1973, in 3 vols.

NS = *Nanshi* 南史, "History of the Southern [Dynasties]," 80 *juan.* Started by LI Dashi and completed by LI Yanshou in *c*. 659 CE. It deals with events starting with the foundation of the LIU Song 劉宋 Dynasty in 420 until the fall of the Chen 陳 Dynasty in 589. The authors used the *Songshu* 宋書, *Nanqishu* 南齊書, *Liangshu* (*LS*, q.v.), *Chenshu* 陳書 and other sources.

Ed. *Nanshi*, Beijing: Zhonghua, 1975, in 6 vols.

Qielanji = *Luoyang qielanji* 洛陽伽藍記, "Notes of Buddhist Monasteries in Luoyang," 5 *juan*. A geographical work that records the Buddhist monasteries located in the city of Luoyang during the Northern Wei Dynasty. It was composed by YANG Xuanzhi 楊衒之 around the early 6th century CE. This work documents the histories of the monasteries in Luoyang, their architectural structure, and records a range of anecdotes and mysteries in relation to these monasteries.

Ed. Yang Yong 楊勇, *Luoyang qielanji jiaojian* 洛陽伽藍記校箋, Beijing: Zhonghua, 2006.

SGZ = *Sanguozhi* 三國志, "History of the Three Kingdoms," 65 *juan*. Composed by CHEN Shou 陳壽 (233–297), this work deals with events starting with the Yellow Turban Rebellion in 184 CE until the final unification of CAO Wei 曹魏, SUN Wu 孫吳 and SHU Han 蜀漢 by the Western Jin Dynasty in 280 CE. The current *Sanguozhi* contains the commentaries of PEI Songzhi 裴松之 (372–451), whose quotes

include a significant portion of the *Weilüe* 魏略, i.e. a concise history of CAO Wei (50 *juan*, composed by YU Huan 魚豢), in *j.* 30, concerning the peoples in the West. The full text of the *Weilüe* has been lost for centuries.

Ed. *Sanguozhi*, Beijing: Zhonghua, 1982, in 5 vols.

Shiji 史記, "The Scribe's Records," 130 *juan*. The first of the long series of Chinese official histories and the basic model for all subsequent ones. Started by SIMA Tan 司馬談 (165–110 BCE) and completed by his son SIMA Qian 司馬遷 (135–86 BCE), encompassing history from the mythical age until his own time around 91 BCE.

Ed. *Shiji*, Beijing: Zhonghua, 1959, in 10 vols.

SS = *Suishu* 隋書, "Book of Sui," 85 *juan*. Supervised by LINGHU Defen 令狐德棻 (583–666), FANG Xuanling 房玄齡, WEI Zheng 魏徵 and others and completed in 636 CE. It deals with the events in the course of the Sui Dynasty (581–619 CE).

Ed. *Suishu*, Beijing: Zhonghua, 1973, in 6 vols.

T = *Taishō Tripiṭaka* 大正新修大藏經, compiled by Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and others in 100 volumes. The publication began in 1924, during the Taishō reign in Japan.

TD = *Tongdian* 通典, "The Book of Institutions," 200 *juan*, is the first complete encyclopaedia that records detailed information in relation to governmental structure and regulations. It took DU You 杜佑 almost three decades (766–801) to compile. It features a wide range of topics from foods to rites, examination and administration system to military border defence and penal laws.

Ed. *Tongdian*, Beijing: Zhonghua, 1988, in 5 vols.

THY = *Tang Huiyao* 唐會要, "Institutional History of Tang," 100 *juan*, compiled by WANG Pu 王溥 and submitted to the throne in 961. It covers the institutional history of the Tang Dynasty (618–907 CE) from 779 to 846. Finished in the early Song period, this work contains much rare material that unobtainable from official histories of the Tang.

Ed. *Tang Huiyao*, Beijing: Zhonghua, 1955, in 3 vols.

Tongzhi 通志, "Comprehensive Records," 200 *juan*, is an encyclopaedia compiled by ZHENG Qiao 鄭樵 (1104–0062) in 1161. The work is widely noted as it also incorporates twenty monographs (*lüe* 略) that include, among others, those on phonetics, astronomy, geography, liturgy, examination system, familial system, art, literature, metal and stone, food and wine. Apart from the twenty monographs, it also contains chronicles and biographies of past dynasties.

Ed. *Tongzhi*, Taipei: Xinxing, 1965, 12 vols.

Weilüe 魏略, See *SGZ*.

WS = *Weishu* 魏書, "Book of the Wei," dealing with the events in the Northern Wei (386–534) and Eastern Wei (534–550) Dynasties. The original *Weishu* (130 *juan*) was compiled by WEI Shou 魏收 in the Northern Qi Dynasty. In 1041, when the imperial

catalogue *Chongwen zongmu* 崇文總目 was compiled, less than 100 *juan* of the original *Weishu* were preserved in the Song court. The lost part, including *juan* 101 on Gaochang 高昌 (Turfan) and other peoples, *j.* 102 on the "Western Regions" and *j.* 103 on the Ruanruan 蠕蠕 and the Gaoju 高車, was reconstructed by LIU Shu 劉恕 and his contemporaries in the middle of the 11th century based on the *Beishi* and other texts. The current *Weishu* contains 114 *juan*. On the loss and restoration of *Weishu*, cf. Enoki (1955a, 8–10; 1955b, 45–46); Uchida (1970, 83–86).

Ed. *Weishu*, Beijing: Zhonghua, 2017, in 10 vols.

WXTK = *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考, "Complete investigation of textual sources," 348 *juan*, is an encyclopaedia that mainly examines the institutional regulations of past reigns, presenting the manner in which these regulations actually functioned. It was compiled by MA Duanlin 馬端臨 (1254–1324 CE) who relied on the *Tongdian*, but significantly expanded it, including additional textual sources such as scriptures, genealogies of emperors and cosmological constellations. This work was submitted to the throne in 1319.

Ed. *Wenxian tongkao*, Beijing: Zhonghua, 1986, 2 vols.

XTS = *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書, "New book of Tang," 225 *juan*, compiled by OUYANG Xiu 歐陽修, SONG Qi 宋祁 and others in the Northern Song period. It was finalized by OUYANG Xiu in 1060 CE. It aims at presenting a more ethical and educational treatment of the past than the *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 (*JTS*, q.v.).

Ed. *Xin Tangshu*, Beijing: Zhonghua, 1975, in 20 vols.

Xuanzang = *Da Tang xiyuji* 大唐西域記, "Records from the Regions West of the Great Tang," 12 *juan*. A travel account of Xuanzang 玄奘 (*c.* 600–664) which was orally transmitted to his disciple Bianji 辯機. The latter put it into writing after 647 CE. In this section, the punctuation of *Da Tang xiyuji* follows the edition edited by Ji Xianlin 季羨林 et al. (1985).

Youyang zazu 酉陽雜俎, "Miscellaneous morsels from Youyang," 30 *juan*, is a miscellany recorded and compiled by DUAN Chengshi 段成式 (?–863). Included in this work are more than thirteen hundred entries covering a wide range of hearsay heard by the compiler, including foreign myths and tales, taboos and ethos, anecdotes and records of natural phenomena.

Ed. *Youyang zazu*, Beijing: Zhonghua, 1981, 1 vol.

Yulan = *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽, 1,000 *juan*, is an encyclopaedia compiled in the Taiping xingguo 太平興國 period (976–984) of the Northern Song Dynasty, written by a group of scholars from 977 to 983. It cites various ancient sources that were then lost in the following centuries, including the original *Weishu*.

Ed. *Taiping yulan*, Beijing: Zhonghua, 1960, 4 vols.

ZG = *Liang zhigong tu* 梁職貢圖, "Liang Dynasty images of tributaries." An ancient scroll of painting published by Jin Weinuo 金維諾 from the collection of the Nanking Museum in 1960; probably a copy made in the 10th or 11th century. According to Enoki (1970b; 1984) and some Chinese scholars, the original of *Liang zhigong tu* is the *Zhigong tu* 職貢圖 painted by XIAO Yi 蕭繹 (508–555), Emperor Yuan of the Liang. However, other scholars, including Yu Taishan (2003, 26–64, esp. 43), do not support this identification. According to Yu (*loc. cit.*), the original of *ZG*, including both the images and the captions, is most likely the *Fangguo shi tu* 方國使圖 by PEI Ziye 裴子野. In the present volume, the transliteration of *ZG* follows the one given in Yu (2003, 26–64).

ZS = *Zhoushu* 周書, "Book of Zhou," 50 *juan*. Compiled by LINGHU Defen and others and completed in 636. It deals with the Northern Zhou Dynasty (557–581) but also records some events in the courts of the Western Wei (535–557), Eastern Wei (534–550) and Northern Qi (550–577).

Ed. *Zhoushu*, Beijing: Zhonghua, 1971, in 3 vols.

I.1. Background

I.1.1. Situation in the third century

I.001. Two routes to the north of the Hindukush in the *Weilüe*

On the southern route across the Pamirs from Tashkurgan to Gandhāra, see *Kushan Histories*, §§084, 122.

I.001/A. The central route via Kucha and Kashgar

SGZ 30 《三國志• 魏書• 烏丸鮮卑東夷傳第三十》(p. 858), cf. Yu (2014a, 451, 461, 464). On scribal errors in the second paragraph excerpted here, see also Chavannes (1905, 554–55); Shiratori (1913, 84).

> 從玉門關西出……到故樓蘭，轉西詣龜茲，至葱領，為中道。
>
> Leaving Yumen Guan to the west [...] one reaches ancient Loulan; turning west one arrives in Qiuci [Kucha] and [then] reaches the Congling [Pamirs, lit. 'the Onion Range']. This is the Central Route.
>
> 中道西行尉梨國、危須國、山王國皆并屬焉耆，姑墨國、溫宿國、尉頭國皆并屬龜茲也。楨中國、莎車國、竭石國、渠沙國、西夜國、依耐國、滿(for 蒲)犂國、億若國、榆令國、損(for 捐)毒國、休脩(for 休循)國、琴國皆并屬疏勒。
>
> […] The Central Route leads west: the states of Yuli/Weili, Weixu and Shanwang are all dependencies of Yanqi; the states of Gumo, Wensu and Yutou are all dependencies of Qiuci [Kucha]; the states of Zhenzhong, Suoju [Yarkand], Jieshi, Qusha, Xiye, Yinai, Manli [for Puli], Yiruo, Yuling, Sundu [for Juandu], Xiuxiu [for Xiuxun] and Qin are all dependencies of Shule [Kashgar].
>
> 自是以西，大宛、安息、條支、烏弋。烏弋一名排特，此四國次在西，本國也，無增損。
>
> West from these are Dayuan, Anxi, Tiaozhi and Wuyi. Wuyi is also called Paite. These four states follow each other as one moves to the west. They are identical [to how they are recorded in earlier sources], and their territories have neither increased nor diminished.

I.001/B. The new northern route via the Tianshan valley and Ferghana

SGZ 30 《三國志• 魏書• 烏丸鮮卑東夷傳第三十》(pp. 858–859), cf. Yu (2014a, 452, 485–86).

> 從玉門關西北出……到車師界戊己校尉所治高昌，轉西與中道合龜茲，為新道。

> Leaving Yumen Guan to the northwest [...] one arrives in Gaochang [Turfan] controlled by the Wuji Commandant of Jushi territories [around today's Turfan, Jimsar and Qitai]. If one turns west from [Gaochang], one may join the Central Route at Qiuci [Kucha]. This is the New Route.
>
> 北新道西行，至東且彌國、西且彌國、單桓國、畢陸國、蒲陸國、烏貪國，皆并屬車師後部王。轉西北則烏孫、康居，本國無增損也。
>
> […] The New Route in the north leads west, reaching the states of Eastern Jumi, Western Jumi, Danhuan, Bilu, Pulu, Wutan, all dependencies of the king of the tribe of Further Jushi.[i] Turning west from here are the Wusun and Kangju. They are identical [to how they are recorded in earlier sources], and their territories have neither increased nor diminished.

Beixindao 北新道 "The New Route in the north": Matsuda (1970, 8–9, 118–21) questioned whether this route—very likely the Yulduz route in the Tianshan Mountains—was then new to the Chinese or not. At any rate, it was used predominantly by the nomads. Most stations on it are not yet identified with certainty. For instance, Eastern and Western Jumi were identified by Matsuda (1970, 89, 95) as Bagai Yulduz and Yehe Yulduz, respectively, while Yu (2005, 198–99; Eng. 2014a, 268–80) locates them roughly around today's Urumqi.

> 北烏伊別國在康居北，又有柳國，又有巖國，又有奄蔡國一名阿蘭，皆與康居同俗。西與大秦東南與康居接。其國多名貂，畜牧逐水草，臨大澤，故時羈屬康居，今不屬也。
>
> The state of Northern Wuyibie is located north of Kangju. There are also the states of Liu, Yan and Yancai, also called Alan, all of which have customs identical to those in Kangju. In the west, [the state of Yancai] connects with Daqin [the Roman Orient] and in the southeast with Kangju. In this state there are many fine martens, the people raise livestock and [move around] following water and pastures, [living] by large lakes. In the past, the state was controlled by Kangju but this is no longer the case.

I.002. Description of Yuezhi in the *Nanzhou Yiwuzhi* 南州異物志

Cf. Maspero (1950, 99 n. 2); Enoki (1958, 32, Eng. 1970a, 28–29) on this passage, preserved in the *Taiqing jinye shendan jing* 太清金液神丹經 (composed by Ge Hong 葛洪, 283–343 CE). Translation based on Enoki (1970a, 28).

> 安息，在月支西八千里，國土風俗，盡與月支同。……其國左有土地，百餘王治，別住不屬月支也。
>
> Anxi lies 8,000 *li* to the west of the Yuezhi. Its lands, manners and customs are the same as those of the Yuezhi. […] To the left [i.e. to the east] of the state there is a land ruled by more than a hundred kings. [All of these kings] live in different places and do not belong to the Yuezhi.

[i] Here the translation of *Jushi houbu wang* 車師後部王 follows Yu (2014a, 486).

Yuezhi 月支: for Yuezhi 月氏, i.e. the Kushans, from the perspective of Wu 吳 Chinese (229–280 CE). The text implies the existence of independent rulers between the Sasanian Empire and the Kushan Empire before the fourth century.

I.003. Description of the Yuezhi, probably from the *Funan Yiwuzhi* 扶南異物志

Preserved in *Yulan*, *j.* 793, entry on the Great Yuezhi. Cf. Uchida (1972b, 107). Translated by Imre Galambos and Ching Chao-jung.

月氏俗乘四輪車，或四牛，或八牛，可容二十人，王稱天子。

The Yuezhi custom is to ride four-wheeled carts pulled by four or eight oxen that can carry twenty people. Their king is called the "Son of Heaven."

[Note Ching] The above text is adopted in *TD* 192, p. 5240 on the Great Yuezhi : "The people of this state ride four-wheeled carts pulled by four, six or eight oxen, depending on the size of the cart" 國人乘四輪車，或四牛、六牛、八牛輓之，在車大小而已. See Li and Yu (2009, 26).

[Note Grenet and la Vaissière] One may recall the *Xin Tangshu* (*j.* 221, p. 6247) on Chorasmia that "Among the [states of] various *hu*, only this state uses/produces (lit. 'has') oxen carts. Merchants drive them when travelling around many countries." It is indeed difficult to find any object in the Kushan archaeological material that may evidence oxen carts, except for a Gandhāran sculpture in the Peshawar Museum, showing a merchant's cart, q.v. Tissot (1985 pl. XLIII: 2).

I.1.2. The itinerary of Fǎxiǎn 法顯 from Khotan to Uḍḍiyāna in 401 CE

The route taken by Fǎxiǎn 法顯 (336/340 or 341/345 – 418/423)[i] is the traditional southern route in the *Weilüe* (Shiratori 1913, 107). Here Fǎxiǎn's itinerary follows that in Zhang Xun's analysis.

I.004. The *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan* 高僧法顯傳

GFZ, *j.* 1, pp. 16–27. Translation modified by Imre Galambos from Legge (1886). See also Deeg (2005, 99–107, 219–21).

法顯等進向子合國，在道二十五日，便到其國。國王精進。有千餘僧，多大乘學。住此十五日已，於是南行四日，入葱嶺山，到於麾國安居。

Fǎxiǎn and the others went forward to the state of Zihe, which took them twenty-five days to reach. The king was a strenuous follower of our [Buddhist] Law, and had [around him] more

[i] See the discussion on his birth and death in Deeg (2005, esp. p. 28). In this section, the more famous Faxian 法顯 (336/340 or 341/345 – 418/423) and the Faxian 法獻 (d. 498) treated in Text I.033 are written with tone marks as Fǎxiǎn and Fǎxiàn, respectively.

than a thousand monks, mostly students of the *mahāyāna*. Here [the travellers] stayed for fifteen days, and then went south for four days, when they found themselves among the Congling [Pamirs], and reached the state of Yuhui,[i] where they kept their retreat.

安居已止，行二十五日，到竭叉國，與慧景等合。值其國王作般遮越師。般遮越師，漢言五年大會也。

When their retreat was over, they went on among the hills for twenty-five days, and arrived at Jiecha, there rejoining Huijing and his two companions. It happened that the king of this state was then holding the *pañca pariṣad*, that is, in Chinese, the great quinquennial assembly.

布施已，還從僧贖。其地山寒，不生餘穀，唯熟麥耳。眾僧受歲已，其晨輒霜。故其王每請眾僧，令麥熟然後受歲。

[...] When this distribution has taken place, he again redeems [whatever he wishes] from the monks. The state, being mountainous and cold, does not produce other kinds of cereals, only the barley/wheat gets ripe. Whenever the monks receive their annual portion of this, the mornings invariably show the hoar-frost, and therefore the king always requests the monks to let the barley/wheat ripen before they receive their portion.

其國中有佛唾壺，以石作之，色似佛鉢。又有佛一齒，其國中人為佛齒起塔。有千餘僧徒，盡小乘學。

There is in the state a spittoon which belonged to the Buddha, made of stone, and in colour like his alms-bowl. There is also a tooth of the Buddha, for which the people have built a *stūpa*, connected with which there are more than a thousand monks and their disciples, all students of the *hīnayāna*.

從此西行向北天竺。在道一月，得度葱嶺。葱嶺冬夏有雪。又有毒龍，若失其意，則吐毒風，雨雪，飛沙礫石。遇此難者，萬無一全。彼土人人即名為雪山人也。

From the [state of Zihe, the travellers] went westwards towards North India, and after being on the way for a month, they succeeded in getting across the Congling. The snow rests on the range both winter and summer. There are also among them venomous dragons, which, when provoked, spit forth poisonous winds, and cause showers of snow and storms of sand and gravel. Not one in ten thousand of those who encounter these dangers escapes with his life. The people of the state are called “the people of the Snow Mountains.”

度嶺已，到北天竺。始入其境，有一小國名陀歷。亦有眾僧，皆小乘學。

When [the travellers] had got through the [Cong]ling, they arrived in North India, and immediately on crossing the frontier found themselves in a small state called Tuoli, where there were also many monks, all students of the *hīnayāna*.

[i] Possibly for Yumo 於摩, cf. Chavannes (1903b, 433); Shiratori (1913, 103).

順嶺西南行十五日。其道艱岨，崖岸嶮絕。其山唯石，壁立千仞，臨之目眩，欲進則投足無所。下有水，名新頭河。昔人有鑿石通路施傍梯者，凡度七百，度梯已，躡懸絙過河。河兩岸相去減八十步。九譯所絕。漢之張騫、甘英皆不至。

[...] The travellers went on to the south-west for fifteen days [at the foot of the Congling, and] following the course of their range. The way was difficult and rugged, [running along] a bank exceedingly precipitous, which rose up there, a hill-like wall of rock, 1,000 cubits from the base. When one approached the edge of it, one's eyes became unsteady; and if one wished to go forward in the same direction, there was no place on which one could place his foot; and beneath were the waters of the river called the Xintou River [Indus]. In former times men had chiselled paths along the rocks, and distributed ladders on the face of them, to the number altogether of 700, at the bottom of which there was a suspension bridge of ropes, by which the river was crossed, its banks being there eighty paces apart. [The place is so remote that the local language] cannot be successfully translated even through nine [intermediate] interpreters. Of the Han travellers neither ZHANG Qian nor GAN Ying had reached the spot.

度河便到烏萇國。

[...] After crossing the river, [the travellers] immediately came to the state of Wuchang [Uḍḍiyāna].

[Note Ching] Zihe 子合 and Jiecha 竭叉 had been known to Chinese. Their location was placed by Shiratori (1913, 88–97) in the valley of Asgansal (west of Karghalik) and Tashkurgan, respectively, whereas Deeg (2005, 219) thinks that the latter is in Baltistan. At any rate, the term *xueshan ren* 雪山人 "People of the Snow Mountains" was first reported by Fǎxiǎn. It is unclear whether this people was historically related to Ximodaluo (Text I.089).

I.1.3. The Yuezhi in Kumārajīva's terms, *c.* 402–406 CE

As demonstrated by Enoki (1958), Kumārajīva referred to the region of Gandhāra–Swat as "Great Yuezhi" or simply "Yuezhi," rendering Tokharistan (Douqueluo 兜呿羅) as "Smaller Yuezhi." This differs from the *Weishu* where Tokharistan is called Great Yuezhi and Gandhāra is called Smaller Yuezhi. This issue has been largely explored by Kuwayama (1990) and others. For example, see Appendix I in Wan (2011, 47).

I.005. *Taishō Tripiṭaka* 1509 *Da zhi du lun* 大智度論 (*Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra*)

Kumārajīva started translating the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra* in 402 and finished it on the 27th day of the twelfth month of the seventh year of the Hongshi reign period, i.e. 1 February 406. The text cited here is treated and partly translated in Enoki (1970a, 14–15).

I.005/A. Attestation 1

T. 1509(XXV)126b24–c1, *j*. 9.

> 復次，如釋迦牟尼佛在閻浮提中，生在迦毘羅國，多遊行東天竺六大城。
>
> Moreover, just like Śākyamuni Buddha who was in Jambudvīpa, but had been born in the state of Kapilavastu and travelled extensively to the six great cities of East India...
>
> 有時暫來北天竺月氏國，降阿波羅龍王。又至月氏國西，降女羅剎。佛在彼石窟中一宿，于今佛影猶在。有人就內看之則不見，出孔遙觀光相。
>
> […] he sometimes briefly visited the state of the Yuezhi in North India [and thus] gained control over the Nāga King Apolo [Apalāla], and, going to the west of the state of the Yuezhi, defeated a female *rākṣasī*. The Buddha spent a night in a stone cave there and his image is still there. If one goes into [the cave] to see it, one does not see it, but, if one comes out of the cave, one can see the luminous figure from afar.

A stone cave (*shiku* 石窟): The "Cave of the Shadow of the Buddha" (*Fuoying ku* 佛影窟) south of the Nagarahara (=Jelalabad) City (Enoki 1958, 20, Eng. 1970a, 14). Accordingly, here "Yuezhi" means Gandhāra. See also Kuwayama (1989, 68–88, 122–23); Deeg (2005, 249) for other descriptions of the cave.

I.005/B. Attestation 2

T. 1509(XXV)126c24, *j*. 9.

> 如大月氏西佛肉髻住處國。
>
> It is just like [going to] the country to the west of Great Yuezhi, where the Buddha's *uṣṇīṣa* is preserved.

***Fo rouji zhuchu guo* 佛肉髻住處國 "the country where the Buddha's *uṣṇīṣa* is preserved"**: Namely Hiḍḍa where the Buddha's skull was enshrined according to the *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan* (Enoki 1958, 20, Eng. 1970a, 13–14). It implies that Great Yuezhi in Kumārajīva's terms refers to Gandhāra. See also Deeg (2005, 250–52) for more Chinese Buddhist texts about this relic.

I.005/C. Attestation 3

T. 1509(XXV)141c17–20, *j*. 11.

> 隨所有物盡能布施故，得福增多。譬如大月氏弗迦羅城中有一畫師，名千那。到東方多剎陀(for 施)羅國，客畫十二年，得三十兩金，持還本國。
>
> By donating as many personal properties as one can afford, one can increase one's *puṇya*. For instance, in the city of Fujialuo in [the state of] the Great Yuezhi, there was a painter named Qianna. He went to the state of Duoshatuoluo [for Duoshashiluo, i.e. Takṣaśilā] in the east, and

worked as a painter there for twelve years, receiving thirty *liang* of gold, which he brought back to his country.

Fujialuo 弗迦羅**:** The great city 弗迦羅婆多 Fujialuopoduo (Puṣkalāvatī) in the *Da zhi du lun*, *j.* 3.

I.005/D. Attestation 4

T. 1509(XXV)243a10, *j.* 25. The annotations in this excerpt were probably made by Kumārajīva himself or his colleagues at the beginning of the fifth century.

弊生處者。安陀羅、舍婆羅{裸國也}、兜呿羅{小月氏}、修利、安息、大秦國等。

Inferior locations where buddhas can be born include Antuoluo [Andhra], Shepoluo [Śabara] {the country of the naked}, Douqueluo [Tokhāra] {the Smaller Yuezhi}, Xiuli [Sogdiana], Anxi [Parthia/Sassanid Iran], Daqin [the Roman Orient], etc.

I.006. *Taishō Tripiṭaka* 2406 *Maming pusa zhuan* 馬鳴菩薩傳 (the biography of Aśvaghoṣa)

T. 2046(L)183c15–184a10, *j.* 1. Exact date of translation unknown. Cf. translation in Enoki (1970a, 17).

其後北天竺小月氏國王， 伐於中國， 圍守經時，中天竺王遣信問言:「若有所求，當相給與。何足苦困人民，久住此耶？…」

After that, the king of the state of the Smaller Yuezhi in North India attacked Madhyadeśa. As he maintained the siege for a long time, the King of Middle India [Madhyadeśa] sent him a message, asking: "If there is anything you want, I will give it to you. Why do you torment [my] people and stay here so long? […]"

答言：「汝國內有二大寶，一佛鉢、二辯才比丘。以此與我，足當二億金也。……」

[... The king of the state of the Smaller Yuezhi] replied: "There are two great treasures in your country; one is the Buddha's begging bowl, the other is the Bhikṣu Sarasvatī. If you give these to me, they will amount to two hundred million pieces of gold […]"

即以與之，月氏王便(or: 使)還本國。

[... The King of Madhyadeśa] then gave these to the King of the Yuezhi, and he immediately returned to his own country.

Bei Tianzhu Xiao Yuezhi guo wang 北天竺小月氏國王 "the king of the state of the Smaller Yuezhi in North India": Identified as Kaniṣka by Enoki (1958, 2–3, Eng. 1969, 2–3), against M. F. C. Martin's view who thought that the legend referred to the Hephthalite conquest of Gandhāra. Wan (2008; 2010; 2011) identifies him as king Jiduoluo in Text I.014, but his view is not accepted by Yu (2015, 116–18).

I.1.4. Attestation of Xi Yuezhi 西月氏 in the *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan*, *c.* 410–412 CE

I.007. The description of Ceylon in the *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan*

GFZ, *j.* 1, pp. 137–138. Cf. translation in Enoki (1970a, 18–19); Wang-Toutain (1994); Aleksandrova (2008, 147). The commentarial addition to this excerpt is most probably Fǎxiǎn's own explanation.

> 法顯在此國，聞天竺道人於高座上誦經，云：
>
> In this state Fǎxiǎn heard that an Indian monk, sitting on a high seat, chanted a *sūtra*, saying:
>
> 「佛鉢本在毘舍離，今在揵陀衛。竟若干百年，{法顯聞誦時有定歲數。但今忘耳。}當復至西月氏國。若干百年，當至于闐國。住若干百年，當至屈茨國。若干百年，當復來到漢地。住若干百年，當復至師子國。若干百年，當還中天竺。到中天已，當上兜術天上。」
>
> "Originally the Buddha's *pātra* was in Vaiśālī, which is in Jiantuowei [Gandhāra] today. After several hundred years {when [I], Fǎxiǎn, heard the chanting, a specific number of years was mentioned but [now I can] not remember it anymore}, it will transfer to the state of Xi Yuezhi; after several hundred years, to the state of Yutian [Khotan]; after several hundred years, to the state of Quci [Kucha]; after several hundred years, it will arrive in China; after another several hundred years, in the state of Siṃhala [Sri Lanka]; and after another several hundred years, it will return to Central India. After returning to Central India, it will ascend to the Tuṣita Heaven.

Xi Yuezhi 西月氏: Enoki (Enoki 1958, 20–23, Eng. 1970a, 17–19) thought that this state, lit. 'the Western Yuezhi,' can be nowhere other than Bactria. In his view, this passage implies that Gandhāra and Bactria were separate states in 410–412. Yu (2015, 121), however, argues that this biography does not have much value for dating the rise of the Kidarites and their invasion of Gandhāra.

I.1.5. Tanwujie's itinerary from Kashmir to Yuezhi, *c.* 421–422 CE

I.008. Pilgrimage of Tanwujie 曇無竭 (Dharmavikrama) in the *Gaoseng zhuan*

Gaoseng zhuan, *j.* 3, p. 93, cf. *Jiji*, *j.* 15, p. 581. Partly translated in Enoki (1970a, 19–20). On the various descriptions of the location of the Buddha's bowl around Great Gandhāra in the 5th-6th centuries, see Kuwayama (2002, 20–43).

> 進至罽賓國，禮拜佛鉢。停歲餘。學梵書梵語。(*Jiji*: 學胡書竟， 便解胡語。) 求得觀世音受記經梵文一部。

They continued their journey and reached the state of Jibin where they venerated the bowl of the Buddha. [Tanwujie] stayed here for over a year, studying Indian scripts and Indian languages [*Jiji*: having finished studying *hu* scripts, he was able to understand *hu* languages.] He was able to obtain an Indian manuscript of the *Guanshiyin shouji jing*.[i]

復西行至辛頭那提河，漢言師子口 。緣河西入月氏國，(*Jiji*: 西行到新頭那提。漢言師子口河。西入月氏國。)禮拜佛肉髻骨， 及覩自沸木舫。

Continuing westward they reached a river called Xintounati 辛頭那提 [*Sindhu nadī*], which in Chinese means Lion's Mouth. Moving west along the river, they entered the state of the Yuezhi. [*Jiji*: Going westward they reached a river called Xintounati 新頭那提, which in Chinese means Lion's Mouth River. Moving west, they entered the state of the Yuezhi.] Here they venerated the *uṣṇīṣa* bone of the Buddha and saw a wooden boat that floated on the water of its own accord.

fobo 佛鉢 "the bowl of the Buddha": Given the location relative to the Indus River, Jibin here most probably denotes Kashmir. But Kuwayama (2002, 20–43 esp. 23) strongly argues for Puruṣapura as its worship place and thus he (1990, 72) thinks the *Sindhu nadī* in this passage may refer to the Swat or the Kabul. Deeg (2005, 237–45) mentions various texts about the bowl, without concluding its location at the time of Tanwujie's arrival around 420.

foroujigu 佛肉髻骨 "the *uṣṇīṣa* bone of the Buddha": As in Text I.007, Enoki identified its location as Haḍḍa, so Gandhāra is called Yuezhi in Tanwujie's biography. However, it is unclear whether or not the whole of Gandhāra was then under the domination of one political power. In other words, Enoki does not clearly indicate whether in his opinion the Kidarites had invaded Gandhāra by 421–422 CE.

I.1.6. DONG Wan's mission to the Western Regions in 437 CE

I.009. The Wusun in the *Weishu*, *juan* 102

WS 102 《列傳第九十• 西域》 (p. 2459) ~ *BS* 97 《列傳第八五• 西域》 (p. 3219). Translation based on Yu (2014a, 604). According to the hypothesis of Yu (2005, 424 Comm. 17; Eng. 2014a, 569), the mission departed from the capital of the Northern Wei around the 8th month of the second year of the Taiyan reign (28 August – 25 September 436).

烏孫國，居赤谷城，在龜茲西北，去代一萬八百里。其國數為蠕蠕所侵，西徙葱嶺山中，無城郭，隨畜牧逐水草。太延三年遣使者董琬等使其國，後每使朝貢。

The state of the Wusun: [Its king] resides in the town of Chigu [lit. 'red valley'] northwest of Qiuci, and it is at a distance of 10,800 *li* from Dai. The state was invaded several times by the Ruanruan, so they migrated west into the Congling. , They have no walled cities, they follow

[i] I.e. *T.* 371 *Guanshiyin pusa shouji jing* 觀世音菩薩授記經.

their herds in search of water and pasture. In the third year of the Taiyan reign [437 CE], [Wei] sent the envoy DONG Wan and others on a mission to their state. From then on, it often sent envoys to present tribute.

Wusun 烏孫: According to Matsuda (1970, 195–204, esp. 199–200, cf. Text I.092), this people had been chased by the Xianbei into the Pamirs in the early fourth century, so the "Ruanruan" here is a misnomer, and the first sentence "[Its king] resides in the town of Chigu northwest of Qiuci" is just an extract from the sources in the Han periods. Yu (2005, 451 Comm. 150; Eng. 2014a, 605) dated their movement to 402–410 at earliest, based on the time of Shelun's attack, cf. Text I.093. In any case, although the primary goal of DONG's mission was to visit the nomadic court north of Kucha, the people he and GAO Ming found there was actually the Yueban.

I.010. Tribute payments from the Wusun and other states in 437 CE

WS 4 《世祖紀第四• 太延三年(437 CE)》 (pp. 102–103).

癸巳，龜茲、悅般、焉耆、車師、粟特、疏勒、烏孫、渴槃陁、鄯善諸國各遣使朝獻。

On the *guisi* day [of the third month], Qiuci [Kucha], Yueban, Yanqi [Karashahr], Jushi [Qitai or Jimsar ~ Turfan], Sute [Sogd], Shule [Kashgar], Wusun, Kepantuo [Tashkurgan], and Shanshan sent envoys to present tribute.

甲申，破洛那、者舌國各遣使朝獻，奉汗血馬。

[…] On the *jiashen* day [of the eleventh month], Poluona [Ferghana] and Zheshe [Čač] sent envoys to present tribute. They presented "sweats blood horses" [i.e. Ferghana horses].

I.011. Prefaces in *juan* 102 of the *Weishu*

WS 102 《列傳第九十• 西域》 (pp. 2450–2451) ~ *BS* 97 《列傳第八五• 西域》 (pp. 3205–3207). Translation based on Yu (2014a, 567–68, 575).

I.011/A. Envoys sent by the Northern Wei Emperor in the 430s

始遣行人王恩生、許綱等西使，恩生出流沙，為蠕蠕所執，竟不果達。又遣散騎侍郎董琬、高明等多齎錦帛，出鄯善，招撫九國，厚賜之。

[Emperor Shizu] initially sent envoys, WANG Ensheng, XU Gang and others, to go on a mission to the Western Regions. When they emerged from the Flowing Sands, [WANG] Ensheng and the others were unexpectedly captured by the Ruanruan, and thus were unable to reach [their destination]. Emperor Shizu then sent the *sanji shilang* [Gentleman Cavalier Attendant] DONG Wan, GAO Ming and others. They took large quantities of brocade silk with them, and when they appeared in Shanshan they sought to summon and appease nine states by offering them large rewards.

I.011/B. The Wusun in the description of DONG Wan

初，琬等受詔: 便道之國，可往赴之。琬過九國，北行至烏孫國，其王得朝廷所賜，拜受甚悅，謂琬曰：「傳聞破洛那、者舌皆思魏德，欲稱臣致貢，但患其路無由耳。今使君等既到此，可往二國，副其慕仰之誠。」琬於是自向破洛那，遣明使者舌。烏孫王為發導譯達二國，琬等宣詔慰賜之。已而琬、明東還，烏孫、破洛那之屬遣使與琬俱來貢獻者十有六國。

When [DONG] Wan and the others initially accepted the imperial edict, it stated that they should proceed to states accessible by road. [DONG] Wan, having passed through the nine states, then proceeded north and reached the state of the Wusun, whose king received a reward from the imperial court, did obeisance in acceptance, and was duly pleased [with the reward]. He then said to [DONG] Wan, "I hear that both Poluona [Ferghana] and Zheshe [Čač] longed for the virtue of Wei, and wanted to swear fealty and pay tribute, but were worried there was no road [to reach Wei]. Now that you have arrived here, it is proper to go to these two states to encourage them in their sincere admiration." [DONG] Wan thereupon went in person to Poluona, and sent [GAO] Ming to Zheshe. The king of the Wusun provided them with guides and interpreters for each of the two states. [DONG] Wan and the others read out the imperial edict intended to pacify and reward them. When [DONG] Wan and [GAO] Ming later returned eastwards, the Wusun, Poluona, and their dependencies sent envoys with [DONG] Wan, to pay tribute, on behalf of sixteen states in all.

Wusun 烏孫: Again, this name here actually designates the Yueban (Matsuda 1970, 202), see Texts I.009, I.012 and I.092. Yu (2005, 451 Comm. 150; Eng. 2014a, 605), however, thinks that DONG and GAO indeed met remnants of the Wusun when they passed the Congling.

I.011/C. The sixteen states and four regions mentioned by DONG Wan

始琬等使還京師，具言凡所經見及傳聞傍國，云：西域自漢武時五十餘國，後稍相并。至太延中，為十六國，分其地為四域。

[…] Formerly, when [DONG] Wan and the others returned to the capital after their mission, they described all the neighbouring states they had seen with their own eyes or those they had heard about, saying: "Since Emperor Wu of Han, there have been more than fifty states in the Western Regions. Subsequently, they gradually annexed each other, and by the middle of the Taiyan reign [435–440 CE], they were [only] sixteen states in all. Their lands can be divided into four regions."

[Note Ching] Enoki (1955a, 13–15) regarded the sixteen to be the eleven in Text I.010 plus the [Great] Yuezhi (i.e. Jiduoluo), Daqin (Roman Orient), Jumi 且彌 (Text I.001), Xijuban (i.e. Zhujubo, Text I.048) and perhaps Bosi (Persia). Funaki (1956, 96) gave them as the states in Text I.010 (except for Kepantuo) in addition to Jumi, Xijuban, Bosi, the Great Yuezhi, Tiaozhi (approx. Mesopotamia) and Daqin. Yu (2005, 425 Comm. 25; Eng. 2014a, 570) avoids any identification. Since DONG and GAO's itinerary is obscure, and the structure of their report is

significantly modified in *WS* 102, the sixteen states cannot be identified with certainty. Nevertheless, it would be unexpected if Yutian (Khotan) was excluded from the list, even if the mission did not pass through there around 437. See further my note on Text I.014.

I.011/D. The four routes in the Western Regions in the Northern Wei period

其出西域本有二道，後更為四：出自玉門，渡流沙，西行二千里至鄯善為一道；自玉門渡流沙，北行二千二百里至車師為一道；從莎車西行一百里至葱嶺，葱嶺西一千三百里至伽倍為一道；自莎車西南五百里葱嶺，西南一千三百里至波路為一道焉。

[…] Access to the Western Regions was originally provided via two routes, but later this changed to four. From the Yumen Pass across the Flowing Sands, going west for 2,000 *li* until Shanshan, is the first route. From the Yumen Pass across the Flowing Sands, going north for 2,200 *li* until Jushi, is the second route. From Suoju [Yarkand], going west for 100 *li* to the Congling, then west for 1,300 *li* until Jiabei [Text I.020], is the third route. From Suoju going southwest for 500 *li* to the Congling, then southwest for 1,300 *li* until Bolu [Text I.022], was yet another route.

I.011/E. End of the preface

自琬所不傳而更有朝貢者，紀其名，不能具國俗也。其與前使所異者錄之。

As for those states that sent envoys to present tribute but were not described by [DONG] Wan, only their names are recorded, and an account of their customs cannot be given. In this place, we record those matters that differ from the reports of the former envoys.

I.1.7. GAO Hui's two missions to the Yeda in 515–525 CE

I.012. Biography of GAO Hui

WS 32 《列傳第二十• 高徽》(p. 840).

延昌中，假員外散騎常侍，使於噘噠，西域諸國莫不敬憚之，破洛侯、烏孫並因之以獻名馬。還，拜冗從僕射。

During the Yanchang reign [512–515], [GAO Hui, who held the title of] *yuanwai sanji changshi* [Temporary Gentleman Cavalier Attendant], led an embassy to the Yeda, and all the states of the Western Regions treated him with respect and awe. As a result, [the state of] Poluohou [Ferghana] and the Wusun both presented him their finest horses. When he returned, he was promoted to the rank of *rongcong puye*.

Wusun 烏孫: Emphasizing that the Wusun mentioned here denoted their remnants in the Pamirs, Matsuda (1970, 187–204, esp. 197–198) thought that the horses were presented to GAO Hui not directly but through the court of the Yeda.

> 神龜中，……又假平西將軍、員外散騎常侍，使嚈噠。還至枹罕，屬莫折念生反於秦隴。……長史元永平、治中孟賓、臺使元湛，共推徽行河州事。
>
> During the Shengui reign [518–525] […], holding the titles of *pingxi jiangjun* [General of Pacifying the West] and Temporary Gentleman Cavalier Attendant, he once again led an embassy to the Yeda. When he returned to Fuhan, MOZHE Niansheng rebelled in the Qinlong region [...]. *Changshi* YUAN Yongping, *zhizhong* MENG Bin and *taishi* YUAN Zhan together recommended [GAO] Hui for the management of affairs in Hezhou.

Fuhan 枹罕: Around today's Linxia 臨夏 County in Gansu, also the seat of Hezhou 河州 during the Northern Wei period. In *WS* 9, p. 242, for the first year of the Xiaochang 孝昌 reign (525), GAO Hui's title is given as *Yeda shizhu* 嚈噠使主, lit. 'Chief of the Emissaries to the Yeda.' He was killed by LIANG Jingjin 梁景進 after having been elected by YUAN Yongping 元永平 and others to lead the interim government of Hezhou. Qinlong 秦隴 refers approximately to today's Shaanxi 陝西 and Gansu.

I.1.8. SONG Yun's mission to the Western Regions, 518/519–522 CE

I.013. Description of SONG Yun's mission in the *Weishu*

WS 102 《列傳第九十• 西域》(p. 2473) ~ *BS* 97 《列傳第八十五• 西域》(pp. 3231–3232) Cf. translation of *BS* in La Vaissière (2007, 126); Yu (2014a, 650).

> 初，熙平中，肅宗(*BS*: 明帝)遣王伏子統(*BS*: 賸伏子統)宋雲、沙門法力等使西域，訪求佛經。[i]時有沙門慧生者亦與俱行，正光中還。[ii]慧生所經諸國，不能知其本末及山川里數，蓋舉其略云。
>
> Formerly, during the Xiping reign [516–518], Emperor Suzong [i.e. Emperor Ming in *BS*] sent *zhuyi zitong* 主衣子統 SONG Yun, the monk Fali and others in search of Buddhist *sūtra*s. At the time, there was also the monk Huisheng, travelling together with them. They came back during the Zhengguang reign [520–525], but since it is unclear which mountains and rivers, and what distances, Huisheng traversed, we only give a rough outline [of his journey].

Zhuyi zitong 主衣子統: Both *wangfu zitong* 王伏子統 in the extant version of the *Weishu* and *shengfu zitong* 賸伏子統 in the extant version of the *Beishi* are scribal errors for *zhuyi zitong* 主

[i] *BS*: 訪求佛經，
[ii] *BS*: 亦與俱行。正光中，還。

衣子統, lit. 'Vice-Director (子統 *zitong*) of the Bureau *zhuyiju* 主衣局,' an official in charge of arranging the Wei emperor's attire (Uchida 1972a, 69). The mission departed from Luoyang in the eleventh month of the first year of the Shengui reign, i.e. between 18 Dec. 518–16 Jan. 519.

I.2. King Jiduoluo 寄多羅 in the *Weishu*

I.014. The entry on the Great Yuezhi in the *Weishu*

WS 102 《列傳第九十• 西域》(p. 2468) ~ *BS* 97 《列傳第八十五• 西域》(pp. 3226–3227). See also Zürcher (1968, 373); Enoki (1969, 8, 1 n. 3); Yu (2014a, 629–30); *Kushan Histories* §§061, 128.

大月氏國，都盧監氏城(*BS*: 賸監氏城)，在弗敵沙西，去代一萬四千五百里。

The state of the Great Yuezhi has its capital in the city of Lujianshi [*BS*: city of Shengjianshi]. It lies west of Fudisha, at a distance of 14,500 *li* from Dai.

北與蠕蠕接，數為所侵，遂西徙都薄羅城，去弗敵沙二千一百里。

In the north it is adjacent to [the territory of] the Ruanruan, and having been on several occasions invaded by them, they subsequently moved westward and established their capital in the city of Boluo, at a distance of 2,100 *li* from Fudisha.

其王寄多羅勇武，[i]遂興師越大山，南侵北天竺，自乾陁羅以北五國盡役屬之。[ii]

Their king Jiduoluo, who was brave and martial, thereupon raised an army, crossed the great mountains and, moving south, invaded Northern India. Qiantuoluo [Gandhāra] and the four states to its north all fell under his control.

世祖(*BS*: 太武)時，其國人商販京師，[iii]自云能鑄石為五色瑠璃，[iv]於是採礦山中，於京師鑄之。既成，光澤乃美於西方來者。乃詔為行殿，容百餘人，光色映徹，觀者見之，莫不驚駭，以為神明所作。自此中國瑠璃遂賤，[v]人不復珍之。

At the time of Emperor Shizu [*BS*: Emperor Taiwu [r. 424–451]],[vi] merchants of that state traded in the capital [i.e. Dai]. They said of themselves that they could forge stone into colour *liuli*. Thus they collected raw ore in the mountain and then forged it in the capital. When [the *liuli*

[i] Reconstructed by Uchida (1972a, 62) as *hou qi wang Jiduoluo yongwu* 後其王寄多羅勇武 "Afterwards, their king Jiduoluo, who was brave and martial …" by adopting the word *hou* 後 preserved in the *TD*, *Tongzhi* and *Huanyuji*.

[ii] *BS*: 自乾陁羅以北五國，盡役屬之。

[iii] Reconstructed by Uchida (1972a, 62) as *shangfan dao jingshi* 商販到京師 "merchants arrived in the capital" based on the text cited in the *Huanyuji*.

[iv] *BS*: 自云能鑄石為五色瑠璃。

[v] *BS*: 自此，中國瑠璃遂賤，

[vi] As noted by Enoki (1958, 2–3, Eng. 1969, 3), Martin (1937, 20) confused Taiwu's reign with that of Daowu 道武 (r. 398–409). This error became one of Martin's reasons to date Kidarite coins to the 4th century.

> was] complete, its lustre was more brilliant than that brought from the West. Therefore, by the imperial order a temporary palace [*xingdian* 行殿] was built [with *liuli*], which could contain more than a hundred people, and it radiated colourful rays of light. Those who saw the palace were all astonished and thought that it was built by divine beings. After this, *liuli* in the Central Kingdom [i.e. Wei] lost its value and the people did not consider it precious anymore.

Lujianshi 盧監氏 (*BS*: Shengjianshi 賸監氏): According to Enoki (1958, 8–9, Eng. 1969, 9), these are scribal errors for Jianshi 監氏, which he identified with Balkh (*loc. cit.*); this view was accepted by Uchida, Matsuda, Yu and others. Having first considered in 1958 Jianshi 監氏 and Lanshi 藍市 scribal errors for *Moshi 莫市 or *Moshi 膜市, Enoki modified his idea in 1969 and reconstructed the original form in the *Shiji* and *Hanshu* as *Modi 莫氏 or *Modi 膜氏, in order to match the name with Bāχtri or Bāχdī, cf. Enoki (1958, 9, Eng. 1969, 10). See, however, *Kushan Histories,* §037 for other opinions.

Fudisha 弗敵沙: Today's Badakhshan according to Marquart (1901, 279).

14,500 *li*: The distance is merely a mechanical addition of 1,900 *li* (the distance between Chang'an and Dai) and 12,600 *li* (the distance between Chang'an and Jianshi in the *Hanshu*); see Matsuda (1937, 44–45).[i] Like other cases in *WS* 102, this phenomenon implies that DONG and his companions did not visit the territory of the Great Yuezhi personally. See the Introduction to this section, as well as the commentary on "16,000 *li*" for Text I.016.

Boluo 薄羅 (EMC *bak-la*): Several Sinologists, including Yu (1986; 2005; 2015), accepted Enoki's view of Jianshi = Boluo = Balkh and that there was error or confusion in the second sentence. However, while Matsuda (1970, 447) finally adopted Enoki's theory and abandoned his own earlier solution, i.e. Boluo = Zabul (Matsuda 1937, 48–49), Uchida repeatedly defended Marquart's theory of Boluo = Balaam = Krasnowodsk. Kuwayama (1990, 143–44) did not specify the location of Boluo at all, however, see Note La Vaissière and Note Grenet, *infra*.

Jiduoluo 寄多羅: A name only attested in the *Weishu* and the parallel account in the *Beishi*. While Yu (1986, 74) followed Enoki (1958, 1, Eng. 1969, 1) to assert that the Kidarites in Western sources were named after this ruler, i.e. the founder of the Kidarites, he recently changed his opinion, suggesting that Jiduoluo in the *Weishu* is to be identified with the title "*Kidāra Kushāna Shā[hi]*" seen on coins, rather than with a personal name (Yu 2015, 99–100). Both Enoki (1970a, 33 n. 1) and Yu (2015, 100) agreed with Marquart (1901, 53) that Jiduoluo's tribe/clan was originally from the ruling class of the Kushan Empire, that is to say, a certain group emerging locally in Tokharistan, to be distinguished from the Hephthalites. On the other hand, Matsuda (1937, 55) considered Jiduoluo to be the name of a state/tribe rather than that of a person, citing as evidence the case of Yandaiyilituo 厭帶夷栗陁 in the *Liangshu* (Text I.070), where the Liang people mistakenly took the ethnonym as the king's personal name. He (1937,

[i] Matsuda (1937, 45) further indicated that the distance "11,600 *li*" in *HS* 96 (on the Chinese text, see *Kushan Histories* §061) is a scribal error for 12,600 *li*. His correction is widely taken as granted among Sinologists. For example, see Enoki (1958, 8, Eng. 1969, 8) and Yu (1986, 70; 2005, 473–74 Comm. 288; Eng. 2014a, 630). However, see also Yu (2005, 118 Comm. 300; Eng. 2014a, 160).

55–56; 1970, 170–71, 185, 219) further argued that Jiduoluo was just another transliteration of the Hephthalites, i.e. for "Haital," as he preferred to call them.

The great mountains (*dashan* 大山): The Hindu Kush (Shiratori 1931, 638).

Zi Qiantuoluo yi bei wu guo 自乾陁羅以北五國 "Qiantuoluo and the four states to its north": Enoki translated the passage alternatively as "five countries to the north of Ch'ien-t'o-lo" (1969, 8, assuming that this was possibly "a result of association with the five Xihou in the Han dynasty;" on the five Xihou, see *Kushan Histories*, §§044, 045) and as "Gandhāra and four countries to the north of Gandhāra" (1969, 14, esp. n. 3). Kuwayama (1989, 110; 2002, 124) identified the five states as Zhujubo (Text I.048), Kepantuo (I.049), Bohe (I.050), Shemi (I.052) and Qiantuo/Gandhāra (I.054), which was cited and rephrased in Grenet (2002, 207), but on one occasion he (1990, 106) excluded Gandhāra, assuming that the five would be among the following nine states: (1) Zhuju, (2) Kepantuo, (3) Bohe, (4) Shemi, (5) Bolule, (6) Bozhi (I.051), (7) Wuchang (I.053), (8) Jie 劫 and (9) Tuoli 陀歷 (I.004). Yu (2015, 100) identified the five states as Bohe, Bozhi, Shemi, Wuchang and Qiantuo, which he located in Wakhan [=Jiabei], Zēbak, Chitral ~ Mastuj [=Zhexuemosun], the historical Uḍḍiyāna and Gandhāra, respectively.

liuli 瑠璃: The word has a range of possible meanings but here it must denote "glass" (Shiratori 1933, 533).

[Note Ching] Because of the use of the word *zi* 自 "[counting] from …" in the passage, Gandhāra should be included in the five states (X. Rong, p. c. 31 Dec. 2017). Although Yu's solution may be correct, the identification of the five states depends on whether they are mentioned in DONG's report—in other words, whether the Kidarite invasion of Gandhāra happened before 437. If Enoki's reconstruction of the sixteen states (Text I.011) is more or less correct, then not only the mention of Fudisha—a state presumably not in the list—but also the news about "the five states" are later than DONG's report. If this is indeed the case, then Text I.014 and I.015 both contain a significant amount of information from after 437.

[Note La Vaissière] Boluo is Balkh (Bactrian *βαχλο* [*vaxl*], cf. N. Sims-Williams 2016, 273), and Jiduoluo is undoubtedly the founder of the Kidarites, as it is the case with Sasan, the founder of the Sassanids. Moreover, I suppose that the reference to the Ruanruan in this passage probably indicates Ruanruan raids into Sogdiana and the Pamirs, as far as Merv: it is remarkable that the enemy of Bahrām Gōr (Bahram V) was not only called a "Turk" but also "Qaghan" by Ṭabarī (Text VIII.002/A), a title only used by the Ruanruan in that period. Their retreat left the stage to the rising Kidarites.

[Note Grenet] Contrary to the note above, I think that "Qaghan" is anachronical, given that Ṭabarī wrote about the "Turks" as early as during the reign of Shāpur II. On this point I rather side with Yu and Uchida that "the Ruanruan" here actually means the newly-rising Hephthalites in the union of the Ruanruan. In any case, Boluo is Balkh (La Vaissière 2010; N. Sims-Williams 2016). Hence, if the Kidarites were disturbed by the Hephthalites who emerged in 457, presumably in southeastern Tokharistan, this would explain why they transferred their main capital

from eastern Bactria to Balkh, which they held until 467. Moreover, Boluo is Balaam (= Balkh); Marquart's idea that Balaam is Balkhān near the Caspian Sea is quite unlikely, cf. Grenet (2002, 211 n. 13), where Marshak's suggestion of a corruption of the phrase *Baxl ī bāmīg*, i.e. "Balkh the radiant," is mentioned. At the Budapest conference (29 Aug. 2017) N. Sims-Williams proposed a plausible alternative: Balaam from **Baxl-lām*, where the second element would be Bactrian λαμο [*lām*] 'land; world.' If so, it would be the Bactrian equivalent to the Middle Persian form *Balkhān* 'Balkh country' (cf. in *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* 7.7 "Balkh and Balkhān," i.e. "Balkh and the Balkh country").

I.015. The entry on the Smaller Yuezhi in the *Weishu*

WS 102 《列傳第九十• 西域》(p.2470) ~ *BS* 97 《列傳第八十五• 西域》(pp. 3228–3229), cf. Zürcher (1968, 373); Enoki (1969, 14–15); Yu (2014a, 637–38); *Kushan Histories*, §129.

小月氏國，都富樓沙城。

The state of the Smaller Yuezhi has its capital in the city of Fulousha.

其王本大月氏王寄多羅子也。

The king was originally the son of Jiduoluo, king of the Great Yuezhi.

寄多羅為匈奴所逐，西徙後令其子守此城，[i]因號小月氏焉。

When Jiduoluo was chased by the Xiongnu, he moved westward, and later ordered his son to defend this city; hence [the state] is called 'Xiao Yuezhi' [lit. 'Smaller/Lesser Yuezhi'].

在波路西南，去代一萬六千六百里。

[The capital] lies south-west of Bolu [Text I.022], at a distance of 16,600 *li* from Dai.

先居西平、張掖之間，被服頗與羌同。

They formerly lived in the region between Xiping and Zhangye, and in their way of clothing they are identical to the Qiang.

其俗以金銀錢為貨。[ii]隨畜牧移徙，亦類匈奴。

As to their customs, they use gold and silver coins as currency. They move around following their herds; [in this respect] they also resemble the Xiongnu.

其城東十里有佛塔，周三百五十步，高八十丈。自佛塔初建，計至武定八年，八百四十二年，所謂「百丈佛圖」也。

[i] *BS*: 西徙。後令其子守此城，
[ii] *BS*: 其俗以金銀錢為貨，

> 10 *li* to the east of the city there is a *stūpa*, the circumference of which is 350 paces and the height is 80 *zhang*. From the time when the *stūpa* was first built up to the eighth year of the Wuding reign [550 CE], 842 years has elapsed. This is the so-called "*Stūpa* of 100 *zhang*."

Fulousha 富樓沙 (EMC *puw^{h}-ləw-ṣaɨ*): Identified as Puruṣapura (Peshawar) by Marquart. Accordingly, the Smaller Yuezhi in the *Weishu* is identified as Gandhāra, cf. Marquart (1901, 211); Chavannes (1903b, 422); Matsuda (1937, 34–37). But its location is debated, cf. *Kushan Histories,* §129.

Jiduoluo wei Xiongnu suo zhu 寄多羅為匈奴所逐 "When Jiduoluo was chased by the Xiongnu": Reconstructed by Uchida (1972a, 64–65) as *Jiduoluo wei Ruanruan suo zhu* 寄多羅為蠕蠕所逐 "When Jiduoluo was chased by the Ruanruan" based on the text cited in the *Tongdian* and *Huanyuji*. In his view, it was the *BS* editors who changed Wei Shou's "Ruanruan" in the original *WS* to "Xiongnu" when compiling the *BS*. Nevertheless, not all the Sinologists agree with this reconstruction.

Xiping 西平 **and Zhangye** 張掖: Today's Xining 西寧 (Qinghai Province) and Zhangye 張掖 (Gansu Province), respectively (Matsuda 1937, 37).

Stūpa of 100 *zhang* 百丈佛圖: The famous "*stūpa du loriot*" (Chavannes 1903b, 422). Matsuda (1937, 36–37; 1970, 170) noted that the information about the *stūpa* was late, probably obtained during the Eastern Wei period. Uchida (1972a, 64–65) formed no judgment whether this piece of information belonged to the original text of the *Weishu*.

[Note La Vaissière] It is difficult to establish who "the Xiongnu" in this passage were, but they might refer to the Ruanruan (= War-Huns as they are named in the Byzantine texts) and therefore not necessarily a misnomer, cf. La Vaissière (2015a, esp. 185–86, 188 with n. 32). It is noteworthy that part of the Xiongnu were incorporated first in the Xianbei and then in the Ruanruan: for example, see *WS* 103, p. 2489 (= 1987 edition, p. 2290).

[Note Grenet] I think otherwise. Here the invasion of "the Xiongnu" could be a rephrasing of the raids of the "Ruanruan," with a confusion between the fate of the Northern Kidarites (established in Tokharistan) chased out from Tokharistan by the Yeda and that of the Southern Kidarites (in Gandhāra) chased out by the "Alkhans."

[Note Ching] Many Sinologists agree that the "Xiao Yuezhi" in the *Weishu* is not to be confused with the "Xiao Yuezhi" of the Han dynasty (Pelliot 1934, 43 n. 1; Matsuda 1937, 38–39; Enoki 1951, 142–43; Uchida 1972a, 65). This view is accepted by Yu (1986, 66–75) and Rong (1990), among other Chinese scholars. However, due to a misinterpretation on the part of the *Weishu* editors, part of Text I.015 is merely a rephrasing of old information, the Chinese text of which is given in *Kushan Histories*, §017. In particular, "They formerly lived in the region between Xiping and Zhangye" is from Kan Yin's *Shisan zhou zhi* 十三州志,[i] and "in their way of clothing they are identical to the Qiang" from the *Houhanshu* (Enoki 1958, 12–13, Eng. 1969, 15;

[i] 西平、張掖之間，大月氏之別，小月氏之國， cited in the *Shuijing zhu* 水經注. See also Matsuda (1937, 38).

see also "Note Cribb" in *Kushan Histories*, §129). As to their currency and husbandry, while Haloun (1937, 206 n. 1) thought both parts were copied from the *Hanshu* account of the Great Yuezhi, Enoki (1958, 12–13, Eng. 1969, 15–16) pointed out that the reference to gold coins was new. According to him, the news about the "Smaller Yuezhi"—actually, the Kidarites in Gandhāra—in the Northern Wei period are as follows:

(1) Capital: Fulousha 富樓沙;
(2) King: son of Jiduoluo, who made this son defend Fulousha after he himself fled westwards under pressure from the "Xiongnu," and therefore the state was called the Smaller Yuezhi;
(3) Location: southwest of Bolu, 16,600 *li* away from Dai;
(4) Currency: gold and silver coins.

Enoki (1969, 16) remarked that "those which have hitherto been identified with Kidāra's are all silver and bronze coins," although "this would not make it difficult to identify the Little Yüeh-shih with the Kidarites." Recently, several gold coins have been classified as Kidarite ones, cf. Cribb (2010); Jongeward et al. (2015), which provide support for Enoki's opinion. As explained in my note to Text I.021, it is interesting that in *WS* 102, besides the present one, only the entries on Jibin and Agou Qiang specify coins as local currency. This phenomenon may be related to the passage about the five states conquered by Jiduoluo.

I.3. The Xiongnu conquest of Sogdiana in the *Weishu*

I.016. The entry on Sogdiana in the *Weishu*

WS 102 《列傳第九十• 西域》(p. 2462) ~ *BS* 97 《列傳第八五• 西域》(p. 3221). Cf. Translation in Enoki (1955b, 44); La Vaissière (2004, 99); Yu (2014a, 615–16).

粟特國，在葱嶺之西，

The state of Sute [Sogd] is situated west of the Congling [Pamirs].

古之奄蔡，一名溫那沙。

This is where the Yancai had lived in ancient times. It is also called Wennasha.

居於大澤，在康居西北，去代一萬六千里。

They [i.e. the Yancai people in the Han period] lived by an extensive swamp north-west of Kangju, at a distance of 16,000 *li* from Dai.

先是，匈奴殺其王而有其國，至王忽倪已三世矣。[i]

[i] *BS*: 至王忽倪，已三世矣。

> Formerly, the Xiongnu had killed the king [of Sute] and took the state. By the time of King Huni, there have been three generations.
>
> 其國商人先多詣涼土販貨，及克姑臧(*BS*: 及魏克姑臧)，悉見虜。
>
> Merchants of that state used to come in great numbers to the region of Liang [i.e. Liangzhou 涼州, approx. the present Wuwei] to trade. When Guzang [Wuwei] was conquered [*BS*: conquered by the [Northern] Wei], all of them were taken captives.
>
> 高宗(*BS*: 文成)初，粟特王遣使請贖之，詔聽焉。自後無使朝獻。
>
> At the beginning of the reign of Emperor Gaozong [*BS*: Emperor Wencheng [r. 452–465 CE]], the king of Sute sent embassies to ransom them, and this was granted by the Emperor. Since then no embassy came [to the court of Wei] to pay tributes.

gu zhi yancai 古之奄蔡 "This is where the Yancai had lived in ancient times": Here the explanation of Enoki (1955b, 50) is provisionally adopted. In other words, Sogdiana is the region where the Yancai stayed in ancient times. The text given in the *Zhoushu* is more cautious: *gai gu zhi yancai* 蓋古之奄蔡, beginning the phrase with *gai* 蓋 'perhaps/presumably.' While Enoki (1955a, 31, Eng. 1955b, 57–58) supposed that the confusion between the Yancai in the *Hanshu* and the Sute in the *Weishu* was due to DONG's misinterpretation in his report caused by the similar pronunciation of Yancai (EMC *ʔiam'-ts^{h}aj^{h}*) and Wennasha (EMC *ʔwən-na^{h}-ʂai̯*, which he reconstructed as **Hūnashāh*), Yu (1986, 59; 2005, 460–61 Comm. 202; Eng. 2014a, 612) suggested that the confusion started with the *Weishu* editors. In Yu's theory, both the "Xiongnu" Conquest of Sogdiana around 366–376 and the Hun Conquest of the Alans around 370 were originally part of DONG's report but were unfortunately misunderstood by the *Weishu* editors as referring to one and the same event.

Wennasha 溫那沙: Very likely the Chinese transcription of *ουοναο βαο* (Yoshida 2013b, 382; based on the reading of Bactrian seal inscriptions published in Rahman, Grenet, and Sims-Williams 2006).

daze 大澤 "an extensive swamp": The Aral Sea, the eastern and northern shores of which were occupied by the Yancai (= Alan, Text I.001).

16,000 *li*: The distance is an approximate sum of 2,000 *li* (the distance between the Kangju and the Yancai in the *Hanshu*) and 12,300 *li* (the distance between Chang'an and the Kangju in the *Hanshu*), plus 1,900 *li* (the distance between Chang'an and Dai). It is not the actual distance of the itinerary from Dai to Sogdiana (Matsuda 1931, 36–37; 1970, 183–85). Matsuda used to consider DONG Wan as the one who invented the distances by confusing or deliberately matching Sute with the Yancai, as it was the case with confusing Jiduoluo with the Yuezhi. But towards the end of his life, he (1970, 444–49) thought the distances were concocted by the *WS* editors, assuming that the news about Sogdiana and Tokharistan were collected by GAO Ming in 437 on his way to Čač, and that it was the *WS* editors who confused the former with the Yancai. As to the case of Jiduoluo (= the Yeda/Hephthalites, in his view), he was of the opinion (*ibid.*, 448) that this people was called "Yuezhi" by DONG and GAO, but then the *WS* editors separated the

events related to Jiduoluo into two entries, i.e. the Great and Smaller Yuezhi. Nevertheless, readers should note that the actual itinerary of DONG and GAO and the information they collected about the countries neighbouring Ferghana and Čač are still far from clear.

[Note Sims-Williams] As pointed out by Yoshida (2013b), whose view is essentially in agreement with that of Enoki (1951), Wennasha can be identified as a transcription of *vovαvo þαo* [*hūnān šā*] "king of the Huns" as a title of a Kidarite ruler of Samarkand. The identification of Wennasha as **αλχονο þονο* (more correctly **αλχανο þανο*) "king of the Alkhan" (Ma 2008, 408–28) is phonetically unsatisfactory.

[Note La Vaissière] Huni is Kidarite; likewise, the "Xiongnu" in this passage are the Kidarites (La Vaissière 2004, 100). Perhaps Huni transliterated the same title as Khunghas (= *Xun-qan*, cf. Tremblay 2001, 188). However, before the Kidarite invasion of Sogdiana, the region had been passed and/or occupied by other nomads that identified themselves as "Xiongnu/Hun" around 350 (La Vaissière 2005, esp. 20–23).

[Note Grenet] Yoshida's neat solution of Wennasha may further support Tremblay's hypothesis that Khunghas = *X(y)un-qan* "Khan of the Huns" (adapted with a Greek case ending). But these seem to be titles, not personal names.

I.017. The passage about Huni in the *Tongdian*

TD, *j.* 193, p. 5258. This excerpt is from the *Tongdian* editors' original commentary for the main text about the Yancai and Sute, cf. Li and Yu (2009, 177).

> 後魏史云：「初，匈奴殺其王而有其國，至文成帝初，遣使朝貢，其王忽倪已三代矣。」
>
> The history of Later Wei [i.e. the *Weishu*] says: "Initially, the Xiongnu killed the king [of Sute] and took the state. At the beginning of the reign of Emperor Wencheng, an embassy was sent to pay tributes, [at that time] the king of this state was called Huni, [and since the conquest until his reign] there have been three generations."

[Note Ching] The phrase *yi sanshi yi* 已三世矣 in the *Beishi* and *Weishu* and *yi sandai yi* 已三代矣 (*shi* 世 probably substituted by *dai* 代 to avoid writing the tabooed personal name of LI Shimin 李世民, i.e. the Taizong Emperor of the Tang) in the *Tongdian* are not precise, so that Huni could be interpreted as either the third ruler or the fourth one, cf. Enoki (1955c, part 2, 40–41). A parallel example is the pair of *yi ershi yi* 已二世矣 (Text I.054/A) and *yijing ershi* 已經二世 (I.054/B): their ambiguous meaning has permitted Yu to adjust his chronology of Mihirakula from the second generation (Chiqin, i.e. Toramāṇa – Mihirakula, cf. Yu 2012, 122 n. 21) to the third one (Chiqin – Toramāṇa – Mihirakula, cf. Yu 2012, Appendix I, 228) concerning the Yeda rule in Gandhāra. With regard to the latter example, I side with Kuwayama (1990, 134) who argues that the 'king' (i.e. Chiqin) in 520 could be either the second or the third generation of the new regime. In other words, it shall be risky to apply the equation of "1 *shi* 世 = 30 years" for these two cases, and both Marshall's theory (1951, 76–77, 274ff.) to count 460

(= 520 – [30×2]) as the year of the Yeda invasion in Gandhāra as well as La Vaissière's estimation (2015a, 182) to count 367/377 (≈ 457 [the first Sogdian tribute payment to Wei] – 30×3) as the year of the "Xiongnu" migration into Sogdiana[i] are merely workable assumptions, rather than final solutions. Their validity is to be tested in light of archaeological, philological and numismatic data.

I.4. Possible Kushan and Kidarite emissaries to the Northern Wei in the late fifth century

I.018. Tribute payments from Juchang and Juduoluo

I.018/A. 459 CE

WS 5 《高宗紀第五• 太安五年(459 CE)》(p. 141) = *BS* 2 《魏本紀第二• 太安五年(459 CE)》(p. 70) Cf. translation of *WS* in Enoki (1969, 23).

> 五月，居常國遣使朝獻(*BS*: 朝貢)。
>
> In the fifth month, the state of Juchang sent an embassy to pay tributes.

I.018/B. 460 CE

WS 5 《高宗紀第五• 和平元年(460 CE)》(p. 142) = *BS* 2 《魏本紀第二• 和平元年(460 CE)》(p. 70) Cf. translation of *WS* in Enoki (1969, 23).

> 冬十月，居常王獻馴象三。
>
> In the tenth month, in the winter, the Juchang king presented three tamed elephants.

I.018/C. 477 CE

WS 7 《高祖紀第七• 太和元年(477 CE)》(p. 172). Extracted text in *BS* 3, p. 94. Cf. Translation of *WS* in Enoki (1969, 23).

> 九月……車多羅、西天竺、舍衛、疊伏羅諸國各遣使朝貢。
>
> In the ninth month […] the states of Juduoluo

[i] See also La Vaissière (2004, 99–100, esp. n. 57). Incidentally, Yu (2012, Appendix I, 217) uses a similar equation 366/376 (≈ 456 (Text I.069/B) – [30 × 3]) to date the Yeda Conquest of Sogdiana by identifying the "Xiongnu" in Text I.016 with the Yeda.

, Western India [*Xi Tianzhu* 西天竺], Shewei [Śrāvasti] and Diefuluo [Žabula = Gazna] each sent embassies to pay tributes.

Juchang 居常 (EMC *kɨə-dziaŋ*) and **Juduoluo** 車多羅 (EMC *kɨə-ta-la*): To be understood as Kushan and Jiduoluo 寄多羅 (Pelliot 1934, 34 n. 3; Enoki 1958, 46 n. 38, Eng. 1969, 23 n. 2).

[Note Ching] Enoki (1958, 16–17) questioned whether the Juchang attested in 459–460 CE could mean Tokharistan, given his view that the Kidarites were under pressure from the Yeda/Hephthalites in the middle of the fifth century. Later, he (1969, 23, esp. n. 3) suggested that Juchang here could mean (1) the Kushans in Tokharistan, who had just fallen under the control of the Hephthalites; (2) the Kushans in Gandhāra, assuming that the Kushans in this region might have sent embassies separately from the Kidarite ruling class there; or (3) the Kushans under the leadership of Jiduoluo (Kidāra) or his son Kouncha who had moved westwards due to the invasion of the Hephthalites. As for the Juduoluo attested in 477, Enoki (1958, 16–17, Eng. 1969, 23–24) identified it with the Kidarites in Gandhāra, i.e. the "Smaller Yuezhi" in the *Weishu*, since the Juduoluo emissary arrived to the Wei court along with the ones from Northwest India and Southern Afghanistan. Accordingly, he assumed that the Kidarite dynasty was in power in Gandhāra in 477, and the Hephthalites' reign there must have been later, roughly in the last quarter of the fifth century or at the beginning of the sixth. His theory was further advanced by Kuwayama (1990, 143–44), who took 477 as the *terminus post quem* of the Hephthalite occupation of Gandhāra.

Yu (1986, 91) admitted that the Juduoluo attested in 477 may denote the Kidarites remaining in Gandhāra but, according to his interpretation of SONG Yun's mission and Indic sources, the region could have been attacked by the Yeda/Hephthalites. Later he (2005, 480–81 Comm. 332; Eng. 2014a, 638) argued that the Kidarites surviving in Gandhāra may have been governed by the Yeda/Hephthalites before 455, i.e. the year taken by him (2012, 105) as the *terminus post quem* of the Junagadh Inscription (Text X.028). In his view, the Juchang and Juduoluo in the late fifth century were the same state subjugated to the Hephthalites. He (2015, 109) further assumed that 477 was the *terminus post quem* of their direct control over Gandhāra, but their power might have reached there in the 450s or 460s (≈ 520 – [30×2]). Regarding this problem, see my discussion on Text I.033.

I.5. Entries on Western states adjacent to the Smaller Yuezhi in the *Weishu*

I.019. Bosi (Persia)

WS 102 《列傳第九十• 西域》(p. 2463) ~ *BS* 97 《列傳第八十五• 西域》(p. 3222), partly translated in Tanabe (1997, 80). See also *ZS* 50 《周書• 列傳第四十二• 異域下》(p. 919) and its translation in Yu (2014a, 690).

其王姓波氏，名斯。坐金羊牀，戴金花冠，衣錦袍、織成帔，飾以真珠寶物。其俗：丈夫剪髮，戴白皮帽，貫頭衫，兩厢近下開之，亦有巾帔，緣以織成；婦女服大衫，披大帔，其髮前為髻，後披之，飾以金銀花，仍貫五色珠，絡之於膊。

The surname of the king is Bo and his first name is Si. He sits on a golden bench-throne, the legs of which are in the form of a ram, and wears a golden flower crown. He wears a brocade gown with an embroidered cape that is adorned with genuine pearls. According to the local custom, men cut their hair and wear on their head a white leather hat; they wear a 'stick-the-head-through' garment with its two sides split towards the bottom; they also have capes with woven edges. Women dress in a large gown and drape over their shoulder a large cape; they arrange their hair in a bun at the front and keep it loose at the back, adorning it with golden and silver flowers; in addition, they string together colour pearls and wear those around their arms.

Zuo jinyang chuang 坐金羊牀 "sits on a golden bench-throne, the legs of which are in the form of a ram": While Tanabe (1997) argued that this entry on Bosi came from the original *Weishu*, Uchida (1971, 100) pointed out that the text from *zuo jinyang chuang* onward was actually from the *Zhoushu*. Yu (2015, 94–97) agreed with Uchida, although he admitted the possibility that the *Zhoushu* editors might have relied on an unknown Wei source. However, Yu (*loc. cit.*) favoured the interpretation that the Persian kings listed in this entry could be the ones ruling Tokharistan after the Sasanian Empire defeated the Hephthalites in the Zhou period (557–581 CE).

[Note La Vaissière and Grenet] Perhaps the golden flower crown indicates more probably the post-Kushan Sassanid kings. In the second half of the fourth century, the floret-crown was used in northern Afghanistan, cf. Cribb (2010, 136, Table 9). Moreover, such floret-crowns are more typical from the fifth century onwards: a possible example is reproduced as Plate I (c) in Grenet 2002, which is a Kidarite one datable to the mid-fifth century. Although some Kushano-Sasanian crowns have palmettes, the crowns shown in Plate I (a) and (b), both datable to the end of the fourth century, could be flower ones.

[Note Cribb] I have no suggestions regarding the nature of the source, but if one is looking for a king with a flower on his crown, then most of the Kushano-Sasanians and all the Kidarites issue coins at Balkh with an artichoke-like device on top of the crown, cf. Jongeward et al. (2015). It could be described as a flower. The coins show no evidence of a throne. At any rate, the Sasanian kings who ruled Tokharistan after the Hephthalites did not have flowers on their crowns, but a hair ball or a star and crescent, so I suspect Yu is wrong on this.

I.020. The five states considered to be the five Xihou of the past

WS 102 《列傳第九十• 西域》(pp. 2467–2468) ~ *BS* 97 《列傳第八十五• 西域》(pp. 3225–3226), cf. Yu (2014a, 626–29); *Kushan Histories* §044, 045.

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 state of Jiabei was formerly the Xihou of Xiumi. Its capital is at the city of Hemo; it lies west of Suoju [Yarkand], at a distance of 13,000 *li* from Dai. The people live in mountain valleys.

折薛莫孫國，故雙靡翕侯，都雙靡城，在伽倍西，去代一萬三千五百里，居山谷間。

The state of Zhexuemosun was formerly the Xihou of Shuangmi. Its capital is at the city of Shuangmi; it lies west of Jiabei, at a distance of 13,500 *li* from Dai. The people live in mountain valleys.

鉗敦國，故貴霜翕侯，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 state of Qiandun was formerly the Xihou of Guishuang. Its capital is at the city of Huzao; it lies west of Zhexuemosun, at a distance of 13,560 *li* from Dai. The people live in mountain valleys.

弗敵沙國，故肹(*BS*: 肹)頓翕侯。都薄茅城，在鉗敦西，去代一萬三千六百六十里。居山谷間。

The state of Fudisha was formerly the Xihou of Xidun/Bidun. Its capital is at Bomao; it lies west of Qiandun, at a distance of 13,660 *li* from Dai. The people live in mountain valleys.

閻浮謁國，故高附翕侯。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 state of Yanfuye was formerly the Xihou of Gaofu. Its capital is at the city of Gaofu; it lies south of Fudisha, at a distance of 13,760 *li* from Dai. The people live in mountain valleys.

Bomao 薄茅: Possibly for *Bodi 薄第 (Badakhshan), as suggested by Shiratori (1912, 23), who took *Bodi as another transliteration of Xidun 肹頓 and reconstructed the latter's Old Chinese pronunciation as **bat-dok* (~ Pinyin *Bidu). His suggestion was followed by Uchida (1972a, 61). Yu (2005, 472; Eng. 2014a, 628) did not reconstruct Bomao as *Bodi, but he gave the pinyin of 肹頓 as Bidun and located it to the east of Faizabad, so he generally follows Shiratori, too.

[Note Ching] In *Kushan Histories* §048, as argued by Grenet, the five Xihou are placed to the north of the Oxus, while Yu (2014a; 2015, usually following Marquart and Shiratori) and Kuwayama (2017) placed most of them around Wakhan and Badakhshan. Yu located Jiabei/Xiumi, Zhexuemosun/Shuangmi, Qiandun/Guishuang, Fudisha/Bidun, Yanfuye/Gaofu in Kumidae (location unspecified), Sad-i-Mastuj (?), Kandud, Badakhshan and Hamakān (near the Kokcha), respectively, whereas Kuwayama identified them as East Wakhan, Yarkhun Valley, West Wakhan, Daraye-Īm~Boharak and the region between Jorm and Kurān (or Munjān). One may reflect whether these Xihou ever moved before the fourth century, yet the issues more important to the post-Kushan period are why Jiabei is mentioned in the preface of *WS* 102 (Text I.011/D) and whether DONG Wan and/or GAO Ming reached Wakhan.

I.021. Agou Qiang 阿鈎羌

WS 102 《列傳第九十• 西域》(pp. 2469–2470) = *BS* 97 《列傳第八五• 西域》(p. 3228) Cf. Yu (2014a, 636).

阿鈎羌國，在莎車西南，去代一萬三千里。

The state of the Agou Qiang is to the south-west of Suoju [Yarkand], at a distance of 13,000 *li* from Dai.

國西有縣度山，其間四百里中，往往有棧道，[i]下臨不測之淵(*BS*: 深)，人行以繩索相持而度，因以名之。

To the west of the state is the Xuandu Mountains ['Mountains crossed by suspension']. It is 400 *li* in length and the road through here is often a plank path along a bottomless abyss on one side, and people cross it by supporting each other with ropes. This is where its name comes from.

土有五穀諸果。市用錢為貨。居止立宮室。有兵器。土出金珠。

The land [of the state] produces the five grains and many different fruits. In the markets they trade using coins; for residence they erect houses. [The state] produces weapons and the earth gives forth alluvial gold [lit. 'golden pearls'].

Agou Qiang 阿鈎羌 (EMC *ʔa-kəw-kʰiaŋ*): Shiratori (1917, 43–45) thought that *agou* meant 'ice' and cited Wakhan *yikh*, Persian *yakh* and Ossetic *yekh*, *yikh*, *ikh*. He placed this people or state in today's Baltistan. Yu (2005, 479 Comm. 326; Eng. 2014a, 636) suggested that it was a branch of Qiang, possibly mixed with Argippaei.

[Note Ching] In *WS* 102, the states listed between the Great Yuezhi and South India are: Anxi (Sassanid Iran), Daqin (Roman Orient), Agou Qiang, Bolu, the Smaller Yuezhi, Jibin (Kashmir), Tuhuluo (Tokharistan) and Fuhuo. A brief examination of the ones that appear in the list after Daqin may help to resolve the question of the five states conquered by Jiduoluo. Among them, Agou Qiang, Bolu, the Smaller Yuezhi and Jibin form a series in which the geographical description is analogous, whereas the description of Tuhuluo 吐呼羅 (also transliterated as Tuhuoluo 吐火羅, see Texts I.024, I.037/E and I.037/F) and Fuhuo is of another style. In *WS* 102, coins as currency are only mentioned with regard to Agou Qiang, Jibin, the Smaller Yuezhi and implicitly Bolu, so it is possible that among the five states conquered by Jiduoluo, Gandhāra was later renamed Smaller Yuezhi in the four-fold series, whereas the fifth—presumably the remotest one from Agou Qiang—could refer to the region of Kabul. If so, an entry on Kabul may have been incorporated into another entry, such as the one on the Smaller Yuezhi, at a later stage of the editorial work.

[i] *BS*: 其間四百里，中往往有棧道。

I.022. Bolu 波路

WS 102 《列傳第九十• 西域》(p. 2276) ~ *BS* 97 《列傳第八五• 西域》(p. 3228) Cf. Yu (2014a, 636–37).

波路國，在阿鈎羌西北，去代一萬三千九百里。其地濕熱，有蜀馬，土平。物產國俗與阿鈎羌同(*BS*: 同類焉)。

The state of Bolu is north-west of the Agou Qiang, at a distance of 3,900 *li* from Dai. The land is humid and hot and they have small horses [lit. 'horses from Shu,' today's Sichuan). The land is flat and in terms of their local produce and customs they are identical to the Agou Qiang.

Bolu 波路: I.e. Bolule 鉢盧勒 (Bolor), see Matsuda (1937, 37) and Text I.052. While Shiratori (1917, 43–45) located Bolu in Gilgit, Chavannes (1903a, 150) and Kuwayama (1990, 98) take Bolu/Bolule as today's Bolor-Gilgit.

I.023. Jibin 罽賓

WS 102 《列傳第九十• 西域》(p. 2471) ~ *BS* 97 《列傳第八五• 西域》(p. 3229) Cf. Yu (2014a, 639).

罽賓國，都善見城，在波路西南，去代一萬四千二百里。

The state of Jibin [Kashmir] has its capital at the city of Shanjian. It is located south-west of Bolu, at a distance of 14,200 *li* from Dai.

居在四山中。其地東西八百里，南北三百里。

[The people] live in the four mountains. The land stretches from east to west for 800 *li* and from south to north for 300 *li*.

地平溫和。有苜蓿、雜草、奇木、檀、槐、梓、竹。種五穀，糞園田。地下濕，生稻。冬食生菜。

The land is flat and mild, producing alfalfa, various types of grass and marvellous trees, sandalwood, scholartree, catalpa and bamboo. [Local people] cultivate the five grains and use manure as fertiliser for their gardens and fields. The soil is wet and produces rice. In the winter, [people] eat raw vegetables.

其人工巧，雕文、刻鏤、織罽。有金銀銅錫以為器物。

The people are highly skilled in the arts of sculpting, engraving, weaving and knitting. [The land] has gold, silver, copper and tin, which are used for making objects.

市用錢。他畜與諸國同。每使朝獻。

In the markets, they use coins. Their livestock is the same as in other states. They often send embassies to present tribute.

[Note Ching] Opinions differ concerning which parts of this entry come from the *Hanshu* entry on Jibin. Identifying Jibin of the Han period with Gandhāra, Shiratori (1917, esp. 50) thought that the part from "The land is flat" onward derives from the *Hanshu*, save the final sentence "They often send embassies to present tribute." His view was adopted by Yu (2005, 482 Comm. 340; Eng. 2014a, 640). Uchida (1972a, 65) took solely the passage "The land is flat […] [people] eat raw vegetables" as a quote from the *Hanshu*. In my opinion, similarly to the cases of currency and husbandry in Text I.015, although the part from "The people are highly skilled" onward may be based on the *Hanshu* concerning the ancient Jibin, it could still reflect social realities in Kashmir in the Northern Wei period. In particular, the sentence *shi yong qian* 市用錢 "in the markets they use coins" is significantly shorter than its *HS* counterpart, i.e. *yi jinyin wei qian, wen wei qi ma, mu wei ren mian* 以金銀為錢，文為騎馬，幕為人面 "the coins are made of gold and silver. The front is decorated with a horse-riding figure, and the reverse with a person's face." Rather than a laconic rephrasing of the latter, I see this as an updated description, which implies that in the Northern Wei period more varieties of coins were in circulation around Kashmir. Incidentally, if Jibin in the present entry indeed denotes Kashmir, then it was south or southeast of Bolor, instead of southwest. Perhaps the problem can be traced to a scribal error.

[Note Grenet] In the *Hanshu* Jibin is Kapisa. The identification with Kashmir seems firmly established only in the sixth century. The description in the *Weishu* seems, however, to fit Kashmir better than Kapisa. Perhaps the wrong direction "southwest of Bolor" was influenced by the earlier sources where Jibin still meant Kapisa? Anyway, it could be just a case of textual corruption.

I.024. Tuhuluo 吐呼羅

WS 102 《列傳第九十• 西域》(p. 2471) ~ *BS* 97 《列傳第八五• 西域》(p. 3229). Cf. Yu (2014a, 640).

吐呼羅國，去代一萬二千里。

The state of Tuhuluo [Tokharistan] is at a distance of 12,000 *li* from Dai.

東至范陽國，西至悉萬斤國，中間相去二千里；南至連山，不知名；北至波斯國，中間相去一萬里。

In the east, it reaches the state of Fanyang and in the west, the state of Ximanjin [Samarkand], stretching for 2,000 *li* between [these two ends]. In the south, it reaches a mountain range with an unknown name, in the north it reaches the state of Bosi [Persia], stretching for 10,000 *li* between [these two ends].

國中有薄提城，周帀六十里。[i]城南有西流大水，名漢樓河。

[i] *BS*: 薄提城周匝六十里。

In the state there is the city of Boti, which has a circumference of 60 *li*. South of the city there is a great river flowing west, it is called Hanlou River.

土宜五穀，有好馬、駝、騾。

The earth is suitable for [cultivating] the five grains, and there are excellent horses, camels and mules.

其王曾遣使朝貢。

In the past the king used to send envoys to the [Wei] court.

Boti 薄提 and the Hanlou 漢樓 River: Some scholars, including Enoki and Yu, agree with Marquart (1938, 38) that Boti is today's Balkh; see also Note Sims-Williams, *infra*. As to the river name, while Marquart (*loc. cit.*) took *han* 漢 as a scribal error for *pu* 濮, thus **Pulou* 濮樓 ~ *Wehrot* = Oxus, Shiratori (*apud* Enoki 1958, 9) reconstructed it as *mo* 漠, thus *Molou* 漠樓 < *Baχl, Baχlo*. Enoki (1958, 9, Eng. 1969, 10–11, esp. 11 n. 1) gave both reconstructions but identified the river as the Bactrus (today's Balchāb) rather than the Oxus itself. Given that the Bactrus flowed towards the north (rather than westward as seen on modern maps), this theory is not fully satisfactory; cf. Fig. 1 and 12 in La Vaissière et al. (2015).

Uchida (1972b, 97) identified *Pulou as the Oxus but rejected the idea of locating Boti at Balkh, since Boti was north of the river in question, whereas Balkh is south of the Oxus. By linking Boti with Badiyan of the *Zhoushu* (Text I.029), he placed it at Warwaliz (north of the Kunduz river). In fact, as remarked by Marquart and then emphasized by Uchida (1972b, 96–97), the four limits in the present entry that appear in the order of East → West → South → North should be corrected to South (Bamyan) → North (Samarkand) → East (Mountains) → West (Persia). Accordingly, at least part of the original information about Tuhuluo was modified by the *Weishu* editors.

Another problem is the date and source of this entry, which was dated by Enoki (1951, 23) after 437 and then analysed as text from the original *Weishu* (Uchida 1972a, 66; Yu 2005, 482–83). If this is indeed the case, its source might be the Tuhuluo emissaries of 464 (Text I.025). Uchida (1972b, 98), however, dated this entry to before the Hephthalite conquest of Boti (Warwaliz in his theory) in the middle of the sixth century. He (*ibid.*, 96–97) further used this entry as evidence to reject the idea of "Boluo = Balkh" regarding the capital of the Great Yuezhi (Text I.014). Accepting Enoki's theory to identify Jianshi with Balkh, Uchida did not see any necessity to identify Boti or Boluo with Balkh, since in his view, Jianshi, Boluo and Boti must have been three different locations.

Relying on Witzel (1980, 98), Kuwayama (1990, 407–9) argued against the view of "Boti = Balkh," but he offered no solution with regards to the ruins north of the Oxus. He (2010, 290 n. 43) thought that this entry was too confused and doubted the plausibility of identifying Fanyang with Bamyan.

Yu (1986, 130–31), favouring Enoki's view (1951) that the source of this entry is later than 437 but dating the Hephthalite conquest of Tokharistan and the split of the Kidarites to around 438–440, took this very entry and Text I.025 as evidence for the diplomatic autonomy of the city states under Hephthalite rule. Likewise, he sees the white elephant presented by "Yeda Bozhi 嚈噠薄知" to the Wei court in 509 CE (Text I.069/E) as further evidence supporting such autonomy. Moreover, he (1986, 138–41, greatly elaborated in 2012, 231–40, Appendix I) provided a number of arguments to show that Balkh = Jianshi (Text I.014) = Boluo (I.014) = Boti (I.024) = Badiyan (I.030/A, in the *Zhoushu*) = the capital of Yida in the Sui Period (I.030/B). In particular, he (1986, 139) assumed that *cheng nan* 城南 "south of the city" here was a scribal error for *cheng bei* 城北 "north of the city," which allowed him to identify the *Pulou with the Oxus. He (2015, 101) further suggested that the Kidarites had conquered Gandhāra and then moved westward by December 437 (arrival of DONG and GAO back in Dai), considering that the main corpus of Text I.014 (except for "At the time of Emperor Shizu" and onwards) and I.015 (except for "[The capital] lies south-west of Bolu" and onwards) were all extracted from DONG's report.

Independent of Yu's research, La Vaissière (2010) also strongly argued for Balkh = Jianshi = Boluo = Boti = Badiyan = the capital of Yida. He further identified all of these with Fudiye 縛底耶, witnessed by the Korean monk Hyecho (in Chinese: Huichao 慧超) in 726.[i] Analysing the two transliteration series distinguished by Enoki (1958; 1969), i.e. **Baxl-* and **Baxt-*, as Buddhist and diplomatic ones, he added *βxtyk* (Sogdian Mugh document V8, dated 707–708) and *βαγδδιγγο* (Bactrian coins, 244 and 245 in Göbl 1967) to the latter series, and these two forms provide convincing support for the identification of Balkh with Boti (EMC *bak-dɛj*). He (La Vaissière 2010, 215 n. 21) noted that the garbled cardinal directions—Samarkand to the 'West' of Balkh, etc.—imply that the great river actually flowed towards the north (i.e. the direction of Samarkand), as did the Bactrus.

[Note La Vaissière] Fanyang is Bamyan, and Boti is Balkh. The name *βαμοιανο* is attested in Bactrian Document *cg*, which is dated to *c.* 370 CE by Sims-Williams and de Blois (2018, 69).

[Note Grenet] Bamyan in this period is an enigma (cf. Fussman 2015, 178–79), but it could have been important far before the sixth century. We are still awaiting Z. Tarzi's report on the Bamyan region: it is said that there are Buddhist monastery sites as early as the second and third centuries.

[Note Sims-Williams] Among various Chinese transliterations of the name of Balkh, Boti (EMC *bak-dɛj*) in the *Weishu* and Baiti 白題 (EMC *baɨjk/bɛ:jk-dɛj*) in the *Liangshu* (Texts I.028/B and I.055) are relatively more archaic than others. They both seem to reflect a proto-Bactrian **Bāxδī-*, cf. Sims-Williams (2016, esp. 278–279).

[i] Yu's opinion (2012, Appendix I, 239–240) is similar to that of La Vaissière with regard to Hyecho's controversial distances.

I.025. Tribute payment from Tuhuluo in 464 CE

WS 5 《高宗紀第五• 和平五年(464 CE)》(p. 147) ~ *BS* 2 《魏本紀第二• 和平五年(464 CE)》(p. 73).

十有二月(*BS*: 十二月)……吐呼羅國遣使朝獻(*BS*: 朝貢)。

In the twelfth month [....] the state of Tuhuluo sent envoys to the [Wei] court to present tributes.

I.026. Fuhuo 副貨

WS 102 《列傳第九十• 西域》(p. 2471) ~ *BS* 97 《列傳第八五• 西域》(p. 3229). Cf. Yu (2014a, 641).

副貨國，去代一萬七千里。

The state of Fuhuo lies at a distance of 17,000 *li* from Dai.

東至阿副使且國，西至沒誰國，中間相去一千里；南有連山，不知名；北至奇沙國，相去一千五百里。

In the east, it reaches the state of Afushiqie/Afushiju and in the west, the state of Moshui, stretching for 1,000 *li* between [these two ends]. In the south, it reaches a mountain range with an unknown name, in the north it reaches the state of Qisha, stretching for 1,500 *li* between [these two ends].

國中有副貨城，周市七十里。

In the state there is the city of Fuhuo, which has a circumference of 70 *li*.

宜五穀、萄桃，唯有馬、駝、騾。

The earth is suitable for [cultivating] the five grains and grape. [Of domestic animals] there are merely horses, camels and mules.

國王有黃金殿，殿下金駝七頭，各高三尺。其王遣使朝貢。

The king has a throne-hall made of gold and underneath the palace are seven golden camels, each three feet tall. The king [on one occasion?] sent envoys to the [Wei] court.

[Note Ching] No more references to Fuhuo (EMC *puw^{h}-xwa^{h}*) are found in the *Weishu* and *Beishi*. Shiratori (1924, 507–8) and Marquart (1938, 37) identified it with Buχāra and Puṣkalāvatī (Peshawar), respectively, while neither Uchida (1972a) nor Yu (2005) offered a solution. I suspect that the limits in both east and west contain scribal errors. For example, Moshui 沒誰 possibly stands for Bosi 波斯 (Persia, also the western limit of Tuhuluo in Text I.024). As to Afushiqie/Afushiju 阿副使且 (EMC *ʔa-puw^{h}-ʂɨ^{h}/ʂi^{h}-tshia'/tsɨǰ*), if it is not a

transliteration somehow related to Afshīn or *αφþιανο*, which would support Shiratori's theory,[i] it is perhaps an error for *Afutuoli 阿副佗立 (EMC *ʔa-puw^{h}-t^{h}a-lip*) or another unknown transliteration of the Hephthalites. However, even if Fuhuo is Buχāra, Shiratori's identification of Qisha 奇沙 here with Kešš (Shahri-sabz) is questionable: Shahri-sabz is in the east-southeast of modern Buχāra, rather than in the north of it. Nor does it seem very likely that this Qisha 奇沙 is the same as the Qisha 奇沙 in the monk 智猛 Zhimeng's account, which Shiratori (1913, 115) argued to be another transliteration of Jiecha 竭叉 (Tashkurgan). So I suggest two possibilities: (1) Fuhuo = Buχāra (Shiratori's theory) so that Afushiqie/Afushiju may be identified with Samarkand (developing from La Vaissière's discussion of *αφþιανο*); (2) Fuhuo = today's Badghis, if Qisha here could be safely linked to Qisha Prefecture in the Tang period (Text I.091), which is situated around Guzgan (Marquart 1938, 37–38 n. 1). If it is the second case, the enigmatic Afushiqie/Afushiju would have been located approximately in today's Ghur Province in Central Afghanistan.

I.6. The Yeda 噘噠, referred to in the *Liangshu* as Hua 滑

Texts cited in this subchapter from the *Qielanji* (*j.* 5), *Zhoushu* (*j.* 50), *Suishu* (*j.* 83), *Liangshu* (*j.* 54), *Beishi* (*j.* 97), *Nanshi* (*j.* 79), *Xin Tangshu* (*j.* 221) and the *Tongdian* (*j.* 193) are from the Zhonghua shuju edition of these works; i.e. *Qielanji* 5《洛陽伽藍記• 洛陽城北伽藍記卷第五》(p. 211 [On the Yeda], p. 212 [On Wuchang], pp. 213–214 [on Qiantuoluo], Yang Yong's edition), *ZS* 50《周書• 列傳第四十二• 異域下》(p. 918); *SS* 83《隋書• 列傳第四十八• 西域》(p. 1854); *LS* 54《梁書• 列傳第四十八• 諸夷》(p. 812); *BS* 97《北史• 列傳第八十五• 西域》(pp. 3230–3231); *NS* 79《南史• 列傳第六十九• 夷貊下》(p. 1984), *XTS* 221《新唐書• 列傳第一百四十六下• 西域下》(pp. 6252–6253); *TD* 193《通典• 邊防九》, pp. 5258–5259 (on Hua), 5259–5260 (on the Yeda/Yida), 5277 (on Tuhuoluo), respectively. Among them, a large part of the text from the *Zhoushu*, *Suishu*, *Beishi*, *Liangshu* and *Tongdian* has been treated by La Vaissière (2007, 124–27) with English translation. Our translation in Chapters I.6.1–I.6.2 and I.6.4 to I.6.11 is based on that with some modifications, but the Chinese text concerning the Yeda from the *Weishu*, *j.* 102, is the one reconstructed by Yu (2012, 194–95), marked here with an asterisk as "*Original *WS* 102."[ii] The passages extracted from *Qielanji* 5 in this subchapter are actually YANG Xuanzhi's summary of Huisheng's travelogue, a private biography of SONG Yun and the travelogue of Daoyao (Daorong) as his own explanation about SONG Yun's old residence in Luoyang. As such, these are traditionally printed in smaller characters in editions of the *Qielanji*, but here we have not explicitly marked them as commentarial additions.

[i] The reading of *αφþιανο* is provided by La Vaissière (*apud* Rahman, Grenet, and Sims-Williams 2006, 128). I am grateful for Grenet's information on this form (p. c. 26 June 2017).

[ii] Slightly different reconstructions are given in Matsuda (1960, 21); Uchida (1972a, 67–69); Yu (1986, 158; 2005, 488; 2014a, 645–46).

I.6.1. Ethnic name and origin

I.027. Records from the Northern Dynasties

I.027/A. *Original *Weishu* 102

嚈噠國，(大月氏之種類也？)高車之別種，其原出於塞北。自金山而南，至高宗時已八九十年矣。

The state of the Yeda [EMC *ʔjiap-dat/tat*]: (its people are descendants of the Great Yuezhi?). A division of the Gaoju. They originated from north of the Chinese frontier and moved south from the Altai Mountains. Until the reign of Emperor Gaozong [r. 452–466], eighty or ninety years have elapsed.

Da Yuezhi zhi zhonglei ye 大月氏之種類也 "[Its people are] descendants of the Great Yuezhi": According to Funaki (1954, 60) and Yu (1986; 2005; 2012; 2014a), the passage belongs to the *Zhoushu*, whereas La Vaissière (2007, 120, 126) considers it likely to represent from the original *Weishu*. See also Chapter I.6.16.

Zhi Gaozong shi yi ba jiu shi nian yi 至高宗時已八九十年矣 "until the reign of Emperor Gaozong, eighty or ninety years have elapsed": This phrase is reconstructed on the basis of the *Tongdian*, *j.* 193, *zhi Hou Wei Wen[cheng]di shi, yi ba jiu shi nian yi* 至後魏文[成]帝時，已八九十年矣 "until the reign of Emperor Wen[cheng] of the Later Wei (r. 452–466), eighty or ninety years have elapsed."

I.027/B. *Zhoushu* 50

噘噠國，大月氏之種類，

The state of the Yeda [EMC *ŋ(i)at-dat/tat*?]: descendants of the Great Yuezhi.

I.027/C. *Suishu* 83

挹怛國，……大月氏之種類也。

The state of the Yida [EMC *ʔjip-tat*]: […] [This people] is descended from the Great Yuezhi.

[Note Grenet] The form "Nephthalitai" in Agathias (Text IX.011) obviously stems from Jewish—and, probably, Eastern Christian—stories about the ten "lost tribes" of Israel, one of which was the Nephtali tribe. I once proposed this idea of a folk-etymology Hephthalites > Nephtali in my oral intervention at a conference in Tashkent in 1996, but it is not reflected in the final version of the respective paper, i.e. Tardieu (1996). On the passage where Benjamin mentions the tribe of Nephtali among the four tribes dwelling in the "mountains of Nishapur," see Tardieu (1996, 307); Adler (1905, 93). I would say, among all the transcriptions of the name of the

Hephthalites, *Yida* in the *Suishu* is closest to the original **evdal* or **yevdal*, taking into account that Chinese final *-t* can transcribe Iranian *-l*.

[Note Ching and Galambos] In classical Chinese rime dictionaries, the character 噤 is given with various pronunciations, including (1) *Guangyun* 廣韻: EMC *dzat* (*cai-ge qie* 才割切); (2) *Jiyun* 集韻: EMC *ŋat* (*ya-ge qie* 牙葛切), *ŋɨan'* (*niu-yan qie* 牛偃切), *dzat* (*cai-da qie* 才達切), *ŋiat* (*yu-lie qie* 魚列切); (3) *Leipian* 類篇: EMC *ŋian'*, *ŋat*, *dzat*, *ŋiat* (as given by the *Jiyun*), in addition to *ŋian*^{h} (*yu-zhan qie* 魚戰切). Here the pinyin of *Yeda* 噤噠 in the *Zhoushu* is provisionally given as such, not only for the conformity with *Yeda* 囁噠 in the *Weishu* and *Yida* 挹怛 in the *Suishu* but also for the reason provided by Grenet (*supra*), which rules out such candidates of pinyin as *Nieda* or *Nianda*.

I.028. Records from the Southern Dynasties

I.028/A. *Liangshu* 54[i]

滑國者，車師之別種也。漢永建元年，八滑從班勇擊北虜有功，勇上八滑為後部親漢侯。

The state of Hua is another branch of the Jushi. In the first year of the Yongjian reign of the Han [126 CE], a Jushi named Bahua, who under [the Chinese general] BAN Yong had rendered distinguished services in conquering the Northern savages [i.e. the Xiongnu], was promoted, upon [BAN] Yong's recommendation, to the rank of Houbu Qin Han hou 後部親漢侯 [Marquis of Posterior Jushi, friendly to the Han].

Bahua 八滑 (EMC *pəɨt-ɣwəɨt*): This explanation is not reliable. It is merely derived from PEI Ziye's conjecture cited in *LS* 30 (Shigematsu 1917, 43–45), see *infra*.

I.028/B. *Liangshu* 30

LS 30 《列傳第二十四• 裴子野》(p. 443) ~ *NS* 33 《列傳第二十三• 裴子野》(p. 866). Partly translated in Enoki (1959, 3–4) and La Vaissière (2007, 119).

是時西北徼外有白題及滑國，遣使由岷山道入貢。此二國歷代弗賓，莫知所出。[ii]子野曰：「漢潁陰侯斬胡白題將一人。服虔注云：『白題，胡名也。』又漢定遠侯擊虜，八滑從之，此其後乎。」時人服其博識。

During this period, beyond the Northwestern frontiers there were the states of Baiti and Hua, who sent envoys through the mountain road along the Min [river] [in today's Sichuan] to offer tribute. These two states had not been guests of the previous dynasties, their origin was unknown. [PEI] Ziye said: "There was Baiti, a *hu* general, who was killed by Marquis Yingyin of Han. FU Qian's commentary [to the *Hanshu*] says: 'Baiti is a *hu* name.' Moreover, it is known

[i] The text preserved in *ZG* is /*有功，勇與[八][滑]*/.
[ii] *NS*: 是時西北徼外有白題及滑國遣使由岷山道入貢，此二國歷代弗賓，莫知所出。

that the Marquis Dingyuan of Han was accompanied by Bahua when attacking the barbarians, so perhaps these two states are their descendants." His contemporaries admired his wide knowledge.[i]

I.028/C. *Liangshu* 54

元魏之居桑乾也，滑猶為小國，屬芮芮。

While the YUAN Wei settled [their capital] along the Sanggan [River] [398–494 CE], the Hua was still a small state under the Ruirui.

I.028/D. *Nanshi* 79

魏之居代都，滑猶為小國，屬蠕蠕。

While the [Northern] Wei had their capital at Dai [398–494], the Hua was still a small state under the Ruanruan.

I.028/E. *Liang zhigong tu*

索虜入居桑乾，滑為小國，屬芮芮。齊時始走莫獻而居。

While the Suolu [i.e. the Northern Wei] entered and settled along the Sanggan, the Hua was still a small state under the Ruirui. In the [Southern] Qi period [479–502], they left [their original area] for the first time and shifted to Moxian, where they settled.

Moxian 莫獻 (EMC *mak-xɨan*^{h}): Enoki (1965a, 22) attempted to identify Moxian as either Samarkand or a political centre in the Herat region by reconstructing its name as MP **Baghgān*. The former solution is favoured by La Vaissière (2007, 128). Later Enoki (1970b, 41) was more inclined to identify Moxian with Wakhshu by taking it as an error for *Moyou* 莫猷 (EMC *mak-juw*). Yu (1986, 82–83) identified Moxian with Margiana.

I.029. Information from the Sui and Tang period

I.029/A. *Xin Tangshu* 211

挹怛國，漢大月氏之種。大月氏為烏孫所奪，西過大宛，擊大夏臣之。治藍氏城。大夏即吐火羅也。嚈噠，王姓也，後裔以姓為國，訛為挹怛，亦曰挹闐。

[The people of] the state of the Yida are descendants of the Great Yuezhi of the Han period. When the Great Yuezhi were defeated by the Wusun, they crossed the [land of the] Dayuan and attacked the Daxia, subjugating those. Their seat of government was in the city of Lanshi. The

[i] Marquis Yingyin and Marquis Dingyuan refer to GUAN Ying 灌嬰 (?–176 BCE) and BAN Yong 班勇 (?–*c.* 127 CE), respectively.

> [land of] Daxia is the [region of] Tuhuoluo [of the Sui period]. Yeda was the surname of the king, and his descendants made this surname the name of the state; they also call it Yida or Yitian, which are corrupted forms of the same.

I.029/B. *Tongdian* 193 (on Hua)

> 滑國，車師之別種也。……至後魏時，謂之滑囤。
>
> The state of Hua is another branch of the Jushi. [...] From the Later Wei period onward, they were called Huatun.

Huatun 滑囤 (EMC *ɣwəɨt-dwən*): This form is not found in any other source. The *Huanyuji*, *j.* 183, in this place has *Yeda guo* 嚈噠國 "the state of the Yeda."

I.029/C. *Tongdian* 193 (on Yeda)

This excerpt, apart from the first two characters 嚈噠 'the Yeda,' is the *Tongdian* editors' original commentary.

> 嚈噠{挹怛同}
>
> The Yeda. {Identical with the Yida}
>
> {按劉璠梁典，滑國姓嚈噠，後裔以姓為國號，轉訛又謂之挹怛焉。}
>
> […] According to LIU Fan's *Liangdian*, the clan name of [the king of] Hua was Yeda. His descendants made this clan name the name of state. It is also called Yida, which is a corrupted form of the same.
>
> {其本源或云車師之種，或云高車之種，或云大月氏之種。}
>
> {Some say that [the people] of this [state] belongs to the Jushi, others that it belongs to the Gaoju, yet others that it belongs to the Great Yuezhi.}
>
> {又韋節西蕃記云：「親問其國人，並自稱挹闐。」}
>
> {Furthermore, WEI Jie's *Xifanji* says : "I personally inquired from the people of the state [of Yeda/Yida] and [therefore know] that they call themselves Yitian [EMC *ʔjip-dɛn*]."}
>
> {又按漢書，陳湯征郅支，康居副王挹闐抄其後重，此或康居之種類。然傳自遠國，夷語訛舛，年代綿邈，莫知根實，不可得而辨也。}
>
> {Moreover, in the *Hanshu* it is stated that the viceroy of Kangju, [whose personal name is] Yitian, plundered provisions and arms of the Zhizhi [Chanyu] when the latter was attacked by CHEN Tang.[i] This may imply that [the Yeda/Yida] are descendants of the Kangju. Nevertheless, information coming from remote countries by way of foreign languages is subject to corruption

[i] CHEN Tang 陳湯: promoted to Marquis Guannei 關內 because of his victory over the Zhizhi Chanyu 郅支單于 of Xiongnu around 36 BCE.

and misunderstanding and, moreover, it concerns matters of the remote past. Thus we do not know what is certain and cannot determine [the origin of Yeda/Yida].}

tong 同 'identical, the same:' here it is used in its literal meaning, cf. Matsuda (1960, 16; 1970, 438 n. 68); *TD*, *j.* 193, p. 5285, n. 32; Li and Yu (2009, 181).

I.6.2. Location (of the capital)

It seems that the Yeda did not settle down in the Northern Wei Period, at least until 520; see also Chapter I.6.5.

I.030. Records from the Northern Dynasties

I.030/A. *Zhoushu* 50

在于闐之西，東去長安一萬百里。其王治拔底延城，蓋王舍城也。其城方十餘里。

[The state of Yeda] is in the west of Yutian, 10,100 *li* west of Chang'an. Its king has his capital in the walled city of Badiyan, which probably means "the walled city in which the king resides." This walled city is more than 10 *li* square.

Badiyan 拔底延 (EMC *bəɨt-tɛj'-jian*): Yoshida (1985, 151) rejects Marquart's (1938, 36–37) Middle Persian reconstruction **paδiyān* by contemplating Iranian pronunciation underlying this Chinese transliteration as:

$$*\,\mathrm{b}_{\beta}^{\check{\mathrm{a}}}\begin{pmatrix}\mathrm{t}\\ \mathrm{d}\\ \mathrm{r}\\ \mathrm{l}\end{pmatrix}\mathrm{t}\left(\begin{matrix}\check{\mathrm{i}}\\ \check{\mathrm{e}}\end{matrix}\right)\mathrm{y}\check{\mathrm{a}}\mathrm{n}$$

I.030/B. *Suishu* 83

都烏滸水南二百餘里，

[Yida] has its capital over 200 *li* south of the river Wuhu [Oxus],

都城方十餘里。

[…] The capital walled city is a more than 10 *li* square.

南去漕國千五百里，東去瓜州六千五百里。[i]

[…] In the south, it is at a distance of 1,500 *li* from the state of Cao [Kāpiśī, around today's Baghlan]; in the east, it is 6,500 *li* from Guazhou [around today's Dunhuang].

[Note La Vaissière] Badiyan is Balkh, cf. La Vaissière (2010, 214–15).

[i] This phrase is adopted in *BS* 97, p. 3231 as 其國去漕國千五百里，東去瓜州六千五百里。

[Note Grenet] I agree. Archaeologically there is no candidate other than Balkh, since the *Suishu* describes that in the Yida's capital, "there are many (non-Buddhist?) monasteries and pagodas" (Text I.042/B). Other solutions, e.g. Badghis (cf. Chavannes 1903a, 224), lack archaeological and first-hand textual evidence at all. Even though the problem whether Badiyan could be derived from the name of Balkh—pronounced somewhat like *vakht* in that period—with suffixation has been under debate, the Hephthalites' capital must be Balkh. On this issue archaeological arguments must take priority over philological ones. A possible difficulty is that the information on Badiyan given in the *Zhoushu*, presumably pre-dating the fall of the Hephthalites in 565, is reproduced and expanded (with the detail of the many temples) in the *Suishu*, which should rather concern the post-imperial period of the Hephthalites, when they did not hold Balkh anymore; see also Grenet (2019).

[Note Sims-Williams] I would emphasize that some scholars used to explain Badiyan as a form of the name Balkh, but that may be wrong, cf. Sims-Williams (2016, esp. 278 n. 32). In my opinion, it was not relevant in that context to cite Marquart's idea (1938, 36–37) who constructed an otherwise unknown Iranian word **paδiyān* as its source. That is obviously very hypothetical, but of course it is possible that the statement about its meaning "the walled city in which the king resides" in the *Zhoushu* is correct.

I.6.3. Expansion

On the Yeda conquest of Gandhāra and the wars between Kashmir and the Yeda, see Chapter I.6.12.

I.031. Records from the Northern Dynasties

I.031/A. *Weishu* 101

WS 101 《列傳第八十九• 高昌》(pp. 2430–2431) ~ *BS* 97 《列傳第八十五• 西域》(p. 3213). Translated by Imre Galambos and Ching Chao-jung.

既立，又臣于蠕蠕那蓋。……及蠕蠕主伏圖為高車所殺，嘉又臣高車。

When [QU Jia, r. *c.* 501~523] ascended the throne, he was a subject of Nagai of the Ruanruan. [...] When the Ruanruan ruler Futu was killed by the Gaoju [*c.* 508; see Text I.060/B], Jia also became a subject of the Gaoju.

初，前部胡人悉為高車所徙，入於焉耆，焉耆又為嚈噠所破滅，[i]國人分散，眾不自立，請王於嘉。嘉遣第二子為焉耆王以主之。

Formerly, when the *hu* people of the Nearer [Jushi, i.e. Turfan] were driven away by the Gaoju, they came to Yanqi [Karashahr]. But then Yanqi was destroyed by the Yeda and its people were

[i] *BS*: 入於焉耆，又為嚈噠所破滅，

scattered; not being able to establish themselves, the multitudes asked Jia for a king. Jia sent his second son to be the king of Yanqi and serve as their ruler.

永平元年，嘉遣兄子私署左衞將軍、田地太守孝亮朝京師，仍求內徙，乞軍迎援。

In the first year of the Yongping reign [508], Jia sent his elder brother's son Xiaoliang, who was holding the titles of *sishu zuowei jiangjun* and *tiandi taishou*, to the court in the [Wei] capital, once again requesting permission to settle inland and asking for military assistance [cf. Text I.059].

I.031/B. *Suishu* 83

SS 83 《列傳第五十• 異域下》(p. 1846) Translated by Imre Galambos and Ching Chao-jung.

既立，又臣于茹茹。及茹茹主為高車所殺，嘉又臣于高車。屬焉耆為挹怛所破，眾不能自統，請主於嘉。嘉遣其第二子為焉耆王，由是始大，益為國人所服。

When [QU Jia] came to the throne, he was also a subject of the Ruru. When the Ruru ruler was killed by the Gaoju, Jia also became a subject of the Gaoju. Just then Yanqi was destroyed by the Yida and, not being able to govern themselves, the multitudes asked a ruler from Jia, who sent his second son to be the king of Yanqi. From this time on, [Jia] grew in power [in the Western Regions] and was increasingly admired by the people of the state [of Gaochang] .

[Note Ching] Given the context of *WS* 103 (Text I.057), the year 488 when the Gaoju supported ZHANG Mengming 張孟明 as king of Gaochang (Turfan) would be the *terminus post quem* for the Yeda conquest of Yanqi. However, given the usage of *shu* 屬 "just then, just at that moment" in *SS* 83, this conquest would be approximately simultaneous to the rise of QU Jia in 501; see also Duan (1988, 238–40).

I.032. Records from the Southern Dynasties

I.032/A. *Liangshu* 54

後稍強大，征其旁國波斯、盤盤(*NS*: 渴盤陀)、罽賓、焉耆、龜茲、疏勒、姑墨、于闐、句盤(*NS*: 句般)等國，開地千餘里。

Growing more and more powerful in the course of time, [the Hua] succeeded in conquering the neighbouring countries such as Bosi [Sassanid Persia], Panpan [Warwaliz?] [*NS*: Kepantuo, =Tashkurgan], Jibin [Kashmir], Yanqi [Karashahr], Qiuci [Kucha], Shule [Kashgar], Gumo [Aksu], Yutian [Khotan] and Goupan [*NS*: Gouban, =Karghalik], and expanded their territory by a thousand *li*.

I.032/B. *Liang zhigong tu*

後強大，征其旁國，破波斯、盤盤、罽賓、烏纏、龜茲、疏勒、于闐、句般等國，開地千里。

Growing powerful in the course of time, [the Hua] succeeded in conquering the neighbouring states such as Bosi, Panpan, Jibin, Wuchang [i.e. Uḍḍiyāna, a state not mentioned in the parallel passage in *LS* 54], Qiuci, Shule, Yutian and Gouban, and expanded their territory by a thousand *li*.

[Note Grenet] Yu's idea (2012, 90) about the Yeda (= Hephthalites) driving out the Jiduoluo (= Kidarite Kushanshahs) from Tokharistan in about 438–440 is impossible: the Hephthalites appear on the stage only in 457, the year of their embassies to the Northern Wei and their involvement in the Sasanian throne succession. Then they capture Balkh (Balaam in Priscus, Text IX.008/D) in 467. On Balaam, see also my note on Text I.014.

[Note Ching] Khotan, Kucha, Karashahr and Aksu were probably safe from the threat of the Yeda around 477; see the next entry.

I.033. Shi Fǎxiàn's Pilgrimage in the *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳

Gaoseng zhuan, *j*. 13, pp. 488–89. Translated by Ching Chao-jung. Here Shi Fǎxiàn 釋法獻 (?–498) is a Chinese monk later than the famous Fǎxiǎn 法顯 referred to in Chapter I.1.2.

釋法獻。姓徐，西海延水人。

SHI Fǎxiàn. His surname was XU. He was from Yanshui of Xihai [i.e. the Juyan River, Gansu].

先隨舅至梁州，乃出家。至元嘉十六年方下京師，止定林上寺。

Previously, he followed his maternal uncle to Liangzhou, where he became a Buddhist monk. In the 16th year of the Yuanjia reign [439], he went south to the [Jin] capital and stayed at the Upper Dinglin Monastery.

博通經律，志業強捍，善能匡拯，眾許修葺寺宇。

Being knowledgeable about [various] *sūtra*s and *vinaya*s, he had a strong mind and practiced [Buddhism] rigorously. He was excellent in adjusting and promoting [plans], so the *saṃgha* committed him to build/reform [a?] monastery.

先聞猛公西遊，備矚靈異，乃誓欲忘身，往觀聖迹。以宋元徽三年發踵金陵，西遊巴蜀，路出河南，道經芮芮。

Formerly, having heard about [Zhi]meng's journey to the West, [in the course of which Zhimeng] saw a lot of miracles, he made a vow to devote his life to pilgrimage. In the third year of the Yuanhui reign [475], he departed from Jinling [Nanjing], went westward to Bashu [Sichuan], took his route through the south of the Yellow River [i.e. the Tuyuhun's territory] and then passed through [the territory of] the Ruirui [= the Ruanruan].

既到于闐，欲度葱嶺。值棧道斷絕，遂於于闐而反。獲佛牙一枚、舍利十五身，并觀世音滅罪呪及調達品。又得龜茲國金鎚鍱像，於是而還。其經途危阻，見其別記。

After arriving in Yutian [Khotan], he was going to cross the Congling. But this was a time when the plank road was broken, so he turned back from Yutian, [where] he obtained a piece of Buddha's [canine] tooth, fifteen pieces of *śarīra*, together with the *Guanshiyin miezui zhou* and the Devadatta Chapter [of the Lotus Sutra]. He further obtained a golden statue from Qiuci [Kucha], through which he passed during his return journey. The dangers and obstacles of his path are to be found in a special note [*bieji* 別記].

佛牙本在烏纏國， 自烏纏來芮芮，自芮芮來梁土。獻齎牙還京，師十有五載，密自禮事，餘無知者。至文宣感夢，方傳道俗。

The Buddha's tooth was originally in Uḍḍiyāna. It came from Uḍḍiyāna to the Ruirui, and then from the Ruirui to the land of the Liang Dynasty [Southern China]. [Fǎ]xiàn brought the tooth back to the [Liang] capital [Nanjing] and secretly worshipped it for 15 years without informing anyone. [One day] Wenxuan saw this in his dream, therefore it was finally exhibited to [the public, including both] monks and laymen.

Liangzhou 梁州: Most probably a scribal error for Liangzhou 涼州 (Wuwei, Gansu).

Guanshiyin miezui zhou 觀世音滅罪呪: A text not found in Taishō. Its title literally means *Avalokiteśvara-eliminating-sin-Dhāraṇī*, possibly a text close to T.1035, 1047 or 1053.

Wenxuan 文宣: Namely XIAO Ziliang 蕭子良 (460–494), son of Emperor Wudi of the Southern Qi (Chen 1963, 55). His biography and the fate of the reliquary is further seen in the *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 (compiled in 668) with some corruption (*T*. 2122(LIII)380a4-b28). Its beginning is translated by Ching as follows:

> In the era of the Wenxuan Emperor of the Qi [sic!], there was a reverend master called Tongshang[i] whose family lived in Liangzhou (Wuwei). At the age of 13[ii], he made an oath to go to the West. In the fifth month of the third year of the Yonghui reign of the Song dynasty (475), he finally departed from the capital. In the fifth year (477), he reached the state of the Rui[rui]. Then he entered Khotan. When he was about to depart [from Khotan], a monk showed him a copper box in a secret chamber and then gave it to him, saying, "In this box, there is a Buddha's [canine] tooth [being] 1 *tsun* (*c*. 2.3–2.5 cm) in width and 3 *tsun* in length. You may bring it back to the South[ern China] and spread its benefit and merit." The master received it by prostrating himself, so happy as he were seeing the Buddha's body. Then the monk said: "I took this Buddha's tooth from the state of Uḍḍiyāna so difficultly." [The master] also obtained a copper seal with a king on its obverse side to seal this box. Afterwards, the master heard rumours (lit. 'communal discussion') among many [Khotanese?] monks that "The

[i] An informal title of Fǎxiàn, see Ching (2019).

[ii] Very probably an error for 53 due to a scribal error of writing *zhi* 至 "toward, in" for *wu* 五 "five." See Ching (2019).

> state of Uḍḍiyāna lost the Buddha's tooth. Which country would have the fortune to obtain and worship it?" Having heard this, the master hid his happiness deeply in his heart and worshipped it with much more respect. Then he brought it back to Zhongshan (Nanjing) [and kept it secretly] for 15 years. None of his disciples knew this treasure no matter how close they were with him.[i]

In this text, the Wenxuan crown-prince of the Southern Qi is mistaken as Emperor Wenxuan of the Northern Qi (GAO Yang 高洋, 526–559), but it clearly puts the year of Fǎxiàn's arrival in Khotan as 477 CE.

[Note Ching] The biography of Fǎxiàn was briefly treated by Matsuda (1970, 156) in order to argue that in the 470s Shanshan was controlled by the Tuyuhun rather than by the Rouran. Whichever be the case, I assume that Fǎxiàn's failure may betray a serious traffic disruption between Khotan and Swat, perhaps due to the invasion of the Hephthalites or the Alkhans (probably as the southern wing of the Hephthalite confederation, cf. Text I.054 and La Vaissière 2015a, 183) into Swat, because the breaking of a single wooden path would not be of such consequence if the other routes were not also cut, which might point to a general turmoil. This assumption permits one to elaborate on Rong's analysis of 97TSYM1:13–5 + 13–4 (unearthed from Tomb 1 of the Yanghai cemetery, Turfan), a fragmentary record of people and horses dispatched by the Gaochang government in order to escort foreign envoys to and back from the Rouran court. Rong's translation (2018, 60–61) about Uḍḍiyāna and Indian (*poluomen*, i.e. *brāhmaṇa*) envoys is quoted below with slight modification:

> ll.5–6 'On the 2nd day, 12th month of the 9th year [of the Yongkang reign](*c.* Jan. 475), to escort envoys of Wuchang to Yanqi, 118 people [and each person] sent one horse, 85 people from Gaoning, 26 people from Wandu, 7 people from Qianyang.'[ii]
> ll. 10–11 'On the 14th day, 3rd month of the 10th year [of the Yongkang reign](spring of 475), to escort envoys of Poluomen to Yanqi, 84 people from Gaoning, 46 people from Hengjie, 36 people from Baiji, 16 people from Tiandi, in total 182 people; [each person sent] one horse.'[iii]

In Rong's view, Uḍḍiyāna and the unidentified Indian state probably sent envoys to the Rouran in order to plead for help because they were "perhaps feeling the threat of the Hephthalites"

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[i] 齊文宣皇帝時，有先師統上，家世涼州。年至十三，發誓西行。至宋元徽三年五月，遂發京師，至五年，方到芮國，進到于闐，臨發之日，有一僧於密室之中出銅函一枚，手授先師曰：「此函有佛牙，方一寸，長三寸。可將還南方，廣作利益。」先師歡喜頂受，如覩佛身。此僧又云：「我於烏纏國取此佛牙，甚為艱難。」又獲銅印一枚，國王面像，以封此函。先師後聞諸僧共議云：「烏纏國失却佛牙，不知何國福德僧當獲供養？」先師聞已，私懷密喜，倍加尊敬，於是齎還鍾山，十有五載。雖復親近，而弟子莫知。 According to the following episode of this text, he once showed the relic to his colleague Faying 法穎 and a Kuchean monk around Nanjing, but they were unable to judge its genuineness, so Fǎxiàn did not dare to show it anymore. The flowery text describing Wenxuan's dream in 489 and the following reliquary exhibition in public is omitted here.

[ii] 九年十二月二日送烏萇使向鄢耆，百一十八人；[每人]出馬一疋。高寧八十五人、万度廿六人、乾養七人。

[iii] 十年三月十四日，送婆羅門使向鄢耆，高寧八十四人、横截卅六人、白芳卅六人、田地十六人，合百八十二人；[每人出馬]一疋。

(Rong 2007, 14; Eng. 2018, 81). If so, then given that these envoys passed through Turfan in the spring of 475 on their return from the Rouran court to their home countries via Yanqi (Karashahr), the two states may have felt the threat before the summer of 474, i.e. the beginning of the surviving fragments from the Turfan tomb.

In other words, I assume that when Fǎxiàn departed from Nanjing in 475, he was still unaware of the threat of those nomadic invaders, although people around Swat had started to seek diplomatic or military intervention from the Rouran, very possibly through the route of the Upper Indus. When he arrived Khotan in 477, the "plank road" (cf. Text I.004) to Swat was said to be broken, perhaps either due to wars between Uḍḍiyāna and the invaders or a defensive strategy of Khotan and its mountainous neighbours. Regardless of whether the secret handover of the reliquary was a sign of Buddhists fleeing from Swat to Khotan (or alternatively from the Pamirs to Khotan, cf. Text I.004 on the "Buddha's tooth" in Jiecha), it seems that the Tarim Basin was more or less safe in the 470s from the Yeda's expansion, so that Fǎxiàn could still make his way back to southern China. Unfortunately, the "special note" on his pilgrimage is lost[i], so it is impossible to reconstruct what he saw or heard about the road(s) to Swat (on the traffic network between Tashkurgan and Swat, cf. Kuwayama 2002, esp. Fig. 16 and 17).

Being inspired by Rong's edition of the Turfan document (2007), Yoshida (2013b, 383 with n. 29) modified the *terminus ante quem* of the Upper Indus Sogdian inscriptions from the 450s or 460s (cf. Grenet 2010, 272; La Vaissière 2005, 20) to the second half of the fifth century. If my combination with Fǎxiàn's record makes sense, then it may be further limited to the 470s. This may shed light on the expansion progress of the Hephthalites and other Hunnic peoples, and the tribute payment from Juduoluo, etc. (Text I.018/C) to the Northern Wei, arriving in Dai around October 477, is very possibly a sign of the last struggles of these states.

I.6.4. Population

I.034. Records from the Northern Dynasties

I.034/A. *Original *Weishu* 102

> 眾可十萬。
>
> Their total number is around a hundred thousand.

I.034/B. *Suishu* 83 (on the Yida)

> 勝兵者五六千人。俗善戰。

[i] Possibly the *Foyaji* 佛牙記 "Record of the Buddha's tooth" collected by Sengyou 僧祐 (445–518), once mentioned in Zhisheng's catalogue *Kaiyuan shijiaolu* 開元釋教錄 (T.2154(LV)536b3, *j*. 6) in 730.

They have an army of five to six thousand men. They are reputed to be good warriors.

[Note La Vaissière] The number of 100,000 persons is obviously approximate but not impossible: it can be estimated as 20,000 households (taking 1 household = 5 persons) and roughly 6,000 soldiers (taking 1 soldier per 3 households) regarding the data in the Turkic period.

[Note Grenet] But there is a problem: does the figure in the *Suishu* apply to the Hephthalites in Tokharistan in their "imperial period," or to the residual Hephthalite kingdom in the Eastern piedmonts after 565? One could also consider that "100,000" in the *Weishu* applies to the Hephthalite army (not to the population) before the Turkish conquest.

[Note Ching] Perhaps the army of 100,000 strong is counted in the *Suishu* as belonging to Tuhuoluo (Tokharistan); see Text I.037/E. Nevertheless, in the *Tang Huiyao*, *j.* 99, the number of fighters in Tuhuluo/Tuhuoluo is 50,000 (Li and Yu 2009, 235).

I.6.5. Royal court, political system, economy and natural environment

I.035. Records from the Northern Dynasties

I.035/A. *Original *Weishu* 102

無城邑，依隨水草，以氈為屋，夏遷涼土，冬逐暖處。分其諸妻，各在別所，相去或二百、三百里。其王巡歷而行，每月一處，冬寒之時，三月不徙。王位不必傳子，子弟堪任，死便授之。其國無車有輿。多駝馬。

Without cities and towns, they follow water and grass, using felt to make houses, moving to cool places in summer, to warm ones in winter. [Their king] separates his wives and keeps each of them in a separate place, so that they are 200 or 300 *li* apart from one another. The king travels around and changes place every month, but in the cold of winter stays in one place for three months without moving. The throne is not always passed on to the [elder] son, the [other] sons and younger brothers might also be appointed and conferred [the throne] when the king dies. They have no *che* 車 but use *yu* 輿. They have many camels and horses.

[Note Ching] Miyazaki (1931a, 89) emphasized the difference between the Yeda and the Gaoju 高車 (lit. 'high chariot,' see Text I.093) based on the difference between their languages (Text I.039/A) and the passage that "[The Yeda] have no *che* 車 (lit. chariot, wheeled vehicle)." While Chavannes (1905, 403 n. c) and La Vaissière (2007, 130 n. 21) suggested that both *che* and *yu* mean chariots and this passage might be corrupted, I would remark that in classical usage *yu* 輿 often denoted a wheelless vehicle, e.g. a palanquin or sedan chair.

I.035/B. *Qielanji* 5

Translation by Max Deeg, with contributions by Imre Galambos and Ching Chao-jung.

十月之初至噭噠國。

At the beginning of the tenth month [of the year 519], they arrived in the state of the Yeda.

土田庶衍，山澤彌望，居無城郭，游軍而治。以氈為屋，隨逐水草。夏則隨涼，冬則就温。

The land and the fields are extensive, and there are numerous mountains and marshes. [The Yeda] do not live inside city walls, [but the king] rules while roaming around with his army. They live in houses made of felt and follow [the availability of] water and grass. During the summer they go where it is cool, during the winter they go where it is warm.

王張大氈帳，方四十步，周迴以氍毹為壁。王著錦衣，坐金床，以四金鳳凰為床脚。見大魏使人，再拜跪，受詔書。至於設會，一人唱則客前，後唱則罷會，唯有此法，不見音樂。

[…][i] The king pitches a large felt tent, forty paces square, the walls are made of wool rugs. The king wears robes made of brocade and sits on a golden bench-throne the feet of which are four golden phoenixes. When he beheld the envoy of the Great Wei he kowtowed twice before he received the imperial letter. He arranged for an audience during which one man calls out and then the guests step in front [of the ruler], and later when the man calls out again, the audience is over; they only have it this manner, and use no music.

噭噠國王妃亦著錦衣，垂地三尺，使人擎之。頭帶一角，長八尺，奇長三尺，以玫瑰五色裝飾其上。王妃出則輿之，入坐金床。以六牙白象四獅子為床。自餘大臣妻皆隨，傘頭亦似有角，團圓垂下，狀似寶蓋。觀其貴賤，亦有服章。

The wife [or wives] of the Yeda king also wears robes made of brocade, which fall on the ground three *chi* long so that people have to hold them up. On her head she wears a horn-shaped [headgear], eight *chi* long, the extreme three *chi* adorned with the five colours of precious stones. When the wife of the king goes out, she is carried on a palanquin. When she enters [the tent], she sits on a golden bench, and the bench is in the shape of a white six-tusked elephant and four lions. All the other wives of the officials follow her in shading their heads also by [a headdress] that looks like a horn, is round and hangs down, so that it looks like a bejewelled cover [of the head]. They also have dresses and accessories to distinguish nobles from common people.

Meigui wuse 玫瑰五色: Lit. 'the [precious stone] *meigui* in five colours.' Zhou Zumo (1987 ed.) reconstructed the text with *zhu* 珠 "bead(s), pearl(s)" by taking *wusezhu* 五色珠 "beads in five colours" from the *Weishu* entry on Bosi (Text I.019). His reconstruction was followed by Yang Yong, but in Yang's edition *zhu* 珠 was misprinted as *qiu* 球 "orbit, ball."

[i] The text omitted here is given in Texts I.039/B, I.037/B, I.041 and the first paragraph of I.046/A.

Zi yu dachen qi jie sui 自餘大臣妻皆隨 "All the other wives of the officials follow her": Here the punctuation follows Zhou's edition, while both Fan Xiangyong (1978 ed.) and Yang Yong (2006 ed.) give 自餘大臣，妻皆隨傘，頭亦似有角，團圓垂下，狀似寶蓋, which can be translated as follows: "As to the ministers, their wives are all followed by [servants who hold] parasols (i.e. rather than being carried on palanquins); there are also horn-like [headgears] on [these women's] heads, which are adorned with round hanging objects that look like a bejewelled cover." Because art-historical evidence is scarce concerning noble women's processions in sixth-century Tokharistan (cf. Note Grenet on Text I.037/H), neither punctuation can be ruled out. Still, the "bejewelled cover" (*baogai* 寶蓋) here might be linked to the image of a *stūpa*'s top; cf. T.200(IV)236c12–13 "Then [the leader of merchants] covered the top of the [four] *stūpa*s by the 'thought-gem' (*cintāmaṇi*), made a vow and left" (即以摩尼寶珠，蓋其塔頭，發願而去。) .

I.036. Description in the *Liangshu*

土地溫暖，多山川樹木(*NS*: 少樹木; *ZG*: 少林木)，有五穀。國人以麨(*NS*: 麵; *ZG*: 麪)及羊肉為糧。

The land is warm and has many mountains, rivers and trees [*NS*: has few trees; *ZG*: has few forests], and produces the five grains. The people of the state rely on fried flour [*NS*/*ZG*: rely on flour] and mutton as their staple.

其獸有(*ZG*: 獸有)師子、兩脚駱駝，野驢有角。

Their animals include lions and two-legged [two-humped?] camels. The wild asses have horns.

無城郭，穹屋為居，東向開戶。其王坐金牀(*ZG*: 床)，隨太歲轉，與妻並坐接客(*ZG*: 接賓客)。……[i]無職官。

[...] They have no walled cities, live in houses made of felt, which have doors facing east. Their king sits on a golden bench-throne which rotates following the position of the Jupiter star. He sits together with his queen when receiving guests [...] They have no official posts.

[Note La Vaissière and Grenet] The cult of the planet Jupiter among the Hephthalites might be an imitation of Sasanian royal astral ideology. However, there is a chronological problem, as the latter's revolving throne is attested only under Khosrow II (591–628), cf. Grenet (2018, esp. 241–42), which is later than the Liang dynasty (502–557) in Southern China.

[i] The text omitted here is given in the first paragraph of Text I.040.

I.6.6. Social and cultural characteristics of ordinary people

I.037. Records from the Northern Dynasties, the Sui and the Tang

I.037/A. *Original *Weishu* 102

衣服類胡，加以纓絡。頭皆剪髮。

Their clothing is similar to that worn by other *hu* barbarians, [but] with the addition of tassels. They all cut their hair.

用刑嚴急，偷盜無多少皆腰斬，盜一責十。

[…] Corporal punishments are severe and quick; regardless of the magnitude of theft, the thief is severed at the waist, and if one steals, ten are punished.

I.037/B. *Qielanji* 5

禮教俱闕。

Their etiquettes and moral are deficient.

I.037/C. *Zhoushu* 50

刑法、風俗，與突厥畧同。其俗又兄弟共娶一妻。夫無兄弟者，其妻戴一角帽；若有兄弟者，依其多少之數，更加帽角焉。其人兇悍，能戰鬬。

Its penal laws and customs are roughly the same as those of the Tujue. It is their custom that brothers share the same wife. If a man is without brothers, his wife wears a hat with one horn; if he has brothers, she wears as many horns as there are brothers. Its people are fierce and violent, and make able warriors.

I.037/D. *Suishu* 83

兄弟同妻。婦人有一夫者，冠一角帽，夫兄弟多者，依其數為角。

Brothers share the same wife. If a woman has one husband, she wears a hat with one horn, if he has brothers, she wears as many horns as there are brothers.

I.037/E. *Suishu* 83 (on Tuhuoluo)

Suishu, *j*. 83, pp. 1853–1854.

吐火羅國，都葱嶺西五百里，與挹怛雜居。都城方二里。勝兵者十萬人，皆習戰。其俗奉佛。兄弟同一妻，迭寢焉，每一人入房，戶外挂其衣以為志。生子屬其長兄。其山穴中有神馬，每歲牧牝馬於穴所，必產名駒。

The state of Tuhuoluo has its capital 500 *li* west of the Congling [Pamirs] and its inhabitants are intermixed with the Yida. The capital is a walled city of 2 *li* square. Their army is a hundred thousand strong, all experienced fighters. It is their custom to revere the Buddha. Brothers share the same wife and alternate sleeping with her; whoever is with her in the bedchamber, he hangs his clothes outside the door as a sign. When children are born, they belong to the eldest brother. In the mountains there are divine horses and every year [the people] place a mare in a cavern, and it will inevitably give birth to a fine foal.

I.037/F. *Tongdian* 193 (on Tuhuoluo)

吐火羅國，……與挹怛雜居。勝兵十萬人，皆習戰。俗奉佛。多男，少婦人，故兄弟通室。婦人五夫，則首飾載五角，十夫載十角。男子無兄弟者，則與他人結為昆季，方始得妻，不然終身無婦矣。生子屬其長兄。

In the state of Tuhuoluo [...] the inhabitants are intermixed with the Yida. Their army is a hundred thousand strong, all experienced fighters. It is their custom to revere the Buddha. As they have more men and fewer women, brothers share the same wife. If a woman has five husbands, she wears on her head five horns; if she has ten husbands, then ten horns. If a man has no brothers, he then makes a pact with other men to become brothers, and only then can he have a wife; otherwise he lives all his life without a woman. When children are born, they belong to the eldest brother.

I.037/G. *Xin Tangshu* 221 (on the Yeda)

俗類突厥。

Their customs are similar to those of the Tujue.

I.037/H. *Tongdian* 193 (on the Yeda)

俗同吐火羅。

Their customs are the same as those of the Tuhuoluo.

[Note Grenet] There is only one item of iconographical evidence, a painting in the Buddhist monastery at Faiaz-tepe (Termez), showing a female donor with two horns. See the last discussion by Lo Muzio (2017, 203–4, esp. Pl. 7.6), who tentatively dates it the 4th–6th centuries. Surprisingly, the many female seals known in the Hephthalite period show no horned cap. A two-horned cap worn by royal spouses or concubines is shown on a Sasanian seal from the late fourth century. (Lo Muzio 2017, Fig 7.18) and a Sasanian silver plate from the fifth century, but this might belong to a different tradition.

I.038. Description in the *Liangshu*

人皆善射(*NS*: 善騎射)，著小袖長身袍，用金玉為帶。女人被裘，頭上刻木為角，長六尺，以金銀飾之。少女子，兄弟共妻。[i]

Their people are good at shooting with a bow [*NS*: good at shooting with a bow while riding], they wear long gowns with short sleeves, and use gold and jade as belt [buckles]. The women are dressed in fur coats and on their head wear horns carved out of wood, six *chi* in length, adorned with gold and silver. Brothers share the same wife.

I.6.7. Language and script

I.039. Records from the Northern Dynasties

I.039/A. *Original *Weishu* 102

其語與蠕蠕、高車及諸胡不同。

Their speech is different from that of the Ruanruan, Gaoju and other *hu*.

[Note Ching] The same passage is found in *TD* 193 on the Yeda without mentioning the local script(s). However, it is noteworthy that in the entry on Tuhuoluo (Tokharistan) in *TD* 193 (p. 5277), the local script is said to be more or less similar to the one used in Khotan (*wenzi yu Yutian lüe tong* 文字與于闐略同).

I.039/B. *Qielanji* 5

鄉土不識文字，

In their original land they had no writing.

I.040. Description in the *Liangshu*

無文字，以木為契 (*ZG*: 以木為契，刻之約物數)。與旁國通，則使旁國胡為胡書，羊皮為紙。

They have no writing and use wood [tallies] for contracts. [*ZG*: They have no writing and use wood [tallies] for contracts, on which they carve [notches] to mark the quantity of items.] They are in contact with adjacent countries and so they make the *hu* of adjacent countries to write [on their behalf] in the *hu* script, using sheepskin as paper.

[i] *ZG*: 人善騎射，著小袖長身袍，金玉為絡帶，(如)[for 婦 or 女]人被裘，頭上刻木為角，長六尺，金銀飾之。少女子，兄弟共妻。

其言語待河南人譯然後通 (*ZG*: 通焉)。

[...][i] Their language can only be understood through the translation of people from Henan [i.e. the Tuyuhun].

[Note Sims-Williams] The discovery of numerous Bactrian documents in Greek script, some of them written on behalf of Hephthalite rulers or their vassals (see Chapter V.3), perfectly confirm these observations regarding writing on sheepskin in "the *hu* script." The Bactrian documents also include a number of wooden tallies with notches, exactly as described here, though those which survive are undated and do not necessarily belong to the Hephthalite period. No documents in the Hephthalite language are known, although the attempt has been made to identify words of possible Hephthalite origin which survive as loanwords in other languages of the region (Yoshida 2004).

[Note Grenet] Why are the Tuyuhun the best interpreters with the Hephthalites? Either the original language of the Hephthalites was close to theirs, or, if not, they knew the Hephthalite language because they had for long traded with them. It is to be noted, however, that the "Tibetan" ambassadors (probably in fact Tuyuhun) depicted on the "Ambassadors' Painting" at Samarkand in *c.* 660 are shown using an interpreter to communicate with Turkish officers, who presumably speak either Turk or Sogdian.

[Note Ching] Interestingly, the embassy directed by SONG Yun from the Northern Wei (Xianbei) court also took the Tuyuhun road to the West (Matsuda 1970, 154). It may be premature to define precisely the nature of the Tuyuhun language in the early sixth century (presumably an Altaic one, cf. Shimunek 2017, esp. Fig. 5), but at any rate, I think the languages spoken by those envoys are not necessarily identical to the ones of the ruling class that they represented. For instance, in the *Liang zhigong tu*, the envoy sent by Kucha has a Sogdian surname *Kang* 康 (for Samarkand), the same as the one sent by the Yeda Queen (Text I.072/B). Maybe the Liang court could not understand the Yeda envoys simply because it lacked good official translators or interpreters for guests from the "Western Regions." It is remarkable that after 516, the year of the first embassy from the Yeda, the Liang Empire started to train Tuyuhun interpreters/translators in the region where they conducted trade (around today's Sichuan, cf. *LS* 54, pp. 810–811).

[Note La Vaissière] The Hephthalites turned Bactrian. This is very possibly also true in a linguistic aspect, see La Vaissière (2007, 122–23 with n. 13). Accordingly, the effective communication between the Hephthalites and the Tuyuhun can be understood quite simply: there was an extensive trade in horses between the Tuyuhun and Bactria, as described in the Chinese sources, so that some Tuyuhun would have known Bactrian. One should note that for these nomadic peoples, the language question was not a major one, but it was a common historiographical bias both of Chinese and Western historiography.

[i] The text omitted here is "They have no official posts" in Text I.036, followed by I.043/A and I.045/A.

I.6.8. Calendar

I.041. Information in the *Luoyang Qielanji*

陰陽轉運，莫知其度。年無盈閏，月無大小，用十二月為一歲。

They do not know the system of the changes of *yin* and *yang*. They do not have intercalary years, their months have no [distinction of being] great and small, and their year is made up of twelve months.

I.6.9. Religion and cults

I.042. Records from the Northern Dynasties and the Sui

I.042/A. *Qielanji* 5

不信佛法，多事外神。煞生血食，器用七寶。

They do not believe in the *dharma* of the Buddha but mostly venerate heretic deities. They kill living beings and eat bloody meat. To make utensils they use the seven precious items.

[Note Deeg] *xueshi* 血食 “eat bloody meat” can also mean “make bloody sacrifices.”

I.042/B. *Suishu* 83

多寺塔，皆飾以金。

There are many monasteries and *stūpas*, all decorated with gold.

I.043. Records from the Southern Dynasties

I.043/A. *Liangshu* 54

事天神、火神，每日則出戶祀神而後食。其跪一拜而止。

They worship the Spirit of Heaven and the Spirit of Fire. Each day they leave their house and give offerings to the spirits before eating. When kneeling, they only bow once.

I.043/B. *Liang zhigong tu*

事天神，每日則出戶祀神而後食。其跪一拜而止，止即鳴其王手足。賤者鳴王[衣]。

> They worship the Spirit of Heaven. Each day they leave their house and give offerings to the spirits before eating. When kneeling, they only bow once, then they kiss the king's hands and feet. People of lower status kiss the king's [clothing].

I.6.10. Funeral

I.044. Description in the *Weishu*

*Original *Weishu*, *j.* 102, cf. Text I.081.

> 死者，富者累石為藏，貧者掘地而埋，隨身諸物，皆置冢內。
>
> As for the dead, if he was rich, a chamber made of stones is constructed; if he was poor, a grave is dug and he is buried in the ground. All their belongings are put in the tomb.

I.045. Records from the Southern Dynasties

I.045/A. *Liangshu* 54

> 葬以木為槨。父母死，其子截一耳，葬訖即吉。
>
> For burials, they use an outer coffin made of wood. When his parents die, the son cuts off one ear. The whole ceremony is finished as soon as the body is buried.

I.045/B. *Liang zhigong tu*

> [葬]以木為槨。父母死，其子截一耳，葬已即去。
>
> [For burials,] they use an outer coffin made of wood. When his parents die, the son cuts off one ear, and he leaves as soon as the body is buried.

I.6.11. International Status

I.046. Records from the Northern Dynasties

I.046/A. *Qielanji* 5

> 受諸國貢獻，南至牒羅，北盡勅勤，東被于闐，西及波斯；四十餘國，皆來朝賀。
>
> [The Yeda] receive tribute from many states; their territory stretches to Dieluo [Zabul] in the south, extends until Chiqin (?) in the north, encompasses the land up to Yutian [Khotan] in the

east, and reaches to Bosi [Persia] in the west. There are over forty states that come to court to pay tribute and express their respect.

四夷之中，最為强大。

[…][i] Among the four barbarians they are the most powerful ones.

諸國奉獻，甚饒珍異。

[…][ii] Since all states have been giving them tribute, expensive and rare items are available in abundance.

[Note Ching] Two old copies of *Qielanji* have Chile 敕勒 (i.e. the Gaoju) in the place of Chiqin 勅懃 "Tägin," cf. *Qielanji*, *j.* 5, p. 226 n. 76. The former supports the opinion of Chavannes (1903b, 404), and was therefore adopted by Zhou Zumo, while both Fan and Yang preferred to read it as Chiqin. From a historical point of view, Chile was more likely the original word in this sentence (see also Matsuda 1970, 213, 217, 437; Yu 2012, 159), before it was contaminated by the mention of Chiqin in the section on Gandhāra (Text I.054/B).

I.046/B. *Weishu* 102

The first sentence may be from the *Zhoushu*, see Texts I.083 and I.084.

西域康居、于闐、沙勒、安息及諸小國三十許皆役屬之，[iii]號為大國。與蠕蠕婚姻。

In the Western Regions, they control Kangju, Yutian, Shale and Anxi, as well as more than thirty smaller states. They claim to be a great kingdom. They have marital relations with the Ruanruan.

I.046/C. *Zhoushu* 50

于闐、安息等大小二十餘國，皆役屬之。

Yutian, Anxi and other states, large and small, altogether more than twenty, are all their subject.

[Note Grenet] Here Anxi 安息 denotes Merv, where numismatic evidence indicates an interruption of Sasanian coinage between 484 and 505, suggesting a temporary Hephthalite control.

I.047. Description in the *Liang zhigong tu*

所降小國，使其王為奴隸。

Whenever they conquer a smaller state, they make their king a slave.

[i] The text omitted here is given in the final two paragraphs in Text I.035/B concerning the Yeda king and his wife(/wives).

[ii] The text omitted here is given in Text I.042/A.

[iii] *BS*: 諸小國三十許,皆役屬之，

[Note Ching] This passage may imply that those kings were only forced to submit themselves to Hephthalite rule like a servant or slave, without significantly transforming the local administrative system, so that this newly rising power was described as not having their own official posts (Text I.036).

I.6.12. The states subjugated by the Yeda

The text cited in Chapter I.6.12 from *Weishu* (*j.* 102) and *Beishi* (*j.* 97) is based on the latest Zhonghua shuju edition, i.e. *WS* 102 《列傳第九十• 西域》(pp. 2474–2475) and *BS* 97 《列傳第八五• 西域》(pp. 3232–3233).

I.048. Zhuju 朱居

WS 102, cf. *Qielanji* 5, p. 210.

朱居國，在于闐西。其人山居。有麥，多林果。咸事佛。語與于闐相類。役屬嚈噠。[i]

The state of Zhuju is west of Yutian [Khotan]. The people live in the mountains and [the land] has many trees and fruits. The people all revere the Buddha; their language is similar to that of Yutian. They are subjects of the Yeda.

I.049. Kepantuo 渴槃陁

WS 102, cf. *Qielanji* 5, p. 210.

渴槃陁國，在葱嶺東，朱駒波西。河經其國，東北流。有高山，夏積霜雪。亦事佛道。附於嚈噠。[ii]

The state of Kepantuo is situated east of the Congling [Pamirs] and west of Zhujubo [i.e. Zhuju in Text I.048]. The rivers that traverse the state flow towards the northeast. There are high mountains that are covered with frost and snow even in the summer. The people also revere the way of the Buddha. They are controlled by the Yeda.

I.050. Bohe 鉢和

WS 102, cf. *Qielanji* 5, p. 210.

鉢和國，在渴槃陁西。其土尤寒，人畜同居，穴地而處。又有大雪山，望若銀峯。其人唯食餅麨，飲麥酒，服氈裘。[iii]有二道，一道西行向嚈噠，一道西南趣烏萇。亦為嚈噠所統。

[i] *BS*: 咸事佛，語與于闐相類，役屬嚈噠。
[ii] *BS*: 河經其國東北流，有高山，夏積霜雪。亦事佛道，附於嚈噠。
[iii] *BS*: 又有大雪山，望若銀峰。其人唯食餅麨，飲麥酒，服氈裘。

The state of Bohe is situated west of Kepantuo. As the land is particularly cold, the people live together with their livestock in holes dug in the ground. Moreover, there are high snowy mountains that from a distance resemble silver peaks. The people only eat bread and fried flour, drink alcoholic beverages made from barley/wheat and wear felt coats. There are two routes, one leading west towards the Yeda, the other leading south to Wuchang [Uḍḍiyāna]. [Bohe] is also under Yeda control.

I.051. Bozhi 波知

WS 102, cf. *Qielanji* 5, p. 210.

波知國，在鉢和西南。土狹人貧，依託山谷，其王不能總攝。有三池，傳云大池有龍王，次者有龍婦，小者有龍子，行人經之，設祭乃得過，不祭多遇風雪之困。[i]

The state of Bozhi is located south-west of Bohe. The land is narrow, the people are poor and depend on the mountain valleys, and so the king is unable to exercise control over them. There are three lakes and according to local legends the large lake is inhabited by the dragon king; the second lake by the dragon [king's] wife, and the small lake by the dragon son. When travellers pass through here, they can only proceed after having performed a sacrifice. Those who do not sacrifice are often stranded by wind and snow.

I.052. Shemi 賒彌 and Bolule 鉢盧勒

WS 102, cf. *Qielanji* 5, p. 210.

賒彌國，在波知之南。山居。不信佛法，專事諸神。亦附嚈噠。東有鉢盧勒國，路嶮(*BS*: 險)，緣鐵鎖而度，下不見底。熙平中，宋雲等竟不能達。

The state of Shemi is located south of Bozhi. [The people] live in the mountains; they do not believe in the teachings of the Buddha but solely worship the spirits. [Shemi] is also controlled by the Yeda. In the east lies the state of Bolule but the road leading there is perilous; [the mountains] have to be crossed by relying on iron latches, while one cannot see the bottom of the void below. During the Xiping reign [516–518], SONG Yun and others were in the end unable to reach [Bolule].

[i] *BS*: 不祭，多遇風雪之困。

I.053. Wuchang 烏萇

I.053/A. *Weishu* 102

烏萇國，在賒彌南。北有葱嶺，南至天竺。婆羅門胡為其上族。婆羅門多解天文吉凶之數，其王動則訪決焉。土多林果，引水灌田，豐稻麥。[i]事佛，多諸寺塔，事極華麗(*BS*: 多諸寺塔，極華麗)。人有爭訴，服之以藥，曲者發狂，直者無恙。為法不殺，犯死罪唯徙於靈山。西南有檀特山，山上立寺，以驢數頭運食，山下無人控御，[ii]自知往來也。

The state of Wuchang is south of Shemi. To the north are the Congling and in the south it reaches Tianzhu [India]. The brahmin *hu* form its upper clan. The brahmins mostly divine fortune by interpreting the stars and when the king travels, he consults them for a prediction. The land has many trees and fruits, the water is channelled to irrigate the fields, and thus there is an abundance of rice and wheat/barley. [The people] worship the Buddha and there are many monasteries and *stūpa*s; their services are magnificent to the extreme [*BS*: there are many monasteries and *stūpa*s, which are magnificent to the extreme]. When people are involved in litigation, they drink a potion, as a result of which the crooked one goes mad, whereas the just one sees no harm. Their law knows no death penalty and whenever someone commits a capital crime, he is merely expelled to Mount Ling. In the south is Mount Tante, and on that mountain is a monastery; food is delivered there with several donkeys which are not led or driven by anyone, they know the way by themselves as they go back and forth.

I.053/B. *Youyang Zazu*

Youyang Zazu 《酉陽雜俎• 續集》, *j.* 8, p. 279.

西域厭達國有寺戶，以數頭驢運糧上山，無人驅逐，自能往返，寅發午至，不差晷刻。

In the Western Regions, in the state of the Yeda there are people providing for monasteries, who ship provisions up the mountain using several donkeys. Even though no one chases them, they go back and forth of their own accord; they leave in the hour of the Tiger [i.e. 3–5 am] and arrive in the hour of the Horse [i.e. 11 am–1 pm], without fail.

I.053/C. *Qielanji* 5

國王精食菜食長齋。晨夜禮佛，擊鼓，吹貝，琵琶、箜篌、笙簫備有。日中已後，始治國事。

The king [of Wuchang] eats refined vegetarian food and is completely abstinent. From morning to evening he worships the Buddha, while drums are beaten and conches are blown, and lutes,

[i] *BS*: 豐稻、麥。
[ii] *BS*: 以驢數頭運食山下，無人控御。

harps, reed-pipes and flutes are sounded. [It is not until] after midday [that the king] begins to attend to the matters of the state.

假有死罪，不立殺刑，唯從空山，任其飲啄。事涉疑似，以藥服之，清濁則驗，隨事輕重，當時即決。

Even if there is a capital crime, death penalty will not be imposed but [the culprit] is sent to the deserted mountains to make a living on his [own]. If a case is doubtful, [they make the accused] take a drug to find out if he is guilty or innocent, and the decision is then made immediately according to the weight of the crime.

土地肥美，人物豐饒。百穀盡登，五果繁熟。夜聞鍾聲，遍滿世界。土饒異花，冬夏相接。道俗採之，上佛供養。

The land is fertile and the people are prosperous. All kinds of grain are harvested, and the five fruits grow in abundance. Bells are heard ringing during the night, [and their sound] fills the realm. The land is abundant with wonderful flowers blossoming continuously in both summer and winter. Monastics and laypeople collect and offer them to the Buddha.

國王見宋雲，云大魏使來，膜拜受詔書，聞太后崇奉佛法，即面東合掌，遙心頂禮，遣解魏語人，問宋雲曰：「卿是日出人也？」宋雲答曰：「我國東界，有大海水，日出其中。實如來旨。」王又問曰：「彼國出聖人否？」宋雲具說周孔、莊老之德，次序蓬萊山上銀闕金堂，神僊、聖人並在其上，說管輅善卜、華陀治病、左慈方術，如此之事分別說之。王曰：「若如卿言即是佛國。我當命終，願生彼國。」

When the king met SONG Yun and was told that he came as the envoy of the Great Wei, he saluted [with the gesture of] *mobai* and received the imperial letter, and when he heard that the empress dowager venerated the *dharma* of the Buddha, he faced eastward, put his palms together and prostrated himself in veneration of the distant [ruler]. He sent a man who understood the language of the Wei to ask SONG Yun: "Are You from [the region] where the sun rises?" SONG Yun answered: "On the eastern border of our empire[i] is a great ocean from which the sun rises. It is indeed as you have expressed." The king asked again: "Do great sages originate from that empire?" SONG Yun explained all the virtues of [the Duke] of Zhou, Kong[zi] [Confucius], Zhuangzi and Laozi, and then [spoke] about the silver tower and the golden hall on top of mount Penglai where immortals and sages resided. He explained about the superb divination of GUAN Lu, the healing art of HUA Tuo, and the magic skills of ZUO Ci. He explained such matters to him in details. The king said: "If it is as You say, [your country] is truly a Buddha land. When I pass away I wish to be born in that country."

[Note Deeg] On *mobai* 膜拜, see GUO Pu's 郭璞 (276–324) commentary on *Mutianzi zhuan* 穆天子傳, a text discovered in 281 CE: 今之胡人禮佛，舉手加頭，稱南膜拜者，即此類也。"When today the barbarians greet the Buddha, they raise their hands to their head and speak the salutation '*namo*'—in this way it is [done]." *Mo* is an abbreviation of *nanmo*, Skt. *namo*

[i] Cf. Text I.054/B where we translate "Imperial letter," "Our emperor," etc.

(*namaḥ*), "veneration to …," cf. *Hanyu da cidian* (Luo 1990 s. v.); Wang Yi-t'ung (1984, 229 n. 125).

I.054. Qiantuo 乾陀

I.054/A. *Weishu* 102

乾陀國，在烏萇西，[i]本名業波，為嚈噠所破，因改焉。其王本是敕勒，臨國已二世矣。

The state of Qiantuo [Gandhāra] is west of Wuchang [Uḍḍiyāna]. It had originally been called Yebo but was destroyed by the Yeda, which is why it changed [its name]. The royal clan was originally Chile and has already been on the throne for two generations.

好征戰，與罽賓鬬，三年不罷，人怨苦之。有鬬象七百頭，十人乘一象，皆執兵仗，象鼻縛刀以戰。

They like waging war and since their war with Jibin [Kashmir] has not stopped for three years, all the people loathe and abhor it. They have 700 war elephants, each of which carries ten armed soldiers and has blades fastened to its trunk in order to fight with those.

所都城東南七里有佛塔，高七十丈，周三百步，即所謂「雀離佛圖」也。

Seven *li* south of the capital city is a Buddhist *stūpa* 70 *zhang* in height and 300 steps in circumference; it is called *Stūpa* of the Oriole.

Yebo 業波 (EMC *ŋɨap-pa*): Assuming that *ye* 業 is a scribal error for *che* 車, *ji* 基, or *ji* 寄 and *po* 波 is a scribal error for *tai* 汰, *tuo* 陀, or *duo* 多, Enoki considered the counterpart in *Qielanji* (Text I.054/B), Yeboluo 業波羅 (EMC *ŋɨap-pa-la*), a corrupted form of Jiduoluo 寄多羅 or a variant thereof, that is, Gandhāra before the Hephthalite conquest.[ii] Yu (2003, 129) at one point followed Matsuda's view (1970, 168, 396) in identifying Yeboluo with Zabul (Diefuluo 疊伏羅, Text I.018/C), but now he (2015, 110) agrees with Enoki that Yebo and Yeboluo are very likely scribal errors for Jiduoluo. However, Pelliot's hypothesis of *Yavana* is worthy of more attention; see Note Deeg on Text I.054/B.

Chile 敕勒 (EMC *trʰik-lək*): Another name of the Gaoju, cf. Text I.093. Here it is very likely a scribal error for Teqin 特勤 'Tägin' (EMC *dək-gɨn*), given as Chiqin 勅懃 (EMC *tʰrik-gɨn*) in most copies of the *Qielanji*, see Text I.054/B. Nevertheless, Matsuda (1970, 396) presumed the original *Weishu* text had Chile 敕勒 by seeing it as a transcription of "Türk."

I.054/B. *Qielanji* 5

至正光元年四月中旬入乾陀羅國。

[i] *BS*: 乾陁國, 在烏萇西。

[ii] On other solutions up to the 1950s, see Enoki's review (1958, 18, Eng. 1969, 25–26).

In the middle of the fourth month of the first year of the Zhengguang reign [520], [the party] arrived in the state of Qiantuoluo.

土地亦與烏場國相似。本名業波羅國。為嚈噠所滅，遂立勅懃為王。治國以來已經二世。立性凶暴，多行殺戮，不信佛法，好祀鬼神。

The land is similar to the state of Uchang. Originally it was called the state of *Yeboluo*, but it was defeated by the Yeda who eventually installed a *chiqin* as [their vasal] king; they have ruled the state for two generations. [The present king's] character is fierce and brutal, and he often commits massacres and does not believe in the *dharma* of the Buddha but prefers to offer sacrifices to the spirits.

Chiqin 勅懃 (EMC *thrik-gɨn*): According to Marquart (1901, 211ff.) and Chavannes (1903b, 416 n. 4), *chiqin* is a transliteration for *tägin*.

國中人民悉是婆羅門種，崇奉佛教，好讀經典。忽得此王深非情願，自恃勇力與罽賓爭境，連兵戰鬪已歷三年。

The population of the state are all of *brāhmaṇa* caste who venerate the teaching of the Buddha and like to read the *sūtra*s. When they all of a sudden had this king, they were deeply resentful. He was so self-confident of his courage and power that he summoned his troops for a war over a border conflict with Jibin [Kashmir] which has [now] already been going on for three years.

王有鬪象七百頭，一負十人，手持刀楂，象鼻縛刀，與敵相擊。王常停境上，終日不歸。師老民勞，百姓嗟怨。

The king has seven hundred battle elephants, each carrying ten men who hold swords and [wooden] sticks in their hands, while the elephants have blades tied to their trunks, with which they attack the enemy. The king always stays at the border and never returns [to the capital], [so that] the troops are worn out, the men are fatigued, and the ordinary people are complaining.

宋雲詣軍通詔書，王凶慢無禮，坐受詔書。宋雲見其遠夷不可制，任其倨傲，莫能責之。王遣傳事，謂宋雲曰：「卿涉諸國，經過險路，得無勞苦也？」宋雲答曰：「我皇帝深味大乘，遠求經典。道路雖險，未敢言疲。大王親總三軍，遠臨邊境，寒暑驟移，不無頓弊？」王答曰：「不能降服小國，愧卿此問。」宋雲初謂王是夷人，不可以禮責，任其坐受詔書，及親往復，乃有人情，遂責之曰：「山有高下，水有大小，人處世間亦有尊卑。嚈噠、烏場王並拜受詔書。大王何獨不拜？」王答曰：「我見魏主則拜。得書坐讀，有何可怪？世人得父母書，猶自坐讀。大魏如我父母，我一坐讀書，於理無失。」雲無以屈之。

SONG Yun went to where the army was to submit the imperial letter, but the king was rude, arrogant, and displayed no etiquette, receiving the imperial letter while seated. SONG Yun recognized that these distant barbarians could not be controlled, so he tolerated his arrogance and did not reprimand him. The king sent a messenger to tell SONG Yun: "You have passed through many kingdoms, taken perilous roads; do you not suffer from exhaustion?" SONG Yun replied: "Our emperor is [so] deeply delighted by the Mahāyāna [that he sent us] to distant lands in search of *sūtra*s. Although the roads were dangerous I still do not dare to say that I am exhausted.

> [You], oh great king, are personally staying with the army to control the distant border. [Since] heat and cold alternate quickly, are you not exhausted?" The king answered: "I cannot [even] subjugate [this] small kingdom; Your question makes me feel ashamed." SONG Yun first had thought that as a barbarian, the king could not be reprimanded for not having etiquette and so had tolerated that he had accepted the imperial letter while seated. While having personal interaction [with him he found] that [the king] had human feelings and hence reprimanded him: "Mountains are high or low, rivers are big or small; in the world inhabited by humans there are also superiors and inferiors. The kings of the Yeda and of Udyāna both courteously received the imperial letter—why does only the great king not act courteously?" The king answered: "If I meet the ruler of the Wei [personally], I will honour [him]. Why should it be strange if I receive the letter and read it while seated? Even [when] people receive letters from their parents they still read them while seated. [The ruler of] the Great Wei is like my parents, [so] there is nothing wrong with reading his letter while seated." [SONG] Yun could not convince him.

[Note Deeg] Yeboluo 業波羅 is assumed by Hori Kentoku 堀謙德 (followed by Zhou Zumo and Wang Yi-t'ung) to be a transliteration of Sanskrit Gopāla, obviously with a presumption that this had something to do with the famous *nāga* of the cave of the Shadow of the Buddha up in the Kabul Valley. The place is described in the same text in a passage inserted from the travelogue of Daoyao (or Daorong) who uses a different transliteration. For another interpretation, see Chavannes (1903b, 416 n. 2), reading *ye* as *she* and identifying it with the famous self-sacrificing king Śibi/Śivi from the *Jātakas*. Since many of the names in the text are corrupted, I suggest that Pelliot's solution Yavana (1933, 96 n. 4; 1934, 26ff n. 2) is more plausible within the historical context of the region, because it was, for a long time, dominated by Greek (Skt. *yavana*) culture. Since we have witness of the region being called Yebo 葉波, it may well be that—through miswriting *ye* 葉 as *ye* 業 and the frequent transliterational *na* 那 as *luo* 羅—in Yeboluo we have a reflection of an original Yebona 葉波那 (or Yepona 葉婆那 as in *T.* 2090(LI)997b15) = Skt. Yavana. Or is the name related to Yapala on a Brāhmī seal legend (cf. Falk in Lerner and Sims-Williams 2011, 124)?

[Note Ching] While Chiqin 勅懃 is widely accepted as the correct form in this episode about Gandhāra, the two old copies which give Chile 敕勒 in Text I.046/A both have Chile 敕懃 here (cf. *Qielanji*, p. 234, n. 140). In the corresponding part of the *Beishi* and *Weishu* (Text I.054/A), the text has Chile 敕勒, too. Taking Chile as an early transliteration of the name of Turks, Matsuda (1970, 396) argued that the ruling class of Gandhāra around 520 was Turkic. Nevertheless, one cannot rule out the possibility that in those two copies, it was the variant Chile in the part on the Yeda (Text I.046/A) that caused scribe's confusion of Chiqin 勅懃 with Chile 敕懃 in this episode. Here, in I.054/B, Chiqin is perfectly acceptable if one takes it as a marker of "royal clan" among the nomads in the north.[i]

[i] *Tägin* had occurred in Chinese sources as a title in the upper class of Tuoba Xianbei (*zhiqin* 直勤) and Rouran (*tiqin* 提懃, etc.), cf. Luo (2009, 80–107, 155–65). Identifying *yiqin* 宜勤 (*Yulan*, *j.* 598), name of a slave of *di* 氐 origin who was originally a prince of the *hu* (*hu wangzi* 胡王子) but finally bought by SHI Chong 石崇 (249–300 CE), as an

[Note Inaba] The essential problem is how we combine SONG Yun's record with the presence of Alkhan rulers in northwestern India evidenced in numismatic studies. As far as we see from the inscriptions, Mihirakula, son of Toramāṇa, was ruling northern and central India when SONG Yun visited Puṣkarāvatī (Chārsada) in Gandhāra. Accordingly, the question arises, why did SONG Yun use the same designation for the ruler on the northern side of the Hindu Kush and the prince/ruler on the southern side of the same mountains? At present, there seems to be no good solution, unless we, for instance, imagine that "eastern" Tukharistan (especially Baghlān-Ghori plain) and Gandhāra were ruled by the same polity (the Alkhans) at that time. In this case, the transcription "Yeda" chosen by SONG Yun still needs to be explained. As an alternative solution, we may imagine that the rule of (the Genuine) Hephthalites extended to Gandhāra, but in this case, one should pay attention to the fact that so far no Genuine Hephthalite coin is known from south of the Hindu Kush.

I.055. Baiti 白題 and other states adjacent to Hua in the *Liangshu*

LS 54 《梁書• 列傳第四十八• 諸夷》 (pp. 812–813). Translation based on Yu (2014a, 548–50).

周古柯國，滑旁小國也。普通元年，使使隨滑來獻方物。

The state of Zhouguke [Karghalik]: it is a small state near Hua. In the first year of the Putong reign [520] it sent envoys, following [the envoys of] Hua, to present its local products.

呵跋檀國，亦滑旁小國也。凡滑旁之國，衣服容貌皆與滑同。普通元年，使使隨滑使來獻方物。

The state of Hebatan [Kabadiyan]: it is also a small state near Hua. For all states that are near Hua, the clothes and appearance [of the residents] are the same as those of Hua. In the first year of the Putong reign it sent envoys, following the envoys of Hua, to present its local products.

胡蜜丹國，亦滑旁小國也。普通元年，使使隨滑使來獻方物。

The state of Humidan [Kumedh]: it is also a small state near Hua. In the first year of the Putong reign it sent envoys, following the envoys of Hua, to present its local products.

白題國，王姓支名史稽毅，其先蓋匈奴之別種胡也。漢灌嬰與匈奴戰，斬白題騎一人。今在滑國東。去滑六日行，西極波斯。土地出粟、麥、瓜菓，食物略與滑同。普通三年，遣使獻方物。

The state of Baiti: its king's clan name is ZHI, and his name is Shijiyi. Its ancestor descended from a branch of Xiongnu. When he fought with the Xiongnu during the Han period, GUAN Ying killed a Baiti cavalryman [cf. Text I.028/B]. At present, the state is to the east of the state

error for *zhiqin* 直勤, Luo (2009, 89) argued that *Tägin* was also used by other *hu* around Bingzhou 并州 (approx. today's Taiyuan and Datong) including the *jie* 羯 tribes. In his opinion (op. cit. 93–94), *Tägin* was not merely an official title but essentially a mark of the blood of "Royal clan" [sic] among several nomadic peoples in Early Medieval Inner Asia.

of Hua at a distance of six days' journey. To the west it extends as far as Bosi [Persia]. The land produces millet, wheat, watermelons and other kinds of fruit. Their food more or less resembles those of Hua. In the third year of the Putong reign [522], it sent envoys to present its local products.

Baiti 白題: Probably a Chinese transcription of Balkh (Yu 2005, 409 Comm. 88; Eng. 2014a, 550). See also Note Sims-Williams on Text I.024.

I.6.13. Conflicts between the Rouran, Gaoju and Yeda

The Gaoju ruler Mi'etu 彌俄突, his successor Yifu 伊匐, as well as the Rouran ruler Poluomen 婆羅門 were supported by the Yeda during the long-term conflict as seen in the extracts below.

I.056. Doulun's succession to the Rouran throne in 485 CE and the split of the Gaoju from the Rouran

I.056/A. *Weishu* 103 (on the Ruanruan)

WS 103 《列傳第九十一• 蠕蠕》(pp. 2494–2495) ~ *BS* 98 《列傳第八十六• 蠕蠕》(p. 3256).

九年，予成死，子豆崙立，號伏古敦(*BS*: 伏名敦)可汗，魏言恒也。自稱太平元年。

In the ninth year [of the Taihe 太和 reign] [485], Yucheng died and his son Doulun succeeded him, calling himself Fugudun [BS: Fumingdun] *Qaghan*, which in Chinese means Eternal. He changed the reign title to the first year of Taiping.

I.056/B. *Weishu* 103 (on the Gaoju)

WS 103 《列傳第九十一• 高車》(pp. 2508–2509) ~ *BS* 98 《列傳第八十六• 高車》(pp. 3273–3274).

先是，副伏羅部為蠕蠕所役屬，[i]豆崙之世，蠕蠕亂離，國部分散，副伏羅阿伏至羅與從弟窮奇俱統領高車之眾十餘萬落。

Prior to this, the Fufuluo tribes were subjugated by the Ruanruan. During the reign of Doulun, the Ruanruan were scattered [by the Wei] and the various tribes of the state dispersed. Afuzhiluo of the Fufuluo and his younger cousin Qiongqi together led the Gaoju troops, numbering over one hundred thousand tents.

太和十一年，豆崙犯塞，阿伏至羅等固諫不從，怒，率所部之眾西叛，[ii]至前部西北，自立為王，[iii]國人號之曰「候婁匐勒」，猶魏言大天子也。窮奇號「候倍」，猶魏言儲主也。二

[i] *BS*: 副伏羅部為蠕蠕所役屬。
[ii] *BS*: 怒率所部之眾西叛。
[iii] *BS*: 自立為王。

人和穆，分部而立，阿伏至羅居北，窮奇在南。豆崙追討之，頻為阿伏至羅所敗，乃引眾東徙。

In the eleventh year of the Taihe reign [487], Doulun attacked the [Wei] border. As he did not listen to Afuzhiluo's advice, Afuzhiluo was infuriated and led the troops under his command westward to rebel. When he reached the northwest of the Nearer [Jushi], [i.e. Turfan], he erected himself as king and the people of the state called him *Houloufule*, which in Chinese means 'Great Son of Heaven.' Qiongqi was called *Houbei*, which in Chinese means 'Heir Apparent.' The two of them were on amicable terms, they divided the tribes under their control, Afuzhiluo ruling the north, Qiongqi the south. Doulun went in pursuit to punish them but, having been repeatedly defeated by Afuzhiluo, withdrew his troops eastward.

十四年，阿伏至羅遣商胡越者至京師，以二箭奉貢，云：「蠕蠕為天子之賊，臣諫之不從，遂叛來至此而自豎立。當為天子討除蠕蠕。[i]」

In the 14th year [of the Taihe reign, i.e. 490], Afuzhiluo sent a *hu* merchant called Yuezhe to the capital [of Wei], presenting to the throne two arrows with the words "The Ruanruan rebelled against Your Majesty, because [Doulun] did not listen to my advice, I moved here and established myself. I shall eradicate the Ruanruan on behalf of Your Majesty."

Afuzhiluo 阿伏至羅 (EMC *ʔa-buwk-tei^{h}-la*): Cunningham's attempt to identify him with Ephthalanus was rejected by Miyazaki (1931b). The original form of this name, as well as that of Fufuluo, are still obscure. At any rate, Emperor Gaozu did not approve Afuzhiluo's proposal; cf. *WS* 103, p. 2509.

In the eleventh year of the Taihe reign (*Taihe shiyi nian* 太和十一年, 487 CE): See Text I.057.

I.057. Wars between Doulun and Afuzhiluo before Nagai's succession to the Rouran throne

WS 103 (on the Ruanruan): *WS* 103 《列傳第九十一• 蠕蠕》(p. 2495) ~ *BS* 98 《列傳第八十六• 蠕蠕》(p. 3257)

十六年八月，高祖(*BS*: 孝文)遣陽平王頤、左僕射陸叡並為都督，領軍斛律桓等十二將七萬騎討豆崙。部內高車阿伏至羅率眾十餘萬落(*BS*: 十餘萬)西走，自立為主。豆崙與叔父那蓋為二道追之，[ii]豆崙出自浚稽山北而西，那蓋出自金山。豆崙頻為阿伏至羅所敗，那蓋累有勝捷。

In the eighth month of the 16th year [492], Emperor Gaozu [*BS*: Emperor Xiaowen] sent Prince of Yangping [YUAN] Yi and *zuo puye* LU Rui as military governors, and twelve generals including commander-in-chief HULÜ Huan led a cavalry of seventy thousand against Doulun. Within

[i] *BS*: 以二箭奉貢。云：「蠕蠕為天子之賊，臣諫之不從，遂叛來此，而自豎立，當為天子討除蠕蠕。」
[ii] *BS*: 豆崙與叔父那蓋為二道追之。

the [Ruanruan] tribes Afuzhiluo of the Gaoju fled with troops numbering over a hundred thousand tents [*BS*: over a hundred thousand] to the west, where he established himself as ruler. Doulun and his father's younger brother Nagai went in pursuit from two directions, Doulun moving westward from the northern side of Mount Junji/Xunji and Nagai setting off from the Altai Mountains. Doulun was repeatedly defeated by Afuzhiluo but Nagai proved victorious on several occasions.

眾乃殺豆崙母子，以屍示那蓋，那蓋乃襲位。[i]

[...] The troops then killed Doulun and his mother and showed their corpses to Nagai who then assumed the throne.

那蓋號候其伏代庫者可汗，魏言悅樂也。自稱太安元年。

Nagai was called Houqifudaikuzhe *Qaghan*, which in Chinese means Joyous. He changed the reign title to the first year of Taian [492].

The 16th year (*shiliu nian* 十六年)**:** Possibly an error for the 11th year (487) as remarked by Feng (1957, 36–48), cf. Text I.056/B. Matsuda (1956, 209–11) further argued that 487 is inexact: according to his analysis of the *Weishu*, *Beishi*, *Nan Qishu* 南齊書 and *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑, the revolt might have happened at the end of 485 or at latest by the beginning of 486. He (1938, 19) noted that according to the *Weishu*, *j.* 101, the Gaoju had supported ZHANG Mengming 張孟明 to become the king of Gaochang (Turfan) in 481. So before Afuzhiluo's decision to separate from the Rouran, the Gaoju had taken root in Turfan. On the other hand, Yu (2005, 626 Comm. 61; Eng. 2014a, 813) followed Feng (1957, 36–41) regarding the dating of the enthronement of ZHANG, who believed that the year 481 ([太和]五年) given in the *Beishi*, *j.* 97 in the history of Gaochang was a scribal error for 491 ([太和]十五年). Presently, the widely accepted theory is that of Shirasu Jōshin. Dating the independence of the Gaoju to the eighth month of the 11th year (4 Sep. – 2 Oct. 487) or slightly later, he puts the enthronement of ZHANG in 488, on the basis of Chinese documents unearthed from Turfan and other sources. His view has been advanced by Wang Su (1998, 266–81).

I.058. Death of Qiongqi and Afuzhiluo and the Yeda intervention to support Qiongqi's son Mi'etu

WS 103 (on the Gaoju): 《列傳第九十一• 高車》(p.2509) ~ *BS* 98 《列傳第八十六• 高車》(p. 3274).

窮奇後為嚈噠所殺，虜其子彌俄突等，[ii]其眾分散，或來奔附，或投蠕蠕。

Later on, Qiongqi was killed by the Yeda who also captured his son Mi'etu and others. The troops dispersed, some joining [the Wei], others fleeing to the Ruanruan.

[i] *BS*: 以尸示那蓋，乃襲位。
[ii] *BS*: 虜其子彌俄突等。

阿伏至羅又殘暴，大失眾心，眾共殺之，立其宗人跋利延為主。

[...] As for Afuzhiluo, because he was cruel and violent, he was greatly abhorred by his people who eventually killed him, establishing his clansman Baliyan as the ruler.

歲餘，嚈噠伐高車，將納彌俄突，[i]國人殺跋利延，迎彌俄突而立之。

In a bit over a year the Yeda attacked the Gaoju and freed Mi'etu, and the people of the state [of the Gaoju] killed Baliyan, inviting Mi'etu to their throne.

Later on, Qiongqi was killed by the Yeda (*Qiongqi houwei Yeda suo sha* 窮奇後為嚈噠所殺): Matsuda (1956, 214–15) dated Qiongqi's death to around 490–497, since he thought that Qiongqi was still alive when the Gaoju paid tributes to the Northern Wei in 490. In his theory, Qiongqi's death was the result of the Hephthalite invasion of the Tarim Basin just before QU Jia's succession (Text I.031) to the Gaochang throne around 497. Duan (1988, 239) assumed that Qiongqi's death was slightly after QU Jia's enthronement, most probably between 498 and 500, yet the date of his enthronement has been recently revised to 501; cf. Wang Su (1998, 324–26). Yu (1986) did not treat this problem in depth but now he (2012, 172 n. 6) dates Qiongqi's death to 507 or a bit earlier.

In a bit over a year (*sui yu* 歲餘): Matsuda (1956, 214–15) dated Mi'etu's stepping on the throne to the spring of 508 or the preceding year, since the Gaoju paid tributes to the Northern Wei three times in 508. Henceforth, he (1956, 216) assumed that the Hephthalites attacked the Gaoju in 507 or 508 in order to support Mi'etu's succession.

I.059. Emperor Shizong's decree to Mi'etu in 508 CE

WS 103 (on the Gaoju): 列傳第九十一• 高車》(p. 2509) ~ *BS* 98 《列傳第八十六• 高車》(p. 3274). Here our translation follows Shirasu's reconstruction (1984) of the original *Weishu* based on the *Tongdian* (*j*. 197, p. 5400) and the *Wenxian Tongkao* (*j*. 342, p. 2686).

彌俄突既立，復遣朝貢，又奉表獻金方一、銀方一、金杖二、馬七匹、駝十頭。詔使者慕容坦賜彌俄突雜綵六十匹。世宗(*BS*: 宣武)詔之曰：

After Mi'etu had assumed the throne, he sent tributes to the [Wei] court, and he also presented [to the court] one golden plaque, one silver plaque, two golden staffs, seven horses and ten camels. An imperial decree ordered the envoy MURONG Tan to give to Mi'etu 60 bolts of colour brocade. Emperor Shizong [*BS*: Xuanwu] decreed:

「卿遠據沙外，頻申誠款，覽揖忠志，特所欽嘉。蠕蠕、嚈噠、吐谷渾所以交通者，皆路由高昌(*TD*/*WXTK*: 高昌國)，掎角相接。今高昌內附，遣使迎引，[ii]蠕蠕(*TD*/*WXTK*: 蠕蠕既與吐谷渾)往來路絕，姦勢。(Shirasu: 姦勢亦沮。於卿彼蕃，便有所益。行途經由，宜相供俟。)不得妄令羣小敢有陵犯，擁塞王人，罪在不赦。」

[i] *BS*: 將納彌俄突。
[ii] *BS*: 遣使迎引。

> "You control the distant region beyond the desert, time and time again you have demonstrated your honest goodwill. I am aware of your loyal heart and highly appreciate it. The Ruanruan, the Yeda and the Tuyuhun are in contact with each other via Gaochang [*TD*/*WXTK*: the state of Gaochang] where they join forces. Now the people of Gaochang wish to settle within [our lands] so we will send envoys to welcome and guide them here. Since contacts between the Ruanruan [*TD*/*WXTK*: the Ruanruan and the Tuyuhun] were severed, their joint schemes [Shirasu: their joint schemes also became blocked. This is also to your advantage, therefore you should offer provisions for those who pass through your land]. You should not let bandits harass them. If the people [of Gaochang] under my care are obstructed, I will never forgive you your crime."

I.060. Futu's succession to the Rouran throne and his death after attacking Mi'etu in 508 CE

Futu's death is dated to 508 CE by Matsuda (1956, 215). His theory is followed by Duan (1988, 243–44) and others.

I.060/A. *Weishu* 103 (on the Ruanruan)

WS 103《列傳第九十一• 蠕蠕》(p. 2495) ~ *BS* 98 《列傳第八十六• 蠕蠕》(p. 3257).

> 那蓋死，子伏圖立，號他汗可汗，魏言緒也。自稱始平元年。
>
> When Nagai died, his son Futu succeeded the throne; he was called Tahan *Qaghan*, which in Chinese means 'Succession' [lit. 'thread']. He changed the reign title to the first year of Shiping [506].
>
> 伏圖西征高車，為高車王彌俄突所殺，子醜奴立，號豆羅伏跋豆伐可汗，魏言彰制也。自稱建昌元年。
>
> [...] When Futu led a military campaign westward against the Gaoju, he was killed by Mi'etu, the king of the Gaoju. His son Chounu assumed the throne; he was called Douluofubadoufa *Qaghan*, which in Chinese means 'Displaying Order.' He changed the reign title to the first year of Jianchang [508].

I.060/B. *Weishu* 103 (on the Gaoju)

WS 103《列傳第九十一• 高車》(pp. 2509–2510) ~ *BS* 98 《列傳第八十六• 高車》(pp. 3274–3275)

> 彌俄突尋與蠕蠕主伏圖戰於蒲類海北，為伏圖所敗，西走三百餘里。伏圖次於伊吾北山。先是，高昌王麴嘉表求內徙，世宗(*BS*: 宣武)遣孟威迎之，[i]至伊吾，蠕蠕見威軍，怖而遁走。彌俄突聞其離駭，追擊大破之，殺伏圖於蒲類海北，割其髮，送於孟威。

[i] *BS*: 宣武遣孟威迎之。

Soon Mi'etu engaged in a battle with Futu, the Ruanruan ruler, north of Lake Pulei [Barköl], and was defeated by Futu. He fled west for more than 300 *li*. Futu temporarily camped in the mountains north of Yiwu [Hami]. Prior to this, QU Jia, the king of Gaochang, submitted a memorial requesting to settle inland [on Wei territories] [cf. Text I.031/A], and Emperor Shizong [*BS*: Xuanwu] sent MENG Wei to welcome his people. When [MENG] Wei arrived in Yiwu and the Ruanruan saw his army, they were terrified and fled. Hearing about their chaotic dispersal, Mi'etu went in pursuit and inflicted heavy losses on them. He killed Futu on the northern side of Lake Pulei, cut his hair and presented it to MENG Wei.

I.061. Mi'etu's death around 516 after his defeat by the Rouran ruler Chounu

I.061/A. *Weishu* 103 (on the Gaoju)

WS 103《列傳第九十一• 高車》(p. 2510) ~ *BS* 98 《列傳第八十六• 高車》(p. 3275)

肅宗(*BS*: 明帝)初，彌俄突與蠕蠕主醜奴戰敗被禽，[i]醜奴繫其兩脚於駑馬之上，頓曳殺之，漆其頭為飲器。其部眾悉入嚈噠。

At the beginning of the reign of Emperor Suzong [r. 515–528] [*BS*: Emperor Ming], Mi'etu was defeated and captured by Chounu, the Ruanruan ruler. Chounu tied his feet to inferior horses and had them kill him by pulling him apart. Then he painted [Mi'etu's] skull and made a drinking vessel out of it. [Mi'etu's] tribes were all incorporated into the Yeda.

I.061/B. *Weishu* 103 (on the Ruanruan)

WS 103《列傳第九十一• 蠕蠕》(p. 2495) ~ *BS* 98 《列傳第八十六• 蠕蠕》(p. 3257)

熙平元年，西征高車大破之，禽其王(*BS*: 主)彌俄突，殺之，盡并叛者，國遂強盛。

In the first year of the Xiping reign [516], [the Ruanruan] attacked the Gaoju in the west and inflicted a crushing defeat on them, captured their king [*BS*: their ruler] Mi'etu and killed him. They completely united the rebels and subsequently the state became strong and prosperous.

I.062. Yifu's succession to the Gaoju throne by the summer of 522

WS 103 《列傳第九十一• 高車》(p. 2510) (on the Gaoju) ~ *BS* 98 《列傳第八十六• 高車》(p. 3275)

經數年，嚈噠聽彌俄突弟伊匐還國。伊匐既復國，遣使奉表，於是詔遣使者谷楷等拜為鎮西將軍、西海郡開國公、高車王。

[i] *BS*: 戰敗，被禽。

After several years, the Yeda allowed Yifu, the younger brother of Mi'etu, to return to his home country. Once Yifu restored his state, he sent an embassy [to Wei] and submitted a memorial. Therefore, the Emperor sent GU Kai and others as envoys to confer the titles *zhenxi jiangjun* [General of Controlling the West], *Xihaijun kaiguo gong* [State-Founding Duke of Western Lake Commandery] and King of the Gaoju.

[Note Ching]: According to the *Weishu*, *j.* 9, p. 278, the titles were conferred in the fourth month of the third year of the Zhengguang reign (522), where his name is given as Fuluo Yifu 覆羅伊匐 (EMC *p^{h}uw^{h}-la-ʔji-buwk*). Fuluo may be a corrupted form of Fufuluo 副伏羅 (EMC *puw^{h}-buwk-la*), cf. Text I.056/B.

I.063. The Rouran prince Anagui's refuge in the Northern Wei in 520–521

WS 103 《列傳第九十一• 蠕蠕》(p. 2496–2498) (on the Ruanruan) ~ *BS* 98 《列傳第八十六• 蠕蠕》(p. 3258)

初，豆崙之死也，那蓋為主，伏圖納豆崙之妻候(or: 俟)呂陵氏，生醜奴、阿那瓌等六人。

Initially, after Doulun died and Nagai became the ruler, Futu married Doulun's wife of the Houlüling [or: Silüling] clan, who gave him six children, including Chounu and Anagui.

正光初……又阿至羅侵醜奴，醜奴擊之，軍敗。還，為母與其大臣所殺，立醜奴弟阿那瓌。[i]立經十日，其族兄俟力發示發卒眾數萬以伐阿那瓌， 阿那瓌戰敗，將弟乙居伐輕騎南走歸國。[ii]……尋封阿那瓌朔方郡公、蠕蠕王，……二年正月，阿那瓌等五十四人請辭，……[iii]

[…] At the beginning of the Zhengguang reign [520] [...] the Azhiluo once again invaded Chounu['s state]. Chounu attacked them but was defeated. When he returned home, he was killed by his mother and his grand minister, who established Chounu's younger brother Anagui on the throne. Ten days after being on the throne, his elder cousin Shifa, the *Silifa* [*Iltäbär*], led tens of thousands of troops to attack Anagui, and Anagui was defeated in battle, so he took his younger brother Yijufa with him and went into exile, riding southward to [Wei] territory. [...] [In the tenth month, after Anagui arrived in the Wei court] he was soon conferred the titles of Duke of Shuofang and King of Ruanruan [...] In the first month of the second year [521], 54 men including Anagui left [the Wei court. ...]

Azhiluo 阿至羅: Another name of the Gaoju, which derives from the name of the aforementioned leader Afuzhiluo 阿伏至羅. Here 'the Azhiluo' refers to King Yifu.

[i] *BS*: 軍敗還，為母與其大臣所殺，立醜奴弟阿那瓌為主。
[ii] *BS*: 阿那瓌立經十日，其族兄俟力發示發率眾數萬以伐，阿那瓌戰敗，將弟乙居伐輕騎南走歸魏。
[iii] Here a lengthy list of the Emperor's gifts is omitted.

I.064. Poluomen's succession to the Rouran throne

WS 103 (on the Ruanruan): *WS* 103 《列傳第九十一• 蠕蠕》(p. 2499) ~ *BS* 98 《列傳第八十六• 蠕蠕》(p. 3261).

> 阿那瓌來奔之後，其從父兄俟力發婆羅門率數萬人入討示發，破之。
>
> After Anagui came over [to the Wei], his paternal elder cousin Poluomen, the *Silifa* [*Iltäbär*], led tens of thousands of troops against Shifa and defeated him.
>
> 推婆羅門為主，號彌偶可社句可汗，魏言安靜也。
>
> [... The Ruanruan] elected Poluomen as their ruler; he was called Mioukesheju *Qaghan*, which in Chinese means 'Tranquil.'
>
> 婆羅門殊自驕慢，無遜避之心，
>
> [...] Poluomen was exceedingly arrogant and haughty and had no intention to yield the throne [to Anagui].
>
> 阿那瓌慮不敢入，表求還京。
>
> [...] Anagui was concerned and dared not to come back. He requested permission to return to the [Wei] capital.

I.065. Yifu's attack on Poluomen

I.065/A. *Weishu* 103 (on the Gaoju)

WS 103 《列傳第九十一• 高車》(p. 2510) ~ *BS* 98 《列傳第八十六• 高車》(p. 3275).

> 伊匐復大破蠕蠕，蠕蠕主婆羅門走投涼州。
>
> When Yifu also crushed the Ruanruan [like his elder brother Mi'etu], the Ruanruan ruler Poluomen fled to Liangzhou.

I.065/B. *Weishu* 103 (on the Ruanruan)

WS 103 《列傳第九十一• 蠕蠕》(pp. 2499–2500) ~ *BS* 98 《列傳第八十六• 蠕蠕》(pp. 3261–3262).

> 會婆羅門為高車所逐，率十部落詣涼州歸降，於是蠕蠕數萬相率迎阿那瓌。[i]
>
> Just at that time [when Anagui hesitated to enter the land of the Ruanruan], Poluomen was pursued by the Gaoju, and he led ten tribes to Liangzhou to seek refuge. Accordingly, tens of thousands of Ruanruan troops assembled together and invited Anagui [to restore his power].

[i] *BS*: 詣涼州歸降。於是蠕蠕數萬，相率迎阿那瓌。

十二月，詔安西將軍、廷尉元洪超兼尚書行臺，詣敦煌安置婆羅門。

[…] In the twelfth month [beginning of 522], YUAN Hongchao, who held the titles of *Anxi jiangjun* [General of Pacifying the West] and *tingwei* [Chamberlain for Law Enforcement], was conferred by imperial decree the concurrent title of *shangshu xingtai*, [as part of his mission] to visit Dunhuang and settle Poluomen [in Xihai jun 西海郡 around Juyan Lake].

I.066. Poluomen's attempt to flee to the Yeda and his death in 524 in China

WS 103 《列傳第九十一• 蠕蠕》(pp. 2500–2501) (on the Ruanruan) ~ *BS* 98 《列傳第八十六• 蠕蠕》(pp. 3262–3263)

婆羅門尋與部眾謀叛投嚈噠，[i]嚈噠三妻，皆婆羅門姊妹也。仍為州軍所討，禽之。

Soon after that, Poluomen planned to rebel and join the Yeda with his followers, as the three wives of the Yeda [ruler] were all his sisters. Yet he was attacked and captured by the prefectural troops [of the Wei].

五年，婆羅門死於洛南之館。

[...] In the fifth year [524], Poluomen died in his residence at Luoyang.

I.6.14. Final days of the Yeda

I.067. General account of the history of the Yeda

I.067/A. *Zhoushu* 50 (on the Yeda)

ZS 50 《列傳第四十二• 異域下》(p. 918) ~ *BS* 97 《列傳第八十五• 西域》(p. 3231) Cf. Transl. of *BS* in La Vaissière (2007, 126).

後為突厥所破，部落分散，職貢遂絕。

Later [the Yeda] were smashed by the Tujue. The tribes dispersed and thus stopped paying tribute.

I.067/B. *Suishu* 83 (on the Yeda)

SS 83 《列傳第五十• 異域下》(p. 1854) Cf. Transl. of *BS* in La Vaissière (2007, 126).

先時國亂，突厥遣通設字詰強領其國。

[i] *BS*: 婆羅門尋與部眾謀叛投嚈噠。

Formerly the state [of the Yeda] fell into turmoil, and the Tujue sent *Tong Shad* Zijie, who forcibly took possession of the state.

I.068. General account of the history of the Turks

I.068/A. *Zhoushu* 50 (on the Tujue)

ZS 50 《列傳第四十二• 異域下》(p. 909) ~ *BS* 99 《列傳第八十七• 突厥》(p. 3287).

俟斤一名燕都，狀貌多奇異，面廣尺餘，其色甚赤，眼若瑠璃。性剛暴，務於征伐。[i]乃率兵擊鄧叔子，滅之。叔子以其餘燼來奔(*BS*: 奔西魏)。

Sijin (Irkin) was also called Yandu. He had many extraordinary features. His face was more than a foot wide, his complexion was completely red, his eyes were like lapis lazuli [*liuli*]. By nature he was tough and fierce and regarded military expeditions as his primary task. [BS: By nature he was tough and fierce, brave and knowledgeable, and regarded military expeditions as his primary task.] Thus he led troops to attack Dengshuzi and annihilated him. [Deng]shuzi with his surviving followers fled to [Wei][*BS*: fled to the Western Wei].

俟斤又西破噦噠(*BS*: 嚈噠)，東走契丹，北并契骨，威服塞外諸國。

Sijin also defeated the Yeda in the west, dispersed the Qidan [Khitans] in the east, annexed the Qigu [Qırqız] in the north, subjugating the states beyond the [Northern Zhou] frontier.

其地東自遼海以西，西至西海萬里，南自沙漠以北，北至北海五六千里，皆屬焉。[ii]

His territory stretched for ten thousand *li* from the Sea of Liao in the east to the Western Sea in the west, for five-six thousand *li* from the deserts in the south to the Northern Sea in the north.

I.068/B. *Suishu* 84 (on the Tujue)

SS 84 《列傳第四十九• 北狄》(p. 1864).

木杆勇而多智，遂擊茹茹，滅之，西破挹怛，東走契丹，北方戎狄悉歸之，抗衡中夏。

Mugan [Muqan] was brave and had much wisdom. He subsequently attacked the Ruru and annihilated them. He defeated the Yida in the west and dispersed the Khitans in the east. All northern barbarians submitted to him and he became a rival of the Chinese.

[i] *BS*: 狀貌奇異，面廣尺餘，其色赤甚，眼若瑠璃，剛暴，勇而多知，務於征伐。

[ii] In *BS* 99, p. 3287, the text is given as 其地，東自遼海以西，至西海，萬里；南自沙漠以北，至北海，五六千里：皆屬焉。This does not, however, alter the English translation offered here.

I.6.15. Yeda tribute payments to China

I.069. Tribute payments to the Northern Wei court

I.069/A. A General review in the *Weishu*, *j*. 102

WS 102 《列傳第九十• 西域》(p. 2473) ~ *BS* 97 《列傳第八十五• 西域》(p. 3231) (Cf. Transl. of *BS* in La Vaissière 2007, 125).

> 自太安以後，每遣使朝貢。正光末，遣使貢(*BS*: 遣供)師子一，至高平，遇万俟醜奴反，因留之。醜奴平，送京師。永熙以後，朝獻遂絕。
>
> From the Tai'an reign [455–459] onward, they frequently dispatched envoys to pay tribute. At the end of the Zhengguang reign [520–525], they dispatched an envoy to present a lion as tribute. When he arrived at Gaoping [today's Guyuan], MOQI Chounu rebelled, so the envoy was detained by Chounu. Once Chounu was defeated, the envoy was sent on to the capital. From the Yongxi reign [532–534] on, they stopped bringing tribute.

A lion (*shizi yi* 師子一): The year of this tribute was 530, see Text I.069/M. Yu (2005, 490 Comm. 403, 404; Eng. 2014a, 648–50) thought, referring to the *Qielanji*, *j*. 3, that the lion was originally a Persian king's gift to the Yeda: 永橋南道東有白象、獅子二坊。白象者，永平二年乾陀羅國胡王所獻。……獅子者，波斯國胡王所獻也。為逆賊万俟醜奴所獲，留於寇中。永安末，醜奴破滅，始達京師。"South of the Eternal Bridge were the White Elephant and Lion Quarters. The white elephant was presented by the *hu* King of Qiantuoluo in the second year of the Yongping reign (509). [...] The lion was presented by the *hu* King of Bosi. It was captured by the rebel MOQI Chounu and kept by his bandit gang. Only when MOQI Chounu was defeated at the end the Yong'an reign (528–530) did it finally reach the capital."

I.069/B. 456 CE

WS 5 《高宗紀第五• 太安二年(456 CE)》(p. 138), cf. *BS* 2, p. 68.

> 十有一月……嚈噠、普嵐國並遣使朝獻。
>
> In the eleventh month [Dec. 456–Jan. 457] [...], the Yeda and the state of Pulan both sent envoys to the court to present tribute.

[Note Ching] Pulan 普嵐 may designate either Roman Orient or Khulm (X. Rong, p. c., 31 Dec. 2017). If it means Khulm, the Yeda were probably still restricted to the east of Khulm before the departure of their first emissary to China in 456. See also Note Grenet to Text I.032/B.

I.069/C. 502 CE

WS 8《世宗紀第八• 景明三年(502 CE)》(p. 234).

> 是歲，疏勒、罽賓、婆羅捺、烏萇、阿喻陁、羅婆、不崙、陁拔羅、弗波女提、斯羅、噠舍、伏耆奚那太、羅槃、烏稽、悉萬斤、朱居槃、訶盤陁、撥斤、厭味、朱沙洛、南天竺、持沙那斯頭諸國並遣使朝貢。
>
> This year, the states of Shule [Kashgar], Jibin, Poluona, Wuchang, Ayutuo, Luopo, Bulun, Tuobaluo, Fubonüti, Siluo, Dashe, Fuqixinatai, Luopan, Wuji, Ximanjin [Samarkand], Zhujupan [i.e. Zhuju, cf. Text I.048], Hepantuo [i.e. Kepantuo, cf. Text I.049], Bojin, Yanwei, Zhuliluo, Southern Tianzhu and Chishanasitou all sent envoys to present tribute.

Yanwei 厭味: According to the editors of the Zhonghua shuju edition, this is a scribal error for Yeda 嚈噠. See also Yu (2005, 490 Comm. 403; Eng. 2014a, 648).

I.069/D. 507 CE

WS 8《世宗紀第八• 正始四年(507 CE)》(pp. 244–245).

> 冬十月丁巳，高麗、半社、悉萬斤、可流伽、比沙、疏勒、于闐等諸國並遣使朝獻。……辛未，嚈噠、波斯、渴槃陁、渴文提不那杖忸杖(*CF*， *j*. 969: 伏)提等諸國，並遣使朝獻。
>
> In the winter, on the *dingsi* day of the tenth month, the states of Gaoli, Banshe, Ximanjin [Samarkand], Keliujia, Bisha, Shule and Yutian [Khotan] all sent envoys to present tribute. [...] On the *xinwei* day, the states of the Yeda, Bosi [Persia], Kepantuo, Kewentibunazhangniu-zhangti [CF: -futi] all sent envoys to present tribute.

I.069/E. 509 CE

WS 8《世宗紀第八• 永平二年(509 CE)》(p. 247).

> 二年春正月……丁亥，胡密、步就磨、忸密、槃是、悉萬斤、辛豆那、越拔忸諸國並遣使朝獻。壬辰，嚈噠、薄知國遣使來朝，貢白象一。
>
> On the *dinghai* day [...] of the first month of the second year, the states of Humi, Bujiumo, Niumi, Panshi, Ximanjin, Xindouna and Yuebaniu all sent envoys to present tribute. On the *renchen* day, the Yeda and the state of Bozhi(?) sent envoys to present tribute, offering a white elephant.

Baixiang yi 白象一 "**A white elephant**": Identifying the elephant as the one mentioned in the *Qielanji*, *j*. 3 (cf. Text I.069/A), Yu (2005, 490) thought that this tribute paid by "the Bozhi state under Yeda rule" (rather than "the Yeda and the state of Bozhi") was originally the Gandhāran king's gift to the Yeda. Sims-Williams (2016, 276–77) suggested that Bozhi 薄知 (EMC *bak-tri/triă*) implied a Sogdian form **vāxč* (< OP *Bāxtri-*) or a derived gentilic **vāxčī* (cf. OP *Bāxtriya-*).

I.069/F. 511 CE

WS 8 《世宗紀第八• 永平四年(511 CE)》(p. 252).

> 九月甲寅……嚈噠、朱居槃、波羅、莫伽陁、移婆僕羅、俱薩羅、舍彌、羅樂陁等諸國並遣使朝獻。
>
> On the *jiayin* day of the ninth month [...] the states of the Yeda, Zhujupan, Boluo, Mojiatuo, Yipopuluo, Jusaluo, Shemi and Luoletuo all sent envoys to present tribute.

I.069/G. 512 CE

WS 8 《世宗紀第八• 延昌元年(512 CE)》(p. 254).

> 冬十月……嚈噠、于闐、高昌及庫莫奚諸國並遣使朝獻。
>
> In the winter, in the tenth month [...] the states of the Yeda, Yutian, Gaochang and Kumoxi all sent envoys to present tribute.

I.069/H. 513 CE

WS 8 《世宗紀第八• 延昌二年(513 CE)》(p. 255).

> 秋八月……庚戌，嚈噠、于闐、槃陁及契丹、庫莫奚諸國並遣使朝獻。
>
> In the autumn, on the *gengxu* day [...] of the eighth month, the states of the Yeda, Yutian, Pantuo, Qidan and Kumoxi all sent envoys to present tribute.

I.069/I. 517 CE

WS 9 《肅宗紀第九• 熙平二年(517 CE)》(p. 270).

> 夏四月甲午，高麗、波斯、疏勒、嚈噠諸國並遣使朝獻。
>
> In the summer, on the *jiawu* day of the fourth month, the states of Gaoli, Bosi, Shule and the Yeda all sent envoys to present tribute.

I.069/J. 518 CE

WS 9 《肅宗紀第九• 神龜元年(518 CE)》(p. 272).

> 二月戊申，嚈噠、高麗、勿吉、吐谷渾、宕昌、疏勒、久末陁、末久半(for 朱久半)諸國，並遣使朝獻。
>
> On the *wushen* day of the second month, the states of the Yeda, Gaoli, Wuji, Tuyuhun, Dangchang, Shule, Jiumotuo and Mojiuban [for Zhujiuban, i.e. Zhujuban] all sent envoys to present tribute.

I.069/K. 519 CE

WS 9 《肅宗紀第九• 神龜二年(519 CE)》(p. 274), cf. *BS* 4, p. 147.

> 夏四月乙丑，嚈噠國遣使朝貢。
>
> On the *yichou* day of the fourth month, in the summer, the state of the Yeda sent envoys to present tribute.

I.069/L. 524–525 CE

WS 9 《肅宗紀第九• 正光五年(524 CE)》(pp. 281–284), cf. *BS* 4, p. 151.

> 閏二月癸巳，嚈噠國遣使朝貢。……十有二月……嚈噠、契丹、地豆于、庫莫奚諸國並遣使朝貢。
>
> On the *guisi* day of the intercalary second month [Mar.-Apr. 524], the state of the Yeda sent envoys to the court to present tribute. [...] In the twelfth month [Jan.-Feb. 525] [...], the states of the Yeda, Qidan, Didouyu and Kumoxi all sent envoys to present tribute.

I.069/M. 530 CE

WS 10 《孝莊紀第十 • 永安三年(530 CE)》(p. 313), cf. BS 5, p. 165.

> 六月戊午，嚈噠國獻師子一。
>
> On the *wuwu* day of the sixth month, the state of the Yeda presented [to the court] a lion.

I.069/N. 532 CE

WS 11 《廢出三帝紀第十一• 太昌元年(532 CE) 》(p. 334), cf. *BS* 5, p. 171.

> 六月……丙寅，蠕蠕、嚈噠、高麗、契丹、庫莫奚國並遣使朝貢。……癸酉，蠕蠕、嚈噠國遣使朝貢。
>
> On the *bingyin* day [...] of the sixth month, the Ruanruan, the states of the Yeda, Gaoli, Qidan, Kumoxi all sent envoys to present tribute. [...] On the *guiyou* day, the Ruanruan and the state of the Yeda sent envoys to present tribute.

I.070. Tribute payments to the Western Wei and Northern Zhou courts

I.070/A. General review in the *Zhoushu*, *j*. 50

ZS 50 《列傳第四十二• 異域下》(p. 918) ~ *BS* 97 《列傳第八十五• 西域》(p. 3231) Cf. Transl. of *BS* and *ZS* in La Vaissière (2007, 125–26).

> 大統十二年(*BS*: 至大統十二年)， 遣使獻其方物。魏廢帝(*BS*: 廢帝)二年，明帝(*BS*: 周明帝)二年，並遣使來獻(*BS*: 朝獻)。後為突厥所破，部落分散，職貢遂絕。
>
> In the twelfth year of the Datong reign [of Western Wei, i.e. 546], an envoy was dispatched to present native products. In the second year of the Deposed Emperor of the [553] [Western] Wei [*BS*: the Deposed Emperor] and in the second year of Ming Emperor [558] [*BS*: the Ming Emperor of the [Northern] Zhou], other envoys were sent with tribute. Later, [the Yeda] were defeated by the Tujue. The tribes dispersed and thus stopped presenting tribute.

I.070/B. 558 CE

ZS 4 《帝紀第四• 明帝二年(558 CE)》(p. 55).

> 六月癸亥，嚈噠遣使獻方物。
>
> On the *guiyou* day of the sixth month, the Yeda sent envoys to present native products.

I.071. Tribute payments to the Sui court

SS 83 《列傳第五十• 異域下》(p. 1854) ~ *BS* 97 《列傳第八十五• 西域》(p. 3231) Cf. Transl. of *BS* and *SS* in La Vaissière (2007, 125, 126–27).

> 大業中，遣使貢方物。(*BS*: 至隋大業中，又遣使貢方物。)
>
> During the Daye reign [605–617], they dispatched an envoy with native products. [*BS*: During the Daye reign of the Sui, again they dispatched an envoy with native products.]

I.072. Tribute payments to the Liang court

I.072/A. General review in the *Liangshu*, *j*. 54

LS 54 《列傳第四十八• 諸夷》(p. 812) ~ *NS* 79 《列傳第六十九• 夷貊下》 (p. 1984).

> 自魏、晉以來，不通中國，[i]至天監十五年，其王厭帶夷栗陁始遣使獻方物。普通元年，又遣使獻黃師子、白貂裘、波斯錦等物。七年，又奉表貢獻。
>
> From the Wei [213–265] and Jin [265–420] periods onward, no envoys came to China. It was in the 15th year of the Tianjian reign [516] that King Yandaiyilituo first sent envoys to the court to present native products. In the first year of the Putong reign [520], he again sent envoys to the court to present a yellow lion, a white marten fur coat, Persian brocade and other items. In the seventh year [526] he sent tributes to the court once again.

[i] *NS*: 不通中國。

I.072/B. *Liang zhigong tu*

魏、晉以來，不通中國。天監十五年， 國王姓厭帶名夷栗陁始使蒲多達□獻[延？]寘□𩧿名繙杯。普通元年，又遣富何了了獻黃師子、白貂裘、波斯□子錦。王妻□□亦遣使康符真同貢物。其使人羣頭剪髮，著波斯錦褶、□錦袴、朱麋皮長壅鞾，其語言則河南人重譯而通焉。

From the Wei and Jin periods onward, no envoys came to China. It was in the 15th year of the Tianjian reign [516] that the king, whose surname was YANDAI and given name was Yilituo, first sent the envoy [called] Puduoda [1 damaged character] to present *yan(?)bin* [1 damaged character] *mao* called *xiebei*. In the first year of the Putong reign [520], he again sent the envoy Fuheliaoliao to the court to present a yellow lion, a white marten fur coat and Persian [1 damaged character] brocade. The king's wife [2 damaged characters] also sent the envoy KANG Fuzhen along to present tributes. These envoys had curly short hair, and wore a pleat made from Persian brocade, [1 damaged character] brocade trousers, long boots made of vermillion elk skin. Their language could only be understood when re-translated by the Tuyuhun.

[Note Ching] The damaged name Puduoda seems to be a Buddhist one, e.g. Buddhadatta or Buddhadāsa.

I.072/C. 520 CE

LS 3 《武帝紀第三• 普通元年(520 CE)》(p. 63), cf. *NS* 7, p. 201.

三月丙戌，滑國遣使獻方物。

On the *bingxu* day of the third month, the state of Hua sent envoys and presented native products.

I.072/D. 526 CE

LS 3 《武帝紀第三• 普通七年(526 CE)》(p. 70), cf. *NS* 7, p. 204.

七年春正月……丁卯，滑國遣使獻方物。

On the *dingmao* day [...] of the first month of the seventh year, the state of Hua sent envoys and presented native products.

I.072/E. 535 CE

LS 3 《武帝紀第三• 大同元年(535 CE)》(p. 79), cf. *NS* 7, p. 211.

三月辛未，滑國王安樂薩丹王遣使獻方物。

On the *xinwei* day of the third month, the king of Hua, king Anlesadan 安樂薩丹 [EMC *ʔan-lak-sat-tan*] sent envoys and presented native products.

I.072/F. 541 CE

LS 3 《武帝紀第三• 大同七年(541 CE)》(p. 85), cf. *NS* 7, p. 216.

> 三月乙亥，……高麗、百濟、滑國各遣使獻方物。
>
> On the *yihai* day of the third month [...] the states of Gaoli, Baiji and Hua sent envoys and presented native products.

I.6.16. Analysis of the entry on the Yeda in the *Weishu*

The entry on the Yeda in the extant version of the *Weishu*, *j.* 102 was analysed by Funaki (1954), whose opinion has been largely followed by Matsuda (1960), Uchida (1972a), Yu (1986; 2005; 2012; 2014a) and others. See also La Vaissière (2007) for a separate analysis. Here the passages in the extant version that are safe to be taken as the ones from the original *Weishu* are marked with ★; the ones from the *Zhoushu* or the *Suishu* with †; the ones open to discussion with ‡.

I.073. Part A ‡

> 嚈噠國，大月氏之種類也，亦曰高車之別種，[i]其原出於塞北。自金山而南，
>
> The state of the Yeda: its people are descendants of the Great Yuezhi, also said to be a division of the Gaoju. They originated from the region north of the Chinese frontier. They came down south from the Altai Mountains. [Cf. Text I.027/A.]

I.074. Part B † (from the *Zhoushu*)[ii]

> 在于闐之西，
>
> [The state] is in the west of Yutian [Khotan]. [Cf. Text I.030/A.]

I.075. Part C † (from the *Suishu*)[iii]

> 都烏許(*BS*: 澖)水南二百餘里，
>
> Its capital is 200 *li* or more south of the river Wuhu [Oxus]. [Cf. Text I.030/B.]

[i] *BS*: 亦曰高車之別種。

[ii] Cf. Funaki (1954, 60), followed by Uchida (1972b, 67) and others. As Yu (2012, 190) explained, in the *ZS* the entry on the Yeda is placed next to the one on Yutian. La Vaissière (2007) also analysed it as a passage from the *ZS*. Yet both Matsuda (1960) and Enoki (1965a, 6) took it as text derived from the original *WS*.

[iii] Funaki (1954, 64–65); Uchida (1972b, 67); Yu (2012, 190). As Funaki explained, the text in Part C and D is contradictory to Part H, and the calculation of the distance according to river systems is unique to the *Suishu*.

I.076. Part D † (from the *Zhoushu*)[i]

去長安一萬一百里。其王都拔底延城，蓋王舍城也。其城方十里餘，

It is at a distance of 10,100 *li* from Chang'an. The royal capital is the walled city of Badiyan, which probably means "the walled city in which the king resides." The walled city is more than ten *li* square. [Cf. Text I.030/A.]

I.077. Part E † (from the *Suishu*)

多寺塔，皆飾以金。

There are many monasteries and *stūpa*s, all decorated with gold. [Cf. Text I.042/B.]

I.078. Part F † (from the *Zhoushu*)

風俗與突厥略同。其俗兄弟共一妻，夫無兄弟者其妻戴一角帽，若有兄弟者依其多少之數，更加角焉。[ii]

The customs [of its people] and those of the Tujue are roughly the same. It is their custom that brothers share the same wife. If a man is without brothers his wife wears a hat with one horn; if he has brothers, she wears as many horns as there are brothers. [Cf. Text I.037/C.]

I.079. Part G ★

衣服類加以纓絡 (*TD*: 衣服類胡，加以纓絡)。[iii]頭皆剪髮。其語與蠕蠕、高車及諸胡不同。眾可十萬。(*BS*: 眾可有十萬，)

They add tassels to their clothing [*TD*: Their clothing is similar to that worn by other *hu* barbarians, [but] they add tassels]. They all cut their hair. [Cf. Text I.037/A.] Their speech is different from that of the Ruanruan, Gaoju and other *hu*. [Cf. Text I.039/A.] Their total number is about a hundred thousand. [Cf. Text I.034/A.]

I.080. Part H ★

Data most probably collected by SONG Yun and his companions.

無城邑，依隨水草，以氈為屋，夏遷涼土，冬逐暖處。

Without cities and towns, they follow water and grass, using felt to make houses, and moving to cool places in the summer, to warm ones in the winter. [Cf. Text I.035/A.]

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[i] Funaki (1954, 65); Uchida (1972b, 67); Yu (2012, 190). As Funaki explained, the calculation of the distance from Chang'an is a feature of the *Zhoushu*.

[ii] *BS*: 其俗，兄弟共一妻，夫無兄弟者，妻戴一角帽，若有兄弟者，依其多少之數更加帽角焉。

[iii] *BS*: 衣服類加以纓絡，頭皆剪髮。

I.081. Part I ★

分其諸妻，各在別所，相去或二百、三百里。其王巡歷而行，每月一處，[i]冬寒之時，三月不徙。王位不必傳子，子弟堪任(*BS*: 堪者)，死便授之。其國無車有輿。多駝馬。[ii]用刑嚴急，偷盜無多少皆腰斬，盜一責十。死者，富者(*BS*: 富家)累石為藏，貧者掘地而埋，隨身諸物，皆置冢(*BS*: 塚)內。

[Their king?] separates his wives and keeps each of them in a separate place, so that they are 200 or 300 *li* apart from one another. The king travels around and changes place every month, but in the cold of winter stays in one place for three months without moving. The throne is not always passed on to the [elder] son, the [other] sons and younger brothers might also be appointed and conferred [the throne] when the king dies. They have no *che* 車 but use *yu* 輿. They have many camels and horses. [Cf. Text I.035/A.] Corporal punishments are severe and quick; regardless of the magnitude of theft, the thief is severed at the waist, and if one steals, ten are punished. [Cf. Text I.037/A.] As for the dead, if he was rich [*BS*: if he was from a rich family], a chamber made of stones is constructed; if he was poor, a grave is dug and he is buried in the ground. All their belongings are put in the tomb. [Cf. Text I.044.]

I.082. Part J † (from the *Zhoushu*)

其人兇悍，能鬬戰。(*BS*: 其人凶悍，能鬪戰，)

Its people are fierce and violent, and make able warriors. [Cf. Text I.037/C.]

I.083. Part K ‡ (from the *Zhoushu*?)

西域康居、于闐、沙勒、安息及諸小國三十許皆役屬之，[iii]號為大國。

In the Western Regions, they control Kangju, Yutian, Shale and Anxi, as well as more than thirty small states. They claim to be a great kingdom. [Cf. Text I.046/B.]

I.084. Part L ★

與蠕蠕婚姻。自太安以後，每遣使朝貢。正光末，遣使貢(*BS*: 遣貢)師子一，至高平，遇万俟醜奴反，因留之。醜奴平，送京師。永熙以後，朝獻遂絕。

They have marital relations with the Ruanruan. [Cf. Text I.046/B.] From the Tai'an reign [455–459] onward, they frequently dispatched envoys to pay tribute. At the end of the Zhengguang reign [520–525], they dispatched an envoy to present a lion as tribute. When he arrived at Gaoping, MOQI Chounu rebelled, so the envoy was detained by Chounu. Once Chounu was

[i] *BS*: 每月一處。
[ii] *BS*: 其國無車，有輿，多駝、馬。
[iii] *BS*: 諸小國三十許,皆役屬之，

defeated, the envoy was sent on to the capital. From the Yongxi reign [532–534] on, they stopped bringing tribute. [Cf. Text I.069/A.]

I.085. Part M † (from the *Suishu*)

其國南去漕國(*BS*: 其國去漕國)千五百里，東去瓜州六千五百里。

In the south, they are at a distance of 1,500 *li* from the state of Cao; in the east, they are 6,500 *li* from Guazhou. [= Text I.030/B.]

I.7. Legends about Mihirakula in Chinese Buddhist texts

I.086. Legend about Mihirakula in Xuanzang's records

Xuanzang, *j.* 4, pp. 354–62 on the state of Zhejia 磔迦 (Ṭakka). English translation based on Max Deeg's keynote speech "Chinese travelogues and what they have to say (and not to say) about the situation in the NW of India between the beginning of the 5th century and the first half of the 6th century" (Budapest, 31 Aug. 2017). The commentarial annotations within this excerpt were most probably made by Xuanzang himself or his disciples, e.g. Bianji 辯機 or Huili 慧立.

大城西南十四五里，至奢羯羅故城。垣堵雖壞，基趾尚固，周二十餘里。其中更築小城，周六七里。居人富饒，即此國之故都也。

Fourteen or fifteen *li* to the southwest of the great city [of the state of Zhejia, one] arrives at the old city of Shejieluo [EMC *çia-kɨat-la*, Skt. Śākala]. Although the city walls have already collapsed, their foundations are still solid and have a circumference of more than twenty *li*. Inside of them a smaller city was built with a circumference of six or seven *li*. The people are wealthy, [because] this is the old capital of the kingdom.

數百年前，有王號摩醯邏矩羅，{唐言大族。}都治此城，王諸印度。有才智，性勇烈，鄰境諸國，莫不臣伏。機務餘閑，欲習佛法，令於僧中推一俊德。時諸僧徒莫敢應命。少欲無為，不求聞達。博學高明，有懼威嚴。

Some hundred years ago there was a king called Moxiluojuluo {in the language of the Tang [this means] 'Great Clan'}. He ruled from this city as his capital and was the sovereign of the whole of India. He was able and wise, was brave by nature, and all the kingdoms in the neighbourhood submitted to him. In his spare time, when he was not attending to state affairs, he strived to study the *dharma* of the Buddha, and asked the *saṅgha* to recommend an able and virtuous monk. At that time none of the monks was confident to undertake the task [to teach him], and the ones with few desires [following the path of] non-action did not seek honour and fame. Those who were widely learned and eminent were afraid of his power.

Moxiluojuluo 摩醯邏矩羅 (EMC *ma-xɛj-la^{h}-kuə'-la*): Very probably stands for **Mahirakula*. Xuanzang's Chinese translation *dazu* 大族 is hereafter given consistently as "Great Clan."

是時王家舊僮染衣已久，辭論清雅，言談贍敏，眾共推舉，而以應命。

At that time there was an old servant from the king's household who had long ago taken the coloured robes, whose eloquence was refined, whose speech was informative and clever, and whom the whole community recommended to comply with the request [of the king].

王曰：「我敬佛法，遠訪名僧，眾推此隸，與我談論。常謂僧中賢明肩比，以今知之，夫何敬哉！」於是宣令五印度國，繼是佛法並皆毀滅，僧徒斥逐，無復孑遺。

The king said: "I venerate the *dharma* of the Buddha and look for famous monks in distant places, and now the community recommended this slave to lead discussions with me. It is usually said that among the monks [there are] numerous wise [ones], but since I know him now, how can I show respect to him?" He thereupon issued an order to the kingdoms of the Five Indias that [all who] followed the *dharma* of the Buddha should be destroyed, and that the monks were to be expelled, so that none of them was left.

摩揭陀國婆羅阿迭多王，{唐曰幼日。} 崇敬佛法，愛育黎元。以大族王淫刑虐政，自守疆埸，不恭職貢。時大族王治兵將討，幼日王知其聲問，告諸臣曰：「今聞寇至，不忍鬬其兵也，幸諸僚庶赦而不罪，賜此微軀，潛行草澤！」言畢出宮，依緣山野。國中感恩慕從者數萬餘人，棲竄海島。

The king of the state of Magadha, Poluoadieduo {in the language of the Tang this means 'Youthful Sun'}, highly respected the *dharma* of the Buddha, and loved and supported his people. Because of king 'Great Clan's severe and atrocious punishments and his tyranny, ['Youthful Sun'] himself protected his land and did not observe the obligation of paying tribute. Thereupon king 'Great Clan' summoned his troops and was about to launch a punitive expedition. King 'Youthful Sun' heard about this and said to his officials: "Now I have heard that the invader has arrived, and I am unable to resist his army. I hope that he will spare my officials who are without fault, and that you will grant this inferior person [permission] to hide away in the wilderness." Having said this he left the palace and took refuge in a remote highland. Tens of thousands of grateful followers fled with him to an island in the ocean.

Poluoadieduo 婆羅阿迭多 (EMC *ba-la-ʔa-dɛt-ta*): Xuanzang's transliteration of Skt. *Bālāditya*. His translation *youri* 幼日 is hereafter given consistently as "Youthful Sun."

[Note Deeg] King 'Youthful Sun's path is slightly illogical: first he wants to flee into the marshland (*caoze* 草澤), then is said to take refuge in a remote highland (*shanye* 山野), and finally ends up on an island in the ocean (*haidao* 海島)—which does not fit to the geographical setting of the story at all. It could, however, refer to the fact that Bālāditya had to retreat to Bengal, fleeing from Mihirakula's invasion of Magadha. The highland may have crept in from the story of the exile of king 'Great Clan' later in the story.

大族王以兵付弟，浮海往伐。幼日王守其阨險，輕騎誘戰，金鼓一震，奇兵四起，生擒大族，反接引現。

King ‘Great Clan’ entrusted the army to his younger brother and embarked on the sea in order to attack him. King ‘Youthful Sun’ defended the narrow gateway [to the island], lured [‘Great Clan’s’] light cavalry into battle, and, at one big bang of the battle drums, the surprise force came over them from four directions, captured ‘Great Clan’ alive, locked his hands behind the back and led him in front [of ‘Youthful Sun’].

大族王自愧失道，以衣蒙面。幼日王踞師子床，羣官周衛，乃命侍臣告大族曰：「汝露其面，吾欲有辭。」大族對曰：「臣主易位，怨敵相視，既非交好，何用面談？」再三告示，終不從命。於是宣令數其罪曰：「三寶福田，四生攸賴，苟任豺狼傾毀勝業？福不祐汝，見擒於我。罪無可赦，宜從刑辟。」

[Because] king ‘Great Clan’ was ashamed that he had lost the Way, he concealed his face with his clothes. King ‘Youthful Sun’ squatted on his lion seat, guarded by the crowd of officials, and ordered his courtiers to tell ‘Great Clan’: “Uncover your face, I want to speak to you!” ‘Great Clan’ replied: “Subject and ruler have exchanged position, [and now we] see each other as foes; so since we are not on friendly terms, why should I talk face to face [with you]?” He was ordered two or three times but did not comply with the order. Thereupon [‘Youthful Sun’] ordered his crimes to be listed, and he said: “The Three Jewels are the field of merit on which the four kinds of living beings rely, how could I allow a wicked person [like you] to destroy the superb *karma*! You had no merit protecting you, [therefore] you were captured by me. Your crimes are unforgivable, and you should receive the capital sentence.”

時幼日王母博聞強識，善達占相，聞殺大族也，疾告幼日王曰：「我嘗聞大族奇姿多智，欲一見之。」幼日王命引大族至母宮中，幼日母曰：「嗚呼，大族，幸勿恥也！世間無常，榮辱更事，吾猶汝母，汝若吾子。宜去蒙衣，一言面對。」大族曰：「昔為敵國之君，今為俘囚之虜，隳廢王業，亡滅宗祀，上愧先靈，下慚黎庶，誠恥面目，俯仰天地。不勝自喪，故此蒙衣。」王母曰：「興廢隨時，存亡有運，以心齊物，則得喪俱忘；以物齊心，則毀譽更起。宜信業報，與時推移。去蒙對語，或存軀命。」大族謝曰：「苟以不才，嗣膺王業，刑政失道，國祚亡滅，雖在縲紲之中，尚貪旦夕之命。敢承大造，面謝厚恩！」於是去蒙衣，出其面。王母曰：「子其自愛，當終爾壽。」

At that time the mother of king ‘Youthful Sun,’ who was very learned, had deep knowledge and was well versed in divination [*zhanxiang* 占相], heard that ‘Great Clan’ was to be executed, and immediately said to king ‘Youthful Sun’: “I have heard that king ‘Great Clan’ was of peculiar appearance and very resourceful, and I want to meet him once.” King ‘Youthful Sun’ ordered king ‘Great Clan’ to be led to his mother’s palace, and ‘Youthful Sun’s’ mother said: “Oh, ‘Great Clan,’ you should not be ashamed! The world is impermanent, and honour and disgrace alternate; I am like your mother, and you are like my son. You should [now] lift the concealing clothes and have a word [with me] face to face.” ‘Great Clan’ said: “Formerly I was the ruler of the enemy kingdom, now I am a prisoner, have abandoned my royal duties, have discontinued the worship of the ancestors; above I have disgraced the spirits of my ancestors, and below I

have brought humiliation to my people, [and therefore] I am truly embarrassed to show my face to heaven and earth. I cannot bear my demise, and therefore conceal [my face] with these clothes." The king's mother said: "Rise and fall is a matter of timing, life and death are [bound] by fate; the mind controls the external world, neither gains nor losses matter. But if the external controls the mind, then [thoughts of] ruin and fame will rise in succession. You should believe in the retribution of your *karma* and adapt to the circumstances. Bare your face and talk to me, then you may be able to preserve your life." 'Great Clan' apologized and said: "Without possessing abilities I inherited the royal duties, but my governance has lost the Way, the royal legacy has been discontinued, and although I am tied in ropes now, I still cling on to this short bit of life. I am indebted to [you for this] great favour, and face to face thank you for your great kindness!" Then he removed his clothes and showed his face. The king's mother said: "You should take care of yourself and I will [make sure] that you live on."

已而告幼日王曰：「先典有訓，宥過好生。今大族王積惡雖久，餘福未盡。若殺此人，十二年中，菜色相視。然有中興之氣，終非大國之王，當據北方，有小國土。」

Thereafter she told king 'Youthful Sun': "In the codes of old there is a rule to forgive faults and to respect life. Now although king 'Great Clan' has accumulated evil for a long time, the remainder of [his former] merits has not been exhausted. If you kill this man, then there will be famine for twelve years. Since there are signs of restoration [of his rulership], he never again should be the king of a great kingdom but should be given a small kingdom in the north."

幼日王承慈母之命，愍失國之君，娉以稚女，待以殊禮，總其遺兵，更加衛從。未（for 來？）出海島。大族王弟還國自立。大族失位，藏竄山野，北投迦濕彌羅國。

King 'Youthful Sun' followed the instruction of his beloved mother, had mercy on the ruler who had lost his kingdom, gave his own daughter in marriage to him, treated him with all honours, assembled his remaining troops, adding [his own] military escort, [and then] sent him off from the island [of 'Youthful Sun']. [But] the younger brother of king 'Great Clan' had returned home and established himself [as the ruler]. 'Great Clan' had lost his throne and hid in exile in the highlands, fleeing to the kingdom of Kashmir in the north.

Wei chu haidao 未出海島: In several versions of the text this is given as *lai chu haidao* 來出海島 "departed from the island" and so adapted by Ji et al. (1985). However, *wei* 未 is found in certain early copies including the one reprinted by and kept in Kyoto University, cf. Ji et al. (1985, 359 n. 35). While Ji argues that *lai chu haidao* 來出海島 is logical because it is in concert with *Mahirakula's exile in the highlands, other scholars, including Xiang Da 向達, prefer the other variant.

[Note Ching] If *wei chu haidao* is the original text, then the full sentence may be read as follows: "When *Mahirakula was going to leave the island but not yet [crossed its border], his younger brother returned to their country and assumed the throne (未出海島，大族王弟還國自立)." In this case, his choice is similar to Anagui's (Text I.064) in the sense that both dared not return to their homeland but sought refuge in foreign countries.

> 迦濕彌羅王深加禮命，愍以失國，封以土邑。歲月既淹，率其邑人，矯殺迦濕彌羅王，而自尊立。乘其戰勝之威，西討健馱邏國，潛兵伏甲，遂殺其王。國族大臣，誅鋤殄滅。毀窣堵波，廢僧伽藍，凡一千六百所。兵殺之外，餘有九億人，皆欲誅戮，無遺噍類。

The king of Kashmir treated him with great honour and granted him a title and, pitying him for the loss of his kingdom, bestowed a fiefdom upon him. After some years had passed, he took command of the people of his fiefdom, incited them to kill the king of Kashmir, and put himself on the throne. He wielded his military power and [moved] westward to engage in war with the kingdom of Gandhāra; he ambushed and killed its king. He wiped out and annihilated the high officials of the leading clans of the kingdom, destroyed the *stūpa*s and demolished altogether one thousand six hundred monasteries. Beside the ones who fell in battle, there were more than nine hundred million people whom he wanted to kill so that nobody was left of this race.

> 時諸輔佐咸進諫曰：「大王威懾強敵，兵不交鋒，誅其首惡。黎庶何咎？願以微躬，代所應死。」王曰：「汝信佛法，崇重冥福，擬成佛果，廣說本生，欲傳我惡於未來世乎？汝宜復位，勿有再辭！」於是以三億上族臨信度河流殺之，三億中族下沈信度河流殺之，三億下族分賜兵士。於是持其亡國之貨，振旅而歸。曾未改歲，尋即徂落。于時雲霧冥晦，大地震動，暴風奮發。時證果人愍而歎曰：「枉殺無辜，毀滅佛法，墮無間獄，流轉未已！」

At that time all governmental advisers [of Gandhāra] pleaded with him: “The great king has [already] powerfully subdued a formidable enemy, the armies do not cross swords anymore, and you have put to death the principal culprits. Why do you blame the common people? May you take us inferior ones as the ones who must die instead.” The king said: “You believe in the *dharma* of the Buddha, venerate the merits in the yonder world, intend to achieve the fruit of Buddhahood and extensively expound the former existences [of the Buddha], and now you want to transfer my evil to the future? You should return to your seats and should not make any further statements!” Thereupon three hundred million of upper clans were killed, facing the River Indus, three hundred million of middle clans were killed by drowning them in the River Indus, and three hundred million of lower clans were distributed to his soldiers [as slaves]. Then he, taking away the wealth of the defeated kingdom, ordered his army to return. [But] before the beginning of the new year he passed away. At that time it became cloudy, misty, dark and gloomy, a heavy quake shook the earth, and a fierce storm arose. Thereupon, the ones who had realized sainthood [*arhat*s] sighed with grief: “[Because of] the unjust killing of innocent people and the destruction of the *dharma* of the Buddha he has fallen into the ‘Without Space hell’ [*wujianyu* 無間獄, Skt. *avīci-naraka*], and will be roaming therein endlessly.”

I.087. Legend about Mihirakula in the *Fu fazang yinyuan zhuan* 付法藏因緣傳

Fu fazang yinyuan zhuan, *j*. 6 (*T*.2058(L)321c11–18); English translation by Max Deeg.

> 於是已後，次有尊者名鶴勒那夜奢，出興於世。受付囑法，廣宣流布；福德深遠，才明淵博。化世迷惑，令就正路。所作已訖，然後捨身。

Thereafter a respected one called *Helenayeshe* [EMC *γak-lək-na'-jia^{h}-ɕia*] was active in the world. He inherited the *dharma* and spread it widely; his merit and virtues were profound, his understanding deep and wide. He converted the world from confusion and led it towards the right path. After having done all this, he gave up his life.

復有比丘，名曰師子。於罽賓國大作佛事。時彼國王名彌羅掘，邪見熾盛，心無敬信。於罽賓國毀壞塔寺，殺害眾僧。即以利劍用斬師子。頂中無血，唯乳流出。相付法人，於是便絕。

After [him,] there was another *bhikṣu* called Shizi [lit. 'Lion,' probably for Skt. *Siṃha*]. He lavishly performed Buddhist ceremonies in the kingdom of Jibin. At that time the king of this kingdom was called Miluojue [EMC *mji-la-gu[a]t*, for Mi[hi]rakula], full of false views and without faith in his heart. He destroyed the *stūpa*s and monasteries in Jibin and killed the [members] of the *saṅgha*. He then beheaded Shizi with a sharp sword, [but] instead of blood only milk flowed out of his head, which he bestowed on the lawful people, and then he died.

[Note Deeg] Later texts reduce the name of this "patriarch" to Helena (without *-yeshe*). The standard reconstructed underlying name is **Haklenayaśas*, but there is no Sanskrit word *haklena*. My tentative reconstruction is **Hariṇayaśas*, taking the final guttural */k/* of the EMC pronunciations of *he* and *le* as indicators of a preceding short vowel.

[Note Inaba] The translation date of this text presents a problem. It is usually considered that it was translated into Chinese in 472, but this predates the supposed date of Mihirakula (son of Toramāṇa) who was active in the first half of the sixth century. By referring to Maspero (1911), Yamada (1963, 56) suggests that the text was composed and edited by several Buddhist scholars in the Northern Wei period, and in this case, it implies that the information about Mihirakula was added later.

[Note Ching] In a posthumous work, Pelliot (2002, 3 n. 3) took Helenayeshe ("le pseudo-Haklenayaśas") as an error for Ratnayaśas. In fact, the name Helenayeshe is only found in this text and later "patriarchy" lists of Chinese Chan Buddhism.[i] The difficulty to date the monk Shizi also stems from the fact that before 472, this name was already known in China. In the *Sapuodoji* 薩婆多記 "Record of Sarvāstivāda [School]" compiled by Sengyou (445–518) himself (cf. *Jiji*, *j*. 12, pp. 466–70), an Arhat called Shizi was counted as the 25th Patriarch, whereas Nāgārjuna was the 34th and Fotuoxian 佛馱先 (**Buddhasena*, a monk in Jibin who taught Zhiyan 智嚴 before 417, cf. *Gaoseng zhuan*, *j*. 3, pp. 98–100) was the 52nd. In another old list (*Jiji*, *j*. 12, pp. 470–74) provided by Fodabatuoluo 佛大跋陀羅 (**Buddhabhadra*, ?-429, a Sarvāstivādin master in Jibin who accompanied Zhiyan when the latter came back to China), Shizi appeared as the 21st, and **Buddhasena* (Fodaxian 佛大先) as the 49th. In other words, if (a very speculative if) Shizi could be identified as one and the same master, then he was far earlier than Sengyou's

[i] In two copies of such lists found in Dunhuang, numbered as T. 2016 *Lidai fabao ji* 曆代法寶記 and compiled no earlier than the late 8th century, the king's name is written as Miduoluojue 彌多羅掘 (EMC *mji-ta-la-gu[a]t*), which is possibly a scribal error.

time; and if there was only one Mihirakula who invaded northwest India, then his life story might be anachronistically conflated with that of Shizi. The problem becomes more complicated when more Indian sources, especially the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (Chapter X.1.), are taken into consideration.

I.088. Legend about Mihirakula in the *Lianhuamian jing* 蓮華面經

Lianhuamian jing, *j.* 2 (T.386(XII)1075c4–15) translated in 586 CE, cf. Lévi (1905, 298). English translation by Max Deeg.

佛告阿難：「於未來世罽賓國土，當作如是大法之會。阿難！彼五天子滅度之後，有富蘭那外道弟子，名蓮花面，聰明智慧，善解天文二十八宿五星諸度，身如金色，此大癡人，已曾供養四阿羅漢，當供養時作如是誓：『願我未來破壞佛法，以其供養阿羅漢故，世世受於端正之身。』於最後身，生國王家，身為國王，名寐吱曷羅俱邏，而滅我法。此大癡人破碎我鉢，既破鉢已，生於阿鼻大地獄中。此大癡人，命終之後，有七天子次第捨身，生罽賓國，復更建立如來正法，大設供養。阿難！此佛碎鉢以佛力故，亦是眾生善根感故，我此碎鉢自然還復如本不異，於後不久我鉢即於閻浮提沒，現於娑伽龍王宮中。」

The Buddha told Ānanda: "In the future, in the country of Jibin there will be such a great assembly of the *dharma*. Oh, Ānanda! After those five sons of Heaven will have entered *nirvāṇa*, there will be the follower of the heretic *Fulanna* [*Purāṇa*], called Lotus-Faced [*Lianhuamian*], clever and wise, who has fully understood all the measures of astronomy, such as the 28 stellar constellations and the five fix-stars. His body will [shine] like gold. This great madman had already made earlier offerings to the four *arhat*s, and when he had made the offerings, he had made a vow: 'In the future I wish to destroy the *dharma* of the Buddha, and because of the offerings to the *arhat*s I will gain a good-looking body in each rebirth.' In his last reincarnation he will be born into a royal family, will become a king himself called *Meizhiheluojuluo* [EMC *mji^{h}-tɕi-ɣat-la-kuə-la*] who will destroy my *dharma*. This great madman will smash my alms bowl, and after having smashed the alms bowl he will be reborn in the Avīci hell. After the death of this great madman, seven sons of Heaven will give up their lives in the kingdom of Jibin and will again rebuild the true *dharma* of the Tathāgata and make great offerings [to the *saṅgha*]. Oh, Ānanda! The smashed alms bowl of the Buddha will, through the power of the Buddha and also because of the response of the good roots of the living beings, by itself regain its former unchanged shape, and not long after this, it will disappear from Jambudvīpa and appear in the palace of the *nāga* king Sāga[ra]."

[Note Deeg] If there is no mistake in the transliteration Meizhiheluojuluo—the EMC pronunciation of the syllable *zhi* having no direct correspondence in the name Mihirakula and therefore to be deleted—the underlying form of the name may be an "Iranized" **Miθrakula* (*-heluo-* often representing in Chinese transliterations a more "expressive," uvular *r*). Lévi (1905, 300), suspecting a Turkic origin of the name and not having seen the correspondence of *Mihira* and Ir. *Mihra*, reconstructed *Mijira* or *Migira* for the first part of the name.

I.8. Legends about Himatala in Chinese Buddhist texts

I.089. Legends about Ximodaluo recorded by Xuanzang

I.089/A. *Da Tang xiyuji*, *j*. 3

Xuanzang, *j*. 3, pp. 338–40 on the state of Jiashimiluo 迦濕彌羅 (Kashmir). English translation based on Max Deeg's keynote speech "Chinese travelogues and what they have to say (and not to say) about the situation in the NW of India between the beginning of the 5th century and the first half of the 6th century" (Budapest, 31 Aug. 2017). The commentarial annotations within this excerpt were most probably made by Xuanzang himself or his disciples, e.g. Bianji 辯機 or Huili 慧立.

> 迦膩色迦王既死之後，訖利多種復自稱王，斥逐僧徒，毀壞佛法。
>
> After king Kaniṣka [EMC *kɨa-nri^{h}-ṣik-ka*] had died, the Qiliduo [EMC *kɨt-li^{h}-ta*, Skt. *Krīta*] proclaimed themselves kings again, expelled the *saṅgha*, and destroyed the *dharma* of the Buddha.
>
> 覩貨邏國呬摩呾羅王，{唐言雪山下}。其先釋種也，以如來涅槃之後第六百年，光有疆土，嗣膺王業，樹心佛地，流情法海。聞訖利多毀滅佛法，招集國中敢勇之士，得三千人，詐為商旅，多賚寶貨，挾隱軍器，來入此國。此國之君，特加賓禮。商旅之中，又更選募得五百人，猛烈多謀，各袖利刃，俱持重寶，躬賚所奉，持以獻上。
>
> The king [of?] Ximodaluo, {in the language of the Tang this means 'Beneath the Snow Mountains'}, is [the king] of the state of Duhuoluo. His ancestors were from the clan of the Śākya, in the sixth century after the *nirvāṇa* of the Tathāgata; [once he ruled over] a vast territory, he continued the royal duty by planting his heart into the Buddha's soil, and pouring his feelings into the ocean of the *dharma*. When he heard that the Krītas had destroyed the *dharma* of the Buddha, he summoned brave soldiers in his kingdom, up to three thousand; they pretended to be merchants and, carrying a lot of precious merchandise, hiding their weapons under their arms, entered this kingdom. The ruler of this kingdom paid special courtesy to his guests. [The king 'Beneath the Snow Mountains'] further chose from the [group] of merchants five hundred fierce and cunning [individuals], each of them [concealing] a sharp blade in his sleeve and carrying precious jewels as gifts to be offered in person.

Duhuoluo 覩貨邏 (EMC *tɔ'-xwah-lah*): Xuanzang's transliteration of Skt. *Tukhara*/*Tokhara*, approximately the historical Tokharistan/Bactria. In the Chinese annals, the latter is transliterated alternatively as Tuhuluo 吐呼羅 (*WS, BS*) and Tuhuoluo 吐火羅 (*SS*, *XTS*, *TD*).

Ximodaluo 呬摩呾羅 (EMC *xwi-ma-tat-la*): For Skt. *Himatala*, which Xuanzang translated as *xueshanxia* 雪山下 "Beneath the Snow Mountains." It is taken by Marquart (1901, 239) as the Sanskritized name **Hēmatāla* of the Hephthalites.

> 時雪山下王去其帽，即其座，訖利多王驚懾無措，遂斬其首，令群下曰：「我是覩貨邏國雪山下王也。怒此賤種，公行虐政，故於今者誅其有罪。凡百眾庶，非爾之辜。」然其國

輔宰臣遷於異域。既平此國，召集僧徒，式建伽藍，安堵如故。復於此國西門之外，東面而跪，持施眾僧。

At that time the king 'Beneath the Snow Mountains' removed his hat and approached the throne. The king of the Krītas was seized by fear and did not know what to do, [so eventually the king 'Beneath the Snow Mountains'] chopped off his head and ordered his subordinates: "I am king 'Beneath the Snow Mountains' of the kingdom of Tokhara. I am enraged that this inferior clan publicly exercised tyranny. Therefore I now have punished the guilty one. You common people are not at fault." The ministers and officials of this kingdom had to move to foreign regions. Once [the king] had pacified this country, he summoned the monks, built monasteries according to the rules [for them] to live in peace as before. And again outside of the western gateway of the capital he knelt down in eastern direction and donated [the kingdom] to the *saṅgha*.

[Note Deeg] The last sentence seems to refer to a kind of *pañcavārṣika* ceremony during which the king bestows his property and the kingdom on the *saṅgha*, which have to be redeemed by his ministers.

其訖利多種，屢以僧徒覆宗滅祀，世積其怨，嫉惡佛法。歲月既遠，復自稱王，故今此國不甚崇信。外道天祠，特留意焉。

Since the monks had repeatedly disrupted their lineage and eradicated their ancestral sacrifices, this clan of the Krītas amassed resentment against them and harboured jealousy and hatred against the *dharma* of the Buddha. After a long time they proclaimed themselves kings again, and therefore nowadays this state does not pay much reverence to [the *dharma*], but the heretics and the *deva*-temples are particularly revered there.

I.089/B. *Da Tang xiyuji*, *j.* 6

Xuanzang, *j.* 6, p. 517 on the state of Kapilavastu in Central India.

四人被逐北趣雪山。一為烏仗那國王。一為梵衍那國王。一為呬摩呾羅國王。一為商彌國王。奕世傳業，苗裔不絕。

Having been banished, the four men [of the Śākya clan who fought with King Prasenajit][i] went north towards the Snowy Mountains. One became the king of Wuzhangna [Uḍḍiyāna], one of Fanyanna [Bayana], one of Ximodaluo [Himatala], and one of Shangmi. They transmitted their rulership for generations and their descendants continued without end.

Shangmi 商彌: It is unclear whether this name designates the same place as Shuangmi in Text I.020.

[i] See Xuanzang, *j.* 6, pp. 516–517 for the whole story about the fall of the Śākyas in India.

I.089/C. *Da Tang xiyuji*, *j.* 12

Xuanzang, *j.* 12, p. 969 on the state of Ximodaluo 呬摩呾羅, over 200 *li* to the west of Boduochuangna (Badakhshan). Translation by Imre Galambos.

呬摩呾羅國，覩貨邏國故地也，周三千餘里。

The state of Ximodaluo is located on the former territory of the state of Duhuoluo. It is over three thousand *li* in circumference.

山川邐迤，土地沃壤。宜穀稼，多宿麥。百卉滋茂，眾菓具繁。氣序寒烈，人性暴急，不識罪福。形貌鄙陋，舉措威儀，衣氈皮褐，頗同突厥。

It is criss-crossed with mountains and winding rivers. The soil is rich, well suited for growing grains; there is especially much perennial barley/wheat. The vegetation is luxuriant and the fruits are also plentiful. The seasons are cold and intense, the people are violent and short-tempered by nature and do not distinguish between good and bad actions. They look rough and uncouth but behave in a dignified manner. They wear coarse clothes made of felt and leather, very much like the Tujue.

其婦人首冠木角，高三尺餘。前有兩岐，表夫父母，上岐表父，下岐表母，隨先喪亡，除去一岐。舅姑俱沒，角冠全棄。

Their wives wear on their head a wooden horn over three *chi* in length. It has two branches at the front, representing the husband's parents; the branch on the top signifies his father and the one below his mother. Whichever dies first, they remove the corresponding branch. When both of them are dead, the entire headdress with the horn is abandoned.

其先強國， 王， 釋種也。葱嶺之西， 多見臣伏。境隣突厥， 遂染其俗，又為侵略，自守其境。故此國人流離異域，數十堅城，各別立主。穹廬毳帳，遷徙往來。

Their ancestors had a strong kingdom and the king was of the Śākya clan. Most of the peoples west of the Pamirs were their subjects. Their land neighboured that of the Tujue and so they adopted some of their customs. They were also invaded by them and had to defend their land themselves. Because of this, the people of this state scattered into different regions where they established several tens of fortified cities, setting up a king in each of these. They live in domed felt tents and move from place to place.

西接訖栗瑟摩國。

On the west, the country is adjacent to the state of Qilisemo.

I.9 The legend of Xinnie in the seventh and eighth centuries

The Chinese texts in this subchapter are based on the translation and comments provided by Inaba Minoru.

I.090. King Xinnie in the *Jiu Tangshu*

JTS 198《列傳第一百九十八• 西戎》, pp. 5309–10.

闕賓國，在葱嶺南，去京師萬二千二百里。常役屬於大月氏。

The state of Jibin lies to the south of the Congling mountains, 2,200 *li* from the capital [of Tang]. It had been continuously subordinated to the Great Yuezhi.

其地暑濕，人皆乘象，土宜杭稻，草木凌寒不死。其俗尤信佛法。

The climate of this land is hot and humid. All the people ride elephants; the soil is good for rice, and foliage does not die during the winter. The custom [of the local people] in general is believing Buddhism.

隋煬帝時，引致西域，前後至者三十餘國，唯闕賓不至。

In the time of the Emperor Yang of the Sui [605–618 CE], more than thirty states of the Western Regions [Xiyu] sent envoys one after the other [615–617], only Jibin did not send any.

貞觀十一年，遣使獻名馬，太宗嘉其誠款，賜以繒綵[i]。十六年，又遣使獻褥特鼠，喙尖而尾赤，能食蛇，有被蛇螫者，鼠輒嗅而尿之，其瘡立愈。

In the eleventh year of the Zhenguan reign [637], [Jibin] sent envoys to present a fine horse. Emperor Taizong praised their sincere generosity and awarded them silk fabrics. In the 16th year [642], a *rute* rat[ii] was presented as a tribute. It had a pointed snout and a red tail. It could eat

[i] Taizong's words after receiving this tribute payment are found in *XTS*, *j*. 221, p. 6241: "When I succeeded the throne, some people suggested that if the Emperor tried to flaunt his military force, the barbarians in the four directions would tremble with fear. However, Wei Zheng advised me to cultivate intellectual pursuit and morality, to pacify Zhongxia (Central China). Now Zhongxia is pacified and then people in distant countries have submitted. In the present time, the world under heaven is in great peace, and all the leaders of barbarians of the four directions come [to my court] with tributes. This is [the result of] Zheng's efforts." (朕始即位，或言天子欲耀兵，振伏四夷，惟魏徵勸我脩文德，安中夏；中夏安，遠人伏矣。今天下大安，四夷君長皆來獻，此徵力也。) Then he dispatched He Chuluoba 何處羅拔, Commandant of Courageous Garrison, and others to convey rich grants to that country and to maintain a good relation with India. Moreover, instead of mentioning the tribute payment during Emperor Yang's reign during the Sui dynasty, the *Xin Tangshu* records that in the 2nd year of the Wude reign (619), Jibin dispatched an envoy and presented "a jewelled belt, a golden chain, a crystal cup, and a jujube fruit-like crystal as tributes" (寶帶、金鎖、水精醆、頗黎狀若酸棗).

[ii] This animal, in all the probability the mongoose, is given as *noute* rat (*nouteshu* 耨特鼠) in *THY*, *j*. 99, where the tribute is dated to 651.

[poisonous] snakes. If one was bitten by a snake, the rat would sniff [the wound] and urinate on it, then the wound would be immediately cured.

顯慶三年，訪其國俗，云「王始祖鞮孽，至今曷擷支，父子傳位，已十二代」[i]。其年，改其城為修鮮都督府。

In the third year of the Xianqing reign [658], when [Tang envoys] investigated the customs of this state, people said: "From Xinnie, the founder of royal house, up to the present [king] Hexiezhi, the throne has been passed from father to son, [and by now] there have been twelve generations." In the same year, the city was established as the Xiuxian Area Command.

龍朔初，授其王修鮮等十一州諸軍事兼修鮮都督。

At the beginning of the Longshuo reign [661–662], the king [of Jibin] was invested with the title Military Administrator of Xiuxian and eleven prefectures, and Xiuxian Commander-in-chief.

開元七年，遣使來朝，進天文經一夾、祕要方并蕃藥等物，詔遣冊其王為葛羅達支特勒。二十七年，其王烏散特勒灑以年老，上表請以子(*THY*: 以嫡子)拂菻闕婆嗣位，許之，仍降使冊命。

In the seventh year of the Kaiyuan reign [719], [Jibin dispatched] envoys to the [Tang] court, who offered up a book of an astrological text, secret medical recipes, together with foreign medicines and other things. An imperial edict was issued to bestow on the king [of Jibin] the title Geluodazhi Tele [for Tegin 特勤]. In the 27th year [739], the king Wusan Tele Sa [for Khorāsān Tegin Shāh] submitted a memorial requesting that due to his old age, his son [*THY*: his son born of the legal wife], Fulin Jipo [for Jisuo 闕娑] may succeed him on the throne. The emperor agreed and dispatched an envoy in order to confer the king's title on him through an imperial edict.

天寶四年，又冊其子勃匐準為襲闕賓及烏萇國王，仍授左驍衛將軍。

In the fourth year of the Tianbao reign [745], another imperial edict was issued to make his [i.e. Fulin Jiso/From Kesar's] son Bo Fuzhun succeed him on the throne as the king of Jibin and Wuchang. He was conferred the title General of Left Stalwart Guard.

乾元元年，又遣使朝貢。

In the first year of the Qianyuan reign [758], [the state] again dispatched envoys and presented tributes.

Jibin 闕賓: "Jibin" for the Tang was identical with the state called Cao 漕 by the Sui.[ii] The latter was known to designate the Kāpiśī-Kābul region, or the region along the Kābul river

[i] *THY*, *j*. 99: "The founder of the royal family was Xinnie, and the present ruler is called Hexiezhi. The throne was passed from father to son, [and by now] there have been twelve generations." 王始祖鞮孽。今王曰曷擷支。父子傳位已十二代。 *XTS*, *j*. 221: "All the people of the state [of Jibin] claim that the founder of the royal family was Xinnie, and that down to Hexiezhi, there have been twelve generations." 國人共傳王始祖曰鞮孽，至曷擷支傳十二世。

[ii] 闕賓，隋漕國也。Literally: "Jibin. The state of Cao in the Sui period" (*XTS*, *j*. 221, p. 6240).

(Kuwayama 2002, 203–5). In the *Tang Huiyao*, the geography and custom of this state is described a little differently: "Jibin lies the south of the Congling mountains. River(s) run through that country. All the waters flow to the south and pour into the southern ocean. The people all ride elephants. The soil is good for growing rice. Sugar canes and grapes are in abundance. Vegetation survives the cold without perishing. They enthusiastically worship Buddhism. It lies to the north of Shewei (Śrāvastī) at a distance of 3,500 *li*."[i]

Xinnie 馨孽 (EMC *xɛjŋ-ŋiat*, LMC *xjiajŋ-ŋiat*): This name is identified with Khiṅgila by Petech (1964, 288).

Hexiezhi 曷擷支 (EMC *γat-γiet-tɕiě*, LMC *xɦat-xɦjiat-tʂi*): Original form unknown. Yoshida (2013a, 62) suggested that this could be the Chinese transcription of "Alkhis," which appears in the Bactrian inscription found at Tang-e Safedak in northern Hazārajāt as a name of a person who established a Buddhist temple in that region.[ii] However, since the temple itself was constructed in 715, Hexiezhi and Alkhis of the Tang-e Safedak inscription might be different persons. According to Yoshida, they may be grandfather and grandson.

Xiuxian *dudufu* 修鮮都督府**:** The *Tang Huiyao* says: "On the second day of the fifth month of the third year [of the Xianqing reign], the Anxi Protectorate was moved to Qiuci (Kucha), … as the Western Regions were being subjugated, envoys were dispatched to Kangguo (Samarqand) and Tuhuoluo (Tokharistan) to investigate the situation, the products of those states, as well as the history of the creation and abolition [of prefectures and counties]. They submitted drawings and plates as reports of their missions, which were utilized by the officers to compile the sixty *juan*s of the *Xiyu tuzhi* 西域圖志."[iii] This mission was to prepare the foundation for setting up the sixteen *dudufu* (Area Commands) to the west of the Pamirs. The phrase *fang qi guosu* 訪其國俗 "investigated the custom of this state" in this paragraph must have corresponded to the phrase *fang qi fengsu wuchan* 訪其風俗物產 in the *Tang Huiyao*.

Geluodazhi Tele 葛羅達支特勒 (*XTS*: Geluodazhi Tele 葛邏達支特勒; *THY*: Geluozhi Tele 葛羅支特勒, where the imperial edict is dated to 720)**:** Most likely a scribal error for Gedaluozhi Teqin 葛達羅支特勤 found in *CF j*. 964. This name (EMC *kat-dat-la-tɕiě*, LMC *kat-tɦat-la-tʂi*), together with the name of the state of Hedaluozhi 訶達羅支 (see next entry), was discussed by Petech (1964, 293), who linked Gedaluozhi and Hedaluozhi with the Turkish tribe of Khalaj. Petech did not explain the second consonant *-d*, but it can be explained when one juxtaposes it with the legend of the so-called Tegin Shahi coins, which Yoshida (2003) read as *hitivira kharalāča*, instead of *hitivira kharalāva* given by Humbach (1961). *Kharalāča* is most probably the Indian rendering of Khalaj, while *hitivira* is that of *iltäbär*. In the same year, i.e. 720, the ruler of Xieyu 謝䫜 (Zābulistān) was conferred the title Gedaluozhi Xielifa 葛達羅支頡利發

[i] 罽賓。在蔥嶺之南。其地川瀆。水皆南流。注於南海。人皆乘象。土宜種稻。多甘蔗葡萄。草木凌寒不死。尤信佛法。南去舍衛國三千五百里。 (*THY*, *j*. 99, p. 1776)

[ii] On the inscription and other finds from Tang-e Safedak, see Lee and Sims-Williams (2003).

[iii] 至三年五月二日，移安西都護府於龜茲國……西域既平。遣使分往康國及吐火羅國。訪其風俗物產。及古今廢置。盡圖以進。因令史官撰西域圖志六十卷。 (*THY*, *j*. 73, p. 1323)

(*XTS*, *j*. 221, p. 6253), in which *xielifa* is known to be a Chinese transcription of the Turkish title *iltäbär*. Therefore, *hitivira kharalāča* on the coin and Gedaluozhi Xielifa in Chinese sources stand for the same phrase that can be traced back to **Khalaj Iltäbär* (Inaba 2005, 6–8). If this is indeed the case, Gedaluozhi Tegin can be reconstructed as **Khalaj Tegin*. However, these Turkish Kābulshāh represented a dynasty different from the former one in Kāpiśī, which had been founded by Xinnie.

Fulin Jipo 拂菻闍婆: Scribal error for Fulin Jisuo 拂菻闍娑 "From Kesar." On the ruler bearing the title "From Kesar" on coins, see Humbach (1961).

Bo Fuzhun 勃匐準: All the sources have this form, except for *THY*, *j*. 99, which gives Bo Puzhun 勃葡準. The original form is unknown.

[Note Inaba] If Xinnie, the ancestor and founder of Hexiezhi's family, is identical with Khiṅgila on the Alkhan coins, or with Khiṅgila on the copper scroll, then this may be explained as a sequel to an event which may have produced the coins of Alkhan–Nezak crossover, that is, certain people of the Alkhan group returned west of the Khybar Pass and conquered or merged with the local dynasty which had been issuing Nezak coins (Göbl 1967, ii: 70–72; cf. Vondrovec 2014, 459–60, 485). If this identification holds true, we can list the following rulers with the name Khiṅgila (and the likes):

1. Khiṅgila who issued the Alkhan coins (Appendix.002/A).
2. Khīṅgīla mentioned in the copper scroll of the Schøyen collection (Text X.030), tentatively dated to the end of the fifth century.
3. Xinnie mentioned in Tang Chinese sources as having lived twelve generations earlier than the king of Jibin in 660.
4. Khiṅkhila as a second name of Narendrāditya, the ruler of Kashmir in an indeterminate period (*Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Text X.014/F).
5. Khiṅgāla who appears in the inscription of the marble Gaṇeśa statue allegedly from Gardez (Text X.043), dated by Kuwayama to the mid-eighth century.
6. Khinkhil (<Khiṅgila) referred to by al-Ya'qūbī in the reign of the 'Abbasid Caliph al-Mahdī (r. 775–785).
7. al-Iṣṭakhrī and al-Muqadassī mention a town in southern Afghanistan with the name جنکلاباد or بکراباد respectively. These names can be reconstructed as **Khingilābād*.

After the emergence of the copper scroll of the Schøyen Collection, there has been an argument whether #1 and #2 were the same person. However, it should be noted that we are not sure about the date of #2 because it is not known if Khiṅgila was still alive when his name was inscribed on the scroll (Melzer 2006; La Vaissière 2012).

As to #3, counting back from 660, twelve generations could be more than 120 years if we allot each ruler an average of 10 years of reign. For instance, if we tentatively calculate twelve generations as 150 years, it takes us back to 510, which is rather close to the date of the copper scroll. Therefore, there is a possibility that #3 also falls in the same time frame as #1 and #2.

The dates of #5 and #6 also look rather close. As described in the *Xin Tangshu* and *Jiu Tangshu*, Bo Fuzhun succeeded his father as Kabulshah around 745, so Khiṅgila in the mid-eighth century must be this Bo Fuzhun or his successor. Ma (2011) argued that Zhantan Huli 旃檀忽哩 described in the biography of Wukong (a Chinese monk who visited Gandhāra in the early 760s) as a brother of the king could be the successor of Bo Fuzhun. However, neither Bo Fuzhun nor Zhantan Huli sound anything like Khiṅgila.

As to #7, it was Marquart who suggested the reconstruction of جنکلاباد or بکراباد in Arabic geographical sources to خنکلاباد (Marquart and De Groot 1915, 276–77). Petech (1964, 289) refuted this idea as the location of the town was far to the south from Kāpiśī-Kabul where traces of Khiṅgila are the most prominent. However, if the naming of Tegīnābād (Kandahar), which appears in Persian sources of the pre-Mongol period, is relevant to the Kābulshāhs (especially Khorāsān Tegin Shāh, whose reign was from *c.* 680 to 738), it would not be unfeasible if a small city nearby was named after another Kābulshāh (in this case, he would be Khiṅgila of the mid-eighth century). Needless to say, there could be more Khiṅgilas in the area and period in question. Cf. Inaba (2013).

I.091. Xiuxian *dudufu* 修鮮都督府 and other Area Commands in the *Jiu Tangshu*

JTS 40《志第二十• 地理三• 十道郡國》, p. 1649. See also *XTS* 43《志第三十七下• 地理七下• 羈縻州》, p. 1135–1137 and the discussion of the sixteen area commands in Inaba (2015, esp. 107–10).

> 龍朔元年，西域諸國，遣使來內屬，乃分置十六都督府，州八十，縣一百一十，軍府一百二十六，皆隸安西都護府，仍於吐火羅國立碑以紀之。
>
> In the first year of Longshuo reign [661 CE], the states in the Western Regions sent envoys with the aim of subordinating [to the Tang]. Therefore sixteen area commands, eighty prefectures, one hundred and ten counties and one hundred twenty six garrisons were established by dividing [this broad region into the Tang prefecture-county system]. All of them were under the command of the Anxi Protectorate [Kucha], and a stele was erected in the state of Tuhuoluo [Tokharistan] as a memorial to this event.
>
> 月氏(*XTS*: 月支)都督府 於吐火羅國所治遏換城置，以其王葉護領之。於其部內分置二十四州，都督統之。
>
> Yuezhi Area Command: established in Ehuan City [Qalʿa-ye Zāl], capital of the state of Tuhuoluo. It is governed by its king Yehu [*Yabgu*]. His domain/tribes [*bu* 部] are divided into twenty-four prefectures, and these are under the control of the Area Commander-in-Chief.
>
> 太汗(*XTS*: 大汗)都督府 於嚩噠部落所治活路城置，以其王太汗領之。仍分其部置十五州，太汗領之。

Taihan [*XTS*: Dahan/Taihan] Area Command: established in Huolu City [Ghori, i.e. Baghlān], capital of the Yeda tribes [*buluo* 部落]. It is governed by their king Taihan [*Tarqan*]. His tribes/domain are divided into fifteen prefectures, all of them are still governed by him.

條枝(*XTS*: 條支)都督府 於訶達羅支國所治伏寶瑟顛城置，以其王領之。仍於其部分置八州。

Tiaozhi Area Command: placed in Fubaosedian City [Fulijistān], capital of the state of Hedaluozhi. It is governed by its king, and his domain/tribes are divided into eight prefectures.

高附都督府 於骨咄施國所治妖沙城置，以其王領之。仍分其部置三州。

[…] Gaofu Area Command: placed in Yaosha City [error for Shiwosha 施沃沙], capital of *Guduoshi* [error for Guduo 骨咄, i.e. Khuttal]. It is governed by its king, yet his domain/tribes are divided into three prefectures.

修鮮都督府 於闕賓國所治遏紇城置，以其王領之。仍分其部置十一州。

Xiuxian Area Command: established in Ehe City, capital of the state of Jibin [Kāpiśī]. It is governed by its king, yet his domain/tribes are divided into eleven prefectures.

寫鳳都督府 於失苑延國所治伏戾城置，以其王領之。仍分其部置四州。

Xiefeng Area Command: established in Fuli City, capital of the state of Shiyuanyan [Bamyan]. It is governed by its king, yet his domain/tribes are divided into four prefectures.

悅般都督府(*XTS*: 悅般州都督府) 於石汗那國所治豔城置，以其王領之。仍分其部置雙靡州。

Yueban Area Command [*XTS*: Yuebanzhou Area Command]: established in Yan City, capital of Shihanna [Chaghāniyān]. It is governed by its king, and Shuangmi Prefecture is established within his domain/tribes.

奇沙州(*XTS*: 奇沙州都督府) 於護特健國所治遏密城置。仍分其部置沛薄、大秦二州。

Qisha Prefecture [*XTS*: Qishazhou Area Command]: placed in Emi City, capital of the state of Hutejian [Gūzgān]. Two prefectures, Pebo and Daqin, are established within its domain/tribes.

Supplement: The Yueban and Gaoju in the *Weishu*

I.092. The Yueban 悅般

WS 102 《列傳第九十• 西域》 (pp. 2459–2460) ~ *BS* 97 《列傳第八五• 西域》 (pp. 3219–3220). Translation based on Yu (2014a, 606–10).

悅般國，在烏孫西北，去代一萬九百三十里。

The state of the Yueban: it is located to the northwest of the Wusun, and it is 10,930 *li* from Dai.

其先，匈奴北單于之部落也。為漢車騎將軍竇憲所逐，北單于度金微山，西走康居，其羸弱不能去者住龜茲北。地方數千里，眾可二十餘萬。涼州人猶謂之「單于王」。[i]

Their forebears were a horde of the Northern Chanyu of the Xiongnu. Pursued by the Han General of Chariots and Cavalry, DOU Xian, the Northern Chanyu crossed the Jinwei [Altai] Mountains and went west to Kangju. Those who were too exhausted and weak to attempt this journey remained north of Qiuci. [Nowadays,] their territory is stretching for several thousand *li*. Their population is over 200,000. The residents of Liangzhou still call [the Yueban ruler] 'Chanyu King.'

其風俗言語與高車同，而其人清潔於胡。俗剪髮齊眉(*Tongzhi* and *Huanyuji*: 而其人清潔。倣胡俗剪髮齊眉)，以醍醐(*BS*: 餘餬)塗之，昱昱然光澤，[ii]日三澡漱，然後飲食。

Their customs and speech resemble those of the Gaoju, but the people are more devoted to cleanliness than [other] *hu* peoples. By custom they clip their hair and even their eyebrows [*Tongzhi*/*Huanyuji*: but the people are (more) devoted to cleanliness (than the Gaoju). They imitate the *hu* custom of clipping their hair and even their eyebrows] and smear clarified butter over it to make it bright and lustrous. They bathe three times a day, and only drink and eat afterwards.

其國南界有火山，山傍石皆燋鎔，流地數十里乃凝堅，人取以為藥(*BS*: 人取為藥)，即石流黃也。

On the southern boundary of their country is a volcano, which heated and melted all the adjacent rocks which flowed for several tens of *li* before they solidified. People gather them for medicine, as it is crude sulphur.

與蠕蠕結好，其王嘗將數千人入蠕蠕國，欲與大檀相見。入其界百餘里，見其部人不浣衣，不絆髮，不洗手，婦人舌舐(*BS*: 口舐)器物，王謂其從臣曰：「汝曹誑我入此狗國中！」乃馳還。大檀遣騎追之不及，[iii]自是相仇讎，數相征討。

They [once] established friendly relations with the Ruanruan. Their king, leading several thousand men, entered the state of the Ruanruan to meet Datan [r. 414~?]. More than 100 *li* into their territory, he saw that the tribal people did not wash their clothes, tie their hair, or wash their hands. Their women licked the utensils [clean]. The king said to his attendants, "You tricked me into coming to a country of dogs." Thereupon he galloped back. Datan dispatched cavalry to urge him [to stay], but it was too late. From then on they became enemies, and attacked each other.

[i] *BS*: 北單于度金微山西走康居，其羸弱不能去者，住龜茲北。地方數千里，眾可二十餘萬，涼州人猶謂之單于王。
[ii] *BS*: 昱昱然光澤。
[iii] *BS*: ……婦人口舐器物。王謂其從臣曰：「汝曹誑我，將我入此狗國中。」乃馳還。大檀遣騎追之，不及。

真君九年，遣使朝獻。并送幻人……又言其國有大術者，蠕蠕來抄掠，術人能作霖雨狂風大雪及行潦，[i]蠕蠕凍死漂亡者十二三。是歲再遣使朝貢，[ii]求與官軍東西齊契討蠕蠕。世祖(*BS*: 太武)嘉其意……襲蠕蠕。……自後每使貢獻(*BS*: 朝貢)。

In the ninth year of the [Taiping] zhenjun reign [448], [the Yueban] sent envoys to present tribute, also sending a magician with them […] [The magician] further said, "There are great necromancers in their country, and when the Ruanruan come on a robbing raid, the necromancers unleash continuous heavy rains, fierce winds, heavy snow and great floods, and the Ruanruan people, in two or three cases out of ten, are either frozen to death or carried away [by the floods]." In the same year, [the Yueban] once again sent envoys to pay tribute, and they sought the support of [Wei] imperial troops to attack the Ruanruan from east and west. Emperor Shizu praised their suggestion […] and attacked the Ruanruan [in 449]. […] From that point onward, they often sent envoys to present tribute.

[Note Ching] The description at the beginning is anachronistic: those who went west to Kangju were the Zhizhi Chanyu and his men in 36 BCE, and those who crossed the Altai were the Northern Xiongnu in 91 CE (Matsuda 1970, 189). It is also problematic to describe the Yueban as a people to the northwest of the Wusun in the Northern Wei period. At any rate, before 437, they had replaced the Wusun in the Yulduz and Naryn valleys (Matsuda 1970, 195–204, esp. 201, see also Text I.009). The basic reason is that 10,930 *li* equals the distance from Dai to Chigu, the ancient capital of Wusun situated northwest of Kucha: 10,930 = 610 (Chigu—Wunsu) + 270 (Wunsu—Gumo) + 8,150 (Gumo—Chang'an) + 1,900 (Chang'an—Dai). So the people whom DONG encountered at Chigu must have been the Yueban.

I.093. The Gaoju 高車

The history of the Gaoju is given in the respective entry in *WS* 103 《列傳第九十一• 高車》(pp. 2505–2508); until the beginning of Text I.056/B it is extracted as follows.

高車，蓋古赤狄之餘種也，初號為狄歷，北方以為敕勒，諸夏以為高車、丁零。

其語略與匈奴同而時有小異，或云其先匈奴之甥也。

The Gaoju are probably the remaining tribes of the ancient Chidi [lit. 'the red Di']. Initially they were called Dili. People in the north called them Chile, whereas people in China proper called them Gaoju or Dingling.

Their language is roughly the same as that of the Xiongnu but at times has minor differences from that. Some say that their ancestors were the nephew of [i.e. indirectly related to] the Xiongnu.

俗云匈奴單于生二女，姿容甚美，國人皆以為神。單于曰：「吾有此女，安可配人，將以與天。」乃於國北無人之地，築高臺，置二女其上，曰：「請天自迎之。」經三年，其母

[i] *BS*: 又言：其國有大術者，蠕蠕來抄掠，術人能作霖雨、盲風、大雪及行潦，

[ii] *BS*: 是歲，再遣使朝貢。

欲迎之，單于曰：「不可，未徹之間耳。」復一年，乃有一老狼晝夜守臺嗥呼，因穿臺下為空穴，經時不去。其小女曰：「吾父處我於此，欲以與天，而今狼來，或是神物，天使之然。」將下就之。其姊大驚曰：「此是畜生，無乃辱父母也！」妹不從，下為狼妻而產子，後遂滋繁成國，故其人好引聲長歌，又似狼嗥。

[…] According to legends, the Xiongnu Chanyu had two daughters, both extremely beautiful. The people of the country all thought them to be spirits. The Chanyu said: "How could I find husbands for my daughters! I am going to give them to Heaven." Thereupon, at a desolate place in the north part of the country, he erected a high platform and placed his two daughters on the top, saying: "Oh Heaven, please come and receive them yourself!" After three years, their mother wanted to bring them back but the Chanyu said: "You may not, their time is not up yet." After another year, there was an old wolf who guarded the platform day and night, howling. It dug a hole underneath the platform and would not leave for a long time. The younger daughter said: "Our father put us here, wanting to give us to Heaven. Now this wolf came here, it is probably a heavenly being, sent by Heaven." She was about to descend the platform and approach the wolf but her elder sister said in horror: "This is a beast! Do not bring disgrace to our parents!" The younger sister did not listen to her, she descended and became the wolf's wife and gave birth to children. Later on, they multiplied and formed a state. This is why their people like to sing long songs in a drawn-out voice, similar to the howling of wolves.

無都統大帥，當種各有君長，為性麤猛，黨類同心，至於寇難，翕然相依。鬬無行陳，頭別衝突，乍出乍入，不能堅戰。

They have no supreme ruler. Each tribe has its own chief. Their nature is rough and fierce. Being of the same race, they have common sentiments, and when there is an occasion for marauding or responding to an external threat, they combine forces. When they fight, they have no regular formations or order, but each man rushes in and out against the enemy on his own and they cannot maintain a firm line of battle.

俗不清潔。喜致震霆，每震則叫呼射天而棄之移去。至來歲秋，馬肥，復相率候於震所，埋羖羊，然火，拔刀，女巫祝說，似如中國祓除，而羣隊馳馬旋繞，百帀乃止。人持一束柳梜，回竪之，以乳酪灌焉。婦人以皮裹羊骸，戴之首上，縈屈髮鬢而綴之，有似軒冕。

[…] They are unclean in their habits. They like bringing [sic] thunder. Whenever there is thunder [flash of lightning?], they shout and shoot arrows at the sky, then abandon the place and move away. The next year in the fall, when the horses are fat, they gather again and watch at the place where the thunder struck. They bury a black wether [or a goat], light a fire and draw their swords. A female shaman makes incantations, just like in exorcist rituals in China. In a mass they gallop on their horses in circles a hundred times before stopping. The men take bundles of willow branches and plant them around the spot and pour curdled milk over them. The women wrap sheep bones in skin and wear those on their heads, intertwining them with their hair, so that they look like the cap of a Chinese high official.

其死亡葬送，掘地作坎，坐屍於中，張臂引弓，佩刀挾矟，無異於生，而露坎不掩。時有震死及疫癘，則為之祈福。若安全無他，則為報賽。多殺雜畜，燒骨以燎，走馬遶旋，多者數百帀，男女無小大皆集會，平吉之人則歌舞作樂，死喪之家則悲吟哭泣。

Their method of burying the dead is to dig a pit in the ground and place the seated corpse in it. They stretch out the arms [as if] drawing a bow, suspend a sword from the belt and place a spear under the arm, just as in life. They leave the pit open and uncovered. When someone dies by lightning or by pestilence, they pray for his good fortune. If the death is peaceful, as a result of natural causes, they offer thanks. They kill many animals and burn their bones in a pyre. They race their horses around as many as several hundred times. Men and women, young and old, all gather. Those who have not suffered bereavement, sing and dance and show their joy. The family that is in mourning cries and laments.

其遷徙隨水草，衣皮食肉，牛羊畜產盡與蠕蠕同，唯車輪高大，輻數至多。

They migrate in search of grass and water. They dress in skins and eat meat. Their cattle and sheep are just like those of the Ruanruan. But the wheels of their carts are high and have many spokes.

後徙於鹿渾海西北百餘里，部落強大，常與蠕蠕為敵，亦每侵盜于國家。太祖親襲之，大破其諸部。

After [an obscure period from their legendary era], they moved to a place over a hundred *li* northwest of Luhun Lake. Their tribes were strong and large, and were often at war with the Ruanruan. They also sometimes raided the [Xianbei] state. Emperor Taizu personally led a military campaign against them and greatly defeated their tribes.

蠕蠕社崙破敗之後，收拾部落，轉徙廣漠之北，侵入高車之地。

[...] After Shelun [?–410] of the Ruanruan was defeated, he gathered his remaining tribes and moved north of the Gobi Desert, invading the land of the Gaoju.[i]

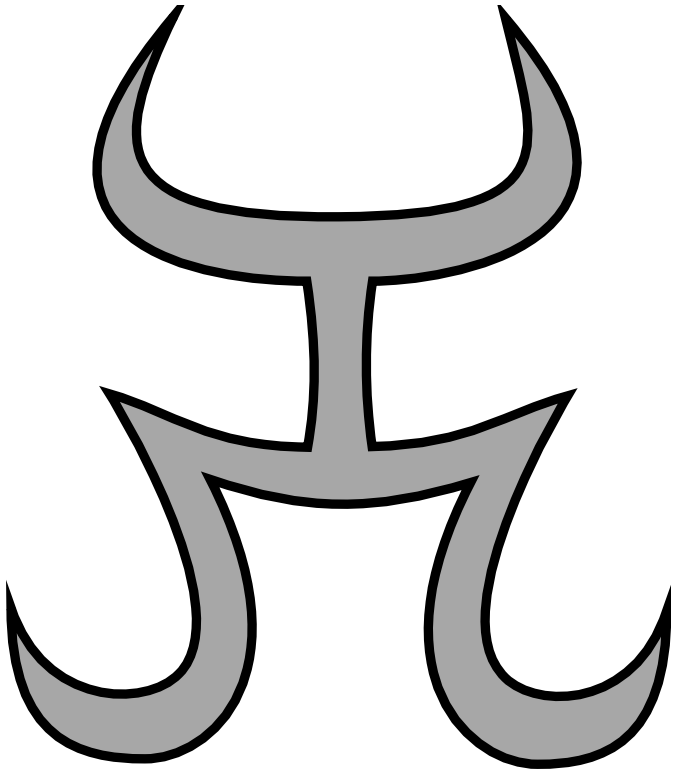
太祖時，分散諸部，唯高車以類粗獷，不任使役，故得別為部落。

[...] During his reign [r. 386–409], Emperor Taizu scattered the various tribes and only the Gaoju, who were rough and boorish, did not submit to him, and thus they remained a separate tribe.

[i] The invasion occurred approximately in 394–402 CE, cf. Duan (1988, 208–9).

II. Khotanese Sources

Mauro Maggi



Overview of sources

The Khotanese ethnonym *huna-* (also *hūṇa-* in Late Khotanese) occurs in:

(a) a fifth-century Old Khotanese literary source;
(b) two early ninth-century interrelated Late Khotanese official letters; and
(c) a late ninth-century Late Khotanese diplomatic report.

The term, like Sogdian *xwn* and Sanskrit *hūṇa-*, could be applied to any nomadic people coming from Mongolia (cf. La Vaissière 2005) and refers to different peoples: the Tuyuhun 吐谷渾, the Ruanruan 蠕蠕, or the Hephthalites (White Huns) in the fifth century and the Uighurs both in the early ninth century upon their first appearance in Khotan (Yoshida 2009, 352) and occasionally still in the late ninth century, when the Uighurs had become well known and where called *hvehva:ra-* and the like in Late Khotanese (cf. Yoshida 2009, 352).
On Huns in Khotanese texts, see Bailey (1982, 91–92; 1985, 25).

II.001. *Book of Zambasta* 15.5–10

The *Book of Zambasta* is a fifth-century didactic poem in Old Khotanese on Mahāyāna Buddhism. Of chapter 15—on the importance of faith—only lines 1 to 12 are completely preserved in folio 271 of the seventh-century main manuscript of the work. Text and translation from Emmerick (1968, 228–29), additions in brackets. Facsimile: Konow (1914, pl. xxxv as fol. 371, *recte* 271). Other editions and translations: Konow (1914, 22–24, plates xxxiii–xxxv); Leumann (1936, 206–9, as 16.5–10).

[5] ṣṣadu vara ttrāmu baysā—re dākṣäṇya biśyau diśyau jsa
samu kho mura kīśśäña bā—śa tcamäña hīyāra pharāka
[6] ka va ggaṃjsa ttaṃdya āya . ṣṣei ne batu kye hve' aṣṣaddä .
aṣṣadye hvą'ndä tta seittä balysä paranärväte (n)ä(śt)ä 6
[7] ttäna cu aysu balysu nä daimä pharu ttä härа cu hälysda īndi
aṣṣaddä nä hāḍe nä daiyä kho rro prīya ūtco ne dai(n)dä 7
[8] aṣṣadda ju hvandä ne oysārä ttatatä ṣṭānye jīyä cīyä
ttū pyūṣḍe karma jyāre khäjätä lāstanu yīndä 8
[9] māṃkuya rro īndä heinā-kho—ca[i] u huna ciṃgga supīya
kye nä hvatäna-kṣīru bajo—ttāndä ttu ju ye gāvu ne oysde .
[10] balysä ṣṣai aśtä cī pyūṣḍe . varī oysde aṣṣaddä cau ka—
rma cu tä yiḍe haysgu ku jso aśtä śśäru mā vaska 10

[i] Emmerick has *heinā khoca* as two words following Leumann (1936, 209) and Konow (1939, 35), but it is preferable to regard *heinā-khoca*, with Bailey (1967, 428), as a single word, namely, a possessive compound meaning "having red faces, the Red-faced Ones, the Red-Faces."

> [5]Venerable men from all directions so frequent a believer as birds a dense garden in which there are many fruits. [6]If there should be a great fault, it would not be small even for one who was an unbelieving man. To an unbelieving man it appears thus: "The Buddha has not become *parinirvṛta* [completely extinguished], [7]because I cannot see the Buddha." Many are those things which are present but the unbeliever does not see them, just as the Pretas do not see the water. [8]Unbelieving men are not angry: "Wealth here disappears." When he hears this: "*Karmas* [actions] disappear," he is troubled. He causes a dispute. [9]There are Māṃkuyas, Red-faces [Emmerick: Red Khocas] and Huns, Chinese, Supīyas, who have harmed our Khotanese land. For a time one has not been angry about this. [10]When he hears: "The Buddha does indeed exist," the unbeliever is angry at once. What are your *karmas*? Why did it cause you trouble? Whence is there good for us?

The people name *huna* in line 9 appears as one of five foreign groups who have ruined Khotan. Unlike the mention of the mythicised *śśakaunä … yavanä palvalä* (Śakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas) as invaders of India in *Book of Zambasta* 24.393, the list of actual invaders of Khotan in 15.9 is likely to refer, in this literary source, to recent events.

Among the invaders of Khotan, Sten Konow (1939, 35) identified the *heinā-khoca* 'Red-faces' with the Tibetans because Tibetan *gdong dmar can* 'Red-faced Ones' denotes the Tibetans for instance in the *Li'i yul lung bstan pa* ('*Prophecy of Khotan*') almost certainly translated from Khotanese (see the translation by Thomas 1935, 78–85; see also Bailey 1967, 428–29, who abandoned his previous translation and identification 'Red-hatted' = Red Huns (cf. Bailey 1954, 19–20); Bailey (1985, 87) Nattier (1991, 188, 191 n. 108), who pointed out that Tibetan *gdong dmar can* is an exonym originated in Khotan to denote the Tibetans; and van Schaik 2016, 48–52). Reference to the Tibetans has been used as the main argument for a seventh-century date of composition of the *Book of Zambasta* (Konow 1939, 32–36; van Schaik 2016, 41, 51 n. 21) or part of it (U. Sims-Williams 2001, 168). Such a dating relies on Chinese accounts of the first appearance of the Tibetans in the Tarim basin in the seventh century (cf. Beckwith 1987, 11–54). I, however, have argued for a fifth-century date and a unitary composition of the *Book of Zambasta*, supported by the survival of a folio from a fifth/sixth-century copy of the work (Maggi 2004). If the Red-faces are the Tibetans, a fifth-century dating does not necessarily contrast, in my opinion, with the presence of Tibetans in Khotan as occasional looters, unless one is prepared to deny the *Book of Zambasta* its importance as a first-hand source for local history. Alternatively, Étienne de La Vaissière (letters of 14 July and 28 November 2017) suggests identification of the Red-faces with the Tuyuhun, that is, the Xianbei 鮮卑 tribes who settled in the eastern Tibetan plateau (Qinghai) at the beginning of the fourth century bringing with them the Xianbei fashion to paint the face red, known from a fifth-century tomb in northeastern China (Zhijiapu, Shanxi) and eighth-century tombs in Guolimu (Qinghai) and possibly not originally a Tibetan one (see Tong and Wertmann 2010, 209–10 and cf. Liu and Gao 2005; doubts by Heller 2013a, 118, 135 n. 12; 2013b, 21). The Tuyuhun raided Khotan in 445 and killed the king and thousands of people, as is witnessed by the Chinese dynastic histories (on the Tuyuhun in Khotan, see Molè 1970, xv, 10, 27, 96–97 n. 104, 129 n. 252 and Yu 2014a, 585–87, 803–4).

As for the *huna* in the *Book of Zambasta*, the idea that "[t]he *Hiung-nu* [匈奴] dominated Khotan in the fourth century" (Bailey 1985, 25) is not supported by the Chinese sources (Ching Chao-jung, letter of 7 November 2017) and the fifth century is too late a period for the presence of Xiongnu proper in the Tarim Basin (cf. Skjærvø 2002, lxv n. 4: 'Xiongnu?'): rather, the *huna* may allude here to raids by one of the following peoples:

(1) the Tuyuhun (445), if these are not the 'Red-faces' (see also Li 2017, 114–15);
(2) or the Ruanruan (probably between 466 and 468), whose attack caused the king of Khotan to seek the Northern Wei's help (Ching, letters of 7 and 27 November 2017; for the Chinese sources on the Ruanruan in Khotan, see Li 2017, 115–116; Matsuda 1931, 42; 1970, 158–61 and Yu 2014a, 585–86; but notice that Matsuda takes the Ruanruan in this event as a misnomer for the Hephthalites);
(3) or even the Hephthalites, if the *Book of Zambasta* is from the end of the fifth century (La Vaissière, letter of 30 October 2017; for the Chinese sources on the Hephthalites [= Hua 滑, Heda/Yeda 噠噠 and Yeda 嚈噠] in Khotan, see Texts I.032, I.033—with Ching's note dating the Hephthalites' presence in Khotan to after 477—and I.046 in this volume).

II.002. *Hedin 20*

Text after Skjærvø (2016, 14–15), with line numbering after Bailey (1961a, 33–34); translation from Skjærvø 2016: 14–16, slightly modified, with additions in brackets. Facsimile: Skjærvø (2008, 143). Other editions and translations with commentary: Bailey (1961a, 33–34, 121–25); Skjærvø (2008, 124–25).

II.002/A. Letter *a*

[0][spāta s]u[dārrjāṃ tta pa]r[ī] — [s]p[āta vid]y[adattä vara ??]
[1][ttāṃjeri māś]t[i] 20 (1/2/3)mye haḍai vā miṣḍāṃ gyastäna parau ā tsīṣī spāta sudārrjāṃ va-
[2][ra vaña v]ātci thūe lụnä ha'bä śi'rä āstaṃna hvāṣṭa pastāṃdä si paḍāṃda ttā
[3][lụnä] tcabi ysaṃgä pāḍaki hauḍi si cigä lä thihä tcyẹnä ttā haṃjsiṣḍä hvaṃ kṣīra
[4][hī]na bāyi dvī ysārä ca jsāṃ vā mu-ṣve khyeṣvā ą̄na lụnä tcabi ysaṃgä hauḍi
[5][ ] pīḍakä ā si huna ttā khyeṣvā ttuṃgaśeṃ parrya ṣi' haḍi va ni ye caṃda
[6][v]y[a] u ką̄mye haḍai vā parrya khu parau pva'hvaṃḍä u stūra biśi phẹmą̄ña kītha tva-
[7][śdya] ttī jsāṃ au au parau paśa ci ttye stūra buḍa īde khvaṃ ttuśā kītha ni tvaśdīṃ-
[8][dä u] tty[e] stūra ni īde śūje hāyarä jsārū jsa tvaryari 30 6mye kṣuṇä
[9][braṃ]khaysji 20mye haḍai ttā parau tsve SU[i]

[i] Simplified *su* as Sudārrjuṃ's signature.

[0]⟦The General [*spāta*] Sudārrjāṃ orders as follows.—To the General Vidyadatta.(?)⟧ [1]⟦Of the⟧ month ⟦of Ttuṃjārā?⟧ the 21st/22nd/23rd day an order came to us from the gracious Lord: To the Prefect [*cishi* 刺史] General Sudārrjāṃ:

[2]⟦Now⟧, moreover, *thūe* [= ?] Councillor Ha'bäśi'rä and the other Masters [= the Tibetans] have ordered as follows:

A while ago, [3–5]Councillor Tcabi Ysaṃgä gave a missive to the effect that the Chinese Lä thihä Tcyęnä was about to lead an army of 2000 to Khotan [where you are]. But a letter that Councillor Tcabi Ysaṃgä sent last night at Kashgar [*khyeṣvā* 'among the Kāṣas'] has arrived saying: 'The Huns [= Uighurs] have passed Ttuṃgaśeṃ at Kashgar [going] in your direction,' but it did not say how many [6]they were or on what day they had passed. When you hear the order, transfer all the men and pack-animals to the city of Phema. [7]Then, send the order to all the towns. Whoever's pack-animals have been carried off, if they do not transfer them empty [= unloaded] to the city [8–9]⟦and⟧ they have no pack-animals; [then] help(?) one another and bring the grain with you.

On the 20th day of Braṃkhaysjā in the 36th regnal year the order went out to you. Su[dārrjuṃ]

II.002/B. Letter *b*

[10][s]p[ā]ta sudārrjuṃ tta parī — spāta vidyadattä vara u pha-
[11][rṣa] sādarä vara u hamīḍa hārvāṃ vara khu parau pvī'rau ttye nva parau biśi
[12][hvaṃ]ḍä kītha tvaśdyarä u jsārū jsāṃ parīya buḍä ttuśā stūra ma ha-
[13][ysyar]ä kaṃtha paṃmarīrau neri pūra kīṃtha nā'yīdä u daha hvaṃḍä jsā
[14]tvarīdä khu ttā a hīsūṃ khu ra tta śau hvaṃḍä byehīme pa'jsa daula
[15][hva]ryari braṃkhaysji 20 2mye haḍai ttā parau tsue 副 khu ttā parau hīśti
[16][tt]ī kū̱si ka'jarä tta tta haḍi ma yaṃ khu aḍārye vyauli yuḍāṃda SU

[10]General Sudārrjuṃ orders as follows.—To General Vidyadatta and [11]Sāṃdarä the magistrate [*pharṣa*] and all the merchants. When you hear the order, according to that order, [12]transfer all the men into the city, and order their grain to be taken away! Do not ⟦send⟧ the pack-animals [to the city if] empty [= unloaded]! [13]Inform the city that they should place the women and children in the city and bring the adult men [14]for when I arrive! And if I find a single man [left], you will get a solid beating.

[15]On the 22nd day of Braṃkhaysjā the order went out to you. Copy [*fu* 副].

When the order reaches you, [16]then beat the drum! But don't do it so that you will have alarmed someone else! Su[dārrjuṃ]

The two early ninth-century official letters contained in *Hedin 20* (letters *a* and *b*) concern the same historical event as *Or. 11344/17* (see below). The two documents mention the *huna* in line 5 and line a4 respectively (Bailey 1982, 91). The term *huna* refers here to the Uighurs who ousted the Tibetans from Kashgar in 802 and threatened Khotan, then under Tibetan rule

(Yoshida 2009, 352–53). The letters *Or. 11252/12* and *18* are also concerned with this event though they do not name the *huna* (Skjærvø 2016, 13–19).

II.003. *Or. 11344/17*

Text and translation after Skjærvø (2013 No. 265), slightly modified, with additions in brackets. Other editions and translations: Bailey (1969, II/38); Skjærvø (2002, 115; 2008, 126; 2016, 17–18). See *Hedin 20* above on the mention of *huna* in line a4.

[a1]‖ spāta sudārrjuṃ tta parī [va?]-
[a2]rä auva-haṃdasti sudattä vara u pa' suda[ttä vara
[a3]vaña vā miḍāṃ gyastäna parau ā si × [
[a4]kīthi vā ysaṃgauñä huna parrya khu parau pvī'rau svī paś[ā]' [
[a5]mara āju[m]yarä paḍāṃdara ttā parau tsve khu vā ttina × [
[a6]spāta mirāñū himi u daula haṃdara skarähverä mā[śt– × ×mye]
[a7]haḍai haṃdāmaṃci parau 冊 [
[b1]sāṃdari vara [

[a1]The General Sudārrjuṃ orders thus.—[2]To ⟦Sāṃdara⟧, the village *haṃdasta* Sudatta and Suda⟦tta?⟧ from Pa'.

[3]And now the order has come from the gracious Lord that ⟦…⟧ [4]the Huns ⟦= Uighurs⟧ passed the …s of the town [coming] hither.

When you hear the order, tomorrow evening [5]bring ⟦…⟧ here.

An order went out to you previously [= a while ago]. And when by that ⟦…⟧ [6]the general and you will [all] have to die, and [there will be] other beatings [i.e. punishments].

⟦On the x-th⟧ day of the month of Skarihvāra [7]the … order [went out to you]. Copy.

[b1]⟦To be delivered⟧ to Sāṃdara.

II.004. *Pelliot chinois 2741* (= *P 2741*)

Text from Bailey (1968, 61–62); translation from Bailey (1968, 64–65). Facsimile: Bailey (1961b, xxxix–xlviii). Editions: Bailey (1948, 319–23; 1969, II/87–92). Editions with translation and commentary: Bailey (1949; 1968, 61–67). Only the first third of the document is reproduced here with a few additions in brackets and minor editorial adjustments, including quotation marks added for the sake of clarity.

[1]‖ rrvī vī aurāsä haṣḍä - ñaśä bīsä thyai paḍä tsā .
[2]‖ khu vā ñaśä bīsä pa'sa mistye ysarrnīṃje jänave vī āna ysa kąmäcū
[3]vāṣṭä ysarrnai parau nāteṃ . khu garvā hva:mäla āvaṃdūṃ dasau
[4]haḍā cimuḍāṃ biṃdä haṃdryi vya tsvāṃdūṃ . cä cumuḍāṃ haṃdryi vya mistye bāḍä hīya

[5]padaṃja ṣą̄’ biśä tcerai hamya . khu ṣacū āvaṃdūṃ . viri vā didye
[6]haḍai si-khūṃ cā śvāṃ-śī’ haṣṭe si tvī kąmäcū vāṣṭä thyau närą̄mą̄ñä
[7]hame . cu ciṃga kṣī’ra bisā haḍä ṣṭāre tti viña ni tsva hamāre .
[8]khū miri ṣacū āvaṃdūṃ haudamye haḍai vā kąmäcū ą̄na staṇäcū
[9]ā u barbajīyāṃ hīya sūlya . ttīvī ñaśa bīsa brraṣṭāṃdūṃ si kąmäcū
[10]va bāḍä khu ṣṭe . u ttä vā hve si kąmäcū va āphāji ṣṭāre . cu thyauttanāṃjsī
[11]hą:nä ye ṣi’ parye . u cu jsāṃ hā viña ttrūkä bayarkāta u
[12]sahą̄:nä au’ga ttūkä hą:nä ṇe’stāṃdä . ttū jsāṃ āṃ va ttarrdāśāṃ
[13]u śe au’ga u bīrūkāṃ āstaṃna dirsä dirsä hvaṃḍä pape’śā’ kiṃ’dä si khu ttrūkvāṣṭä ni pahaiśtä
[14] . u ttī jsāṃ va kaṃthi straihä : ṣamą̄ñä ṣṭe . ñaśä bīsä skarhve’ri māśti
[15]28 mye haḍai ṣacū ą̄na kąmäcū vāṣṭä niraṃdūṃ . rrāha:ji
[16]māśtä paṃjsūsa haḍai kąmäcu āvaṃdūṃ . u didye haḍaivāṃ hą:nä
[17]pyaṃtsä bāstāṃdä . u cu maṃ hą:nä va rrvīyi mu’śdä ya tvā hā nva parau
[18]hauḍeṃ u svaṃna kalai hā au’gavāṃ vīrāṣṭä parauta hauḍeṃ u mu’śdi
[19] . u khu busta si bāḍä hävī kīrä dāśe . ttī vā ttuḍīsä saḍäcī
[20]ttāttāhä : nąma bīrūkä tsve cu ñaśe bīsä hīvī kalātcyarai ye
[21]u maṃgalī chārä ttāttāhä : u cn̨ä ttāttāhä : . ttaṃ vā ttä tta parau pastāṃdä
[22]si dasamye haḍaive āṃ närą̄mą̄ñä hame bu’ysä maṃ nä mūṃdä yaṃ
[23]mą̄ñāṃ maṃ drrą̄ma āphāji ṣṭāre cu ri maṃ hvehva:rāṃ ṇe’stä va śaṃdā niśtä
[24]viri hā ñaśä bīsä haṣḍi yuḍeṃ si khū vā aurmaysdi guṣprrīsaṃcä bisā
[25]ttuṃśīyi bāsteṃ u raṃnīṃje mistye jänave vī bisā thiṃśīya .
[26]u khu tti haḍi urmaysdi guṣprrīsaṃcāṣṭä nä paśā yiṇ̨me . ysi
[27]ysarrnai mistye haurä pyaṃtsāṣṭä hā aurāsä haṣḍi khu yine . u ttą
[28]vā hvāṃdä si cve maṃ haṃdana bisai parau hamāte ttūve ttā svī däthiḍai
[29]paryāṃ . cu haḍi ṣṭāre ttä ri nä spāṣṭä yaṃ . tti viña ttäkye bāḍä vī phari
[30]niśti si cu bāḍä niraṃdä hamāre . tvī rraysgä vī ga’są̄ñä hame .
[31]ttī vā kaji māśtä beraji vī kalātcyarai bīrūkä dīśti parau pastāṃdä si
[32]viña āṃ ga ūhū:ysä au’ga u barsä au’ga āstaṃna hauda au’gava nya tsīṃdä
[33]u hauda bīrūka cu āṃ gūkämį’nä ą̄na ṣacū-patāṃ jsa bāḍä padį̄māre
[34]u tvī pā tsū̆ñai hame . khu rraysgä vī ysarrnai bāḍä vīrāṣṭä pharä ga’ste
[35]u ttī vā ṣacū ą̄na mājā hvaṃḍä pīḍakä hajsāṃdāṃdä si ṣacū-pata āṃ maṃ na
[36]tta tti hū̆ñīṃdä si khu vā kąmäcū ą̄na thyai paḍä tsā hīśtä u cu maṃ ttikyāṃ
[37]āstaṃna haḍä īṃde daṃdą i’he’jāṃ kuṣṭi buri vā mājā haḍi ni hīsīṃde
[38]cu jsāṃ va gyaśti hīya dyāma ya tvā vą̄lai hū̆nvāṣṭä hajsāṃdāṃdä u pa’jsä
[39]maṃ sāḍa-aysmva ṣṭāre . ttī ñaśä bīsä ttū pīḍakä hau ni niśāveṃ . u
[40]ūhū:jsiysä au’ga mi biśāṣṭä gurṣṭe u ttī vā hve si ñaśä bīsä rrvīyi
[41]mu’śdä’ pa’jsä pharāka nā yuḍeṃ cu ṣacū bisā salāta ṣṭāre tti hauta ṣṭāre
[42]viña ttikye paṃdä mū̆ña u ñaśä bīsai hā ttä hveṃ si śveri tta ṣacū bisā salāva
[43] . dva paciḍą ma ciṃga kṣī’rāṣṭä haḍi ṣṭāre u kuṣṭi burą mari kąmäcū
[44]ą̄na viḍāṣṭä nä hajsāṃdä yiṇ̨me ni tsva hame . …

Letter of information to the Court [of Khotan]. The humble servant Thyai Paḍä-tsā.

When I, the humble servant, as envoy, received the Golden [= Imperial] Order from the Great Golden Land [= Khotan] [to go] to Kamcū [Ganzhou 甘州 = Zhangye 張掖], when we came to Hva:mäla among the Garas we came for ten days among the Cimuḍas. That which is the practice of the Great Land among the Cumuḍas had to be carried out.

When we came to Ṣacū [Shazhou 沙州 = Dunhuang 敦煌], there on the third day the minister of public works Cā Śvāṃ-śī' sent, saying, "You must go at once to Kamcū. Those who are the envoys of the Chinese land cannot now go." When we came here to Ṣacū, on the seventh day Stanäcū came from Kamcū and the secretaries of the tribute-carriers(?). Then we, the humble servants, asked him, saying, [10]"How is the Kamcū land?" And he said, "At Kamcū there are disturbances. He who was the former Khan has passed away. And those who are now the Türk Bayarku and Saγun *ügä* have placed the new Khan. Thirty men each of the Tarduš and of the one *ügä* and of the officers[i] guard him at night so that he does not flee to the Turks. And then the city is in a difficult case."

I the humble servant went to Kamcū on the twenty-eighth day of the month Skarhvāra [third winter month]. We came to Kamcū on the fifteenth day of month Rrāhaja [fourth winter month]. And on the third day they conducted us to the presence of the Khan. And what I had as royal favour for the Khan, that I presented according to the order. And next day in the morning I gave the orders directed to the *ügäs* and the favour. And when they understood that the state business was finished, then the officer named Ttuḍīśä Saḍäcī *ttāttāhä:* [*tutug*] came [20]to me. [He w]ho was you[r] humble servant's officer, and Maṃgalī Chārä *ttāttāhä:* and Cīnä *ttāttāhä:*, they so gave the order, saying, "You must depart on the tenth day; you cannot stay here long; for our people here there are such disturbances, because also here there is no land for the Uighurs' settlement." There I, the humble servant, made a statement to them, saying, "Since I have conducted the eastern envoys of the sunrise [= east] and the Court envoys of the Great Land of Jade, and since I cannot send these envoys to the sunrise [= east], how am I to send a letter of information to the Great Golden [= Imperial] Lord?" And they said to me, "What order of the Inner Office here there may be for you, that we shall condescend to transmit to-morrow. Those who are envoys you can see [the negative deleted]. Accordingly now in this [30]land [or at this time?] the talk is not, 'What time they may be able to go.' You must at once return." Then on the first day of month Kaja [second month of spring] they put an order into the hand of [my] officer, stating, "Now seven *ügäs*, Ūhūysä *ügä* and Barsä *ügä* and [five] others, are going [or coming?], and seven officers who are setting up a government with men of Ṣacū in Gūkämīnä [the Jade Gate]. And you must next go so that promptly the report may return to the Golden [= Imperial] Land [= Khotan]." And then our men brought a letter from Ṣacū, stating, "The men of Ṣacū spoke with me so saying, 'When Thyai Paḍä-tsā comes from Kamcū and the envoys and the others who are here we will so long detain until our envoys arrive. That which was the gift of

[i] *birūka-* = *buyruq*, see Kumamoto (1995, 237).

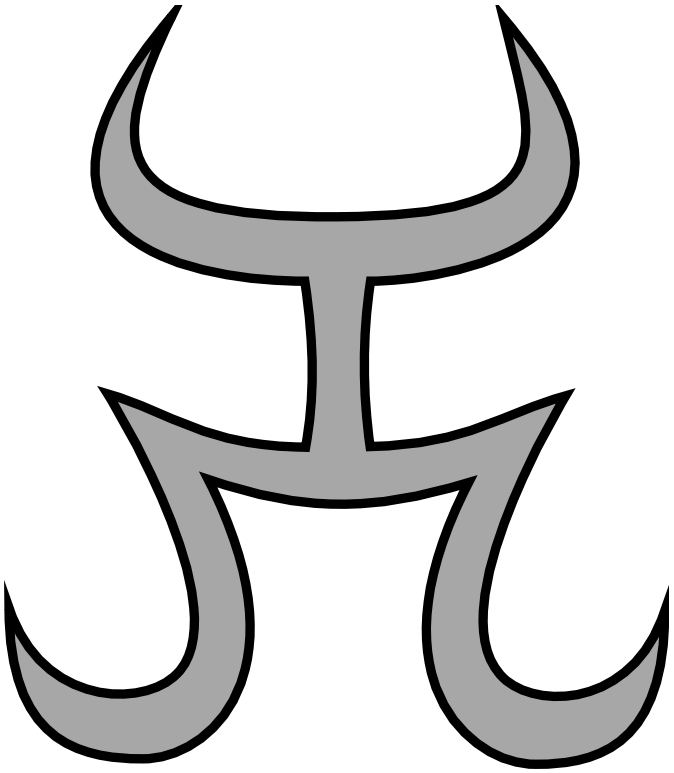
> the queen, that they brought here [to be sent] to the Huns [= Uighurs],[i] but they [40]remained very cold-minded.'" Then, I, the humble servant, did not mention that letter, but I called Ūhūysä *ügä* to my house and then he said, "The humble servant has not been able to accept many royal favours. The rumours in Ṣacū are talk. Now continue on this path." And I, the humble servant, said, "Explain these rumours in Ṣacū. Here are envoys of two kinds [to go] to the Chinese land, but as long as I cannot bring them further from Kamcū here, I cannot go." …

The official letter contained in *P 2741* (summary in Skjærvø 2016, 26) is a draft of a diplomatic report written by a Khotanese envoy called Thyai Paḍä-tsā from Shazhou 沙州 (=Dunhuang 敦煌) to the Khotanese court presumably in 866 (Zhang and Rong 1984, 25–27; cf. Kumamoto 1991, 101–3 with further references). It concerns an embassy from Khotan to the Uighur *khan* in Ganzhou 甘州 (= Zhangye 張掖) and describes movements of military groups of several peoples in western and central Gansu 甘肅 (on this and connected texts see Hamilton 1977, 370–72 [superseded dating]; Hamilton 1984, 49–53; Kumamoto 1991; Skjærvø 2016, 22–26). Huns are mentioned in l. 38 (*hūṃvāṣṭä*, lit. 'to the Huns') in an unclear passage (see the note at the end of the translation), where *hūṃna-* may still refer to the Uighurs, though these were by then well known to the Khotanese and are named elsewhere, including this manuscript, *hvehva:ra-* (23, 109), *hve:hvara-* (68–69, 86, 110), *hve:hva:ra-* (52) and *hvehvu:ra-* (56–57).

[i] 38 *cu jsāṃ va gyaśti hīya dyāma ya tvā vāḷai hūṃvāṣṭä hajsāṃdāṃdä* is translated by Bailey (1949, 34) "As to the Royal sight (picture?), they brought that … (*vāḷai*?) to the Hūnas;" Bailey (1979, 384) s.v. *vālai*: "that which was there the gift (distribution) of the queen, that they brought here towards the Hūna people;" (165) s.v. *dyāma*: "what was there the gift of the *devī*-queen;" and (444) s.v. *hajsāṃda-*: "they sent that (*gyaśti hīya dyāma* queen's gift) towards the Hūna men."

III. Pahlavi Sources

Frantz Grenet



Introduction

Pahlavi (otherwise called Middle Persian) was the official laguage of Sasanian Iran and subsequently of the Zoroastrian church. Surprisingly, the surviving corpus of Pahlavi sources pertaining to the Huns is limited to two short passages in later religious texts, none of them very informative, for they do not tell anything not known in other sources. The bulk of the official information about the wars of the Sasanians on their Eastern front, almost never ending since the mid-fourth century, is lost in Pahlavi. It was preserved only in Arabo-Persian reflections of the *Xwadāy-nāmag* (see Chapter VIII.1), and also in the contemporary chronicle of Joshua the Stylite (Text VII.001), extremely well informed, though perhaps deformed by Biblical models.

III.001. *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* 4.58.

Text from Carlo G. Cereti (1995, 139); translation from Cereti (1995, 157) with slight changes.

> [4.58]ud xwādāyīh ud pādixšāyīh ō anērān-bunīgān rasēd, čiyōn hyōn ⟨ud⟩ turk ud ⟨:xazar:⟩ ud tōbīd, čiyōn ⟨:hindūg:⟩ ud kōfyār ud čīnīg ud ⟨:kābūlīg:⟩ ud ⟨:sugdīg:⟩ ud hrōmāyīg ud ⟨:karmīr:⟩-hyōn ud spēd-hyōn, pad ērān dehān ī man ⟨ohrmazd dād⟩ ⟨:pādixšā:⟩ bawēnd, framān ud kāmag ī awēšān pad gēhān rawāg be bawēd, [59]pādixšāyīh az awēšān dawāl-kustīgān ud tāzīgān ud hrōmāyīgān be ō awešān rasēd.
>
> [4.58]And lordship and sovereignty will go to those of non-Iranian stock, such as the Huns, the Turks, the Khazars(?), the Tibetans, such as the Indians, the Highlanders, the Chinese, the Kabulis, the Sogdians, the Rumis, the Red Huns, the White Huns; they will be rulers over the Iranian lands which I, ⟨Ohrmazd, have created⟩; their commands and desires will be current in this world. [59]Sovereignty will go from those Leather-belted and Arabs and Rumis, to them.

- The fundamental contribution for the identification of the peoples in this list was made by H. W. Bailey (1954).
- Khazars: hypothetical because it supposes a strong emendation.
- "Highlanders" (*kōfyār*): possibly mountain people in Baluchistan (cf. the *Oritai* in Alexander's campaigns).
- Chinese: perhaps an allusion to the battle on the Talas (751), which opposed Chinese and Umayyad armies; but *čīnīg* can also designate Xinjiang or Semeretchie.
- *hyōn* "Huns" is most probably an adaptation of the genuine form **hūn* under the influence of *hiiaona-* which designates some hostile people in the Avesta. Hence Greek *Chionitai* (with a Greek plural), Latin *Chionitae*.
- "Red Huns" (**karmīr-hyōn*): if the emendation is justified, it calls to mind the *Kermichiones* Procopius mentions as a tribe incorporated in the Turkish empire in 563. Identified by Bailey as the *Hārahūna/Hālahūna* ("plundering Huns") of Indian sources. Grenet (2002, 206–7 n. 5; 2010, 270 n. 18) has tentatively suggested to recognize the genuine Altaic form in *alxon* ("Red Huns") or *alxan* ("Red Khans"). See the critical discussion by Sims-Williams (2010 No. 17). Could *Hālahūna* be an Indian folk-etymology?

- "White Huns" (*spēd-hyōn*): cf. *Svetahūna* in Indian sources, *Leukoi Hunnoi* in Byzantine sources, specific designations of the Hephthalites.
- "Leather-belted" (*dawāl-kustīgān*): an epithet generally applied to Eastern nomadic invaders in Zoroastrian literature. In *ZWY* 6.6 it is associated more specifically with "Turks," in a context which seems to hint to the Zibatrah battle (838) fought on the Euphrates, by the Caliphal army comprising contingents from Central Asia.
- All in all, this eclectic list draws together allusions to various periods of Iranian history:
  - "Red Huns": possibly Chionites and/or "Alchon" of the 4th–5th centuries?
  - "White Huns": Hephthalites;
  - "Sogdians": perhaps as contingents serving in the Hephthalite armies in *c.* 480–550, but perhaps also in the context of the rebellions against the Umayyads in *c.* 720–750. To this last chronological horizon seem to belong the Khazars, Tibetans, Chinese, Indians, Kabulis and "Highlanders" (cf. the difficult campaigns against the kingdom of Kābul-Zābul in this period).

III.002. *Bundahišn* 33, 17–19

Text and translation from Carlo G. Cereti (2010). Manuscript TD_1 published in Anonymous (1970); Manuscript DH published in Anonymous (1971).

> [17]andar xwadāyīh ⟨:ī:⟩ pērōz ī yazdagardān 6 sāl wārān nē būd mardōm anāgīh ud saxtīh ī garān ⟨āmad⟩ [18]did xašnawāz ī ⟨hēftālān⟩ xwadāy āmad ud pērōz ōzad ud kawād {ud} xwah ud ataxš-ē pad grawān ō hēftālān burd [19]andar xwadāyīh ⟨:ī:⟩ kawād mazdak ī bāmdādān ō paydāgīh mad ud dād ī mazdakīh nihād kawād frēft ⟨:ud:⟩ wiyābān kard zan ud frazand ud xwāstag pad hamīh ud hambazīh abāyēd dāštan framūd ud dēn ī mazdēsnān az kār dāštan tā anōšag-ruwān husraw ī kawadān ō purnāyīh mad mazdak ōzad dēn ī mazdēsnān winnārd awēšān ⟨xyōnān⟩ kē-šān asp-tāg ō ērānšahr hamē kard spōxt ud widarg bast ud ērānšahr abēbīm kard
>
> [17]During the reign of Pērōz son of Yazdagard there was no rain for six years. The people suffered severe harm and trouble. [18]Then came Xašnawāz King of the Hēftāls and killed Pērōz. And Kawād brought [his] sister and a fire to the Hēftāls as pledge. [19]During the reign of Kawād Mazdak son of Bāmbād came out in the open and established a Mazdakite law. He deceived and misled Kawād, and ordered that women, children and properties should be shared together and that the Mazdean religion should be abandoned. Until Husraw Anōšag-ruwān, son of Kawād, came of age, killed Mazdak, restored the Mazdean religion, rejected those Xyōns who had continuously raided Ērānšahr on horseback, closed [their] path and freed Ērānšahr of fear.

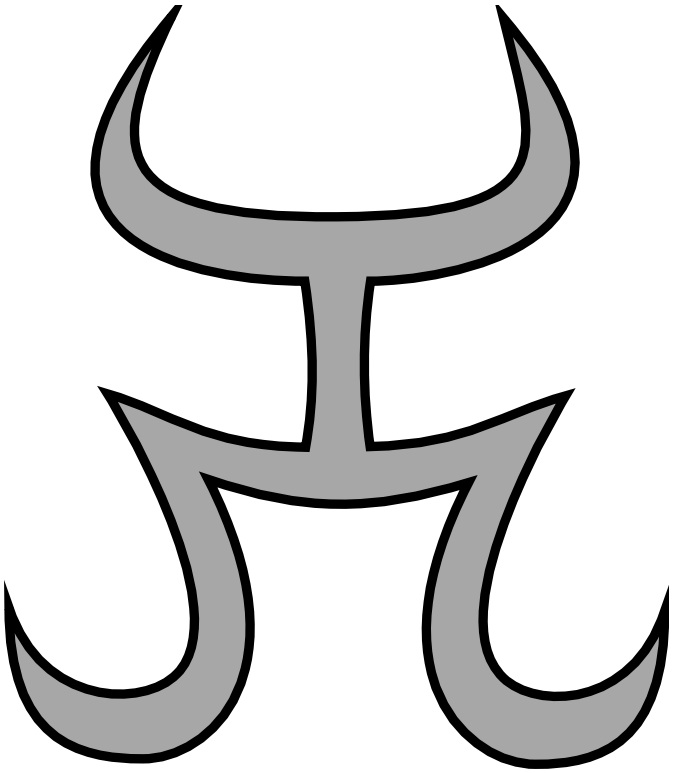
Cereti (2010, 69–70) comments that, since the hypothesis that the ethnonym of the Hephthalites preserved in *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* 4.58 is not established beyond doubt, this passage of the *Bundahišn* may be the only occurrence of the name in Pahlavi literature. Both manuscripts preserve similar corrupt spellings for Hēftāl and Xyōn. In its first occurrence Hēftāl is written

hypt'l'n in TD_1 and *hspt'l'n'* in TD_2 and DH; in the second occurrence TD_1 has *hyspyn'l'n* and in TD_2 and DH have *hspyn'l'* . For Xyōn both manuscripts read *hḏywn'n* . Notwithstanding these difficulties, the readings proposed are the only ones which make sense in this context. The word *asp-tāg*, of uncertain meaning, written *'yspt'k* in TD_1 and *'spt'k* in TD_1 and DH, could be yet another misspelling of the name of the Hephthalites.[i]

[i] Transliterations and TD2 readings supplied by Samra Azarnouche.

IV. Sogdian Sources

Nicholas Sims-Williams



IV.1. Letters

IV.001. Ancient letter No. 2

Written in Western China, probably in June/July 313 CE, and addressed to a correspondent in Samarkand. Text and translation from Sims-Williams (2001). In lines 10–19 the writer describes the devastation of China by the Huns/Xiongnu (Sogdian *xwn*) including the destruction of the city of Ye in 307 CE and of the imperial capital Luoyang in 311 CE. For the dating of the letter and the identification of these events see Grenet and Sims-Williams (1987).

[1] ʿD βγw xwtʾw ⟨:βrzʾkkw:⟩ nnyδβ”rw kʾnʾkk 1LP βrywr ŠLM
[2] nmʾcyw spʾtzʾ(n)ky ʾY(KZY) ZKyḤM(w) βγ”n(w β)yrt pyšt MN xypδ βntk
[3] nnyβntk ʾPZYš xwtʾy(nβ)[ ]šyr myδ ZKZYβn (ḤZY)H šʾtyxw ʾpwrʾβ
[4] ʾḤRZYβn xwtʾynβ ʾxšth ʾL(H) δ(r)wtʾtwh ʾḤRZY ZNH γrywh (nw)šk(w)
[5] mynʾm ʾḤRZY xwtʾynβ ʾrmʾt(s)[ʾ](c) (c)wcny δrwʾk ʾyncy ʾḤRZY ʾrsʾc
[6] kcʾny δrwʾk ʾyncyy ʾ(Ḥ)[R]ZY xwtʾ(yn)β ʾst (ii)i srδ ʾYKZY MN cntry
[7] sʾr swγδyk ”γt ʾḤRZYm prš(s)t γwtmsʾc ʾḤRZY δrwʾk ʾyncyy
[8] ʾḤRZY ʾt kwrʾynk sʾr wytʾrt ʾḤRZYcn nwkry nyδk ”yst ʾPZYβn
[9] npʾysʾw MNZKyḤMw swγδykʾnw (ZK)[ZY c]ntry sʾr wytʾrt kwyδʾtn
[10] krtʾyʾnt ktʾmw ZYn nʾpw p(r)[ʾ]ʾγt ʾyʾnt ʾḤRZY xwtʾynβ ZNH
[11] prβtm βγpwr mʾδ wʾβʾnt M(N) δβzʾ ʾprʾšt MN srγ ʾḤRZYš
[12] ʿLZK šʾyknw ʾPZY ʿLZK knδh ʾ(ʾtrw)h wγt ʾḤRZY swγt ʾxw
[13] šʾykn ʾPZY ʾxh knδh w×[ʾ]ḤRZY ms Lʾ srγ Lʾ ʾnkpʾ
[14] ʾḤRZY ms (ZN)H [xw](n)ʾnw ʾḤRZYšn
[15] ʾxwmt(ʾ)[n] m[ʾ]δ ʾPZYš[w δ]ʾrʾnt k(y×)[ʾt]nʾ(y)nʾy(c)h prmw
[16] ʾPZY ʾt ʾnkpʾ prmw my x[w]n [ZK](Z)Y ʾzyy myδ βγpwr xypδ wmʾtʾnt
[17] ʾḤRZY xwtʾynβ Lʾ zʾnʾymn k[tʾrw] ZYn ZNH wyʾpryʾtʾkw cyn
[18] ZNH xwn škʾr(t)w wnʾyʾnt[MN ʾx](w)mtʾn \cymn cynstn/ ʾWZY(n)n ZNH pʾrʾkw (n)ʾpw
[19] nyʾsʾyʾnt ʾḤRZ(Y)[ ](x)[ʾs]t 100 ”ztpyδrk
[20] smʾrknδc (ʾ×××)m(h) knʾx(w)s×[ ]y [ʾ]st \[ ](×× δ)ryʾny/ (20–20) mrtyy
[21] ʾḤRZYβ(n) x(wt)[tʾynβ](MN ×××ʾkr×)[ʾḤRZY ʾs](t) iii srδ
[22] ʾY(MT)w MN cnt(r)[y sʾr](t) (Lʾ) (k)[r](t)h ʾḤRZY MN
[23] δrw”n ʾt kmzy(n) pr(mw) pr(x)[ ]y(k) pr”(δt)y kynpwynʾk δβnʾk
[24] šwtt ʾḤR(Z)Y (k)yʾ ʾst(nʾ)kr(t)[h ʾ](WZ)Y (r)γ(z)k (nʾβwrt) nʾ(ʾ) ”(y)t ʾḤRZY(cn)
[25] prʾδ(t)[wys](pw) ʾ(p)[ ]× ʾḤRZY xwtʾynβ mʾxnc wʾprmw
[26] ZNH wʾt δʾrʾ(y)mn ZKZY MN k[mzyn]ʾt δrw”n prmw ʾskwtt
[27] cʾprmw ZYn ZNH syskwny zw”t ʾḤRZY pʾpδy ʾwβy ʾPZY mʾsk
[28] ʾPZY mrkynʾk ʾḤRZYn ʾYMTw ZNH Lʾ ”t ʾḤRZYβn pyšt Lʾ ”m(yn)[w]
[29] npʾxšt ʾYKZYn mʾxnc βʾymnyy ʾḤRZYβn xwtʾynβ ʾYMTw wyspw
[30] sxwn npʾysʾw ʾYKZY ZNH cynstn krt ʾḤRZY pʾr zyrmh ʾḤRZYβn

[31] cn prγʾw nyst ʾḤRZY xwtʾynβ ʾst iiii–iiii srδ ʾYKZYm pryšt
[32] cntry sʾr sʾγrʾk ʾPZY prnʾγ[t] ʾḤRZYšy ʾst iii srδ ʾYKZYmnc
[33] pcβnt ʾβyʾrt ʾḤRZY šyrʾ(w)δ×[ ](s) (ʾ)nt ʾḤR[Z]Y ʾYK ZNH prβtm
[34] βyz krt ʾḤRZYnc nwkry pcβn(t)[L](ʾ) βyrʾm kwyδʾwtn krtʾyʾnt
[35] ʾḤRZYm ms \ʾst iiii srδ/ pryšt ʾn(y) mrty ʾrtyxw-βntk nʾm ʾY(K)ZY MN kcʾn
[36] sʾrth wytʾrt ʾḤRZY wr wxwš[ʾ](k)[k]ʾxw mʾ×[ ](w)mʾt ʾḤRZY ʾYK
[37] ʾt srγ prʾγt(ʾn)t ʾḤRZY wr ʾ(w)[βy](kt) ʾPZY ʾyntkwt ʾPZY swγδyk-t
[38] ʾḤRZY MN δβz wysp mrtʾnt (ʾ)[ḤRZYm](p)ryšt Z(K) nsyʾ(ʾ)n ʾt δrwʾn
[39] ʾḤRZY ʾnztt (β)yky ʾḤRZY tγ(t)ʾḤRZY ms nwkry ʾnztt nʾprs cʾm(k)
[40] ʾḤRZYšy mzʾy(x)ch ptwh wmʾt ʾḤRZY ʾwy krʾcyh ptxwst zyt
[41] ʾḤRZYm xwtʾy βrzʾkk ʾxw mšt(t) ʾnwtt tʾβk kwyt xwtʾw ʾḤRZYmc
[42] δʾrt ʾLH pysk δrwʾspβntk ⟦ ⟧ [ ](s) iiii styrch ʾḤRZYšy pr
[43] skʾnk krt Lʾ p(rβ)ʾrnyk ʾḤRZ[Yš](w) tγw δʾry [ ](cn)wkry tβt
[44] ʾPZY nʾprsw (s)[ ]y[ ](δrw)ʾs(βn)[tk xwtʾ]y (nnyδβʾ)r βrzʾkky ptprʾwy
[45] ʾPZY ʾtw skʾ[ʾn]kw (ʾ)nzβrʾt ʾḤ(R)[ZYšw] ptšmryδy ʾḤRZYšw ʾYMTw
[46] xyδ δʾrʾt kʾm ʾḤRZY ZK wrtw ʿ(L)[Z](K) mʾškh ʾpδrʾyyδy ʾḤRZYšw pr
[47] ⟦ ⟧ prβʾrnykw pwstk wnyδy [ʾ]ḤRZYšw ms βrzʾkky δβryy ʾḤRZY
[48] ʾYMTw mʾδ sʾckw mynδ ʾPZYšw xyδ Lʾ δʾrʾt ʾḤRZYšw ʾsyδy
[49] ʾḤRZYšw ʾnyy δβrʾyδy kyʾwt xw(t)y sʾckw mynδ ʾPZY ʾLH KSP pr(t)r
[50] βʾt ʿLZK ʾPZY nʾy ʾyw sʾywk [ ] wʾrʾ(nx) ZNH zmnh ʾPZY ʾYMTw
[51] zwʾy ʾPZYn srδy prʾγt βʾy ʾPZYš ʾt ʾny ʾnwt nyst ʾYKZY kytʾyδ
[52] KSP ʾḤRZY nnyδβʾr ʾxštʾt ʾPZY tkwt ʾNwZK βγʾ ʾpnʾwt ʾḤRZYmβt
[53] ZK βγʾ pytδʾr ʾnt ʾPZY ʾxw ʾBY rwʾn ʾPZY ʾYMTw txsʾyc-βntk mzʾy(x)k
[54] βʾt ʾḤRZYšy wδwh δβrʾ ʾḤRZYšw cyty γrywyh Lʾ wʾcy ʾḤRZYnnc
[55] ZK mrtk βrxsʾm pnʾwt ʾmy( )[ ](ʿ)LZK ʾPZY myδ myδ ZNH myδrw
[56] p(c)pʾ(ym)n ʾPZY wmrzw ʾḤRZYβn ʾY(M)[Tw] z(γ)ʾmk γwʾt ʾḤRZY cn KSP
[57] ʾsy ktʾrw 1LP s ʾWZY ii 1LP s ʾḤRZYm prstʾt wnrzmk ʾt δrwʾn
[58] 20–10–ii yxsyh tkwty xypδ ʾPZYšn tʾβk prstyy ʾḤRZY ʾYK prʾβyrʾt
[59] ʾḤRZYšw pnc yʾtk wny ʾḤRZYcn iii yʾtk txsʾyc-βntk ʾsy ʾPZY
[60] pysʾkk ʾyw yʾtk ʾPZY ʾyw yʾtkw tγw

Verso

[61] ʾḤRZY ZNH δykwh krt ʾYKZY
[62] cyrδswʾn MRʾY 10-iii (s)rδ (w)mʾtw
[63] pr tγmʾycw mʾxw

To the noble lord Varzakk [son of] Nanai-thvar [of the family] Kanakk, a thousand [and] ten thousand [times] blessing [and] [2]homage on bended knee, as is offered to the gods, sent by his servant [3]Nanai-vandak. And, sirs, [it is] a good day for him who sees you happy [and] free from illness; [4]and, sirs, [news of] your [good] health having been heard [by me], I consider myself immortal!

[5]And, sirs, Armat-sach in Jiuquan 酒泉 [is] safe [and] well and Arsach [6]in Guzang 姑臧 [is] safe [and] well. And, sirs, it is three years since [7]a Sogdian came from "inside" [i.e. from China]. I settled(?) Ghotam-sach, and [he is] safe [and] well. [8]He has gone to *kwr'ynk*, and now no-one comes from there so that [9]I might write to you about the Sogdians who went "inside," how [10]they fared [and] which countries they reached. And, sirs, the [11]last emperor—so they say—fled from Luoyang 洛陽 because of the famine, and [12]fire was set to his palace and to the city, and the [13]palace was burnt and the city ⟦destroyed⟧. Luoyang [is] no more, Ye 鄴 [is] no more! [14]Moreover, the … Huns(?), and they [15]… Changan 長安, so that they hold(?) it(?) … as far as *n'yn'ych* [16]and as far as Ye—these [same] Huns ⟦who⟧ yesterday were the emperor's [subjects]! [17]And, sirs, we do not know ⟦whether⟧ the remaining Chinese [18]were able to expel the Huns ⟦from⟧ Changan, from China, or [whether] [19]they took the country beyond(?). And ⟦… in … there are⟧ a hundred freemen [20]from Samarkand … in ⟦…⟧ *δry'n* there are forty men. [21]And, sirs, your ⟦… it is⟧ three years [22]since ⟦… came⟧ from "inside" … unmade [cloth(?)]. And from [23] Dunhuang 敦煌 up to Jincheng 金城 in … to sell, linen cloth [24]is going [= selling well?], and whoever has unmade [cloth(?)] or *raghzak* [which is] not [yet] brought [to market(?)], not [yet] taken, [25]⟦can(?)⟧ sell ⟦all(?)⟧ of it … And, sirs, as for us—[26]whoever dwells [in the region] from Ji⟦ncheng(?)⟧up to Dunhuang—we [only] survive [lit. 'have breath'] [27]so long as the … lives, and [we are] without family(?), both old [28]and on the point of death. If this were not [so], ⟦I would⟧ not be ready(?) [29]to write to you [about] how we are. And, sirs, if [30]I were to write to you everything [about] how China has fared, [it would be] beyond(?) grief: [31]there is no profit for you [to gain] therefrom. And, sirs, it is eight years since I sent [32]Saghrak and Farn-aghat "inside" and it is three years since I [33]received a reply from there. They were well …, [but] now, since the last [34]evil occurred, I do ⟦not⟧ receive a reply from there [about] how they have fared. [35]Moreover, four years ago I sent another man named Artikhu-vandak. When [36]the caravan departed from Guzang, Wakhush⟦akk⟧ the … was there, and when [37]they reached Luoyang, ⟦both the …⟧ and the Indians and the Sogdians there [38]had all died of starvation. ⟦And I⟧ sent Nasyan to Dunhuang, [39]and he went "outside" [i.e. out of China] and entered [Dunhuang], [but] now he has gone without [obtaining] permission from me, [40]and he has [received] a great retribution and was struck dead in the …

[41]Lord Varzakk, my greatest hope is in your lordship! [42]Pesakk [son of] Dhruwasp-vandak holds … 4 staters from me and he [43]put it on deposit(?), not to be transferred, and you should hold ⟦it …⟧ sealed from now [on], [44]so that without [my] permission … Dhruwasp-van⟦dak⟧ …

⟦Lord⟧ Nanai-thvar, you should remind Varzakk [45]that he should withdraw(?) this deposit(?), and you should [both] count ⟦it⟧, and if [46]the latter is to hold it, then you should [both] add(?) the interest to the capital and [47]put it in a transfer document, and you [Nanai-thvar] should give this too to Varzakk. And [48]if you [both] think [it] fit that the latter should not hold it, then you should [both] take it [49]and give it to someone else whom you do think fit, so that this money [50]may thereby become more. And, behold, [there is] a certain orphan … dependent(?) on this income(?), and if [51]he should live and reach adulthood [lit. 'years'], and he has no hope of

[anything] other than this [52]money, then, Nanai-thvar, [when] it should be heard that Takut has departed(?) to the gods—[53]the gods and my father's soul [will] be a support(?) to you!—and when Takhsich-vandak is an adult [lit. 'big'], [54]then give him a wife and do not send him away from yourself. [55]Mortal(?) gratification(?) has departed(?) hence(?) in the …, because [from] day [to] day [56]we expect murder(?) and robbery. And if [the two of] you should need cash, then [57]you [Nanai-thvar] should take either 1,000 staters or 2,000 staters out of the money. And Wan-razmak sent to Dunhuang for me [58]32 [vesicles of] musk belonging to Takut so that he might deliver them to you. When they are handed over [59]you should make five shares, and therefrom Takhsich-vandak should take three shares, and [60]Pesakk [should take] one share, and you [should take] one share.

[61]This letter was written [lit. 'made'] when [62]it was the year 13 of Lord Chirth-swan [63]in the month Taghmich.

IV.002. Fragmentary letter

A fragmentary letter from a woman to her husband found at Loulan (L.M.II.ii.09 = Or.8212/1823), of similar date to Ancient Letter No. 2. So far published only in facsimile (Stein 1928 Pl. CXXIV). In line 5 the Huns (Sogdian *xwn*) are mentioned without any usable context.

[ ] xwn wyt'rt 'ḤRZYm 'βy'rt

[[…] the Hun(s?) went, then I obtained it.

IV.2. Miscellaneous References

IV.003. Personal name *xwn* in inscriptions

xwn **107**, **276**, **584**
xwn ZK **538**
xwn ZK 'pkwtrk' ×…× **362**
xwn ZK βrz'kk BRY **380**, **528**
xwn ZK βrz'kk **451**, **535**
xwn ZK (βwδr×…×t) ×…× **607**
xwn ZK nnyβntk B⟨RY⟩ ×…× **44**
(x)wn (Z)K nyw('kk) BRY **87**
xwn ZK t'w'(kk) (BRY) ×…× **289**
xwn ZK t'wc BRY **46**
x(wn)[ ] (Z)K ×…× [**462**
xwn'k(k) **624**

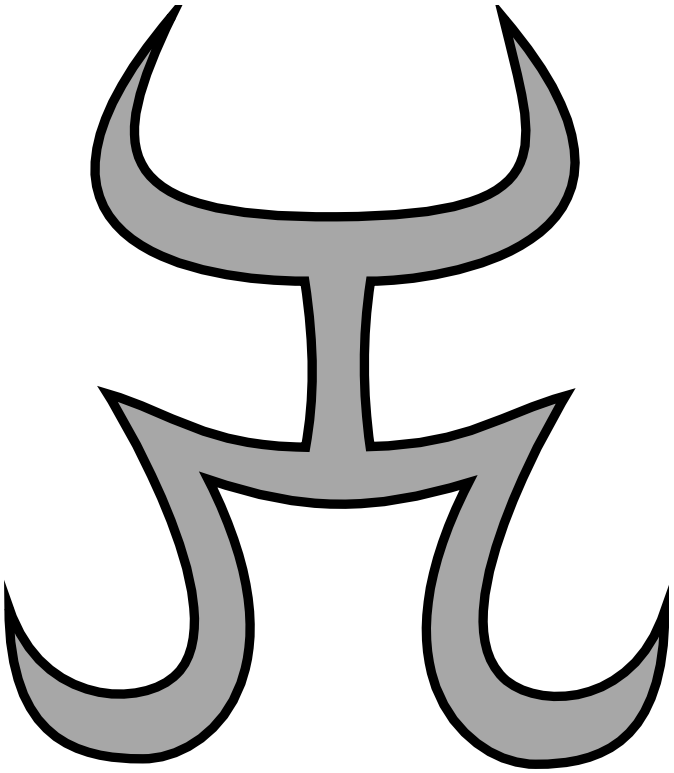
In the inscriptions of the Upper Indus, which chiefly consist of the names and patronymics of visiting Sogdian merchants, *xwn* 'Hun' (once also hypocoristic *xwn'kk*) is well-attested as a personal name. All instances are listed in Sims-Williams (1992, 80), and again in Lurje (2010, II/8:441–43), where references are also given to later occurrences of these names as well as of *xwnz'k* and *xwnyz'tk*, both meaning literally 'Hunnish child.' La Vaissière (2005, 81–83) has drawn attention to the fact that the name *xwn* in these inscriptions occurs only in the formula "*xwn* son of N.," never "N. son of *xwn*," deducing that the latest Upper Indus inscriptions belong to a period when this name had only recently become popular amongst the Sogdians. Since the name could hardly have come into fashion until some considerable time after the Huns had taken possession of Sogdiana, La Vaissière suggests the first half of the fifth century as the likely date of the inscriptions cited here, while Yoshida (2013b, 380–83) argues rather for the second half of that century.

IV.004. *xwn* in later texts

In later texts such as the early eighth-century documents from Mt Mug, Sogdian *xwn* is used as a designation of the Turks (cf. Grenet 1989).

V. Bactrian Sources

Nicholas Sims-Williams



V.1. Payment of taxes to the Hephthalites

These are three Bactrian contracts dated in the Bactrian era and referring to taxes payable to the Hephthalites. Text and translation from Sims-Williams (2012, 44–55). If the Bactrian era is in fact a Sasanian era beginning in 223/4 CE as argued by Sims-Williams and de Blois (2018), the first two contracts (I and Ii) were written in 283 CE, a year before the final victory of Hephthalites over the Sasanian emperor Peroz (cf. also Text V.004), while the third (J) was written in 517 CE during the Hephthalite supremacy.

V.001. Doc. I

Dated Aban 260, probably Feb./March 483.

[I1'] [χ]ḫ[ον]ọ σ΄ ξ΄ μ̄α̅σ̄ ᾱβανο καλδọ[
[I2'] [πισο εμ]ọυανο αζαδοβọ̣ρ[γανο
[I3'] [αρμαστ]ινδο οτηνọ[
[I4'] [ ]ṭαιο πανδọ̣[κανο
[I5'] [ ]πιδο μο χọ̣βο σιṿ[δο
[I6'] [ ]ṿο ριζδο αβφαγο ιᾳ̣[μβο
[I7'] [ ]ọ̣τηνο αβο ηβ[οδαλαγγο τωγο
[I8'] [ασ]ιδο αβο ι ηβ[οδαλαγγο τωγο
[I9'] [οαραζο]χαγο παδ̣[ουαμονδο
[I10'] ×…×
[I11'] ×…×
[I1] [ ]ζ[ ]μ̣×…×[ ]ο αβọ̣ γ[αζνο ωρο]-
[I2] μ̣οζδο πορδογο βοοαμọ̣[

Verso

[Iv1–2] ζᾳ̣[νδοκο] ραμ̣ọγ[ολο]

I'

[It was] the year 260, the month Aban, when ⟦this sealed document … was written … in the presence of⟧ [2]these freemen ⟦… who⟧ [3]were ⟦present …⟧ and [who] ⟦have placed their seals hereupon …: namely in the presence of …⟧ [4]⟦…⟧tay Pand⟦ukan, when this declaration was made by me, Zanduk, and by me, Ram-gul son of Zanduk⟧, [5]at [our] own wish, ⟦and by me, Ormuzd son of Sasan, whose estate⟧ [6]is called ⟦…⟧n, to you, Ya⟦msh …⟧

[7]And they ⟦have charged me gold and sheep⟧ for the Heph⟦thalite tax, and I had no other assets⟧ [8]which ⟦might have been paid⟧ towards the Heph⟦thalite tax …⟧ [9]⟦Waraz⟧-khag [is] the ⟦boundary⟧ …

I

… ⟦we shall pay …⟧ to the ⟦…⟧ ⟦treasury, and I, Zanduk, and I, Ram-gul, and I, Or⟧[2]muzd, shall be owing ⟦and shall pay the same fine to the opposite party⟧.

I *Verso*

Za⟦nduk⟧ [and] Ram-g⟦ul⟧ [seal A].

V.002. Doc. Ii

Dated Latter Aban 260, probably 21–25 March 483.

[Ii1]	[ ]χβ̣ονο σ΄ ξ΄ μᾱσ̄ ᾱνιαβανο καλδ̣ο̣ [	αβι]-
[Ii2]	[ιο]α̣νδαγο ασιδο ιαμαργο ριζδο πισο εμο̣ῡ̣[ανο	αρ]-
[Ii3]	[μαστ]ινδο οτηνο αβο μασκο μολρο ταβδο οα̣ρ̣[	]-
[Ii4]	νδο ιαμβανο οδο πισο ωρομοζδο γαροβιδα[νο	]
[Ii5]	[μ]α̣νο ζινδοκο οδο μανο ραμογολο ι ζινδ̣[οκο πορο	]
[Ii6]	[ωρσ̄]μ̄σ̄ζδο πιδοοιησιμο ι σασανο πορο μαλ̣[ριγο	ηβο]-
[Ii7]	δ̣α̣λ̣αγγο τωγγο ζαρο οδο ποσο αβαυαγαδδιμο̣[	ηβοδαλα]-
[Ii8]	γγο τωγγο τογαδδηιο ασιδομηνο ωσο αγγι[τινδο	]
[Ii9]	[μασκ]ο̣ ναβιχτιγο ζαρ̣α̣νο̣ [ζ]×β̣α̣γ[	]
[Ii10]	[ ]λ̣ο ραμανο αβ[ο]ρ̣[××]γ[ο] νισαρο ο̣[	κο]-
[Ii11]	σοκο φρμιαχοδαρο οδαλο κοσοκο κιμβδαρο̣[	παδο]-
[Ii12]	υαμονδο ιαβαβοδαχμο παδουαμονδο̣[	
[Ii13]	[νημο]ρωσοβαρο χο̣α̣βα̣ο̣[ανδο	
[Ii14]	[ζ]ω̣νο ι πορ[	
[Ii15]	χοαρο ιασπαλ̣[	
[Ii16]	[ ]παδουαμονδ̣[ο	
[Ii17]	[ ]τ̣α̣οι ιαμβ̣[ο	
[Ii18]	[ ]×απ[	
[Ii19]	[ ]αιο κι[	παδο]-
[Ii20]	[α]χβανηιο ι̣[	]-
[Ii21]	γ̣δ̣ο̣ ιθᾱσ̄ ᾱτ[ο	
[Ii22]	[ ]δ̣α̣νο̣ [	

[It was] the year 260, the month Latter Aban, when ⟦this sealed document … was written here in the city …, in the⟧ [2]borough which is called Yamarg, in the presence of these ⟦freemen … who⟧ [3]were ⟦present …⟧ and [who] have placed [their] seals hereupon ⟦…: namely in the presence of⟧ [4]⟦…⟧nd Yamshan, and in the presence of Ormuzd Garbidan, ⟦… when this declaration was made⟧ [5]by me, Zinduk, and by me, Ram-gul ⟦son of⟧ Zind⟦uk, and by me, Ormuzd son of Sasan, inhabitants of Malr. And I, [6]Or⟧muzd son of Sasan, ⟦inhabitant of⟧ Malr, make [this] declaration ⟦… to you, Yamsh …⟧

⟦And they⟧ [7]have charged me gold and sheep ⟦for the Hephth⟧alite tax, ⟦and I had no other assets which⟧ [8]might have been paid ⟦towards the Hephthalite⟧ tax. But now, ⟦the price⟧ has

been received by us … [9]the … described ⟦herein⟧ … [10]⟦…⟧l Raman … ⟦either⟧ [11]a little more or a little less … [12]the boundary ⟦is⟧ the boundary of the dried-up stream … [13]further south the owner … [16]boundary … [17]you, Yamsh, … [20]you have authority … [21]so that …

V.003. Doc. J

Dated Siwan 295, probably Nov./Dec. 517.

[J1]αχϸονο σ΄ ϙ΄ ε΄ μαυο σιοανο καλδο ναβιχτο μολραγο μαχιρσοβωστι
[J1']αχϸονο σ΄ ϙ΄ ε΄ μαυο σιοανο καλδο ναβιχτο μολραγο μαχιρσοβωστιγο

μαλο αβο μ̣[α]ḷραγγο [J2]ϸαυρο αβο χαρανο αλβαρο πισο ιατακο
μαλο αβο μαλραγγο ϸαυρο αβο χαρανο αλβᾳ[J2']ρο πισο ιατακο

σιβοκανο οδο πισο μιροϸαβορο ιωλαβανο ọḍo πισο [J3]βαγοοανινδο μαϸανο
σιβοκανο οδο πισο μιροϸαβορο ιωλαβανο οδο πισο βαγοοανινδο μαϸανο

οḍο πισο μανδαρουανισο αζαδοβοργανο οιγαλφανο κιδο οαλ[ο]π̣[ι]δ̣ο [J4]
οδο πισο μανδαρουανισο αζα[J3']δοβοργανο οιγαλφανο κιδο οαλο πιδο

μιλανο αρμαστινδο οτηνο αβο μασκο μολρο ταβδο
μιλανο αρμαστινδο οτασιμο ιερο ζανινδο οτηνο αβο μασκο μολρο ταβδο

καλδο πιδοοιησαδο χογαμο χοσινδο μανọ οιη{μ̣}[J5]μο βορζομιυρο πορο
καλδο πιδο[J4']οιησαδο χογαμο χοσινδο μανο οιημο βορζομιυρο πορο

οδο μανο βαγορημαρηγο βορο πορο μαλριγο ϸαυο μαρηγο κιδομηνο [J6]βονο
οδο μανο βαγορημαρηγο βορο πορο μαλριγο ϸαυο μαρηγο κιδομ[J5']ηνο βονο

καδγο οιηϸοοαραζανο ριζδο πιδοοιησιμο αβαφαγο ριϸτακο οαραζοϸαβορο
καδγο οιηϸοοαραζανο ραζινδο πιδοοιησιμο αβαφαγο ριϸτακο οαραζοϸαβορο

πορο οδο αβαφ[J7]αγο οαραζοϸαβορο βορζομιυρο πορο μαλριγο ϸαβορο
πορο οδο αβαφαγο οαραζοϸ[J6']αβορο βορζομιυρο πορο μαλριγο ϸαβορο

ϸαβọρανο μαρηγο μισιδο μανο
ϸαβορανο μαρηγο κιδδηνο βονο καδγο βορζομιυρανο ραζινδο μισιδο μανο

οιημο οδο μανο [J8]βαγορηιομαρηγο ασκωρο οδο οαρηβοστο ωζαμο
[J7']οιημο οδο μανο βαγορημαρηγο ασκωρο οδο οαρηβοστọ ωζα{α}μο

οτομηνο ηβοδαλοχοηọοανο τωγο αστοργο ασταδο
οτομηνο ηβοδαλαγγο τωγο ασο καδγο αστοργο σαχσαδο το[J8']γδο

αβọ [J9]καδγο ταδομο αβο καδγο ανδαρο σαγισο ταοι νιστο
ταδομηνο αβο καδγο ανδαρο σαγισο ταοι νιστο ασταδο

ασο κοαδομηνο τογδδηιο ασιδομηνο αστ[J10]ο μαληλο
ασιδομηνο αβο ηβοδαλαγγο τωγο λαδδηιο ασιδομηνο αστο μαληλο

αβο μαλρο αγγαργο παροιαβιγο χοβομο βοναγο πιδοριβτο ειο
[J9']αβο μαλρο αγγαργο παροιαβιγο χοβομηνο βοναγο πιδοριβτο ειο

αγγαργο ασιδο σαγγινο ριζδο αστο μ[J11]ασκο ναβιχτιγο
αγγαργο ασιδο σαγγινο ριζδο οτο εμο αβο μασκο ναβιχτιγ[ο] [J10']

αγγαργο πιδο ιαοι παραγανο λοχσο ζ΄ αλο κασοκο φριιαχοδαρο οδαλο αγγαργο

κασοκο καμβοδαρο ασο [J12]κοαδο εμο παδουαμονδδιγινδο ασο μιρ̄σ̄ασανο
παδουαμονδδιγινδο ασο μιροασανο

κινο ταχμο παδουαμονδο οδο πιδοβιλδο ταοιηλο ριβτακο
κινο ταχμο οδο παροκινο αρλο παδουαμονδο οδο πιδοβιλδο ταοιηλο ριβτακο

[J13]χοβο αγγαργο οδο παροκινο οαραζοχαγο ροζγο οδασο μιροναφρανο
χοβο [J11']αγγαργο οδασο μιυροναφρανο

βαυοπανδαγο παδουαμονδο οδασο αβαχ[J14]ρανο βαυοπανδαγο οδο πιδο-
βαυοπανδαγο παδουαμονδο οδασο αβαχρανο βαυοπανδαγο οδο πιδο-

βιλδο ταοιηλο ριβτακο χοβο αγγαργο παδουαμονδο οδασο νημορωσο
βιλδο ταοιηλο ριβτακο χο̣[J12']βο αγγαργο παδουαμονδο οδασο νημορωσο

βαυραβανο α[J15]γγαργο παδουαμονδο ταδομο ωσο παραλαδο ι μασκο
βαυραβανο αγγαργο παδουαμονδο ταδομο παραλα̣δο

ναβιχτιγο αγγαργο μανο οιημο οδο μανο βαγορηιομαρηγο
μανο οιημο οδο μανο βαγορ[J13']ημαρηγο ι μασκο

〈 〉
ναβιχτιγο αγγαργο σαγονδο πιδο παδουαμονδδιγανο ναβιχτιγινδο

φα[J16]ρ̣αφαγο ριβτακο οδο φαρα[φα]γο οαραζοβαβορο αβο ζαροζιδαγο
φαραφαγο ριβτακο οδο φαραφαγο οαραζο[J14']βαβορο αβο ζαροζιδαγο

δδιναρο η΄ οτομηνο αγγιτινδο οαυαγο οισπο ασπορο οτο κι[J17]ρδαμο βαδο
δδιναρο η΄ οτομηνο αγγιτινδο οαυαγο οισπο ασπορο οτο κιρδαμο βαδο

οδο υονοσινδο οταλο φρογαοαμο ασιδο ναλο μιυγαρο ταδο ωσο ασο
οδο υονοσινδο οδαλο φρ[J15']ογαοαμο ασιδο ναλο μιυγαρο ταδο ωσο ασο

μανδορονιγο ρωσο παρσο μαβαρο ζαμα[J18]{α}νο ι μασκο ναβιχτιγο αγγαργο
μανδορονιγο ρωσο παρσο μαβαρο ζα̣μανο ι μασκο ναβιχτιγο αγγαργο

σαγονδο πιδο παδουαμονδδιγανο ναβιχτιγινδο ιαββο οδο πανδαγο
σαγονδο πιδο̣ [J16']παδουαμονδδιγανο ναβιχτιγινδο ιαββο οδο πανδαγο

ασιδο οαρο ναυαγγο ταδο [J19]ταοι ριβτακο οδο ταοι
ασιδο οαρο αβο αγγαργο ναυαγγο ταδο ταοι ριβτακο οδο ταοι

οαραζοβαβορο οδο τωμαχο βραδο οδο τωμαχο πορο οδο τωμαχο
οαραζοβ̣[J17']βορο οδο τωμαχο βραδο οδο τωμαχο πορο οδο τωμαχο

φροζανδανο χοβο οδο χο[J20]ζο αβοδδηιο ασο μωσο αβο ιαοιηδανο ζοριγο
φροζανδανο χοβο οδο χοζο αβοδδηιο ασο μωσο αβο ιαοιηδανο ζορι[J18']γο

αβηιουαργο αβηιοτωγο αβηιουαγγο αβηιοαβφαγγο κοαδδηνο υαρσο κι[J21]σο
αβηυαργο αβητωγο αβηχοανδο αβηοισαρο κοαδδηνο υαρσο κισο

οιζανδογαρο μαβοδδηιο οτο ναπαδοαχβανιμο αζο οιημο οδο ναζο
οιζανδογαρο μαβοδδηιο οτο ναπαδοαχβ̣ανιμο αζο οι[J19']ημο οδο ναζο

βαγορημαρηγο πιδο μασκο ναβιχτιγο
βαγορημαρηγο οδο ναιαμαχο φροζανδανο κιδο πιδο μασκο ναβιχτιγο

αγγαργο σαγι[J22]σο σαχοανο οδο οισαρο νιστο οτο καλδο
αγγαργο μισο σαγισο χοανδο οδο οισαρδο [J20']αβζιμενδδηιο οτο καλδο

ιθαο̄ ᾱσταδο οτασο μανδορονιγο ρωσο παρσο μαβαρο ζαμανο αζο οιημο
ιθαο ασταδο \ο/τασο μανδορονιγο ρωσο παρσο μαβαρο ζαμανο αζο οιημο

οδο ναζ[J23]ο βαγορημαρηγο οδο ναιαμαχο βραδο οδο ναιαμαχο πορο
οδαλαζο βαγορημαρηγο οδαλο̣ [J21']ιαμαχο βραδο οδαλο ιαμαχο πορο

οδαλο ιαμαχο φροζανδανο κιδο πιδο μασκο ναβιχτιγο αγγαργο [J24]σαγισο
οδαλο ιαμαχο φροζανδανο πιδο μασκο ναβιχτιγο αγγαργο σαγισο

χοανδο οδο οισαρδο αβζιαμο οδαλδο αβο τωμαχο αβο λαδο οδαβο
χοανδο οδο οισαρδο αβζιαμ̣ο [J22']οδαλδο αβο τωμαχο αβο λαδο αβο

ραζογολο οιηλαμο οδαλδο ιθᾱο̄ χοηναμο
ραζογολο οιηλαμο οδαλδο ιαγγαργο πιδοκαρλαμο οδ̣αλδο ιθᾱο̄ χοηναμο

κοαδομη[J25]νο μασκο ναβιχτιγο αγγαργο φαρο τωμαχο νιστο παραλαδο
κοαδομηνο ι μασκο ναβι[J23']χτιγο αγγαργο φαρο τωμαχο νιστο παραλαδο

οτομηνο οαυαγο οισπο ασποριγο νινδο αγγιτο ταδομηνο χοα[J26]νδο οισαρο
οτομηνο οαυαγο οισπο ασποροο νινδ̣ο αγγιτο ταδομηνο χοανδο οισαρο

υαρσο αβο λαδο οαοαρο μαβοδδηιο οτο μισο τωζαμο ταοανο
αβ[J24']ο λαδο υαρσο οαοαρο μαβοδ̣δηιο οτο μισο τωζαμο ταοανο

αβο γαζνο αβο βαυαγανο ζαροζιδαγο δδιναρο κ΄ [J27]οδο κ΄ δδιναρο
αβο γαζνο αβο βαυαγανο ζαροζιδαγο δδιναρο κ΄ οδο κ΄ δδιναρο [J25']

φαρο παδοιαρλιγο τωζαμο οτο καλδο ανδαρισο κισο ασταδο κιδο μασκο
φαρο παδοιαρλιγο τωζαμο οτο καλδο ανδαρισο κισο ασταδο κιδο μασκο

ναβιχτιγο αγγαργο πιδοκαρλαδο οταβ̣ο [J28]τωμαχο αβο λαδο οδαβο
ναβιχτιγο αγγαργο πιδοκαρλαδο οταβο τωμαχο αβο λαδο ο[J26']δαβο

ραζογολο οιηλαδο ταδαζο οιημο οδαζο βαγορημαρηγο οδο ιαμαχο
ραζογολο οιηλαδο ταδαζο οιημο οδαζο βαγορημαρηγο οδο ιαμαχο

φροζανδανο αβο λαδο λαδο βοα[J29]μο οτο αβηβινδο κιραμο ασο \ι/
φροζανδανο αβο λαδο λαδο βοαμο οτο αβηβινδο κιραμ[J27']ο ασο

παδοιαρλιγο οδαλδο αβο λαδο λαδο ναβοαμο οτο αβηβινδο νακιραμο ασο
παδοιαρλιγο οδαλδο αβο λαδο λαδο ναβοᾳμο οτο αβηβινδο νακιραμο ασο

παδοιαρλιγο {οδαλδο} [J30]{αβο λαδο λαδο ναβοαμο οτο αβηβινδο νακιραμο
παδοιαρλιγο

ασο παδοιαρλιγο} ταδο δαραφηλο ταοανο τωζαμο σαγονδαβο μασκο [J31]
ταδο δαραφηλο ταοανο τωζαμο σαγο[J28']νδαβο μασκο

ναβισιδο οτο μολραγο μαχιρσοβωστιγο χοζο οδο οαοαρο αβοδδηιο ασιδαβο
ναβισιδο οτο μολραγο μαχιρσοβωστιγο χοζο οδο [ο]αοαρο αβοδδηιο ασιδαβο

οιγαλφανο αβιστανο μαβοδδηιο
οιγαλφανο αβιστανο μαβοδδηιο

Verso
[Jv1]οιημο
[Jv2]βαγορημαρηγο
[Jv3]ιᾳṭᾳκο σιβοκανο
[Jv4]μιροβᾳβορο ιωλαβαṿᾳ
[Jv5]βαγοοᾳνινδο μαβαṿο

J

[It was] the year 295, the month Siwan, when [this] sealed document, this purchase contract, was written here in the [2]city of Malr, at the court of the *khars*, in the presence of Yatak Sibukan, and in the presence of Mir-Shabur Yolaban, and in the presence of [3]Bag-wanind Mashan, and also in the presence of the other freemen [and] witnesses who [4]were present there amongst [them] and [who] have placed [their] seals hereupon, when [this] declaration was freely [and] willingly made by me, Wyem [5]son of Burz-mihr, and by me, Bag-re-mareg son of Bur, inhabitants of Malr, servants of the king, we whose [6]estate is called Wyeshwarazan. I make [this] declaration to you, Rishtak son of Waraz-shabur, and to you, [7]Waraz-shabur son of Burz-mihr, inhabitants of Malr, servants of Shabur Shaburan.

Now: I, Wyem, and I, [8]Bag-re-mareg, [have] a serious and … liability, and the Hephthalite lords' tax on our house was large, [9]and I have no other assets [left] in the house from which the Hephthalite tax might have been paid by us. But we have [10]a disposable property here in Malr, my own ancestral estate, this [same] property which is called Sangin.

[This] is [11]the property described herein, [of a size requiring] seven *lukhs*—either a little more or a little less—for sowing with grain, in respect of [12]which these are the boundaries: to the east

the irrigation ditch [is] the boundary, and beyond [it] the property belonging to you, Rishtak, [13]and on the farther side of the ditch the vineyard Waraz-khag; and to the west the royal road [is] the boundary; and to the north [14]the royal road and beyond [it] the property belonging to you, Rishtak, [is] the boundary; and to the south the property of the satraps [15][is] the boundary.

Thus the property described herein has now been sold by me—by me, Wyem, and by me, Bag-re-mareg—[16]to you, Rishtak, and to you, Waraz-shabur, for eight dinars of struck gold; and the price has been received by us all complete, and [17]we have become satisfied and content and are profited and not subject to loss.

So now, from tomorrow [and] for [all] future time, [18][as for] the property described herein, just as has been stated with reference to the boundaries, [and] the water and path which [are] adjacent thereto—then [19]may it belong properly and well to you, Rishtak, and to you, Waraz-shabur, and to your brothers and your sons and your descendants, [20]from now to eternity, without dues, without tax, without exaction, without deduction, so that no-one [21]may be able to cause injury to you. And I, Wyem, do not have [any] authority [over it], nor I, Bag-re-mareg; in respect of the property described herein [22][we] do not have any claim or argument; and if it should so happen that from tomorrow [or] at [any] future time, I, Wyem, nor I, [23]Bag-re-mareg, nor our brothers, nor our sons, [n]or [any of] our descendants[i] who [24]might continue to claim or argue [over] anything in respect of the property described herein, or if we should take you to court and to the royal tribunal, or if we should claim thus, that [25]the property described herein has not been sold by us to you and [that] the price has not been received by us all complete, then our claim [26][and] argument shall not be valid in court in any way, and also we shall pay a fine to the royal treasury of twenty dinars of struck gold, [27]and we shall pay twenty dinars to the opposite party. And if there should be anyone else who might withhold the property described herein, and [28]might take you to court and to the royal tribunal, then I, Wyem, and I, Bag-re-mareg, and our descendants shall go to lawsuit [after] lawsuit [29–30]and shall cause [the property to be] detached from the opposite party; and if we do not go to lawsuit [after] lawsuit and do not cause [the property to be] detached from the opposite party, then we shall pay the same fine as [31]is written herein.

And may [this] sealed document, this purchase contract, be [considered] good and valid, and may there be no inconvenience to the witnesses.

J'

[It was] the year 295, the month Siwan, when [this] sealed document, this purchase contract, was written here in the city of Malr, at the court of the *khars*, [2]in the presence of Yatak Sibukan, and in the presence of Mir-Shabur Yolaban, and in the presence of Bag-wanind Mashan, and also in the presence of the other [3]freemen [and] witnesses who were present there amongst [them], and [who] bear witness concerning this matter, and [who] have placed [their] seals hereupon, when [4][this] declaration was freely [and] willingly made by me, Wyem son of Burz-mihr,

[i] The series of negatives in this version seems to be due to a confusion of two alternative constructions.

and by me, Bag-re-mareg son of Bur, inhabitants of Malr, servants of the king, we whose [5]estate they call Wyeshwarazan. I make [this] declaration to you, Rishtak son of Waraz-shabur, and to you, Waraz-shabur [6]son of Burz-mihr, inhabitants of Malr, servants of Shabur Shaburan, you whose estate they call Burzmihran.

Now: [7]I, Wyem, and I, Bag-re-mareg, [have] a serious and … liability, and the Hephthalite tax on our house has been assessed to be paid [at] a large [sum], [8]and we had no other assets [left] in the house which might have been given by us towards the Hephthalite tax. But we have [9]a disposable property here in Malr, our own ancestral estate, this [same] property which is called Sangin.

And these [10]are the boundaries of the property described herein: to the east [is] the irrigation ditch and on the farther side of the ditch [is] the boundary, and beyond [it] the property belonging to you, Rishtak; [11]and to the west the royal road [is] the boundary; and to the north the royal road and beyond [it] the property belonging to you, Rishtak, [12][is] the boundary; and to the south the property of the satraps [is] the boundary.

Thus the property described herein has been sold by me—by me, Wyem, and by me, Bag-re-[13]mareg—just as has been stated with reference to the boundaries, to you, Rishtak, and to you, Waraz-[14]shabur, for eight dinars of struck gold; and the price has been received by us all complete, and we have become satisfied and content and [15]are profited and not subject to loss.

So now, from tomorrow [and] for [all] future time, [as for] the property described herein, just as [16]has been stated with reference to the boundaries, [and] the water and path which [are] adjacent thereto, to the property—then may it belong properly and well to you, Rishtak, and to you, Waraz-shabur, [17]and to your brothers and your sons and your descendants, from now to eternity, [18]without dues, without tax, without claim, without argument, so that no-one may be able to cause injury to you. And I, Wyem, do not have [any] authority [over it], [19]nor I, Bag-re-mareg, nor [any of] our descendants who might continue to claim or argue [over] anything else in respect of the property described herein; [20]and if it should so happen that from tomorrow [or] at [any] future time I, Wyem, or I, Bag-re-mareg, or [21]our brothers, or our sons, or our descendants, should continue to claim or argue [over] anything in respect of the property described herein, [22]or if we should take you to court, to the royal tribunal, or if we should withhold the property, or if we should claim thus, that the property described herein [23]has not been sold by us to you and [that] the price has not been received by us all complete, then our claim [and] argument [24]shall not be valid in court in any way, and also we shall pay a fine to the royal treasury of twenty dinars of struck gold, and we shall pay twenty dinars [25]to the opposite party. And if there should be anyone else who might withhold the property described herein, and might take you to court and [26]to the royal tribunal, then I, Wyem, and I, Bag-re-mareg, and our descendants shall go to lawsuit [after] lawsuit and shall cause [the property to be] detached [27]from the opposite party; and if we do not go to lawsuit [after] lawsuit and do not cause [the property to be] detached from the opposite party, then we shall pay the same fine as [28]is written herein.

And may [this] sealed document, this purchase contract, be [considered] good and valid, and may there be no inconvenience to the witnesses.

J *Verso*

Wyem [seal A].

Bag-re-mareg [seal B].

Yatak Sibukan [seal C].

Mir-Shabur Yolaban [seal D].

Bag-wanind Mashan [seal E].

V.2. Payments to the Hephthalites and the Persians

Document al, a list of expenditure by a local ruler. Text and translation from Sims-Williams (2012, 164–65). Undated, but the fact that the writer is obliged to make payments both to the Hephthalites and the Persians seems to indicate a date before the defeat of Peroz in 484 CE.

V.004. Doc. al

[al1] σιδο πιδο ι ×……× [ ]τ̣ογδο οδ̣[ο Δρ]-
[al2] αχμο ι΄ οτομο λαδο αβο βαγο̣λαγγο αβο οισ̣π̣ο σαρ̣[δο πι]-
[al3] δο ο̣χο̣σ̣α̣ρ̣ο̣ αυμαρο π̣ιδο μορΔγο οδο πιδο αβη[δγο α]-
[al4] σιδομο ι β[ρα]δο β̣ο̣[δο]Δ̣[ρα]χ̱μο λ΄ ς΄ παβαγα̣ρ̣[×××]
[al5] πιδο ι βραδο σιδο β̣[οδ]ο̣ τ̣α̣(δ)α̣βο οισπο μασ̄ φ̄ᾱρο ηβ̣[οΔα]-
[al6] λανο οδ̣ο φαρο πα̣ρ̣[σ]ιγα̣ν̣ο ρωσιγο Δραχμο λαδ̣ο ε̣΄[οτ]-
[al7] ομ̣ο̣ αλο ι β̄ᾱρ̄σ̄ π̄ιδισιδ̣ο οτ̣ομ̣ο τογδο φα̣ρ̣ο̣ ι̣ ωκ̣ι̣δ̣[ο κα]-
[al8] λδο γαοανο λαβιρο α̣[βο]β̄ᾱρ̄σ̄ γ̄αο βα̣στο̣ Δραχ[μο ×΄]
[al9] πιδο ρηδοφαρο λιζο̣βιδιγο̣[ο]τομο τογδο̣ π̣ιδο̣ ν̣α̣β[×××]-
[al10] βιδο λιζοβιδο οδο πιδο χοαδ̣̇η̣σπαδο λασοβιδιγ[ο φ]-
[al11] αρο ηβ̣ο̣Δαλανο π̣ιδο μορ̣Δγο οδο πιδο αβηδγο Δ̣[ρα]-
[al12] χμο ι΄ β΄ πιδο̣ ο̣χοσαρο̣ α̣υ̣μ̣αρο οτ̣ομο λαδο πι[δο]

Verso

[al13] οιβ̣οιγγο ι αδηιο̣ αβο βα̣γο̣λ̣α̣γγο αβο̣ ο̣ιισ̣π̣ο̣ [σ]α̣ρ̣δ̣ο̣ [Δρα]-
[al14] χμο ι΄ οδο καλδο̣ β̣ᾱ̣ρ̣̄σ̄λ̄η̄ργο μ̣ο̣λ̣ο̣ χ̱οα̣ρ̣δ̣ο τα̣δ̣ομ̣ο̣[×××]
[al15] τ̣ογδο Δραχμ̣ο̣ β΄ ο̣τ̣ο̣μ̣ο̣ λ̣α̣δαβο ι ιανιγ̣ιγο̣ ο̣δ̣α̣β[ο ι]
[al16] λ̣α̣βι[ρ]ογαγγο̣ Δραχμο̣ β΄ ο̣τ̣ομο λα̣δ̣ο καλδ̣ο α̣×[×××]
[al17] μ̣ολο μαλαβο̣ β̄ᾱρ̄σ̄ χ̄σ̄αρδ̣ο̣ δ̣ιναρ̣ο̣ η΄ οτ̣ο̣μ̣ο̣ λ̣[αδο]
[al18] φαρο οιριβ̣τ̣ο̣μ̣̈ιβο ι χοη̣[οι]ν̣αμωσο̣γ̣α̣νο̣ ο̣δ̣ο̣ πιδο̣φ[αρο]
[al19] διν̣α̣ρ̣ο β̣΄ οδ̣[ο ι χ]ο̣η̣ο̣ι[××××]ο̣ πιδο̣××δο ο̣τ̣ο̣μ̣ο̣ λ̣α̣[δαβο]

[al20] ι ηβοδαλαγγο αβυαγγο πιδο ι σαριγγο ζαμο ο[δο πι]-
[al21] δο ι σιμινο οδο πιδο ι ναμωσογαν οδο πιδο γαο×[×××]
[al22] [α]β[ο] ι ποσο διναρο η´ οτο ηβοΔαλαγγο ασπο[αβ]-
[al23] [ο]βαρσ μορδο ταδομο τογδο Δραχμο ε´ οτο[μο λα]-
[al24] δαβο ι νωγαγγο διναρο β´ οτομο λαδαβο οι[σπο]
[al25] μασ π[ι]δο ηβοΔαλοχοηοι οδαλο βα[υ]ο φαρο ι [ ]

… which [I] paid for the … and [2]ten dirhams. And I gave to the temple every year in [3]settlement of the … for the dead and for the ⟦departed⟧, [4][the amount] which my brother spent(?), thirty-six dirhams [5][as] a … for what [my] brother spent(?). Then every month [6][I] gave five dirhams [as] a subsistence allowance for the Hephthalites and for the Persians. ⟦And⟧ [7]I both handed over(?) the city and paid to the …, [8]when Gawan the scribe tethered cows ⟦in⟧ the city, … dirhams [9]for Red-far of the fortress guard. And I paid, for …-[10]bid the chief of the fortress guard and for Khwade-spad the member of a company of ten, [11]to the Hephthalites for the dead and for the departed [12]twelve dirhams in settlement of the … And I gave for [verso][13]linen [cloth as] the offering for the temple every year [14]ten dirhams. And when the governor of the city drank wine, then I ⟦again⟧ [15]paid two dirhams. And I gave to the … and to ⟦the⟧ [16]scriptorium two dirhams. And I gave, when … [17]drank wine here in the city, eight dinars. And I ⟦gave⟧, [18][as] an offering and [mark of] ⟦honour⟧ for Wirishtmish the lord, [19]two dinars, and ⟦the⟧ lord … And I ⟦gave towards⟧ [20]the Hephthalite levy, for the vessels of lacquer ⟦and for⟧ [21]those of silver, and for the offerings, and for ⟦fodder⟧ [22]⟦for⟧ the sheep, eight dinars. And a horse belonging to the Hephthalites [23]died ⟦in⟧ the city: then I paid five dirhams. And ⟦I gave⟧ [24]two dinars to the … And I gave ⟦every⟧ [25]month, for the Hephthalite lord or the king, for the …

V.3. Letters referring to the Hephthalites

Three Bactrian letters. Text and translation from Sims-Williams (2007, 122–27), with a correction suggested by Yoshida (2003, 158a). Undated, all probably *c.* 485 CE or soon after. All three letters refer to the Hephthalites as overlords of the local rulers of Rob and Kadagstan in Northern Afghanistan.

V.005. Doc. eh

[eh1] [αβο ωρομοζδο βονοκανο]
[eh2] [ ]
[eh3] [ηβο]δαλο ιαβγο παροπαζο [σωτ]αγγο αβγανα[νο]-
[eh4] βιδο τοχοαροστανο οδο γαρσιγοστανο λαδοβαρο μισιδο
[eh5] [αγαδο μαρ]ο ασαφαγο πωστιγο τ[α]δομο ναγατο σαγονδο ναβιχτ-
[eh6] [ιμο π]ιδο μανο[λ]ρογοστανο ταδαζο λρογο αγαδιμο πι[σι]-

[eh7] [δο]×××ọ [κοαδ]ανο αβαφαγο ταρο ιθαο φοþταδη[ιο]
[eh8] [ ]ı̣[οα]ρζο ληρο ασιδο ιθαοδημ̣ο φρọ̣μ̣ạ̣δ-
[eh9] ο κọ̣ạ̣δọ̣[ ]ıạ̣ọ̣ọ̣ạ̣ρδοι αοοηρσο οτασο þαυριγανο αμβα-
[eh10] ρο χωζο ταδο οιχ̣[οασο]ọ̣ ναφρομ̣ιανο ταδ̣-

Left margin, first continuation (c. 4 lines) lost

Verso, second continuation

[eh15] χοαδο φρ[ομ̣ι]ημ̣ο οτομ̣ο[ ]-
[eh16] ο πιδο ζιμανιγο φρομ̣[ ]
[eh17] μαρδο ταρο φοþτιδο ταδ[ ]
[eh18] οαρζο ληρο

Address

[eh19] [αβο]ω̣ρọ̣[μο]-
[eh20] ζδ̣ο βογ̣ọ̣ḳạ̣-
[eh21] γ̣ο λ̣ρ̣̄οδ̣ọ̣~

⟦To Ormuzd Bunukan, … greetings and homage from …⟧, [3]the ⟦*sot*⟧*ang* (?) of Parpaz [under][i] ⟦the glorious⟧ *yabghu* of ⟦Heph⟧thal, the chief … of the Afghans, [4]the judge of Tukharistan and Gharchistan.

Moreover, [5]a letter ⟦has come hither⟧ from you, so I have heard how ⟦you have⟧ written [6]⟦to me concerning⟧ my health. I arrived in good health, [and] ⟦afterwards(?) [7]I heard that a message⟧ was sent thither to you [saying] thus: [8]"… look after the farming." But the order was given to you thus: [9-10]"You should hand over the grain and [then] request [it] from the citizens' store." I will not order ⟦loss …⟧, so [11]… [12]… [13]… [14]… [15]I myself order. And I … [16]in respect of winter(?) … [17]sends men thither [to you], then … "… [18]look after the farming."

[19-21]⟦To⟧ Ormuzd Bunukan, greetings.

V.006. Doc. *ja*

[ja1] ασο κιλμανο ναμοοι[νδα]δ̣ο αβζοδο ιη-
[ja2] βοδαλο ı̣[α]β[γο]ḳạ̣δ̣αγοβι[δο κα]δ̣αγανο þαο αβο \α/βα-
[ja3] ××[× χο]η[ο λροδο μ]ı̣σιδ̣[ο ζο]γ̣οβạ̣[νδαγο μανο μα]ρ̣-
[ja4] ηγọ̣ μ[αρο αβα]μ̣ạ̣γο ιθ̣[αο]πιδοο[αυαδο]ḳοαδ̣ο τ-
[ja5] ωσο βωζọ̣ παρ̣ο πọ̣[ρ]δογο αṣτο ταδομ̣ο το-
[ja6] γδο ναḳ[ιμιδο]×…×ạ̣νọ̣ ḳı̣ı̣ρ̣ı̣δο ω-
[ja7] σο κιρο ṣ[ιδο]ο ασο ζονο-
[ja8] βανδ̣ạ̣γο ζι[δαδο]νο απαρσο
[ja9] αβιρ̣[αδο]×[α]π̣-

[i] Here I have corrected the translation given in my edition. See the note to Doc. *jb* below.

[ja10] αρσο ×[ ]×…×ρ[
[ja11] κιδο μαρο ζ[

Left margin, continuation

[ja12] ταδο ωγοτο βιζ̣γο μα κιρο

Verso, address

[ja13] α̣βο αβ̣[α×……×
[ja14] χ̣ǫ̣ŋο λρ[οδο

On another part of the verso, annotation

[ja15] []ζ̣ǫ̣ν̣ǫ̣[ ]βανδα̣[γο]

[1-2]From Kilman, the king of the people of ⟦Ka⟧dag, the governor of the famous [and] prosperous *yab*⟦*ghu*⟧ of Hephthal, to Aba⟦… [3]the lord, greetings⟧.

Moreover, ⟦Zhu⟧n-ba⟦ndag my servant⟧ [4]⟦has⟧ ⟦appealed to⟧ me ⟦here⟧ [saying] ⟦thus⟧: [5]"Tos is owing a tax(?) payment and [6]⟦he does⟧ not ⟦want⟧ to pay me ⟦but⟧ makes ⟦excuses(?)⟧." [7-8]Now you should act [in such a way] ⟦that whatever Tos may have⟧ ⟦taken⟧ from Zhun-bandag ⟦the latter shall⟧ [9]get ⟦it⟧ back … [10]back … [11]who here … [12]So do not do clandestine(?) evil!

[13-14]To Ab[a…⟧ the lord, ⟦greetings⟧.

[15][Concerning] Zhun-banda⟦g⟧.

V.007. Doc. *jb*

[jb1] αβο σαρτο χοηβανδα̣ν̣ǫ φαραχο ηβοδαλο ια-
[jb2] βγο ρωβοχ̣αρο ηβοδα̣λοχοηοα̣γγο λ̣α̣βιρο τǫχο-
[jb3] αραστανο γ̣α̣ρσιγǫ̣σ̣τ̣α̣ν̣ǫ λ̣α̣δοβ̣α̣ρο βα̣γǫ χ̣ǫ̣ŋο υαζ̣α̣-
[jb4] ρο βŋοαρǫ λρουδο σπαδ̣οζαγγο ναμωσο σαγονδ-
[jb5] α̣βο βαγανο α̣σο α̣ζγαρακο ραμιναγγο φρǫμα-
[jb6] λ̣α̣ρο χοβο μαρηγο οτανο οαλο βαταρανο καλδα-
[jb7] ν̣ǫ χοαδο λρουγο οι̣ν̣ανο οτο βαδο βοοανο μισιδο\μο/
[jb8] π̣ιδο σπιμ̣α̣γγο σαχοα̣ν̣ǫ πορσαδο ταδǫμο να̣γατο σα-
[jb9] γονδο σταδο ασιδǫ α̣μ̣α̣ρδ̣ανο κ̣ιδο γαλǫ σταδινδο
[jb10] ταδα̣σο μαρο βοδ̣ι̣νδο τασιδ̣ǫ ζαμανο απα̣ρσǫ
[jb11] ŋρ̣σινδο ταδο σ̣πι[ιο] α̣πα̣ρσο ηρσιμο τ̣α̣δ̣̣δ̣ŋιǫ [να]-
[jb12] β̣α̣γο σπ̣ǫυρ̣ιγǫ απ̣αρσο φρ̣ǫμ̣ιŋμο λαδο οιτ̣[αβο]

Verso, continuation

[jb13] ι΄ ρωσο απαρσο ηρσιδο~

At the bottom of the recto, address

[jb14] α̣βο σ̣α̣ρτο χοηβα̣νδανο φαρ̣α̣χǫ ηβǫδ̣α̣λ̣ǫ ι̣[αβγο]

[1-2]To Sart Khudewbandan, ruler of Rob [under][i] the glorious *yabghu* of Hephthal, the scribe of the Hephthalite lords, [3]the judge of Tukharistan [and] Gharchistan, the noble lord, a thousand [4][and] ten thousand greetings [and] homage on bended knee, as [5]to the gods, from Azgarak, the steward of Ramin, [6]his servant. And then I would be more happy when [7]I myself might see [you] healthy and be happy.

Moreover, I [8]asked about the matter of Spiy and I heard [9]how it was. But [as for his] associates(?) who were thieves, [10]they have gone [away] from here. As soon as [11]they come back, Spiy should come back [too], and then [12]I [shall] order [them] to give him back [his] ⟦deposit⟧ in full within [13]ten days after he comes.

[14]To Sart Khudewbandan ⟦ruler of Rob under⟧ the glorious *y*⟦*abghu*⟧ of Hephthal.

V.4. Seals

V.008. Seal of a "King of the Huns"

Known from three fragmentary sealings published by Aman ur Rahman et al. (2006) and by Lerner and Sims-Williams (2011, 72–74), this seal inscription refers to a ruler of Samarkand who is also a 'king of the Huns.'

×…×ζ[××]ο βαγο ολαργο[ii] υονανο βαο οαζαρκο κοβανοβαο σαμαρκανδο αφβιανο

… lord Ularg/Uglarg, the king of the Huns, the great Kushan-shah, the *afshiyan* of Samarkand.

V.009. Seal of Eshkingil

The seal of Eshkingil was published by Pierfrancesco Callieri (2002) and its inscription by Sims-Williams (2002). The tentative restoration of [Ga]rokan as the name of the place ruled by Eshkingil is due to Sims-Williams (2007, 207). The relevance of this object depends on Sims-Williams's hypothesis that Eshkingil is a variant of Khiṅgila, the name of the well-known Hunnish ruler; see discussion in Sims-Williams (2010, 60).

εβκιγγιλο [γα](ρ)ωκανο χοηο

Eshkingil, lord of ⟦Ga⟧rokan.

[i] As pointed out by Yoshida (2003, 158a), it is unlikely that the ruler of Rob was himself the "*yabghu* of Hephthal." Here and in line 14 I have therefore modified the translation given in my edition.

[ii] Variant *ογλαργο*.

V.5. Allusions

V.010. Estate-name Hunsekhan, “Hunnish house”(?)

The estate-name Hunsekhan (*ονοσηχανο*) possibly meaning ‘Hunnish house,’ occurs in the Bactrian contract L, probably written in Jan./Feb. 602. Translation from Sims-Williams (2012, 58).

> We make [this] declaration to you, Bazanuk son of Peshtams, and to you, Zhun-lad, and to you, Sag, and to you, Tut, sons of Bazanuk, inhabitants of Malr, servants of Fruma-rizm Shaburan, you whose estate is called Hunsekhan.

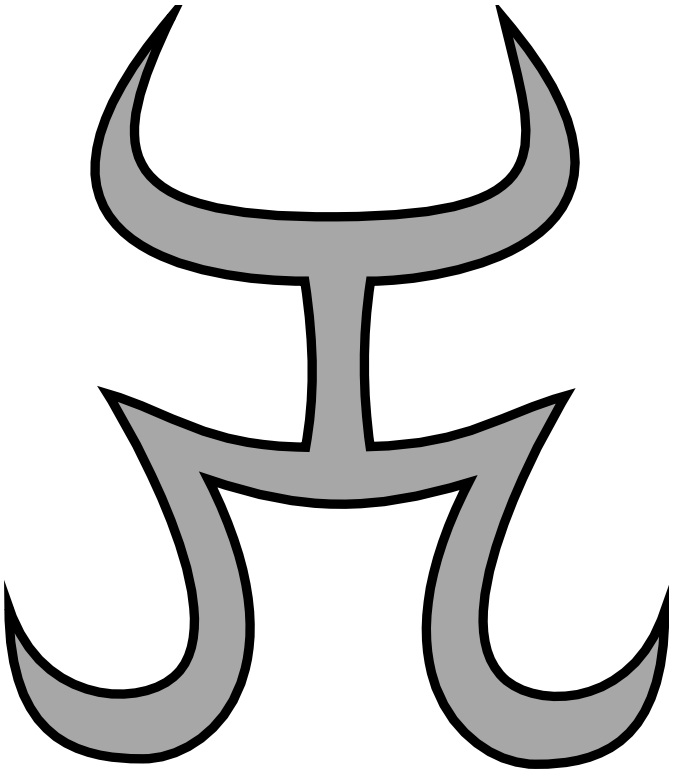
V.011. Personal Name Gurambad, “Grumbates”

The personal name Gurambad (*γοραμβαδο*) occurs in two undated letters (dg, *c.* 450 CE; eb, *c.* 465 CE), both of which may refer to the same person, a later namesake of the Chionite leader at the siege of Amida in 360 CE, named by Ammianus Marcellinus as Grumbates. Translations from Sims-Williams (2007, 106, 110). For discussion of the name see Sims-Williams (2010, 56–57).

> *dg*:
>
> To Nabag, [my] dear brother, ⟦greetings and homage from Gu⟧rambad Kerawan.
>
> *eb*:
>
> To Shabur Peshladan and to Gurambad Khwadewan, greetings [and] homage from Sadayol Beranan.

VI. Armenian Sources

Giusto Traina



Introduction

Frantz Grenet

The richest accounts of Sasanian wars with the Huns are found in the Armenian chronicles, always for the same reason: the involvment of Armenian warriors, especially aristocrats, in all Eastern campaigns of the Sasanians. Khosrow II employed the Armenian prince Sempat Bagratuni at Balkh for the same reason the Tsar Alexander I employed his namesake (and probably relative) the Georgian prince Bagration at Borodino: by sending potentially rebellious Caucasian military leaders to distant fronts, two frontiers were pacified at the same time. The wealth of details transmitted about the Chionites, the Kidarites and the Hephthalites is barely mitigated by two shortcomings well known to the Armenologists: the first one, also shared by the Graeco-Roman sources, is a tendency to use archaizing names such as "Massagetes" or "Kushans;" the second one is the ever-present Christian and Patriotic propaganda—it could almost be said that in Armenian accounts of Sasanian wars the Sasanians are always defeated, except when their general is Armenian. Attention should also be drawn to the fact that Ełišē and Łazar do not always distinguish clearly between the two geographically and politically very different groups of "Huns" the Armenians were confronted with: those in Bactria and Sogdiana, and those in the Caucasus. That said, the informative value of the Armenian chronicles for gaining a chronologically detailed picture of the historical role of the Huns in Central Asia can be compared only to that of the Chinese records.

VI.001. Armenian Agat'angełos

Second half of the 5th century CE. Text from Tēr-Mkrtč'ean and Kanayeanc' (1904); translation from Thomson (1976).

VI.001/A. §19, Reaction of the Armenian king Xosrov after the rise of the Sassanians

After 224 CE.

> Արդ՝ ի միւս եւս ի գլուխ տարւոյն սկսանէր Խոսրով թագաւորն Հայոց գունդ կազմել եւ զաւր բովանդակել, գումարել զզաւրս Աղուանից եւ Վրաց, եւ բանալ զդրունս Ալանաց եւ զՃորայ պահակին, հանել զզաւրս Հոնաց, ասպատակ դնել ի կողմանս Պարսից, արշաւել ի կողմանս Ասորեստանի, մինչեւ ի դրունս Տիսբոնի։
>
> But at the start of the next year Xosrov king of Armenia began to raise forces and assemble an army. He gathered the armies of the Albanians and the Georgians, opened the gates of the Alans and the stronghold of the Čor; he brought through the army of the Huns in order to attack Persian territory and invade Asorestan as far as the gates of Ctesiphon.

VI.001/B. §123, The prowess of the Armenian king Trdat

C. 280–330 CE.

որ զամենայն ժամանակս կենաց իւրոց պատերազմեալ եւ առնէր մարտիցն յաղթութիւն: Մեծ անուն պարծանաց քաջութեան անձին ստանայր եւ զհոյակապ շքեղութիւն յաղթութեան ընդ ամենայն աշխարհ կացուցանէր հարկանէր ի հարուածս զթշնամիսն եւ խնդրէր զքէնս վրիժուց իւրոց հայրենեացն առնոյր աւար բազում ի կողմանցն Ասորւոց եւ թափէր կապուտ սաստիկ անհնարին ի նոցանէն Արկանէր ի սուր զզաւրս Պարսից եւ թափէր կողոպուտ անհնարին լինէր առաջնորդ առն եւ ձիոյ զաւրացն Յունաց եւ մատնէր նոցա զբանակս նոցա հանէր զզաւրս Հոնաց սաստիկ յոյժ եւ գերէր զկողմանս Պարսից:

He spent his whole life in war and gained triumphs in combat. He acquired a great renown for bravery and extended throughout the whole world the glorious splendor of his victories. He threw his enemies into disarray and revenged his ancestors. He devastated many of the regions of Syria and took a great amount of booty from them. He put to the sword the armies of the Persians and acquired enormous booty. He became commander of the cavalry of the Greek army, and handed over to them the camps [of the enemy]. He expelled the armies of the Huns by force and subjected the regions of Persia.

VI.002. *Buzandaran Patmut‘îwnk‘* (P‘awstos Buzand)

Second half of the 5th century CE. Text from *P‘awstosi Buzandac‘woy Patmut‘iwn Hayoc‘ i č‘ors dprut‘iwns* (Anonymous 1933); English translation: Garsoïan (1989).

VI.002/A. III 6, About Grigoris, *kat‘ołikos* of the Caucasian Albanians

Q.v. also Movsēs Dasxuranc‘i 1.14.

Եւ իբրեւ ուղղեաց նորազեաց զամենայն եկեղեցիս կողմանցն այնոցիկ, եհաս նա մինչեւ ի ճամբար բանակին արշակունւոյ արքային Մազքթաց, որոյ անուն իւր Սանէսան կոչէր: Քանզի եւ նոցա եւ Հայոց թագաւորացն մի ազգաւորութիւն էր տոհմին բնութեան: Եւ երթեալ յանդիման լինէր թագաւորին Մազքթաց, իշխանին բազմութեան զօրացն Հոնաց.

And when he had restored and renewed all the churches of those regions, he came to the camp of the Aršakuni king of the Mazk‘ut‘k‘, whose name was Sanēsan. For their kings and the Armenian ones were of the same race and house. And so he came before the king of the Mazk‘ut‘k‘, the prince of the numerous host of the Honk‘ …

VI.002/B. III 7, Raid into Armenia of the king of the Mazk‘ut‘k‘

Յայնմ ժամանակի թագաւոր Մազքթաց Սանէսան անհնարին նիւթեաց զսրտմտութիւն ոխութեան ընդ իւրում ազգակցին Խոսրովու արքային Հայոց, եւ գումարեաց ժողովեաց զամենայն զօրս Հոնաց եւ Փոխաց, Թաւասպարաց, Հեճմատակաց, Իժմախաց, Գաթաց եւ

Գղուարաց, Գուգարաց, Շչբաց եւ Ճղբաց եւ Բաղասճաց եւ Եգերսուանացն, եւ այլոց խառնաղանճ բազմութեամբք, անթիւ բանակն վաչկատուն զօրութեանց, որում միանգամ ինքն իշխէր զօրացն բազմաց: Եկն անց ըստ իւր սահմանն ընդ գետն մեծ ընդ Կուր, եւ եկն տարածեցաւ ելից զերկիրն Հայոց աշխարհին: Եւ չգոյր թիւ բազմութեան հեծելազօր գնդացն, եւ ոչ համար շերտաւոր հետեւակ զօրուն. զի եւ ինքեանք զինքեանս զիւրեանց զօրսն թուել ոչ կարէին: Բայց ուր լինէր հանդէս, ի նշանաւոր տեղիս գնդի գնդի, դրօշու դրօշու, վաշտուց վաշտուց, յերեւելի յերեւելի տեղեաց՝ մէն մի բռնաքար առ այր հրամայէին, զի բերցեն ընկեսցեն՝ շեղջ կուտել. զի որչափ լիցի, այնու երեւեսցի նշանակ բազմութեանն, առ իմանալ առ վաղիւ անցելոց իրացն ահաւորութեան նշանակ: Եւ ընդ որ միանգամ անցանէին, այսպէս թողուին յամենայն ճանապարհակիցս, ի վերայ անցից պողոտայից: Եւ ելին լցին ծածկեցին զամենայն երկիրն Հայոց. քանդեցին, գերեցին, առ հասարակ աւերեցին. սփռեցան տարածեցան զսահմանօքն, լի եւ լի ծաւալեցան մինչեւ ի փոքր քաղաքիկն Սատաղու, եւ մինչեւ ի Գանձակ սահմանս ատրպատական. խաղացուցին ի մի վայր ժողովեցին, ի ժամադիր կողմանս յԱյրարատեան գաւառին բանակ մեծ լինէր:

Եւ խոյս ետ թագաւորն Հայոց Խոսրով յիւրմէ եղբարցն, նոյն ի Սանէսանայ յարքայէն Մազքթաց. եւ անկան յամուր բերդն Դարեւնից յերկիրն Կովգայ, եւ ընդ նմա ծերունին Վրթանէս եպիսկոպոսապետն Հայոց: Ապա առնուին պահս պահել, եւ խնդրել յԱստուծոյ՝ զի փրկեսցէ զնոսա յայնմ ի դառն դահճէն, եւ սկսան խնդրել ի տեառնէ Աստուծոյ: Եւ նա ծածկեալ բռնացեալ ունէր զերկիրն առ հասարակ իբրեւ տարի մի: Ապա եկն եհաս Վաչէ որդի Արտաւազդայ ի Մամիկոնեանն տոհմէն, զօրավար ամենայն Հայոց մեծաց: Ջի երթեալ էր նա ի ժամանակին յայնմիկ զերկայն ճանապարհս ի կողմանս Յունաց: Ապա ժողովեաց նա զամենայն քաջս քաջս նախարարացն, եւ գունդ կազմէր բազում յոյժ. եւ հասանէր անկանէր ի վերայ բանակին, յառաւօտուն ժամուն այգանալոյն պաշտամանն. զի բանակեալ էին նոքա ի լերինն՝ որ կոչի Ցլու գլուխ. եւ առ հասարակ ընդ սուր հանին զամենեսեան, եւ ոչ մի ոք ոչ ապրեցուցանէր, եւ դարձուցանէր զբազմութիւն գերեացն: Եւ յետ այսորիկ առնոյր զաւարսն, խաղայր գնայր երթայր իջանէր ի դաշտն Այրարատեան գաւառին. երթայր գտանէր զՍանէսան թագաւորն Մազքթաց բուն գնդաւն, անթիւ անհամար զօրօքն հանդերձ ի Վաղարշապատ քաղաքի: Առեալ զգունդն Վաչէ, եւ յանկարծակի յարձակեցաւ ի վերայ քաղաքին, եւ մատնեաց զնոսա տէր ի ձեռս նորա:

Եւ իբրեւ տեսին զնա յարձակեալ ի վերայ իւրեանց, փախեան ելին ի քաղաքէ անտի յառապարն ի կողմն յՕշական բերդին. եւ զանապատն, եւ զքարուտ տեղիսն ապաւէն իւրեանց համարեցան. եւ լինէր սաստիկ պատերազմ յոյժ յոյժ: Եւ նիզակակիցք զօրավարին Հայոց, որ էին Բագրատ բագրատունի, Մեհունդակ եւ Գարեգին ըոշտունիք, եւ Վահան նահապետն ամատունեաց տոհմին, եւ Վարազ կամինական, հասանէին հարկանէին սատակէին զօրսն Ալանացն, եւ Մազքթացն, եւ Հոնացն եւ զայլոց ազգացն, եւ լնուին զդաշտն առապարացն առհասարակ դիակամբք մեռելոց. մինչ զի իբրեւ զգետ յարուցեալ երթայր արիւնն անհնարին, եւ ոչ լինէր թիւ զօրացն մեռելոց: Եւ զմնացեալսն սակաւս առաջի իւրեանց հալածականս տանէին մինչեւ յաշխարհն Բաղասճաց, եւ զգլուխն Սանէսանայ մեծի թագաւորին եկին բերին առաջի արքային Հայոց:

Սակայն իբրեւ ետես, լալ սկսաւ. ասէ, Եղբայր իմ էր ազգաւ արշակունի: Ապա եկեալ էր արքային ի տեղի ճակատուն, եւ ընդ նմա մեծ եպիսկոպոսապետն Հայոց. եւ տեսին զկոտորածն զօրացն հարելոց, զի նեխէր երկիրն ի հոտոյ մեռելոցն: Ապա ետուն հրաման՝ զուգազ հանել յաշխարհէ, եւ անդէն ծածկել քարակարկառ վիմօք, զի մի' ի շարաւոյ հոտոյն մեռելոտի ոսկերացն երկիրն պղծեսցի: Եւ դադարեաց երկիրն ի խաղաղութեան ամս հարուստ մի. եւ այսպէս վրէժ սրբոյն Գրիգորիսի խնդրեցաւ ի թագաւորէն Սանէսանայ, եւ ի բանակէ նորա. զի ոչ մնաց ի նոցանէ եւ ոչ մի:

At this time, Sanēsan, king of the Mazk‘ut‘k‘, nourished an implacable hatred and rancor against his kinsman Xosrov, king of Armenia. And so, he gathered and assembled all the forces of the Honk‘ and the P‘oxk‘, of the T‘awaspark‘, the Hečmatakk‘, the Ižmaxk‘, the Gat‘k‘, the Głuark‘, the Gugark‘, the Šičbk‘, and the Čiłbk‘and the Bałasčik‘, and the Egersuank‘, and masses of other rabble. [It was] an innumerable nomadic host, whose entire large force he led himself. He crossed his own border at the great Kur River and came flooding of the land of the Armenian realm. And no one could number the vastness of the cavalry contingents, or reckon the force of the club-bearers on foot, so that they themselves could not number their own army. But whenever they held a muster by contingents, banners, and detachments at designated places, every man was ordered to carry a stone so as to throw it down from these very visible places in order to form a mound, so that as many as there were would be an indication of the size [of the army]; a fearful sign [left] for the morrow to understand past events. And wherever they passed, they left such markers at every crossroad along their way. And so they came, filled and covered the whole of the land of Armenia; ravaged, captured and destroyed it completely. They scattered and spread altogether over its territory, and stretched all the way to the small city of Satał and to Ganjak, [which is] the border of Atrpatakan. [And] they pushed on and gathered at the appointed region of the district of Ayrarat, [where] there was a large encampment. Xosrov, king of Armenia, fled from his brother,—that is, from Sanēsan, king of the Mazk‘ut‘k‘—and threw himself into the fortified stronghold of Darewnk‘, in the land of Kovg; and the elderly Vrt‘anēs, chief-bishop of Armenia, [went] together with him. Then they kept fasts and begged God to deliver them from this cruel slaughterer, and they began to implore the Lord God. [Meanwhile, Sanēsan] overran and subjected the whole of the land for about one year. Then Vač‘ē, the son of Artawazd from the Mamikonean house, the commander-in-chief of all Greater Armenia, came [back], for at that time he had gone an a long journey in the regions of the Greeks. He collected together all the most valiant *naxarark‘* and formed a very large contingent. He fell upon the camp [of the Mazk‘ut‘k‘] at break of day during the dawn service, for they were encamped on the mountain called C‘lu Glux [Bull’s Head]. He put all of them to the sword, left not one of them alive, and brought back the multitude of those [held] captive. Then, after this, he gathered up the booty, set forth, and marched down into the plain of the district of Ayrarat. Upon arriving [there], he found Sanēsan, king of the Mazk‘ut‘k‘, with his own contingent [*bun gund*], as well as an innumerable [and] countless host, in the city of Vałaršapat. Drawing up his contingent, Vač‘ē fell on the city unexpectedly, and the Lord gave them into his hand. And when they save him falling upon them, they fled from the city to the craggy region of the fortress of

Ōšakan, counting on those desert and rocky places as a refuge. And an extremely fierce battle took place. And the companions-in-arms of the Armenian commander—namely Bagrat Bagratuni, Mehundak and Garegin Ṙštuni, Vahan *nahapet* of the Amatuni house and Varaz Kaminakan—fell upon and slaughtered the forces of the Alank‘, Mazk‘ut‘k‘, Honk‘ and other tribes and filled the rocky plain with the bodies of the dead until blood swelled up and flowed overwhelmingly like a river, and the number of the dead was beyond count. And they drove the surviving few before them all the way to the country of the Bałasčik‘ and brought the head of the great king Sanēsan before the king of Armenia. But when he saw it, he began to weep and said: “He was my brother from the clan of the Aršakuni.” Then the king came to the battlefield together with the great chief-bishop of Armenia, and they saw the massacre of the slaughtered host, for the earth was putrid with the stench of the dead. Then they commanded that irregular levies be raised from the country and [the dead] be covered over with a mound of stones, lest the land be polluted by the putrid stench of the bones of the dead. And so the land rested in peace for many years, and in this way the murder of St. Grigoris was avenged on King Sanēsan and his host, for none of them survived, not a one.

VI.002/C. V 7, War of Šāpur II against the “K‘ušan”

C. 369 CE.

Այլ յայնմ ժամանակի ղեռ տակաւին եւս կայր կենդանի Արշակ արքայ Հայոց յերկրին իշխանութեանն թագաւորութեանն Պարսից ի կողմանս խուժաստանի յԱնդմըշն բերդին. այս ինքն որ անուն Անյուշն բերդն կոչեն: Եւ զայնու ժամանակաւ խաղաղացաւ պատերազմ տալ Պարսից ընդ Հայս. զի արշակունին թագաւորն Քուշանաց, որ նստէր ի Բաղխ քաղաքի, նա յարոյց տալ պատերազմ ընդ սասանականին Շապհոյ թագաւորին Պարսից: Եւ Շապուհ թագաւորն զամենայն զզօրսն Պարսից գումարեալ խաղացոյց տալ պատերազմ ընդ նմա, եւ զորս միանգամ ածեալ էր գերութիւն յերկրէն Հայոց զամենայն այրեւձի գումարեալ՝ խաղացոյց ընդ ինքեան. եւ զներքինին անգամ թագաւորին Հայոց Արշակայ տանէր ընդ ինքեան ի գործ պատերազմին:

Եւ էր ներքինի մի Հայոց թագաւորին Արշակայ, ոստիկան հաւատարիմ լեալ, ներքինի սիրելի մեծի իշխանութեան եւ մեծի պատուի, եւ անուն Դրաստամատն: Իսկ իբրեւ եղեւ պատերազմ ընդ թագաւորին Քուշանաց եւ ընդ թագաւորին Պարսից, չարաչար տարածէին զզօրսն Պարսից զօրքն Քուշանաց, եւ զբազումս կոտորեցին ի զօրացն Պարսից զօրքն Քուշանաց, եւ զբազումս ձերբակալ արարին, եւ զկէս փախստականս հալածական առնէին:

Now at that time Aršak king of Armenia was still alive in the land under the dominion of the king of Persia, in the region of Xužastan, in the fortress of Andməš, that is the one called the castle of Anyuš. And about that time, the war between the Persians and the Armenians calmed down because the Aršakuni king of the K‘ušan, who resided in the city of Balx, had stirred up war against Šapuh, the Sasanian king of Persia. And so, king Šapuh mustered the entire Persian army and marched forth to wage war from the land of Armenia and took it along with him, and he likewise carried with himself to war the eunuch of Aršak king of Armenia. For the Armenian

king Aršak had a eunuch, a favorite eunuch named Drastamat, a loyal *ostikan*, much honored and with great authority. Now when the war broke out between the king of the K‘ušan and the king of Persia, the K‘ušan army pressed the Persian forces exceedingly. It killed many of them, took many prisoners, and drove part of them into flight.

VI.002/D. V 37, War of Šāpur II against the “K‘ušan”

C. 375 CE.

Քանզի զայն ժամանակաւ թագաւորին Պարսից սասանականին տուեալ էր պատերազմ ընդ մեծ թագաւորին Քուշանաց ընդ արշակունւոյն, որ նստէր ի Բաղհ քաղաքին: Եւ իբրեւ երթային զօրքն Պարսից ի Քուշանացն պատերազմն, ապա եւ զմարդիկ գերութեանն որ ի Հայոց էին թագաւորին Պարսից՝ յղէր ի պատերազմ ընդ իւր զօրսն. եւ Մանուէլս այս երթայր ընդ նոսա հանդերձ եղբարբն իւրով Կոմսիւ: Եւ իբրեւ եղեն խառնուրդք երկոցունց գնդացն ընդ միմեանս, ապա ի պարտութիւն մետնեցան զօրքն Պարսից յերեսաց զօրացն Քուշանաց. դարձան ի փախուստ անհնարին հարուածովք, հասին ի վերայ զօրացն Պարսից. զի ոչ մի ի նոցանէն ոչ ապրեցուցանէին ի զօրացն Պարսից. բանբեր անգամ ոչ ապրէր. բայց Մանուէլ որդի Արտաշինայ ի մամիկոնեան ի տոհմէն, հանդերձ եղբարբն իւրով Կոմսիւ, բազում քաջութիւնս կատարեալ ի նմին ճակատուն, սակայն հետիոտս ապրէին: Եւ զային յամենայն զօրացն Պարսից սոքա միայն հասանէին առ թագաւորն Պարսից ողջ ապրեալք, եւ բազում քաջութիւնս կատարեալ:

For at that time, the Sasanian king of Persia had been waging war against the great Aršakuni king of the K‘ušan, who held the city of Balx. And when the Persians went to war against the K‘ušan, the king of Persia sent forth these men whom he had brought captive from Armenia together with his own forces. And so, this Manuēl went with his brother Koms. And when the two contingents clashed together in combat, the Persian army suffered defeat at the hands of the forces of the K‘ušan and turned to flight from frightful blows. [The K‘ušan] caught up with the Persian army and did not leave a single one from the Persian forces alive; no one survived to bring the news. But Manuēl son of Artašēn from the Mamikonean house, together with his brother Koms, performed many deeds of valor in this battle, though they survived on foot. And of all the Persian army only these two reached the Persian king, having survived safe and sound and performed many deeds of valor.

VI.003. Ełišē, *History of Vardan and the Armenian war*

Second half of the 5th century. Text from Ter-Minasyan (1957); translation from Thomson (1982).

VI.003/A. War of Yazdegerd against the Huns

442 to 449 CE.

Ասեն մոգքն. «Արքայ քաջ, աստուածքն ետուն քեզ զտէրութիւնդ եւ զյաղթութիւն. եւ ոչ ինչ կարաւտ են նոքա մարմնաւոր մեծութեան, բայց եթէ ի մի աւրէնս դարձուցանես զամենայն ազգս եւ ազինս, որ են ի տէրութեան քում. յայնժամ եւ աշխարհն Յունաց հնազանդեալ մտցէ ընդ աւրինաւք քովք: Արդ զմի բան զմեր վաղվաղակի կատարեա դու, արքայ. զաւր գումարեա եւ գունդ կազմեա. խաղա գնա դու յերկիրն Քուշանաց. եւ զամենայն ազգս հաւաքեա եւ անցո ըստ Պահ դուռն ի ներքս. եւ դու անդէն արա քեզ բնակութիւն : Յորժամ արգելուս եւ փակես զամենեսեան ի հեռաւոր աւտարութեան, կատարին խորհուրդք կամաց քոց. եւ որպէս երեւիս մեզ ի դենիս մերում, տիրես դու եւ երկրին Քուշանաց, եւ Յոյնք իսկ ոչ ելանեն ընդ քո իշխանութիւնդ : Բայց միայն զաղանդ քրիստոնէից բարձ ի միջոյ»:

The Magi said: “Valiant King, the gods have given you your empire and victory: they have no need of human honor; but if you convert to one religion all the nations and races in your empire, then the land of the Greeks will also obediently submit to your rule. But do you, king, immediately fulfil one counsel of ours. Raise an army and gather a force; march to the land of the K‘ušan; assemble all nations and bring them through the Pass, and there make your dwelling. When you detain and enclose them all in a distant foreign land the plans of your desire will be fulfilled; and as it seems to us in our religion, you will rule over the land of the K‘ušan, and the Greeks will not venture forth against your power —on condition you exterminate the sect of the Christians.”

ի վաստակ արքունի, առաւելապէս եւս ուրախ լինէր առաջի մեծամեծացն եւ ամենայն բազմութեան զաւրաց իւրոց: Ի վերին երեսս թաքուցանէր զկամս մտաց իւրոց, եւ ակամայ առատապէս պարգեւէր զնոսա: Խաղաց գնաց միանգամայն ի վերայ տէրութեան Հոնաց աշխարհին, զոր Քուշանս անուանեն. եւ զերկեամ մի կռուեալ՝ ոչ ինչ կարաց ազդել նոցա: Ապա արձակեաց զմարզիկսն յիւրաքանչիւր տեղիս, եւ զայլս փոխանակ նոցա առ իւր կոչեաց նովին պատրաստութեամբ: Եւ այսպէս ամ յամէ սովորութիւն կարգեաց, եւ իւր անդէն քաղաք բնակութեան շինեաց, սկսեալ ի չորրորդ ամէ տէրութեանն իւրոյ մինչեւ յամն մետասաներորդ թագաւորութեանն:

Եւ իբրեւ ետես, եթէ հաստատուն կացին Հոռոմք յուխտին իւրեանց, զոր եդին ընդ նմա, եւ դադարեցին Խայլնդուրք ելանել ընդ պահակն Ճորայ, եւ յամենայն կողմանց խաղաղութեամբ բնակեաց աշխարհ նորա, եւ ի նեղ եւս էարկ զթագաւորն Հոնաց, քանզի աւերեաց զբազում գաւառս նորա եւ յաջողեցաւ տէրութիւն նորա, աւետաւորս առաքեաց ընդ ամենայն ատրուշանս աշխարհին իւրոյ. ցլուք սպիտակաւք եւ գիսաւոր նոխազաւք առատացոյց զզոհս կրակի, եւ խիտ առ խիտ թանձրացոյց անդուլութեամբ զպաշտաւն պղծութեան իւրոյ. պսակաւք եւ պատուովք մեծարեաց զբազումս ի մոգաց եւ զբազմագոյնս ի մոգպետաց: Ետ եւս հրաման

յափշտակել զամենայն ինչս քրիստոնէից եւ զստացուածս, որք էին ի մէջ Պարսկաց աշխարհին:

When the king saw this whole muster, and the numerous troops of the several nations which had cheerfully hastened to his service, he manifested his joy thereat before the nobles and all the host of his army. Outwardly he hid the desires of his mind, and unwillingly bestowed lavish presents on them. He marched immediately against the kingdom of the Honk‘, whom they call K‘ušan, but after fighting two years he was unable to make any impression on them. Then he dispatched the warriors to each one’s place, and summoned to his presence others in their stead with the same equipage. And thus he established the habit from year to year and built there for himself a city to dwell in, beginning from the fourth year up to the eleventh.

When the he saw that the Romans remained firm in their pact which they had with him, that the Xailndurk had ceased to cross the pass of the Čor, and that in every region his empire lived in peace, and that he had put the king of the Honk‘ into even greater straits since he had ruined most of his provinces and had prevailed over his rule, when he sent messengers throughout all the fire-temples of his land, he increased the sacrifices of fire with white bulls and hairy goats, and he assiduously multiplied his impure cult. He honoured many of the magi and the greatest of the chief-magi with crowns and distinctions. He gave a further command that all the goods and possessions of the Christians in Persia should be seized.

Իսկ չարասէր մոգպետն հանդերձ մեծ հազարապետաւն շնչեաց չարախաւսութիւն, եւ բորբոքեաց զթագաւորն իբրեւ զհուր անշիջանելի: Եւ սկսաւ կրճտել զատամունսն իբրեւ զաւրհասական վիրաւոր. եւ յայտ յանդիման ձայն արձակեաց առ մեծ հրապարակն եւ ասէ. «Գիտեմ ես զչարութիւն բազմութեան մարդկանս, որ թերահաւատեն ի մերոց աւրինացս, եւ զկնի կախարդութեան մոլորեալ են անդարձութեամբ : Եւ իմ եղեալ է ի մտի, թէ ոչ ումեք թողացուցից ի մեծամեծ հարուածոցն, մինչեւ ակամայ ի բաց կացցեն յայնպիսի վրիպական աւրինաց. եթէ ոք կարի ի մերձաւորաց իցէ, զնոյն անցս եւ ընդ նա անցուցից»:

Յայնժամ ծերն դառնացեալ բանս ի ներքս ընկէց, եւ ասէ ցթագաւորն. «Առ ի՞նչ է քո այդ մեծ տրտմութիւնդ. զի եթէ կայսր չելանէ ըստ քո հրաման, եւ Հոնք կան քեզ ի ծառայութեան, ո՞ր մարդ է յերկրի, եթէ կարող է ընդդէմ դառնալ քում հրամանիդ: Տիրաբար հրաման տուր ի ներքս, եւ ամենայն որ ինչ եւ ասես՝ վաղվաղակի կատարի»:

Եւ անդէն թագաւորն ի ներքս կոչեցեալ զդպրապետն, հրամայէր գրել հրովարտակ. եւ ոչ եւս ըստ սովորութեանն, այլ բանս զայրագինս իբր առ ատելիս եւ անպիտանս, չյիշելով ամենեւին զմեծամեծ վաստակս տիրասէր մարդկանն. այլ միայն կոչոյ հրաման տուեալ յականէ յանուանէ զարս, զոր ինքն ճանաչէր, որոց անուանքն են այս:
Ի տոհմէն Սիւնեաց ՎԱՍԱԿ անուն:
Ի տոհմէն Արծրունեաց ՆԵՐՇԱՊՈՒՀ անուն:
Ի տոհմէն Ռշտունեաց ԱՐՏԱԿ անուն:
Ի տոհմէն Խորխոռունեաց ԳԱԴԵՇՈՅ անուն:
Ի տոհմէն Մամիկոնէից ՎԱՐԴԱՆ անուն:
Ի տոհմէն Մոկաց ԱՐՏԱԿ անուն :

Ի տոհմէն Ապահունեաց ՄԱՆԷՃ անուն:
Ի տոհմէն Ամատունեաց ՎԱՀԱՆ անուն:
Ի տոհմէն Վահեւունեաց ԳԻՒՏ անուն:
Ի տոհմէն Անձեւացեաց ՇՄԱՒՈՆ անուն:

Զայս նախարարքս յականէ յանուանէ կոչեցին ի դուռն արքունի, եւ կէսքն առ նմա իսկ էին ի կարաւանին, եւ այլքն ի կողմանց հիւսիսոյ ի Հոնաց պահակին. թողեալ էր զոմանս ի նախարարացն անդէն յաշխարհին Հայոց:

But the malicious chief-magus with the great *hazarapet* breathed calumny, and inflamed the king like an inextinguishable fire. He began to gnash his teeth like one fatally wounded. In public he raised his voice in the great assembly and said: "I know the wickedness of the many men who do not believe in our religion and have gone irrevocably astray after sorcery. I have decided that I shall not exempt anyone from the worst tortures until they, though unwillingly, abandon such an erroneous religion. Even if someone is among those very close to me I shall inflict the same on him".

Then the embittered old man interposed and said to the king: "What is the reason for this great dejection of yours? For if the emperor does not transgress your command and the Honk' remain subject to you, what man is there on earth who could oppose your order? Give an imperial command within and whatever you say will be carried out immediately"

Then the king summoned the chief-scribe and commanded him to write an edict—not in the usual fashion but in angry terms as if to hateful and vile people, not at all recalling the great services of these loyal men but merely summoning by name the men whom he knew personally. Their names were:

Vasak, from the house of Siwnik'
Ner šapuh, from the house of the Arcrunik'
Artak, from the house of the Ṙštunik'
Gadešoy, from the house of the Xoṙxorunik'
Vardan, from the house of the Mamikonean
Artak, from the house of Mokk'
Manēč, from the house of the Apahunik'
Vahan, from the house of the Amatunik'
Giwt, from the house of the Vahevunik'
Šmavon, from the house of the Anjevac'ik'

These princes were summoned by name to the royal court. Some of them were already by him in the army, others were in the garrison of the Honk' in the north, and some of the princes he had left in Armenia.

VI.003/B. The Armenians attack the Albanians

C. 450 CE.

Եւ բազումք ի նախարարացն Աղուանից եւ յամենայն շինականացն, որք վասն անուանն Աստուծոյ ցրուեալ եւ վատնեալ էին յամուրս լերանց Կապկոհի, իբրեւ տեսին զաջողութիւն գործոյն, զոր կատարէր Աստուած ի ձեռն զնդին Հայոց, գային ժողովէին եւ նոքա, եւ խառնէին ի զաւրս նոցա, եւ միաբանք եւ հաւասարք կցորդք լինէին գործոյն նահատակութեան: Խաղային գնային այնուհետեւ ի վերայ պահակին Հոնաց, զոր ունէին բռնութեամբ Պարսիկքն. առնուին քանդէին զպահակն, եւ կոտորէին զզաւրսն, որ ի ներքս բնակեալ էին, եւ զդուռնն տային ի ձեռն Վահանայ, որ էր յազգէ թագաւորացն Աղուանից: Եւ յայսր ամենայն քաջութեան վերայ ոչ ոք անկեալ վիրաւորեցաւ ամենեւին ի նոցանէ, բայց ի միոյ երանելւոյ, որ կատարեցաւ նահատակութեամբ ի մեծ պատերազմին:

Եւ անդէն ի նմին տեղւոջ զայրն՝ որում զդուռնն յանձն արարին՝ զնոյն դեսպան արձակեցին յաշխարհն Հոնաց, եւ ի բազում յայլ ազգս բարբարոսաց, որ համագործք էին Հոնաց աշխարհին, բանս ղնել ընդ նոսա եւ ուխտ հաստատել՝ անքակութեամբ ունել զմիաբանութիւնն : Իսկ նոքա իբրեւ զայն ամենայն լուան, փութապէս վաղվաղակի հասանէին ի տեղին, եւ ականատեսք լինէին գործոյն յաղթութեան : Եւ ոչ ինչ յապաղեցին երդմամբ յուխտ մտանել ըստ կարգի իւրեանց աւրինաց, յանձն առին եւ զերդումն քրիստոնէից՝ պահել ընդ նոսա հաստատութեամբ զմիաբանութիւն:

Many of the Albanian nobles and of the general peasantry for the sake of God's name had scattered and spread out among the fortresses of the Caucasus Mountains; when they saw the success of the enterprise which God had effected through the Armenian army, they too assembled and joined their forces. Together and in concert they shared in the heroic task. Then, they marched against the pass of the Honk', which the Persians were holding in force. They captured and destroyed the fortifications, slaughtered the troops quartered inside, and made over the pass to Vahan, who was from the royal family of the Ałuank'. During all these brave exploits not a single one of them fell wounded, save one blessed man who died like a hero in the great battle.

Then the man to whom they had entrusted the pass they sent as ambassador to the land of the Honk' and to many other barbarian nations who were allied with the Honk' in order to come to an understanding with them and make a pact that the alliance would be kept indissoluble. When these [nations] heard all that had occurred, they immediately rushed to the spot and saw with their own eyes the victory that had been won. They did not hesitate to enter into a pact with an oath in accordance with the ritual of their own religion; they also took a Christian oath to keep a firm alliance with them.

VI.003/C. The situation before the Persian begin to counterattack the Armenians

C. 450 CE.

> Եւ ըստ մեծի չարութեան նորա առաւել եւս ժամանակն եբեր նմա զյաջողութիւն իրացն. զի ամենեւին արտաքուստ աւգնական ոք ոչ գտաւ զնդին Հայոց, բաց յայնց Հոնաց, որոց բանս եդեալ էր :
>
> Circumstances so far favoured his extraordinarily base proceedings, that the Armenians were deprived of all foreign and external aid, with the exception of the Honk‘, with whom they still continued in friendly relation.

VI.003/D. The Battle of Avarayr

451 CE.

> Յետ այսորիկ իբրեւ ետես զաւրավար զնդին Պարսից, եթէ հատան պատգամաւորքն ի միջոյ խաբել զնոսա, եւ բարձաւ յոյս ակնկալութեան իւրոյ ցրուել զնոսա յանքակ միաբանութենէն, յայնմ ժամանակի յառաջ կոչէր զանաւրէնն Վասակ եւ զամենայն ուրացեալ իշխանսն, որ էին ընդ նմա յաշխարհէն Հայոց. հարցանէր զնոսա, եւ ուսանէր ի նոցանէ զհնարագիտութիւն յաղթութեան. [...] Նշանս բաշխէր, դրաւշս արձակէր, եւ ի ձայն մեծի փողոյն պատրաստ հրամայէր լինել : Իսկ զգունդն զԱպարհացի, եւ զԿատշացն եւ զՀոնաց եւ զԳեղաց, եւ զայլս եւս ամենայն զընտիր ընտիր մարդիկ զաւրուն ի մի վայր ժողովէր, եւ հրաման պատուիրանի տայր ընդ աջմէ կողմանէ իւրոյ զնդին պատրաստ լինել ընդդէմ Հայոց զաւրավարին:
>
> After this, when the general of the Persian army saw that there were no messengers left to deceive them and that his expectation and hope of separating them from the indissoluble union had failed, then he summoned the impious Vasak and all the apostate nobles from Armenia who were with him. He questioned them to discover what means of victory there might be […] He distributed the banners, unfurled flags, and ordered them to be ready at the sound of the great trumpet. The contingents of the Aparhac‘ik‘, the Katišk‘, the Honk‘, and the Gełk‘, and all the rest of the army’s elite he assembled in one place, and commanded the force on his right-hand side to be ready to oppose the Armenian general.

VI.003/E. Warfare after the battle of Avarayr

451 CE.

> Նա եւ որ յԱրձախայ մայրիսն անկեալքն էին փախստականք, ոչ ինչ լռեալ դադարեցին խաղաղութեամբ. այլ հանապազ յղէին յաշխարհն Հոնաց, շարժէին եւ յորդորէին զգունդն Հոնաց, եւ յիշեցուցանէին նոցա զուխտն, զոր եդեալ էր ընդ Հայս եւ անսուտ երդմամբ հաստատեալ: Հաճոյ թուէր բազմաց ի նոցանէ լսել զբանսն քաղցրութեամբ:

Nor did those who had fled for refuge to the forests of Arčax remain quiet and peaceful, but they continually sent to the land of the Honk‘, urging and exhorting the army of the Honk‘ and reminding them of the pact which they had made with Armenia and confirmed with a solemn oath.

Եւ զՄուշկան Նիսալաւուրտ հանդերձ ամենայն մնացեալ զաւրուն գումարէր յաշխարհն Աղուանից եւ Լփնաց եւ Ճղբաց եւ ի Հեճմատակաց եւ ի Թաւասպարաց եւ ի Խիբիովան, եւ յամենայն ամրական, զորս աւերեալ էր գնդին Հոնաց վասն ուխտին Հայոց:

He dispatched Muškan Nisalawurt, with all the surviving troops to the land of the Ałuank‘ and Lp‘ink‘and Čiłbk‘, and to Hečmatakk‘ and T‘awaspark‘ and Xibiovan, and to all the fortresses which the army of the Honk‘ had destroyed because of their pact with the Armenians.

VI.003/F. Inquiry at the Persian court against Vasak of Siwnik‘

Եւ մինչդեռ այս ամենայն ամբաստանութիւն զնմանէ էր զայնչափ բազում աւուրս, յառաջ մատեան եւ իւր ազգականքն, որ եւս յառաջագոյն դատախազ լեալ էին զնմանէ առաջի արքային, սկսան կարգաւ ցուցանել եւ յայտ առնել, որպէս զի բարեկամացեալ էր նա ընդ Հեռանայ Հոնի միաբանութեամբ Բաղասական արքային, ի ժամանակին ՝ զի կոտորեաց Հեռանն այն զզաւրսն Պարսից յԱղուանս, եւ ասպատակաւ եհաս յերկիրն Յունաց, եւ բազում գերի եւ աւար խաղացոյց ի Հոռոմոց եւ ի Հայոց եւ ի Վրաց եւ յԱղուանից. որպէս զի ի վերայ իսկ եհաս խորհրդոցն ինքն իսկ թագաւորն, եւ սպան զԲաղասական արքայ:

While all these accusations against him were being repeated for so many days, his own relatives—who had also earlier denounced him before the king—came forward. They began to expound and reveal in order how he had made friends with Heŕan the Hon in concert with the king of Bałas; this was at the time that Heŕan had slaughtered the Persian troops in Albania and had raided the land of the Greeks, carrying off many prisoners and much plunder from the Greeks, Armenians, Georgians, and Albanians. [They also indicated] how the king himself had learned of his intentions and had slain the king of Bałas.

VI.004. Łazar P‘arpec‘i

Last quarter of the 5th century, beginning of the 6th century CE. Text from Tēr-Mkrtč‘ean and Malxasean (1904); translation from Thomson (1991).

VI.004/A. §83, Letter of Vasak, lord of Siwnik‘, to Aršawir Kamsarakan

Mentioned by Aršawir Kamsarakan in his speech to Yazdegerd and the Persian nobles, *c.* 450 CE.

եւ ես մինչ Վրաց մարզպանն էի եւ դուռն Աղուանից յիմում ձեռին էր՝ բազում զաւրագլուխք Հոնաց ընդ իս բարեկամացան ուխտիւ եւ երդմամբ, եւ այսաւր նովին երդմամբ երթեւեկեն առ իս. եւ հարկքս ամենայն աշխարհիս Հայոց առ իս են, եւ գործակալք ամենայն յիմում ձեռին են, եւ այլ եւս բազում կարասի, զոր ի պարսիկ գործակալացն հանի՝ որ աստ ի Հայս էին, ի յիմում

> գանձի կայ. յորմէ թէ զմի մասն Հոնաց տամ տանել՝ անտի ա՛յնչափ սաստիկ հանեմ Հոնս, որչափ զի հողն Պարսից չբաւիցէ նոցա յաւարի»:
>
> […] while I was *marzpan* of Georgia and controlled the pass of Albania, many Hunnish generals became friends with me by pacts and oaths, and today under the same pact visit me frequently. The tribute of all Armenia is under my control, and all the agents are in my hand. And there is much money, taken from the Persian agents who were in Armenia, that is in my treasury. If I have part of this sent to the Huns, I shall bring over such a vast number of them that the land of Persia would not suffice the for booty.

VI.004/B. §119, Speech by Vahan Mamikonean to the council of Armenian princes

C. 482 CE.

> բայց վասն Հոնաց ո՞ գիտաց, հաւանի՞ն գալ թէ ոչ, որք չենն ի միջի եւ չերեւին:[…] Եւ լուեալ զայս ամենայն բանս նախարարացն Հայոց ի Մամիկոնենէն Վահանայ՝ ետուն պատասխանի միաբանութեամբ եւ ա սեն, թէ «Զամենայն զոր ասացերդ՝ լի ասացեր, որպէս վայել է քում իմաստութեանդ. ճշմարիտ ասացեր եւ արդար. բայց զյոյս՝ մեր ոչ ի Հոռոմս եղեալ է եւ ոչ ի Հոնս… »
>
> "But as for the Huns, who knows if they will agree to come or not. They are not present, nor they are visible. […]" When the Armenian princes heard this speech from Vahan Mamikonean, they replied in unison, saying: "Everything you have said, you have said fully as befits your wisdom. You have spoken truly and rightly. Yet we have placed our hope neither in the Romans nor in the Huns…"

VI.004/C. §121, Letter by some "apostate" Armenian princes to the Persian *marzpan* of Armenia

C. 483 CE.

> «Թագաւորն Վրաց ապստամբեալ է եւ Հոն կամի հանել, բայց հանեալ չեւ եւս է. եւ դարձեալ՝ Հայոց առ կայսր զգնդէ յղեալ է… »
>
> "The king of Georgia has revolted and wishes to raise the Huns, but he has not yet done so…"

VI.004/D. §126; 132: 133, The alliance between the Armenians and the Georgian king

C. 484 CE.

> Եւ դեսպան ստիպով առ թագաւորն Վրաց Վախթանգ առնէին, տալ նոցա Հոն ըստ բանի խոստմանցն իւրոց: Եւ նա ժամավաճառ բանիւք երկայնէր զասացեալսն իւր. եւ ապա ուստեք ժողովէր Հոնս երեք հարիւր եւ առաքէր ի Հայս. եւ չեւ եւս անցեալ ամիս մի ի ձմերանոյն՝ փոյթ պատճառաղրութեամբ անդրէն առ ինքն կոչէր:
>
> Եւ նամակ ունէր գրեալ ի Վախթանգայ խաբէու թեամբ, թէ «Հոն գնդի հրաման ետու գալ, եւ չեւ եւս հասին. բայց մինչ դուք գայք՝ հասանեն, եւ այնուհետեւ դուք եւ մեք եւ Հոնք զնոսա

կորուսանեմք: 6 Բայց թուի ինձ, թէ յորժամ Հոն հասանէ, մեզ բնաւ եւ աշխատել ինչ ոչ հասանէ. նոքա իսկ վճարեն զգործն. զի անչափ բազմութեան հրաման ետու գալ»:

Եւ հասեալ ի վաղիւն ի տեղի պատերազմին՝ խաւսէր եւ յայն ժամու արքայն Վրաց ընդ զաւրավարին Հայոց Վահանայ եւ ընդ այլ աւագ տանուտեարս եւ ընդ սեպուհս Հայոց եւ ա սէ. «Լաւ եղեւ մեզ կռուելս այսաւր ընդ զաւրս Պարսից. քանզի մեք իսկ բաւական եմք սոցա, եւ չկարեն կալ առաջի. բայց թէ այսաւր եւս հեղգացեալ էր մեր՝ գալոց էին Հոնք եւ զանուն յաղթութեանն եւ զաւգուտ աւարիս նոքա տանելոց էին»: Եւ մինչեւ ցայն ժամ եւս յերկարեալ խաբէր պատիր բանիւք:

They quickly despatched a messenger to Vaxt‘ang, king of Georgia, asking him to give them Huns [in support] in accordance with their promises. But he delayed fulfilling his agreement with procrastinating excuses. Eventually, from somewhere he assembled three hundred Huns and sent them to Armenia.

[…] a message arrived from the king of Georgia, Vaxt‘ang: “A strong army has invaded Georgia and I see that I am unable to resist. Having withdrawn to the monasteries of Armenia near the Georgian border, I shall wait for you.” He also carried a letter written by Vaxt‘ang in misleading terms: “I have commanded an army of Huns to come, but they have not yet arrived. However, while you are in your own way they will come, and then you, we and the Huns will destroy them. It seems that when the Huns arrive we shall have no hard work to do. They will complete the task, for I have ordered an infinite number of them to come.”

When they had arrived on the battlefield the next morning, then the Georgian king spoke with the Armenian general Vahan and with the other greater and lesser Armenian nobles, saying: “It is good for us to fight the Persian army today, for we are superior to them and they will be unable to resist. But if we had delayed also for today, the Huns would have arrived, and they would have appropriated the honour of victory and the best part of our booty.” Even until then he was procrastinating and deceiving them with false words.

VI.004/E. §154, News of the battle of Herat

484 CE.

Եւ զայս ամենայն զմտաւ ածեալ այսպէս Շապհոյ՝ չուէր վաղիւն ի գաւառն Բասենոյ, եւ եկեալ ի գիւղն, զոր Ալուարն կոչեն: Եւ մինչդեռ տարակուսեալ տանջէին խորհուրդք զնա յերկիւղէ զաւրավարին Հայոց Վահանայ Մամիկոնենի՝ եկեալ հասանէր յանկարծակի դեսպան ի Պարսից, ունելով զոյժ չարաչար եւ նամականի բազում անողջոյն, զոր գրէր առ Շապուհ ի Պարսից աւագորերոյ, եւ յայլ իւրաքանչիւր ազգականաց եւ սիրելեաց, որք յանթիւ սաստիկ կոտորածէ Հեփթաղին զերծեալք էին:

With such thoughts in his mind, Šapuh [Persian commander] set out the next morning for the province of Basean, and reached the village called Aluar. While his spirits were distressed and tormented by fear of the Armenian general Vahan Mamikonean, there suddenly arrived a messenger from Persia with grievous news and many distressing letters written to Šapuh by the

> Persian nobles and by other relatives and friends who had escaped from the overpowering and crushing defeat by the Hephthalites.

VI.004/F. §166, Speech of the Persian official Nixor to Vahan Mamikonean

Nixor blames the vanity of the late Peroz (*c.* 485).

> կորոյս զինքն եւ զամենայն Արեաց աշխարհի զոյժ եւ զզաւրութիւն, եւ զթագաւորութիւն մի մեծ եւ զազատ ի ծառայութիւն ետ Հեփթաղին. յորմէ ի դառն ծառայութենէ, մինչ կենդանի է Արեաց աշխարհն՝ զերծանել ոչ կարէ:
>
> "[…] he destroyed himself and the entire power and strength of the Aryan empire. He delivered a great and free kingdom to subjection to the Hephthalites; from that bitter servitude the land of the Aryans can never escape as long as it survives."

VI.005. Movsēs Dasxuranc'i or Kałankatuac'i

History of the Caucasian Albanians. 10th century CE. Text from Hakobyan (n. d.); translation from Dowsett (1961).

VI.005/A. I. 10, War between Peroz and Vač'ē, the king of the Albanians

> Իսկ արքայն Աղուանից ոչ կամեցաւ նուաճիլ անդրէն ՛ի ծառայութիւն նորա. այլ խրամատեաց զպահակն Չորայ, էանց յայնկոյս եւ անցոյց զզօրսն Մասքութաց, միաբանեաց ընդ իւր եւ զմետասան թագաւորս զլեառորդեայս, ընդդէմ եկաց պատերազմաւ Արեաց գնդին […] Եւ իբրեւ գիտացին, եթէ ոչ բռնութիւն եւ ոչ սէր կարէ ածել զնա ՛ի հաւանս՝ զանձ սաստիկ ետուն տանել յաշխարհն Խայլանդրաց եւ բացին զԴրունս Ալանաց եւ հանին գունդ բազում ՛ի Հոնաց եւ կռուեցան ամ մի ընդ Աղուանից արքային: Եւ թէպէտ պակասեցան եւ ցրուեցան զօրք նորա, սակայն զնա ոչ կարացին ածել ՛ի հաւանս:
>
> The king of Albania, however, had no desire to submit to him as a vassal, but threw open the gates of Čolay and led in the forces **of the Mazk'ut'k'**; he allied himself to the eleven mountain kings, opposed the Aryan army in battle and inflicted great losses upon the royal forces […] When they knew that neither force nor persuasion could win him over, they sent a mighty amount of treasure to the land of the Xaylandurk', opened the Alan Gates, **and bringing in a large force of Huns**, battled for a whole year against the king of Albania.

VI.005/B. I. 19, Discovery of the relics of St. Zacharias

> Զայս նշանագործութիւն Յունան Հոնաց եպիսկոպոսապետ՝ որ ՛ի Մազկթաց աշխարհէն էր եւ յոյժ ճշմարտախօս, որ ինքն իսկ ականատես եղեալ՝ պատմեաց:
>
> This miracle was related by Yunan, archbishop of the Honk', who came from the country of the Mazk'ut'k'.

VI.005/C. I. 29, Invasion of Albania, Armenia and Georgia by the Northerners

Ընդ այն ժամանակս թագաւորն Ռոսմոսոքեան իւրովք զօրօք եւ Թոբելական գնդիւն գումարեալ ժողովեաց զամենայն զօրս Հոնաց եւ էանց յայսկոյս Կուրական գետոյն, տարածեալ յՈւտէացւոց գաւառն, եւ ածեալ նստուցանէր զղակիշ իւր մերձ ՛ի Խաղխաղ քաղաք: Եւ անդէն արս երիս ընտրեալ զօրաւորս՝ ոստիկանս առնէր ՛ի վերայ գնդին մեծի, եւ բովանդակեալ գումարէր ՛ի ձեռս նոցա զմետասան զօրացն բազմութիւն. հրամայէր երիս առաջս առնել եւ ասպատակել ՛ի վերայ աշխարհին Աղուանից, Հայոց եւ Վրաց: Իսկ երրորդ մասն զօրուն հասեալ ՛ի մուտս զատկին յԱրցախական գաւառն տայր ասպատակ ՛ի վերայ Մեծ Կուենից: Զայն հէն համբաւու լուեալ Չղախկան գնդին երուսաղեմեան՝ զահի հարեալ մեծաւ երկիւղիւ աճապարեալ ՛ի յն հասեալ օրհասականն այն գոյժակոիչ աղմուկ նման ցօղացայտ անձրեւի տարածեալ անճողոպրելի տարակուսանքըն, դիմեալ որպէս ալիք ծովու նախահաս յԱստեղն լինէր բլուր. նոցա անկասկած լինելով իրացն յեղակարծ ժամու դիմէին անխնայ խոցոտման սրոյ առհասարակ. զսպասս ոսկւոյ եւ արծաթոյ աւար առեալ ցիրեւցան ընդ բլուրն Վիժան ճապաղէին. եւ զմնացեալսն գերի առեալ ՛ի տեղւոջն բակարգել առնէին:

At that time the king of Ṙosmosok‘ together with his army and the Tubal regiment assembled all the forces of the Honk‘, crossed to this side of the river Kur, spread into the province of Uti, and encamped near the town of Xałxal. Choosing three strong men, he appointed them leaders of the great force and entrusted the whole of the eleven armies to them. He commanded them to divide into three groups and to attack the lands of Albania, Armenia and Georgia. The third group of the army reached the province of Arc‘ax at the beginning of Easter and fell upon Mec Kueank‘. Learning of this attack, the Č‘lax group from Jerusalem was greatly afraid, and hastily gathering all the relics together, they placed them in two silver caskets and hid them in the ground. Immediately afterwards, death-bringing pandemonium, mingled with cries of lamentation and spreading hopeless despair, descended like a torrent of rain; it advanced like the waves of the sea, and swiftly arrived at Asteł Blur, where all were taken unawares and mercilessly put to the sword. The gold and silver ornaments were plundered, and the holy relics scattered over the hill. The invaders took the survivors prisoners and detained them there.

VI.005/D. I. 30, The martyrdom of general Theophilus

The great general of the Tubal army believes in Christ; his martyrdom, and that of his army, his children and the clergy at the hands of his king in the land of Albania.

Հաւատալն մեծի զօրավարին Թոբելեան ՛ի Քրիստոս, թէ նա է Աստուած, եւ նահատակիլ նորա զօրօքն եւ որդւովքն եւ քահանայական դասուքն յիւրմէ թագաւորէն յաշխարհիս Աղուանից:

՛Ի հասանել ճշմարտութեանն լուսոյ ՛ի սիրտ աստուածարեալ իշխանին Թէոփիլոսի՝ ՛ի բաց արձակել զմարդագերիսն հրամայէր եւ ինքն չուեալ զայգոյ Զատկին՝ հանդերձ քահանայիւքն սրբովք եւ այլ բազում հաւատացելովք խաղայր գնայր Ագեստրոսեան գնդաւն: Եւ երթեալ հասեալ յՈւտի գաւառն՝ իջեալ բանակէին առ ափն Կուրական գետոյն մերձ ՛ի նաւահանգիստն Զոմաքտակ կամրջին. եւ ինքն իսկ մեծ թագաւորն Ռոսմոսոքեան դարձեալ լինէր ամենայն

զօրօքն իւրովք ասպատակեալ բազմահոյլ գերութեամբն եւ մեծամեծ աւարօքն անցեալ զԿուրական գետովն ՛ի յարեւելից կուսէ բանակէր յայնկոյս յանդիման նոցա: Յայնժամ հրաման տայր դիւցազնն մոլորութեամբ ձօնել նուէրս զոհից մեհեանազարդ խնճոյիւք չաստուածոց իւրոց: [...] Յայնժամ չուեալ նոցա ընդ կողմանս հարաւոյ՝ երթեալ հասանէին ՛ի բարձրաբերձ կատարս լերինն մեծի, որ պարունակեալ շրջագայի զբազմաւորական գաւառս աշխարհին: Ապա ՛ի հրամանէ անողորմ թագաւորին գունդք գունդք հատանէին եւ զկնի լինէին նոցա զօրքն Հոնաց. եւ հասեալ առ նոսա ՛ի գլուխ լերինն՝ ջանային բազում ողոքանօք դարձուցանել զնոսա յերկրպագութիւն կռոցն եւ ՛ի հնազանդութիւն թագաւորին: Եւ ոչ կարացեալ հնազանդեցուցանել զնոսա՝ հարկանէին սրով սուսերի ՛ի նմին տեղւոջն: Այսպէս կատարեալ նոցա զընթացս՝ սուրբն Մովսէս երջանիկ եղբարբն եւ ամենայն Ագիստրատեան զնդիւն, եւ ընկալեալք ՛ի Քրիստոսէ զմարտիրոսական պսակն՝ փայլին անաղօտ փայլմամբ ՛ի ծագաց հիւսիսոյ, յափըշտակող եղեալք անմահ առագաստին ընդ ամենայն սուրբս:

After the light of truth had entered the heart of the godly prince Theophilus, he ordered the prisoners to be released, and on Easter morning he set out with his priests and many other believers and the Agiostratosean army, arrived in the province of Uti, dismounted, and encamped near the quay of the pontoon bridge on the banks of the river Kur. The great king of Ṙosmosok‘ returned with his armies after his raids with great droves of prisoners and immense booty, and crossing the Kur from the east, camped opposite them. In his idolatrous error, he ordered sacrifices to be made to his gods in sacred feasts.

[General Theophilus and his army offer gifts to God. The king is outraged and summons Theophilus, who pleads for Christianity. The king, outraged, orders to put Theophilus and his soldiers to a painful death, who flee before the king.]

They fled south and came to a very high peak of a great mountain which overlooks the numerous provinces of the country. Band after band was dispatched at the command of the merciless king, and the forces of the Honk‘ pursued and overtook them on the summit of the mountain, where they attempted with many entreaties to reconvert them to idol-worship and obedience to the king. When they were unable to persuade them, they put them to the sword.

VI.005/E. II. 1, Duel of Babik, the fourth son of Andok of Siwik‘, and the Hun Honagur

Եւ նորին որդին Բաբիկ փափագեալ ՛ի հող հայրենի՝ երթայ գնայ ՛ի դուռն Շապհոյ արքային Պարսից եւ անդ ումեմն ՛ի զօրականացն պատահեալ՝ զետեղի, եւ բազում արութիւնս յՈլոմպիաթս Պարսից ցուցանէ՝ ոչ ոք գիտելով զնա: Յայնժամ ելեալ Հոնն ՛ի Հոնաց՝ Հոնագուր անուն, յղեալ առ Շապուհ ասէր. “Ձի՞ է հեղումն արեանցս, եկ մարտնչեսցուք դու եւ ես”: Եւ ինքն Հոնն վառեալ էր յիսնանիւթից զրահիւք — բարձր եւ լայն հասակաւ, բեւեռապինդ սաղաւարտաւ զահագին գլուխն եւ զերեքթզեան ճակատն պղնձի տախտակաւ յօրինեալ, զանհեղհեղ գեղարդն ՛ի բարձրամայր փայտից, եւ զսուսերն բոցանշան ունելով, ահաբեկ զտեսողսն առնէր: Աստուստ յայտնի անուն Բաբկայ առաջի արքային, թէ գործդ այդ նովաւ վճարի:

His fourth son Babik, however, longed for his native soil—for our own provinces are as dear to us as those who gave us birth—and went to the court of Šapuh, king of Persia, where, after meeting one of the soldiers, he himself was made [a soldier]. He performed great feats of bravery in the Persian Olympics, but no one recognized him. Then from [the land of] the Honk‘ a Hun arose called Honagur, who, having plundered the kingdom of Persia, sent to king Šapuh and said: “Why all this bloodshed? Come, you and I shall fight it out.” Now this same Hun had clad his tall, broad body in coats of mail fifty layers thick, and covered his monstrous head with a studded helmet and his forehead, which was three spans wide, with a slab of copper; grasping his gigantic lance made from a tall forest tree and his gleaming sword, he terrified all who saw him. It was then Babik’s name that was proposed to the king as one who might fight the duel…

VI.006. Movsēs Xorenac‘i, *Patmut‘iwn Hayoc‘* (*History of Armenia*)

Second half of the 5th century CE (text partly rewritten around the 8th century). Text from Abełean and Yarut‘iwnean (1991); translation from Thomson (2006).

VI.006/A. II. 65, About king Vałarš, son of Tigran

The chronology, as usual, is blurred.

Սա թագաւորեալ ամս քսան, մեռաւ, յաղագս բարի անուանն քան զթուլագոյնս ի թագաւորացն: Վասն զի ի սորա աւուրս միաբանեալ ամբոխութիւն հիւսիսականաց, **զԽաղրաց ասեմ եւ զԲասլաց**, արտաքս քան զդուռն Ճորայ ելանեն, առաջնորդ եւ թագաւոր ունելով ինքեանց **զՎնասեպ ոմն Սուրհապ**. որք անցեալ վտարին այսր զկուր գետով: Որոց պատահեալ Վաղարշ ամբոխիւ մեծաւ արամբք մարտկօք՝ ցիր դիաթաւալ կացուցանէ զամբոխն ընդ երեսս դաշտին, եւ ձիգ զհետ եղեալ՝ անցանէ ընդ կապանն Ճորայ: Ուր Միւսանգամ միաբանեալ թշնամեացն յօրինեցին ճակատ. զորս թէպէտ եւ վանեալ քաջացն Հայոց՝ փախստականս առնէին, սակայն Վաղարշ մեռանի ի ձեռաց կորովեաց աղեղնաւորաց:

Having ruled for twenty years he died. Although others simply lived, yet I say that he lives on even after his death on account of his repute, which is greater than that of lazier kings. For in his days the hosts of the northern peoples united, **I mean the Xałark‘ and Basilk‘**, and passing through the Čor gate under the leadership of their king, a certain **Vnasep Surhap**; they emigrated and crossed to this side of the River Kur. Vałarš opposed them with a great force of warlike soldiers and scattered their host as corpses over the plain. Pursuing them for a long distance, he pushed them back through the Čor pass. There once again the enemy united and drew up their battle line; and although the valiant Armenians routed them and put them into flight, yet Vałarš died at the hands of their expert archers.

VI.006/B. II. 85, War of king Trdat in Armenia, when he slew the king of the Basilk‘

Beginning of the 4th century CE. An abridgement of this chapter may be found in Movsēs Dasxuranc‘i 1.12.

> Իսկ զօրացն ամենայնի տեսեալ զթագաւորն իւրեանց եւ զզօրաւորն միջակտուր յայնպիսի ահաւոր բազկէ լեալ՝ ի փախուստ դառնային.զորոց զհետ մտեալ Տրդատ, վարէ մինչեւ **յաշխարհն Հոնաց**:
>
> The whole army, seeing their king and general cut in half by such a fearsome arm, turned in flight. Trdat, in pursuit, chased them as far as the land of the **Honk‘ [Huns].**

VI.006/C. II. 86

About Nunē, the Georgian Nino. She preached beginning from Kłarjk‘ to the gates of the Alans and the Caspians, as far as the borders of the Mazk‘ut‘k‘ (Massagetae), as Agat‘angełos informs.

VI.006/D. III. 60, The preaching of saint Mesro

First quarter of the 5th century CE.

> […] ինքն եկեալ յԱյրարատ՝ անցանէ յառաջնոյ բնակութեան գաւառն Գողթն:
>
> Քանզի մնացեալ արմատ դառնութեան հեթանոսական աղանդոյն ի ժամանակի անիշխանութեանն ի վեր երեւեալ՝ ի բազումս տարածեցաւ. զորս բնաբարձ արարեալ երանելւոյն հանդերձ օգնականութեամբ հօրաբարոյին Գտայ որդւոյ Շաբիթայ, իշխանի գաւառին, տեղեկանայր եւս, եթէ չարեացն վարդապետք նախագոյնք ի Բաղասականն են կողմանս: Ուր երթեալ զբազումս յուղղութիւն ածէ, եւ զսակաւսն անդարձս **յիշխանութիւն Հոնաց հալածականս առնէ**:
>
> […] while he himself went to Ayrarat and crossed into the province of Gołt‘n, his earlier dwelling place.
>
> There remained the bitter root of the heathen sect that had reappeared in the time of anarchy and had spread among many people. Having completely exterminated these people with the help of Jiut, worthy son of his father Šabit‘, prince of the province, the blessed one learned that the original teachers of this wickedness were in the regions of Balas. Going there, he brought many to orthodoxy, and the few recalcitrant ones **he expelled to the empire of the Honk‘ [Huns].**

VI.007. Sebēos

Seventh century CE. Text from Abgaryan (1979); translation from Thomson, Howard-Johnston and Greenwood (1999).

VI.007/A. §8, Vahan Mamikonean, Peroz and Kawat

Vahan's rebellion against Peroz. Death of Peroz and reign of Kawat. Vahan is appointed *marzpan* of Armenia.

> Եւ եղեւ յամս Պերոզի արքայի Պարսից բարձումն ամենայն իշխանութեանցն եւ կարգաց եւ աւրինաց քրիստոնէութեան, եւ այնպիսի վտանգ նեղութեան հալածանաց եւ քամահանաց ի վերայ հասեալ իշխանաց, մինչ զի ի բաց ընկեցին յինքեանց զլուծն ծառայութեան: Եւ ապստամբեալ Մամիկոնեանն Վահան՝ հալածեաց զՊարսիկս եւ բռնաբարայն գրաւեաց զիշխանութիւնն:
>
> Յայնժամ արձակէ ի վերայ նորա Պերոզ արքայ՝ Հոնաց զաւր յոյժ: Եւ հրաման տայ խիստ սաստիւ՝ սպանանել զապստամբն, եւ հարկանել զամենայն արու սրով սուսերի: Ընդդէմ սորա աճապարեալ Վահան սպարապետ Լ հազարաւ ընտիր վառելոց, կարգին գունդ առ գունդ եւ ճակատ առ ճակատ, եւ յարձակին ի միմեանս ի ձայն փողոյ տագնապաւ ի դաշտին Գերանայ:
>
> Անդ յաւգնութիւն հասեալ աստուածեան Բանն, հողմն սաստկացուցեալ զմրրիկ փոշւոյն՝ զզաւրաւքն. Պարսից հեղոյր, իբրեւ զմութ խաւարի զնոսա պատէր ի միջաւրեայ ժամանակի: Սաստիկ կոտորած լինէր երկոցունց կողմանցն, եւ ոչ գոյր ընտրել զդի անկելոցն, ո՛չ զպարսիկ եւ ո՛չ զհայ զաւրական: Բայց սակայն զաւրացեալ զաւրն Հայոց վանեցին անդ կոտորածով զզաւրն Պարսից, եւ զմնացեալսն փախստական արարեալ հալածական տանէին. եւ դարձան յաղթութեամբ մեծաւ:
>
> Այս Վահան ժողովեաց եւ զհարկս աշխարհիս Հայոց եւ շինեաց զեկեղեցիս մեծամեծս, զոր աւերեալ էր Պարսից ի Վաղարշապատ քաղաքի եւ ի Դվնի եւ ի Մզրայս եւ ի բազում տեղիս աշխարհիս Հայոց: Եւ շինեալ զերկիրս նորոգեաց վերստին:
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> Իսկ Պերոզի արքային Պարսից, թէպէտ եւ կամեցաւ վերստին զաւրս գումարել ի վերայ աշխարհիս Հայոց, ո՛չ եղեւ նմա պարապ. զի համբաւք թշնամեացն ստիպէին զնա ի կողմանցն Քուշանաց եւ յայնմ մարզէ. զի ինքն իսկ արքայն Քուշանաց խաղացեալ գայր ի վերայ նորա զաւրու մեծաւ:
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> Եւ նորա գումարեալ զաւրս իւր՝ գնաց ընդդէմ նորա տագնապաւ մեծաւ: Ասէ. «Երթայց նախ առաջին զնա վանեցից, եւ ապա պարապաւ դարձեալ գնացից ի Հայս, եւ մի՛ խնայեսցէ սուր իմ ի նոսա, յարս եւ ի կանայսն:»
>
> Եւ ինքն անցեալ փութանակի եհաս ընդդէմ թշնամւոյն յարեւելս. եւ եղեւ պատերազմն սաստիկ. հարին եւ կործանեցին զբազմութիւն զաւրացն Պարսից, մինչեւ ո՛չ մնաց ի նոցանէն ապրեալ եւ փախստական: Եւ մեռաւ Պերոզ արքայ ի պատերազմին հանդերձ եւթանեքումբք որդւովքն:
>
> Եւ ապա յայնժամ թագաւորեաց Կաւատ որդի նորա ի վերայ աշխարհին Պարսից: Եւ զի բեկեալ էր զաւրութիւն բազմութեանն զաւրաց իւրոց, ո՛չ ընդ ումեք կամեցաւ ունել գործ պատերազմի, այլ արար խաղաղութիւն յամենայն կողմանց. առնէ եւ ընդ Հայոց հաշտութիւն, եւ կոչէ զՎահան ի դուռն, եւ մեծարէ զնա մեծապէս պատուով: Եւ տայ նմա զմարզպանութիւն աշխարհին եւ զՄամիկոնեաց տէրութիւն…

In the years of Peroz king of Persia there took place a suppression of all the privileges and rituals and usages of Christianity. Such severe tribulation of persecution and contempt assailed the princes, that they cast off from themselves the yoke of servitude. The Mamikonean Vahan rebelled, expelled the Persians, and seized power by force.

Then king Peroz sent against him a large army of Huns. He gave them strict orders to kill the rebel, and to put all males to the sword. The *sparapet* Vahan made haste to oppose him with 30,000 elite armed men. They were drawn up contingent facing contingent and line facing line. And they promptly attacked each other at the sound of the trumpet on the plain of Geran. Then the divine Word came to their assistance. The wind created an intense storm of dust around the armies and poured it onto the Persians, surrounding them as with thick darkness at noontime. A dreadful slaughter occurred on both sides, and one could not distinguish the corpses of the fallen—neither Persian nor Armenian soldier. However, the Armenian army gained strength and defeated the Persian army with a massacre. After pursuing the fleeing survivors, they returned totally victorious.

This Vahan also collected the tribute of Armenia and restored the great churches which the Persians had ruined in the city of Vałaršapat and in Dvin and in Mzrayk‘, and in many places in Armenia. And he renewed again the prosperity of the land.

Now although Peroz the Persian king wished to gather another army to attack Armenia, yet he did not have an opportunity; for news of the enemy gave him no respite in the area of the K‘ušans and that frontier, since the king of the K‘ušans himself was marching against him with a large army.

Then, gathering his troops, he went to oppose him in great haste. He said: “I shall first go and defeat him; and then at my leisure I shall return to Armenia. Let my sword not spare them, men or women.” Marching rapidly he arrived to confront the enemy in the east. There was a terrible battle. They defeated and destroyed the host of the Persian army, so not a single one of them escaped or fled. King Peroz also died in the battle with his seven sons.

Then his son Kawat reigned over the land of Persia. Because the power of his numerous army had been broken, he did not wish to engage in war with anyone, but made peace on all sides. He also made a treaty with the Armenians, summoned Vahan to court, and greatly honoured him. He bestowed on him the office of *marzpan* of the country and the principality of the Mamikoneans.

VI.007/B. §9, Persian *marzpans* and generals who came to Armenia after Vardan

Եւ արդ՝ այս են զաւրավարք արքային Պարսից, որ եկին մի ըստ միոջէ յերկիրս Հայոց՝ յապստամբութենէ Վարդանայ Մամիկոնէից տեառն որդւոյն Վասակայ, մինչեւ ցայսաւր ժամանակի: [...] Ապա եկն եւ Գողոնն Միհրանն Ի հազարաւ զաւրաց սպառազինաց եւ փղաւք բազմաւք, եւ ունէր նա ընդ ինքեան սատարս բազումս ի ճամբարէ անթիւ ազգացն, որ

> բնակեալն են ընդ լեռնակողմամբն Կովկասու ազգք Հոնաց, եւ հրաման յարքայէն՝ զի անճետս արասցեն զարս ի յաշխարհէն Հայոց, խլել, բրել, յատակել եւ անխնայ յերկիր կործանել։
>
> Now these are the generals of the Persian king who came one after the other to this land of Armenia: from the rebellion of Vardan lord of the Mamikoneans, son of Vasak, down to the present time […] Then came Gołon Mihran with 20,000 fully armed troops and many elephants. He had with him many auxiliaries from the forces of the innumerable races who dwell along the mountainous Caucasus [the races of the Huns] and also a command from the king to extirpate the men from the country of Armenia.

VI.007/C. §16, Treasure seized from a Persian auditor

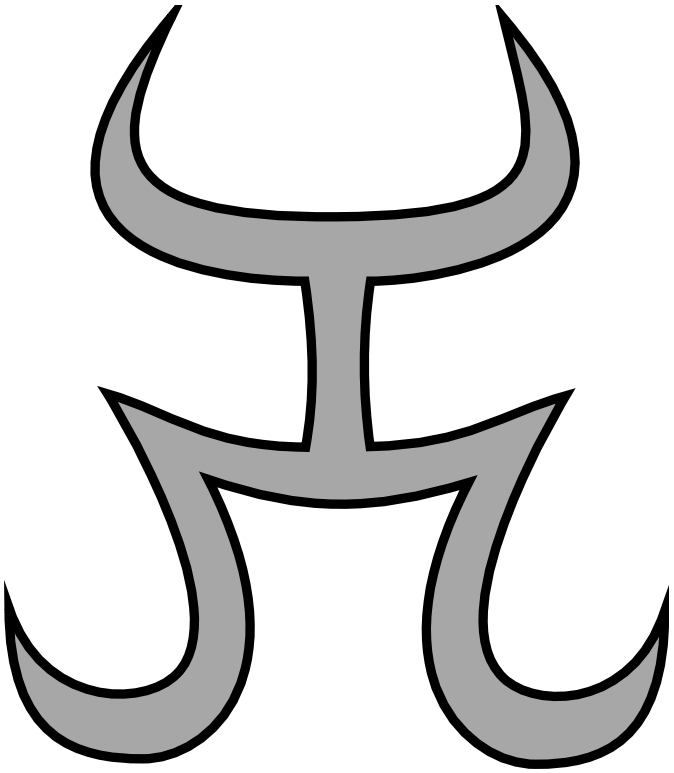
The auditor comes with a great treasure to attract the Armenian princes from the Greek sector. The princes seize the treasure. The unity of the two kings against the robbers. Reconciliation; some of the princes go to the Persians, and others to the Greeks. 594–595 CE.

> Արդ՝ իբրեւ տեսանէր թագաւորն Պարսից զմարդկան փախուստ ի կայսերէն՝ արձակոյր ի Հայս զՎասպուրականն համարակարն հանդերձ զանձու բազմաւ եւ մեծամեծ պատուովք. զի այնպէս նուաճեալ ածցէ զնոսա ի ծառայութիւն իւր. եւ գնայր համարակարն ի Հայս, եւ ընդ նմա գանձ ուղտուք բազմաւք։
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> Եւ մինչ Սամուէլ Վահեւունի հանդերձ այլովք ընկերաւք իւրեանց գնացին ընդդէմ նորա եւ պատահեալ նմա ի սահմանս Ատրպատական աշխարհին՝ հանին զգանձն, եւ համարակարին զարեւն պարգեւ շնորհեցին։ Եւ էին այսոքիկ. Ատատ Խորխոռունի, Սամուէլ Վահեւունի եւ Մամակ Մամիկոնեան, Ստեփանոս Սիւնի եւ Կոտիտ Ամատունեաց տէր եւ Թէոդորոս Տրպատունի, եւ հեծեալք իբրեւ երկու հազարք։ Եւ զայս եղեալ ի մտի՝ եթէ գանձուդ այդուիկ զՀոնս մե՛ր արասցուք. եւ առեալ ի նոցանէ աւգնականութիւն՝ պատերազմեսցուք ընդ երկոսին թագաւորսդ, եւ բռնութեամբ զերկիրդ մեր ի մեզ դարձուսցուք։ Եւ հասեալ ի Նախճաւան քաղաք՝ քակտեցան խորհուրդք միաբանութեան. ո՛չ հաւատալով միմեանց ի բաց բաժանեցին զգանձն, եւ բանակեցան եւ նստան ի շամբին, որ կոչի Ճահուկ։ [...]Սկսան նոքա քակտել եւ բաժանել ի միմեանց. ի բաց եկաց ի սոցանէ Մամակն Մամիկոնեան եւ Կոտիտն Ամատունեաց տէրն եւ Ստեփանոս եւ այլք եւս ընդ նոսա, զանձինս անվնաս ցուցանելով համարակարին՝ նուաճեցին զզաւրս իւրեանց ի ծառայութիւն արքային Պարսից։ Իսկ Ատատն Խորխոռունի եւ Սամուէլն Վահեւունի զաւրաւքն իւրեանց փախստական գնացին ընդ քաղաքագեղն կոչեցեալ Սաւդայ, հասանէին յաշխարհն Աղուանից, ի Հոնս ղէմս արարեալ, եւ անցեալ ընդ գետովն որ կոչի Կուր՝ բանակէին առ գետեզերբն։
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> Հասեալ եւ սոքա յափն գետոյն՝ բանակէին աստի կողմանէ։ Եւ իբրեւ ոչ կարացին նոքա վստահանալ ի ճամբարս Հոնաց, յայնժամ ապա երդումն խնդրեալ ի թագաւորէն Յունաց, եւ գնացին ի ծառայութիւն նորա։Գնացին ոմանք առ համարակարն, եւ դարձան անդրէն յերկիրն իւրեանց։ Եւ ժողովեալ համարակարին զամենայն իշխանս եւ զզաւրս Հայոց, որ ի Պարսից կողմանէ՝

Now when the king of Persia saw the flight of these men from the emperor, he sent to Armenia the auditor of Vaspurakan with much treasure and many honours, so that in this way he might subject them to his own service. The auditor went to Armenia accompanied by the treasure on many camels. When Samuēl Vahewuni with other companions of his went to meet him and encountered him on the borders of the land of Atrpatakan, they seized the treasure but spared the auditor's life. They were the following: Atat Xorxorxuni, Samuēl Vahewuni and Mamak Mamikonean, Step'anos Siwni, and Kotit, lord of the Amatunik', and T'ēodoros Trpatuni, and about two thousand cavalry. They had reckoned that: **"With this treasure we shall make the Huns ours**. Receiving support from them, we shall wage war against both kings, and by force restore our own land to us." But when they reached the city of Naxč'awan, their plans of unity dissolved. Not trusting each other, they divided out the treasure and encamped at the fen called Čahuk. […] They began to waver and to split apart from each other. Mamak Mamikonean, Kotit, lord of the Amatunik', and Step'anos and still others in their company abandoned them. Declaring themselves innocent to the auditor, they submitted their forces to the authority of the king of Persia. But Atat Xorxorxuni and Samuēl Vahewuni fled with their own troops. Passing through the village called Sawdk', they reached the land of the Ałuank' and made for the Huns. After crossing the river called Kur, they camped on its bank. The others also reached the edge of the river and camped on the near side. Since they were unable to rely on the forces of the Huns, they then sought an oath from the king of the Greeks and submitted to him. Some went to the auditor and returned to their own land. The auditor assembled all the Armenian princes and soldiers who were from the Persian sector.

VII. Syriac Sources

Mark Dickens with contributions by Christelle Jullien



VII.001. *Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*

Edited by Martin (1876) with a French translation, Wright (1882) with an English translation Chabot (1927) with a Latin translation. German translation by Luther (1997), English translation by Harrak (1999) and by Trombley and Watt (2000), with partial translation and commentary in Greatrex and Lieu (2002, 59, 60). Joshua the Stylite's account of interactions between the Persians, Romans (Byzantines) and Huns (Hephthalites) is extremely valuable for its extensive and detailed descriptions of the events involving the Huns during the reigns of Pērōz, Balāš, Kawād and Zāmāsp. Written during the reign of Kawād, Joshua's *Chronicle* presumably includes contemporary eyewitness accounts of the events experienced by Syriac Christians caught between the Romans and Persians during times of war. The text is preserved in a single manuscript at the Vatican (Vat. sir. 162). The *Chronicle* of (pseudo-)Joshua was composed after 507 CE and is preserved in the *Chronicle* of pseudo-Dionysius of Tellmaḥrē, commonly referred to now as the *Zuqnin Chronicle* (*c.* 775 CE).

VII.001/A. 8–11

Text in Wright (1882, 9–11) and Chabot (1927, 242–44); translation from Trombley & Watt (2000, 8–11).

[8]ܘܥܠ ܕܐܦ ܒܝܢ ܪܘܡܝܐ ܘܦܪܣ̈ܝܐ ܐܬܬܟܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܕܐܢ ܒܥܘ ܐܢܫ̈ܐ ܡܢ ܥܡ̈ܡ̈ܐ ܐܚܪ̈ܢ̈ܐ ܕܢܗܘܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܥܒ̈ܕ̈ܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ ܥܡ ܬܠܬ ܡ̈ܐܐ ܓܒ̈ܪ̈ܐ ܒܙܝܢ̈ܗܘܢ ܘܣܘܣ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܐܘ ܬܠܬ ܡ̈ܐܐ ܣܛܝܪ̈ܐ ܠܟܠ ܓܒܪܐ ܘܓܒܪܐ ܠܦܘܪܩܢ̈ܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܒܝܕ ܡܢ ܕܒܥܐ ܗܘ ܠܡܫܕܪ̈ܐ ܕܢܫܕܪ̈ܘܢ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܒܥܐ ܗܘ ܠܡܩܒܠ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܠܐ

the Romans], but because he could provoke them [to pay], on the grounds that it was on their behalf that he was fighting his battles. "[Support me] so that [the Huns] may not cross over into your territory," he said, and the devastation and enslavement they had inflicted on the Romans in 707 [= 395/6 CE] was proof of his point: at the time of the emperors Honorius and Arcadius, the sons of Theodosius the Great, all Syria had fallen into their hands through the deceitful action of Rufinus the *hyparch* and the weakness of [Addai] the *stratelates*.

[10]ܒܗ ܕܡܗܝܬܝܗ ܡܗܦܟܢܐ ܗܘ ܒܪ ܦܝܪܘܙ ܥܠ ܗܘܢ ܕܦܠ ܟܘܫ ܕܗܘܐ ܒܝܕ ܗܘ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܘܐܦ ܥܠ ܐܝܬ ܐܚܪ̈ܢ ܕܒܬܘܟ ܐܪ̈ܥܗ ܕܗܘ ܡܬܚܙܐ ܠܗ ܕܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܓܢܙܐ ܕܡܠܟ̈ܐ ܡܫܕܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ

himself into the sea, or hid in a cleft in the ground only to perish from hunger, or in a forest only to be devoured by wild animals.

VII.001/B. 18–19

Text in Wright (1882, 15–16) and Chabot (1927, 247–48); translation from Trombley & Watt (2000, 16–17).

[18] ܕܐܡ ܒܒܥܝ ܕܐܫܬܟܚ ܠܗ ܗܠܟܢ ܒܐܘܪܡ ܠܗ ܀ ܒܝܬܟܢ ܠܗ ܟܝ ܐܬܐ ܡܢ ܡܕܒܪܐ ܕܐ ܒܫܒܝܐ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܟܡ ܀ ..ܕܒܥܝܢ ܐܢܐ ܒܟ ܟܕ ܐܡܪ ܡܟܝܢ ܐ. ܡܢ ܕܐܫܬܟܚ ܐܝܟ ܒܟ ܒܒܪ ܐܢܐ ܕܐ ܒܫܒܝܐ

about the change in the Roman empire, he ordered him to go up with diligence and demand the customary gold, or say to the emperor [if it was not forthcoming] that he would declare war.

VII.001/C. 23–24

Text in Wright (1882, 18–19) and Chabot (1927, 250–51); English translation from Trombley & Watt (2000, 21–22).

[23] ܒܪ̈ܝ̈ܫ̈ܐ ܕ̈ܦ̈ܪ̈ܣ̈ܝ̈ܐ ܒ̈ܣ̈ܗ̈ܕ̈ܘ̈ ܥ̈ܠ ܩ̈ܛ̈ܠ ܩ̈ܒ̈ܕ̈ ܠ̈ܡ̈ܢ ܕ̈ܥ̈ܠ ܒ̈ܝ̈ܫ̈ܬ̈ܗ ܘ̈ܥ̈ܠ ܕ̈ܢ̈ܡ̈ܘ̈ܣ̈ܗ ܕ̈ܫ̈ܩ̈ܪ̈ܐ ܒ̈ܗ ܐ̈ܠ̈ܐ ܕ̈ܒ̈ܟ̈ܕ̈ ܐ̈ܬ̈ܓ̈ܠ̈ܝ̈ ܠ̈ܗ ܘ̈ܫ̈ܒ̈ܩ̈ ܡ̈ܠ̈ܟ̈ܘ̈ܬ̈ܗ ܘ̈ܥ̈ܡ̈ ܕ̈ܗ̈ܘ̈ ܥ̈ܡ̈ ܕ̈ܡ̈ܠ̈ܟ̈ܐ ܕ̈ܥ̈ܡ̈ ܕ̈ܗ̈ܘ̈ ܐ̈ܙ̈ܠ̈ ܒ̈ܨ̈ܒ̈ܝ̈ ܗ̈ܘ̈ ܒ̈ܝ̈ܬ̈ ܠ̈ܗ ܕ̈ܡ̈ܢ

VII.001/D. 48

Text in Wright (1882, 44–45) and Chabot (1927, 274); English translation from Trombley & Watt (2000, 50–51).

[48] ܗܘ ܕܝܘܡܐ ܕܒܗ ܐܬܚܙܝ ܗܘ ܢܘܪܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܦܪܣ ܩܒܕ ܒܪ ܦܝܪܘܙ ܟܢܫ ܟܠ ܚܝܠ ܦܪܣ ܘܣܠܩ ܒܣܛܪܐ ܕܨܦܘܢܐ ܥܒܪ ܠܬܚܘܡ ܪܘܡ ܥܡ ܚܝܠ ܗܘܢܐ ܕܥܡܗ ܗܘ ܐܬܐ ܘܣܡܟ ܥܠ ܬܐܘܕܘܣܝܘܦܘܠܝܣ ܕܒܐܪܡܢܝܐ ܘܫܩܠܗ ܒܝܘܡܝܢ ܩܠܝܠܐ ܡܛܠ ܕܗܘ ܫܠܝܛܐ ܕܗܝ ܕܐܬܪܗ ܩܣܛܢܛܝܢ ܗܘ ܫܡܗ ܐܬܚܠܦ ܥܠ ܪܘܡܝܐ ܘܫܠܡ ܠܗ ܠܗ ܒܗ ܡܛܠ ܕܒܥܝܢ ܗܘ ܒܠܒܗ ܥܠ ܩܣܪ ܗܘ ܒܗ ܡܛܠ ܗܕܐ ܫܒܩ ܠܗ ܟܐܘܕ ܘܫܒܐ ܠܗ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܚܪܒܗ ܘܐܘܪ ܠܗ ܒܢܝܪ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܪܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܚܪܒ ܘܐܬܩܛܠ ܒܗ ܟܠ ܥܡ ܦܪܣ ܕܗܘ ܥܡܗ ܘܐܬܚܪܒ ܘܐܬܩܛܠ ܒܗ ܟܠ ܥܡ ܦܪܣ ܕܗܘ ܥܡܗ

[48] Now on the very day on which that fire appeared, the king of the Persians, Kawād son of Pērōz, gathered the whole army of the Persians and, coming up by the northern [route], crossed the Roman border with the army of Huns which he had with him. He laid siege to Theodosiopolis in Armenia and took it in a few days, for the governor of that place, whose name was Constantine, turned against the Romans and surrendered it, because of some hostility he harboured against the emperor. Kawād therefore plundered the city, and destroyed and burnt it.

VII.001/E. 51

Text in Wright (1882, 47–48) and Chabot (1927, 277–78); English translation from Trombley & Watt (2000, 56–57).

ܟܕ ܥܠ ܠܠܝܐ ܐܬܐ ܐܘܠܝܡܦܝܘܣ[i] ܦܩܕ ܕܢܘܪܐ ܒܪܫ ܬܠܐ ܘܢܦܚ ܒܩܪܢܐ ܕܢܟܢܫ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܐܬܦܪܫܘ ܐܠܐ ܟܕ ܡܛܘ ܐܢܫܝ ܡܪܙܒܢ ܕܦܪܣ ܒܟܦܪ ܬܠ ܒܫܡܝ ܚܙܘ ܢܘܪܐ ܕܢܘܪܐ ܘܫܡܥܘ ܩܠ ܩܪܢܐ ܕܢܟܢܫ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܐܬܦܪܫܘ ܥܒܕܘ ܟܠ ܚܝܠ ܗܘܢܐ ܕܥܡܗ ܘܐܬܩܛܠ ܥܠ ܗܘ ܐܢܫ ܦܪܣ ܕܗܘ ܥܡܗ ܘܐܬܚܪܒ ܘܐܬܩܛܠ ܒܗ ܟܠ ܥܡ

VII.001/F. 55

Text in Wright (1882, 52–53) and Chabot (1927, 281–82); English translation from Trombley & Watt (2000, 66–67).

ܟܕ ܚܙܐ ܟܘܕ ܕܥܡ̈ܗ ܕܐܪܝܘܒܝܢܕܘܣ ܙܥܘܪ̈ܝܢ ܗܘ̈ܘ ܫܕܪ ܠܘܬ ܥܡ̈ܗ ܒܣܓܪܐ ܓܒܪ̈ܐ ܥܣܪ̈ܝܢ ܐܠܦ̈ ܦܪܣ̈ܝܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܪܝܘܒܝܢܕܘܣ ܗܘ ܪܕܦ ܒܗܘܢ ܥܕ ܕܐܬܕܚܩܘ ܠܬܪܥ̈ܐ ܕܢܨܝܒܝܣ ܘܒܬܪ̈ܥܐ ܕܢܨܝܒܝܣ ܐܬܚܢܩܘ ܒܗ ܣܓ̈ܝ̈ܐ ܕܗܪ̈ܒܝ̈ܢ ܒܬܪ̈ܥܐ ܕܢܨܝܒܝܣ ܒܕ ܥܠ ܒܬܪ ܕܥܠ ܒܥܘ ܠܡܥܠ ܒܗ ܘܒܬܪ ܗܕܐ ܒܝܪܚ ܬܡ̈ܘܙ ܐܬܟܢܫ ܗܘ̈ܘ ܦܪܣ̈ܝܐ ܘܗܘ̈ܘ ܗܘܢ̈ܐ ܘܬܝܝܥ̈ܐ ܥܡ̈ ܩܣܛܢܛܝܢ ܠܡܗܠܟ ܥܠ ܗܘ̈ܘ ܕܥܡ̈ܗ ܐܠܐ ܐܪܝܘܒܝܢܕܘܣ ܟܕ ܝܕܥ ܡܢ ܗܕܐ ܡܢ ܓܫ̈ܫ̈ܘ̈ܗܝ ܫܕܪ ܠܘܬ ܩܠܝܘܦܝܘܣ ܐܠܦ̈ܐ ܠܘܬ ܦܛܪ̈ܝܩܝܘܣ ܘܠܘܬ ܗܝܦܛܝܘܣ ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘ̈ܢ ܬܘ̈ܒܘ ܠܘܬܝ ܘܗܒ̈ܘ ܠܝ ܥܘܕܪ̈ܢܐ ܕܣܓ̈ܝ̈ܐ ܐܬܐ ܥܠ̈ܝ̈ܢ ܐܠܐ ܗ̈ܢܘܢ ܠܐ ܫܡ̈ܥ̈ܘ ܘܩܝ̈ܡ̈ܘ ܒܬܪ̈ܥ̈ܝ̈ܗܘܢ ܒܐܡܝܕ ܟܕ ܐܬܬܩܦ̈ ܥܠ̈ܝ̈ܗܘܢ ܦܪܣ̈ܝܐ ܠܐ ܝܟ̈ܠ̈ܘ ܠܡܩܘܡ ܥܠ̈ܝ̈ܗܘܢ ܐܠܐ ܫܒ̈ܩ̈ܘ ܘܐܙܠ̈ܘ ܠܬܠ̈ܐ ܘܠܐܕܣܐ ܘܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܐܬܪ̈ܘ ܠܗ ܐܬܒ̈ܙ̈ܘ ܐܬܪ̈ܟ̈ܘ ܘܐܙܠ̈ܘ

When Kawād saw that Areobindus's troops were few, he sent against them the army which was with him in Singara, [which consisted of] twenty thousand Persians. Areobindus, however, repeatedly chased them off until they were pushed back to the gate of Nisibis, while many of those fleeing in the rout were suffocated at the gate as they pushed to get in. During July, however, the Huns and Tayyaye joined the Persians to move against [Areobindus] under the leadership of Constantine. When [Areobindus] learnt of this from [his] scouts, he sent Calliopius the Aleppine to Patricius and Hypatius, saying, "Come here and give me your help, for a large force is about to attack us." They paid no attention, however, but remained in their positions at Amid. When the Persians attacked Areobindus's troops, they were unable to withstand them, but abandoned their camp and fled to Tella and Edessa. All their baggage was plundered and carried away.

VII.001/G. 57

Text in Wright (1882, 54–55) and Chabot (1927, 283); English translation from Trombley & Watt (2000, 69–70).

ܟܠ ܚܝܠ ܦܪܣ̈ܝܐ ܘܗܘ̈ܘ ܗܘܢ̈ܐ ܘܩܕܝܫ̈ܝܐ ܘܐܪܡܢ̈ܝܐ ܫܒ̈ܩ̈ܘ ܘܐܬܟܢܫ̈ܘ ܒܬܪ̈ܝܬ̈ܐ ܒܝܪ̈ܚܐ ܕܐܓܣܛܘܣ ܘܣܠ̈ܩ̈ܘ ܥܕ ܐܦܕܢܐ ܘܫܡ̈ܥ̈ܘ ܓܘ̈ܕ̈ܐ ܕܦܛܪ̈ܝܩܝܘܣ ܘܣܠ̈ܩ̈ܘ ܠܡܬܩܠ ܥܠ̈ܝ̈ܗܘܢ ܐܠܐ ܟܕ ܗ̈ܘ ܪܘ̈ܡ̈ܝܐ ܥܕ̈ܝ̈ܢ ܒܡܫܟ̈ܐ ܘܠܐ ܥܪ̈ܟ̈ܘ ܥܕ ܗ̈ܫ ܩܪ̈ܒ̈ܐ ܐܬܬܩܦ̈ ܦܪܣ̈ܝܐ ܥܠ ܩܕܡ̈ܝ̈ܐ ܘܡ̈ܚ̈ܘ ܒܗܘ̈ܢ ܕܐܬܚܒ̈ܠ̈ܘ ܗ̈ܢܘܢ ܕܐܬܚܒ̈ܠ̈ܘ ܐܙܠ̈ܘ ܠܐܚܘ̈ܪ̈ܝ ܘܫܪ̈ܝ̈ܘ ܠܡܩܘܡ ܩܪ̈ܒ̈ܐ ܘܟܕ ܚܙ̈ܘ ܪܘ̈ܡ̈ܝܐ ܕܐܬܚܒ̈ܠ̈ܘ ܩܕܡ̈ܝ̈ܐ ܦܚܕ ܥܠ̈ܝ̈ܗܘܢ ܘܠܐ ܩܡ̈ܘ ܠܡܩܪ̈ܒ ܐܠܐ ܦܛܪ̈ܝܩܝܘܣ ܩܕܡ ܗ̈ܘ ܕܗܦܟ ܐܦ̈ܘ ܓܝܫ̈ܗ ܗ̈ܘ ܕܐܙܠ ܘܗ̈ܘ ܐܦ̈ܘ ܓܝܫ̈ܗ ܒܬܪ̈ܗ ܐܙܠ̈ܘ ܥܒ̈ܪ̈ܘ ܠܦ̈ܪܬ ܘܐܬܬܪ̈ܘ ܠܗ̈ܘ ܒܡܕܝ̈ܢܬ̈ܐ ܕܣܡ̈ܘܣܛ̈ܐ

The entire [enemy] army of Persians, Huns, Qadishaye, and Armenians assembled again in August and advanced as far as Opadna. Patricius's men heard [of this] and made to go against them, but while the Romans were still on the march and had not yet drawn up in battle formation, the Persians met the vanguard and hit them. When those who had been struck retreated, the rest of the Roman army saw that the vanguard had been hit. Fear took hold of them and they did not stand to fight, but Patricius was the first to turn tail and his entire army followed, crossing the river Euphrates and seeking safety at the city of Samosata.

VII.001/H. 59

Text in Wright (1882, 58–59) and Chabot (1927, 287); English translation from Trombley & Watt (2000, 76).

ܡܢ ܦܠܓܘܬ ܓܢܘܕܐ ܕܗܘ ܢܛܪܝܢ ܠܗ ܘܕܚܠܝܢ ܐܦ ܡܢ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܐܪܥܘ ܥܡ ܐܘܪܗܝ ܒܐܘܪܗܝ ܒܓܠ ܕܐܬܪܥܝܘ ܒܢܘ ܥܡ ܢܥܡܢ ܫܒܩܘ ܠܐܪܒܝܢ ܠܐܘܪܗܝ ܘܐܙܠܘ ܠܡܩܒܠ ܚܪܢ ܘܫܕܪܘ ܟܠ ܛܝܝܐ ܠܣܪܘܓ ܘܪܦܝܥ ܕܗܘ ܒܚܪܢ ܓܘ ܣܬܪܐ ܢܦܩ ܡܢ ܓܘ ܩܪܝܬܐ ܘܣܦܩ ܒܗܘܢ ܘܩܛܠ ܒܗܘܢ ܫܬܝܢ ܘܫܒܥܝܢ ܘܫܒܐ ܚܝ ܠܪܫ ܗܘܢܐ ܕܗܘ ܝܕܝܥ ܘܝܩܪ ܒܩܪܒ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܦܪܣ ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘ ܠܒܢܝ ܚܪܢ ܕܠܐ ܢܬܩܛܠ ܥܡܗܘܢ ܐܢ ܢܫܒܘܢ ܠܗ ܚܝ ܠܗ ܘܫܕܪܘ ܠܗ ܒܗܕܝܐ ܠܣܪܘܓ ܓܘ ܗܕܐ ܕܕܚܠܘ ܒܐܘܪܗܝ ܒܐܕܡ ܕܥܒܕܘ ܠܢܥܡܢ ܐܙܠܘ ܘܐܬܘ ܠܡܩܒܠ ܚܪܢ ܘܫܕܪܘ ܟܠ ܛܝܝܐ ܠܣܪܘܓ ܘܪܦܝܥ ܕܗܘ ܒܚܪܢ ܓܘ ܣܬܪܐ ܢܦܩ ܡܢ ܓܘ ܩܪܝܬܐ ܘܣܦܩ ܒܗܘܢ ܘܩܛܠ ܒܗܘܢ ܫܬܝܢ ܘܫܒܥܝܢ ܘܫܒܐ ܚܝ ܠܪܫ ܗܘܢܐ ܕܗܘ ܝܕܝܥ ܘܝܩܪ ܒܩܪܒ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܦܪܣ ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘ ܠܒܢܝ ܚܪܢ ܕܠܐ ܢܬܩܛܠ ܥܡܗܘܢ ܐܢ ܢܫܒܘܢ ܠܗ ܚܝ ܠܗ ܘܫܕܪܘ ܠܗ ܒܗܕܝܐ ܠܣܪܘܓ ܓܘ ܗܕܐ ܕܕܚܠܘ ܒܐܘܪܗܝ ܒܐܕܡ ܕܥܒܕܘ ܠܢ

Because of the Roman soldiers who were guarding [Areobindus], and also being afraid of going to war with Edessa on account of what had happened to Nu‘man, they left Areobindus in Edessa and went to battle against Harran, while sending all the Tayyaye to Serug. Rifaya, who was in Harran, secretly came out of the city and attacked them, killing sixty of them and capturing alive the chief of the Huns. As he was a well-known figure, and held in great honour by the Persian king, [the latter] promised the Harranites that he would not fight against them if they would give [the Hun] back alive. They were afraid of fighting and handed over the Hun, sending along with him as a gift fifteen hundred rams and other items.

VII.001/I. 62

Text in Wright (1882, 61–63) and Chabot (1927, 290–91); English translation from Trombley & Watt (2000, 80–81).

ܘܒܥܝ ܟܘܕ ܠܡܐܟܠ ܒܗ ܦܝܠܐ ܕܗܘ ܥܡܗ ܘܟܠ ܡܫܪܝܬܗ ܐܬܐ ܬܢܝܢܐ ܠܥܠ ܥܠ ܐܘܪܗܝ ܒܬܫܥܣܪ ܒܐܝܠܘܠ ܒܬܪܥܣܪ ܒܫܒܐ ܒܬܪ ܝܘܡܐ ܕܒܪ ܫܒܐ ܘܚܪ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܣܛܪ ܐܦ ܝܬܝܪ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܙܒܢܐ ܩܕܡ ܕܟܠ ܬܪܥܐ ܦܬܝܚܝܢ ܗܘ ܟܠ ܬܪܥܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܘܪܗܝ ܦܩܕ ܠܓܘܕܐ ܕܪܘܡܝ ܕܠܐ ܢܦܩܘܢ ܠܩܪܒܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܥܠܘ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܢܫܒܘܢ ܠܗ ܚܝ ܠܗ ܘܫܕܪܘ ܠܗ ܒܗܕܝܐ ܠܣܪܘܓ ܓܘ ܗܕܐ ܕܕܚܠܘ ܒܐܘܪܗܝ ܒܐܕܡ ܕܥܒܕܘ ܠܢ ܥܡ ܟܠ ܡܫܪܝܬܗ ܐܬܐ ܬܢܝܢܐ ܠܥܠ ܥܠ ܐܘܪܗܝ ܒܬܫܥܣܪ ܒܐܝܠܘܠ ܒܬܪܥܣܪ ܒܫܒܐ ܒܬܪ ܝܘܡܐ ܕܒܪ ܫܒܐ ܘܚܪ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܣܛܪ ܐܦ ܝܬܝܪ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܙܒܢܐ ܩܕܡ ܕܟܠ ܬܪܥܐ ܦܬܝܚܝܢ ܗܘ ܟܠ ܬܪܥܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܘܪܗܝ ܦܩܕ ܠܓܘܕܐ ܕܪܘܡܝ ܕܠ

Kawād was furious. He got ready for action the elephants he had with him, and with his whole camp set out and came again to do battle with Edessa, [reaching it] on the twenty-fourth of September, a Wednesday. He surrounded the city on all sides, even more thoroughly than on the previous occasion. All the gates lay open, but Areobindus had ordered the Roman soldiers

not to engage him, in order that there should be no deception manifested from his side. A few of the villagers, however, who [had taken refuge] in the city, went out against him with slings and felled many of his mailed men, while suffering no losses themselves. [Kawād's] legions endeavoured to enter the city, but when they got close to its gates, [drawn up in formation] like a tortoise(?) standing up from the ground, they were humiliated and beaten down and they turned back. The speed of their cavalry charge caused the slingers to get mixed up among them, but although the Persians were shooting arrows, the Huns brandishing thongs, and the Tayyaye aiming spears against them, they could not injure any of them. Like the Philistines who went up against Samson and who although numerous and armed could not kill him, while he, unarmed as he was, killed a thousand of them with the jaw-bone of an ass, so too the Persians, Huns and Tayyaye, although falling with their horses from the stones which the slingers were hurling, could not kill any of them. When they saw that they could neither get into the city nor injure the unarmed men caught up in their midst, they set alight the church of Mar Sergius, the church of the Confessors, and all the monasteries which [the Edessenes] had left intact, as well as the church in Negbath, for the citizens had also left it.

VII.002. Severus of Antioch, *Homily 30* (Syriac version) (513)

This passage occurs in the context of a sermon about the famous Simeon Stylites given by Severus in Antioch on Sat. 27 July or Sun. 2 Sept. 513. The previous section describes the veneration of Simeon by the Persians, in particular their queen, the wife of Kawād I. The reference to the barbarians as servants (or subjects) of the Persians suggests that they may have been Hephthalites. Text from Brière & Graffin (1974, 634–37).

ܐܦ ܡܐܕܡܪ ܐܢܚܢ ܕܚܕ ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܒܪܒܪܝܐ ܗܘ ܪܫܝܗ ܕܗܘ ܒܥܒܕ ܕܦܪܣ̈ܝܐ ܕܚܙܐ ܕܐܦ ܗܘ ܡܐܕܡܪ ܕܐܬ̈ܝ ܠܘܬ ܗܠܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܡܫܬ̈ܥ ܒܗ ܠܐ ܐܬ̈ܚܙܝ ܒܗ ܒܥ̈ܘܠ ܐܦ ܗܘ

VII.003. *Biography of Peter the Iberian* (Syriac version) (*c.* 528)

This somewhat off-hand comment about the White Huns occurs in the course of laying out the genealogy of Peter the Iberian—a champion of Monophysite/Miaphysite Christology, in opposition to the Chalcedonian Orthodoxy of the Byzantine "Roman" Empire—as a means of establishing his authority. This appears to be the only reference to the Hephthalites in Syriac literature as "White Huns." Text from Horn & Phenix (2008, 8–9).

ܘܟܕ ܡܠܟ ܗܘ ܥܠ ܐܝܪܐ ܕܐܝܪܐ ܘܐܬܐ ܥܡܗ ܐܦ ܗܘܢ ܕܗܘܢ ܚܘܪ̈ܝܐ ܕܩܪܝܒ̈ܝ ܐܝܪܐ ܗܘ ܒܥܠ ܫܓܝ̈ܐ ܠܟܠ ܐܢ̈ܫ̈ܐ ܕܐܬ̈ܝ ܠܬ ܪܘܡ̈ܝ.

And when he [Pharsamanios, brother of Peter's paternal grandmother] became king over the Iberians [Georgians] and carried off with him the White Huns, who are neighbours of the Iberians, he was the cause of many evils for those who were subject to the Romans.

VII.004. *Chronicle of Arbela* (*c.* 550?)

The authenticity of this text is disputed by scholars; there are still suspicions by many that it was forged by the original editor, Alphonse Mingana. At any rate, it tells us little about the Hephthalites not readily found in other sources. Text and translation from Kawerau (1985, 71, 73–74).

ܘܒܗܕܐ ܫܢܬܐ ܦܝܪܘܙ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܦܪܣ̈ܝܐ ܡܝܬ ܒܓܘ ܩܪܒܐ ܥܡ ܗܘܢ ܚܘܪ̈ܝܐ ܒܝܪܚ ܐܒ ܒ̈ܫܢ.

And in this year, Pērōz, king of the Persians, died in the course of war with the Huns in the month of Ab [August].

ܒܗܕܐ ܙܒܢܐ ܩܛܠܐ ܥܒܕ ܗܘܐ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܕܪܘܡ̈ܝ ܡܢ ܦܪܣ̈ܝ. ܟܕ ܩܒ̈ܠ ܟܘܕ ܬܢܝܬ̈ܐ ܐܙܠ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܪܘܡ̈ܝ ܒܚܝܠ ܣܓܝ̈ܐ. ܘܩܣܪ ܗܘ ܒܙܡܢܗ ܐܢܣܛܐܣ ܫܡܗ. ܘܦܪܣ̈ܝ ܐܚܕ̈ܘ ܡܢ ܪܘܡ̈ܝ ܟܪ̈ܟ̈ܐ ܣܓܝ̈ܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܠܐ ܗܕܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܫܘܒ ܪܕܘܦ̈ܐ ܒܗܘܢ. ܘܠܐ ܫܠܡ ܩܪܒܐ ܒܝܢ ܗܘܢ ܐܠܐ ܕܐܬ̈ܒ̈ܪ̈ܘ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܢܗܘܘܢ ܡܬ̈ܚ̈ܪ̈ܒ̈ܝܢ ܐܪ̈ܥ̈ܘܬܗܘܢ ܕܠܐ ܢܬ̈ܒ̈ܕ̈ܪ̈ܘ ܡܢ ܚܘܪ̈ܝܐ ܕܫܓܝ̈ܐ ܒܙܘܥ̈ܐ ܗܘ ܕܫܪ̈ܝ ܥܠ̈ܝܗܘܢ.

At this time, a violent war was stirred up [in] the land of the Romans by the Persians. When Kawād was made king the second time, he went to the land of the Romans with a mighty army. The emperor of the Romans at the time, Anastasius was his name. And the Persians seized many places from the Romans—Amid and Rešʿayna—and their aim was this: to establish again persecution of the Christians. But the war between them did not end and the Persians were compelled to turn back, lest their lands be destroyed by the enormous violence of the Huns, who had begun to fall upon them.

VII.005. *Biography of Mar Aba* (after 552)

Mar Aba I was patriarch of the Church of the East from 540 to 552. The request for a Hephthalite bishop came during a time when Mar Aba was in jail during the reign of Khosrow I and resulted

in his release. It is an interesting account of power dynamics between the Persians, the Hephthalites and the Christians. Throughout, the Hephthalites are referred to as the ܗܦܬܠܝܛ, *Haphtrāyē*. Text from Bedjan (1895, 266–67, 269).

> ܒܬܪ ܙܒܢܐ ܙܥܘܪܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܗܦܬܠܝܛ ܫܕܪ ܠܓܒܪ ܟܗܢܐ ܚܕ ܠܘܬ ܡܠܟ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܢ ܟܗܢܐ ܕܐܬܫܕܪ ܡܢ ܬܡܢ ܠܘܬ ܡܠܟ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܐܦ ܠܟܢܝܫܬܗ ܕܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܗܦܬܠܝܛ ܘܒܬܪ ܗܘ ܟܗܢܐ ܠܩܕܡ ܡܠܟ ܡܠܟܐ ܘܝܕܥ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܫܕܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܬܡܢ ܘܬܗܪ ܡܢ ܫܡܥܗ ܕܥܠ ܕܐܢ ܐܬܬܡܗ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܫܕܪ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܘܐܦ ܗܘ ܬܡܗ ܥܠ ܬܘܩܦ ܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܐܦ ܟܗܢܐ ܗܦܬܠܝܛ ܡܫܒܚ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܪܫܐ ܘܡܪܗܝܐ ܠܗ ܘܠܟܢܝܫܬܗ ܘܠܒܝܬܗ ܘܠܡܟܢܫ ܠܐܦܣܩܘܦܐ ܟܡܢܓ ܘܠܗܘ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܐܬܫܕܪ ܡܢ ܬܡܢ ܠܗ ܠܡܐ ܗܦܬܠܝܛ ܐܬܩܕܫ ܒܝܕ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܐܬܩܕܫ ܠܐܬܪ ܟܪܣܐ ܪܒܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܟܪܣܘܬܗ ܫܠܝܚܝܬܐ ... ܘܟܕ ܫܡܥ ܗܢܐ ܒܫܪܐ ܛܒܐ ܐܬܬܡܗ ܟܠ ܥܡܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܘܩܕܝܫܐ ܢܦܩ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܣܓܪܐ ܠܗܢܐ ܟܪܣܐ ܪܒܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܘܬܗ ܟܡܐ ܕܚܕܘܬܐ ܪܒܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܡܢ ܓܒܐ ܕܪܥܝܐ ܫܦܝܪ ܠܥܕܪܗ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܡܢ ܩܪܒ ܬܫܥ ܫܢܝܢ ܒܓܝܪܐ ܥܡ ܐܪܝܐ ܘܢܡܪܐ ܒܪܥܝܘܗܝ ... ܘܐܬܩܕܫ ܟܗܢܐ ܗܘ ܠܗܦܬܠܝܛ ܠܡܪܕܘܬܐ ܒܝܕ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܠܐܬܪ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܐܬܐ ܡܢ ܗܦܬܪܝܢ ܚܘܕܝ ܠܘܬ ܡܠܟ ܡܠܟܐ ܘܫܕܪ ܠܗ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܠܡܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܠܡܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܐܦ ܗܘ

below). Furthermore, Pseudo-Zachariah seems to have confused the Hephthalites (who were responsible for the death of Pērōz) with the Huns in the Caucasus, given his reference to the Huns' homeland as being in "the north-western territory." The role of Eustathius, including his apparent use of occult techniques to help the Huns get their revenge on Pērōz, is not found in Joshua's account at all, but it is repeated in the accounts of Michael the Great and Barhebraeus, discussed below. Text from Brooks (1921, 21–22); translation from Greatrex et al. (2011, 232–34).

ܒܟ ܕܫܢܬ ܬܠܬ ܥܣܪ ܠܐܢܣܛܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܦܪܣ ܗܘ ܦܝܪܘܙ ܕܡܠܟ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܗ ܘܐܬܐ ܠܬܚܘܡ ܐܪܥܗ ܕܦܪܣ ܡܢ ܬܪܥܐ ܕܛܘܪܐ ܘܡܢ ܛܘܪܐ ܕܐܬܪ ܐܬܘ ܢܚܘ ܘܡܛܘ ܠܬܚܘܡ ܐܪܥܗ ܕܦܪܣ ܘܦܝܪܘܙ ܐܬܒܗܠ ܘܟܢܫ ܚܝܠ ܘܐܬܐ ܠܩܒܠ ܗܘܢ ܘܟܕ ܝܕܥ ܡܢ ܗܘܢ ܥܠ ܡܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܘܐܬܐ ܠܬܚܘܡ ܐܪܥܗ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܦܪܣ ܡܫܬܡܫ ܠܢ ܠܒܪܒܪ ܕܠܐ ܡܟܦܝ ܗܘ ܕܟܦܪܝܢ ܒܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܟܠܝܢ ܒܣܪ ܟܠ ܡܝܢ ܕܒܚܝܬ ܒܙܝܙܐ ܘܒܣܝܦܐ ܘܒܩܫܬܐ ܘܐܢܚܢ ܡܬܙܘܢ ܒܡܙܘܢ ܕܒܣܪ ܟܠ ܡܝܢ ܕܒܥܝܪ ܐܦ ܩܣܪ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܪܘܡܝܐ ܐܬ ܠܢ ܒܫܠܝܚܘܗܝ ܕܢܬܠ ܠܢ ܬܪܝܢ ܙܒܢ ܡܢ ܕܢܫܒܘܩ ܚܒܪܘܬܐ ܕܝܠܟܘܢ ܥܡ ܦܪܣ ܐܠܐ ܗܒ ܠܢ ܐܦ ܐܢܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܠܪܘܡܝܐ ܘܢܥܒܕ ܥܡܟܘܢ ܫܠܡܐ ܐܠܐ ܕܠܐ ܬܗܒ ܠܢ ܐܦ ܐܢܘܢ ܩܒܠ ܩܪܒܐ ܗܫ ܐܬܝܢ ܘܐܬܪܥܝܢ ܠܟ ܐܢܘܢ ܗܒ ܠܢ ܐܝܟ ܠܪܘܡܝܐ ܘܢܥܒܕ ܥܡܟ ܫܠܡܐ ܐܠܐ ܕܠܐ ܬܗܒ ܠܢ ܩܒܠ ܩܪܒܐ ܗܫ ܐܬܝܢ ܘܐܬܪܥܝܢ ܠܟ

While Pērōz, the king of Persia, was ruling over his country in the thirteenth year of Anastasius, the Huns descended from the gates that were guarded by the Persians and from the mountainous areas there and reached Persian territory. Pērōz became alarmed and assembled an army and met them. When he learned from them of the purpose of their preparation and their invasion of his country, they said to him, "What the kingdom of the Persians gives to us as tribute is not sufficient for us barbarians, who, like wild beasts, reject God. We live in the north-western territory by weapons, both the bow and the sword, and we feed on the food [of all kinds of] meat. The emperor of the Romans has promised us through his envoys to give us twice the tribute if we renounce our friendship with you Persians. Thus we have again arrived and presented ourselves: either give to us like the Romans and we will then make a treaty with you, but if you do not give to us, then receive war!"

ܘܟܕ ܚܫ ܦܝܪܘܙ ܒܓܒܝܐ ܕܗܘܢ ܗܘܢ ܙܥܘܪܝܢ ܡܢ ܥܡܗ ܐܦ ܗܟܝ ܐܬܚܫܒ ܕܢܣܬܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܘܢܩܒܠ ܠܗܘܢ ܘܗܟܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܢܬܠ ܠܗܘܢ ܘܐܪܒܥ ܡܐܐ ܓܒܪܐ ܡܢ ܪܫܝ ܕܗܘܢ ܕܗܘܢ ܐܬܟܢܫܘ ܘܐܬܐ ܥܡܗܘܢ ܐܘܣܛܬܝܣ ܓܒܪܐ ܚܪܝܡܐ ܬܓܪܐ ܡܢ ܐܦܡܝܐ ܕܥܡܗܘܢ ܗܘܘ ܡܬܝܥܨܝܢ ܘܐܙܠ ܦܝܪܘܙ ܘܥܡ ܗܢ ܐܪܒܥ ܡܐܐ ܓܒܪܐ ܘܣܠܩ ܠܛܘܪܐ ܘܩܛܝܢ ܥܡ ܚܕ ܕܢܬܠ ܠܗܘܢ ܘܫܪܝ ܘܐܟܠ ܥܡ ܚܕ ܘܐܡܛ ܒܫܒܘܥܬܐ ܘܪܡܘ ܐܝܕܝܗܘܢ ܠܫܡܝܐ ܘܫܪܝ ܡܢ ܗܢ ܕܩܥܘ ܥܡ ܐܪܒܥ ܡܐܐ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܢܣܒܘ ܐܢܘܢ ܐܬ ܡܕܡ ܕܢܬܠ ܠܗܘܢ ܘܫܪܝ ܕܢܬܠ ܠܗܘܢ ܘܐܪܒܥ ܡܐܐ ܓܒܪܐ ܡܢ ܪܫܝ ܕܗܘܢ ܕܗܘܢ ܐܬܟܢܫܘ ܘܐܬܐ ܥܡܗܘܢ ܐܘܣܛܬܝܣ ܓܒܪܐ ܚܪܝܡܐ ܬܓܪܐ ܡܢ ܐܦܡܝܐ ܕܥܡܗܘܢ ܗܘܘ ܡܬܝܥܨܝܢ ܘܐܙܠ ܦܝܪܘܙ ܘܥܡ ܗܢ ܐܪܒܥ ܡܐܐ ܓܒܪܐ ܘܣܠܩ ܠܛܘܪܐ ܘܩܛܝܢ ܥܡ ܚܕ ܕܢܬܠ ܠܗܘܢ ܘܫܪܝ ܘܐܟܠ ܥܡ ܚܕ ܘܐܡܛ ܒܫܒܘܥܬܐ ܘܪܡܘ ܐܝܕܝܗܘܢ ܠܫܡܝܐ ܘܫܪܝ ܡܢ ܗܢ ܕܩܥܘ ܥܡ ܐܪܒܥ ܡܐܐ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܢܣܒܘ ܐܢܘܢ ܐܬ ܡܕܡ ܕܢܬܠ ܠܗܘܢ ܘܫܪܝ

When Pērōz considered the determination of the Huns, although they were considerably smaller [in number] than his army, he decided to lie to them and receive them, so he promised to give them [what they wanted]. Then four hundred men from the leaders of the Huns assembled and with them was Eustathius, a crafty merchant from Apamea with whom they took counsel. Pērōz and with him four hundred men assembled and went up a mountain. They enacted an agreement [with the Huns]; they ate with one another and swore an oath, raising their hands to heaven. A few remained with the four hundred men who were to take the objects of the tribute that would be collected, but the rest of the Huns departed and returned to their country.

ܒܥܝܪ ܫܒܥܬ ܝܘܡ ܠܟ ܐܡܪ ܦܝܪܘܙ ܠܡܥܒܕ ܥܡ ܟܠ ܓܝܣ ܕܐܙܠ ܘܥܡ ܐܪܒܥ ܡܐܐ ܕܫܪ ܘܥܡ ܗܢ ܕܥܡ ܗܢ ܐܘܣܛܐܬܝܘܣ ܗܢ ܬܓܪܐ ܕܫܪܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܓܝܣ ܕܠܐ ܢܬܒܗܠܘܢ ܐܦ ܕܐܢ ܣܓܝܐܝܢ ܗܘ ܡܢ ܗܢܘܢ. ܒܐܬܪ ܕܒܗ ܐܬܥܒܕ ܡܘܡܬܐ ܘܩܛܪܐ ܫܕܘ ܥܠ ܓܡܪܐ ܕܢܘܪܐ ܕܐܫܬܐ ܘܩܪܒܘ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܘܣܛܐܬܝܘܣ ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܢܗܦܟ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܟܕܒܐ. ܘܥܒܕܘ ܩܪܒ ܥܡ ܦܝܪܘܙ ܘܩܛܠܘ ܠܗ ܘܠܣܓܝ ܡܢ ܚܝܠܗ ܘܫܪܘ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܦܪܣ ܘܗܦܟܘ ܠܐܬܪ ܐܪܥܗܘܢ. ܦܓܪܐ ܕܦܝܪܘܙ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܟܚ ܘܒܐܪܥܗܘܢ ܩܪܘ ܠܗ ܟܕܒܐ. ܟܘܐܕ ܕܐܬܬܪ ܡܠܟ ܒܬܪܗ ܘܩܛܠ ܠܐܘܣܛܐܬܝܘܣ ܘܠܟܠ ܐܢܫܝ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܗܬܗ ܘܥܠ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܡܠܟ ܗܘ ܒܥܡ

> fortresses. There are the Onogur, a tent-dwelling people; the Ogur [people], the Sabir, the Burgar, the Korthrigur [Kurtrigar], the Avar, the Khasir, the Dirmar, the Sarurgur, the Bagarsik, the Khulas, the Abdel, the Ephthalite; these thirteen nations are tent-dwellers, living on the meat of cattle, fish and wild animals, and by weapons.[i] Beyond them are the pygmies and the dog-men and to the west and north of them are the Amazons, women with one breast each.

VII.008. *Synodicon Orientale* (late 8th century), under the Synod of Išo'yahb I (585)

This line occurs in the list of episcopal delegates contained at the end of the canons for this 585 synod. Syriac ܒܕܝܣܝ (*BDYSY*) almost certainly refers to the Hephthalite centre Badghis. Qadistan may refer to "the Hephthalite people of the Kadisheans" (Bosworth 2011). This is presumably the bishopric created by Mar Aba 30 years earlier. This line is preceded by references to the metropolitans of Merv and Herat and the bishop of Pušang, other clerics from former Hephthalite territory who also sent representatives, either priests or deacons. By the time of this synod, of course, the Persians and Turks had brought Hephthalite power to an end, but there were presumably still Hephthalites living in the region, albeit no longer in power. Text from Chabot (1902, 165).

> ܘܡܛܠ ܓܒܪܐܝܠ ܡܛܪܦܐ ܕܒܕܝܣܝ ܘܩܕܣܛܢ: ܣܪܓܝ ܕܝܩܢܐ ܕܫܕܪ ܠܘܬܗ ܘܫܠܚ ܠܘܬ ܡܢܗ

And on behalf of Gabriel, bishop of Badghis and Qadistan: Sergius the deacon, who was sent by him.

VII.009. Xi'an "Nestorian" Stele (781)

The bilingual (Chinese-Syriac) Xi'an Stele, which records the evangelistic efforts of the "Nestorian" Church of the East, chronicles the origins and growth of Syriac Christianity amongst the Chinese. Of specific interest to our topic is the Syriac inscription on the stele which here records the fact that the father of Yazdbozid (Middle Iranian for "saved by God"), the patron who erected the stele, was from Balkh in Tokharistan. One wonders if he might have been descended from the Hephthalites amongst whom Christianity had been established two centuries earlier during the time of Mar Aba I, as noted above. Text from Paul Pelliot & Jean Dauvillier (1984, Plate VII) and Samuel Lieu (2009, 231).

> ܫܢ ܬ ܕܒܗܠܟ ܒܢܝ ܐܝܪܝܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܒܝܬܐ ܡܢ ܒܠܚ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܡܠܟ ܒܢ ܒܢ ܐܒܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܘ ܟܘܪܝܣ ܕܒܝܬ ܒܝܬܐ ܕܒܠܚ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܛܘܪܣܬܢ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܫܠܡ ܒܝܡܝ ܕܐܒܐ ܡܪ ܐܒܐ ܩܬܝܠܐ ܘܩܫܝܫܐ ܕܟܘܡܕܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܒܪ ܡܝܟܐ ܩܫܝܫܐ ܕܡܢ ܒܠܚ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ..ܕܛܘܪܣܬܢ ܕܐܬܐ

In the year 1092 of the Greeks [780/81 CE], Mar Yazdbozid the priest and chor-bishop of Kumdan, the royal city, son of the late Miles the priest, who was from Balkh, a city of

[i] Syr. ܟܐ could be interpreted as either 'arms, armour, weapons' (emphatic state) or 'provisions, repast, victuals' (absolute state), meaning that these tent-dwellers either lived 'by the sword' or 'from their provisions.'

> Tokharistan, set up this tablet of stone on which are written the dispensation of our Saviour and the preaching of the fathers to the kings of the Chinese.

VII.010. *History of the Monastery of Qartamin* (*c.* 797)

Although this account of the Virgins of Dara only mentions "barbarians," there is uncertainty in other sources that mention it whether or not these "barbarians" are Hephthalites or Turks. The context is the capture by Khosrow I Anushirvān in 573 of the fortified Byzantine city of Dara, located on the border between the two empires. The tragic story, which John of Asia (John of Ephesus) seems to have heard from eyewitnesses, pits two thousand beautiful, chaste and zealous maidens against the cruel, unclean and pagan "barbarians" and ends up approving of mass suicide. Text from François Nau (1907, 40–41).

> ܐܦܣ ܗܠܝ ܚܕ ܕܥܒ ܒܬܪܐ ܕܟܬܒ ܒܗ ܕܝܢ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܕܒܝܫ ܒܫܢܬ ܬܫܥ ܡܐܐ ܘܫܒܥܝܢ ܠܐܪܟܐ ܕܐܬܒܢܝ ܗܘ ܕܐܢܣܛܐܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܘܐܬܐ ܘܐܚܪܒ ܠܗ ܘܫܒܐ ܠܗ ܘܩܛܠ ܒܗ ܫܒܥܝܢ ܐܠܦ ܢܦܫ ܕܟܠܗܝܢ ܡܫܝܚܝܐ ܘܡܢ ܬܡܢ ܐܙܠ ܓܝܫ ܦܪܣ ܘܐܬܐ ܘܐܚܪܒ ܠܐܦܡܝܐ ܘܫܒܐ ܠܗ ܘܒܙܙ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܕܪܘܡܝ ܘܟܢܫ ܒܙܙܐ ܒܢܨܝܒܝܢ ܘܫܒܥ ܡܐܐ ܐܠܦ ܓܒܪܐ ܘܢܫܐ ܘܛܠܝܐ ܘܒܪ ܡܢܗܝܢ ܒܚܪ ܡܠܟܐ ܥܣܪ ܐܠܦ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܫܦܝܪܬ ܚܙܝ ܠܡܫܕܪ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܕܒܪܒܪ ܕܒܬܚܘܡܗܘܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܐܦ ܠܐ ܢܬܛܢܦܘܢ ܒܛܘܡܐܬܗܘܢ ܕܥܡܡܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܫܘ ܥܒܕܘ ܒܝܢ ܢܦܫܬܗܘܢ ܕܠܐ ܢܬܛܢܦܘܢ ܒܛܘܡܐܬܗܘܢ ܕܒܪܒܪܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܫܬܠܡܘܢ ܡܢ ܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܕܟܪܣܛܝܢܐ ܐܠܐ ܟܕ ܥܒܪܘ ܦܪܣ ܢܗܪ ܢܝܣܒܝܣ ܬܪܝܢ ܝܘܡܝ ܗܠܟܬܐ ܘܟܕ ܥܒܪܘ ܗܢܘܢ ܒܢܗܪܐ ܘܒܗܝܢ ܥܒܕܘ ܨܠܒܐ ܥܠ ܦܢܝܗܘܢ ܬܠܬ ܙܒܢܝ ܘܐܬܛܒܥܘ ܒܢܗܪܐ ܘܫܡܗ ܩܪܝ ܣܪܝܐ ܥܕ ܗܫܐ ܝܘܡܐ ܗܢܐ ܗܢܘܢ ܕ

the actual name of the "barbarians." Two later Syriac sources—the *Chronicle of Michael the Great* (1195; see Text VII.011/B) and the *Anonymous Chronicle to 1234* (Text VII.012)—both refer to them as Turks. The Christian Arabic *Chronicle of Se'ert* (Text VIII.004/A) gives "Uliyāḥin, king of the Kafrathnatan" (اولياحين ماك الكفراثنن) as the recipient of the Persian king's gift. Addai Scher (1908, 224 [14]), the editor and translator of this Chronicle, wondered if this might refer to the Hephthalite Huns (perhaps a corruption of Syriac ܗܰܦ̣ܬ̣ܪܳܝܹܐ, *Haphtrāyē*). Since the Hephthalites had been crushed by the Persians and Turks in 559–560, it seems that the latter are a more likely candidate for the unnamed barbarians, but the ambivalence in the sources is nonetheless interesting.

VII.011. Michael the Great (Michael the Syrian), *Chronicle* (1195)

Michael, 12th century patriarch of the Syrian Orthodox Church, here draws on one of the passages in Pseudo-Zachariah discussed above. He repeats the confusion of the latter regarding the location of the Huns involved with Pērōz and Kawād (assigning them to the north-west, in the Caucasus, rather than the north-east, in Central Asia) and he includes the fascinating account of the Huns resorting to magic, at the instigation of the merchant Eustathius, in order to defeat Pērōz. Text from Ibrahim & Brock (2009, 259–60); the text is also published with a French translation in Chabot (1899–1910).

VII.011/A. Book IX, Chapter 7, centre column:

ܗܘܢ ܕܗܘ ܒܙܒܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܘ ܗܘ ܘܥܒܕܘ ܩܪܒܐ ܥܡ ܦܪܣ̈ܝܐ ܘܐܬܟܫܝܘ ܦܪܣ̈ܝܐ.

And after a while, the Huns again went forth and made war with the Persians and the Persians were vanquished.

VII.011/B. Book IX, Chapter 7, inner column:

ܒܝܘܡ̈ܝ ܕܙܝܢܘ ܐܙܠܘ ܗܘܢ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܦܪܣ̈ܝܐ ܘܠܦܝܪܘܙ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܦܪܣ̈ܝܐ ܘܟܢܫ ܚܝܠܗ ܘܩܪܒ ܥܡܗܘܢ. ܘܝܕܥ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܕܠܐ ܗܘ ܡܬܩܢ ܠܗ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܦܪܣ̈ܝܐ ܕܢܬܠ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܦ ܕܒܪ̈ܝ ܒܬܪ̈ܥ ܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܪ̈ܘܡܝ ܕܡܬܠ

And when he saw they were preparing for war, he deceived them [and] acted treacherously [regarding] that which he would give. And upon the promise that was given to them of Persian tribute, they [the Huns] returned to their country. And [some] of them waited in order to receive the tribute and Pērōz returned and planned to kill those who waited and to pursue and make war with those who had gone.

ܗܘ ܕܡܫܬܐܠ ܠܗ ܘܐܬܐ ܥܡ ܐܢܘܢ. ܐܢܘܢ ܫܕܪܘ ܠܗ ܒܪ ܐܦܡܝܐ ܓܒܪܐ ܚܟܝܡ ܘܥܪܘܡ ܘܗܘ ܕܒܥܐ ܘܡܠܦ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܒܐܬܪ ܗܢܐ ܒܐܬܪ ܕܢܬܠ ܠܗ ܘܐܬܐ ܥܡ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܐܙܠܘ ܠܐܪܥ

the 13th year of his reign, the Huns came forth from those gates that were being guarded by the Persians. And when Pērōz went to war with the Huns, he was vanquished and killed in the war. But after him king Kawād ruled over the Persians. This one was consumed by wrath towards the Romans.

VII.013. Barhebraeus (Bar ʻEbroyo), *Ecclesiastical History* (*Chronicon Ecclesiasticum*) (1286, cont. to 1496)

In the second half of Barhebraeus's *Ecclesiastical History*, he recounts the ecclesiastical history of the East, here meaning the traditional territory of the Church of the East, presided over by the patriarch of that church. However, since Barhebraeus is Syrian Orthodox, he intersperses the history of the "Nestorian" patriarchs with the Syrian Orthodox *maphrian*s. The word (meaning "fruitful, progenitor") designated the highest ranking Syrian Orthodox prelate in the East, second only to the patriarch of that church in Antioch. Barhebraeus held the office himself until his death in 1286. The three individuals mentioned in these extracts—Paul, his successor John the Chionite and his successor Joseph—all occupied the Maphrianate at an earlier time. John the Chionite held the office from 759 to 785. The ethnonym following his episcopal name (ܟܝܘܢܝܐ, *Kionāyā*) is the same as that used to refer to the Huns in the *Chronicle* of Joshua the Stylite.[i] Text from Abbeloos & Lamy (1877, 159, 175), also published in Wilmshurst (2016, 357, 363).

ܒܬܪ ܦܘܠܘܣ: ܝܘܚܢܢ ܟܝܘܢܝܐ

ܘܟܕ ܙܒܢ ܐܣܦܩܦܐ ܝܘܢܐ ܠܡܪ ܡܪܕ ܡܢ ܕܝܪ ܡܪ ܡܬܝ ܒܝܬ ܡܢ ܟܝܘܢܝܐ ܝܘܚܢܢ ,ܒܗ ܙܒܢ ܐܬܝ

After Paul: John the Chionite

And when the bishops deposed Jonah, they chose John the Chionite from the Monastery of Mar Mattai [St. Matthew].

ܘܒܗ ܙܒܢ ܡܦܪܝܢܐ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܟܝܘܢܝܐ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܒܥܠ ܬܚܘܣ ܐܬܬܒܥ ,ܐܬܬܩܛܠ ,ܐܬܬܕܝܢ

ܒܬܪ: ܝܘܚܢܢ ܟܝܘܢܝܐ

ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܙܒܢ ܙܥܘܪ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܟܝܘܢܝܐ ,ܐܬܬܕܝ ,ܐܙܠ

And the *maphrian* John the Chionite was denounced by the Tagritians before the patriarch, [his] fault was established and he was deposed.

After John the Chionite: Joseph

And after a little while, John the Chionite was deposed and departed.

[i] The variant spelling found in Wilmshurst (2016, 363), ܟܫܘܢܝܐ (Kšonāyā), is not found in Abbeloos & Lamy (1877, 175).

VII.014. Barhebraeus (Bar ʻEbroyo), *Secular History* (*Chronicon Syriacum*) (1286, cont. to 1297)

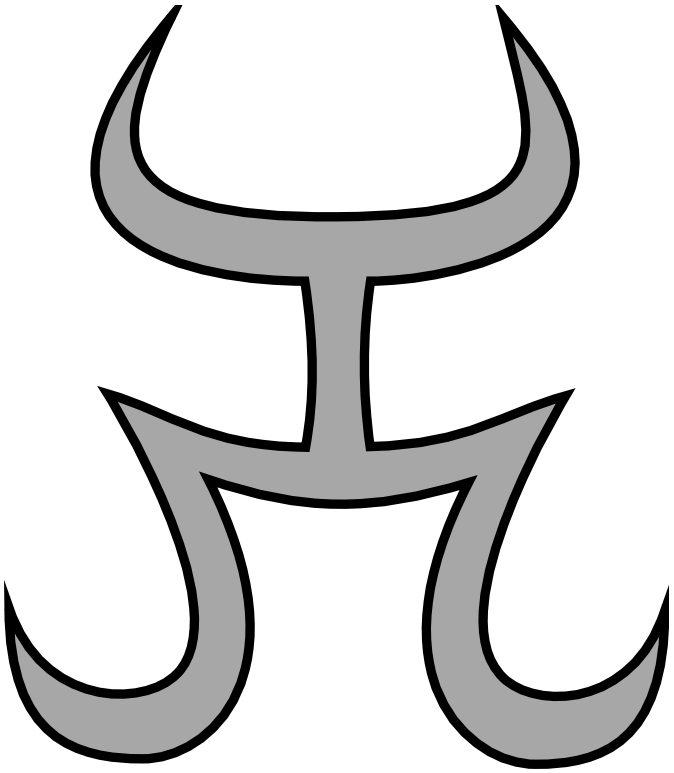
Again, we have the account of Pseudo-Zachariah repeated. Here, Barhebraeus is careful to make clear that the merchant engaging in occult activity was a Greek, not a Syriac Christian. Text from Bedjan (1890, 75).

ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܙܥܘܪ ܐܬܘ ܗܘܢ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܨܦܘܢ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܦܪܣ ܒܗܕܐ ܥܠܬܐ. ܒܝܘܡܝ ܙܝܢܘܢ ܫܕܪܘ ܗܘܢ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܠܦܝܪܘܙ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܦܪܣ ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܗ ܕܠܐ ܫܦܝܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܐ ܕܡܫܕܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܘܕܪܘܡܝܐ ܡܫܕܪܝܢ ܟܦܠ. ܐܘ ܗܟܝ ܢܫܕܪ ܐܢܘܢ ܐܘ ܢܥܒܕ ܠܗܘܢ ܩܪܒܐ. ܐܠܐ ܦܝܪܘܙ ܟܕ ܫܩܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܡܪ ܕܢܬܠ ܘܐܬܦܢܝ ܥܠ ܗܕܐ ܬܘܒ ܐܬܦܢܘ. ܘܒܗܕܐ ܙܒܢܐ ܐܬܘ ܓܒܪܐ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܐܢܛܝܟܝܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܦܡܝܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܥܡ ܗܘܢ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܢܬܒܥܘ ܠܗ ܘܢܗܦܟ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܛܒܐ. ܘܒܥܕܢ ܕܢܬܒܥܘ ܠܗ ܘܢܗܦܟ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܛܒܐ ܘܢܥܒܕ ܠܗܘܢ ܩܪܒܐ ܕܢܬܩܛܠ ܒܗ ܦܝܪܘܙ ܠܟܠ ܐܢܫ ܕܫܪܝ ܒܬܪ ܗܘ ܕܢܬܩܛܠ ܘܢܪܕܦ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܐܙܠܘ ܩܕܡ ܗܘ ܕܢܬܩܛܠ ܘܢܬܒܙܙ ܠܐܪܥ ܦܪܣ ܘܢܗܦܟ ܠܐܪܥܗ ܘܒܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܩܒܕ ܥܠ ܗܕܐ ܥܡ ܪܘܡܝܐ:

And after a little while the Huns of the north-west went forth to the land of the Persians because of this [reason]; in the days of Zeno, the Huns sent [a message] to Pērōz, the king of the Persians, and said to him that the tribute he was giving them was not sufficient for them, and that the Romans were giving double [what the Persians were]. Therefore either let them [the Persians] give the same as the Romans, or they [the Huns] would make ready for war. But Pērōz lied to them and said that they would give [more tribute], and on this condition the Huns turned back. But Pērōz, gathering his strength, killed the Huns who were left behind to receive the tribute and pursued those who had left. Then a certain merchant, a Greek from Apamea who was with the Huns, exhorted them and advised them to burn incense in the place where the agreement had taken place and God would overthrow the Persians who had lied. And when they had done this they met the Persians, killed Pērōz, laid waste to Persia and returned to their own country. And when Kawād became king, he held a grudge against the Romans concerning this.

VIII. Arabic Sources

Étienne de La Vaissière, Mark Dickens and Orsolya Varsányi



VIII.1. Islamic Sources

Selected by Étienne de La Vaissière

VIII.001. *Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*

'The Book of Lengthy Histories' by Abu Hanifa Ahmad ibn Dawud ibn Wanand al-Dinawari (828–895 CE). Text from Guirgass & Krachkovskii (1888); translation adopted from Michael Richard Jackson Bonner[i] with modifications by Orsolya Varsányi.

VIII.001/A. Bahrām V (420–438)

Text from Guirgass & Krachkovskii (1888, 57–60).

ولما استتب لبهرام الملك آثر اللهو على ما سواه، حتى عتب عليه رعيته، وطمع فيه من كان حوله من الملوك، فكان أول من شخص صاحب الترك، فانه نهض في جموعه من الاتراك حتى اوغل في خراسان، فشن فيها الغارات، وانتهى النبا الى بهرام، فترك ما كان فيه من الاستهتار باللهو، وقصد لعدوه، فأظهر انه يريد اذربيجان ليتصيد هناك، ويلهو في مسيره إليها، فانتخب من ابطال رجاله سبعه آلاف رجل، فحملهم على الإبل، وجنبوا الخيل، واستخلف على ملكه أخاه نرسى، ثم سار نحو اذربيجان، وامر كل رجل من اصحابه الذين انتخبهم ان يكون معه باز وكلب، فلم يشك الناس ان مسيره ذلك هزيمه من عدوه، واسلام لملكه، فاجتمع العظماء والاشراف، فتامروا بينهم، فاتفق رأيهم على توجيه وفد منهم الى خاقان صاحب الترك باموال، يبعثون بها اليه ليصدوه عن استباحة البلاد.

وبلغ خاقان ان بهرام مضى هاربا، وان اهل المملكة مجمعون على الخضوع له، فاغتر، وامن هو وجنوده، واقام بمكانه ينتظر الوفود والأموال.

When rule became stable for Bahrām, he preferred amusement to anything else, with the result that his subjects blamed him, and those kings that surrounded him were envious of him. And the first to rise [against him] was the Turkish lord, for he arose with his host of Turks and even penetrated deep into Ḫurāsān. He made raids therein and tidings of this reached Bahrām, and he quit the reckless behaviour in which he was engaged, and went straightway to his enemy. But he pretended that he was making for Āđarbāyjān to hunt there and he made merry on his journey thither. He chose from among the horsemen of his company seven thousand men and he mounted them upon camels, avoiding horses. He appointed over his kingdom his brother Narsā. Then he went towards Āđarbāyjān, and he commanded each man among his companions whom he had chosen to have with him a falcon and a dog. Men did not doubt that this expedition of his would be put to flight by the enemy and submission to his kingdom [would follow]. The grandees and nobles assembled and they conferred amongst themselves. Their opinion settled on sending a deputation from among themselves to the *ḫāqān*, the Turkish lord, with treasure which they would send to him in order to dissuade him from despoiling the country. And it reached

[i] http://www.mrjb.ca/current-projects/abu-hanifah-ahmad-ibn-dawud-al-dinawari

the *ẖāqān* that Bahrām had fled and that the folk of the kingdom had assembled in order to submit themselves to him. But he was deceived and believed he and his forces were safe. He stayed where he was expecting the embassy and treasure.

قالوا: وأن بهرام امر بذبح سبعة آلاف ثور وحمل جلودها، وساق معه سبعة آلاف مهر حولي، وجعل يسير الليل ويكمن النهار، وأخذ على طبرستان، ثم تبطن ضفة البحر حتى خرج إلى جرجان، ثم سار منها الى نسا ثم منها المدينة مرو.

وكان خاقان معسكراَ بها بكشميهن حتى إذا صار بهرام منهم على منقلة، وخاقان لا يعلم شيئاً من علمه أمر بتلك الجلود، فنفخت، وأُلقي فيها الحصى، وجففت، ثم علّقها في أعناق تلك المهارة، حتى دنا من عسكر خاقان، وكانوا نزولاًعلى طرف المفازة، على ستة فراسخ من مدينة مرو؛ فخلّوا عن تلك المهارة ليلاً، وطردوها من أدبارها ؛ فارتفع لتلك الجلود، والحجارة التي فيها، وعدو المهارة بها، وضربها إياها بأيديها أصوات هائلة أشد من هدة الجبال والصواعق.

وسمعت الترك تلك الأصوات، فراعتهم، ولا يدرون ما هي، وجعلت تزداد منهم قربا، فأجلوا عن معسكرهم، وخرجوا هراباً، وبهرام في الطلب، فتقطرت دابة خاقان بخاقان، وأدركه بهرام، فقتله بيده، وغنم عسكره، وكل ما كان فيه من الأموال، وأخذ خاتون امرأة خاقان.

ومضى بهرام على آثار الترك ليلته ويومه كله، يقتل ويأسر، حتى انتهى الى آموية، ثم عبر نهر بلخ، يتبع آثارهم، حتى إذا صار بالقرب فاذعن له الترك، وسألوه ان يبني لهم حدّاً يعلم بينه وبينهم، لا يجاوزونه، فحد لهم مكاناً واغلاً في أرضهم، وأمر بمنارة، فبنيت هناك، وجعلها حدّاً، ثم انصرف إلى دار المملكة، ووضع عن الناس خراج تلك السنة، وقسم في أهل الضعف والمسكنة شطر ما غنم، وقسم الشطر الآخر بين جنده الذين كانوا معه، فعمّ السرور أهل مملكته، فلهوا جذلاً وابتهاجاً، فبلغ أجر اللعاب في اليوم عشرين درهماً، وصار إكليل ريحان بدرهم.

They say: verily Bahrām commanded seven thousand bulls to be slaughtered and their skins to be carried. He herded on with himself seven thousand yearling colts and he began to travel in the night, hiding by day, and he barred the way to Ṭabaristān and stole along the coast of the sea till he reached Jurjān, and then he went thence to Nasā, and thence to the city of Marw, where the *ẖāqān* had bivouacked in Kušmayhan, until suddenly Bahrām went from Marw to a way-station, the *ẖāqān* knowing nothing about these skins. They were blown up and he put pebbles in them and they were dried. Then he hung them upon the necks of these colts until he drew near the *ẖāqān's* camp (their arrival was on the desert side six *farsakhs* from the city of Marw) and they released these colts in the night, and drove them from behind, and because of these skins and rocks that were in them and the galloping of the colts with them and their beating them with their hands, there arose noises more dreadful than a falling mountain or thunderbolts. The Turks heard these noises and feared them without knowing what they were and they [these sounds] began to get closer and closer to them. They ran away from their camp, and they went out in a rout, with Bahrām in pursuit. The *ẖāqān's* mount fell upon the *ẖāqān* and Bahrām reached him and slew him with his hand and he plundered his camp and all the treasure that was in it. He took the *ẖātūn*, the *ẖāqān's* wife, and Bahrām pursued the Turks all day and night, killing them and taking captives, till he reached Āmūya. Then he crossed the river Balẖ, following their trail, and when he came near, the Turks submitted to him, and they asked him to build for them a barrier which would be known between him and between them, which they would not pass. He delimited for them a place far into their land, and he ordered a tower [to be built],

and it was built there and he made it the barrier. Then he went back to the abode of his kingdom, and he removed the *ḫarāj* from the folk for that year. He parcelled out among the weak and poor half what he had taken, and he parcelled out the other half amongst the army that was with him. Happiness prevailed over the folk of his kingdom, they delighted in gladness and rejoicing. The cost of a show horse in that day was twenty dirhams, and a basil crown was one dirham.

[…]

فلمّا هلك بهرام ملّكوا ابنه يزدجرد بن بهرام، فسار بسيرة ابيه سبع عشرة سنة، وحضره الموت وله ابنان: فيروز وهرمزد، وكان فيروز أكبر سِنّاً.

فأستأثر هرمزد بالملك دون أخيه فيروز، فهرب فيروز حتى لحق ببلاد الهياطلة، وهي تخارستان والصغانيان وكابلستان والأرضون التي خلف النهر الأعظم مما يلي أرض بلخ، فدخل على ملك تلك الأرض، فأخبره بظلم أخيه إياه، واحتوائه على الملك دونه، وهو أصغر سِنّاً منه، وسأله أن يمدّه بجيش حتى يسترجع الملك. فقال: لن أُجيبك إلى ما تسأل حتى تحلف أنك أكبر سِنّاً منه، فحلف فيروز، فأمدّه بثلاثين ألف رجل، على أن يجعل له حدا لترمذ، فسار فيروز بالجيش؛ واتّبعه جل أهل المملكة، ورأوا أنه أحق بالملك من هرمزد لفظاظة هرمزد وشرارته، فحاربه حتى استرجع الملك، وأقال أخاه عثرته، ولم يؤاخذه بما كان منه.

When Bahrām perished they made his son Yazdajird son of Bahrām king. He followed his father's way of life for seventeen years, and death came upon him, and he had two sons Fayrūz and Hurmazd, Fayrūz being older. Hurmazd claimed the kingdom in opposition to his brother Fayrūz. Fayrūz fled and even reached the country of the Hephthalites, namely Tuḫaristān Ṣaġāniyān, Kābulistān, and the lands beyond the Great River in what borders the land of Balḫ. He went before the king of this land and told him about the injustice of his brother against him and his taking possession of the kingdom in opposition to him in spite of being younger. He asked him to help him with an army so that he might take back the kingdom. He said: "I shall not answer what thou askest unless thou swear that thou art older than he." Fayrūz swore. He helped him with thirty thousand men on the condition that he make for him the frontier at Tirmiđ. Fayrūz went with the army, and there followed him most of the folk of his kingdom. They saw that he was worthier of the kingship than Hurmazd because of the boorishness of Hurmazd and his evil ways. He made war on him until he could take back the rule from him, and he pardoned his brother for his transgression and did not punish him for what he had done.

VIII.001/B. Fayrūz

Text from Guirgass & Krachkovskii (1888, 61–62).

ثم استعد وتأهّب لغزو الترك، وأخرج معه الموبذ وسائر وزرائه، وحمل معه ابنته فيروزدخت، وحمل معه خزائن وأموالا كثيرة، وخلف على ملكه رجلا من عظماء وزرائه، يسمى شُوخَر، وتدعى مرتبته قارن، وسار حتى جاوز المنارة التي كان بهرام بناها حداً بينه وبين الترك، واخربها، ووغل في أرضهم.

وملك الاتراك يومئذ اخشوان خاقان، فأرسل ملك الترك الى فيروز يعلمه انه قد تعدى، ويحذره عاقبة الظلم، فلم يحفل فيروز بذلك، فجعل خاقان يظهر كراهة للحرب، ويدافع إلى أن هيأ خندقا، عمقه في الأرض عشرون ذراعا، وعرضه عشرة أذرع، وبعد ما بين طرفيه، ثم غماه بأعواد ضعاف، وألقى عليه قصبا، وأخفاه بالتراب، ثم خرج لمحاربة فيروز، فواقعه ساعة، ثم انهزم عنه.

وطلبه فيروز في جنوده، فسلك خاقان مسالك قد فهمها بين ظهري ذلك الخندق وجاء فيروز على عمياء فتورط هو وجنوده في ذلك الخندق ، وعطف عليه اخشوان وطراخنته، فقتلوهم بالحجارة، واحتوى اخشوان على معسكر فيروز وكل ما كان فيه من الأموال والحرم، وأخذ الموبذ أسيرا، وأخذ فيروزدخت ابنة فيروز، ولحق الفلّ بشوخر، فأعلموه بمصاب فيروز وجنوده، فاستنهض شوخر الناس للطلب بثأر ملكهم، فخف له جميع الناس من الجنود واهل البلاد، فسار في جموع كثيرة حتى وغل في بلاد الترك؛ وهاب اخشوان ملك الترك الإقدام على شوخر لكثرة جموعه وعدته، فأرسل إليه يسأله الموادعة على ان يردَّ عليه الموبذ وفيروزدخت وكل أسير في يده، وجميع ما أخذ من أموال فيروز وخزائنه وآلاته، فأجابه شوخر الى ذلك، وقبضه، وانصرف الى بلاده وأرضه.

فملك بعد فيروز ابنه بلاس بن فيروز، فملك أربع سنين، ثم مات، فجعل شوخر الملك من بعده لأخيه قباذ بن فيروز.

[…] he prepared himself and made ready for attacking the Turks. He brought with him the Mobad and the rest of his viziers, and he carried with him his daughter Fayrūz-Duḫt, and he took with him many treasures and much money. He put in charge of his kingdom a man from among his greatest viziers called Šūḫar whose rank was called Qārin. He went until he passed the tower that Bahrām had built as a boundary between him and the Turks, and he destroyed it. He penetrated their land.

The king of the Turks at that time was Aḫšuwān *ḫāqān*. The king of the Turks sent to Fayrūz, telling him that he was in breach [of their agreement concerning the border] and warning him of the consequence of his audacity. But he heeded this not. The *ḫāqān* began to pretend an aversion to war, and he delayed in order to prepare a trench whose depth in the earth was twenty cubits and whose breadth was ten cubits, and he made it wide between its two sides. Then he covered it with weak sticks and he lay reeds over it and hid it with earth. Then he went out to fight Fayrūz, then engaged him for a while, then he was routed. Fayrūz pursued him and his soldiers. The *ḫāqān* followed the way that he knew to be between the sides of the trench. Fayrūz went [forward] blindly and he and his army were ensnared in that trench and Aḫšuwān and his *tarḫān*s turned to back him, and killed them with stones. And Aḫšuwān took possession of Fayrūz's camp and his army and all chattels and womenfolk that were in it. He took the *mūbad* prisoner and he took Fayrūz-Duḫt, daughter of Fayrūz.

The remnants of the army went to Šūḫar, and they told him of the misfortune of Fayrūz and his army. Šūḫar encouraged the men to seek to avenge their king, and all the men of the army and the folk of the country hastened to Šūḫar. He went with a great host until he penetrated deep into the country of the Turks. Aḫšuwān was afraid to approach Šūḫar because of the size of his army and the number of it. He sent to him asking him for a truce in exchange for sending back the *mūbad* and Fayrūz-Duḫt and all prisoners in his possession and all that he had taken from Fayrūz's chattels and his treasures and his war engines. And Šūḫar granted him this. He took hold of it and returned to his country and land.

After Fayrūz, Balās son of Fayrūz was made king, and he ruled for four years. Then he died. And after him Šūḫar gave the kingdom to his brother Qubāð son of Fayrūz.

[…]

VIII.001/C. Qubāḏ

Text from Guirgass & Krachkovskii (1888, 66–67).

فلما مضى لملك قباذ عشر سنين أتاه رجل من اهل اصطخر، يقال له مزدك، فدعاه إلى دين المزدكية، فمال قباذ إليها، فغضبت الفرس من ذلك غضباً شديداً، وهمّوا بقتل قباذ، فاعتذر إليهم، فلم يقبلوا عذره، وخلعوه من الملك، وحبسوه في محبس، ووكلوا به، وملّكوا عليهم جاماسف بن فيروز أخا قباذ.

وان أخت قباذ اندسّت لقباذ حتى أخرجته بحيله، فمكث أياما مستخفياً إلى أن أمن الطلب، ثم خرج في خمس نفر من ثقاته، فيهم زرمهر بن شوخر نحو الهياطلة ، يستنصر ملكها

When ten years of Qubāḏ's reign had passed, there came to him a man of the folk of Iṣṭaḫr, who was called Mazdak. He called him to the religion of Mazdakism, and Qubāḏ inclined thereto. But the Persians were wroth at this with vehement wrath, and meditated the murder of Qubāḏ. He made excuse to them, but they received not his excuse, and they deposed him from the kingdom and put him in gaol, and invested with power, and chose for their king, Jāmāsf son of Fayrūz, brother of Qubāḏ.

Verily Qubāḏ's sister went in secret to Qubāḏ, and even compassed his going out by some means. He abode there a while in hiding until he was safe from search. Then he went forth with five men whom he trusted (amongst whom was Zarmihr son of Šūḫar) towards the Hephthalites seeking aid from their king.

[…]

وخرج سائراً حتى ورد على صاحب الهياطلة، فشكى إليه صنيع رعيته به، وسأله أن يمده بجيش ليسترجع ملكه، فأجابه إلى ذلك، وشرط عليه أن يسلم له حيز الصغانيان، ووجه معه ثلاثين ألف رجل

He set out until he came to the chief of Hephthalites. He complained to him of what his folk had done to him, and he asked him to bear him aid with an army so as to recover his kingdom. He granted this, and made this condition for them that he yield to him the region of Ṣiġāniyān, and he sent with him thirty thousand men.

VIII.001/D. Kisrā Anūširwān

Text from Guirgass & Krachkovskii (1888, 69–70).

فلما اتى لملك قباذ ثلاث واربعون سنه حضره الموت، ففوض الأمر الى ابنه كسرى، وهو انوشروان

When king Qubāḏ reached his forty-third [regnal] year, death was upon him, and he gave power to his son Kisrā, namely Anūširwān.

[…]

ووجه الجيوش إلى بلاد الهياطلة، وافتتح تخارستان وزابلستان، وكابلستان والصغانيان. وان ملك الترك سنجبو خاقان جمع إليه أهل المملكة، واستعد، وسار نحو أرض خراسان حتى غلب على الشاش، وفرغانة، وسمرقند، وكش ونسف، وانتهى إلى بخارى.

وبلغ ذلك كسرى، فعقد لابنه هرمز، الذى ملك من بعده، على جيش كثيف، ووجهه لمحاربة خاقان التركى، فسار حتى إذا قرب منه خلّى ما كان غلب عليه، ولحق ببلاده؛ فكتب كسرى إلى ابنه هرمز بالانصراف

And he sent his army into the country of the Hephthalites, and conquered Tuḫāristān, Zābulistān, Kābulistān, and Ṣiġānīyān.

The king of the Turks, Sinjibū *ḫāqān*, gathered unto himself the people of his kingdom and he prepared himself [for war]. He went towards the land of Ḫurāsān until he conquered Šāš, Farġāna, Samarqand, Kaš, and Nasaf, and he ended in Buḫārā. [News of] this reached Kisrā and he entrusted his son Hurmazd (who was king after him) with a copious army and sent him to fight the Turkish *ḫāqān*. He marched until he found himself near him, [who] abandoned what he had conquered, and returned to his country. Kisrā wrote to his son Hurmazd that he should return.

VIII.002. Ṭabarī

Text from M. J. de Goeje (1879–1901); translation from C. E. Bosworth (1999).

VIII.002/A. Khaqan

Text from Goeje (1879–1901, I(2): 863–66); translation from Bosworth (1999, 94–99).

وكان أول من سبق إلى المكاثرة له عليه خاقان ملك الترك، فإنه غزاه في مائتين وخمسين ألف رجل من الترك فبلغ الفرس إقبال خاقان في جمع عظيم إلى بلاده فتعاظمهم ذلك وهالهم ودخل عليه من عظمائهم أناس لهم رأى أصيل وعندهم نظر للعامة فقالوا له إنه قد أزفك أيها الملك من بائقة هذا العدوّ ما قد شغلك عمّا أنت عليه من اللهو والتلذذ فتأهب له كيلا يلحقنا منه أمرٌ يلزمك فيه مسبة وعار فقال لهم بهرام إن الله ربنا قوي ونحن أولياؤه ولم يزدد إلا مثابرة على اللهو والتلذّذ والصيد

The first ruler to set himself up as a rival to Bahram in power was Khaqan, the king of the Turks, who attacked Bahram with an army of 250,000 Turks. News of Khaqan's approaching their land with a powerful force reached the Persians. It appeared to them a catastrophe and terrified them. A group of the Persian great men of state, known for their firm judgment and their solicitude for the masses of the people, went into Bahram's presence and told him, "O king, there has suddenly come upon you the calamitous appearance of the enemy, and this should be enough to rouse you from the pleasure and merrymaking in which you are sunk. So get ready to tackle it, lest we become afflicted by something which will entail revilement and shame for you." Bahram merely replied, "God, our Lord, is powerful, and we are under His protection," and he only increased in his exclusive pursuit of pleasure and merry-making.

وإنه تجهز فسار إلى آذربيجان لينسك في بيت نارها ويتوجه منها إلى أرمينية ويطلب الصيد في آجامها ويلهو في مسيره في سبع رهط من العظماء وأهل البيوتات وثلثمائة رجل من رابطته ذوي بأس ونجدة واستخلف أخاً له يسمى نرسي على ما كان يدبّر من ملكه

But then he fitted out an expedition and proceeded to Azerbaijan, in order to worship at the fire temple there, then to Armenia to seek game for hunting in its thickets and to enjoy himself on

the way. He was accompanied by a group of seven of the great men of state and the nobles plus three hundred mighty and courageous men from his personal guard. He left one of his brothers, called Narsi, to act as his governor over the kingdom.

فلم يشكّ الناس حين بلغهم مسير بهرام فيمن سار واستخلافه أخاه في أن ذلك هربٌ من عدوه وإسلام لملكه وتوامروا في إنفاذ وفد إلى خاقان، والإقرار له بالخراج مخافةً منه لاستباحة بلادهم واصطلامة مقاتلتهم إن هم لم يذعنوا له بذلك فبلغ خاقان الذي أجمع عليه الفرس من الانقياد والخضوع له فآمن ناحيتهم، وأمر جنده بالتورع فأتى بهرام عينٌ كان وجهه ليأتيه بخبر خاقان فأخبره بأمر خاقان وعزمه فسار إليه بهرام في العدّة الذين كانوا معه فبيّته وقتل خاقان بيده وأفشى القتل في جنده وانهزم من سلم من القتل منهم ومنحوه أكتافهم، وخلّفوا عسكرهم وذراريّهم وأثقالهم وأمعن بهرام في طلبهم يقتلهم ويحوي ما غنم منهم ويسبي وذراريّهم وانصرف وجنده سالمين وظفر بهرام بتاج خاقان وإكليله وغلب على بلاده من بلاد الترك واستعمل على ما غلب عليه منها مرزبانًا حباه سريرًا من فضة وأتاه أناس من أهل البلاد المتاخمة لما غلب عليه من بلاد الترك خاضعين باخعين له بالطاعة وسألوه أن يعلمهم حدّ ما بينه وبينهم فلا يتعدّوه فحدّ لهم حدّاً وأمر فبنيت منارة وهي المنارة التي أمر بها فيروز الملك ابن يزدجرد فقدّمت إلى بلاد الترك ووجّه بهرام قائدًا من قوّاده إلى ما وراء النهر منهم وأمره بقتالهم فقاتلهم وأثخنهم حتى أقرّوا لبهرام بالعبوديّة وأداء الجزية

When the people heard about Bahram's expedition and his appointment of his brother as his deputy to govern the kingdom, they felt sure that this was an act of flight from his enemy and an act of abandonment of his kingdom. They took counsel together and resolved to send an embassy to Khaqan and to undertake that they would pay him tribute, out of fear that he would invade their land and would annihilate their own troops unless they showed themselves submissive to him by handing the money over. Khaqan heard about what the Persians had agreed upon, that they would submit and show themselves submissive to him, so he gave a guarantee of security for their land and ordered his army to hold back. Bahram, however, had sent forward a spy to bring back to him information about Khaqan; the spy now returned and told him about Khaqan's doings and intentions. So Bahram marched against him with the force accompanying him and fell on him by night, killing Khaqan with his own hand and spreading slaughter among Khaqan's troops. Those who escaped being killed were put to flight and showed their backs. They left behind their encampment, their wives and children and their baggage. Bahram exerted himself assiduously in hunting them down, killing them, gathering up the plunder he had seized from them and enslaving their women and children, and returned with his own army intact. Bahram had seized Khaqan's crown and diadem and had conquered his country in the land of the Turks. He appointed Warden of the Marches over these conquered territories, providing him with a silver throne. A group of people from the regions bordering on the land of the Turks that he had conquered came to Bahram, submissive and offering him obedience, and they asked him to demarcate for them the boundary between his and their territories, which they would not then cross. So he duly delimited the frontier for them, and ordered the construction of a tall and slender tower [*manarah*]; this is the tower which Fayruz, son of Yazdajird [II] [later] gave orders for its [re]building, and it was erected in a forward position on [the frontier of] the land of the Turks. Bahram also sent one of his military commanders to Transoxania in the land of the Turks and instructed him to fight the people there. So he made war on them and wrought great slaughter among them, until they promised submission to Bahram and the payment of tribute.

وإن بهرام انصرف إلى آذربيجان راجعًا إلى محلّته من السواد وأمر بما كان في إكليل خاقان من ياقوت أحمر وسائر الجوهر فعلّق على بيت نار آذربيجان ثم سار وورد مدينة طيسبون فنزل دار المملكة بها ثم كتب إلى جنده وعمّاله بقتله خاقان وما كان من أمره وأمر جنده ثم ولّى أخاه نرسي خراسان وأمره أن يسير إليها وينزل بلخ وتقدّم إليه بما أراد

Bahram now went back to Azerbaijan and then to his residence in the Sawad [of Iraq]. He ordered that the rubies and other jewels in Khaqan's diadem should be hung up in the fire temple of Azerbaijan, and then he set off and came to the city of Ctesiphon. He took up his quarters in the administrative headquarters there. He sent letters to his troops and provincial governors announcing how he had killed Khaqan and what he and the Persian army had accomplished. Then he appointed his brother Narsi governor of Khurasan, instructed him to make his way thither and to establish his residence at Balkh, and ordered for him whatever he require.

[…]

وإنّ انصراف بهرام من غزوه ذلك كان على طريق آذربيجان وإنه نحل بيت نار الشيز ما كان في إكليل خاقان من اليواقيت والجوهر وسيفًا كان لخاقان مفصّصًا بدرّ وجوهر وحلية كثيرة وأخدمه خاتون امرأة خاقان ورفع عن الناس الخراج لثلث سنين شكرًا على ما لقي من النصر في وجهه وقسم في الفقراء والمساكين مالًا عظيمًا وفي البيوتات وذوى الأحساب عشرين ألف ألف درهم وكتب بخبر خاقان إلى الآفاق كتبًا يذكر فيها أن الخبر ورد عليه بورود خاقان بلاده وأنه مجد الله وعظمه وتوكل عليه وسار نحوه في سبعة رهط من أهل البيوتات وثلثمائة فارس من نخبة رابطته على طريق آذربيجان وجبل القبق حتى نفذ على براري خوارزم ومفاوزها فأبلاه الله أحسن بلاء وذكر لهم ما وضع عنهم من الخراج وكان كتابه في ذلك كتابًا بليغًا

Bahram's return journey from that expedition [against the Turks] was via the road to Azerbaijan; he presented to the fire temple at al-Shiz the rubies and jewels that were in Khaqan's diadem, a sword belonging to Khaqan encrusted with pearls and jewels, and many other precious adornments. He gave Khatun, Khaqan's wife, to the temple as a servant there. He remitted to the people three years' land tax as a thank offering for the victory he had achieved in his expedition, and he divided up among the poor and destitute a great sum of money, and among the nobles and persons of meritorious behavior twenty million dirhams. He sent letters to the distant lands with news about his dealings with Khaqan, in which he mentioned how reports had reached him that Khaqan had invaded his lands, and how he had extolled and magnified God and had depended completely on Him, how he had marched against Khaqan with a guard of [only] seven men from the nobility and three hundred cavalrymen from the choicest warriors of his personal guard, via the Azerbaijan and Caucasus Mountains road until he had reached the deserts and wastes of Khwarazm, and how God had then tested him [in battle] with a most successful outcome. He further mentioned to them how much land tax he had remitted to them. His letter containing this information was an eloquent and penetrating one.

VIII.002/B. Fayruz

Text from Goeje (1879–1901, I(2): 871–80); translation from Bosworth (1999, 107–20).

وكان له ابنان يقال لأحدهما هرمز وكان ملكًا على سجستان والآخر يقال له فيروز فغلب هرمز على الملك من بعد هلاك أبيه يزدجرد فهرب فيروز منه ولحق ببلاد الهياطلة وأخبر ملكها بقصته وقصة هرمز أخيه وأنه أولى بالملك منه وسأله أن يمدّه بجيش

يقاتل بهم هرمز ويحتوي على ملك أبيه فأبى ملك الهياطلة أن يجيبه إلى ما سأل من ذلك حتى أخبر أن هرمز ملك ظلوم جائر فقال ملك الهياطلة إن الجور لا يرضاه الله ولا يصلح عمل أهله ولا يستطاع أن ينتصف ويحترف في ملك الملك الجائر إلا بالجور والظلم فأمدّ فيروز بعد أن دفع إليه الطالقان بجيش فأقبل بهم وقاتل هرمز أخاه فقتله وشتّت جمعه وغلب على الملك

Yazdajird had two sons, one called Hurmuz, who was ruler over Sijistan, and the other called Fayruz. It was Hurmuz who seized the royal power after his father Yazdajird's death. Fayruz fled from him and reached the land of the Hephthalites. He told their king the story of what had happened between him and his brother and that he had a better right to the throne than Hurmuz. He asked the king to provide him with an army with which he could combat Hurmuz and gain control of his father's kingdom, but the king of the Hephthalites refused to respond to his request until he received information that Hurmuz really was a tyrannical and unjust king. He said, "God is not pleased with injustice, and He does not let the works of those committing it prosper; under the rule of an unjust king, a man cannot succeed properly in any enterprise or practice any trade successfully except by injustice and tyranny likewise." Then, after Fayruz had made over al-Talaqan to him, he provided Fayruz with an army. Fayruz advanced with it and gave battle to his brother Hurmuz, killing him, scattering his forces, and seizing control of his kingdom.

[…]

وسار إلى قومٍ كانوا قد غلبوا على طخارستان يقال لهم الهياطلة وقد كان قوّادهم في أول ملكه لمعونتهم إياه على أخيه وكانوا - فيما زعموا - يعملون عمل قوم لوط فلم يستحلّ ترك البلاد في أيديهم فقاتلهم فقتلوه في المعركة وأربعة بنين له وأربعة أخوة كلهم كان يتسمى بالملك وغلبوا على عامة خراسان حتى سار إليهم رجل من أهل فارس يقال له سوخرا من أهل شيراز وكان فيهم عظيمًا فخرج فيمن تبعه شبه المحتسب المتطوع حتى لقي صاحب الهياطلة فأخرجه من بلاد خراسان فافترقا على الصلح ورد ما لم يضع مما في عسكر فيروز من الأسراء والسبي وملك سبعًا وعشرين سنة

He then marched against a people called the Hephthalites, who had taken over Tukharistan. At the outset of his reign, he had strengthened their power, because they had helped him against his brother [scil. Hurmuz]. They allegedly practiced sodomy, hence Fayruz did not deem it permissible [or: it was not deemed permissible] to leave the land in their hands. He attacked the Hephthalites, but they killed him in battle, together with four of his sons and four of his brothers, all of whom bore the title of king. The Hephthalites conquered the whole of Khurasan, until there rose up against them a man of Fars, from the people of Shiraz, among whom he was a chief, called Sukhra. Sukhra went forth with a band of followers, like a volunteer fighter and one seeking a heavenly reward for his action, until he encountered the ruler of the Hephthalites and expelled him from the land of Khurasan. The two sides now disengaged and made peace; all those members of Fayruz's army who had not by then perished and had been made captive-men, women and children-were repatriated. Fayruz had reigned for twenty-seven[i] years.

[…]

[i] Bosworth: "seven."

ولمّا حيّيت بلاد فيروز واستوثق له الملك وأثخن في اعدائه وقهرهم وفرغ من بناء هذه المدن الثلث سار بجنوده نحو خراسان مريدًا حرب أخشنوار ملك الهياطلة فلمّا بلغ أخشنوار خبره اشتدّ منه رعبه فذكر أن رجلًا من أصحاب أخشنوار بذل له نفسه وقال له اقطع يديَّ ورجليَّ وألقنى على طريق فيروز وأحسن إلى ولدي وعيالي يريد بذلك فيما ذكر الاحتيال لفيروز ففعل ذلك أخشنوار بذلك الرجل وألقاه على طريق فيروز فلمّا مرّ به أنكر حاله وسأله عن أمره فأخبره أن أخشنوار فعل ذلك به لأنه قال له لا قوام لك بفيروز وجنود الفرس فرّق له فيروز ورحمه وأمر بحملة معه فأعلمه على وجه النصح منه له فيما زعم أنه يدلّه وأصحابه على طريق مختصر لم يدخل إلى ملك الهياطلة منه أحد فاغتر فيروز بذلك منه وأخذ بالقوم في الطريق الذي ذكره له الأقطع فلم يزل يقطع بهم مفازة بعد مفازة فكلّما شكوا عطشًا أعلمهم أنهم قد قربوا من الماء ومن قطع المفازة حتى إذا بلغ بهم موضعًا علم أنهم لا يقدرون فيه على ما تقدم ولا تأخر بين لهم أمره فقال أصحاب فيروز لفيروز قد كنّا حذّرناك هذا أيها الملك فلم تحذر فأما الآن فلا بد من المضيّ قدمًا حتى نوافى القوم على الحالات كلها فمضوا لوجوههم وقتل العطش أكثرهم وصار فيروز بمن نجا معه إلى عدوّهم فلمّا أشرفوا عليهم على الحال التي هم فيها دعوا أخشنوار إلى الصلح على أن يخلى سبيلهم حتى ينصرفوا إلى بلادهم على أن يجعل فيروز له عهد الله وميثاقه أن لا يغزوهم ولا يروم أرضهم ولا يبعث إليهم جندًا يقاتلونهم ويجعل بين مملكتهما حدّاً لا يجوزه فرضى أخشنوار بذلك وكتب له به فيروز كتابًا مختومًا وأشهد له على نفسه شهودًا ثم خلّى سبيله وانصرف

When Fayruz's land had revived and his kingly rule there was firmly established, when he had inflicted condign violence on his enemies and subdued them, and when he had completed the building of these three towns, he set off with his army for Khurasan, with the aim of making war on Akhshunwar, king of the Hephthalites. When news of this reached Akhshunwar, he was stricken with terror. It is mentioned that one of Akhshunwar's retainers offered up his life for him and told him, "Cut off my hands and feet and hurl me down in Fayruz's way; but look after my children and family." He intended by this, so it has been mentioned, to trick Fayruz. Akhshunwar did this to the man, and threw him down in Fayruz's way. When Fayruz passed by him, he was distressed at the man's state, and asked him what had happened to him. The man informed him that Akhshunwar had done that to him because he had told Akhshunwar that he would be unable to stand up against Fayruz and[i] the Persian troops. Fayruz accordingly felt pity and compassion for him, and ordered him to be carried with him. The man told Fayruz, by way of advice, so it is alleged, that he would show him and his followers a short cut, which no one had ever previously used, to get to the king of the Hephthalites. Fayruz was taken in by this trickery, and he and his troops set off along the route the mutilated man had told him about. They kept on floundering through one desert after another, and whenever they complained of thirst, the man would tell them that they were near to water and had almost crossed the desert. Finally, when the man had brought them to a place where, he knew, they could neither go forward nor back, he revealed to them what he had done. Fayruz's retainers said to him, "We warned you about this man, O King, but you would not be warned. Now we can only go forward until we encounter the enemy, whatever the circumstances may be." So they pressed ever onward; thirst killed the greater part of them, and Fayruz went on with the survivors against the enemy. When they contemplated the state to which they had been reduced, they appealed to Akhshunwar for a peace agreement, on the basis that he would allow them freely to return to

[i] Bosworth omits "Fayruz and."

their homeland, while Fayruz would promise Akhshunwar, with an oath and an agreement sworn before God, that he would never in the future mount raids against him, covet his territories, or send against him an army to make war on them. Fayruz further undertook to establish a boundary between the two kingdoms, which he would not cross. Akhshunwar was content with these promises. Fayruz wrote for him a document, properly sealed and with his obligations guaranteed by professional witnesses. Akhshunwar then allowed him to depart, and he returned home.

فلمّا صار إلى مملكته حمله الأنف والحميّة على معاودة أخشنوار فغزاه بعد أن نهاه وزراؤه وخاصّته عن ذلك لما فيه من نقض العهد فلم يقبل منهم وأبى إلا ركوب رأيه وكان فيمن نهاه عن ذلك رجل كان يخصّه ويجتبى رأيه يقال له مزدبوذ فلمّا رأى مزدبوذ لجاجته كتب ما دار بينهما في صحيفة وسأله الختم عليها ومضى فيروز لوجهه نحو بلاد أخشنوار وقد كان أخشنوار حفر خندقًا بينه وبين بلاد فيروز عظيمًا فلمّا انتهى إليه فيروز عقد عليه القناطر ونصب عليها رايات جعلها أعلامًا له ولأصحابه في انصرافهم وجاز إلى القوم فلمّا التقى معسكرهم احتجّ عليه أخشنوار بالكتاب الذي كتبه له ووعظه بعهده وميثاقه فأبى فيروز إلا لجاجًا ومحكًا وتواقفًا فكلّم كل واحد منهما صاحبه كلامًا طويلًا ونشبت بينهما بعد ذلك الحرب وأصحاب فيروز على فتور من أمرهم للعهد الذي كان بينهم وبين الهياطلة وأخرج أخشنوار الصحيفة التي كتبها له فيروز فرفعها على رمح وقال اللهمّ خذ بما في هذا الكتاب فانهزم فيروز وسها عن موضع الرايات وسقط في الخندق فهلك وأخذ أخشنوارأثقال فيروز ونساءه وأمواله ودواوينه وأصاب جند فارس شيء لم يصبهم مثله قط

However, once Fayruz arrived back in his kingdom, overweening pride and uncontrollable rashness led him to renew the war with Akhshunwar. He led an attack on Akhshunwar, despite the advice of his viziers and his close advisers against this, since it involved breaking the agreement; but he rejected their words and would only persist in following his own judgment. Among those who counseled against this course of action was a man called Muzdbuwadh who was especially close to Fayruz and whose opinion Fayruz used to seek out. When Muzdbuwadh perceived Fayruz's firm determination, he set down what had passed between him and the king in a document, which he asked Fayruz to seal. Fayruz now set off on his expedition toward Akhshunwar's territory. Akhshunwar had dug a great trench between his own and Fayruz's territory. When Fayruz came to this, he threw bridges across it and set up on them banners which would be guiding markers for him and his troops on the way back home, and then crossed over to confront the enemy. When Akhshunwar came up to their encampment, he publicly adduced before Fayruz the document with the agreement he had written for Akhshunwar, and warned him about his oath and his undertaking; but Fayruz rejected this and only persisted in his contentiousness and squaring up to his opponent. Each one of them addressed his opponent in lengthy speeches, but in the end, they became enmeshed in the toils of war. Fayruz's followers were, however, in a weakened and defeatist state because of the agreement that had existed between them and the Hephthalites. Akhshunwar brought forth the document Fayruz had written out for him and raised it up on the tip of a lance, calling out, "O God, act according to what is in this document!" Fayruz was routed, mistook the place where the standards had been set up [as markers], fell into the trench, and perished. Akhshunwar seized Fayruz's baggage, his womenfolk, his wealth, and his administrative bureaus. The Persian army suffered a defeat the like of which they had never before experienced.

وكان بسجستان رجل من أهل كورة أردشير خُرّة من الأعاجم ذو علم وبأس وبطش يقال له سوخرا ومعه جماعة من الأساورة فلمّا بلغه خبر فيروز ركب من ليلته فأغذّ السير حتى انتهى إلى أخشنوار فأرسل إليه وآذنه بالحرب وتوعّده بالجائحة والبوار فبعث إليه أخشنوار جيشًا عظيمًا فلمّا التقوا ركب إليهم سوخرا فوجدهم مدلين، فيقال إنه رمى بعض من ورد عليه منهم رمية فوقعت بين عينى فرسه حتى كادت النشّابة تغيب في رأسه فسقط الفرس وتمكن سوخرا من راكبه فاستبقاه وقال له انصرف إلى صاحبك فأخبره بما رأيت فانصرفوا إلى أخشنوار وحملوا الفرس معم فلمّا رأى أثر الرمية بهت وأرسل إلى سوخرا أن سل حاجتك فقال له حاجتى أن تردّ علىّ الديوان وتطلق الأسرى ففعل ذلك فلمّا صار الديوان في يده واستنفذ الأسرى استخرج من الديوان بيوت الأموال التي كانت مع فيروز فكتب إلى أخشنوار أنه غير منصرف إلا بها فلمّا تبين الجدّ افتدى نفسه

There was in Sijistān a man of the Persians, from the people of the district of Ardashir Khurrah, who had insight, strength in battle, and bravery, and who was called Sukhra. He had with him a detachment of cavalrymen. When he received the news about Fayruz, he rode off that same night, traveling as far as he could, till he came up with Akhshunwar. He sent a messenger, announcing to him his intention of making war and threatening him with destruction and ruin. Akhshunwar dispatched a mighty army against Sukhra. When the two sides met, Sukhra rode out against them, and found them eager for battle. It is said that he shot an arrow at a man who had ridden out to attack him; the arrow struck the latter's horse between the eyes and became almost totally sunk in its head. The horse fell down dead, and Sukhra was able to capture its rider. Sukhra spared his life, and instructed him to go back to his master and inform him about what he had seen. The [Hephthalite] troops went back to Akhshunwar bearing with them the horse's corpse. When Akhshunwar saw the effects of the arrow shot, he was amazed, and sent a message to Sukhra, saying, "Ask whatever you want!" Sukhra told him, "I want you to return to me the government exchequer [*al-diwan*] and to release the captives." The king did that. When Sukhra had taken possession of the exchequer and had secured the release of the captives, he extracted from the exchequer records a certified statement of the monies that Fayruz had had with him, and then wrote to Akhshunwar that he was not going to leave without this money. When Sukhra's determination became apparent to Akhshunwar, he purchased his freedom [i.e., from the threatenings of Sukhra], by handing over the missing money.

وذكر بعض أهل العلم بأخبار الفرس من خبر فيروز وخبر أخشنوار نحوًا مما ذكرت غير أنه ذكر أن فيروز لمّا خرج متوجهًا إلى أخشنوار استخلف على مدينة طيسبون ومدينة بَهُرَسير وكانتا محلة الملوك سوخرا هذا قال وكان يقال لمرتبته قارن وكان يلي معهما سجستان وأن فيروز لمّا بلغ منارة كان بهرام جور ابتناها فيما بين تخوم بلاد خراسان وبلاد الترك لئلا يجوزها الترك إلى خراسان لميثاق كان بين الترك والفرس على ترك الفريقين التعدّى لها وكان فيروز عاهد أخشنوار أن لا يجاوزها إلى بلاد الهياطلة أمر فيروز فضمد فيها خمسون فيلا وثلثمائة رجل فجرّت أمامه جرّاً واتّبعها أراد بذلك زعم الوفاء لأخشنوار بما عاهده عليه

Another authority knowledgeable about the historical narratives of the Persians has mentioned the story of Fayruz and Akhshunwar in similar terms to what I have just recounted, except that he has stated that when Fayruz set out and headed toward Akhshunwar, he appointed as his deputy over the cities of Ctesiphon and Bahurasur—the two royal residences—this person Sukhra. He related: The latter was called, on account of his rank, Qarin, and used to be governor of Sijistan as well as of the two cities. Fayruz came to a tower Bahram Jur had constructed in the zone between the border of the land of Khurasan and the land of the Turks in order that the

latter should not cross the frontier into Khurasan—all this in accordance with the covenant between the Turks and the Persians providing that each side should renounce transgressing the other's frontiers. Fayruz likewise had made an agreement with Akhshunwar not to pass beyond the tower into the land of the Hephthalites. [After reaching the tower,] Fayruz gave orders, and had fifty elephants plus three hundred men linked together, and had it [scil. the tower] dragged forward, while he came along behind it. He intended by means of this to assert that he had ostensibly kept faith with Akhshunwar regarding his agreement with him.

فبلغ أخشنوار ما كان من فيروز في أمر تلك المنارة فأرسل إليه يقول انتهِ يا فيروز عما انتهى عنه أسلافك ولا تقدم على ما لم يقدموا عليه فلم يحفل فيروز بقوله ولم تكرثه رسالته وجعل يستطعم محاربة أخشنوار ويدعوه إليها وجعل إخشنوار يمتنع من محاربته ويستكرهها لأن جلّ محاربة الترك إنما هو بالخداع والمكر والمكايدة وان أخشنوار أمر فحفر خلف عسكره خندق عرضه عشرة أذرع وعمقه عشرون ذراعاً وغمّى بخشب ضعاف وألقى عليه تراباً ثم ارتحل في جنده فمضى غير بعيد

Akhshunwar got news of what Fayruz was up to in connection with that tower. He sent an envoy to Fayruz with the message, "Desist, O Fayruz, from what your forefathers abandoned, and don't embark on what they didn't attempt to do!" Fayruz took no notice of his words and Akhshunwar' s message left him unmoved. He began to try and tempt Akhshunwar into a direct military engagement and summoned him to this, but Akhshunwar kept on holding back and showing an aversion for this, because the Turks' method of warfare consists for the most part in trickery, deceitfulness, and stratagems. Furthermore, Akhshunwar ordered a trench to be dug behind the lines of his own army, ten cubits wide and twenty cubits deep. He had light branches of wood laid over it and then had it covered with earth. Then he retired with his troops to a spot not too far away. Fayruz received news of Akhshunwar's departure from his encampment with his troops, and had no doubt that this meant Akhshunwar's withdrawal and flight. He ordered the drums to be beaten, and rode out at the head of his troops in pursuit of Akhshunwar and his followers. They rushed forward impetuously, heading directly toward that trench. But when they reached it, they rushed blindly on to the trench's covering. Fayruz and the whole mass of his army fell into the pit and perished to the last man. Akhshunwar wheeled round to Fayruz's encampment and took possession of everything there. He took captive the Chief Mobadh, and among Fayruz's womenfolk who fell into his hands was Fayruzdukht his daughter. Akhshunwar gave orders for the corpses of Fayruz and all those who had fallen into that trench with him to be retrieved, and they were laid out on funerary structures Akhshunwar sent for Fayruzdukht, wishing to join with her in sexual congress, but she refused.

وإن خبر هلاك فيروز سقط إلى بلاد فارس فارتجّوا له وفزعوا حتى إذا استقرّت حقيقة خبره عند سوخرا تأهّب وسار في عظم من كان قبله من الجند إلى بلاد الهياطلة فلمّا بلغ جرجان بلغ أخشنوار خبر مسيره لمحاربته فاستعدّ وأقبل ملتقيًا له، وأرسل إليه يستخبره عن خبره ويسأله عن اسمه ومرتبته فأرسل أنه رجل يقال له سوخرا ولمرتبته قارن وأنه إنما سار إليه لينتقم منه لفيروز فأرسل إليه أخشنوار يقول إن سبيلك في الأمر الذي قدمت له كسبيل فيروز إذ لم يعقبه في كثرة جنوده من محاربته إياى إلا الهلكة والبوار فلم ينهنه سوخرا قول أخشنوار ولم يعبأ به وأمر جنوده فاستعدّوا وتسلّحوا وزحف إلى أخشنوار لشدّة إقدامه وحدّة قلبه فطلب موادعته وصلحه فلم يقبل منه سوخرا صلحًا دون أن يصير في يده كلّ شيء صار عنده من عسكر فيروز فسلّم

أخشنوار إليه ما أصاب من أموال فيروز وخزائنه ومرابطه ونسائه وفيهن فيروز دخت ودفع إليه موبذان موبذ وكلّ أحد كان عنده من عظماء الفرس فانصرف سوخرا بذلك كلّه إلى بلاد الفرس

When the news of Fayruz's death reached the Persian lands, the people were thrown into perturbation and terror. However, when Sukhra became convinced of the exact truth of Fayruz's fate, he got ready and advanced with the greater part of the troops at his disposal against the Hephthalite lands. When Sukhra reached Jurjan, Akhshunwar received news of his expedition to attack him, so he prepared for war and moved toward engaging Sukhra in battle; and at the same time he sent to Sukhra asking him about his intentions and enquiring what his name and his official position were. Sukhra sent back the message that he was a man with the personal name of Sukhra and the official rank of Qarin, and that his intention in marching against Akhshunwar was to take vengeance on him for Fayruz's death. Akhshunwar returned a message to him: "Your way of proceeding in this affair you have undertaken is exactly like Fayruz's was, since despite the numerousness of his troops, the sole consequence of his attacking me was his own destruction and perdition." But Akhshunwar's words did not deter Sukhra, and he paid no heed to them. He gave orders to his troops, and they got ready for battle and girded on their weapons. He moved forward against Akhshunwar, advancing with firm determination and a keen mind [literally, 'heart']. Akhshunwar sought a truce and a peace agreement with Sukhra, but the latter refused to contemplate any peace agreement with him unless he could recover everything Akhshunwar had appropriated from Fayruz's encampment. So Akhshunwar returned to him everything he had seized from Fayruz's camp, including his treasuries, the contents of his stables, and his womenfolk, including Fayruzdukht, and he handed back to him the Chief Mobadh and every single one of the great men of the Persians in his possession. Sukhra then went back to the land of the Persians with all that.

[…]

VIII.002/C. Qubadh I

Text from Goeje (1879–1901, I(2): 883–887); translation from Bosworth (1999, 128–36).

ثم ملك قباذ بن فيروز بن يزدجرد بن بهرام جور، وكان قباذ قبل أن يصير الملك إليه قد صار إلى خاقان مستنصراً به على أخيه بلاش

Then there succeeded to the royal power Qubadh, son of Fayruz, son of Yazdajird [II], son of Bahram [V] Jur. Before Qubadh attained the throne, he had fled to Khaqan, seeking help from him against his brother Balash.

[…]

ومضى قباذ إلى خاقان فلمّا وصل إليه أعلمه أنه ابن ملك فارس وأن أخاه ضادّه في الملك وغلبه وأنه أتاه يستنصره فوعده أحسن العدة ومكث قباذ عند خاقان أربع سنين يدافعه بما وعده فلمّا طال الأمر على قباذ أرسل إلى امرأة خاقان يسألها أن تتّخذه ولداً وأن تكلّم فيه زوجها وتسأله إنجاز عدته ففعلت ولم تزل تحمل على خاقان حتى وجّه مع قباذ جيشاً فلمّا انصرف قباذ بذلك الجيش

Qubadh traveled on to Khaqan, and when he reached him, he told him that he was the son of the king of Persia and that his brother had contested the throne with him and had gained the upper hand. Hence he was now coming to Khaqan seeking help. The latter gave him fine promises, but Qubadh remained at Khaqan's court for four years, during which Khaqan kept putting off his promise to Qubadh. Qubadh became tired of waiting and sent a message to Khaqan's wife requesting her to adopt him as her own child, and requesting her to speak with her husband regarding him and ask him to fulfill his promise. She did this, and kept on at length pressing Khaqan until he dispatched an army with Qubadh.

[…]

وهرب قباذ فلحق بأرض الهياطلة ليستمدّ ملكها ويستجيشه فيحارب من خالفه وخلعه

Qubadh now took to flight until he reached the land of the Hephthalites, in order to ask their king to help him and to provide him with an army, so that he might make war on those who had rebelled against him and deposed him.

[…]

VIII.002/D. Kisra

Text from Goeje (1879–1901, I(2): 894–899); translation from Bosworth (1999, 150–60).

وارتجع بلاداً كانت من مملكة فارس خرج بعضها من يد الملك قباذ إلى ملوك الأمم لعلل شتّى وأسباب منها السند وبُست والرُّخَّج وزابُلِستان وطُخارِستان ودَردِستان وكابُلِستان وأعظم القتل في أمّة يقال لها البارِز وأجلى بقيّتهم عن بلادهم وأسكنهم مواضع من بلاد مملكته واذعنوا له بالعبودية واستعان بهم في حروبه وأمر فأسرت أمة أخرى يقال لها صول وقُدِم بهم عليه

He recovered lands belonging to the kingdom of Persia, some of which had slipped out of the hand of King Qubadh and into the control of other monarchs of the nations, through various causes and reasons, including Sind, Bust, al-Rukhkhaj, Zabulistan, Tukharistan, Dardistan and Kabulistan. He inflicted extensive slaughter among a people called the Bariz, transported the remaining ones of them from their land, and resettled them in various places of his kingdom. They submitted to him as his servants, and he utilized them in his military campaigns. He gave orders for another people, called the Sul, to be made captives, and they were brought before him.

[…]

وكان الملك فيروز بنى في ناحية صول وألّان بناءً بصخرٍ إرادة أن يحصّن بلاده عن تناول تلك الأمم إياها وأحدث الملك قباذ بن فيروز من بعد أبيه في تلك المواطن بناءً كثيراً حتى إذا ملك كسرى أمر فبنيت في ناحية صول بصخرٍ منحوتٍ في ناحية جرجان مدنٌ وحصونٌ وآكامٌ وبنيانٌ كثيرٌ ليكون حرزاً لأهل بلاده يلجئون إليها من عدوٍ إن دهمهم وإن سِنجِبوا خاقان كان أمنع الترك وأشجعهم وأعزّهم وأكثرهم جنوداً وهو الذي قاتل وزر ملك الهياطلة غير خائف كثرة الهياطلة ومنعتهم فقتل وزر ملكها وعامّة جنوده وغنم أموالهم واحتوى على بلادهم إلا ما كان كسرى غلب عليه منها

King Fayruz had previously erected in the regions of the Sul and al-Lan buildings of stone, with the intention of strengthening his lands against the encroachments there of those nations.

Moreover, King Qubadh, son of Fayruz, had begun the construction, after his father, of a great number of building works in those regions, until, when Kisra achieved the royal power, he gave orders for the construction in the region of the Sul, with stone hewn in the vicinity of Jurjan, of towns, castles, fortified mounds and many other buildings, which would serve as a protection for the people of his lands, where they might seek refuge from the enemy in the event of a sudden attack.

The Khaqan Sinjibu was the most implacable, the most courageous, the most powerful, and the most plentifully endowed with troops of all the Turks. It was he who attacked W.r.z(?) the king of the Hephthalites, showing no fear of the numerousness or the fierce fighting qualities of the Hephthalites, and then killed their king W.r.z and the greater part of his troops, seizing their possessions as plunder and occupying their lands, with the exception of the part of them that Kisra had conquered.

[…]

ثم سار بعد ذلك إلى الهياطلة مطالباً بوتر فيروز جدّه وقد كان أنوشروان صاهر خاقان قبل ذلك فكتب إليه قبل شخوصه يعلمه ما عزم عليه ويأمره بالمسير إلى الهياطلة فأتاهم فقتل ملكهم واستأصل أهل بيته وتجاوز بلخ وما وراءها وأنزل جنوده فرغانة ثم انصرف من خراسان فلمّا صار بالمدائن وافاه قوم يستنصرونه على الحبشة فبعث معهم قائدًا من قوّاده في جند من أهل الديلم وما يليها فقتلوا مسروقاً الحبشي باليمن وأقاموا بها ولم يزل مظفّراً منصورًا تهابه جميع الأمم ويحضر بابه من وفودهم عدد كثير من الترك والصين والخزر ونظرائهم.

After this, he led an expedition against the Hephthalites, seeking revenge for his grandfather Fayruz. Previously, Anusharwan had married Khaqan's daughter, so he now wrote to him before setting off on the expedition, informing him of his intentions and enjoining him to march against the Hephthalites. Anusharwan came up against them, killed their king, and extirpated the whole of his family. He penetrated to Balkh and what lies beyond it and quartered his troops in Farghanah. He then returned home from Khurasan. When he got back to al-Mada'in, a deputation came to him seeking help against the Abyssinians. So he sent back with them one of his commanders heading an army of the men of Daylam and adjacent regions; they killed the Abyssinian Masruq in Yemen and remained there.

Thus Kisra enjoyed an unbroken run of victories and conquests; all the nations were in awe of him; and numerous delegations from the Turks, the Chinese, the Khazars, and similar [distant] nations thronged his court.

VIII.003. Masʿūdī

Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab wa-maʿādin al-Jawhar*. Text from ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (1980); translation from Pellat et al. (1962, 261, 263, 267).

VIII.003/A. Vahrâm V

وقد كان خرج في أيامه خاقان ملك الترك إلى الصغد وشن الغارات في بلاده وقيل إنه أتى إلى بلاد الري وإن بهرام كتب أجناده وتنكب الطريق في اليسير من جريدة أصحابه حتى أتى على خاقان في جنوده وسار نحو العراق برأسه

§612 C'est du vivant de ce prince que le *khâqân*, roi des Turcs, envahit la Sogdiane, ravagea les Etats de Vahrâm et s'avança, dit-on, jusqu'à Ragès. Vahrâm, après avoir rassemblé son armée, marcha avec quelques cavaliers par un chemin détourné, surprit le roi des Turcs au milieu de son camp et rapporta sa tête dans l'Irak.

VIII.003/B. Fîrûz

[وكان ملك فيروز إلى أن] هلك على يدي ملك الهياطلة أخشنواز بمرو الروذ من بلاد خراسان سبعاً وعشرين سنة والهياطلة هم الصغد وهم بين بخارى وسمرقند

§617 Il périt à Marw ar-Rûdh, dans le Khorassan, de la main d'Akhshunwâz, roi des Hephtalites, après un règne de 27 ans. On nomme Hephtalites les Sogdiens, qui habitent entre Bokhara et Samarcande.

VIII.003/C. Anouchirvan

وقد كان أنوشروان سار إلى ما وراء نهر بَلخَ وانتهى إلى ختلان وقتل أخشنواز ملك الهياطلة بجده فيروز وملك مملكته وأضافها إلى ملكه

§625 Anouchirvan avait fait précédemment une expédition en Tranoxiane, jusqu'au Khuttalân ; il vengea son aïeul Fîrûz en faisant périr Akhshunwâz roi des Hephtalites, conquit son royaume et le réunit à l'empire perse.

VIII.2. Christian Sources

Selected by Mark Dickens, prepared and revised by Orsolya Varsányi

VIII.004. *Chronicle of Se'ert*

Between 864 and 1020.

VIII.004/A. Chapter 1.5, The Story of the Roman Maidens

Text and translation from Addai Scher (1908, 224–25). See also Mark Dickens's commentary to Text VII.010.

لما رجع سابور من بلاد الروم بالغنائم والسبي حسده الملوك المخالفون له الذين في أقصى حدود مملكته. وعملوا على قصده ومحاربته. فأهدى إلى اولياحين ملك الكفراثنتن جواهراً وثياباً حسنة لا يوجد مثلها في مملكته وثلثمائة جارية ابكاراً ممن سباهم من الروم اختارهن والبسهن الثياب الفاخرة والجواهر النفيسة. وانفذ معهن رسلاً. وتقدّم اليهن ⟨أن⟩ يتعاهدهن في الطريق. وأن يغتسلن في كل ثلثة أيام لئلا يتغير ألوانهن. فلمّا حصلوا في الطريق وعلمن انّهن يهدين إلى الملك الأعجمي اخترن الموت على الحياة. وتشاورن فيما بينهن في اتلاف أنفسهن ليتخلصن من نجاسة المسويس. فقصد بهن الرسل بعض الانهار الكبار الكثيرة الماء ليغتسلن فيه وبعد عنهن. فأخذ بعضهن بيد بعض واغرقن أنفسهن. فلم يتخلص منهن إلا اليسير فأخذهن الرسل وأوصلوهن. فاستقامت الحال بينه وبين سابور. ومات سابور بن أردشير. وكانت مدة ملكه اثنتين وثلاثين سنة.

Lorsque Sapor revint du pays des Romains, emmenant des captifs et du butin, les rois ses adversaires qui habitaient sur les frontières les plus reculées lui portèrent envie et résolurent d'aller le combattre. Il envoya alors à Ouliâhin (?), roi des Kafrathnatan,[i] des diamants et des habits très beaux comme on n'en trouvait pas de pareils dans son royaume. Il lui envoya aussi trois cents jeunes filles vierges, de Celles qu'il avait prises captives chez les Romains. Il les choisit, les revêtit d'habits magnifiques et de diamants et les fit accompagner par des ambassadeurs. Il leur ordonna de prendre soin d'elles pendant la route et de se baigner tous les trois jours, de peur que leur couleur ne changeât. Lorsqu'elles furent en route et qu'elles apprirent qu'elles étaient envoyées comme présents au roi barbare, elles préférèrent la mort à la vie et délibérèrent comment elles échapperaient à la corruption de ce roi. Les ambassadeurs les menèrent près d'un grand fleuve pour qu'elles s'y baignassent et s'éloignèrent d'elles. Alors, se tenant toutes par la main, elles se noyèrent. Un très petit nombre seulement fut sauvé : les délégués les prirent et les firent parvenir au roi. Depuis ce moment, il y eut entente entre lui et Sapor. Et Sapor, fils d'Ardaschir, mourut après avoir régné trente-deux ans.

VIII.004/B. Chapter 1.65, The Story of King Jazdgerd

Text and translation (by Pierre Dib) from Addai Scher (1910, 316).

ملك بعد ورهاران يزدجرد أخوه المعروف بالأثيم. فصالح الروم وتزوج ببنت ملك الكفراس ونقلها إليه. وقصد من قتل أخاه وغلظ على روسآء مملكته ووضع منهم. فعاتبه بعض من يأنس به على فعله. وقال له. البنآء لا يقوم إلا على أساس. وإذ لم يكن أساس فكيف يقوم البنآء. وقد عاملت في أول أمرك رؤسآء مملكتك بمعاملة قبيحة اوصلت اليهم وإلى قلوبهم مكان السرور حزناً. فأي شي يكون آخر أمرك معهم. فقال لهم. أنتم قتلتم الملكين واستحقيتم مني ما أفعله بكم. وإن استقامت طريقتكم أحسنت اليكم. فحرب رعيّته واستقامت له الأمور.

Après Bahrâm [Varhârân], Jazdgerd l'impie, son frère, monta sur le trône. Il conclut un traité de paix avec les Romains. Il offrit sa main à la fille du roi des Ḥephtaristes et la conduisit chez lui. Puis il rechercha l'assassin de son frère. Il se montra très dur à l'égard des chefs de son royaume et abaissa leur crédit. Mais quelques-uns de ses amis désapprouvèrent sa manière d'agir : « L'édifice, lui disaient-ils, ne peut subsister sans fondement. S'il n'a pas de fondement, comment peut-il tenir debout? Dès le début de ton règne tu as maltraité les chefs de ton royaume

[i] S'agit il des Ephtalites ou Huns Blancs? (Scher)

et, ainsi, tu les as grandement attristés au lieu de les réjouir ; à quoi veux-tu aboutir? » Le roi leur répondit : « Vous avez massacré les deux rois et mérité dès lors ces mauvais traitements. Je serai bienveillant si vous prenez le droit chemin. » Cette conduite le fit craindre de ses sujets ; et son autorité s'affermit.

VIII.004/C. Chapter 2.5, The Death of Piroz

Text and translation from Addai Scher (1911, 107–8).

بعد سنتين من رجوع فيروز من ناحية الترك وخلاصه من يد ملك الهياطلة عاود بشرّه ملك الهياطلة واطرح ما عاقدهم عليه وضمنه لهم وأراد الانتقام منهم وإزالة ملكهم ليزول العار الذي لحقه مما فعلوه به ولم يفكر في امهال الله تعالى إياه ونذز أن عاد من هناك سليماً أن يبطل ديانة النصرانيّة. وقسا قلبه مثل فرعون ولم يعلم الشقى أنه بواره. وتقدم قبل خروجه إلى مرزبان العراق بهدم البيع والديارات إلى أن يعود من سفره. فهدم اسكول مر عبدا وديارات كثيرة واغتم النصارى بذلك. وهرب قوم منهم إلى المواضع البعيدة وقتل في طريقه ثلثمائة نفس من النصارى.

Piroz, deux ans après son retour du pays des Turcs et sa délivrance de la main du roi des Haïṭal,[i] pour se venger de l'affront qu'il avait reçu, revint à la charge, violant ainsi l'alliance qu'il avait conclue avec ces peuples, cassant le contrat et se décidant à faire périr leur roi. Sans songer à la longanimité de Dieu envers lui, il fit vœu que, s'il revenait de là sain et sauf, il anéantirait la religion chrétienne. Son cœur s'endurcit comme celui de Pharaon : le malheureux ne savait pas que c'était là que la punition l'attendait. Avant son départ, il ordonna au Marzban d'Iraq de détruire les églises et les monastères, en attendant son retour. Celui-ci démolit l'École de Mar ʿAbda et beaucoup de monastères. Les chrétiens en furent affligés, et plusieurs d'entre eux se réfugièrent en des lieux lointains. Piroz, sur son chemin, massacra trois cents chrétiens.

ولما رأى الهياطلة فعله ورجوعه وغدره حاربوه حرباً شديداً.فقتلوا أكثر رجاله وانهزم الباقون. وفزع فيروز أن يوخذ أسيراً. فأتكى على سيفه كما فعل شاول. ولم يعلم به الهياطلة حتى وجدوه مطروحاً بين القتلى.

Les Haïṭal, ayant aperçu son mouvement, son retour et sa perfidie, lui livrèrent un combat acharné, dans lequel ils tuèrent la plupart de ses soldats ; les autres prirent la fuite. Piroz, de peur d'être fait prisonnier, se jeta sur son épée, à l'instar de Saül, et se tua. Les Haïṭal ne le surent que lorsqu'ils le trouvèrent étendu parmi les morts.

وأراح الله منه وعاد كيده في نحره وبلاه عليه. وكفى النصارى أمره ولم يسلم الله شعبه في يده. وهكذى فعل الله بفرعون لما أراد قصد بني اسرائيل أغرقه في البحر. وسنحاريب لما نذر هلاك بني اسرائيل واخراب بيت المقدس قتل في بيت أصنامه.

Dieu en délivra [les hommes] ; ses stratagèmes se retournèrent contre lui et sa violence [rejaillit] sur lui. Dieu détourna ce coup des chrétiens et ne les lui livra point. C'est ainsi qu'il avait puni Pharaon, en le faisant engloutir par la mer, parce qu'il avait résolu de molester les enfants d'Israël ; c'est ainsi qu'a été massacré dans le temple de ses idoles Sennachérib [Sanḥârib], qui avait juré la perte des enfants d'Israël et la ruine de Jérusalem.

[i] Notre auteur les appelle ailleurs tantôt Haphtarites, tantôt Turcs. Ce sont les Huns Blancs, qui occupaient la Bactriane et les régions voisines de l'Oxus. (Scher, abbreviated.)

VIII.004/D. Chapter 2.12, The Story of Qawad

Text and translation from Addai Scher (1911, 124–25).

لما اختار الفرس ميلاس بن فيروز وتركوا قباد غلظ عليه وقصد ملك الهفترنيين وعرّفه ما جرى من أمر ميلاس حتى ملك. وأقام عنده ثلث سنين. فأكرمه وانفذ معه في السنة الرابعة جيشاً لقتال أخيه. فلما صار إلى المدائن وجده قد مات وكفى الناس الحرب وسفك الدّما. وكانت مدته أربع سنين. وقيل سملوا عينيه وقتلوه وبنى مدينة على الزاب في أرض المرج.

Quand les Persans élurent Milas, fils de Piroz, et rejetèrent Qawad [Qabâd], celui-ci, irrité, se rendit auprès du roi des Haphtarites, et lui raconta l'histoire de Milas jusqu'à son avènement. Il fut bien accueilli et resta chez lui trois ans. La quatrième année il l'envoya avec des troupes pour combattre son frère. A son arrivée à Séleucie [Al-Madâïn], il le trouva mort. Ainsi les gens furent quittes de la guerre et du sang versé. Il avait régné quatre ans. Il y en a qui disent qu'on le massacra, après lui avoir crevé les yeux. Il avait bâti une ville sur les rives du [grand] Zab, dans le territoire de Marga [Al-Mardj].

وملك قباد بلا مشقة. وانفذ الهدايا إلى ملك الهفترنيين وأحسن إلى رعيته ولم يكافهم على ما فعلوه. وكان أعظم ملوك تواضعاً وسكوناً وفهماً للمجوسية وعنى في أول أمره ببنا المدن والقرى. وعمل القناطر والجسور على الانهار وليستخرج المياه في المواضع الصعبة. وبنى عدّة قرى بالموصل والعراق ونقل إليها الناس من سائر الأماكن وأمرهم بالعمارة. وأطلق بنا البيع والدّيارات وقوّى مذهب زرادشت في الاعتراف بأزليّين كبيرين وان النسا مبذولون للرجال لا ينفرد أحد بامراة دون صاحبه

Qawad régna sans difficulté ; il envoya des présents au roi des Haphtarites. Bien loin de punir ses sujets de ce qu'ils avaient fait, il leur fit au contraire du bien. Il était le plus doux des rois de Perse et le plus versé dans le magisme. Au commencement de son règne, il s'appliqua à bâtir des villes et des villages. Il jeta sur les rivières des ponts en pierre et en bois; il fit monter l'eau en des endroits difficiles ; il bâtit dans les régions de Mossoul et d'Iraq beaucoup de villages, où il transporta des gens venus d'ailleurs qu'il appliqua à l'agriculture. Il donna la permission de bâtir des églises et des couvents ; il soutint la doctrine de Zoroastre[i] [Zarâdošt] qui reconnaissait deux grands et éternels principes et la communauté des femmes, en sorte qu'aucun homme ne devait s'unir à une femme à l'exclusion d'un autre.

وسأله المجوس العدول عمّا أمر به من استعمال مذهب زرادشت. فلم يجبهم وقال هكذى توجب المجوسيّة الا تمتنع المرأة ان تتزوّج سراً سوى زوجها. واذا ولدت من غيره نسبته اليه. فاحتالوا في قتله فلم يمكنهم. ثم وجدوا سبيلاً فخلعوه من ملكه بعد عشر سنين

Les Mages le prièrent d'annuler les lois dans lesquelles il prescrivait les pratiques de la religion de Zoroastre ; il refusa en leur disant : « Le magisme ordonne que la femme ne soit point empêchée de s'unir secrètement à un autre mari que le sien […] » Ils employèrent des ruses pour le tuer, mais ils ne purent. Enfin au bout de dix ans de règne, ils parvinrent à le déposer.[ii]

[i] Mazdak, qui prêchait la communauté des biens et des femmes. (Scher, abbreviated.)

[ii] En 496. (Scher)

VIII.004/E. Chapter 2.14, The Story of Zamasp

Text and translation from Addai Scher (1911, 127–28).

لما خلع قباد اختار المجوس داماسف وجعلوه مكانه. وحبس قباد. فاجتهدت أخته الوصول إليه فلم يمكنها. وسألت داماسف دفعات إلى أن أطلق لها الدخول إليه والمقام عنده. وما زالت تحتال في اخراج أخيها من الحبس إلى أن وجدت سبيلاً في بعض الأوقات. فلفته في فراش واظهرت أنها ثياب الحيض. واحضرت القصّار ليحملها ويغسلها. ولم يقرب الموكلون بالحبس منها بسبب نجاستها. وتخلص قباد ومضى إلى بلد الترك لما كان بينهما من المودة والأنس بسبب مقامه عنده في أيام أبيه. واستعان به. وانفذ معه جيشاً وعاد إلى مملكته وازعل داماسف بعد سنتين ملك فيها ولم يقبله. وقتل خلقاً من المجوس وحبس جماعة وأحسن إلى النصارى لان قوماً منهم خدموه في طريقه إلى بلد الترك.

Les mages, après avoir déposé Qawad, élurent Zamasp [Dhâmâsf] à sa place ; quant à Qawad, il fut jeté en prison. Sa sœur voulut parvenir jusqu'à lui, mais elle n'y réussit pas malgré ses efforts réitérés. Elle s'adressa alors à Zamasp, qui, cédant à ses instances, lui permit d'entrer chez son frère et de rester auprès de lui. Dès lors, elle ne cessa d'employer des ruses pour le faire sortir de prison. Finalement, elle eut recours au stratagème que voici : elle enveloppa sou frère dans une natte, et, déclarant que c'étaient les habits, dont elle s'était servie pendant ses règles, elle fit venir le blanchisseur pour les emporter et les laver. Les gardes de la prison n'en approchèrent pas, crainte d'être souillés : ainsi Qawad s'échappa et s'enfuit auprès du roi des Turcs,[i] avec lequel il avait déjà contracté une étroite amitié, lors de son séjour chez lui du temps de son père. Ayant imploré son secours, il obtint de lui des troupes avec lesquelles il retourna dans son pays, renversa Zamasp, après deux ans de règne, et le rejeta ; il tua quelques mages et en emprisonna plusieurs. Il fut bienveillant envers les chrétiens, parce que quelques-uns d'entre eux lui avaient rendu des services dans sa fuite au pays des Turcs.

VIII.004/F. Chapter 2.24, The Story of Kosrau Anoširwan

Text and translation from Addai Scher (1911, 146–47).

ملك قباد اثنتين واربعين سنة وكانت له عدة اولاد واوصى قبل موته بالملك لكسرى انوشروان ابنه الذي ولد في بلاد الترك في وقت هربه إليها وكان يحبه اكثر من سائر اولاده. فلما مات قباذ أبوه أظهر العهد الذي عهد له. فقبله المجوس وقتل أخوته وروسا الجيش خوفا مما جرى على أبيه منهم وكان عالما بالفلسفة فهما بها وقيل انه تعلمها على مر برصوما اسقف قردا في وقت مقامه بها وعلى فولوس الفيلسوف الفارسي الدي كفر بالنصرانية لما لم تتم له مطرنة فارس. وما زال يميل الى النصارى ويفضل مذهبهم على سائر المذاهب الى ان ابطل الصلح بينه وبين الروم. وتاخر مار ابا عن الخروج معه الى بلد الروم فانه تغير عليه واظهر بغضه الا ان النصارى كانوا في خدمته مثلما كانوا في خدمة ابيه واعتقد كسرى مذهب ماني في القول بالاهين قديمين خير وشرير وابطل مذهب زرادشت.

Qawad régna quarante-deux ans[ii] ; il avait beaucoup d'enfants ; avant sa mort, il désigna comme successeur Kosrau [Kisrâ] Anoširwan, qu'il avait eu dans la région des Turcs pendant qu'il y était en fuite. Il l'aimait plus que tous ses autres enfants. Kosrau, ayant montré après la mort de

[i] Notre auteur les appelle ailleurs Haïṭal, Haphtarites. (Scher, abbreviated.)
[ii] Il mourut en 531. (Scher)

son père le testament que celui-ci avait fait an sa faveur, fut accueilli par les mages. II massacra ses propres frères et les généraux de l'armée, de peur qu'il ne lui arrivât ce qui était déjà arrivé à son père. Il était très versé dans la philosophie, qu'il avait apprise, dit-on, chez Mar Bar Ṣauma, évêque de Qardou [Qardâ], durant son séjour dans cette région, et chez Paul le philosophe perse, qui, n'ayant pu obtenir le siège métropolitain de Perse, renonça à la religion chrétienne. Il avait de la sympathie pour les chrétiens et préférait leur religion a toutes les autres. Mais, la paix entre lui et les Grecs ayant été rompue, et Mar Aba ayant tardé à sortir avec lui au pays des Grecs, il changea de conduite et manifesta sa haine. Toutefois les chrétiens étaient à son service comme ils avaient été déjà au service de son père. Kosrau s'attacha à la doctrine de Mani, qui admettait deux dieux éternels : le bon et le mauvais, et abrogea la religion de Zoroastre.

VIII.004/G. Chapter 2.29, Catholicos Mar Aba

Text and translation from Addai Scher (1911, 170).

ويحكى ان رجلاً احضره مر ابا من البرابرة جافى القامة غليظ الجثة رث الثوب فتلطف في تدبيره له حتى سفره ونظفه والبسه الثوب من الصوف الخشن واسامه على العجم وادخله على الملك ولقنه كيف يسلم على الملك ويدعو له فلما رآه عجب من حسن تدبير الجاثليق وتمييزه ولطفه لانه كان قد شاهده اولا واستقطع حالته

On rapporte que Mar Aba avait amené de chez les barbares un homme de haute et forte taille, vêtu de haillons. Il se montra très gracieux à son égard, le fit raser et laver, le revêtit d'un habit de laine grossière et l'ordonna[i] pour les barbares. Puis, après lui avoir indiqué comment il devait saluer le roi el lui offrir ses vœux, il l'introduisit chez lui. En l'apercevant, le roi admira la sagesse du catholicos, son discernement et sa bonté ; car il l'avait déjà vu auparavant et avait compris qui il était.

VIII.005. *The Annals of Eutychius of Alexandria* (Saʿid ibn Batriq)

Circa 935. Text from Michael Breydy (1985) volume I; translation from volume II.

VIII.005/A. Bahram-Ǧor

Text and translation from Breydy (1985, I: 93–94, II: 77–78).

فملك بهرام ويقال له بهرام جور على الفرس ثماني عشرة سنة واحد عشر شهراً. وذلك في اثنتي عشرة سنة من مُلك تدوس الصغير ملك الروم وسار فيهم سيرة حسنة فحبُّوه ثم لم يزل مؤثراً الفتوة واللهو حتى لامه الناس وطمع من كان حوله من الملوك في استباحة ارضه فغزاه خاقان الاكبر ملك الترك في خمس وعشرين ربوة من الجنود وكل ملك كان للترك يسمَّى خاقان حتى نزل الشعب فقالوا لبهرام ايُّها الملك انه قد دهمك من الامر ما فيه لنا ولك شغل عن اللهو فانظر في أمر هذه الامة فاصلحه وذب عنها وأمّن خوفها فلم يقبل منهم بهرام وخرج يريد ناحية اذربيجان وارمينية لينسك في بيت نارها فلم تشكّ الناس أن ذلك منه هرب فجلسوا يتوامرون فقالوا: ليس لنا بخاقان طاقة فنعطيه الجزية ونفدي انفسنا واراضينا غير نرسي اخوبهرام واذرناد القاضي

[i] Prêtre ou évêque. L'auteur fait-il allusion au prêtre que le chef des Haïṭal envoya a Mar Aba pour le consacrer évêque? (Scher)

فانهما قالا لن نطاوعكم على هذا . فلمّا بلغ خاقان خضوع اهل العراق أمن ووضع السلاح. فاتى بهرام رجل فاعلمه بانه قد امنواغتر فسار اليه بهرام فكبسه ليلاً فقتل خاقان بيده وفشا القتل في أصحابه ثم رجع بهرام سالماً وعمد الى كل ما كان في يديه من اهل خاقان وجنوده ونسايهم فاباحهم الناس فلمّا بلغ الخبر الى ارض الترك وما لقي خاقان هربوا الى اقاصي اراضيهم وولي نرسي اخاه خراسان وانصرف الى اذربيجان لا ينزل مسكناً الّا تنسك فيه تنسكاً وذبح فيه ذبائحاً شكراً لله حتى اذا نظر الى بيت نار اذربيجان نزل عن دابّته يمشي حتى دخل تعظيماً له ثم امر بما كان في اكليل خاقان من الياقوت الاحمر والجوهر الفاخر فعُلِّق على باب ذلك البيت ونحل تلك النار بسيف خاقان المحلّى باللؤلؤ.

[233]Bahram, den man auch Bahram-Ǧor nennt, herrschte über die Perser 18 Jahre und 11 Monate. Dies war im 12. Jahr der Herrschaft von Thedos dem Jüngeren, dem König der Rūm. Er hat sich gut geführt, und sie haben ihn geliebt. Dann aber bevorzugte er die Jugend und den Zeitvertreib, und die Leute tadelten ihn. Die Könige in seiner Nachbarschaft begehrten, sich sein Land anzueignen. Und der Grosse Khaqan, König der Türken,[i] griff ihn mit 25 Zehntausenden Soldaten an — Jeder König der Türken wird Khaqan genannt — und kam bis Saġab (oder Saʿab?). (Die Leute) sagten zu Bahram: Oh König, es ist auf dich etwas angekommen, was uns und dich von deinem Zeitvertreib abbringen sollte! Schau zu, wie du die Angelegenheiten dieses Volkes ordnen kannst und verteidige es und gib den Geängstigten Sicherheit. Er billigte (ihre Worte) nicht und zog in Richtung Aḏerbağian und Armenien aus, um dort als Asket in den Feuerhäusern zu leben. Die Leute aber bezweifelten nicht, daß dies einer seiner Ausflüchte war. Sie saßen also zusammen und konferierten (konspirierten). Sie sagten: Wir haben keine Kraft gegen Khaqan. Laßt uns ihm eine Steuer geben und kaufen wir uns selbst und unsere Ländereien ihm ab. Narsai, der Bruder von Bahram, und Aznad, der Richter, sagten: Wir sind nicht einverstanden. Als Khaqan die Unterwerfung der Iraqer erfuhr, fühlte er sich sicher und vernachlässigte die Waffen. Es kam ein Mann zu Bahram und meldete ihm, daß (Khaqan) sich sicher fühlte und schon eitel geworden sei. Bahram ging hin und überfiel ihn nachts. Er tötete Khaqan mit eigener Hand und verbreitete den Tod unter seinen Gefährten. Danach kehrte Bahram wohlerhalten zurück und übergab den Leuten alles, was er von den Angehörigen Khaqans und von seinen Soldaten und deren Frauen erbeutet hatte. Als diese Nachricht und das Ende von Khaqan das Land der Türken erreichten, flüchteten sie bis an die tiefsten Grenzen ihrer Länder. (Bahram) setzte seinen Bruder Narsai zum Statthalter über Khorasan ein und ging selbst nach Aḏerbağian. Unterwegs bescherte er allen Ortschaften mit Feuerhäusern Frömmigkeitswerke und opferte (viele) Opfer als Dank an Gott. Als er das Feuerhaus von Aḏerbağian (aus der Ferne) erblickte, stieg er von seinem Reittier ab und ging zu Fuß bis zum Eingang, um seine Verehrung zu zeigen. Er befahl dann, die Edelsteine aus der Krone von Khaqan an der Tür des (Feuer)hauses aufzuhängen: es waren Rubine und exzellente Perlen. Er schmückte auch das Feuerhaus mit dem Schwert von Khaqan, das mit Perlen ausgelegt war. […]

[i] Andere Quellen erwähnen hierfür die Hephtariten/Heptaliten, bzw. Hayathila.

VIII.005/B. Qabad

Text and translation from Breydy (1985, I: 98, II: 82).

> ولمّا مضت عشر سنين من ملك انسطاس اصاب الناس جوع شديد في الشرقومات فيروز وملك بعده ابنه قباد على الفرس بعد أحوال جرت لابيه مع الهياطلة وحروب عظيمة وغزا قباد آمد فاخربها. وبعث بجيشاً عظيماً الى الاسكندرية

[244] […] Nach 16 Jahren Herrschaft des Anastas überfiel das Volk (die Leute) im Orient ein großer Hunger. Firuz starb, und nach ihm herrschte über die Perser sein Sohn Qabad. Sein Vater hatte schon viele Gefechte und große Kriege gegen die Hayaṭyla geführt. Qabad überfiel Amad und zerstörte es. Dann sandte er eine große Armee nach Alexandria. […]

VIII.005/C. Kesra Nušerwan

Text and translation from Breydy (1985, I: 111–112, II: 92–93).

> ومات قباد وكان ملكه قباد ثلث واربعين سنة ثم ملك بعده ابنه كسرى وهو الذي يقال له نوشروان وهو الذي كان ولد بانوشير فملك سبعاربعين سنة وستة اشهر

[257] […] Qabad starb, und seine Herrschaft dauerte 40[i] Jahre lang. Nach ihm herrschte sein Sohn Kesra, den man Nušerwan genannt hat, weil er in Anušir geboren wurde. Er herrschte 47 Jahre lang und 6 Monate. […]

> ومات وله في الملك تسع وثلثون سنة

[259][König Yustinian] starb nach 39 Jahren Herrschaft.

> وملك بعده يوستينوس الحدث على الروم ثلث عشرة سنة وذلك في سبع وثلثين سنة من ملك كسرى بن قباد ملك الفرس وكان هذا الملك حسن الامانة كثير الخير مبغضاً لليعقوبية والنسطورية ثم مات.

[260]Nach ihm herrschte Yustinos der Jüngere über die Rūm 13 Jahre lang. Dies geschah im 37. Jahr der Herrschaft von Qabad,[ii] dem König der Perser. Dieser König war ein Orthodoxer und ein Wohltäter, er haßte die Jakobiten und die Nestorianer. Und er starb.

> فاما كسرى نوشروان ملك الفرس فانه سار بجنوده نحو الهياطلة ولم يظل يرزق النصر حيث توجّه حتى اصلح حال رعيته فلما حضرته الوفاة عهد الى ابنه هرمز وكان ملك كسرى سبع وأربعين سنة وستة اشهر

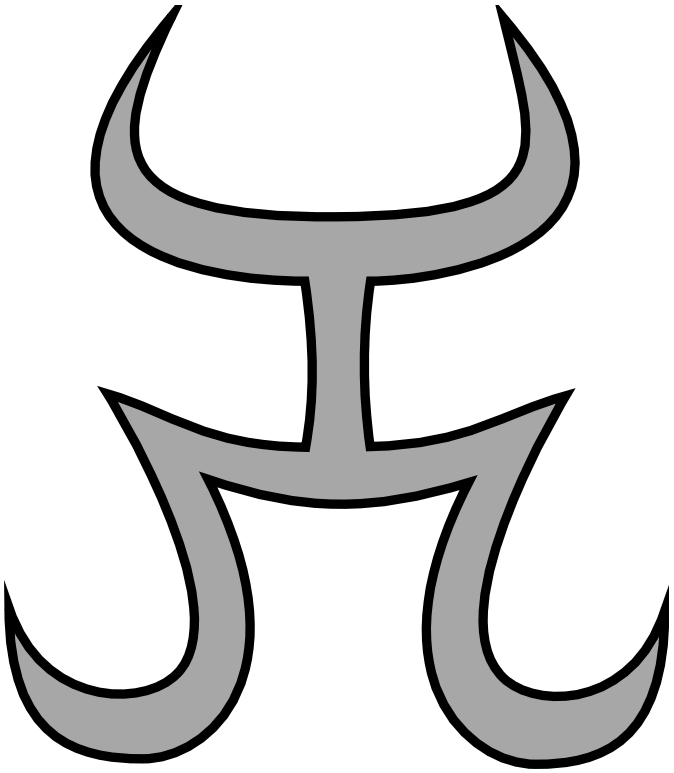
[261][iii] Kesra (A)nušerwan, der König der Perser, zog mit seinen Soldaten gegen die Hayaṭyla aus.[iv] Wo er hinging, siegte er überall, bis er allen seinen Untertanen Ordnung gebracht hatte. Bevor er starb, übergab er das Reich seinem Sohn Hormiz. Die Herrschaft Kesras dauerte 40[v] Jahre und sechs Monate.

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[i] Breydy's text, however, has 43 years here.
[ii] Breydy's text in fact has Kesra, son of Qabad here.
[iii] Both this paragraph and the next have the number 262 in Breydy 1985: 93. (Dickens)
[iv] l.p. Habatyla (Hephtaliten?). (Breydy)
[v] Breydy's text has 47 years (and six months) here.

IX. Greek and Latin Sources

Timo Stickler



Introduction

The period covered by this sourcebook—the fourth to seventh centuries CE—corresponds to the era of late antiquity in the west, whose key characteristics are as follows:

- The Roman empire that encompassed the entire Mediterranean region is still the historic main protagonist of European history, despite significant transformation processes since the third century CE, especially the development of the "Mehrkaisertum," that is the rule of more than one emperor at the same time.
- Since the beginning of the fourth century CE, the Christianisation of the Roman emperorship and subsequently of the whole empire took place. This process stretched over many generations and included also the neighbouring countries of the Roman empire, for example Armenia and Gothic realms north of the Danube river.
- At the same time, a permanent change in political structure took place in the entire Mediterranean region, initiated through centralistic reforms of the Roman emperor on the one hand, and the forced immigration of barbarian peoples into the empire on the other. This is the time conventionally called the Migration Period.
- Even at the end of our era, in the seventh century CE, the Roman empire still continued to exist, though changed and modified, now as the East Roman Empire with Constantinople as its capital. The transition to the Byzantine Middle Ages is a smooth process.

The contribution of the Greek and Latin sources to the history of the Huns in Central and South Asia is ambivalent for several reasons. On the one hand, the world of Iran and India is far away from the Mediterranean region. The authors relevant for our purposes generally show scant geographical and above all political knowledge. Between the world of the Central Asiatic steppe nomads and the Roman empire sits the Persian empire of the Sasanians, and the Roman tradition is heavily shaped by this fact. As a consequence, the Huns are all too often assigned two roles in the course of the historical events: either they function as potential or factual destroyers of a laboriously achieved status quo between the competing global powers, or they slip into the role of a *deus ex machina*, in case tension or war exists between the Romans and the Persians. Hence, depending on the situation, the steppe nomads are either useful to the emperor and his politics, or not. Whichever the case may be, our sources do not view them as historic partners or opponents in their own right.

On the other hand, the depiction of the Huns through our authors is deeply shaped by earlier experiences with the Eurasian world of steppe nomads: experiences that the Mediterranean region had made since archaic times with the Scythians, since the Roman imperial period with the Sarmatians and lastly—in the fourth/fifth century CE—with the Huns of Attila.

At least since the impression of the so-called Scythian *logos* in the historical work of Herodotus of Halicarnassus, the idea that the Greeks had of the steppe nomads (Σκύθαι) was solidified.

The stereotypes that emerged under the influence of Herodotus were passed on through all of antiquity and still strongly affected, for example, the digressions on the steppe nomadic peoples of Ammianus Marcellinus at the end of the fourth century CE, of Procopius in the middle of the sixth century CE, of Pseudo-Maurice at the end of the sixth century CE, and of Theophylact Simocatta at the beginning of the seventh century CE. The classicising image of the steppe nomads that emerged here still gets in the way of the questions that we today pose to the relevant ancient sources: it is an important obstacle even for the compilation in this sourcebook.

Generally, our late antique sources use the terminology of Herodotus at least vaguely: for them the geographical localisation and lifestyle of the peoples concerned is crucial. On one hand, Σκύθαι are considered to be people living north of the Danube and the Black Sea: therefore the name also applies to the Goths and Vandals. On the other hand, Σκύθαι is also a term for all people with steppe nomadic lifestyles in the sense of the Scythian *logos* of Herodotus: therefore the name also applies to the Huns of Attila as well as to the Turks and the Avars. The difficulty of the concept of Scythians in (late) antiquity is reflected in some ways in the concept of Huns in late antiquity: "Huns" (Οὖννοι, *Chunni*) is likewise a term that is ambivalent on our ancient sources. It can refer to an area—north of the Danube and the Black Sea, and east of there; and it can refer to a lifestyle—that of steppe nomads instead of rural sedentariness. Consequently, "Huns" is a term that in our ancient sources also covers peoples that are not called so by today's experts on Central Asia, like the Sabirs and the Turks.

The particular way the term "Hun" was used in late antiquity, however, is also relevant for our sourcebook because it introduces us to the discourse on Huns in late antiquity and gives answers to questions like the following. What did Romans in late antiquity regard as indicators of being Hunnic? Are we also able to name comparable criteria for the denomination when applied to the Central Asiatic, Indian or Chinese cultural areas? It could further lead us to think about what "Huns," "Hunnic" actually signifies: an ethnos, a language, a lifestyle, etc.

Since the post-war era, scholarship on ancient history (especially in the German language) has been working with a concept of ethnogenesis based on the perception that the "peoples" (ἔθνη, *gentes*) of late antiquity were not quasi-primordial entities produced by growth over centuries. Instead, it postulated "gentile Einheiten"—the English equivalent "ethnic unities" is admittedly not completely satisfactorily, but there is no better one. These "unities" lack a complete ethnic homogeneity, being often composed of different ethnical elements. Affiliation with the *gens* is not predestined, but a consciously made decision. Furthermore, they possess a kind of "kernel of tradition" that provides them with relative stability, such as a name, a ruling dynasty, a language, certain religious practices, etc. The acceptance of this kernel of tradition as a binding guideline guarantees the affiliation with the *gens*. Lastly, the identity of the "ethnic unities" takes shape through involvement (collaboration as well as conflict) with the empire. The world of the *gentes* is thus a "product" of the Roman politics, not a kind of counterworld to it.

The empire of Attila in the fifth century CE is significantly not a "gentile Herrschaftsbildung" in the sense outlined above. Under the suzerainty of the European Huns, the (generally Germanic) *gentes*—such as the Ostrogoths, the Skirs, the Rugians—continued to exist. Consequently, many of them were able to establish their own realms after Attila's death in 453 CE. Attempts at a "gentile

Herrschaftsbildung" by the European Huns, if they ever existed, were smothered by the sudden death of Attila and the failure of his sons. Nevertheless, in my opinion, it must be asked from the standpoint of ancient history whether models of ethnogenesis like the one presented here can also be made prolific for the history of the Huns, in our context for the Hunnic realms in Central, South and East Asia. The crucial characteristics are by all means present and verifiable. Thus, the poor consistency of the Hunnic realms in Asia indicates that ethnical awareness in the strict sense was at best incomplete as regards the *Xiōngnú*, the *Xwn*, the *Hūṇa*s, etc. The term "Huns" on the other hand could be understood as a possible integral component of a Hunnic kernel of tradition that has to be postulated. Lastly, the contact with the respective Imperial power (China, India, Persia) influenced the Hunnic realms as strongly as they themselves influenced the cultural area of the sedentary peoples through their presence and actions.

Let us now turn towards the respective sources on the Huns in Central and South Asia in detail. The sources selected by us reflect the diversity and at the same time the difficulty of the Greek and Latin source material.

We have on the one hand texts from the geographical literature. One passage of the high imperial geographer Claudius Ptolemy around 150 CE contains the first ever mention of the term "Huns" in the west; however, at the same time the identification of his Χοῦννοι with the Huns is anything but uncontroversial. The late antique merchant and travel writer Cosmas Indicopleustes represents the generally quite limited geographical knowledge of the sixth century CE about Central and South Asia; especially interesting is his categorisation of knowledge after biblical patterns.

From the field of historical literature in a narrower sense, I have incorporated the repeatedly recorded "*origo*" of the European Huns, because it establishes the Europe—Asia connection in a particular way: compare Iordanes and Agathias, both authors of the middle or the beginning of the second half of the sixth century CE. Ammianus Marcellinus, Procopius, Pseudo-Maurice and Theophylact Simocatta represent how ethnographical stereotypes from the "Histories" of Herodotus continue to prevail even in late antiquity.

In the area of the history of events, the Huns often enter the horizon of our sources when tensions exist between the Roman and the Persian empires. Our passages from Ammianus Marcellinus show on the one hand that the Sasanian king had Hunnic allies with him in his army (namely the Kidarite king Grumbates), and on the other hand that Hunnic incursions on the east tarnished the offensive capacities of the Persians to the west. The same applies to Priscus of Panium, whose fragments illustrate the Hunnic Wars of the Sasanians in the fifth century CE. As evinced by several sources in this sourcebook, our western sources gave particular attention to the Hunnic Wars of king Perozes. As a result of his defeats, the Persians became temporarily dependent on the Hephthalites.

This leads to another important point: the state of the Sasanian empire always affected the state of the Roman empire. There were, caused not least by the politics concerning the Huns, mutual interests, for example the question of the protection of the Caucasian passes in the face of the steppe nomadic invaders.

With regard to the Greek and Latin authors, the sixth century CE does not differ from the centuries before in the fashion of its knowledge about the Huns and their realms in the Eurasian steppe zone. There are news about the wars of the Sasanians in the east against Hunnic realms. The occasional inhibition of the Persian urge for territorial expansion towards the Roman empire because of the danger caused by the Huns is registered. The Roman emperor tries to contact the Hunnic rulers consistently: the result is an active diplomacy to the regions beyond the Black Sea.

In addition to historians like Procopius, Agathias, Menander Protector and Theophylact Simocatta, world chronicles like those of Theophanes Confessor are important sources. It is significant that our authors often use the term "Huns" vaguely in the context of the events they describe; Sabirs and Turks can be called "Huns," too.[i]

This treatment of the relevant authors from late antiquity, however, is not an expression of their ethnographical ignorance, but rather an expression of a certain classicizing literary influence (precisely by Herodotus and his successors), as well as an expression of the experiences that the Roman empire had had with steppe nomads for centuries: emanating from the apparently formative experiences with Attila in the fifth century CE, Οὖννοι—like Σκύθαι before—had become a general expression for "steppe nomads."

Overview of Authors

Agathias of Myrina. Historiographer and poet of the 6th century CE. His *Histories* cover the period between 552 and 558/59 CE and continue the historical work of Procopius of Caesarea.
Text: *Agathiae Myrinaei historiarum libri quinque*, ed. Rudolf Keydell (1967)
Translation with an introduction and notes by Joseph D. Frendo (1975)

Ammianus Marcellinus. Historiographer and military officer of the 4th century CE. The preserved books of his *Res gestae* cover the period of 353 to 378 CE.
Text: *Ammiani Marcellini rerum gestarum libri qui supersunt*, ed. Charles U. Clark (1910–15)
Translation from John C. Rolfe (1935–40)

Claudius Ptolemy. Alexandrian astronomer of the 2nd century CE, author *inter alia* of a *Geography* in eight books.
Text edited by Alfred Stückelberger and Gerd Graßhoff (2006)
Translation from Edward L. Stevenson (1932)

Cosmas Indicopleustes. Merchant from Alexandria of the first half of the 6th century CE, who travelled in lands including East Africa, Arabia and allegedly India and Taprobane (Sri Lanka). He was probably a monk and wrote a *Christian*

[i] Such passages, excluded from the sourcebook, include Agath. 3, 17, 5; Agath. 4, 13, 7–9; Malal. 18, 13 f. (Thurn 2000, 35:360–62); Malal. 18, 70 (Thurn 2000, 35:394); Theoph. AM 6008; Theoph. AM 6020; Malal. 17, 10 (Thurn 2000, 35:341ff); Theoph. AM 6013; Men. frg. 4, 2 (Blockley); Men. frg. 10, 1 (Blockley); Men. frg. 10, 4 (Blockley); Men. frg. 18, 5 (Blockley); Men. frg. 18, 6 (Blockley); Men. frg. 19, 1 (Blockley); Theoph. AM 6064 and Theophylact 3, 6, 8–17.

Topography in twelve books.
Text edited by Wanda Wolska-Conus (1969–73)
Translation from: John W. McCrindle (1897), revised by Timo Stickler

Ioannes Antiochenus. John of Antioch was an author of the 6th or 7th century CE. His fragmentary preserved world chronicle continues until 610 CE.
Text and translation from Sergei Mariev (2008)

Ioannes Lydus. John the Lydian was a public official and antiquarian author of the 6th century CE. In the 550s he wrote *De Magistratibus*, a historical account of the Roman bureaucracy.
Text after Michel Dubuisson and Jacques Schamp (2006)
Translation from Anastasius C. Bandy (1983)

Iordanes. Author of the 6th century CE. His work on the *History of the Goths* was composed in 551/52 CE.
Text: *Iordanis Romana et Getica* ed. Theodor Mommsen (1882)
Translation from Charles Christopher Mierow (1915)

(Pseudo-)Mauricius. The strategical handbook of Mauricius was definitely written before the Arab conquests of the 630s CE. It provides a wide range of ethnographical and historical material to the multiple military opponents of Eastern Rome. The identity of this author as the emperor Maurice (gov. 582–602 CE) is disputed.
Text from George T. Dennis (1981)
Translation from George T. Dennis (1984)

Menander Protector. Historiographer, lawyer and military officer of the 6th century CE. His fragmentarily preserved *Histories* cover the period between 558/59 and 582. He continues the historical work of Agathias of Myrina.
Text and translation from Roger C. Blockley (1985)

Priscus of Panium. Historiographer and rhetorician of the 5th century CE. His fragmentarily preserved historical work covers the period between approximately 434 and 471 CE.
Text and translation from Roger C. Blockley (1983)

Procopius of Caesarea. Historiographer of the 6th century CE. His *Bella* cover the wars of Justinian against the Persians, Vandals, Goths etc. They span a period between 526 and 552 CE. Furthermore, he wrote a panegyric on *Aedificia* and an invective against emperor Justinian (*Historia arcana*).
Text from Jacob Haury and Gerhard Wirth (1962–64)
Translation from Hugh B. Dewing (1914–40)

Theophanes Confessor. Byzantine monk of the 8th or 9th century CE and the author of an annalistic world chronicle for the period from 285 to 813 CE.
Text from Carl de Boor (1883)
Translation from Cyril Mango and Roger Scott (1997)

Theophylact Simocatta. Historiographer and public official of the 7th century CE. His *Histories* cover the period from 582 to 602 CE.
Text from Carl de Boor and Peter Wirth (1972)
Translation from Michael and Mary Whitby (1986)

Recommended Further Reading

As an introduction to the late antiquity in the west and in the east see e. g.

- Stephen Mitchell (2007);
- Josef Wiesehöfer (2006).

Fundamentally on Herodotus's worldview:

- Reinhold Bichler (2001).

Specifically for the Scythian logos:

- Stephanie West (2002);
- Yang Huang (2011).

On the continuing effects of classicistic *topoi* and stereotypes in the authors of late antiquity see for example:

- in reference to Ammianus Marcellinus, Will Richter (1974) and Wiebke Vergin (2013 esp. 259ff);
- in reference to Procopius, Henning Börm (2007, esp. 259ff);
- in reference to Pseudo-Maurice, Bohumila Zástěrová (1971 esp. 7ff) ;
- in reference to Theophylact: Étienne de La Vaissière (2015b).

Fundamentally on questions of the ethnogenesis in late antiquity:

- Reinhard Wenskus (1977) ;
- see also the summarising remarks of Walter Pohl (2005, 13ff).

Specifically in reference to the continuity of the Hunnic ethnos and the Hunnic name

- Timo Stickler (2007, esp. 21ff);
- see in comparison the viewpoint of Étienne de La Vaissière (2005, 3–26);
- Christopher P. Atwood (2012).

IX.1. Early history of Huns and the Hun way of life (before the fifth century CE)

IX.001. Ptolemy 3, 5, 25: First mention of the Huns in a western source

Μεταξὺ δὲ Βαστερνῶν καὶ Ῥωξολανῶν[i] Χοῦνοι, καὶ ὑπὸ τὰ ἴδια ὄρη Ἀμαδόκοι καὶ Ναύαροι· παρὰ μὲν τὴν Βύκην λίμνην Τορεκκάδαι, παρὰ δὲ τὸν Ἀχιλλέως Δρόμον οἱ Ταυροσκύθαι· ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς Βαστέρνας πρὸς τῇ Δακίᾳ Τάγροι, καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοὺς Τυραγγεῖται[ii].

Between the Basternae and the Rhoxolani are the Chuni, and below the mountains named from these are the Amadoci and the Navari. Near Byce Lake dwell the Toreccadae, and near Achilles's Cursus the Tauroscythae; below the Basternae near Dacia are the Tigri and below these are the Tyrangitae.

IX.002. Iordanes, *Getica*: Early history of the Huns

IX.002/A. Iord. *Get*. 5, 36 f.

[36]Ad litus autem Oceani, ubi tribus faucibus fluenta Vistulae fluminis ebibuntur, Vidivarii resident, ex diversis nationibus adgregati; post quos ripam Oceani item Aesti tenent, pacatum hominum genus omnino. Quibus in austrum adsidet gens Acatzirorum fortissima, frugum ignara, quae pecoribus et venationibus victitat. [37]Vltra quos distendunt supra mare Ponticum Bulgarum sedes, quos notissimos peccatorum nostrorum mala fecerunt. Hinc iam Hunni quasi fortissimorum gentium fecundissimus cespes bifariam populorum rabiem pullularunt. Nam alii Altziagiri, alii Saviri nuncupantur, qui tamen sedes habent divisas: iuxta Chersonam Altziagiri, quo Asiae bona avidus mercator importat, qui aestate campos pervagant effusas sedes, prout armentorum invitaverint pabula, hieme supra mare Ponticum se referentes. Hunuguri autem hinc sunt noti, quia ab ipsis pellium murinarum venit commercium: quos tantorum virorum formidavit audacia.

[36]But on the shore of Ocean, where the floods of the river Vistula empty from three mouths, the Vidivarii dwell, a people gathered out of various tribes. Beyond them the Aesti, a subject race, likewise hold the shore of Ocean. To the south dwell the Acatziri, a very brave tribe ignorant of agriculture, who subsist on their flocks and by hunting. [37]Farther away and above the Sea of Pontus are the abodes of the Bulgares, well known from the disasters our neglect has brought upon us. From this region the Huns, like a fruitful root of bravest races, sprouted into two hordes of people. Some of these are called Altziagiri, others Sabiri; and they have different dwelling

[i] = *Ῥοξολανῶν*.
[ii] = *Τυραγγέται*.

places. The Altziagiri are near Cherson, where the avaricious traders bring in the goods of Asia. In summer they range the plains, their broad domains, wherever the pasturage for their cattle invites them, and betake themselves in winter beyond the Sea of Pontus. Now the Hunuguri are known to us from the fact that they trade in marten skins. But they have been cowed by their bolder neighbors.

IX.002/B. Iord. *Get*. 24, 121–128

[121]Post autem non longi temporis intervallo, ut refert Orosius, Hunnorum gens omni ferocitate atrocior exarsit in Gothos. Nam hos, ut refert antiquitas, ita extitisse conperimus. Filimer rex Gothorum et Gadarici magni filius qui post egressu Scandzae insulae iam quinto loco tenens principatum Getarum, qui et terras Scythicas cum sua gente introisse superius a nobis dictum est, repperit in populo suo quasdam magas mulieres, quas patrio sermone Haliurunnas is ipse cognominat, easque habens suspectas de medio sui proturbat longeque ab exercitu suo fugatas in solitudinem coegit errare. [122]Quas spiritus inmundi per herimum vagantes dum vidissent et eorum conplexibus in coitu miscuissent, genus hoc ferocissimum ediderunt, quae fuit primum inter paludes, minutum tetrum atque exile quasi hominum genus nec alia voce notum nisi quod humani sermonis imaginem adsignabat. Tali igitur Hunni stirpe creati Gothorum finibus advenerunt. [123]Quorum natio saeva, ut Priscus istoricus refert, Meotida palude ulteriore ripa insidens, venationi tantum nec alio labore experta, nisi quod, postquam crevisset in populis, fraudibus et rapinis vicinarum gentium quiete conturbans. Huius ergo gentis, ut adsolet, venatores, dum in interioris Meotidae ripam venationes inquirent, animadvertunt, quomodo ex inproviso cerva se illis optulit ingressaque paludem nunc progrediens nunc subsistens index viae se tribuit. [124]Quam secuti venatores paludem Meotidam, quem inpervium ut pelagus aestimant, pedibus transierunt. Mox quoque Scythica terra ignotis apparuit, cerva disparuit. Quod, credo, spiritus illi, unde progeniem trahunt, ad Scytharum invidia id egerunt.

[121]But after a short space of time, as Orosius relates, the race of the Huns, fiercer than ferocity itself, flamed forth against the Goths. We learn from old traditions that their origin was as follows: Filimer, king of the Goths, son of Gadaric the Great, who was the fifth in succession to hold the rule of the Getae after their departure from the island of Scandza—and who, as we have said, entered the land of Scythia with his tribe—found among his people certain witches, whom he called in his native tongue Haliurunnae. Suspecting these women, he expelled them from the midst of his race and compelled them to wander in solitary exile afar from his army. [122]There the unclean spirits, who beheld them as they wandered through the wilderness, bestowed their embraces upon them and begat this savage race, which dwelt at first in the swamps, a stunted, foul and puny tribe, scarcely human, and having no language save one which bore but slight resemblance to human speech. Such was the descent of the Huns who came to the country of the Goths. [123] This cruel tribe, as Priscus the historian relates, settled on the farther bank of the Maeotic swamp. They were fond of hunting and had no skill in any other art. After they had grown to a nation, they disturbed the peace of neighboring races by theft and rapine. At one time, while hunters of their tribe were as usual seeking for game on the farthest edge of Maeotis,

they saw a doe unexpectedly appear to their sight and enter the swamp, acting as guide of the way; now advancing and again standing still. [124]The hunters followed and crossed on foot the Maeotic swamp, which they had supposed was impassable as the sea. Presently the unknown land of Scythia disclosed itself and the doe disappeared. Now in my opinion the evil spirits, from whom the Huns are descended, did this from envy of the Scythians.

[125]Illi vero, qui praeter Meotidam alium mundum esse paenitus ignorabant, admiratione ducti terrae Scythicae et, ut sunt sollertes, iter illud nullae ante aetati notissimum divinitus sibi ostensum rati, ad suos redeunt, rei gestum edocent, Scythiam laudant persuasaque gente sua via, qua cerva indice dedicerant, ad Scythiam properant, et quantoscumque prius in ingressu Scytharum habuerunt, litavere victoriae, reliquos perdomitos subegerunt. [126]Nam mox ingentem illam paludem transierunt, ilico Alpidzuros, Alcildzuros, Itimaros, Tuncarsos et Boiscos, qui ripae istius Scythiae insedebant, quasi quaedam turbo gentium rapuerunt. Halanos quoque pugna sibi pares, sed humanitate, victu formaque dissimiles, frequenti certamine fatigantes, subiugaverunt.

[125]And the Huns, who had been wholly ignorant that there was another world beyond Maeotis, were now filled with admiration for the Scythian land. As they were quick of mind, they believed that this path, utterly unknown to any age of the past, had been divinely revealed to them. They returned to their tribe, told them what had happened, praised Scythia and persuaded the people to hasten thither along the way they had found by the guidance of the doe. As many as they captured, when they thus entered Scythia for the first time, they sacrificed to Victory. The remainder they conquered and made subject to themselves. [126]Like a whirlwind of nations they swept across the great swamp and at once fell upon the Alpidzuri, Alcildzuri, Itimari, Tuncarsi and Boisci, who bordered on that part of Scythia. The Alani also, who were their equals in battle, but unlike them in civilization, manners and appearance, they exhausted by their incessant attacks and subdued.

[127]Nam et quos bello forsitan minime superabant, vultus sui terrore nimium pavorem ingerentes, terribilitate fugabant, eo quod erat eis species pavenda nigridinis et velud quaedam, si dici fas est, informis offa, non facies, habensque magis puncta quam lumina. Quorum animi fiducia turvus prodet aspectus, qui etiam in pignora sua primo die nata desaeviunt. Nam maribus ferro genas secant, ut ante quam lactis nutrimenta percipiant, vulneris cogantur subire tolerantiam. [128]Hinc inberbes senescunt et sine venustate efoebi sunt, quia facies ferro sulcata tempestivam pilorum gratiam cicatricis absumit. Exigui quidem forma, sed argutis motibus expediti et ad equitandum promptissimi, scapulis latis, et ad arcos sagittasque parati firmis cervicibus et superbia semper erecti. Hi vero sub hominum figura vivunt beluina saevitia.

[127]For by the terror of their features they inspired great fear in those whom perhaps they did not really surpass in war. They made their foes flee in horror because their swarthy aspect was fearful, and they had, if I may call it so, a sort of shapeless lump, not a head, with pin-holes rather than eyes. Their hardihood is evident in their wild appearance, and they are beings who are cruel to their children on the very day they are born. For they cut the cheeks of the males

with a sword, so that before they receive the nourishment of milk they must learn to endure wounds. [128]Hence they grow old beardless and their young men are without comeliness, because a face furrowed by the sword spoils by its scars the natural beauty of a beard. They are short in stature, quick in bodily movement, alert horsemen, broad shouldered, ready in the use of bow and arrow, and have firm-set necks which are ever erect in pride. Though they live in the form of men, they have the cruelty of wild beasts.

IX.003. Agathias 5, 11, 1–4: Origins of the Huns east of Lake Maeotis

[1]Τούτων δὲ οὕτω ξυνενεχθέντων ἐπεγένετο καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα τῇ πόλει κατ' ἐκεῖνο τοῦ καιροῦ ταραχῆς τε καὶ θορύβου ἀνάμεστα καὶ οὐχ ἧσσον τῶν εἰρημένων ἀνιαρότατα. ὁποῖα δὲ ταῦτά ἐστιν, αὐτίκα ἐρῶ, βραχύ τι πρότερον διεξελθὼν τῶν ἀρχαιοτέρων. [2]οἱ Οὖννοι τὸ γένος τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν κατῴκουν τῆς Μαιώτιδος λίμνης τὰ πρὸς ἀπηλιώτην ἄνεμον καὶ ἦσαν τοῦ Τανάϊδος ποταμοῦ ἀρκτικώτεροι, καθάπερ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα βάρβαρα ἔθνη, ὁπόσα ἐντὸς Ἰμαίου ὄρους ἀνὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐτύγχανον ἱδρυμένα. οὗτοι δὲ ἅπαντες κοινῇ μὲν Σκύθαι καὶ Οὖννοι ἐπωνομάζοντο· ἰδίᾳ δὲ κατὰ γένη τὸ μέν τι αὐτῶν Κοτρίγουροι, τὸ δὲ Οὐτίγουροι, ἄλλοι δὲ Οὐλτίζουροι καὶ ἄλλοι Βουρούγουνδοι, καὶ ἄλλοι ὡς ἂν αὐτοῖς πάτριόν τε ἦν καὶ εἰθισμένον. [3]γενεαῖς δὲ πολλαῖς ὕστερον διέβησαν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, εἴτε ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐλάφου τινὸς κατὰ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ θρυλούμενον τὰ πρῶτα ἡγησαμένης, εἴτε καὶ ἀλλοίᾳ χρησάμενοι τύχῃ, καὶ τὴν ἐκροὴν τῆς λίμνης τὴν ἐς τὸν Εὔξεινον Πόντον φερομένην, ἄπορον τέως δοκοῦσαν, τότε δὴ ὁτῳοῦν τρόπῳ διαπεραιωθέντες, ἀλώμενοι δὲ ὅμως ἀνὰ τὴν ὀθνείαν, πλεῖστα ὅσα τὸ ἰθαγενὲς ἐλυμήναντο, ἀπροσδόκητα προσπεσόντες, ὡς καὶ τοὺς προτέρους οἰκήτορας ἀπελάσαντες αὐτοὶ τὴν ἐκείνων κατέχειν. [4]ἤμελλον δὲ ἄρα οὐκ ἐπὶ μακρότατον διαμένειν, ἀλλὰ πρόρριζοι ὸ λεγόμενον ἀπολεῖσθαι.

[1]The tragedy just described did not mark the end of this stormy period but was followed by others of an equally horrifying and alarming nature. What these were I shall presently explain, after first making a brief and passing reference to earlier history. [2]In ancient times the Huns inhabited the region east of lake Maeotis to the north of the river Don, as did the rest of the barbarian peoples established in Asia on the near side of Mt. Imaeus. All these peoples were referred to by the general name of Scythians or Huns, whereas individual tribes had their own particular names, rooted in ancestral tradition, such as Cotrigurs, Utigurs, Ultizurs, Burugundi and so on and so forth. [3]Several generations later either following the lead of a hind as popular tradition would have it or as a result of some other fortuitous occurrence, they crossed over into Europe and were somehow conveyed across the point where lake Maeotis flows into the Euxine, which had hitherto been considered impossible. However, they crossed it and wandered far and wide over foreign territory. By their sudden and unexpected raids they did incalculable damage to the local populations, even to the extent of displacing the original inhabitants and occupying their lands. [4]But their stay was destined to be a brief one, and at the end of it they vanished without leaving any trace of themselves.

IX.004. Ammianus 31, 2: General excursus on the Huns

[1]Totius autem sementem exitii, et cladum originem diversarum, quas Martius furor incendio insolito miscendo cuncta concivit, hanc conperimus causam. Hunorum gens monumentis veteribus leviter nota, ultra paludes Maeoticas glacialem oceanum accolens, omnem modum feritatis excedit. [2]ubi quoniam ab ipsis nascendi primitiis, infantum ferro sulcantur altius genae, ut pilorum vigor tempestivus emergens, conrugatis cicatricibus hebetetur, senescunt imberbes, absque ulla venustate, spadonibus similes, conpactis omnes firmisque membris, et opimis cervicibus, prodigiose deformes et pandi, ut bipedes existimes bestias, vel quales in conmarginandis pontibus effigiati stipites dolantur incompte.

[1]However, the seed and origin of all the ruin and various disasters that the wrath of Mars aroused, putting in turmoil all places with unwonted fires, we have found to be this. The people of the Huns, but little known from ancient records, dwelling beyond the Maeotic Sea near the ice-bound ocean, exceed every degree of savagery. [2]Since there the cheeks of the children are deeply furrowed with the steel from their very birth, in order that the growth of hair, when it appears at the proper time, may be checked by the wrinkled scars, they grow old without beards and without any beauty, like eunuchs. They all have compact, strong limbs and thick necks, and are so monstrously ugly and misshapen, that one might take them for two-legged beasts or for the stumps, rough-hewn into images, that are used in putting sides to bridges.

[3]in hominum autem figura, licet insuavi ita victu sunt asperi, ut neque igni neque saporatis indigeant cibis, sed radicibus herbarum agrestium, et semicruda cuiusvis pecoris carne vescantur, quam inter femora sua equorumque terga, subsertam, fotu calefaciunt brevi. [4]aedificiis nullis umquam tecti, sed haec velut ab usu communi discreta sepulchra, declinant. nec enim apud eos vel arundine fastigatum repperiri tugurium potest. sed vagi montes peragrantes et silvas, pruinas famem sitimque perferre ab incunabulis adsuescunt. peregre tecta (nisi adigente maxima necessitate) non subeunt: nec enim [apud eos] se tutos existimant esse sub tectis …… [5]indumentis operiuntur linteis vel ex pellibus silvestrium murum consarcinatis; nec alia illis domestica vestis est, alia forensis, sed semel obsoleti coloris tunica collo inserta, non ante deponitur aut mutatur, quam diuturna carie in pannulos diffluxerit defrustata. [6]galeris incurvis capita tegunt, hirsuta crura coriis munientes haedinis, eorumque calcei formulis nullis aptati, vetant incedere gressibus liberis. qua causa ad pedestres parum adcommodati sunt pugnas, verum equis prope adfixi, duris quidem sed deformibus, et muliebriter isdem non numquam insidentes, funguntur muneribus consuetis. ex ipsis quivis in hac natione pernox et perdius emit et vendit, cibumque sumit et potum, et inclinatus cervici angustae iumenti, in altum soporem ad usque varietatem effunditur somniorum. [7]et deliberatione super rebus proposita seriis, hoc habitu omnes in commune consultant. aguntur autem nulla severitate regali, sed tumultuario primatum ductu contenti perrumpunt quicquid inciderit.

[3] But although they have the form of men, however ugly, they are so hardy in their mode of life that they have no need of fire nor of savory food, but eat the roots of wild plants and the half-raw flesh of any kind of animal whatever, which they put between their thighs and the backs of

their horses, and thus warm it a little. [4]They are never protected by any buildings, but they avoid these like tombs, which are set apart from everyday use. For not even a hut thatched with reed can be found among them. But roaming at large amid the mountains and woods, they learn from the cradle to endure cold, hunger and thirst. When away from their homes they never enter a house unless compelled by extreme necessity; for they think they are not safe when staying under a roof. [5]They dress in linen cloth or in the skins of field-mice sewn together, and they wear the same clothing indoors and out. But when they have once put their necks into a faded tunic, it is not taken off or changed until by long wear and tear it has been reduced to rags and fallen from them bit by bit. [6]They cover their heads with round caps and protect their hairy legs with goatskins; their shoes are formed upon no lasts, and so prevent their walking with free step. For this reason, they are not at all adapted to battles on foot, but they are almost glued to their horses, which are hardy, it is true, but ugly, and sometimes they sit on them woman-fashion and thus perform their ordinary tasks. From their horses by night or day every one of that nation buys and sells, eats and drinks, and bowed over the narrow neck of the animal relaxes into a sleep so deep as to be accompanied by many dreams. [7]And when deliberation is called for about weighty matters, they all consult as a common body in that fashion. They are subject to no royal restraint, but they are content with the disorderly government of their important men, and led by them they force their way through every obstacle.

[8]et pugnant non numquam lacessiti, sed ineuntes proelia cuneatim, variis vocibus sonantibus torvum. utque ad pernicitatem sunt leves et repentini, ita subito de industria dispersi incessunt, ut inconposita acie, cum caede vasta discurrunt, nec invadentes vallum, nec castra inimica pilantes, prae nimia rapiditate cernuntur. [9]eoque omnium acerrimos facile dixeris bellatores, quod procul missilibus telis, acutis ossibus pro spiculorum acumine, arte mira coagmentatis, et distinctis ....., comminus ferro sine sui respectu confligunt, hostisque dum mucronum noxias observant, contortis laciniis inligant, ut laqueatis resistentium membris, equitandi vel gradiendi adimant facultatem.

[8]They also sometimes fight when provoked, and then they enter the battle drawn up in wedge-shaped masses, while their medley of voices makes a savage noise. And as they are lightly equipped for swift motion, and unexpected in action, they purposely divide suddenly into scattered bands and attack, rushing about in disorder here and there, dealing terrific slaughter; and because of their extraordinary rapidity of movement they are never seen to attack a rampart or pillage an enemy's camp. [9]And on this account you would not hesitate to call them the most terrible of all warriors, because they fight from a distance with missiles having sharp bone, instead of their usual points, joined to the shafts with wonderful skill; then they gallop over the intervening spaces and fight hand to hand with swords, regardless of their own lives; and while the enemy are guarding against wounds from the sabre-thrusts, they throw strips of cloth plaited into nooses over their opponents and so entangle them that they fetter their limbs and take from them the power of riding or walking.

[10]nemo apud eos arat nec stivam aliquando contingit. omnes enim sine sedibus fixis, absque lare vel lege aut victu stabili dispalantur, semper fugientium similes, cum carpentis in quibus habitant: ubi coniuges taetra illis vestimenta contexunt, et coeunt cum maritis, et pariunt, et ad usque pubertatem nutriunt pueros. nullusque apud eos interrogatus, respondere unde oritur potest, alibi conceptus natusque procul, et longius educatus. [11]per indutias infidi et inconstantes, ad omnem auram incidentis spei novae perquam mobiles, totum furori incitatissimo tribuentes. inconsultorum animalium ritu, quid honestum inhonestumve sit, penitus ignorantes, flexiloqui et obscuri, nullius religionis vel superstitionis reverentia aliquando districti, auri cupidine inmensa flagrantes, adeo permutabiles et irasci faciles ut eodem aliquotiens die, a sociis nullo inritante saepe desciscant, itidemque propitientur, nemine leniente.

[10] No one in their country ever plows a field or touches a plow-handle. They are all without fixed abode, without hearth, or law, or settled mode of life, and keep roaming from place to place, like fugitives, accompanied by the wagons in which they live; in wagons their wives weave for them their hideous garments, in wagons they cohabit with their husbands, bear children, and rear them to the age of puberty. None of their offspring, when asked, can tell you where he comes from, since he was conceived in one place, born far from there, and brought up still farther away. [11]In truces they are faithless and unreliable, strongly inclined to sway to the motion of every breeze of new hope that presents itself, and sacrificing every feeling to the mad impulse of the moment. Like unreasoning beasts, they are utterly ignorant of the difference between right and wrong; they are deceitful and ambiguous in speech, never bound by any reverence for religion or for superstition. They burn with an infinite thirst for gold, and they are so fickle and prone to anger, that they often quarrel with their allies without provocation, more than once on the same day, and make friends with them again without a mediator.

[12]Hoc expeditum indomitumque hominum genus, externa praedandi aviditate flagrans inmani, per rapinas finitimorum grassatum et caedes, ad usque Halanos pervenit, veteres Massagetas, qui unde sint vel quas incolant terras, quoniam huc res prolapsa est, consentaneum est demonstrare, geografica perplexitate monstrata, quae diu multa …… et varia, tandem repperit veritatis interna …… [13]Abundans aquarum Hister advenarum magnitudine fluenti Sauromatas praetermeat, ad usque amnem Tanaim pertinentis, qui Asiam terminat ab Europa. hoc transito in inmensum extentas Scythiae solitudines Halani inhabitant, ex montium appellatione cognominati, paulatimque nationes conterminas crebritate victoriarum adtritas, ad gentilitatem sui vocabuli traxerunt (ut Persae). [14]inter hos Nervi mediterranea incolunt loca, vicini verticibus celsis, quos praeruptos geluque torpentes, aquilones astringunt. post quos Vidini sunt et Geloni, perquam feri, qui detractis peremptorum hostium cutibus, indumenta sibi equisque tegmina conficiunt bellatoriis. Gelonis Agathyrsi conlimitant, interstincti colore caeruleo corpora simul et crines, et humiles quidem minutis atque raris, nobiles vero latius fucatis et densioribus notis. [15]post hos Melanchlaenas et Anthropofagos palari accepimus per diversa, humanis corporibus victitantes, quibus ob haec alimenta nefanda desertis, finitimi omnes longa petiere terrarum. ideoque plaga omnis orienti aestivo obiecta, usque dum venitur ad Seras, inhabitabilis mansit.

[12]This race of untamed men, without encumbrances, aflame with an inhuman desire for plundering others' property, made their violent way amid the rapine and slaughter of the neighboring peoples as far as the Halani, once known as the Massagetae. And since we have come to this point, it is in place to tell of the origin and dwelling-place of this people also, and to point out the confused opinions of geographers, who after many different attempts to deal with the subject have at last come upon the core of the truth. [13]The Hister, filled to overflowing by a great number of tributaries, flows past the Sauromatians, and these extend as far as the river Tanaïs, which separates Asia from Europe. On the other side of this river the Halani, so called from the mountain range of the same name, inhabit the measureless wastes of Scythia; and by repeated victories they gradually wore down the peoples whom they met and like the Persians incorporated them under their own national name. [14]Among these the Nervii inhabit the interior of the country near the lofty, precipitous peaks nipped by the north winds and benumbed with ice and snow. Behind these are the Vidini and the Geloni, exceedingly savage races, who strip the skins from their slain enemies to make clothing for themselves and coverings for their horses in war. On the frontier of the Geloni are the Agathyrsi, who checker their bodies and dye their hair with a blue colour — the common people with a few small marks, but the nobles with more and broader spots of dye. [15]Beyond these are the Melanchlaenae and the Anthropophagi, who according to report lead a nomadic life and feed upon human flesh; and because of this abominable food they are left to themselves and all their former neighbours have moved to distant parts of the earth. And so the entire north-eastern tract, until one comes to the Seres, has remained uninhabitable.

[16]parte alia prope Amazonum sedes, Halani sunt orienti adclines, diffusi per populosas gentes et amplas, Asiaticos vergentes in tractus, quas dilatari ad usque Gangen accepi, fluvium intersecantem terras Indorum, mareque inundantem australe. [17]Hi bipertiti per utramque mundi plagam Halani, quorum gentes varias nunc recensere non refert, licet dirempti spatiis longis, per pagos (ut Nomades) vagantur inmensos, aevi tamen progressu, ad unum concessere vocabulum, et summatim omnes Halani cognominantur, ob mores et modum efferatum vivendi, eandemque armaturam. [18]nec enim ulla sunt illis vel tuguria, aut versandi vomeris cura, sed carne et copia victitant lactis, plaustris supersidentes, quae operimentis curvatis corticum per solitudines conferunt, sine fine distentas. cumque ad graminea venerint, in orbiculatam figuram locatis sarracis, ferino ritu vescuntur, absumptisque pabulis, velut carpentis civitates inpositas vehunt, maresque supra cum feminis coeunt, et nascuntur in his et educantur infantes, et habitacula sunt haec illis perpetua, et quocumque ierint, illic genuinum existimant larem. [19]armenta prae se agentes, cum gregibus pascunt, maximeque equini pecoris est eis sollicitior cura. ibi campi semper herbescunt, intersitis pomiferis locis: atque ideo transeuntes quolibet, nec alimentis nec pabulis indigent, quod efficit umectum solum et crebri fluminum praetermeantium cursus. [20]omnis igitur aetas et sexus inbellis, circa vehicula ipsa versatur, muniis distringitur mollibus: iuventus vero equitandi usu a prima pueritia coaliscens, incedere pedibus existimat vile, et omnes multiplici disciplina prudentes sunt bellatores. unde etiam Persae, qui sunt originitus Scythae, pugnandi sunt peritissimi.

[16]In another part of the country, near the abodes of the Amazons, the Halani mount to the eastward, divided into populous and extensive nations; these reach as far as Asia, and, as I have heard, stretch all the way to the river Ganges, which flows through the territories of India and empties into the southern ocean. [17]Thus the Halani (whose various people it is unnecessary now to enumerate) are divided between the two parts of the earth, but although widely separated from each other and roaming over vast tracts, as Nomads do, yet in the course of time they have united under one name, and are, for short, all called Halani because of the similarity in their customs, their savage mode of life, and their weapons. [18]For they have no huts and care nothing for using the plowshare, but they live upon flesh and an abundance of milk, and dwell in wagons, which they cover with rounded canopies of bark and drive over the boundless wastes. And when they come to a place rich in grass, they place their carts in a circle and feed like wild beasts. As soon as the fodder is used up, they place their cities, as we might call them, on the wagons and so convey them: in the wagons the males have intercourse with the women, and in the wagons their babes are born and reared; wagons form their permanent dwellings, and wherever they come, that place they look upon as their natural home. [19]Driving their plow-cattle before them, they pasture them with their flocks, and they give particular attention to breeding horses. In that land the fields are always green, and here and there are places set thick with fruit trees. Hence, wherever they go, they lack neither food for themselves nor fodder for their cattle, because of the moist soil and the numerous courses of rivers that flow hard by them. [20]Therefore, all those who through age or sex are unfit for war remain close by the wagons and are occupied in light tasks; but the young men grow up in the habit of riding from their earliest boyhood and regard it as contemptible to go on foot; and by various forms of training they are all skilled warriors. From the same causes the Persians also, who are Scythians by origin, are highly expert in fighting.

[21]Proceri autem Halani paene sunt omnes et pulchri, crinibus mediocriter flavis, oculorum temperata torvitate terribiles, et armorum levitate veloces, Hunisque per omnia suppares, verum victu mitiores et cultu, latrocinando et venando ad usque Maeotica stagna, et Cimmerium Bosporum, itidemque Armenios discurrentes, et Mediam. [22]utque hominibus quietis et placidis, otium est voluptabile, ita illos pericula iuvant et bella. iudicatur ibi beatus, qui in proelio profuderit animam, senescentes enim et fortuitis mortibus mundo digressos, ut degeneres et ignavos, conviciis atrocibus insectantur, nec quicquam est quod elatius iactent, quam homine quolibet occiso, proque exuviis gloriosis interfectorum, avulsis capitibus, detractas pelles pro faleris iumentis accommodant bellatoriis. [23]nec templum apud eos visitur aut delubrum, ne tugurium quidem culmo tectum cerni usquam potest, sed gladius barbarico ritu humi figitur nudus, eumque ut Martem, regionum quas circumcolunt, praesulem verecundius colunt. [24]futura miro praesagiunt modo. nam rectiores virgas vimineas colligentes, easque cum incantamentis quibusdam secretis, praestituto tempore discernentes, aperte quid portenditur norunt. [25]servitus quid sit ignorant, omnes generoso semine procreati, iudicesque etiam nunc eligunt diuturno bellandi usu spectatos. sed ad reliqua textus propositi revertamur.

[21]Moreover, almost all the Halani are tall and handsome, their hair inclines to blond, by the ferocity of their glance they inspire dread, subdued though it is. They are light and active in the use of arms. In all respects they are somewhat like the Huns, but in their manner of life and their habits they are less savage. In their plundering and hunting expeditions they roam here and there as far as the Maeotic Sea and the Cimmerian Bosporus, and also to Armenia and Media. [22]Just as quiet and peaceful men find pleasure in rest, so the Halani delight in danger and warfare. There the man is judged happy who has sacrificed his life in battle, while those who grow old and depart from the world by a natural death they assail with bitter reproaches, as degenerate and cowardly; and there is nothing in which they take more pride than in killing any man whatever: as glorious spoils of the slain they tear off their heads, then strip off their skins and hang them upon their war-horses as trappings. [23]No temple or sacred place is to be seen in their country, not even a hut thatched with straw can be discerned anywhere, but after the manner of barbarians a naked sword is fixed in the ground and they reverently worship it as their god of war, the presiding deity of those lands over which they range. [24]They have a remarkable way of divining the future; for they gather very straight twigs of osier and sort them out at an appointed time with certain secret incantations, and thus clearly learn what impends. [25]They do not know the meaning of slavery, since all are born of noble blood, and moreover they choose as chiefs those men who are conspicuous for long experience as warriors. But let us return to what remains of our chosen subject.

IX.005. Pseudo-Maurice, Strategicon 11, 2: The Hun way of life

[1]Πῶς δεῖ Σκύθαις ἁρμόζεσθαι, τουτέστιν Ἀβάροις καὶ Τούρκοις καὶ λοιποῖς ὁμοδιαίτοις αὐτῶν Οὐννικοῖς ἔθνεσιν

Τὰ Σκυθικὰ ἔθνη μιᾶς εἰσιν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἀναστροφῆς τε καὶ τάξεως πολύαρχά τε καὶ ἀπράγμονα. Μόνα δὲ τὰ τῶν Τούρκων καὶ Ἀβάρων φροντίζουσι τάξεως πολεμικῆς, ἰσχυροτέρας τῶν ἄλλων Σκυθικῶν ἐθνῶν τὰς κατὰ συστάδην μάχας ποιούμενα. [2]Καὶ τὸ μὲν Τούρκων πολύανδρόν τε καὶ ἐλεύθερον, ἀπηλλαγμένον τῆς τῶν πλειόνων πραγμάτων ποικιλίας καὶ δεινότητος, οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἠσκημένον ἢ τὸ ἀνδρείως πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς διακεῖσθαι. [3]Τὸ δὲ Ἀβάρων μοχθηρότατόν τε καὶ ποικίλον καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους ἐμπειρικώτατον.·

Ταῦτα τοίνυν, ὡς μοναρχούμενα, καὶ ἀπηνεῖς τὰς ἐπεξελεύσεις ἐπὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασιν ἐκ τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτῶν ὑφιστάμενα, οὐκ ἀγάπῃ, ἀλλὰ φόβῳ κεκρατημένα τοὺς πόνους καὶ μόχθους γενναίως φέρουσιν. Ἀνέχονται δὲ καύσωνος καὶ ψύχους καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδείας, νομαδικὰ ὄντα. [4]Περίεργα δὲ καὶ κρυψίβουλα φαῦλά τε καὶ ἄπιστα ὄντα καὶ τῇ ἀπληστίᾳ τῶν χρημάτων κρατούμενα, ὅρκον περιφρονοῦσι, μηδὲ συνθήκας φυλάττοντα, μηδὲ δώροις ἀρκούμενα, ἀλλὰ πρὶν τὸ δοθὲν δέξονται, ἐπιβουλὴν μελετῶσι καὶ ἀνατροπὴν τῶν δοκούντων. [5]Καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους καιροὺς δεινῶς στοχαζόμενα τούτοις ἀνυπερθέτως κέχρηνται, σπουδάζοντα οὐ τοσοῦτον τοὺς ἐχθροὺς χειρὶ καταγωνίσασθαι, ὅσον ἀπάταις καὶ αἰφνιδιάσμασι καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἀναγκαίων στενώσεσιν.

[1]Dealing with the Scythians, that is, Avars, Turks, and others whose way of life resembles that of the Hunnish peoples:

The Scythian nations are one, so to speak, in their mode of life and in their organization, which is primitive and includes many peoples. Of these peoples only the Turks and the Avars concern themselves with military organization, and this makes them stronger than the other Scythian nations when it comes to pitched battles. [2]The nation of the Turks is very numerous and independent. They are not versatile or skilled in most human endeavors, nor have they trained themselves for anything else except to conduct themselves bravely against their enemies. [3]The Avars, for their part, are scoundrels, devious, and very experienced in military matters.

These nations have a monarchical form of government, and their rulers subject them to cruel punishments for their mistakes. Governed not by love but by fear, they steadfastly bear labors and hardships. They endure heat and cold, and the want of many necessities, since they are nomadic peoples. [4]They are very superstitious, treacherous, foul, faithless, possessed by an insatiate desire for riches. They scorn their oath, do not observe agreement, and are not satisfied by gifts. Even before they accept the gift, they are making plans for treachery and betrayal of their agreements. [5]They are clever at estimating suitable opportunities to do this and taking prompt advantage of them. They prefer to prevail over their enemies not so much by force as by deceit, surprise attacks, and cutting off supplies.

[6]Ὁπλίζονται δὲ ζάβαις καὶ σπαθίοις τόξοις τε κονταρίοις, ὅθεν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις διπλοῦν ἅρμα οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν ἐπιφέρονται, ἐν τοῖς ὤμοις τὰ κοντάρια ἀναβαστάζοντες καὶ τὰ τόξα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ κατέχοντες, ἀμφοτέροις κατὰ τὴν ἀπαντῶσαν χρείαν κεχρημένοι. [7]Οὐκ αὐτοὶ δὲ μόνον ὁπλοφοροῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἵπποι τῶν ἐμφανῶν σιδήρῳ ἢ κεντούκλοις τὰ ἔμπροσθεν μέρη σκέπονται. [8]Ἤσκηνται δὲ ἐπιμελῶς καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἔφιππον τοξείαν.

[9]Ἀκολουθεῖ δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ πλῆθος ἀλόγων, ἀρρένων τε καὶ θηλειῶν, ἅμα μὲν πρὸς ἀποτροφήν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ διὰ πλήθους θεωρίαν. [10]Ἀπληκεύουσι δὲ οὐκ ἐν φοσσάτῳ, ὥσπερ Πέρσαι καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἀλλὰ μέχρι μὲν τῆς τοῦ πολέμου ἡμέρας διεσπασμένως κατὰ γένη καὶ φυλάς, τοὺς ἵππους βόσκοντες δεηνεκῶς ἔν τε θέρει καὶ χειμῶνι. Τότε δὲ τοὺς ἀναγκαίους κατέχοντες καὶ πεδικλοῦντες πλησίον τῶν τεντῶν, φυλάττουσι μέχρι τοῦ καιροῦ τῆς παρατάξεως, ὑπὸ νύκτα τῆς παρατάξεως ἀρχόμενοι. [11]Τὰς δὲ σκούλκας αὐτῶν ἀπὸ μήκους ἀλλεπαλλήλους καθιστῶσιν εἰς τὸ μὴ εὐκόλως αὐτοὺς ὑπομένειν αἰφνιδιασμούς.

[6]They are armed with mail, swords, bows, and lances. In combat most of them attack doubly armed; lances slung over their shoulders and holding bows in their hands, they make use of both as need requires. [7]Not only do they wear armor themselves, but in addition the horses of their illustrious men are covered in front with iron or felt. [8]They give special attention to training in archery on horseback.

[9]A vast herd of male and female horses follows them, both to provide nourishment and to give the impression of a huge army. [10]They do not encamp within entrenchments, as do the Persians

and the Romans, but until the day of battle, spread about according to tribes and clans, they continuously graze their horses both summer and winter. They then take the horses they think necessary, hobbling them next to their tents, and guard them until it is time to form their battle line, which they begin to do under cover of night. [11]They station their sentries at some distance, keeping them in contact with one another, so that it is not easy to catch them by a surprise attack.

[12]Ἐν δὲ τῇ μάχῃ οὐχ ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Πέρσαι τὴν παράταξιν τάσσουσιν ἐν τρισὶ μέρεσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν διαφόροις μοίραις δρουγγιστὶ συνάπτοντες ἀλλήλοις τὰς μοίρας, ὥστε μίαν τινὰ φαίνεσθαι παράταξιν. [13]Ἔχουσι δὲ ἔξω τῆς παρατάξεως δύναμιν τινὰ ἐκ περισσοῦ, ἣν πρὸς ἐνέδραν ἐκπέμπουσι κατὰ τῶν ἀμελῶς ἀντιτασσομένων αὐτοῖς ἢ εἰς βοήθειαν τοῦ βαρουμένου μέρους φυλάττουσιν. Τὰ δὲ ἀδέστρατα αὐτῶν ὄπισθεν τῆς παρατάξεως ἔχουσι πλησίον καὶ τὸν τοῦλδον, ἢ ἀριστερὰ ἢ δεξιὰ τῆς παρατάξεως, ὡς ἀπὸ ἑνὸς ἢ δευτέρου μιλίου ὑπὸ μετρίαν παραφυλακήν. [14]Πολλάκις δὲ καὶ συζευγνύντες τὰ περισσὰ τῶν ἵππων κατὰ νώτου τῆς παρατάξεως ποιοῦσιν εἰς φυλακὴν αὐτῆς. Καὶ τὰ μὲν βάθη τῶν ἀκιῶν ἀορίστως, ὡς ἀπαντᾷ, ποιοῦσι, βάθους μᾶλλον φροντίζοντες, καὶ ἴσον ποιοῦσι καὶ πυκνὸν τὸ μέτωπον. [15]Χαίρουσι δὲ ταῖς ἀπὸ μήκοθεν μάχαις καὶ ἐνέδραις καὶ ταῖς κυκλώσεσι κατὰ τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ ταῖς ἐσχηματισμέναις ὑποχωρήσεσι καὶ ἀντιστροφαῖς καὶ ταῖς κατὰ κούνας τάξεσι τουτέστι ταῖς διεσπαρμέναις. [16]Τρέποντες δὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αὐτῶν, πάντα ἐν δευτέρᾳ τάξει τιθέμενοι, οὐκ ἀρκοῦνται, ὥσπερ Πέρσαι καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἔθνη, τῇ μετρίᾳ καταδιώξει καὶ τῇ τῶν πραγμάτων ἁρπαγῇ, ἀλλὰ μέχρι τοσούτου ἐνίστανται, μέχρις οὗ τελείως τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατάλυσιν ποιήσονται, πάσῃ μεθόδῳ εἰς τοῦτο κεχρημένοι. [17]Εἰ δὲ καί τινες τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτῶν διωκώμενοι εἰς ὀχύρωμα καταφύγωσιν, σπουδάζουσιν, ἀκριβῶς κατανοοῦντες τὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἔνδειαν τῶν ἵππων ἢ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, προσκαρτερεῖν, ἵνα τῇ στενότητι τούτων χειρώσωνται τοὺς ἐχθρούς, ἢ εἰς τὰ δοκοῦντα αὐτοῖς σύμφωνα τούτους ἀγάγωσιν. Πρῶτον κουφότερά τινα ἐπερωτῶντες, καὶ τότε συντιθεμένων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐχθρῶν καιριώτερα προτιθέασιν.

[12]In combat they do not, as do the Romans and Persians, form their battle line in three parts, but in several units of irregular size, all joined closely together to give the appearance of one long battle line. [13]Separate from their main formation, they have an additional force which they can send out to ambush a careless adversary or hold in reserve to aid a hard-pressed section. They keep their spare horses close behind their main line, and their baggage train to the right or left of the line about a mile or two away under a moderately sized guard.

[14]Frequently they tie the extra horses together to the rear of their battle line as a form of protection. They make the depth of their files indefinite depending on the circumstances, being inclined to make them deeper, and they make their front even and dense. [15]They prefer battles fought at long range, ambushes, encircling their adversaries, simulated retreats and sudden returns, and wedge-shaped formations, that is, in scattered groups. [16]When they make their enemies take to flight, they put everything else aside, and are not content, as the Persians, the Romans, and other peoples, with pursuing them a reasonable distance and plundering their goods, but they do not let up at all until they have achieved the complete destruction of their enemies,

and they employ every means to this end. [17]If some of the enemy they are pursuing take refuge in a fortress, they make continual and thorough efforts to discover any shortage of necessities for horses or men. They then wear their enemies down by such shortages and get them to accept terms favorable to themselves. Their first demands are fairly light, and when the enemy has agreed to these they impose stricter terms.

[18]Ἐναντιοῦται δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔνδεια βοσκῆς διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ὧν ἐπιφέρονται ἀλόγων, [19]καὶ ἐν καιρῷ δὲ συμβολῆς τάξις πεζικὴ συντεταγμένη, ὡς ἐναντία αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων οὖσιν καὶ οὐκ ἀποβαίνουσι τούτων, οὐδὲ γὰρ στῆναι πεζῇ καρτεροῦσιν, ὡς συντραφέντες τοῖς ἵπποις, οὐδὲ τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτῶν ἐπιβαίνειν τῇ ἀσυνηθείᾳ κρατούμενοι· [20]τόπος ὁμαλὸς καὶ γεγυμνωμένος, τάξις καβαλλαρικὴ πεπυκνωμένη καὶ ἀδιάσπαστος ἀκολουθοῦσα, [21]ἡ ἐκ χειρὸς συμβολὴ ἤτοι συμπλοκή,·ἔφοδοι νυκτεριναὶ ἀσφαλῶς γινόμεναι, ἐφ’ ᾧ μέρος μὲν συνίστασθαι τεταγμένως, μέρος δὲ ἐφεδρεύειν. [22]Λυπεῖ δὲ αὐτοὺς σφόδρα καὶ ἡ τῶν αὐτομολούντων ἀναχώρησις· ἀστάτου γὰρ ὄντα γνώμης καὶ φιλοκερδῆ καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν φυλῶν συγκείμενα οὐ ποιοῦνται λόγον συγγενῶν καὶ τῆς εἰς ἀλλήλους ὁμονοίας, [23]ὀλίγων δὲ ἀρχομένων προσρύεσθαι καὶ φιλοφρονουμένων πλῆθος αὐτοῖς ἐπακολουθεῖ.

[18]They are hurt by a shortage of fodder which can result from the huge number of horses they bring with them. [19]Also in the event of battle, when opposed by an infantry force in close formation, they stay on their horses and do not dismount, for they do not last long fighting on foot. They have been brought up on horseback, and owing to their lack of exercise they simply cannot walk about on their own feet. [20]Level, unobstructed ground should be chosen, and a cavalry force should advance against them in a dense, unbroken mass [21]to engage them in hand-to-hand fighting. Night attacks are also effective, with part of our force maintaining its formation while the other lies in ambush. [22]They are seriously hurt by defections and desertions. They are very fickle, avaricious and, composed of so many tribes as they are, they have no sense of kinship or unity with one another. [23]If a few begin to desert and are well received, many more will follow.

[24]Χρὴ τοίνυν ἐγγιζόντων αὐτῶν πρὸς μάχην πρό γε ἁπάντων τὰς σκούλκας ἔχειν ἐπιμελεῖς καὶ συνεχεῖς ἐκ διαστημάτων, εἶτα μεριμνῆσαι καὶ προευτρεπίσασθαι τὰ εἰς δευτέραν τύχην συντείνοντα, εἰς τὸ καὶ ὀχυρὸν τόπον κατανοῆσαι ἐν καιρῷ περιστάσεως καὶ δαπάνην ἐφευρεῖν ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν, εἰ μὲν ἁπαντᾷ, καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων, ἐπεί τοι γε τῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ μάλιστα τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος εὐπορίαν, εἶτα καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν τοῦλδον διαθῆναι, ὡς ἐν τῷ περὶ τούτου γέγραπται λόγῳ. [25]Καὶ εἰ μὲν σύνεστι πεζικὸς στρατὸς ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ μάλιστα μάχῃ, ἐν ὅσῳ ἐν συνηθείᾳ τοῦ ἔθνους ὁ στρατὸς γίνεται, οὕτως τάξαι κατὰ τὸν δηλουμένον τρόπον ἐν τῇ καταγραφῇ τῆς ἐπικαμπίου ὀπισθίας τάξεως, τουτέστι τῆς ἐχούσης τοὺς καβαλλαρίους ὑποτεταγμένους τοῖς πεζοῖς. [26]Εἰ δὲ μόνον καβαλλάριοί εἰσιν ἀξιόμαχοι, κατὰ τὸν λεχθέντα τρόπον ἐν τῷ περὶ τάξεως λόγῳ τάσσειν, πλείονας δὲ ἐν τοῖς πλαγίοις ἀφορίζειν καὶ χρησίμους· ἐν τῷ νώτῳ γὰρ ἀρκοῦσιν οἱ δηφένσορες. [27]Τοὺς δὲ κούρσορας μὴ πλέον τριῶν ἢ τεσσάρων σαγιττοβόλων τῆς παρατάξεως τῶν δηφενσόρων ἐν ταῖς διώξεσι χωρίζεσθαι, μηδὲ καταμαίνεσθαι αὐτῶν ἐπὶ καταδρομῇ. Σπουδάζειν δὲ ἐν γυμνῷ καὶ ἀναπεπταμένῳ τόπῳ κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν τὴν παράταξιν ἐκτάσσειν, ἔνθα μηδὲ ὕλαι, μηδὲ

τέλματα, μηδὲ κοιλάδες ἐνοχλοῦσι, διὰ τὰς παρ' αὐτῶν ἐνέδρας· [28]καὶ τὰς σκούλκας δὲ ἐκ διαστήματος κατὰ τῶν τεσσάρων μερῶν τῆς παρατάξεως ἔχειν. [29]Καλὸν δέ ἐστιν, εἰ ἐνδέχεται, ἢ δύσβατον ποταμὸν ἢ τέλματα ἢ λίμνην κατὰ τοῦ νώτου τῆς παρατάξεως ἔχειν, ἵνα ὁ νῶτος ἀσφαλῶς φυλάττεται. [30]Καὶ ἐὰν καλῶς τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἐξέλθῃ, μή κατατρέχειν αὐτῶν ἁπλήστως, μήτε ἀμελῶς διακεῖσθαι. Οὐδὲ γάρ, ὡς τὰ λοιπὰ ἔθνη, τὴν πρώτην ἡττώμενα μάχην ἀπολήγουσι τοῦ πολέμου, ἀλλὰ μέχρις οὗ κατὰ κράτος ταπεινωθῶσιν, ἐπιτηδεύουσι διὰ πολλῶν τρόπων κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτῶν ἐγχειρεῖν. [31]Εἰ δὲ σύμμικτός ἐστιν ἡ τάξις καὶ πλείους οἱ πεζοί, δέον πρόνοιαν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ποιεῖσθαι τῆς ἀποτροφῆς τῶν ἀλόγων, οὐ πάντως γάρ ὅτι συγχωροῦνται οἱ καβαλλάριοι τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐγγιζόντων, χορτάσματα συναγαγεῖν.

[24]When they are moving up for battle, the first thing to do is have your scouts on the alert, stationed at regular intervals. Then make your plans and actual preparations in case the battle should not turn out well. Look for a good defensive position for use in an emergency, collect whatever provisions are available, enough for a few days for the horses as well as for the men, especially have plenty of water. Then make arrangements for the baggage train as explained in the book treating of that subject. [25]If an infantry force is present, it should be stationed in the front line in the customary manner of the nation to which it belongs. The force should be drawn up according to the method shown in the diagram of the convex line of battle, that is, with the cavalry posted behind the infantry. [26]If only the cavalry is ready for combat, draw them up according to the manner set down in the book on formations. Post a numerous and capable force on the flanks. In the rear the defenders are sufficient. [27]When pursuing, the assault troops should not get more than three or four bowshots away from the formation of defenders, nor should they become carried away in the charge. When possible seek a clear and unobstructed area to form the battle line, where no woods, marshes, or hollows might serve as a screen for enemy ambushes. [28]Post scouts at some distance from all four sides of the formation. [29]If at all possible, it is helpful to have an unfordable river, marshes, or a lake behind the battle line, so that the rear is securely defended. [30]If the battle turns out well, do not be hasty in pursuing the enemy or behave carelessly. For this nation does not, as do the others, give up the struggle when worsted in the first battle. But until their strength gives out, they try all sorts of ways to assail their enemies. [31]If the formation is mixed, with most of it being infantry, it is still necessary to make provision for forage for the horses. When the enemy is approaching, by no means should the cavalry be allowed to send out foraging parties.

IX.2. Huns as allies of Persians and Romans in the fourth century CE

IX.006. Ammianus: The Persian king Shapur II fights the Huns in the east

IX.006/A. Amm. 16, 9

[1]At Persae in oriente per furta et latrocinia potius quam (ut solebant antea) per concursatorias pugnas, hominum praedas agitabant et pecorum, quas non numquam lucrabantur ut repentini, aliquotiens superati multitudine militum amittebant, interdum nihil conspicere prorsus quod poterat rapi permittebantur. [2]Musonianus tamen praefectus praetorio, multis (ut ante diximus) bonis artibus eruditus, sed venalis et flecti a veritate pecunia facilis, per emissarios quosdam, fallendi perstringendique gnaros, Persarum scitabatur consilia, adsumpto in deliberationes huius modi Cassiano Mesopotamiae duce, stipendiis et discriminibus indurato diversis. [3]qui cum fide concinente speculatorum, aperte cognossent, Saporem in extremis regni limitibus, suorum sanguine fuso multiplici, aegre propulsare gentes infestas, Tamsaporem ducem parti nostrae contiguum, occultis per ignotos milites temptavere conloquiis, ut si copiam fors dedisset, suaderet regi per litteras, pacem tandem aliquando cum principe Romano firmare, ut hoc facto a latere damni securus, perduelles advolaret adsiduos. [4]paruit Tamsapor, hisque fretus refert ad regem, quod bellis acerrimis Constantius inplicatus, pacem postulat precativam. dumque ad Chionitas et Eusenos haec scripta mittuntur, in quorum confiniis agebat hiemem Sapor, tempus interstitit longum.

[1]But the Persians in the East, rather by thieving and robbery than (as their former manner was) in set battles, kept driving off booty of men and animals; sometimes they got away with their loot, being unexpected; often they lost it, overmarched by the great number of our soldiers; occasionally they were not allowed to see anything at all which could be carried off. [2]None the less, Musonianus, the praetorian prefect, a man (as I have said before) gifted with many excellent accomplishments, but corrupt and easy to turn from the truth by a bribe, inquired into the designs of the Persians through emissaries of his who were adepts in deceit and incrimination; and he took into his counsels on this subject Cassianus, duke of Mesopotamia, who had been toughened by various campaigns and dangers. [3]When the two had certain knowledge from the unanimous reports of their scouts that Sapor, on the remotest frontiers of his realm, was with difficulty and with great bloodshed of his troops driving back hostile tribesmen, they made trial of Tamsapor, the commander nearest to our territory, in secret interviews through obscure soldiers, their idea being that, if chance gave an opportunity, he should by letter advise the king finally to make peace with the Roman emperor, in order that by so doing he might be secure on his whole western frontier and could rush upon his persistent enemies. [4]Tamsapor consented and relying on this information, reported to the king that Constantius, being involved in very serious wars, entreated and begged for peace. But while these communications were being sent

to the Chionitae and Euseni, in whose territories Sapor was passing the winter, a long time elapsed.

IX.006/B. Amm. 17, 5

[1]Datiano et Cereali consulibus, cum universa per Gallias studio cautiore disponerentur, formidoque praeteritorum barbaricos hebetaret excursus, rex Persarum in confiniis agens adhuc gentium extimarum, iamque cum Chionitis et Gelanis, omnium acerrimis bellatoribus, pignore icto societatis, rediturus ad sua, Tamsaporis scripta suscepit, pacem Romanum principem nuntiantis poscere precativam [2]ideoque non nisi infirmato imperii robore, temptari talia suspicatus, latius semet extentans, pacis amplectitur nomen, et condiciones proposuit graves, missoque cum muneribus Narseo quodam legato, litteras ad Constantium dedit, nusquam a genuino fastu declinans, quarum hunc fuisse accepimus sensum: […].

[1]In the consulship of Datianus and Cerealis, while all provisions in Gaul were being made with very careful endeavour, and dismay due to past losses halted the raids of the savages, the king of Persia was still encamped in the confines of the frontier tribes; and having now made a treaty of alliance with the Chionitae and Gelani, the fiercest warriors of all, he was on the point of returning to his own territories, when he received Tamsapor's letter, stating that the Roman emperor begged and entreated for peace. [2]Therefore, imagining that such a step would not be attempted unless the fabric of the empire were weakened, he swelled with still greater pride, embraced the name of peace, and proposed hard conditions; and dispatching one Narseus with gifts as his envoy, he sent a letter to Constantius, in no wise deviating from his native haughtiness, the tenor of which, as we have learned, was as follows: […].

IX.007. Ammianus: The siege of Amida by the Persians, participation of the Chionite king Grumbates

IX.007/A. Amm. 19, 1, 7 f.

[7]Ideoque cum prima lux advenisset, rex Chionitarum Grumbates, fidenter Sapori suam operam navaturus, tendebat ad moenia, cum manu promptissima stipatorum, quem ubi venientem iam telo forte contiguum, contemplator peritissimus advertisset, contorta ballista, filium eius primae pubis adulescentem, lateri paterno haerentem, thorace cum pectore perforato perfodit, proceritate et decore corporis aequalibus antestantem. [8]cuius occasu in fugam dilapsi populares eius omnes, moxque ne raperetur, ratione iusta regressi, numerosas gentes ad arma clamoribus dissonis concitarunt, quarum concursu ritu grandinis hinc inde convolantibus telis, atrox committitur pugna. [9]et post interneciva certamina, ad usque finem diei protenta, cum iam noctis esset initium, per acervos caesorum, et scaturrigines sanguinis, aegre defensum caligine tenebrarum extrahitur corpus, ut apud Troiam quondam, super comite Thessali ducis exanimi, acies Marte acerrimo conflixerunt. [10]quo funere regia maesta, et optimatibus universis cum

parente subita clade perculsis, indicto iustitio, iuvenis nobilitate commendabilis et dilectus, ritu nationis propriae lugebatur. itaque ut armari solebat elatus, in amplo quodam suggestu locatur et celso, circaque eum lectuli decem sternuntur, figmenta vehentes hominum mortuorum, ita curate pollincta, ut imagines essent corporibus similes iam sepultis, ac per dierum spatium septem, viri quidem omnes per contubernia et manipulos epulis indulgebant, saltando, et cantando tristia quaedam genera neniarum, regium iuvenem lamentantes. [11]feminae vero miserabili planctu, in primaevo flore succisam spem gentis, solitis fletibus conclamabant, ut lacrimare cultrices Veneris saepe spectantur, in sollemnibus Adonidis sacris, quod simulacrum aliquod esse frugum adultarum religiones mysticae docent.

[7]And so, at the first dawn of day, Grumbates, king of the Chionitae, wishing to render courageous service to his lord, boldly advanced to the walls with a band of active attendants; but a skillful observer caught sight of him as soon as he chanced to come within range of his weapon, and discharging a ballista, pierced both cuirass and breast of Grumbates's son, a youth just come to manhood, who was riding at his father's side and was conspicuous among his companions for his height and his handsome person. [8]Upon his fall all his countrymen scattered in flight, but presently returned in well-founded fear that his body might be carried off, and with harsh outcries roused numerous tribes to arms; and on their onset weapons flew from both sides like hail and a fierce fight ensued. [9]After a murderous contest, protracted to the very end of the day, at nightfall the body, which had with difficulty been protected amid heaps of slain and streams of blood, was dragged off under cover of darkness, as once upon a time before Troy his companions contended in a fierce struggle over the lifeless comrade of the Thessalian leader. [10]By this death the palace was saddened, and all the nobles, as well as the father, were stunned by the sudden calamity; accordingly, a truce was declared and the young man, honoured for his high birth and beloved, was mourned after the fashion of his own nation. Accordingly, he was carried out, armed in his usual manner, and placed upon a large and lofty platform, and about him were spread ten couches bearing figures of dead men, so carefully made ready that the images were like bodies already in the tomb. For the space of seven days all men by communities and companies feasted (lamenting the young prince) with dances and the singing of certain sorrowful dirges. [11]The women for their part, woefully beating their breasts and weeping after their wonted manner, loudly bewailed the hope of their nation cut off in the bloom of youth, just as the priestesses of Venus are often seen to weep at the annual festival of Adonis, which, as the mystic lore of religion tells us, is a kind of symbol of the ripened grain.

IX.007/B. Amm. 19, 2, 3 f.

[1]Post incensum corpus ossaque in argenteam urnam conlecta, quae ad gentem humo mandanda portari statuerat pater, agitata summa consiliorum, placuerat, busto urbis subversae expiare perempti iuvenis manes; nec enim Grumbates, inulta unici pignoris umbra, ire ultra patiebatur. [2]biduoque ad otium dato, ac missis abunde qui pacis modo patentes agros pingues cultosque vastarent, quinquiens ordine multiplicato scutorum, cingitur civitas, ac tertiae principio lucis, corusci globi turmarum impleverunt cuncta quae prospectus humanus potuit undique contueri,

et sorte loca divisa, clementi gradu incedentes ordines occuparunt. [3]Persae omnes murorum ambitus obsidebant; pars quae orientem spectabat, Chionitis evenit, qua funestus nobis ceciderat adulescens, ⟨:Gelani:⟩ meridiano lateri sunt destinati, tractum servabant septentrionis Albani, occidentali portae oppositi sunt Segestani, acerrimi omnium bellatores, cum quibus elata in arduum specie, elephantorum agmina rugosis horrenda corporibus, leniter incedebant, armatis onusta, ultra omnem diritatem taetri spectaculi formidanda, ut rettulimus saepe.

[1]After the body had been burned and the ashes collected and placed in a silver urn, since the father had decided that they should be taken to his native land to be consigned to the earth, they debated what it was best to do; and it was resolved to propitiate the spirit of the slain youth by burning and destroying the city; for Grumbates would not allow them to go farther while the shade of his only son was unavenged. [2]Accordingly, after two days had been given to rest, a large force was sent to devastate the rich, cultivated fields, which were unprotected as in time of peace; then the city was begirt by a fivefold line of shields, and on the morning of the third day gleaming bands of horsemen filled all places which the eye could reach, and the ranks, advancing at a quiet pace, took the places assigned them by lot. [3]The Persians beset the whole circuit of the walls. The part which faced the east fell to the lot of the Chionitae, the place where the youth so fatal to us was slain, whose shade was destined to be appeased by the destruction of the city. The Gelani were assigned to the southern side, the Albani guarded the quarter to the north, and to the western gate were opposed the Segestani, the bravest warriors of all. With them, making a lofty show, slowly marched the lines of elephants, frightful with their wrinkled bodies and loaded with armed men, a hideous spectacle, dreadful beyond every form of horror, as I have often declared.

IX.3. Huns as opponents of Persians and Romans in the fifth century CE

IX.008. Priscus

IX.008/A. Prisc. frg. 11, 2 (Blockley): Hun invasion in the Middle East

Τῶν δὲ ἐν ἡμῖν τινος πυθομένου, ποίαν ὁδὸν τραπεὶς ἐς Πέρσας ἐλθεῖν δυνήσεται, ἔλεγεν ὁ Ῥωμύλος μὴ πολλῷ διαστήματι τὴν Μήδων ἀφεστάναι τῆς Σκυθικῆς· οὐδὲ γὰρ Οὔννους ἀπείρους τῆς ὁδοῦ ταύτης εἶναι, ἀλλὰ πάλαι ἐς αὐτὴν ἐμβεβληκέναι, λιμοῦ τε τὴν χώραν κρατήσαντος, καὶ Ῥωμαίων διὰ τὸν τότε συνιστάμενον πόλεμον μὴ συμβαλλόντων. παρεληλυθέναι δὲ ἐς τὴν Μήδων τόν τε Βασὶχ καὶ Κουρσὶχ τοὺς ὕστερον ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐληλυθότας εἰς ὁμαιχμίαν, ἄνδρας τῶν βασιλείων Σκυθῶν καὶ πολλοῦ πλήθους ἄρχοντας. καὶ τοὺς διαβεβηκότας λέγειν ὡς ἔρημον ἐπελθόντες χώραν καὶ λίμνην τινὰ περαιωθέντες, ἣν ὁ Ῥωμύλος τὴν Μαιῶτιν εἶναι ᾤετο, πεντεκαίδεκα διαγενομένων ἡμερῶν ὄρη τινὰ

ὑπερβάντες ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐσέβαλον. ληιζομένοις δὲ καὶ τὴν γῆν κατατρέχουσι πλῆθος Περσικὸν ἐπελθὸν τὸν σφῶν ὑπερκείμενον ἀέρα πλῆσαι βελῶν, ὥστε σφᾶς δέει τοῦ κατασχόντος κινδύνου ἀναχωρῆσαι εἰς τοὐπίσω καὶ τὰ ὄρη ὑπεξελθεῖν ὀλίγην ἄγοντας λείαν· ἡ γὰρ πλείστη ὑπὸ τῶν Μήδων ἀφῄρητο. εὐλαβουμένους δὲ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων δίωξιν ἑτέραν τραπῆναι ὁδόν, καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ὑφάλου πέτρας ἀναπεμπομένην φλόγα ἐκεῖθεν πορευθέντας ἡμερῶν ὀλίγων ὁδὸν εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἀφικέσθαι καὶ γνῶναι οὐ πολλῷ διαστήματι τῶν Μήδων ἀφεστάναι τὴν Σκυθικήν. τὸν οὖν Ἀττήλαν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν ἰέναι βουλόμενον οὐ πονήσειν πολλὰ οὔτε μακρὰν ἀνύσειν ὁδόν, ὥστε καὶ Μήδους καὶ Πάρθους καὶ Πέρσας παραστήσεσθαι καὶ ἀναγκάσειν ἐλθεῖν ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγήν· παρεῖναι γὰρ αὐτῷ μάχιμον δύναμιν, ἣν οὐδὲν ἔθνος ὑποστήσεται.

When one of those amongst us asked what road Attila could take to reach Persia, Romulus replied that the land of the Medes was not a great distance from Scythia, and the Huns were not ignorant of the route. They came upon it long ago when famine was sweeping their land and the Romans did not oppose them on account of the war in which were then involved. Basich and Kursich, members of the Scythian royalty and commanders of a large force (who later came to Rome to make an alliance), reached the land of the Medes. Those Huns who have gone over to the Romans say that, having come into a desert land and having crossed a lake (which Romulus thought was Maeotis), after fifteen days they passed over some mountains and entered Media. As they were overrunning and plundering the land, a Persian army confronted them and filled the air above them with missiles, so that they had to retreat from their immediate danger and retire across the mountains. They gained little plunder, since the Medes took most of it from them. As a precaution against enemy pursuit they took a different route and, after a journey of a few days from the flame that issues from the rock beneath the sea, they reached their own land. Thus they know that Scythia is not far from Media and, if Attila wished to go there, he would neither have much toil nor a long journey. And so, since he has a military force which no nation can withstand, he would subdue the Medes, the Parthians, and the Persians and force them to pay tribute.

IX.008/B. Prisc. frg. 33, 1 (Blockley): Kidarite Huns in Inner Asia

Ὅτι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐς Κόλχους ἐλθόντων καὶ συμβαλόντων πόλεμον πρὸς Λαζούς, ὁ μὲν Ῥωμαϊκὸς στρατὸς ἐς τὰ σφέτερα ἐπανέζευξεν, καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὰ βασίλεια πρὸς τὴν ἑτέραν μάχην παρεσκευάζοντο βουλευόμενοι, πότερον τὴν αὐτὴν ἢ τὴν δι᾽ Ἀρμενίας τῆς Περσῶν χώρας προσοίκου πορευθέντες ὁδὸν τὸν πόλεμον ἐπάξουσι, πρότερον πρεσβείᾳ τὸν μόναρχον τῶν Παρθυαίων πείσαντες· κατὰ γὰρ θάλατταν ἄπορον αὐτοῖς πάνυ ἐνομίζετο τὰς δυσχωρίας παραπλεῖν, ἁλιμένου τῆς Κόλχου τυγχανούσης. ὁ δὲ Γωβάζης ἐπρεσβεύετο μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς παρὰ τοὺς Παρθυαίους, ἐπρεσβεύετο δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων. καὶ ὁ μὲν τῶν Πάρθων μόναρχος, ὡς πολέμου αὐτῷ συνισταμένου πρὸς Οὔννους τοὺς Κιδαρίτας καλουμένους, ἀπεσείσατο παρ᾽ αὐτὸν τοὺς Λαζοὺς καταφεύγοντας.

> The Romans went to Colchis, made war on the Lazi, and then the Roman army returned home. The Emperor's advisers prepared for a second campaign and deliberated whether in pursuing the war they should travel by the same route or through the part of Armenia close to Persian territory, having first sent an embassy to win over the monarch of the Parthians. For it was considered wholly impracticable to take the sea route along the rugged coast, since Colchis had no harbour. Gobazes himself sent envoys to the Parthians and also to the Romans. Since the monarch of the Parthians was involved in a war with the so-called Kidarite Huns, he ejected the Lazi who were fleeing to him.

IX.008/C. Prisc. frg. 41, 3 (Blockley): Perozes and the Kidarite Huns

> Ὅτι τὸν Κωνστάντιον τὸν πρεσβευτὴν ἐν τῇ Ἐδέσῃ χρόνον ἐπιμείναντα, ὡς εἴρηταί μοι, τῆς πρεσβείας πέρι, τότε ἐδέξατο ὁ Περσῶν μόναρχος ἐς τὴν σφετέραν καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι προσέταξεν, οὐκ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μεθορίοις αὐτῶν τε καὶ Οὔννων τῶν Κιδαριτῶν τὰς διατριβὰς ποιούμενος ⟨:πρὸς οὓς πόλεμος:⟩ αὐτῷ συνίστατο αἰτίαν ἔχων ὡς τοὺς φόρους τῶν Οὔννων μὴ κομιζομένων, οὓς οἱ πάλαι μὲν τῶν Περσῶν καὶ Πάρθων βασιλεύοντες ἔθεντο. οὗ ὁ πατὴρ τὴν τοῦ φόρου ἀπαρνησάμενος ἀπαγωγὴν τὸν πόλεμον ὑπεδέξατο καὶ τοῦτον μετὰ τῆς βασιλείας παρέπεμψε τῷ παιδί, ὥστε ταῖς μάχαις ἐπιτριβομένους τοὺς Πέρσας ἀπάτῃ ἐθελῆσαι τὴν τῶν Οὔννων λῦσαι διαφοράν, καὶ δῆτα διαπέμψασθαι τὸν Πειρώζην (τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα τῷ τότε Περσῶν βασιλεύοντι) πρὸς τὸν Κούγχαν τὸν Οὔννων ἡγούμενον, ὡς τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀσμενίζων εἰρήνην ἐπί τε συμμαχίᾳ σπένδεσθαι βούλοιτο καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ κατεγγυᾶ ἀδελφήν (νεώτατον γὰρ αὐτὸν εἶναι συνέβαινε καὶ μηδέπω παίδων εἶναι πατέρα). τὸν δὲ προσδεξάμενον τοὺς λόγους γήμασθαι οὐ τοῦ Πειρώζου ἀδελφήν, ἀλλ' ἑτέραν γυναῖκα βασιλικῶς διακοσμηθεῖσαν, ἣν ὁ Περσῶν μόναρχος ἐξέπεμψε, παρεγγυήσας ὡς οὐδὲν μὲν ἀνακαλύπτουσα τῶν ἐσχηματισμένων βασιλείας καὶ εὐδαιμονίας μεθέξει, ἐκλέγουσα δὲ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν θάνατον ἕξει ζημίαν· οὐ γὰρ ἀνέξεσθαι τὸν Κιδαριτῶν ἄρχοντα θεράπαιναν ἔχειν γαμετὴν ἀντὶ τῆς εὖ γενομένης.
>
> Τούτου χάριν σπεισάμενος ὁ Πειρώζης πρὸς τὸν τῶν Οὔννων ἡγούμενον οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς ἀπάτης ἀπώνατο εὐλαβηθεῖσα γὰρ ἡ γυνή, μήποτε ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ ἔθνους ὑπὸ ἑτέρων πυθόμενος τὴν αὐτῆς τύχην χαλεπῷ αὐτὴν ὑφέξει θανάτῳ, μηνύει τὸ μελετηθέν. ὁ δὲ Κούγχας ἐπαινέσας τὴν γυναῖκα τῆς ἀληθείας αὐτὴν μὲν ἔμεινεν ἔχων γαμετήν, τίσασθαι δὲ τοῦ δόλου Πειρώζην ἐθέλων πόλεμον πρὸς τοὺς ὁμόρους ἔχειν ὑπεκρίνετο δεῖσθαί τε ἀνδρῶν οὐ τῶν πρὸς μάχην ἐπιτηδείων, (μυρίον γὰρ αὐτῷ παρεῖναι πλῆθος) ἀλλὰ τῶν στρατηγησόντων αὐτῷ τὸν πόλεμον. ὁ δὲ ταὐτῷ ἄνδρας τῶν λογάδων ἐξέπεμψεν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὁ τῶν Κιδαριτῶν ἄρχων ἀπέκτεινεν, τοὺς δὲ λωβησάμενος παρὰ τὸν Πειρώζην ἀπέπεμψεν ἀπαγγελοῦντας ὡς τῆς ἀπάτης ταύτην ἔδωκε δίκην. οὕτως αὖθις αὐτοῖς ὁ πόλεμος ἀνεζωπυρήθη, καὶ ἐμάχοντο καρτερῶς. ἐν Γόργᾳ τοίνυν, (τοῦτο γὰρ ὄνομα τῷ χωρίῳ, ἐν ᾧπερ συνέβαινε τοὺς Πέρσας στρατοπεδεύεσθαι) τὸν Κωνστάντιον ὁ Πειρώζης ἐδέχετο καί τινας ἡμέρας φιλοφρονησάμενος διαφῆκε δεξιὸν οὐδὲν περὶ τῆς πρεσβείας ἀποκρινάμενος.

When Constantius the envoy had waited for a while at Edessa, as I have said, for the sake of his embassy, the Persian monarch gave him admittance to his territory. He asked Constantius to come to him while he was engaged not in the cities but on the borders between his people and the Kidarite Huns. With these a war had begun, the cause of which was that the Huns were not receiving the tribute monies which the former rulers of the Persians and the Parthians had paid. The father of the monarch had refused the payment of the tribute and had undertaken the war, which his son had inherited together with the kingdom. As a result the Persians were being worn down by the fighting and wished to end the dispute with the Huns by guile. So Perozes (for this was the name of the current Persian king) sent to Kunchas, the leader of the Huns, saying that he welcomed peace with him and wished to make a treaty of alliance and betroth his sister to him, for he happened to be very young and not yet the father of children. However, when Kunchas had accepted these proposals, he married not the sister of Perozes but another woman dressed as a princess, whom the Persian king had sent, having told her that if she did not reveal the trick she would enjoy royal status and affluence, but if she told of the deceit, she would suffer death as the penalty, since the ruler of the Kidarites would not endure to have a maidservant to wife instead of a noblewoman.

Having made the treaty on these terms, Perozes did not long profit from his treachery towards the ruler of the Huns. For the woman, fearing that at some time the ruler of the people would be told of her status by others and would put her to a cruel death, revealed what had been done. Kunchas praised the woman for her honesty and continued to keep her as his wife. But, wishing to punish Perozes for his trick, he pretended that he was at war with his neighbours and had need, not of fighting men (for he had an enormous number of these), but of generals to direct the war. Perozes sent him three hundred of his leading captains, and of these the ruler of the Kidarites killed some and mutilated the rest, sending them back to Perozes with the message that this was the punishment for his treachery. Thus the war between them was rekindled, and there was heavy fighting. Therefore, Perozes received Constantius in Gorga, which was the name of the place at which the Persians were encamped, and having treated him generously for a few days, dismissed him without a satisfactory reply to the embassy.

IX.008/D. Prisc. frg. 51, 1 (Blockley): Persians and Kidarite Huns in inner Asia

Ὅτι μεγίστης πρὸς τὸ Σουάνων ἔθνος Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Λαζοῖς ὑπαρχούσης διαφορᾶς, καὶ σφόδρα ἐς τὴν τοῦ †σήματος τῶν Σουάνων συνισταμένων μάχην, καὶ Περσῶν δὲ ἐθελόντων αὐτῷ πολεμεῖν διὰ τὰ φρούρια, ἅπερ ⟨:ὑπὸ:⟩ τῶν Σουάνων ἀφῄρηντο, πρεσβείαν ἔστελλεν, ἐπικούρους αὐτῷ διαπεμφθῆναι παρὰ βασιλέως αἰτῶν ἐκ τῶν παραφυλαττόντων στρατιωτῶν τὰ Ἀρμενίων ὅρια τῶν Ῥωμαίοις ὑποτελῶν, ἐφ᾽ ᾧ προσχώρων ὄντων ἑτοίμην ἔχειν βοήθειαν, καὶ μὴ κινδυνεύειν τοὺς πόρρωθεν ἀπεκδεχόμενον, ἢ παραγενομένων ἐπιτρίβεσθαι δαπάνῃ, τοῦ πολέμου, ἂν οὕτω τύχῃ, διαναβαλλομένου, καθάπερ ἤδη πρότερον ἐγεγόνει. τῆς γὰρ σὺν Ἡρακλείῳ ἀπεσταλμένης βοηθείας, καὶ Περσῶν καὶ Ἰβήρων τῶν αὐτῷ ἐπαγόντων τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς ἑτέρων ἐθνῶν τότε ἀπασχοληθέντων μάχην, τὴν συμμαχίαν ἀπέπεμψεν ἀσχάλλων ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν τροφῶν

χορηγίᾳ, ὥστε αὖθις τῶν Πάρθων ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀναζευξάντων Ῥωμαίους ἐπικαλέσασθαι. τῶν δὲ στεῖλαι τὴν βοήθειαν ἐπαγγειλαμένων καὶ ἄνδρα τὸν αὐτῆς ἡγησόμενον, παρεγένετο καὶ Περσῶν πρεσβεία ἀγγέλλουσα τοὺς Κιδαρίτας Οὔννους ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατηγωνίσθαι καὶ Βαλαὰμ πόλιν αὐτῶν ἐκπεπολιορκηκέναι. ἐμήνυον δὲ τὴν νίκην καὶ βαρβαρικῶς ἐπεκόμπαζον τὴν παροῦσαν αὐτοῖς μεγίστην δύναμιν ἀποφαίνειν ἐθέλοντες. ἀλλὰ αὐτοὺς παραυτίκα τούτων ἀγγελθέντων ἀπέπεμπε βασιλεύς, ἐν μείζονι φροντίδι τὰ ἐν Σικελίᾳ συνενεχθέντα ποιούμενος.

A very serious dispute existed between the Romans and Lazi and the nation of the Suani. The Suani were making war against …, and the Persians wished to go to war with him because of the forts which had been captured by the Suani. He, therefore, sent an embassy to the Romans, asking that reinforcements be sent by the Emperor from amongst the troops who were guarding the borders of that part of Armenia which was tributary to the Romans. Thus, since these were close at hand he would have ready assistance and would not be endangered while waiting for troops to come from a distance. Furthermore, he would not be burdened with the expense of supporting them if they came and the war was postponed, as had happened earlier. For when Heracleius was sent with help and the Persians and Iberians, who were at war with him, were diverted to fighting other peoples, he dismissed the reinforcements since he was worried about supporting them. As a result, when the Persians returned against him, he again called upon the Romans.

When the Romans had replied that they would send help and a man to command it, an embassy arrived from the Persians which announced that they had crushed the Kidarite Huns and had taken their city of Balaam.[i] They reported their victory and in barbaric fashion boasted about it, since they wished to advertise the very large force which they had at present. But when they had made this announcement, the Emperor straightaway dismissed them, since he was more concerned about the events in Sicily.

IX.009. Ioannes Antiochenus frg. 237, 9 Mariev: Huns and Persians in the time of emperor Zeno

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Θεοδωρίχου τῆς πολιορκίας ἀπαλλαγὴν Ἄνθουσα ἡ τοῦ Ἰλλοῦ θυγάτηρ ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ μετήλλαξεν, ἐξ οὗπερ μάλιστα ὁ Ἰλλοῦς κατωλιγώρει τῆς φυλακῆς τῶν ἔνδον. καὶ ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς Περόζης ζ΄ βιοὺς χρόνους μετὰ τὸν πατέρα Ἰσδιγέρδην βασιλεύσας ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν τῷ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοροῦντας Οὔννους πολέμῳ. ἑνὸς δὲ διαγενομένου χρόνου, Καβάδης τῆς βασιλείας κρατεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς τῶν ἐν τέλει τινῶν τῆς ἡγεμονίας ὠσθεὶς ἐν φρουρίῳ καθείρχθη. ἐκεῖθέν τε λάθρα διαφυγὼν πρὸς τοὺς Καδισηνοὺς λεγομένους Οὔννους ἀφικνεῖται, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν αὖθις τὴν βασιλείαν κτησάμενος τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύσαντας ἀνεῖλεν.

[i] See Note Grenet on Text I.014 about Balaam.

After the end of Theoderic's siege, Illus's daughter Anthousa perished in the fortress, and for this reason Illus utterly neglected the defense of those inside. And the Persian king Perozes died in a war against the neighbouring Huns, having reigned for seven years after his father Isdegerdes. After one year, Cavades seized the empire, but was also expelled from power as a result of a plot by some government officials and was imprisoned in a fortress; he secretly escaped from there and came to the so-called Cadisenian Huns and, having regained power with their support, he put to death those who had plotted against him.

IX.010. Procopius, *De Bellis*: King Perozes, King Kabades and the Hephthalite Huns

IX.010/A. Proc. *bell.* 1, 3, 1–22

[1]Χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Περόζης ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸ Οὔννων τῶν Ἐφθαλιτῶν ἔθνος, οὕσπερ λευκοὺς ὀνομάζουσι, πόλεμον περὶ γῆς ὁρίων διέφερε, λόγου τε ἄξιον στρατὸν ἀγείρας ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ᾔει. [2]Ἐφθαλῖται δὲ Οὐννικὸν μὲν ἔθνος εἰσί τε καὶ ὀνομάζονται, οὐ μέντοι ἀναμίγνυνται ἢ ἐπιχωριάζουσιν Οὔννων τισὶν ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν, ἐπεὶ οὔτε χώραν αὐτοῖς ὅμορον ἔχουσιν οὔτε πη αὐτῶν ἄγχιστα ᾤκηνται, ἀλλὰ προσοικοῦσι μὲν Πέρσαις πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον, οὗ δὴ πόλις Γοργὼ ὄνομα πρὸς αὐταῖς που ταῖς Περσῶν ἐσχατιαῖς ἐστιν, ἐνταῦθα δὲ περὶ γῆς ὁρίων διαμάχεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἰώθασιν. [3]οὐ γὰρ νομάδες εἰσὶν ὥσπερ τὰ ἄλλα Οὐννικὰ ἔθνη, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ χώρας ἀγαθῆς τινος ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἵδρυνται. [4]ταῦτά τοι οὐδέ τινα ἐσβολὴν πεποίηνται πώποτε ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν, ὅτι μὴ ξὺν τῷ Μήδων στρατῷ. μόνοι δὲ Οὔννων οὗτοι λευκοί τε τὰ σώματα καὶ οὐκ ἄμορφοι τὰς ὄψεις εἰσίν. [5]οὐ μὴν οὔτε τὴν δίαιταν ὁμοιότροπον αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν οὔτε θηρίου βίον τινὰ ᾗπερ ἐκεῖνοι ζῶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς βασιλέως ἑνὸς ἄρχονται καὶ πολιτείαν ἔννομον ἔχοντες ἀλλήλοις τε καὶ τοῖς πέλας ἀεὶ ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως ξυμβάλλουσι, Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν οὐδέν τι ἧσσον. [6]οἱ μέντοι εὐδαίμονες αὐτοῖς φίλους ἑταιρίζονται ἄχρι ἐς εἴκοσιν, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ἢ τούτων πλείους, οἵπερ αὐτοῖς ξυμπόται μὲν ἐς ἀεὶ γίνονται, τῶν δὲ χρημάτων μετέχουσι πάντων, κοινῆς τινος ἐξουσίας αὐτοῖς ἐς ταῦτα οὔσης. [7]ἐπειδὰν δὲ τῷ αὐτοὺς ἑταιρισαμένῳ τελευτῆσαι ξυμβαίη, τούτους δὴ τοὺς ἄνδρας ζῶντας ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐς τὸν τάφον ἐσκομίζεσθαι νόμος.

[1]At a later time the Persian King Perozes became involved in a war concerning boundaries with the nation of the Ephthalitae Huns, who are called White Huns, gathered an imposing army, and marched against them. [2]The Ephthalitae are of the stock of Huns in fact as well as in name; however they do not mingle with any of the Huns known to us, for they occupy a land neither adjoining nor even very near them; but their territory lies immediately to the north of Persia; indeed their city, called Gorgo, is located over against the Persian frontier, and is consequently the centre of frequent contests concerning boundary lines between the two peoples. [3] For they are not nomads like the other Hunnic peoples, but for a long period have been established in a goodly land. [4]As a result of this they never have made any incursion into the Roman territory except in company with the Median army. They are the only ones among the Huns who have

white bodies and countenances which are not ugly. [5]It is also true that their manner of living is unlike that of their kinsmen, nor do they live a savage life as they do; but they are ruled by one king, and since they possess a lawful constitution, they observe right and justice in their dealings both with another and with their neighbours, in no degree less than the Romans and the Persians. [6]Moreover, the wealthy citizens are in the habit of attaching to themselves friends to the number of twenty or more, as the case may be, and these become permanently their banquet-companions, and have a share in all their property, enjoying some kind of common right in this matter. [7]Then, when the man who has gathered such a company together comes to die, it is the custom that all these men be borne alive into the tomb with him.

[8]Ἐπὶ τούτους τοὺς Ἐφθαλίτας τῷ Περόζῃ πορευομένῳ ξυμπαρῆν πρεσβευτὴς, ὃς δὴ ἔτυχε πρὸς βασιλέως Ζήνωνος παρ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐσταλμένος, Εὐσέβιος ὄνομα. Ἐφθαλῖται δὲ δόκησιν παρεχόμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ὅτι δὴ αὐτῶν κατωρρωδηκότες τὴν ἔφοδον ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηνται, ᾖεσαν δρόμῳ ἐς χῶρόν τινα, ὄνπερ ὄρη ἀπότομα πανταχόθεν ἐκύκλουν, συχνοῖς τε καὶ ἀμφιλαφέσιν ἐς ἄγαν καλυπτόμενα δένδροις. [9]ἐντὸς δὲ τῶν ὀρῶν προϊόντι ὡς πορρωτάτω ὁδὸς μέν τις ἐφαίνετο ἐν μέσῳ εὐρεῖα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διήκουσα, ἔξοδον δὲ τελευτῶσα οὐδαμῆ εἶχεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐς αὐτὸν μάλιστα τὸν κύκλον τῶν ὀρῶν ἔληγε. [10]Περόζης μὲν οὖν, δόλου παντὸς ἀφροντιστήσας οὐκ ἐννοῶν τε ὡς ἐν γῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ πορεύοιτο, ἀνεπισκέπτως ἐδίωκε. [11]τῶν δὲ Οὔννων ὀλίγοι μέν τινες ἔμπροσθεν ἔφευγον, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι ἐν ταῖς δυσχωρίαις διαλαθόντες κατὰ νώτου ἐγένοντο τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοῦ, οὔπω τε αὐτοῖς ἐβούλοντο ἔνδηλοι εἶναι, ὅπως δὴ τῆς ἐνέδρας πόρρω χωρήσαντες ἐντός τε τῶν ὀρῶν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον γεγενημένοι μηκέτι ὀπίσω ἀναστρέφειν οἷοί τε ὦσιν.

[8]Perozes, marching against these Ephthalitae, was accompanied by an ambassador, Eusebius by name, who, as it happened, had been sent to his court by the emperor Zeno. Now the Ephthalitae made it appear to their enemy that they had turned to flight because they were wholly terrified by their attack, and they retired with all speed to a place which was shut in on every side by precipitous mountains, and abundantly screened by a close forest of wide-spreading trees. [9]Now as one advanced between the mountains to a great distance, a broad way appeared in the valley, extending apparently to an indefinite distance, but at the end it had no outlet at all, but terminated in the very midst of the circle of mountains. [10]So Perozes, with no thought at all of treachery, and forgetting that he was marching in a hostile country, continued the pursuit without the least caution. [11]A small body of the Huns were in flight before him, while the greater part of their force, by concealing themselves in the rough country, got in the rear of the hostile army; but as yet they desired not to be seen by them, in order that they might advance well into the trap and get as far possible in among the mountains, and thus be no longer able to turn back.

[12]ὥνπερ οἱ Μῆδοι αἰσθόμενοι (ἤδη γὰρ καί τι τοῦ κινδύνου ὑπέφαινεν) αὐτοὶ μὲν δέει τῷ ἐκ Περόζου τὰ παρόντα σφίσιν ἐν σιωπῇ εἶχον, Εὐσέβιον δὲ πολλὰ ἐλιπάρουν παραίνεσιν ἐς τὸν βασιλέα ποιήσασθαι μακρὰν ἀπολελειμμένον τῶν οἰκείων κακῶν, βουλεύεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ θρασύνεσθαι οὐκ ἐν δέοντι, καὶ διασκοπεῖσθαι, ἤν τίς ποτε μηχανὴ ἐς σωτηρίαν φέρουσα εἴη. [13]ὁ δὲ Περόζῃ ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθὼν τύχην μὲν τὴν παροῦσαν ὡς ἥκιστα

ἀπεκάλυψεν, ἀρξάμενος δὲ μυθοποιΐας λέοντά ποτε τράγῳ ἔφασκεν ἐντυχεῖν δεδεμένῳ τε καὶ μηκωμένῳ ἐπὶ χώρου τινὸς οὐ λίαν ὑψηλοῦ, ἐπὶ θοίνῃ δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν λέοντα ἐφιέμενον ὁρμῆσαι μὲν ὡς ἁρπάσοντα, ἐμπεσεῖν δὲ ἐς κατώρυχα βαθεῖαν μάλιστα, ὁδὸν κυκλοτερῆ ἔχουσαν στενήν τε καὶ οὐ πεπερασμένην (διέξοδον γὰρ οὐδαμῆ εἶχεν), ἣν δὴ οἱ τοῦ τράγου κύριοι ἐξεπίτηδες τεχνησάμενοι ὕπερθεν τῆς κατώρυχος τὸν τράγον τεθείκασι τῷ λέοντι ποδοστράβην ἐσόμενον.

[12]When the Medes began to realize all this (for they now began to have a glimmering of their peril), though they refrained from speaking of the situation themselves through fear of Perozes, yet they earnestly entreated Eusebius to urge upon the king, who was completely ignorant of his own plight, that he should take counsel rather than make an untimely display of daring, and consider well whether there was any way of safety open to them. [13]So he went before Perozes, but by no means revealed the calamity which was upon them; instead he began with a fable, telling how a lion once happened upon a goat bound down and bleating on a mound of no very great height, and how the lion, bent upon making a feast of the goat, rushed forward with intent to seize him, but fell into a trench exceedingly deep, in which was a circular path, narrow and endless (for it had no outlet anywhere), which indeed the owners of the goat had constructed for this very purpose, and they had placed the goat above it to be a bait for the lion.

[14]ταῦτα Περόζης ἀκούσας ἐς δέος ἦλθε μή ποτε Μῆδοι ἐπὶ πονηρῷ τῷ σφετέρῳ τὴν δίωξιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πεποίηνται. καὶ πρόσω μὲν οὐκέτι ἐχώρει, μένων δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰ παρόντα ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιεῖτο. [15]Οὖννοι δὲ ἤδη ἑπόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς τοῦ χώρου τὴν εἴσοδον ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχον, ὅπως μηκέτι οἱ πολέμιοι ὀπίσω ἀπελαύνειν οἷοί τε ὦσι. [16]καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι τότε δὴ λαμπρῶς ᾐσθημένοι οὗ ἦσαν κακοῦ ἐν συμφορᾷ ἐποιοῦντο τὰ παρόντα σφίσι, διαφεύξεσθαι τὸν κίνδυνον ἐν ἐλπίδι οὐδεμιᾷ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔχοντες. [17]ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἐφθαλιτῶν βασιλεὺς πέμψας παρὰ Περόζην τῶν οἱ ἑπομένων τινάς, πολλὰ μὲν αὐτῷ θράσους πέρι ἀλογίστου ὠνείδισεν, ἀφ᾽ οὗ δὴ αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸ Περσῶν γένος κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ διαφθείρειεν, ἐνδώσειν δὲ καὶ ὡς τὴν σωτηρίαν Οὔννους αὐτοῖς ἐπηγγέλλετο, ἤν γε αὐτόν τε Περόζης προσκυνεῖν βούλοιτο, ἅτε δεσπότην γεγενημένον καὶ ὅρκους τοὺς σφίσι πατρίους ὀμνὺς τὰ πιστὰ δοίη, μήποτε Πέρσας ἐπὶ τὸ Ἐφθαλιτῶν ἔθνος στρατεύσασθαι.

[14]When Perozes heard this, a fear came over him lest perchance the Medes had brought harm upon themselves by their pursuit of the enemy. He therefore advanced no further, but, remaining where he was, began to consider the situation. [15]By this time the Huns were following him without any concealment and were guarding the entrance of the place in order that their enemy might no longer be able to withdraw to the rear. [16]Then at last the Persians saw clearly in what straits they were, and they felt that the situation was desperate; for they had no hope that they would ever escape from the peril. [17]Then the king of the Ephthalitae sent some of his followers to Perozes; he upbraided him at length for his senseless foolhardiness, by which he had wantonly destroyed both himself and the Persian people, but he announced that even so the Huns would grant them deliverance, if Perozes should consent to prostrate himself before him as having

proved himself master, and, taking the oaths traditional among the Persians, should give pledges that they would never again take the field against the nation of the Ephthalitae.

[18]ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Περόζης ἤκουσε, μάγων τοῖς παροῦσι κοινολογησάμενος ἀνεπυνθάνετο εἰ τὰ ἐπαγγελλόμενα πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων ποιητέα εἴη. [19]οἱ δὲ μάγοι ἀπεκρίναντο τὰ μὲν ἀμφὶ τῷ ὅρκῳ ὅπη οἱ βουλομένῳ ἐστὶν αὐτὸν διοικήσασθαι, ἐς μέντοι τὸ ἕτερον σοφίᾳ περιελθεῖν τὸν πολέμιον. [20]εἶναι γὰρ αὐτοῖς νόμον τὰς τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς προσκυνεῖν ἡμέρᾳ ἑκάστῃ. [21]δεήσειν οὖν αὐτὸν τηρήσαντα ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς τὸν καιρὸν ξυγγενέσθαι μὲν ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ τῷ τῶν Ἐφθαλιτῶν ἄρχοντι, τετραμμένον δέ που πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον προσκυνεῖν ταύτῃ γὰρ ἂν ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα τῆς πράξεως τὴν ἀτιμίαν φυγεῖν δύναιτο. [22]Περόζης μὲν οὖν ἀμφί τε τῇ εἰρήνῃ τὰ πιστὰ ἔδωκε καὶ τὸν πολέμιον προσεκύνησε, καθάπερ τῶν μάγων ἡ ὑποθήκη παρήγγελλεν, ἀκραιφνεῖ δὲ παντὶ τῷ Μήδων στρατῷ ἐπ᾽ οἴκου ἄσμενος ἀνεχώρησε.

[18]When Perozes heard this, he held a consultation with the Magi who were present and enquired of them whether he must comply with the terms dictated by the enemy. [19]The Magi replied that, as to the oath, he should settle the matter according to his own pleasure; as for the rest, however, he should circumvent his enemy by craft. [20]And they reminded him that it was the custom among the Persians to prostrate themselves before the rising sun each day; [21]he should therefore, watch the time closely and meet the leader of the Ephthalitae at dawn, and then, turning toward the rising sun, make his obeisance. In this way, they explained, he would be able in the future to escape the ignominy of the deed. [22]Perozes accordingly gave the pledges concerning the peace and prostrated himself before his foe exactly as the Magi had suggested, and so with the whole Median army intact, gladly retired homeward.

IX.010/B. Proc. *bell.* 1, 4, 1–16

[1]Χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἀλογήσας τὰ ὁμωμοσμένα τίσασθαι Οὔννους τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν ὕβρεως ἤθελε. [2]πάντας οὖν αὐτίκα ἐκ πάσης γῆς Πέρσας τε καὶ ξυμμάχους ἀγείρας ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἐφθαλίτας ἦγε, τῶν παίδων ἕνα μὲν Καβάδην ὄνομα μόνον ἀπολιπὼν (τηνικαῦτα γὰρ ἠβηκὼς ἔτυχε), τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἅπαντας ἐπαγόμενος τριάκοντα μάλιστα. [3]Ἐφθαλῖται δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἔφοδον γνόντες ἀχθόμενοί τε οἷς δὴ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἠπάτηντο τὸν βασιλέα ἐκάκιζον, ἅτε προέμενον Μήδοις τὰ πράγματα. [4]καὶ ὅς αὐτῶν ξὺν γέλωτι ἐπυνθάνετο τί ποτε ἄρα σφῶν προέμενος εἴη, πότερον τὴν γῆν ἢ τὰ ὅπλα ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν πάντων χρημάτων. [5]οἱ δὲ ὑπολαβόντες οὐκ ἄλλο οὐδὲν πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι τὸν καιρὸν ἔφασαν, οὗ τἆλλα πάντα ἠρτῆσθαι ξυμβαίνει. [6]οἱ μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἐπιοῦσιν ὑπαντιάζειν πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ ἠξίουν, ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς μὲν ἔν γε τῷ παρόντι ἐκώλυεν. οὐ γάρ πω σαφές τι ἀμφὶ τῇ ἐφόδῳ ἰσχυρίζετο γεγονέναι σφίσιν, ἐπεὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ἔτι ἐν γῇ τῇ οἰκείᾳ τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες· μένων δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐποίει τάδε. [7]ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, ᾗ ἔμελλον Πέρσαι ἐς τὰ Ἐφθαλιτῶν ἤθη ἐσβάλλειν, χώραν πολλήν τινα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀποτεμών τάφρον εἰργάσατο βαθεῖάν τε καὶ εὔρους ἱκανῶς ἔχουσαν, ὀλίγον τινὰ ἐν μέσῳ ἀκραιφνῆ χῶρον ἀπολιπὼν ὅσον ἵππων ὁδῷ ἐπαρκεῖν δέκα. [8]καλάμους τε τῇ τάφρῳ ὕπερθεν ἐπιθεὶς καὶ γῆν ἐπὶ τοὺς καλάμους

συναμησάμενος ταύτῃ ἐπιπολῆς ἔκρυψεν, Οὔννων τε τῷ ὁμίλῳ ἐπέστελλεν, ἐπειδὰν ἐνθένδε ὀπίσω ἀπελαύνειν μέλλωσι, διὰ χώρου τοῦ χέρσου ἐς ὀλίγους σφᾶς ξυναγαγόντας σχολαιτέρους ἰέναι, φυλασσομένους ὅπως μὴ ἐς τὰ ἐσκαμμένα ἐμπίπτοιεν· [9]τοὺς δὲ ἄλας ἄκρου σημείου τοῦ βασιλείου ἀπεκρέμασεν, ἐς οὓς τὸν ὅρκον Περόζης ὤμοσε πρότερον, ὃν δὴ ἀλογήσας εἶτα ἐπὶ Οὔννους ἐστράτευσεν.

[1]Not long after this, disregarding the oath he had sworn, he was eager to avenge himself upon the Huns for the insult done him. [2]He therefore straightway gathered together from the whole land all the Persians and their allies, and led them against the Ephthalitae; of all his sons he left behind him only one, Cabades by name, who, as it happened, was just past the age of boyhood; all the others, about thirty in number, he took with him. [3]The Ephthalitae, upon learning of his invasion, were aggrieved at the deception they had suffered at the hands of their enemy, and bitterly reproached their king as having abandoned them to the Medes. [4]He, with a laugh, enquired of them what in the world of theirs had he abandoned, whether their lands or their arms or any other part of their possessions. [5]They thereupon retorted that he had abandoned nothing, except, forsooth, the one opportunity on which, as it turned out, everything else depended on. [6]Now the Ephthalitae with all zeal demanded that they should go out to meet the invaders, but the king sought to restrain them at any rate for the moment. For he insisted that as yet they had received no definite information as to the invasion, for the Persians were still within their own boundaries. So, remaining where he was, he busied himself as follows. [7]In the plain where the Persians were to make their irruption into the land of the Ephthalitae he marked off a track of very great extent and made a deep trench of sufficient width; but in the centre he left a small portion of ground intact, enough to serve as a way for ten horses. [8]Over the trench he placed reeds, and upon the reeds he scattered earth, thereby concealing the true surface. He then directed the forces of the Huns that, when the time came to retire inside the trench, they should draw themselves together into a narrow column and pass rather slowly across this neck of land, taking care that they should not fall into the ditch. [9]And he hung from the top of the royal banner the salt over which Perozes had once sworn the oath which he had disregarded in taking the field against the Huns.

[10]ἕως μὲν οὖν ἐν γῇ τῇ σφετέρᾳ τοὺς πολεμίους ἥκουεν εἶναι, ἡσυχῇ ἔμενεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐς Γοργὼ πόλιν ἔμαθεν ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς τῶν κατασκόπων, ἥπερ ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις Περσῶν ὁρίοις τυγχάνει οὖσα, ἐνθένδε τε ἀπαλλαγέντας ὁδῷ ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἤδη ἰέναι, αὐτὸς μὲν τῷ πλείονι τοῦ στρατοῦ τῆς τάφρου ἐντὸς ἔμεινεν, ὀλίγους δὲ πέμψας ὀφθῆναι μὲν τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἐκέλευε μακρὰν ἄποθεν, ὀφθέντας δὲ μόνον εἶτα ἀνὰ κράτος φεύγειν ὀπίσω, ἐν μνήμῃ τὰς αὐτοῦ ἐντολὰς ἀμφὶ τῇ κατώρυχι ἔχοντας, ἡνίκα δὴ αὐτῆς ἄγχιστα ἵκοιντο. [11]οἱ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν, καὶ ἐπεὶ τῆς διώρυχος ἀγχοτάτω ἐγένοντο, ἐς ὀλίγους σφᾶς ξυναγαγόντες διέβησαν ἅπαντες καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἀνεμίγνυντο. [12]οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ξυνεῖναι τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς οὐδαμῇ ἔχοντες κατὰ κράτος ἐν πεδίῳ λίαν ὑπτίῳ ἐδίωκον, θυμῷ πολλῷ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐχόμενοι, ἔς τε τὴν τάφρον ἐμπεπτώκασιν ἅπαντες, οὐχ οἱ πρῶτοι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσοι ὄπισθεν εἵποντο· [13]ἅτε γὰρ τὴν δίωξιν ξὺν θυμῷ μεγάλῳ, καθάπερ ἐρρήθη, ποιούμενοι, ὡς ἥκιστα ᾔσθοντο τοῦ κακοῦ, ὃ δὴ ξυντετύχηκε τοῖς

ἔμπροσθεν ἰοῦσιν, ἀλλ ὑπὲρ αὐτοὺς ξὺν τοῖς ἵπποις τε καὶ δόρασιν ἐμπεπτωκότες ἐκείνους τε, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἔκτειναν καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐδέν τι ἧσσον ξυνδιεφθάρησαν. [14]ἐν οἷς καὶ Περόζης ἦν ξὺν παισὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἅπασι. καὶ αὐτὸν μέλλοντα ἐς τὸ βάραθρον τοῦτο ἐμπεσεῖσθαί φασι τοῦ τε δεινοῦ ᾐσθῆσθαι καὶ τὸ μάργαρον, ὅ οἱ λευκότατόν τε καὶ μεγέθους ὑπερβολῇ ἔντιμον ἐξ ὠτὸς τοῦ δεξιοῦ ἀπεκρέματο, ἀφελόντα ῥῖψαι, ὅπως δὴ μή τις αὐτὸ ὀπίσω φοροίη, ἐπεὶ ἀξιοθέατον ὑπερφυῶς ἦν, οἷον οὔπω πρότερον ἑτέρῳ τῳ βασιλεῖ γέγονεν, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες. [15]οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐνταῦθα γενόμενος τοῦ κακοῦ ἄλλου ὁτουοῦν ἐς φροντίδα ἦλθεν, ἀλλ οἶμαι τό τε οὖς αὐτῷ ἐν τούτῳ ξυγκεκόφθαι τῷ πάθει καὶ τὸ μάργαρον ὅπη ποτὲ ἀφανισθῆναι. [16]ὅπερ ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς τότε πρίασθαι πρὸς τῶν Ἐφθαλιτῶν ἐν σπουδῇ ποιησάμενος ἥκιστα ἴσχυσεν. οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸ εὑρέσθαι οἱ βάρβαροι εἶχον, καίπερ πόνῳ πολλῷ τὴν ζήτησιν ποιησάμενοι. φασὶ μέντοι Ἐφθαλίτας εὑρομένους αὐτὸ ὕστερον τῷ Καβάδῃ ἀποδόσθαι.

[10]Now as long as he heard that the enemy were in their own territory, he remained at rest; but when he learned from his scouts that they had reached the city of Gorgo, which lies on the extreme of the Persian frontier, and that departing thence they were now advancing against his army, remaining himself with the greater part of his troops inside the trench, he sent forward a small detachment with instructions to allow themselves to be seen at a distance by the enemy in the plain, and, when once they had been seen, to flee at full speed to the rear keeping in mind his command concerning the trench as soon as they drew near to it. [11]They did as directed and, as they approached the trench, they drew themselves into a narrow column, and all passed over and joined the rest of the army. [12]But the Persians, having no means of perceiving the stratagem, gave chase at full speed across a very level plain, possessed as they were by a spirit of fury against the enemy, and fell into the trench, every man of them, not alone the first but also those who followed in the rear. [13]For since they entered into the pursuit with great fury, as I have said, they failed to notice the catastrophe which had befallen their leaders, but fell in on top of them with their horses and lances, so that, as was natural, they both destroyed them, and were themselves no less involved in ruin. [14] Among them were Perozes and all his sons. And just as he was about to fall into this pit, they say that he realized the danger, and seized and threw from him the pearl which hung from his right ear,—a gem of wonderful whiteness and greatly prized on account of its extraordinary size—in order, no doubt, that no one might wear it after him; for it was a thing exceedingly beautiful to look upon, such as no king before him had possessed. [15]This story, however, seems to me untrustworthy, because a man who found himself in such peril would have thought of nothing else; but I suppose that his ear was crushed in this disaster, and the pearl disappeared somewhere or other. [16]This pearl the Roman Emperor then made every effort to buy from the Ephthalitae, but was utterly unsuccessful. For the barbarians were not able to find it although they sought it with great labour. However, they say that the Ephthalitae found it later and sold it to Cabades.

IX.010/C. Proc. *bell.* 1, 4, 32–35

[32]Οὕτω μὲν Περόζης τε διεφθάρη καὶ ξύμπασα ἡ Περσῶν στρατιά. εἰ γάρ τις οὐκ ἐμπεπτωκὼς ἐς τὴν διώρυχα ἔτυχεν, ὅδε ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ταῖς χερσὶ γέγονε. [33]καὶ ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ νόμος τέθειται Πέρσαις μή ποτε σφᾶς ἐν γῇ πολεμίᾳ ἐλαύνοντας δίωξιν ποιεῖσθαί τινα, ἢν καὶ κατὰ κράτος τοὺς ἐναντίους σφίσι τραπῆναι ξυμβαίη. [34]ὅσοι μέντοι Περόζῃ οὐ ξυστρατεύσαντες ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ αὐτῶν ἔμειναν, οὗτοι δὴ βασιλέα σφίσι Καβάδην εἵλοντο τὸν νεώτατον Περόζου υἱόν, ὅσπερ τηνικαῦτα περιῆν μόνος. [35]τότε δὴ Ἐφθαλίταις κατήκοοι ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν ἐγένοντο Πέρσαι, ἕως Καβάδης τὴν ἀρχὴν ἰσχυρότατα κρατυνάμενος φόρον αὐτοῖς ἀποφέρειν τὸν ἐπέτειον οὐκέτι ἠξίου. ἦρξαν δὲ Περσῶν οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι ἐνιαυτοὺς δύο.

[32]Thus Perozes was destroyed and the whole Persian army with him. For the few who by chance did not fall into the ditch found themselves at the mercy of the enemy. [33]As a result of this experience a law was established among the Persians that, while marching in hostile territory, they should never engage in any pursuit, even if it should happen that the enemy had been driven back by force. [34]Thereupon those who had not marched with Perozes and had remained in their own land chose as their king Cabades, the youngest son of Perozes, who was then the only one surviving. [35]At that time, then, the Persians became subject and tributary to the Ephthalitae, until Cabades had established his power most securely and no longer deemed it necessary to pay the annual tribute to them. And the time these barbarians ruled over the Persians was two years.

IX.011. Agathias: King Perozes and the Hephthalites

IX.011/A. Agath. 4, 27, 4

ἀπόλωλε δὴ οὖν κατὰ τῶν Νεφθαλιτῶν ἐπιστρατεύσας, οὐ τοσοῦτον, οἶμαι, τῇ ῥώμῃ τῶν δυσμενῶν, ὁπόσον τῇ οἴκοθεν ἀκοσμίᾳ· δέον γὰρ αὐτὸν ξὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ κατὰ τὴν πολεμίαν πορεύεσθαι τὰς ἀδήλους ἐπιβουλὰς προδιασκοποῦντα καὶ φυλαττόμενον, ὁ δὲ λέληθεν ἑαυτὸν ἐνέδραις ἀθρόον περιπεσὼν καὶ βόθροις καὶ διώρυξιν, ἐπὶ μήκιστον τοῦ πεδίου πρὸς τὸ ἀπατηλὸν μεμηχανημέναις, αὐτοῦ τε ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ διεφθάρη τετάρτῳ καὶ εἰκοστῷ τῆς βασιλείας ἐνιαυτῷ, καὶ καταλύει τὸν βίον ἀκλεῶς, ἅτε δὴ ὑπὸ τῶν Οὔννων κατεστρατηγημένος·Οὐννικὸν γὰρ γένος οἱ Νεφθαλῖται.

Consequently he lost his life in an expedition against the Nephthalites[i] not so much, I imagine, through the strength of his opponents as through his own recklessness. Though he should have taken all the necessary precautions and reconnaissance measures to safeguard his advance into enemy territory against ambush he fell straight into a trap, a series of carefully camouflaged pits and trenches that stretched over the plain for a very great distance. He perished there together with his army in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, outmanoeuvred by the Huns—an ignominious way of ending his life. The Nephthalites are in fact a Hunnic people.

[i] See Note Grenet to Text I.027/C on the form *Nephthalitai*.

IX.011/B. Agath. 4, 28, 1–7

[1] […] τοιγάρτοι ξυμφραξάμενοι ἅπαντες καὶ διαναστάντες καθαιροῦσί γε αὐτὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς τῷ ἑνδεκάτῳ ταύτης ἐνιαυτῷ καὶ ἐς τὸ τῆς Λήθης ἐμβάλλουσι φρούριον. [2]τὸ δὲ τῆς βασιλείας κράτος μετάγουσιν ἐπὶ Ζαμάσφην, Περόζου καὶ αὐτὸν παῖδα γεγενημένον καὶ ἄλλως πραότητός τε καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἄριστα ἔχειν δοκοῦντα. οὕτω τε ᾤοντο καλῶς αὐτοῖς ἅπαντα κατειργάσθαι, ὡς ἐξὸν τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν εὐκολίᾳ τε καὶ ῥᾳστώνῃ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ βιοτεύειν. [3]ἀλλ᾽ ὁ Καβάδης οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἀποδράσας, εἴτε τῆς γαμετῆς αὐτῷ ξυλλαβομένης τοῦ δόλου, ὡς Προκόπιός φησι, καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου θάνατον ὑπελθεῖν ἑλομένης, εἴτε καὶ ἄλλῳ χρησάμενος τρόπῳ, ἀποδράσας δὲ οὖν ὅμως καὶ ὑπεκβὰς τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου, ᾤχετο παρὰ τοὺς Νεφθαλίτας καὶ γίνεται τοῦ ἐκείνων βασιλέως ἱκέτης. [4]ὁ δὲ τὰς ἀτάκτους ῥοπὰς τῆς τύχης διανοησάμενος προσίετό γε αὐτὸν μάλα εὐμενῶς καὶ διετέλει παρηγορῶν καὶ παραιρούμενος τῆς γνώμης τὸ ἀνιώμενον, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα θωπείᾳ τε ἀγαθῇ καὶ παραινέσει πρὸς τὰ ἀμείνονα τὸ φρονοῦν ἀναρρωννύσῃ καὶ πρός γε τραπέζῃ δαψιλεῖ καὶ φιλοτησίᾳ θαμὰ προτεινομένῃ καὶ ἐφεστρίσι τιμίαις καὶ τούτοις δὴ ἅπασι τοῖς εἰς φιλοξενίαν προχειροτάτοις· ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα κατεγγυᾷ πρὸς γάμον τῷ ξένῳ καὶ στρατιὰν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν κάθοδον ἀποχρῶσαν παραδοὺς ἔστειλεν αὖθις, τό τε ἀντιστατοῦν καθελοῦντα καὶ τὴν προτέραν εὐδαιμονίαν ἀνακτησόμενον. [5]ἐπεὶ δὲ πεφύκασι πρὸς τἀναντία πολλάκις συμφύρεσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις αἱ τῶν δοκηθέντων ἐκβάσεις, τοιόνδε τι καὶ τότε ξυνέβη, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐφ᾽ ἑκάτερα ῥοπήν τε καὶ κίνησιν ἐπὶ πολλῷ τῷ διαλλάττοντι ὁ τοῦ Καβάδου βίος ἐταλαντεύθη, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν χρόνῳ μετρίῳ. [6]ἐκ μὲν γὰρ βασιλέως πρότερον ὑπόδικος γέγονε καὶ δεσμώτης, ἀπαλλαγεὶς δὲ τῆς εἱρκτῆς φυγὰς καὶ μέτοικος καὶ ἱκέτης, ἐκ δὲ ἱκέτου καὶ ξένου κηδεστὴς βασιλέως καὶ οἰκειότατος· εὐθὺς δὲ κατελθὼν εἰς τὰ πάτρια ἦθη ἀνείληφε πάλιν τὴν ἀρχὴν πόνων ἐκτὸς καὶ κινδύνων, ὥσπερ οὐδαμῶς αὐτὴν ἀφῃρημένος, ἀλλ᾽ εὑρὼν ἔτι σχολάζουσαν καὶ οἷον ἐκδεχομένην. [7]ὁ γὰρ Ζαμάσφης ἑκὼν ἀπέστη τοῦ θάκου καὶ μεθεῖναι μᾶλλον ἔγνω τὴν βασιλείαν, τέτταρας ἐνιαυτοὺς ἡσθεὶς ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ ἀπαγορεῦσαι μὲν τῷ γαυρουμένῳ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ φιλοδοξοῦντι, τὸ δὲ ἄπραγμον ξὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἀνθελέσθαι· καὶ προὔλαβε τὴν ἀνάγκην ἡ εὐβουλία.

[1] […] In the eleventh year of his reign the nobles all rose in a body against [Kavad] and deposed him, casting him into the "Prison of Oblivion." [2]Zamasp was then invested with the royal power. He too was a son of Peroz and apart from that enjoyed a reputation for great gentleness of character and justice. In this way they thought that they had settled everything to their satisfaction and that henceforth they would be able to live in peace and quiet. [3]But it was not long before Kavad escaped either aided and abetted by his wife who chose to die for his sake as Procopius tells us or by some other means. At any rate the fact remains that he did escape from prison to the land of the Ephthalites where he threw himself on the protection of their king. [4]Mindful of the vicissitudes of fortune the king received him with great kindness and never ceased to comfort him and alleviate his distress of mind, showing him every consideration, addressing him words of encouragement which were calculated to raise his spirits, feasting him at his table and frequently making him drink from his own cup, dressing him in costly garments

and in fact omitting none of the niceties of hospitality. Not long afterwards he gave his daughter's hand in marriage to his guest and having entrusted him with a sufficiently large army to ensure his return sent him back home to crush all opposition and regain his former prosperity. [5]There is a natural tendency for things to work out very differently from what people expect, often upsetting and completely belying their calculations and what happened on that occasion was a case in point. In a very short space of time the pendulum of Kavad's fortunes had swung [6]from one extreme to the other and back again: he had exchanged the state of a king for the lot of a convict, escaped from prison to become a refugee and a suppliant in a strange land, and then, after having been a suppliant and a guest, had become the close relation of a king. Then on his return home he regained his throne without effort or danger, finding it vacant and as it were waiting to receive him, for all the world as though he had never been deprived of it. [7]Zamasp in fact voluntarily abdicated, wisely making a virtue of necessity and preferring, after having enjoyed four years on the throne, to renounce the pride of office and the pomp of power in exchange for a safe retirement.

IX.012. Pseudo-Maurice, Strategicon 4, 3: the Hephthalites

Περὶ τῆς ἑκατέρωθεν ἐνέδρας

Ἕτεροι φόσσαν βαθεῖαν ἐπὶ ὀκτὼ ἢ δέκα πόδας καὶ πλατεῖαν ὡς πεντήκοντα ἢ ἑξήκοντα ἐπὶ ἱκανὸν διάστημα ὀρύξαντες σκεπάσαντές τε ταύτην ξύλοις λεπτοῖς, χόρτῳ τε καὶ χώματι, ὥστε ἡνωμένην καὶ ὁμοίαν τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ ὀρύγματος εἶναι τῇ ἐγγιζούσῃ αὐτῷ γῇ καὶ κατὰ μηδὲν ἐναλλάττειν αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τὸ ἐπαρθὲν χῶμα ἐάσαντες παρακεῖσθαι αὐτῷ, ἵνα μὴ ἐμφαίνῃ τινὰ ξενοπρέπειαν, ἐν τῷ μέσῳ δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὀρύγματος καταλείψαντες σποράδην τόπους τινὰς στερεοὺς καὶ ἑδραίους, σεσημειωμένους καὶ ἐγνωσμένους πρὸς τὸ παρὸν τῷ ἰδίῳ στρατῷ, ἑκατέρωθέν τε ἐκ τοῦ πλησίον τοῦ ὀρύγματος ἔγκρυμμα ἐν ἀφανέσι τόποις λεληθότως ποιήσαντες, ἔταξαν τοὺς λοιποὺς πρὸ τοῦ ὀρύγματος. Συμβολῆς δὲ γενομένης ἑκουσίως οἱ προταγέντες τὴν τροπὴν σχηματισάμενοι, αὐτοὶ μὲν διὰ τῶν ἐγνωσμένων αὐτοῖς τόπων καὶ στερεῶν ἀκινδύνως παρῆλθον, οἱ δὲ ἐναντίοι σφοδρῶς καὶ ἀσχέτως τὴν δίωξιν ποιούμενοι, ἐνέπεσον ἐν τῷ ὀρύγματι. Ὑπεξελθόντες δὲ ἄφνω οἵ τε τὸ ἔγκρυμμα ποιησάμενοι, εἶτα ἐπαναστρέψαντες καὶ οἱ τὴν ὑποχώρησιν σχηματισάμενοι, τοὺς πλείους τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπώλεσαν, τοὺς μὲν ὡς ἐμπεσόντας ἐν τῇ φόσσῃ, τοὺς δὲ ὡς τραπέντας ἀτάκτως ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδοκήτῳ συμπτώματι. Τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐχρήσαντο Νεφθαλῖται κατὰ Περώζου βασιλέως Περσῶν.

Some commanders have dug a trench eight or ten feet deep, fifty or sixty wide, and extending a good distance. They covered this with light pieces of wood, with hay and earth, so it looked just like the ground around it, and there was no way you could tell the difference. The excavated earth was removed from the site, so that it would not look at all strange. At various places in the middle of the trench they left some solid crossings of firm ground, well-marked and made known at the proper time to their own army. Near the trench on both sides they placed troops in ambush under cover where they could not be seen, and they drew up the rest before the trench. When

battle was joined, the men drawn up before the trench simulated defeat, retiring safely back over the solid sections known to them. The enemy began an unrestrained, impetuous pursuit and fell into the trench. Then the soldiers posted in ambush suddenly charged out, and the men who had feigned retreat turned back. Most of the enemy perished, some falling into the trench, others while fleeing in disorder because of the unexpected disaster. It was by this stratagem that the Nephthalites defeated Peroz, King of the Persians.

IX.013. Theophanes: King Perozes, King Kabades and the Hephthalite Huns

IX.013/A. Theoph. AM 5967

Περόζης δὲ ἐπεστράτευσε κατὰ τῶν Νεφθαλιτῶν Οὔννων, καὶ τρέψας αὐτοὺς ἐδίωκεν. αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐν στενοῖς τόποις τὴν φυγὴν ποιούμενοι κατ' ὀλίγον ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν, δεξιᾷ τε καὶ ἀριστερᾷ ὑποχωροῦντες, ἐξοπίσω τούτων γενηθέντες ἀφυλάκτους αὐτοὺς ἀπέκλεισαν. στενωθεὶς δὲ Περόζης ᾐτεῖτο εἰρήνην. ὁ δὲ τῶν Νεφθαλιτῶν βασιλεὺς οὐ πρότερον τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, πρὶν πεσὼν τοῦτον προσκυνήσῃ καὶ ὅρκοις πληροφορήσῃ, μηκέτι κατὰ Νεφθαλιτῶν στρατεῦσαι. ὁ δὲ τῇ βίᾳ συνεχόμενος τοῦτο δρᾶσαι ἠναγκάσθη καὶ ἐν πολλῇ ἀτιμίᾳ ὑπέστρεψεν. ὅθεν μὴ φέρων τὴν αἰσχύνην πάλιν κατ' αὐτῶν ἐστράτευσε τοὺς ὅρκους ἀθετήσας.

Perozes campaigned against the Nephthalite Huns and having routed them went in pursuit. But they, making their escape in small groups along the narrow passes in the mountains, retreating to right and left, got themselves behind the Persians and blockaded them through their lack of precaution. In these straits Perozes begged for peace. The emperor of the Nephthalites would not do this before Perozes fell down before him, made obeisance and gave assurances on oath that he would never again campaign against the Nephthalites. Perozes, constrained by force, was compelled to do this and retreated in great dishonour. But unable to bear the shame, he campaigned against them once more, disregarding his oaths.

IX.013/B. Theoph. AM 5968

Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ ἔτει Περόζης πάλιν ἐπιστρατεύσας πρὸς τοὺς Λευκοὺς Οὔννους, τοὺς λεγομένους Νεφθαλίτας, ἀπώλετο πανστρατί. ὀρύξαντες γὰρ τάφρον βαθεῖαν καὶ καλάμους ἐπιθέντες καὶ γῆν ἐπιχώσαντες ἔμειναν ἔνδον. ὀλίγους δὲ ὑπαντῆσαι τούτοις ἀποστείλαντες καὶ αὖθις εἰς φυγὴν τραπέντες καὶ καθ' ἕνα τὰ στενὰ διαβάντες ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔφυγον. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι μηδὲν δεινὸν ὑποπτεύσαντες ἀκρατῶς τούτους ἐδίωκον, καὶ πάντες ὁμοῦ σὺν τῷ Περόζῃ καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ παισὶν εἰς τὸ βάραθρον ἐμπεσόντες ἀπώλοντο. ὁ δὲ Περόζης αἰσθόμενος τοῦ δεινοῦ τὸν μάργαρον, ὃν αὐτὸς εἶχε λευκότατον καὶ μέγαν, εἰς ὑπερβολὴν ἔντιμον, ἐξ ὠτὸς τοῦ δεξιοῦ ἀφελόμενος ἔρριψεν, ὅπως μή τις αὐτὸν ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ φορέσῃ, ἐπεὶ ἀξιοθέατος ὑπερφυῶς ἦν, οἷος οὔπω πρότερον ἑτέρῳ βασιλεῖ γέγονεν. οὕτω μὲν Περόζης διεφθάρη σὺν πάσῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ. ὅσοι δὲ Περόζῃ μὴ συστρατεύσαντες,

Καβάδην βασιλέα εἵλαντο, τὸν Περόζου νεώτερον υἱόν. ἦρξαν δὲ Περσῶν οἱ βάρβαροι χρόνους δύο εἰς φόρου ἀπαγωγήν. Καβάδης δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ βιαιότερον τῇ ἀρχῇ χρώμενος κοινὰς τὰς γυναῖκας ἐνομοθέτησεν ἔχειν· ὅθεν οἱ Πέρσαι τοῦτον τῆς ἀρχῆς παρέλυσαν καὶ δήσαντες εἰς φυλακὴν ἀπέθεντο, Βλάσην δέ, τὸν καὶ Οὐαλᾶν, ἀδελφὸν Περόζου, βασιλέα ἐποίησαν διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἄλλον υἱὸν Περόζου. ἡ δὲ γυνὴ Καβάδου διηκόνει αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ φρουρᾷ. ὁ δὲ τῆς εἱρκτῆς ἄρχων ἤρξατο ἐρᾶν τῆς γυναικὸς εὐπρεποῦς οὔσης. ὁ δὲ Καβάδης παρεκάλεσε τὴν γυναῖκα ἐνδοῦναι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, εἴ πως δυνηθῇ ἐκφυγεῖν τοῦ φρουρίου. τούτου δὲ γενομένου, ἀκωλύτως ἡ γυνὴ πρὸς Καβάδην εἰσιοῦσα τοῦτον ἐθεράπευεν. φίλος δὲ Καβάδου τις, ὀνόματι Σεόσης, διὰ τῆς γυναικὸς τῷ Καβάδῃ ἐδήλου, ὅτι ἵππους τε καὶ ἄνδρας ἐμπαρασκεύους ἔχειν ἔν τινι χωρίῳ. ὁ δὲ Καβάδης, νυκτὸς ἐπιλαβούσης, πείθει τὴν γυναῖκα ἐσθῆτα μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν οἰκείαν δοῦναι, τὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἱμάτια φορέσαι αὐτὴν καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς εἱρκτῆς καθέζεσθαι. οὕτω μὲν οὖν Καβάδης ἐξελθὼν τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου, τοὺς φύλακας διαλαθὼν πόρρω που τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου τῷ ἵππῳ ἐπιβὰς σὺν τῷ Σεόσῃ εἰς Οὔννους τοὺς Νεφθαλίτας ἀφίκετο. καὶ τούτῳ τὴν θυγατέρα ὁ βασιλεὺς γυναῖκα δίδωσιν, οὕτω τε στράτευμα πολὺ τούτῳ δοὺς ἐπὶ Πέρσας συνέπεμψεν. οἱ δὲ φύλακες κατιδόντες τὴν γυναῖκα ὑπετόπαζον Καβάδην εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον εἶναι τοῖς ἱματίοις Καβάδου ἠμφιεσμένην ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἱκανάς. ὁ δὲ Καβάδης σὺν τῷ Οὐννικῷ στρατῷ εἰς Περσίδα εἰσβαλὼν πόνῳ οὐδενὶ τήν τε βασιλείαν ἐκράτησε καὶ Βλάσην, τὸν Οὐαλᾶν, ἐξετύφλωσε καὶ ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχεν, τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν ἀσφαλῶς διεφύλαξεν. ἦν γὰρ ἀγχίνους τε καὶ δραστήριος. ἐκράτησε δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔτη ια΄.

In the same year Perozes went on campaign once more against the White Huns, known as Nephthalites, and perished with his entire army. For the Nephthalites dug a deep ditch, placed reeds over it, covered it with earth, and then stayed behind it. They sent out a few men to meet the Persians and then turned in flight, crossed the narrow passes one by one and fled together with all the others. The Persians, not suspecting any danger, rashly pursued them and they all, including Perozes and his sons, fell into the pit and perished. When Perozes perceived the danger, he removed the huge, brilliantly white pearl he had in his right ear (it was exceedingly costly) and threw it away so that no one after him would wear it, since it was most remarkable; no other emperor had ever before possessed anything like it. So Perozes was destroyed with all his army. Those who had not campaigned with Perozes chose Kabades as emperor, the younger son of Perozes. The barbarians ruled the Persians for two years to collect their tribute. Kabades, rashly using his office, decreed that women were to be had in common. So the Persians deprived him of office, bound him, and put him in prison. They made Perozes's brother Blases, also called Valas, their emperor because there were no other sons of Perozes. Kabades's wife looked after him in prison. The governor of the prison fell in love with her because of her beauty. Kabades encouraged his wife to give in to the man, in case it enabled him to escape from the fort. This she did and was then able to visit and tend Kabades unhindered. A friend of Kabades, named Seoses, sent a message to Kabades through his wife that he had horses and men ready in a certain village. When night came on, Kabades persuaded his wife to give him her clothes and for her to put on his clothes and remain in the prison. So Kabades got out of prison, escaped the notice of

the guards, and, when he was some distance from the prison, mounted a horse and went with Seoses to the Nephthalite Huns. Their emperor gave him his daughter in marriage and having also given him a large army sent him with it against the Persians. The guards, seeing the woman dressed in Kabades's clothes, supposed for several days that Kabades was in prison. Kabades invaded Persia with his army of Huns and gained control of the empire without difficulty. He blinded Blases, also called Valas, put him in prison, and kept the empire securely for himself, for he was shrewd and energetic. After that he ruled eleven years.

IX.014. Theophylact 4, 6, 9–11: King Kabades and the Hephthalites

[9]Ἐντεῦθεν ὁ Καβάδης μεταβολὴν τῶν ἐνοχλούντων ἐμπορευσάμενος καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα τοῦ γυναίου ἀμφιασάμενος τῆς εἱρκτῆς ἐξεχώρησε καταλείψας τὸ γύναιον τὴν αὐτοῦ στολὴν ἀμπεχόμενον. [10]Σεώσην τοίνυν δοκιμώτατον φίλον παραλαβὼν τοῖς ἔθνεσι τῶν Οὔννων προσομιλεῖ, οὓς Τούρκους πολλαχοῦ που ἡ ἱστορία ἐγνώρισεν. εἶτα ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ἐφθαλιτῶν φιλοφρονώτατα ξενισθεὶς δυνάμεις τε ἀξιολογωτάτας περιβαλόμενος, μάχῃ τῶν ἀντιπάλων κεκρατηκὼς ἀπολαμβάνει τὸ κράτος ἀναζεύξας πρὸς τὰ βασίλεια. [11]ὁ μὲν οὖν Καβάδης ἀντιταλαντεύων Σεώσῃ τῷ τῆς φιλίας θεσμῷ τὴν ἀντίδοσιν ταῖς ὑπεροχαῖς τῶν ἀρχῶν τοῦτον ἐλάμπρυνε δίκας ὑπὸ τῶν ἠδικηκότων ὠμότατα εἰσπραξάμενος. ταῦτα γοῦν ταῦτα οἱ τῶν Περσῶν σατράπαι διανοούμενοι ἐκκορακίζουσι τὸν Ὁρμίσδαν.

[9]When this had happened the watch relaxed, the strict guard was slackened, and vigilance became slave to indolence. Hence Kabades procured a transformation of his troubles, dressed himself in his wife's clothing, and escaped from the prison, leaving behind his wife dressed in his clothes. [10]Then in the company of Seoses, a most trusted friend, he approached the Hun tribes whom history has almost universally recognized as Turks. He was then entertained most hospitably by the king of the Hephthalites and he acquired very considerable forces; he defeated his opponents in battle, returned to the palace, and regained power. [11]And so Kabades measured out for Seoses the recompense for the bond of friendship and decorated him with the most preeminent offices, while he savagely exacted punishment from those who had injured him. It was with these particular events in mind that the Persian satraps pecked out Hormisdas's eyes.

IX.015. Procopius, *De Bellis* 1, 9, 24: King Cabades and the Hephthalites

ὕστερον δὲ Πέρσαι τοῦ πρὸς Οὔννους πολέμου σφίσι μηκυνομένου ἐς σπονδὰς Ῥωμαίοις ξυνίασιν, αἵπερ αὐτοῖς ἐς ἑπτὰ ἔτη ἐγένοντο, Κέλερός τε τοῦ Ῥωμαίου καὶ Ἀσπεβέδου τοῦ Πέρσου αὐτὰς ποιησαμένων, ἐπ᾽ οἴκου τε ἀμφότεροι ἀναχωρήσαντες ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον.

After this the Persians, since their war with the Huns kept dragging on, entered into a treaty with the Romans, which was arranged by them for seven years, and was made by the Roman Celer and the Persian Aspebedes; both armies then retired homeward and remained at peace.

IX.4. Huns as opponents of Persians and Romans in the sixth century CE

IX.016. Procopius, *De Bellis*: the home of the Huns

IX.016/A. Proc. *bell.* 1, 10, 3–8

[3]ὑπερβάντι δὲ τοὺς Ἰβήρων ὅρους ἀτραπός τίς ἐστιν ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ πολλῇ, ἐπὶ σταδίους πεντήκοντα ἐξικνουμένη. [4]αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἀτραπὸς ἐς ἀπότομόν τινα καὶ ὅλως ἄβατον τελευτᾷ χῶρον. δίοδος γὰρ οὐδεμία τὸ λοιπὸν φαίνεται, πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι ὥσπερ τινὰ χειροποίητον πυλίδα ἐνταῦθα ἡ φύσις ἐξεῦρεν, ἣ Κασπία ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐκλήθη. [5]τὸ δὲ ἐνθένδε πεδία τέ ἐστιν ἱππήλατα καὶ ὑδάτων πολλῶν ἀτεχνῶς ἔμπλεα, καὶ χώρα πολλὴ ἱππόβοτός τε καὶ ἄλλως ὑπτία. [6]οὗ δὴ τὰ Οὔννων ἔθνη σχεδόν τι ἅπαντα ἵδρυται ἄχρι ἐς τὴν Μαιῶτιν διήκοντα λίμνην. [7]οὗτοι ἢν μὲν διὰ τῆς πυλίδος, ἧς ἄρτι ἐμνήσθην, ἴωσιν ἐς τὰ Περσῶν τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἤθη, ἀκραιφνέσι τε τοῖς ἵπποις ἴασι καὶ περιόδῳ τινὶ οὐδαμῇ χρώμενοι οὐδὲ κρημνώδεσιν ἐντυχόντες χωρίοις, ὅτι μὴ τοῖς πεντήκοντα σταδίοις ἐκείνοις, οἷσπερ εἰς τοὺς Ἰβηρίους ὅρους, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, διήκουσιν. [8]ἐπ᾽ ἄλλας δέ τινας ἐξόδους ἰόντες πόνῳ τε πολλῷ παραγίνονται καὶ ἵπποις οὐκέτι χρῆσθαι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἔχοντες. περιόδους τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς περιέναι πολλὰς ἐπάναγκες καὶ ταύτας κρημνώδεις.

[3]And as one passes beyond the boundary of Iberia there is a sort of path in a very narrow passage, extending for a distance of fifty stades. [4]This path terminates in a place cut off by cliffs and, as it seems, absolutely impossible to pass through. For from there no way out appears, except indeed a small gate set there by nature, just as if it had been made by the hand of man, which has been called from of the old Caspian Gates. [5]From there on there are plains suitable for riding and extremely well-watered, and extensive tracts used as pasture land for horses, and level besides. [6]Here almost all the nations of the Huns are settled, extending as far as the Maeotic lake. [7]Now if these Huns go through the gate which I have just mentioned into the land of the Persians and the Romans, they come with their horses fresh and without making any detour or encountering any precipitous places, except in those fifty stades over which, as has been said, they pass to the boundary of Iberia. [8]If, however, they go by any other passes, they reach their destination with great difficulty, and can no longer use the same horses. For the detours which they are forced to make are many and steep besides.

IX.016/B. Proc. *bell.* 1, 12, 5–7

[5]διὸ δὴ Γουργένης προσχωρεῖν Ἰουστίνῳ βασιλεῖ ἤθελε τά τε πιστὰ ἠξίου λαβεῖν, ὡς οὔποτε Ἴβηρας καταπροήσονται Πέρσαις Ῥωμαῖοι. [6]ὁ δὲ ταῦτά τε αὐτῷ ξὺν προθυμίᾳ πολλῇ ἐδίδου καὶ Πρόβον τὸν Ἀναστασίου τοῦ βεβασιλευκότος ἀδελφιδοῦν, ἄνδρα πατρίκιον, ξὺν χρήμασι πολλοῖς ἐς Βόσπορον ἔπεμψεν, ἐφ᾽ ᾧ στράτευμα Οὔννων χρήμασιν

ἀναπείσας Ἰβηρσι πέμψῃ ἐς ξυμμαχίαν. [7]ἔστι δὲ πόλις ἐπιθαλασσία ἡ Βόσπορος, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ μὲν ἐσπλέοντι τὸν Εὔξεινον καλούμενον πόντον, Χερσῶνος δὲ πόλεως, ἣ γῆς τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐσχάτη ἐστίν, ὁδῷ διέχουσα ἡμερῶν εἴκοσιν. ὧν δὴ τὰ ἐν μέσῳ ἅπαντα Οὖννοι ἔχουσιν.

[5]For this reason, then, Gourgenes wished to go over to the Emperor Justinus, and he asked that he might receive pledges that the Romans would never abandon the Iberians to the Persians. [6]And the emperor gave him these pledges with great eagerness, and he sent Probus, the nephew of the late emperor Anastasius, a man of patrician rank, with a great sum of money to Bosporus, that he might win over with the money an army of Huns and sent them as allies to the Iberians. [7]This Bosporus is a city by the sea, on the left as one sails into the so-called Euxine Sea, twenty days' journey distant from the city of Cherson, which is the limit of the Roman territory. Between these cities everything is held by the Huns.

IX.017. Cosmas Indicopleustes: the land of the Huns

IX.017/A. Cosm. Ind. 2, 27

«Θήρας» γὰρ τοὺς Θρᾷκας καλεῖ καὶ ἐκ τούτων λέγει ἀφωρίσθαι εἰς τὰς νήσους τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ τὰ παραθαλάσσια· τοῦτο γὰρ δηλοῖ «Θαρσεῖς». «Κητίους» δὲ τοὺς τῆς Κύπρου καλεῖ καὶ «Ῥοδίους» τοὺς τῆς Ῥόδου. «Υἱοὶ δὲ Χάμ, Χοὺς καὶ Μεσραείμ», ἵνα εἴπῃ Αἰθίοπας καὶ Αἰγυπτίους· λοιπὸν «Φοὺθ καὶ Χαναάν», ἵνα εἴπῃ Λίβυας καὶ τὰ πλησίον ἔθνη· «υἱοὶ δὲ Χούς, Σαβὰ καὶ Εὐηλᾶ», ἵνα εἴπῃ Ὁμηρίτας καὶ τοὺς πλησίον, ὁμοίως καὶ τὰ καθεξῆς ὅλα τὰ εἰς τὰ νότια μέρη ὄντα ἔθνη. Καὶ τοὺς Χαναναίους ἐκ τοῦ Μεσραεὶμ λέγει εἶναι, τουτέστι τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους καὶ τοὺς Σιδονίους καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τὰ πλησίον. «Υἱοὶ δὲΣήμ, Ἐλὰμ καὶ Ἀσούρ», τουτέστιν Ἐλαμίτας καὶ Ἀσσυρίους καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἔθνη καὶ ὅσα ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπεκτάθησαν ἕως Ἀσίας καὶ ἐπὶ ἀνατολήν, Περσῶν, Οὔννων, Βάκτρων, Ἰνδῶν ἕως τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ.

For he [scil. Moses] calls the Thracians "Thêres," and from these, he tells us, some were removed and dispersed among the islands of the Gentiles and adjacent localities, for this indicates "Tharseis." The inhabitants of Cyprus he calls "Kêtioi," and those of Rhodes, "Rhodians." "The sons of Ham, Cush and Mesraim," thereby designating the Ethiopians and Egyptians. Finally, "Phut and Canaan," whereby he designates the Libyans and adjoining nations. "The sons of Cush, Saba and Elêsâ," whereby he designates the Homerites and their neighbours; similarly, also the nations one after another that occupy the southern parts. The Chananeans again, he says, were descended from Mesraim, that is the Egyptians and Sidonians and all the neighbouring nations. "The sons of Shem, Elam and Ashur," that is the Elamites and Assyrians and remaining nations, and as many of these as were spread far and wide over Asia and the East—the nations of the Persians, Huns, Baktrians, Indians, onwards to the ocean.

IX.017/B. Cosm. Ind. 2, 47

Ἀπὸ τῆς οὖν Τζίνιστα, ὡς ἀπὸ σπαρτίου, ὀρθῶς ἐπὶ τὴν δύσιν τις μετρῶν τὰ διαστήματα τοῦ μήκους τῆς γῆς εὑρήσει πλέον ἔλαττον μονῶν υ΄ ἀπὸ μιλίων λ΄. Μετρητέον δὲ οὕτως· ἀπὸ τῆς Τζίνιστα ἕως τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Περσίδος πᾶσα ἡ Οὔννια καὶ Ἰνδία καὶ ἡ Βάκτρων χώρα εἰσὶ περί που μοναὶ ρν΄, εἰ μή τι πλείους, οὐκ ἔλαττον· καὶ πᾶσα ἡ Περσῶν χώρα μοναὶ π΄· καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Νίσιβι εἰς Σελεύκειαν μοναὶ ιγ΄· καὶ ἀπὸ Σελευκείας εἰς Ῥώμην καὶ Γάλλους καὶ Ἰβηρίαν, τοὺς νῦν λεγομένους Ἱσπανούς, ἕως Γαδείρων ἔξω εἰς τὸν Ὠκεανόν, μοναὶ ρν΄ καὶ πλέον, ὡς γίνεσθαι τὸ πᾶν μοναὶ υ΄ πλέον ἔλαττον.

If one measures in a straight cord line the stages which make up the length of the earth from Tzinitza to the west, he will find that there are somewhere about four hundred stages, each thirty miles in length. The measurement is to be made in this way: from Tzinitza to the borders of Persia, between which are included all Hunnia, India and the country of the Bactrians, there are about one hundred and fifty stages at least; the whole country of the Persians has eighty stations; and from Nisibis to Seleucia there are thirteen stages; and from Seleucia to Rome and the Gauls and Iberia, whose inhabitants are now called Spaniards, onward to Gadeira, which lies out towards the ocean, there are more than one hundred and fifty stages; thus making altogether the number of stages to be four hundred, more or less.

IX.017/C. Cosm. Ind. 3, 65

Ἐν Ταπροβάνῃ νήσῳ ἐν τῇ ἐσωτέρᾳ Ἰνδίᾳ, ἔνθα τὸ Ἰνδικὸν πέλαγός ἐστι, καὶ Ἐκκλησία χριστιανῶν ἐστιν ἐκεῖ καὶ κληρικοὶ καὶ πιστοί, οὐκ οἶδα δὲ εἰ καὶ περαιτέρω. Ὁμοίως καὶ εἰς τὴν λεγομένην Μαλέ, ἔνθα τὸ πέπερι γίνεται, καὶ ἐν τῇ Καλλιάνᾳ δὲ τῇ καλουμένῃ, καὶ ἐπίσκοπός ἐστιν ἀπὸ Περσίδος χειροτονούμενος. Ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τῇ καλουμένῃ Διοσκορίδους κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ Ἰνδικὸν πέλαγος, ἔνθα καὶ οἱ παροικοῦντες ἑλληνιστὶ λαλοῦσι, πάροικοι τῶν Πτολεμαίων τῶν μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Μακεδόνα ὑπάρχοντες, καὶ κληρικοί εἰσιν ἐκ Περσίδος χειροτονούμενοι καὶ πεμπόμενοι ἐν τοῖς αὐτόθι καὶ χριστιανοὶ πλῆθος· ἣν νῆσον παρέπλευσα μέν, οὐ κατῆλθον δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ· συνέτυχον δὲ ἀνδράσι τῶν ἐκεῖ ἑλληνιστὶ λαλοῦσιν, ἐλθοῦσιν ἐν τῇ Αἰθιοπίᾳ. Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Βάκτροις καὶ Οὔννοις καὶ Πέρσαις καὶ λοιποῖς Ἰνδοῖς καὶ Περσαρμενίοις καὶ Μήδοις καὶ Ἐλαμίταις καὶ πάσῃ τῇ χώρᾳ Περσίδος καὶ ἐκκλησίαι ἄπειροι καὶ ἐπίσκοποι καὶ χριστιανοὶ λαοὶ πάμπολλοι καὶ μάρτυρες πολλοὶ καὶ μονάζοντες ἡσυχασταί.

Even in Taprobanê, an island in Further India, where the Indian sea is, there is a Church of Christians, with clergy and a body of believers, but I know not whether there be any Christians in the parts beyond it. In the country called Malê, where the pepper grows, there is also a church, and at another place called Calliana there is moreover a bishop, who is appointed from Persia. In the island, again, called the Island of Dioscoridês, which is situated in the same Indian sea, and where the inhabitants speak Greek, having been originally colonists sent thither by the Ptolemies who succeeded Alexander the Macedonian, there are clergy who receive their ordination in Persia, and are sent on to the island, and there is also a multitude of Christians. I sailed

along the coast of this island, but did not land upon it. I met, however, with some of its Greek-speaking people who had come over into Ethiopia. And so likewise among the Bactrians and Huns and Persians, and the rest of the Indians, Persarmenians, and Medes and Elamites, and throughout the whole land of Persia there is no limit to the number of churches with bishops and very large communities of Christian people, as well as many martyrs, and monks also living as hermits.

IX.017/D. Cosm. Ind. 11, 20 (Gollas)

[20]Μεταξὺ δὲ τῶν λαμπρῶν ἐμπορίων τῶν προρρηθέντων εἰσὶ καὶ ἕτερα ἐμπόρια πολλά, καὶ παραθαλάττια καὶ μεσόγεια, καὶ πολλὴ χώρα. Ἀνώτεροι δέ, τουτέστι βορειότεροι, τῆς Ἰνδικῆς εἰσι λευκοὶ Οὖννοι, ὁ λεγόμενος Γολλᾶς ἐκβάλλων εἰς πόλεμον, ὥς φασιν, οὐκ ἔλαττον τῶν δισχιλίων ἐλεφάντων καὶ ἵππον πολλήν· κατακρατεῖ δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς καταδυναστεύων καὶ φόρους ἀπαιτῶν. Ποτὲ γοῦν, ὥς φασι, βουλόμενος πόλιν τῶν Ἰνδῶν μεσόγειον πορθῆσαι, τῆς δὲ πόλεως κύκλῳ ὕδατι φρουρουμένης, αὐτὸς ἱκανὰς ἡμέρας περικαθίσας καὶ φρουρήσας καὶ ἀναλώσας τὸ ὕδωρ διὰ τῶν ἐλεφάντων καὶ ἵππων καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ὕστερον διὰ ξηρᾶς περάσας τὴν πόλιν παρέλαβεν. [21]Οὗτοι καὶ τὸν σμάραγδον λίθον ἀγαπῶσι καὶ εἰς τὸν στέφανον αὐτῶν φοροῦσιν. Εἰσφέρουσι γὰρ οἱ Αἰθίοπες συναλλαγὰς ποιοῦντες μετὰ τῶν Βλεμμύων ἐν τῇ Αἰθιοπίᾳ τὸν αὐτὸν λίθον ἕως εἰς τὴν Ἰνδίαν· καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ καλλιστεύοντα ἀγοράζουσι. Καὶ ταῦτα πάντα, τὰ μὲν πείρᾳ μαθὼν ἐξηγησάμην καὶ διέγραψα, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐγγὺς τῶν τόπων γενόμενος ἀκριβῶς μεμαθηκὼς ἐξεῖπον.

[20]But, in the direction of the notable seats of commerce already mentioned, there are numerous others both on the coast and inland, and a country of great extent. Higher up in India, that is, farther to the north, are the White Huns. The one called Gollas when going to war takes with him, it is said, no fewer than two thousand elephants, and a great force of cavalry. He is the lord of India, and oppressing the people forces them to pay tribute. A story goes that this king once upon a time would lay siege to an inland city of the Indians which was on every side protected by water. A long while he sat down before it and built fortifications, until what with his elephants, his horses and his soldiers all the water had been drunk up. He then crossed over to the city dryshod, and took it. [21]These people set great store by the emerald stone and wear it set in a crown. The Ethiopians who procure this stone from the Blemmyes in Ethiopia take it into India and, with the price it fetches, they invest in wares of great value; and these people [scil. the Huns] buy the most beautiful pieces. All these matters I have described and explained partly from personal observation, and partly from accurate inquiries which I made when in the neighbourhood of the different places.

IX.017/E. Cosm. Ind. 11, 24

Πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν καὶ τὴν Οὐννίαν διαιρεῖ ὁ Φεισὼν ποταμός. Καλεῖται γὰρ παρὰ τῇ θείᾳ Γραφῇ ἡ γῆ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς χώρας «Εὐιλάτ» οὕτως γὰρ γέγραπται ἐν τῇ Γενέσει «Ποταμὸς

δὲ ἐκπορεύεται ἐξ Ἐδὲμ ποτίζειν τὸν παράδεισον· ἐκεῖθεν ἀφορίζεται εἰς τέσσαρας ἀρχάς· ὄνομα τῷ ἑνὶ Φεισών, οὗτος ὁ κυκλῶν πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν Εὐιλάτ ἐκεῖ οὖν ἐστι τὸ χρυσίον, τὸ δὲ χρυσίον τῆς γῆς ἐκείνης καλόν· ἐκεῖ ἐστιν ὁ ἄνθραξ καὶ ὁ λίθος ὁ πράσινος», γῆν Εὐιλὰτ σαφέστερον αὐτὴν ὀνομάσας. Οὗτος δὲ Εὐιλὰτ ἐκ τοῦ Χάμ ἐστιν· οὕτω γὰρ πάλιν γέγραπται· «Υἱοὶ Χάμ, Χοὺς καὶ Μεσραείμ, Φοὺδ καὶ Χαναάν υἱοὶ δὲ Χούς, Σαβᾶ καὶ Εὐιλάτ», τουτέστιν Ὁμηρῖται καὶ Ἰνδοί· ἡ Σαβᾶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ Ὁμηρίτῃ κεῖται, καὶ Εὐιλὰτ ἐν τῇ Ἰνδίᾳ· ἐστί τὰς δύο γὰρ ταύτας χώρας ὁ Περσικὸς κόλπος διαιρεῖ. Ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἡ γῆ ἐκείνη τὸ χρυσίον κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν Γράμμα· ἔχει καὶ τὸν παιδέρωτα λίθον, αὐτὸν γὰρ καλεῖ ἄνθρακα· ἔχει καὶ τὸν ἴασπιν, τοῦτον γὰρ εἶπε λίθον πράσινον. Σαφέστερον οὖν ἡ θεία Γραφή, ὡς ὄντως θεία, διηγεῖται τὰ πράγματα, καθὰ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ πραγματεία δηλοῖ.

The river Phison separates all the countries of India from the country of the Huns. In scripture the Indian region is called Euilat. For it is thus written in Genesis: “Now the river goeth out from Eden to water Paradise. And from there it was parted and became four heads. The name of the first is Phison; that is it which compasseth the whole land of Euilat, where there is gold; and the gold of that land is good; there is the carbuncle and the jasper stone;” where the writer clearly calls the country Euilat. This Euilat, moreover, is of the race of Ham. For thus again it is written: “The sons of Ham, Cush and Misraim, Phut and Canaan the sons of Cush, Sabâ and Euilat;” that is the Homerites and Indians, for Sabâ is situated in the Homerite country, and Euilat is in India. For the Persian Gulf divides those two countries. And that country has gold according to sacred scripture. It has also the *pezerôs* [a kind of opal] which Scripture calls “anthrax” [carbuncle] and the jasper stone, by which it designates the leek-green stone. Clearly therefore does divine scripture, as being really divine, relate these things, even as the whole of our treatise goes to show.

IX.018. Procopius, *De Aedificiis* 2, 1, 5f: Persian war on Huns at the time of Anastasius

[5]ἐν δὲ ταῖς σπονδαῖς ἀπειρημένον, ἅσπερ ποτὲ βασιλεὺς Θεοδόσιος ἔθετο πρὸς τὸ Περσῶν γένος, μηδετέρους ἐν χωρίῳ οἰκείῳ ἐν γειτόνων που τοῖς τῶν ἑτέρων ὁρίοις κειμένῳ ὀχύρωμα νεώτερόν τι ἐπιτεχνᾶσθαι, προτεινόμενοι Πέρσαι τὰς ἐπὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ ξυνθήκας ἐμπόδιοι τῷ ἔργῳ σπουδῇ τῇ πάσῃ ἐγίνοντο, καίπερ Οὐννικοῦ πολέμου πιεζόμενοι τῇ ἀσχολίᾳ. [6]Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀπαρασκεύους διὰ ταῦτα ὁρῶντες ὀξύτερον τῆς οἰκοδομίας ἀντελαμβάνοντο, προτερῆσαι διὰ σπουδῆς ἔχοντες πρὶν οἱ πολέμιοι τὴν πρὸς Οὔννους ἀγώνισιν διαλύσαντες ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἴωσιν.

[5]But since it was forbidden in the treaty which the Emperor Theodosius once concluded with the Persian nation, that either party should construct any new fortress on his own land where it bordered on the boundaries of the other nation, the Persians, citing the terms of the peace, tried with all their might to obstruct the work, though they were hard pressed by being involved in a war with the Huns. [6]So the Romans, observing that they were for this reason unprepared,

pressed on the work of building all more keenly, being anxious to get ahead of the enemy before they should finish their struggle with the Huns and come against them.

IX.019. Procopius, *De Bellis* 1, 21, 26–28: The Huns are feared by the Persians at Martyropolis

[26]ἐτύγχανε δὲ καὶ ἄγγελος ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων ἐς αὐτοὺς ἥκων, ὃς δὴ αὐτοῖς τετελευτηκέναι μὲν Καβάδην ἐσήγγελλε, Χοσρόην δὲ τὸν Καβάδου βασιλέα καταστῆναι Πέρσαις, ταύτῃ τε τὰ πράγματα ᾠωρῆσθαι σφίσι. [27]καὶ ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων λόγους οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἄσμενοι ἤκουσαν, ἅτε καὶ τὴν Οὔννων ἔφοδον δείσαντες. Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὖν ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ εὐθὺς ἔδοσαν Μαρτῖνόν τε καὶ τῶν Σίττα δορυφόρων ἕνα, Σενέκιον ὄνομα· Πέρσαι δὲ διαλύσαντες τὴν προσεδρείαν εὐθύωρον τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐποιήσαντο. [28]οἵ τε Οὖννοι οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐσβαλόντες εἰς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων, ἐπεὶ τὸν Περσῶν στρατὸν ἐνταῦθα οὐχ εὗρον, δι᾽ ὀλίγου τὴν ἐπιδρομὴν ποιησάμενοι ἐπ᾽ οἴκου ἀπεκομίσθησαν ἅπαντες.

[26]It happened also that a messenger came to them from the palace, who brought them word that Cabades had died and that Chosroes, son of Cabades, had become king over the Persians, and that in this way the situation had become unsettled. [27]And as a result on this the generals heard the words of the Romans gladly, since they feared also the attack of the Huns. The Romans therefore straightway gave as hostages Martinus and one of the body-guards of Sittas, Senecius by name; so the Persians broke up the siege and made their departure promptly. [28]And the Huns not long afterward invaded the land of the Romans, but since they did not find the Persian army there, they made their raid a short one, and then all departed homeward.

IX.020. Ioannes Lydus, *De magistratibus* 3, 52–53: Huns between Romans and Persians in the time of Anastasius

[52,1]Πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ὑπὸ λέοντι ἥλιον ἐν ἀρχῇ στενῇ τοῦ Καυκάσου, πρὸς βορέαν ἄνεμον κατὰ τὴν Κασπίαν χωριζομένων φύσει τῶν τοῦ Καυκάσου σφυρῶν, εἴσοδος ἀπετελέσθη βαρβάρων τοῖς ἀγνοουμένοις ἡμῖν τε καὶ Πέρσαις, οἳ περὶ τὴν Ὑρκανὴν νέμονται· δι᾽ ἧς εἰσβάλλοντες τά τε πρὸς εὖρον Πέρσαις, τά τε πρὸς βορέαν Ῥωμαίοις ἀνήκοντα ἐδῄουν. [2]καὶ ἕως μὲν Ἀρτάξατα καὶ ἔτι ἐπέκεινα εἶχον ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτοῖς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἀντέβαινον παρόντες ἐκεῖ· ὡς δὲ τούτων ἐξέστησαν καὶ ὅσων ἄλλων ἐπὶ Ἰοβιανοῦ, οὐκ ἐξήρκουν οἱ Πέρσαι τά τε ἑαυτῶν τά τε πάλαι Ῥωμαίων φρουρεῖν καὶ θόρυβος ἀεὶ τὰς ἑκατέρων Ἀρμενίας εἶχεν ἀφόρητος. [3]γίνονται δὴ οὖν λόγοι μετὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Ἰουλιανοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἀστοχίαν Σαλουτίῳ τε, ὃς ἦν ὕπαρχος, ἐξ ἡμῶν καὶ Περσῶν τοῖς ἐξοχωτάτοις καὶ Ἰσδιγέρδῃ ὕστερον, ὥστε κοιναῖς δαπάναις ἄμφω τὰ πολιτεύματα φρούριον ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρημένης εἰσόδου κατασκευάσαι, ἐπιστῆσαί τε βοήθειαν τοῖς τόποις πρὸς ἀναχαιτισμὸν τῶν κατατρεχόντων δι᾽ αὐτῆς βαρβάρων. [4]Ῥωμαίων δὲ τοῖς περὶ τὴν ἑσπέραν καὶ τὴν ἄρκτον πολέμοις ἐνοχλου μένων, οἱ Πέρσαι ἔσχον ἀνάγκην, οἷα προσεχέστεροι ταῖς τῶν

βαρβάρων ἐφόδοις, ἀντοικοδομεῖν φρούριον ἐκεῖ, Βιραπαράχ πατρίως αὐτὸ καλέσαντες, καὶ δυνάμεις ἐπέστησαν· καὶ πολέμιος οὐκ εἰσῄει.

[52,1]Because the ankle-spurs of the Caucasus are parted by nature towards the north wind by the Caspian Sea towards the sun when it rises under the constellation of Leo at the narrow beginning of the Caucasus, an entrance was formed for the barbarians who dwell around Hyrcania, unknown both to us and to the Persians. They would attack through that entrance and ravage both the areas towards the East that belonged to the Persians and the areas towards the North that belonged to the Romans. [2]And, as long as the Romans held Artaxata and even farther lands under their own authority, they used to march against them because they were present there; but, when they had given up possession of that territory and so much else during Jovian's reign, the Persians were not strong enough to guard both their own territory and that which formerly belonged to the Romans, and unbearable agitation constantly beset the Armenias of both sides. [3]Naturally, then, after the ill-success of the Romans during Julian's reign, discussions were held by both Salutius on our side, who was prefect, and the most eminent men of the Persians, and later Yazdegerd, to the effect that both governments with mutually shared expenses build a fort at the aforementioned entrance and set up a garrison in the area for curbing the barbarians who were pouring down through it. [4]Because, however, the Romans were being troubled with wars in the West and the North, the Persians, inasmuch as they were closer to the raids of the barbarians, were compelled to erect a bastion there against them, which they called *Biraparach* in their ancestral speech, and stationed forces, and no enemy intruded.

[53,1]Ἐκ ταύτης τῆς ἀφορμῆς οἱ Πέρσαι Ῥωμαίοις ἐπετέθησαν, κατὰ σμικρὸν ἐπὶ τὰς Συρίας καὶ Καππαδοκίας ἐκχεόμενοι, ὡς δῆθεν ἀδικούμενοι καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν γενομένην δαπάνην κατὰ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον Ῥωμαίοις ἀποστερούμενοι, ὥστε Σποράκιον τὸν πρῶτον ὑπὸ Θεοδοσίου τοῦ μείζονος ἐκπεμφθῆναι διαλεχθησόμενον Πέρσαις· ὁ δὲ δυνάμει τε χρημάτων καὶ συνέσει λόγων ἐγγὺς ἔπειθε Πέρσαις, Ῥωμαίων ὥσπερ χαριζομένων αὐτοῖς, ὑποφόρων Ῥωμαίων ἡσυχάζειν καὶ φίλους εἶναι. [2]καὶ ταῦτα ἕως τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἀναστασίου διεσύρη λαλούμενά τε καὶ τυπούμενα καὶ ἁπλῶς ἠρτημένα. ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ, Κωάδου τοῦ γέροντος ὅλην Περσίδα κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἄγοντος, γίνεται πόλεμος. καὶ χειρὶ μὲν νικᾶν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι δυνάμενοι, ἀσωτίᾳ δὲ καὶ τρυφῇ Ἀρεοβίνδου τοῦ τελευταίου (ἦν γὰρ φιλῳδὸς καὶ φίλαυλος καὶ φιλορχήμων) καὶ ἀπειρίᾳ καὶ δειλίᾳ Πατρικίου καὶ Ὑπατίου τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἠλαττώθησαν μὲν τὸ πρότερον, ἐξαπίνης τῶν Περσῶν ἐπιχεθέντων, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τούς τε Πέρσας διωξάντων καὶ Ἄμιδαν ἁλοῦσαν ῥυσαμένων αὖθις, ὁ Πέρσης λόγους ἐκίνησε πρὸς Κέλερα, ὃς ἦν μάγιστρος τῶν ⟨:θείων ὀφφικίων:⟩ τῷ Ἀναστασίῳ, περὶ Βιραπαράχ, ὡς προέφαμεν, καὶ τῆς κατὰ μόνας ὑπὸ Περσῶν γενομένης περὶ αὐτοῦ δαπάνης. [3]καὶ πέρας ἔσχεν ἡ φιλονεικία, μετρίων τινῶν ὑπὸ Ἀναστασίου χαρισθέντων Κωάδῃ· τὸ γὰρ μεγαλόφρον Ἀναστασίου καὶ εὐμέθοδον εὐσεβῶς τὴν ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης ζημίαν ὑπέμενεν. [4]τοιοῦτος μὲν οὖν ὁ περὶ τῶν Κασπίων πυλῶν τοῖς Ῥωμαίων συγγραφεῦσιν ὁ λόγος. Ἀρριανὸς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλανικῆς Ἱστορίας, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐπὶ τῆς ὀγδόης τῶν Παρθικῶν, ἀκριβέστερον διεξέρχεται, αὐτὸς τοῖς τόποις ἐπιστὰς οἷα τῆς χώρας αὐτῆς ἡγησάμενος ὑπὸ

Ἀδριανῷ[i] τῷ χρηστῷ. τοιούτους γὰρ ἄρχοντας ἐκεῖνος ἔσχεν, οἳ τοῖς τε λόγοις τοῖς τε ἔργοις εἰς τοσαύτην εὔκλειαν τήν τε πολιτείαν ἀνέστησαν.

[53,1]From this pretext the Persians, streaming forth little by little into the Syrias and Cappadocias, attacked the Romans for allegedly being wronged in consequence of being deprived of the Romans' share in the expense incurred for their common interests; consequently, the first Sporacius was dispatched by the elder Theodosius to confer with the Persians, and he by both might of money and sagacity in argument hard by the Persians attempted to persuade them, as if the Romans were conceding to them, to be at peace, if the Romans should pay tribute, and to be friends. [2]And this state of affairs dragged on down to the time of our Anastasius with both conferences and pacts, and, in a word, with suspensions. During his reign, however, a war occurred when the aged Kavadh led all Persia against the Romans. And, although the Romans were able to conquer by main force, yet because of the profligacy and wantonness of the last Areobindus (for he was fond of song, the flute, and dance) and the inexperience and cowardice of the generals Patricius and Hypatius, at first they were worsted, when the Persians had suddenly swooped down upon them, but thereafter, when they had both pursued the Persians and had again recovered Amida, after it had been captured, the Persian held discussions with Celer, whom Anastasius had as *magister* of the imperial *officia*, regarding Biraparach, as I indicated above, and the expense unilaterally incurred for it by the Persians. [3]And the dispute came to an end after some moderate concessions had been made to Kavadh by Anastasius, for Anastasius's magnanimity and adroitness piously endured loss on behalf of peace. [4]Such, then, is the account by the historians of the Romans concerning the Caspian Gates. Arrian discusses the latter rather accurately in his *History of the Alans*, and especially in Book VIII of his *Parthian Wars*, because he himself had been placed in charge of the area as governor of the very region under the upright Hadrian. For such magistrates had he as by both their words and their deeds elevated the state, too, to so great renown.

IX.021. Procopius, *De Bellis*: Justinian attempts to win the Huns' support

IX.021/A. Proc. *bell.* 2, 1, 12–15

[12]Χοσρόης δὲ ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς λελύσθαι πρὸς Ἰουστινιανοῦ τὰς σπονδὰς ἔφασκε, πολλὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἐς οἶκον τὸν αὐτοῦ ἄρτι ἐνδειξαμένου, οἷς δὴ ἑταιρίζεσθαι Ἀλαμούνδαρον ἐν σπονδαῖς ἐνεχείρησε. [13]Σοῦμμον γὰρ ἔναγχος ἐπὶ διαίτῃ δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ παρ' αὐτὸν ἥκοντα ἐπαγγελίαις αὐτὸν περιελθεῖν μεγάλων χρημάτων, ἐφ' ᾧ προσχωρήσει Ῥωμαίοις, γράμματά τε προΐσχετο, ἃ δὴ πρὸς Ἀλαμούνδαρον ὑπὲρ τούτων Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἔγραψε. [14]καὶ πρὸς Οὔννων δέ τινας ἰσχυρίζετο αὐτὸν ἐπιστολὴν πέμψαι, ἐγκελευομένην αὐτοῖς ἐσβαλεῖν τε ἐς τὴν Περσῶν γῆν καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνῃ χωρίοις ἐπὶ πλεῖστον λυμήνασθαι. ἦν δή οἱ τοὺς Οὔννους αὐτοὺς ἔφασκεν ἐγχειρίσαι ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθόντας. [15]ταῦτα

[i] Dubuisson and Schamp (2006): Τραιανῷ.

μὲν Χοσρόης ἐπικαλῶν Ῥωμαίοις τὰς σπονδὰς λύειν διενοεῖτο. εἰ μέντοι ταῦτα λέγοντί οἱ ἀληθίζεσθαι ξυνέβαινεν, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν.

[12]But Chosroes, the king of the Persians, claimed that the treaty had been broken by Justinian, who had lately displayed great opposition to his house, in that he had attempts in time of peace to attach Alamoundaras to himself. [13]For as he said, Summus, who had recently gone to the Saracen ostensibly to arrange matters, had hoodwinked him by promises of large sums of money on condition that he should join the Romans, and he brought forward a letter which, he alleged, the Emperor Justinian had written to Alamoundaras concerning these things. [14]He also declared that he had sent a letter to some of the Huns, in which he urged them to invade the land of the Persians and to do extensive damage to the country thereabout. This letter he asserted to have been put into his hands by the Huns themselves who had come before him. [15]So then Chosroes, with these charges against the Romans, was purposing to break off the treaty. But as to whether he was speaking the truth in these matters, I am not able to say.

IX.021/B. Proc. *bell.* 2, 3, 47

τό τε δὴ κεφάλαιον οὔπω λέλεκται. οὐκ Ἀλαμούνδαρον μὲν ἐν σπονδαῖς τὸν σὸν, ὦ κράτιστε βασιλεῦ, δοῦλον ἀπάτῃ τε περιελθεῖν καὶ βασιλείας ἀποστῆσαι τῆς σῆς ἔργον πεποίηται, Οὔννους δὲ τοὺς οὐδαμόθεν αὐτῷ γνωρίμους ἐπὶ τοῖς σοῖς ἔναγχος ἑταιρίζεσθαι πράγμασιν ἐν σπουδῇ ἔσχε;

But the chief thing has not yet been spoken. Has he not made efforts in time of peace to win over by deception thy slave, Alamoundaras, O most mighty King, and to detach him from thy kingdom, and has he not striven recently to attach to himself the Huns who are utterly unknown to him, in order to make trouble for thee?

IX.021/C. Proc. *bell.* 2, 10, 16

[16]Χοσρόης δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἰσχυρίζετο μὲν τὰς σπονδὰς πρὸς Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως λελύσθαι· καὶ τὰς αἰτίας κατέλεγεν ἅσπερ ἐκεῖνος παρέσχετο, τὰς μέν τινας καὶ λόγου ἀξίας, τὰς δὲ φαύλας τε καὶ οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ξυμπεπλασμένας. μάλιστα δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τοῦ πολέμου αἰτιωτάτας ἠξίου δεικνύναι πρός τε Ἀλαμούνδαρον καὶ Οὔννους αὐτῷ γεγραμμένας, καθάπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη.

[16]And Chosroes, upon hearing this, insisted that the treaty had been broken by the Emperor Justinian; and he enumerated the causes of war which the Emperor afforded, some of them of real importance and others idle and fabricated without any reason; most of all he wished to shew that the letters written by him to Alamoundaras and the Huns were the chief cause of war, just as I have stated above.

IX.022. Procopius, *De Bellis* 2, 16, 3f.: The war of the Huns with Chosroes

[3]οἱ μὲν οὖν κατάσκοποι ἐπανήκοντες οὐδεμίαν τῶν πολεμίων ἰσχυρίζοντο ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐσβολὴν ἔσεσθαι· πολέμου γὰρ Οὐννικοῦ ἀσχολίαν Χοσρόῃ ἑτέρωθι εἶναι. [4]Βελισάριος δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ αὐτίκα ἐσβάλλειν ἐς τῶν πολεμίων τὴν γῆν ἤθελε.

[3]Now the spies returned and declared that for the present there would be no invasion of the enemy; for Chosroes was occupied elsewhere with a war against the Huns. [4]And Belisarius, upon learning this, wished to invade the land of the enemy immediately with his whole army.

IX.023. Procopius, *Historia Arcana*: Justinian, Persians and Huns

IX.023/A. Proc. *hist. arc.* 2, 29

ἐτύγχανε δὲ καὶ στράτευμα Οὔννων ἐπὶ Ἀρμενίους τοὺς Ῥωμαίων κατηκόους ὁ Χοσρόης στείλας, ὅπως τῇ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀσχολίᾳ μηδεμία τοῖς ταύτῃ Ῥωμαίοις τῶν ἐν Λαζικῇ πρασσομένων αἴσθησις γένηται.

It happened also that Chosroes had sent an army of Huns against the Armenians who are subjects of the Romans, in order that by reason of their preoccupation with this force the Romans there might take no notice of what was going on in Lazica.

IX.023/B. Proc. *hist. arc.* 8, 5

Οὔννων γὰρ τοῖς ἀεὶ προστυγχάνουσι πλεῖστα ἐπὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ προΐετο: ἐξ οὗ δὴ ἐφόδοις ἀποκεῖσθαι συχναῖς ξυνέβαινε.

[5]For he kept squandering very great sums for service to the State on those of the Huns who chanced from time to time to meet him; and as a result of this the land of the Romans came to be exposed to frequent inroads.

IX.023/C. Proc. *hist. arc.* 11, 5–7

[5]εἰρήνης τοίνυν Ῥωμαίοις οὔσης ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπους οὐκ ἔχων ὅστις γένηται τῶν φόνων ἐπιθυμίᾳ πάντας βαρβάρους πρός [τε] ἀλλήλους ξυνέκρουε, τῶν δὲ Οὔννων τοὺς ἡγουμένους ἐξ αἰτίας οὐδεμιᾶς μετακαλῶν χρήματα μεγάλα σφίσιν ἀτόπῳ φιλοτιμίᾳ προΐετο, φιλίας ἐνέχυρα δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ ταῦτα ποιούμενος: ὅπερ αὐτὸν ἐρρήθη καὶ ὑπὸ τὸν χρόνον τῆς Ἰουστίνου βασιλείας πεποιηκέναι. [6]οἱ δὲ καὶ χρήματα κεκομισμένοι τῶν ξυναρχόντων τινὰς ξὺν τοῖς ἑπομένοις τοῖς αὐτῶν ἔπεμπον, καταθέειν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς γῆν τὴν βασιλέως κελεύοντες, ὅπως καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀπεμπολεῖν τῷ ταύτην ὠνεῖσθαι λόγῳ οὐδενὶ βουλομένῳ δυνατοὶ εἶεν. [7]καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα ἠνδραπόδιζόν τε τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν καὶ οὐδέν τι ἧσσον ἔμμισθοι πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐγίνοντο: ἕτεροι δὲ μετ᾽ ἐκείνους

εὐθὺς ἐς τὸ ληΐζεσθαι τοὺς ταλαιπώρους Ῥωμαίους καθίσταντο, καὶ μετὰ τὴν λείαν ἆθλα τῆς ἐφόδου τὴν βασιλέως φιλοτιμίαν ἐδέχοντο.

[5]So then, the Romans being at peace with the whole world, and he by reason of his lust for blood not knowing what to do with himself, Justinian kept bringing all the barbarians into collision with one another, and summoning the leaders of the Huns for no good reason, he handed over to them with amazing prodigality huge donatives, pretending that he was doing this as a pledge of friendship; indeed it was said that he had done this even during the period of Justinus's reign. [6]And they, even after having received money, would send some of their fellow-leaders together with their followers, bidding them overrun and ravage the Emperor's land, so that they too might be able to sell peace to the man who for no good reason wished to purchase it. [7]And these then began straightway to enslave the Roman Empire, and they nevertheless were receiving pay in the meantime from the Emperor; and after these, others promptly took over the business of plundering the hapless Romans, and after the pillage they would receive, as rewards for the attack, the Emperor's generous gifts.

IX.023/D. Proc. *hist. arc.* 11, 12

Καὶ Χοσρόῃ μὲν κεντηναρίων πλῆθος ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης προέμενος, αὐτογνωμονήσας δὲ οὐδενὶ λόγῳ αἰτιώτατος τοῦ λελύσθαι τὰς σπονδὰς γέγονεν, Ἀλαμούνδαρόν τε καὶ Οὔννους τοὺς Πέρσαις ἐνσπόνδους σπουδάζων τε καὶ διατεινόμενος ἑταιρίζεσθαι, ὅπερ μοι ἐν λόγοις τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀπαρακαλύπτως εἰρῆσθαι δοκεῖ.

And though he paid out to Chosroes huge sums of gold in return for peace, still, acting on his own judgment in a senseless way, he became the chief cause of the breaking of the truce by his intense eagerness to gain the alliance of Alamundarus and the Huns who are allied to the Persians, a matter which I believe to have been mentioned without concealment in the narrative referring to them.

IX.024. Menander frg. 6, 1 (Blockley): Chosroes's victories over the Huns

Ἐν δὲ δὴ ἑτέρᾳ ξυνελεύσει μεγαλαυχοῦντος τοῦ Ζὶχ καὶ ἐπὶ Χοσρόῃ βασιλεῖ κομπολογίᾳ χρωμένου φάσκοντός τε, ὡς ἀμαχώτατός τέ ἐστι καὶ νίκας περιεβάλετο πολλὰς καὶ ὡς, ἐξ οὗ χρόνου τὴν κίδαριν ἀνεδήσατο, ἀμφὶ τὰ δέκα ἔθνη καταγωνισάμενος κατέστησεν ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγήν, καὶ ὅτι τὴν τῶν Ἐφθαλιτῶν κατεστρέψατο δύναμιν καὶ μὲν οὖν βασιλεῖς ἐχειρώσατο πλείστους, καὶ ὡς ἄγανταί τε αὐτὸν καὶ τεθήπασιν οἱ ἐκείνῃ βάρβαροι, καὶ ὡς κατὰ τὸ προσῆκον καὶ οὐκ ἀπεικὸς αὐτῷ ἡ ἐπωνυμία κεκόμψευται τὸ βασιλέα προσαγορεύεσθαι βασιλέων, […].

At the following meeting the Zikh began to boast and exalt king Khosro, saying that he was invincible and adorned with many victories; that from the time when he had assumed the tiara, he had conquered about ten peoples and made them tributary; that he had destroyed the power of the Ephthalites and had defeated very many kings; that the barbarians there were in wonderment and awe of him; and that properly and rightly he was proclaimed king of kings […].

IX.025. Theophylact 7, 7, 6–7, 8, 11: The Scythian excursus

[7,6]Ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεὶ περὶ τῶν Σκυθῶν τῶν πρὸς τῷ Καυκάσῳ τῶν τε πρὸς βορρᾶν τετραμμένων μνήμην ἐποιησάμεθα, φέρε δή, φέρε τὰ παρηκολουθηκότα κατὰ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους τοῖς μεγίστοις ἔθνεσι τούτοις ὥσπερ ἐμβόλιμά τινα διηγήματα τὴν ἱστορίαν μεσολαβήσαντες παραθώμεθα. [7]θέρους ἐνεστῶτος κατὰ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ὁ πρὸς τῇ ἕῳ ὑπὸ τῶν Τούρκων Χαγάνος ὑμνούμενος πρέσβεις ἐξέπεμψε Μαυρικίῳ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι, ἐπιστολήν τε συντεταχὼς ἐπινίκια ἐνεχάραττεν ἐν αὐτῇ. [8]ἡ δὲ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἐπιγραφὴ εἶχεν ἐπὶ λέξεως οὕτως “τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὁ Χαγάνος ὁ μέγας δεσπότης ἑπτὰ γενεῶν καὶ κύριος κλιμάτων τῆς οἰκουμένης ἑπτά.” τῷ ὄντι γὰρ τὸν ἐθνάρχην τῶν Ἀβδελῶν (φημὶ δὴ τῶν λεγομένων Ἐφθαλιτῶν) καταπολεμήσας οὗτος αὐτὸς ὁ Χαγάνος ἐνίκησε τήν τε τοῦ ἔθνους ἀρχὴν περιεβάλετο. [9]ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τοίνυν εἰς μέγα ἀρθεὶς καὶ τὸν Στεμβισχάδαν σύμμαχον ποιησάμενος τὸ τῶν Ἀβάρων ἔθνος κατεδουλώσατο. ἀλλὰ μή τις οἰέσθω παριστορεῖν ἡμᾶς τὰ κατὰ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους Ἀβάρους εἶναι διανοούμενος τοὺς ἀνὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην καὶ τὴν Παννονίαν προσοικοῦντας βαρβάρους, καὶ τούτων τὴν ἄφιξιν πρεσβυτέραν γενέσθαι τῶν χρόνων Μαυρικίου τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος. [10]ψευδωνύμως γὰρ Ἀβάρων προσηγορίαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἴστρον περιεβάλοντο βάρβαροι· ὅθεν δὲ τὸ γένος αὐτοῖς, ὅσον οὔπω εἰρήσεται. ἡττηθέντων γοῦν τῶν Ἀβάρων, (πρὸς γὰρ τὸν λόγον ἐπάνιμεν) οἱ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς κατέχοντας τὴν Ταυγὰστ τὰς ἀποφυγὰς ἐποιήσαντο. [11]ἡ δὲ Ταυγὰστ πόλις ἐπιφανής, τῶν τε λεγομένων Τούρκων ἀπῴκισται χιλίοις πρὸς τοῖς πεντακοσίοις σημείοις· αὐτὴ ὅμορος καθέστηκε τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν Ταυγὰστ αὐλιζόμενοι βάρβαροι ἔθνος ἀλκιμώτατον καὶ πολυανθρωπότατον, καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἔθνεσι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος ἀπαράλληλον. [12]ἕτεροι τῶν Ἀβάρων διὰ τὴν ἧτταν πρὸς ταπεινοτέραν ἀποκλίναντες τύχην παραγίνονται πρὸς τοὺς λεγομένους Μουκρί. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἔθνος πλησιέστατον πέφυκε τῶν Ταυγάστ, ἀλκὴ δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς παρατάξεις πολλὴ διά τε τὰ ἐκ τῶν γυμνασίων ὁσημέραι μελετήματα διά τε τὴν περὶ τοὺς κινδύνους τῆς ψυχῆς ἐγκαρτέρησιν.

[7,6]But since we have made reference to the Scythians, both those in the Caucasus and those who face northwards, come then, come, let us interrupt our history and present, like an intercalated narrative, the events which attended these very great nations during these times. [7] When summer had arrived in this particular year, he who is celebrated by the Turks as Chagan in the east, dispatched ambassadors to the emperor Maurice; he composed a letter and inscribed in it victory-praises. [8]The letter’s salutation was as follows, word for word: “To the king of the Romans, the Chagan, the great lord of seven races and master of seven zones of the world.” For this very Chagan had in fact outfought the leader of the nation of the Abdeli (I mean indeed, of the Hephthalites, as they are called), conquered him, and assumed the rule of the nation. [9]Then he was greatly elated at the victory and, making an alliance with Stembischagan, he enslaved the Avar nation. But let no one think that we are distorting the history of these times because he supposes that the Avars are those barbarians neighbouring on Europe and Pannonia, and that their arrival was prior to the times of the emperor Maurice. [10]For it is by a misnomer that the barbarians on

the Ister have assumed the appellation of Avars; the origin of their race will shortly be revealed. So, when the Avars had been defeated (for we are returning to the account), some of them made their escape to those who inhabit Taugast. [11]Taugast is a famous city, which is a total of one thousand five hundred miles distant from those who are called Turks, and which borders on the Indians. The barbarians whose abode is near Taugast are a very brave and numerous nation, and without rival in size among the nations of the world. [12]Others of the Avars, who declined to humbler fortune because of their defeat, came to those who are called Mucri; this nation is the closest neighbour to the men of Taugast; it has great might in battle both because of its daily practice of drill and because of endurance of spirit in danger.

[7,13]ἐπιβαίνει τοίνυν καὶ ἑτέρας ἐγχειρήσεως ὁ Χαγάνος, καὶ τοὺς Ὀγὼρ ἐχειρώσατο πάντας. ἔθνος δὲ τοῦτο τῶν ἰσχυροτάτων καθέστηκε διά τε τὴν πολυανδρίαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἔνοπλον ἄσκησιν. οὗτοι δὲ πρὸς ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς τὰς οἰκήσεις ποιοῦνται, ἔνθα ὁ Τὶλ διαρρεῖ ποταμός, ὃν Μέλανα Τούρκοις ἀποκαλεῖν <ἔθος>. [14]οἱ δὲ τούτου τοῦ ἔθνους παλαίτατοι ἔξαρχοι Οὐὰρ καὶ Χουννὶ ὠνομάζοντο· ἐκ τούτων καί τινα τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐκείνων τὴν ὀνομασίαν ἀπεκληρώσαντο Οὐὰρ καὶ Χουννὶ ὀνομαζόμενα. [8,1]Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοίνυν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τὸ βασίλειον κράτος ἐπέχοντος, ἐκ τούτων τῶν Οὐὰρ καὶ Χουννὶ ὀλίγη ἀποδράσασα μοῖρα τοῦ ἀρχεγόνου φύλου ἐκείνου ἐνδημεῖ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ. [2]οὗτοι Ἀβάρους ἑαυτοὺς ὀνομάσαντες τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῇ τοῦ Χαγάνου προσηγορίᾳ φαιδρύνουσιν. ὅθεν αὐτοῖς ὁ τρόπος πρὸς μετάθεσιν ὀνομάτων ἐχώρησεν, λέξωμεν τῆς ἀληθείας κατὰ μηδὲν ἀφιστάμενοι. [3]Βαρσὴλτ καὶ Οὐννουγοῦροι καὶ Σαβίροι Οὐννικά τε πρὸς τούτοις ἕτερα ἔθνη, ὁπηνίκα τῶν Οὐὰρ καὶ Χουννὶ ἔτι ἀπόμοιραν κατὰ τοὺς τόπους αὐτῶν ἀποδιδράσκουσαν ἐθεάσαντο, εἰς μέγιστον καταπίπτουσι φόβον, ὑποτοπήσαντες Ἀβάρους ὑπεῖναι τοὺς ἐνδημήσαντας. [4]διὰ τοῦτο δώροις λαμπροῖς τοὺς φυγάδας τιμήσαντες ἔδοξαν ἀντιλαμβάνειν παρ' αὐτῶν τὴν ἀβλάβειαν. οἱ τοίνυν Οὐὰρ καὶ Χουννὶ ὡς εἶδον τὴν τῆς ἀποφυγῆς ἐπιδέξιον ἔναρξιν, τὴν πλάνην τῶν πρεσβευσαμένων οἰκειωσάμενοι Ἀβάρους ἑαυτοὺς κατωνόμασαν· λέγεται γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι τοῖς Σκυθικοῖς τὸ τῶν Ἀβάρων ὑπεῖναι ἐντρεχέστατον φῦλον. [5]ἀμέλει τοι καὶ μέχρι τῶν χρόνων τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς οἱ Ψευδάβαροι (λέγειν γὰρ οὕτως αὐτοὺς οἰκειότερον) ταῖς γενεαρχίαις διῄρηνται, καὶ οἱ μὲν Οὐὰρ ἀρχαιοπρεπῶς ὀνομάζονται, οἱ δὲ Χουννὶ προσαγορεύονται.

[7,13]Then the Chagan embarked on yet another enterprise, and subdued all the Ogur, which is one of the strongest tribes on account of its large population and its armed training for war. These make their habitations in the east, by the course of the river Til, which Turks are accustomed to call Melas. [14]The earliest leaders of this nation were named Var and Chunni; from them some parts of those nations were also accorded their nomenclature, being called Var and Chunni. [8,1]Then, while the emperor Justinian was in possession of the royal power, a small section of these Var and Chunni fled from that ancestral tribe and settled in Europe. [2]These named themselves Avars and glorified their leader with the appellation of Chagan. Let us declare, without departing in the least from the truth, how the means of changing their name came to them. [3]When the Barselt, Onogurs, Sabir and other Hun nations in addition to these, saw that a section of those who were still Var and Chunni had fled to their regions, they plunged into

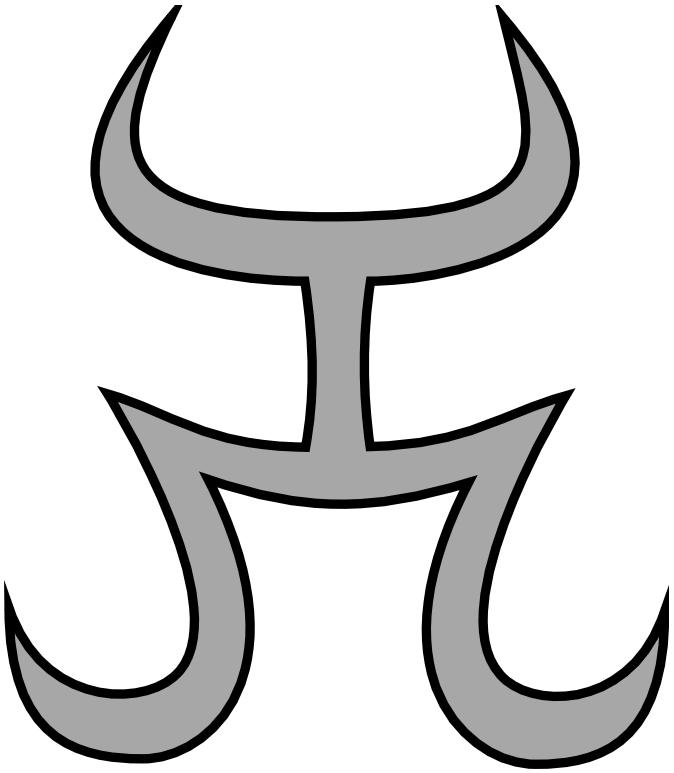
extreme panic, since they suspected that the settlers were Avars. [4]For this reason they honoured the fugitives with splendid gifts and supposed that they received from them security in exchange. Then, after the Var and Chunni saw the well-omened beginning of their flight, they appropriated the ambassadors' error and named themselves Avars: for among the Scythian nations that of the Avars is said to be the most adept tribe. [5]In point of fact even up to our present times the Pseudo-Avars (for it is more correct to refer to them thus) are divided in their ancestry, some bearing the time-honoured name of Var while others are called Chunni.

[8,6]ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ περὶ τῶν Ψευδαβάρων ὡς ἐν ἐπιτομῇ διεξήλθομεν, πρὸς τὰ συνεχῆ τῆς ἱστορίας τὴν ἔκθεσιν ποιησώμεθα. τοῦ τοίνυν Ὀγὼρ λίαν ἐγκρατῶς νενικημένου, τὸν τοῦ Κὸλχ ἐθνάρχην στόματι ῥομφαίας ὁ Χαγάνος παρέδωκεν. [7]ἀναιροῦνται τοίνυν ἐκ τούτου δῆτα τοῦ ἔθνους κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον μυριάδες τριάκοντα, ὡς ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν τεττάρων ἐπέχειν τὴν τῶν καταπεπτωκότων σωμάτων συνέχειαν. [8]οὕτω δῆτα τῆς νίκης τῷ Χαγάνῳ μειδιώσης ἐπιφανῶς, συγκροτεῖται τοῖς Τούρκοις ἐμφύλιος πόλεμος. ἀνήρ τις Τουροὺμ ὀνομαζόμενος, πρὸς γένος καθεστὼς τῷ Χαγάνῳ, νεωτερίσας δυνάμεις μεγάλας συνήθροισεν. [9]ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τὴν μάχην τὰ τοῦ τετυραννηκότος ἦν ἐγκρατέστερα, πρεσβεύεται ὁ Χαγάνος πρὸς ἑτέρους τρεῖς μεγάλους Χαγάνους· ταῦτα δὲ τούτοις ὀνόματα, Σπαρζευγοῦν καὶ Κουναξολὰν καὶ Τουλδίχ. [10]συναθροισθείσης τοίνυν τῆς ὅλης ἐκτάξεως εἰς τὸ Ἰκὰρ (χῶρος δὲ οὗτος πεδίοις ἐνειλημένος μεγάλοις), τῶν τε ἀντιθέτων κατὰ τοῦτον δῆτα τὸν τόπον ἀντιταξαμένων ἡρωϊκῶς, πίπτει ὁ τύραννος καὶ εἰς φυγὴν αἱ συμμαχοῦσαι δυνάμεις ἐξέκλιναν, καὶ πολλοῦ γενομένου τοῦ φόνου πάλιν κύριος τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ὁ Χαγάνος χώρας ἐγένετο. [11]τούτων τῶν ἐπινικίων τὴν μήνυσιν διὰ τῶν πρέσβεων ὁ Χαγάνος πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Μαυρίκιον ἐπεποίητο.

[8,6]But since we have, as it were, summarily detailed this information about the Pseudo-Avars, let us move our exposition towards the continuity of the narrative. Then, after the Ogur had been quite soundly defeated, the Chagan handed over to the jaws of the sword the ruler of the nation of Kolch. [7]Then three hundred thousand of this particular tribe were slain in the battle, so that the continuous line of fallen corpses extended for a four days' journey. [8]While indeed victory was thus gloriously smiling on the Chagan, the Turks clashed in civil war. A certain man named Turum, who was connected to the Chagan by birth, revolted and collected great forces. [9]When the usurper's party had gained the upper hand in battle, the Chagan sent an embassy to three other great Chagans. These were their names: Sparzeugun, Kunaxolan and Tuldich. [10]Then, after their whole array had assembled at the Ikar (this is a place enfolded in great plains), and their opponents had valiantly arrayed themselves in opposition at that particular place, the usurper fell, and his allied forces veered away in flight; after much slaughter the Chagan again became the master of his own territory. [11]The Chagan had made a declaration of these triumphs to the emperor Maurice via the ambassadors.

X. Indic Sources

Hans Bakker, Csaba Dezső, Gergely Hidas and Dániel Balogh



Introduction

Hans Bakker

Literary sources

The second book of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Sabhāparvan* or *Book of the Assembly Hall*, represents, by general consensus, a deep layer of epic memory. It describes the source of Duryodhana's envy, the actual cause of the Kaurava–Pāṇḍava war, when he sees subservient princes and tributaries queueing up before the gates of the palace of his cousin Yudhiṣṭhira in the capital Indraprastha, where they have assembled in order to pledge allegiance by offering precious gifts, despite the fact that these tributaries are denied entrance.

Among the foreigners lining up are legendary peoples such as three-eyed beings, cyclops and cannibals.[i] Then, after the one-footed people who brought swift horses, Duryodhana mentions a group of more historic yet exotic peoples living at the fringes of the epic world and beyond: the Cīnas, the Hūṇas, the Śakas, and the mountain-dwelling Oḍras (or: Oḍras and those living in the mountains). People of an apparently more inner ring are mentioned next: the Vārṣṇeyas, the Hārahūṇas, and the dark inhabitants of the Himālaya.[ii]

Though somewhat of a mishmash, this passage allows us an insight into the outer world as seen from the perspective of the Gangetic Plain in the first centuries of the Common Era. The Cīnas and the Hūṇas, who may represent Han China and the Xiongnu, belong to this world. The commodities said to be brought from Bāhlī (Balkh) and Cīna are horses, asses, hides, and fabrics of wool, cotton and silk (*kīṭaja*).[iii] This *Book of the Assembly Hall*, which also mentions Rome and Antioch (Antākhī),[iv] thus seems to belong to the times when the Kuṣāṇa Empire connected the trading worlds of Rome, China and Central Asia with India.

The Hārahūṇas are clearly distinguished from the Hūṇas. They are said to have been subjected to Pāṇḍava rule, together with the Ramaṭhas and other princes of the West, by Yudhiṣṭhira's brother Nakula, and they are mentioned again in the third book of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Vanaparvan*, along with the people living in Sindh, Tokharistan (Bactria) and China.[v] The second chapter of the Indian Book of State, the *Arthaśāstra*, which might be more or less contemporaneous with the epic source (2nd century CE), knows Hārahūra and Kāpiśī as wine-growing regions.[vi] Hārahūraka or Hāramūrtika, variants of Hārahūṇaka[vii]—these words may all refer to a people and

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[i] *MBh* 2.47.15–18: *dvyakṣāṃs tryakṣāṁl lalāṭākṣān nānādigbhyaḥ samāgatān| auṣṇīṣān anivāsāṃś ca bāhukān puruṣādakān‖15‖ ekapādāṃś ca tatrāham apaśyaṃ dvāri vāritān| balyarthaṃ dadatas tasmai hiraṇyaṃ rajataṃ bahu‖16‖ indragopakavarṇābhāñ śukavarṇān manojavān| tathaivendrāyudhanibhān saṃdhyābhrasadṛśān api‖17‖ anekavarṇān āraṇyān gṛhītvāśvān manojavān| jātarūpam anarghyaṃ ca dadus tasyaikapādakāḥ‖18‖*

[ii] See Text X.001/C.

[iii] *MBh* 2.47.21–22: *kṛṣṇagrīvān mahākāyān rāsabhāñ śatapātinaḥ| āhārṣur daśasāhasrān vinītān dikṣu viśrutān‖21‖ pramāṇarāgasparśāḍhyaṃ bāhlīcīnasamudbhavam| aurṇaṃ ca rāṅkavaṃ caiva kīṭajaṃ paṭṭajaṃ tathā‖22‖*

[iv] *MBh* 2.28.49.

[v] See Texts X.001/B and X.001/D.

[vi] See Text X.025.

[vii] See Text X.002/B.

region on either side of the Sulaiman Mountains, though it seems unlikely that we are actually concerned with a Hunnic people, for the simple reason that the Huns had not yet arrived in that region by the second century.[i] That the word refers to 'Red Huns,' as argued by Sir Harold Bailey (1954), appears to me insufficiently substantiated, nor is van Buitenen's rendering by 'Robber Huns' (in the translation of Text X.001/C) very plausible.

If we move on to fifth-century sources, the image of the Hūṇas becomes better defined, since the Huns had appeared on the North-Indian horizon. Kālidāsa refers to the custom of Hūṇa ladies, living on the banks of the Oxus River (Vaṅkṣu), to cut their cheeks when mourning their husbands.[ii] The satirical monologue *Pādatāḍitaka* refers to a Hunnish horse and its caparison,[iii] and the fifth-century *Viṣṇupurāṇa* locates the Hūṇas within India itself, between the Sauvīra People of Sindh and the Sālvas living in Śākala, i.e. Sialkot in the Pakistani Punjab.[iv]

Herewith a new historically defined orientation was introduced: in the course of the fifth century the textual sources locate the Hūṇas in the North—in other words within South Asia—rather than in the West, i.e. Afghanistan and beyond, since they had become part of the Indian world. This is apparent, for instance, from a reconstructed old Purāṇa text styled *Bhuvanavinyāsa* or *Das Purāṇa vom Weltgebäude* (Kirfel 1954), in which the Huns are grouped with the Kāśmīras and Cūlikas, among other people, in the North.[v]

Varāhamihira, writing in the middle of the sixth century, distinguished between the so-called White Huns (*sitahūṇa* or *śvetahūṇa*) and the Hūṇas among the peoples in the North; the former are grouped with the Pahlavas, Avagāṇas and the Desert Cīnas,[vi] whereas the latter are found together with, for example, the Mālavas, Pauravas and Gāndhāras.[vii] Varāhamihira's rendering of foreign nations and their residential areas thus reflects the historical reality of the first half of the sixth century, when Alchon Hūṇas operated from Gandhāra and the Punjab, and Hephthalites or 'White Huns' occupied the eastern parts of the Sasanian empire, Bactria and Central Asia.

And finally Bāṇa, the famous chronicler of King Harṣavardhana of Kanauj, writing in the first half of the seventh century, in a travesty of roles could style the King of Thanesar, Harṣa's father Prabhākaravardhana, "a lion to the Hūṇa deer,"[viii] as he sends Harṣa's elder brother, Rājyavardhana, on an expedition against the Hūṇas in the north: "As the lion [i.e. Prabhākaravardhana], master of the deer, dispatches his cub [i.e. Rājyavardhana] against the deer."[ix]

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[i] Varāhamihira mentions the Hārahaura king immediately after the Sindhusauvīra and before the Madra king (Text X.026). Trautmann (1971, 183–84) disproves, mainly for chronological reasons, the connection of the Hūṇas to the Hārahūṇas.

[ii] See Text X.015.

[iii] See Text X.019.

[iv] See Text X.002/A

[v] *Weltgebäude* 116, 42–43 = *VāP* 45.120–21 & *BḍP* 1.16.51–52; see Text X.002/B.

[vi] See Texts X.004/A and X.004/C.

[vii] See Text X.004/B. A similar verse in *śloka* metre, possibly the source of Varāhamihira, is found in *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* 58.45: *āmbāla mālavā madrā veṇukāḥ savadantikāḥ| piṅgalā mānakalahā* ***hūṇāḥ*** *kohalakās tathā‖*

[viii] See Text X.016/A.

[ix] See Text X.016/B; cf. Bakker (2014, 74).

A rare case of historic information regarding the Hūṇas in Indian literature might have been preserved in a Prakrit text composed in CE 779 by Uddyotana Sūri, the Jaina romance *Kuvalayamālā* (*KM*).

> On the banks of that (Candrabhāya River) is the famous Pavvaïyā, decorated with precious stones, where the illustrious King Tora resided while ruling the earth. His *guru* was the venerable Harigupta of the Gupta lineage. At the time he accommodated him in that city (*nayarī*).[i]

The illustrious King Tora is generally assumed to be the Alchon king Toramāṇa.[ii] His residence Pavvaïyā, Sanskrit Parvatikā (*nagarī*)—which means "Hill City," or capital of the Parvata country—is said to be situated along the banks of the Candrabhāgā, i.e. the Chenab River. About Harigupta and his relationship with the Gupta dynasty we know next to nothing. Uddyotana Sūri makes him the fountainhead of his own lineage of Jaina preceptors (*dīkṣāguru-paramparā*), so he may have been a Jain monk.[iii]

Taking our cue from the name Pavvaïyā, we may look for its location to the region where the Chenab River emerges from the Himalayan foothills.[iv] To be plausible as a possible identification the site should have demonstrable Gupta and Hūṇa associations. Such a place does exist. In virtue of the results of extensive archaeological exploration by the Archaeological Survey of India in Akhnūr (Jammu) and adjacent Ambaran (in particular the hamlet of Pambarwān) in 1961–3, 1973 and 1999–2001,[v] I would like to advance the hypothesis that King Tora's Parvatikā known from the Jaina text is to be located in this area around Akhnūr, where the Chenab Valley ends in the fertile plains of the Punjab, 165 km east of Kurā, the findspot of Toramāṇa's inscription. The modern toponym Pambarwān may or may not preserve the Middle-Indic Pavvaïyā, a place that the *Kuvalayamālā* styled a *nagarī*; it may have been part of an ancient urban centre that Toramāṇa had made his headquarters and which served as the capital of a country that was called Parvata.[vi]

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[i] See Text X.017.

[ii] Mehta (1928, 34); Upādhye (1970, 99); Chojnacki (2008, 2: 771 n. 2352). Cf. Mitra (1957, 254), "Torarāya is merely a non-descript *rājā*."

[iii] *Kuvalayamālā* p. 282 vv. 4–18. According to this *paramparā* (v. 8ab) the great poet Devagupta was Harigupta's student: *tassa visisso payaḍo mahākaī devaüttaṇāmo tti*. It is very unlikely that this Harigupta, being a common name, is the same the Mahārāja Harigupta known from some copper coins found in Ahicchatra (Allan 1914, lxi, 152).

[iv] Cf. *ViP* 2.2.10: *śatadrūcandrabhāgādyāḥ himavatpādaniḥsṛtāḥ*. The editor of the *KM*, Upādhye (1970, 100ff), following a lead by Dashrath Sharma, hesitantly connects Pavvaïyā with Pābiya (or Bābiah), also called Chachpūr (?), a fort mentioned in the *Čāč-nāma* (Elliot 1867–77, I/138, 140, 366; cf., however, Fredunbeg's translation at https://persian.packhum.org/), which Upādhye identified with modern Chāchar in Sindh; he remarks: "The only difficulty, I feel, is that Pābiya, in Elliot's extracts, is often described as 'south of the river Bīās,' 'on the southern bank of the Bīās' etc." Cf. Chojnacki (2008, II: 771 n. 2352), following Upādhye: "Parvatikā pourrait correspondre à l' actuelle Chachar à la jonction de la Chenab et de l'Indus." The identification of Parvatikā with Pābiya or Bābiah is spurious and its location in Sindh is very unlikely indeed; cf. Bakker (2014, 115ff).

[v] IAR 1961–62, 16ff.; IAR 1962–63, 9; IAR 1973–74, 14; IAR 1999–2000, 52; IAR 2000–01, 60; ABIA (Pieris and Raven 2010: §3-413).

[vi] *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 4.2.143 and 4.3.93, cited by Bhandarkar (1872, 23).

These headquarters were, if our hypothesis is correct, *c.* 50 km north of the ancient Śākala, modern Sialkot in Pakistani Punjab. The fortified town of Śākala in the kingdom of Zhejia (Ṭakka),[i] was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang, who reports that it had once been the capital of Toramāṇa's son Mihirakula.[ii] Elsewhere, in Book 11, Xuanzang describes the country of Bofaduo or Parvata, of which he says that it is: "densely populated and [is] subject to the country of Ṭakka" (Zhejia). This country Parvata is said to lie 700 *li* to the northeast of Mūlasthānapura, i.e. Multān, and is evidently a province of the Kingdom of Zhejia; geographically speaking, it seems to correspond roughly to the region around Sialkot.[iii]

It has to be admitted, however, that despite all this literary information, we would be completely in the dark as to who these Hūṇa people were and what role they played in Indian history if we did not possess epigraphic and numismatic evidence.

Epigraphic sources

The condition of Indian sources regarding the Huns is in marked contrast with the adjacent region of Central Asia, for which we hardly have any epigraphic evidence and where our knowledge of Kidarites and Hephthalites is dependent on literary sources written in a plethora of languages. A solid basis for historic knowledge common to both regions is provided by numismatic and sigillary sources, a basis, again, which is conspicuous by its absence in the case of the European Huns.

The epigraphic sources relating to Hunnic peoples in South-Asia may be divided into three main categories: 1) inscriptions of their enemies who claim victory over the Hūṇas;[iv] 2) inscriptions of their subordinates who acknowledge Hunnic overlordship;[v] 3) inscriptions that may be attributed to the Hunnic rulers themselves and their close allies.[vi] The last category includes the Schøyen Copper Scroll (Text X.030), which constitutes a unique written source of Hunnic history and is datable to the last decade of the fifth century.

As I have argued on several occasions, following Étienne de La Vaissière's initial refutation of Gudrun Melzer's location north of the Hindu Kush, this scroll belongs to the Punjab and informs us of the early years of Toramāṇa when he was still part of an Alchon quadrumvirate, at the eve of the Hunnic invasion into the Gupta Empire.

The British Museum silver bowl from Swat (Text X.029) attests the early form of such a quadrumvirate in the first half of the fifth century, when Hunnic power was still divided among

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[i] This kingdom is said to stretch from the Beas river in the east to the Indus in the west (R. Li 1996, 97; Beal 1884, I: 165). See also Text I.086 on Zhejia; cf. *Rājataraṅgiṇī* 5.150 (Text X.014/J) and Stein's note cited there.

[ii] R. Li 1996, 97; Beal 1884, I: 167, Mo-hi-lo-kiu-lo.

[iii] R. Li 1996, 306; Beal 1884, II: 275. The capital of Parvata is described as a place of culture, the learning of whose inhabitants "is deep and broad and they believe in both heterodoxy [i.e. Jainism] and orthodoxy [i.e. Buddhism]."

[iv] To this category I assign Texts X.027, X.028, X.036 and X.038 to X.042. Text X.035, though it does not mention Toramāṇa explicitly and admits defeat rather than victory, could also be subsumed under this category.

[v] To this category I assign Texts X.032 to X.034.

[vi] To this category I assign Texts X.029 to X.031 and X.037. The Kabul Inscription of Ṣāhi Khiṅgāla (Text X.043) could also be attributed to this category, although this inscription seems to pertain to one of the later 'Alchon–Nezak' rulers of Kāpiśī (Kabul Valley) of the 7th century whose ethnic identity is disputed (see Kuwayama 2002, 249–59 and Minoru Inaba's commentary to Text I.090).

Kidara and Alchon warlords, including a prince named Khiṅgi, who might or might not be identical to the Khi(ṅ)gi who issued the early coin types bearing that name.[i]

An Alchon quadrumvirate ruling Gandhāra and the Punjab is corroborated by the common coinage, 'Gemeinschaftsprägung' according to Matthias Pfisterer, of *rāja* Lakhāna, *ṣāhi* Mehama, *ṣāhi* Javūkha, and *devaṣāhi* Khiṅgila. In the scroll Toramāṇa replaces Lakhāna and takes over the title *devaṣāhi/devarāja* from Khiṅgila. The constellation recalls the polity of the five *yabghu*s, who divided and ruled the land of the Yuezhi above the Amu Darya river before they were united in the Kuṣāṇa kingdom by Kujula Kadphises in *c.* CE 30.

The copper scroll thus gives us insight into how Alchon power was organized in the north-west of the Subcontinent in the 490s. Khiṅgila and his successor Toramāṇa ruled as sovereigns in the Gandhāra–Punjab region, while parts of this and adjacent territories were controlled by other Alchon *ṣāhis*, Mehama and Javūkha. On a lower level local princes governed as feudatories, apparently including descendants of the Kuṣāṇas, such as the Devaputra King of Tālagāna, son of Opanda. The scroll testifies to matrimonial relations of these ruling houses with local centres of power, such as Sārada, the Neelum Valley in north-west Kashmir, which may have been under the control of *mahāṣāhi* Mehama under whose authority the building of the *stūpa* took place in Śārdīysa.[ii] The scroll further evinces that by the end of the fifth century the Alchon rulers were firmly established in Indian culture and were engaged in governing Indian religious institutions, Buddhism in particular.

Another epigraphic document of category 3 throws light on the military organisation of the Alchon conquest. The *Gwalior Stone Inscription of Mihirakula, Year 15* (Text X.037) was found in the Hill Fort of Gwalior (Gopagiri), which controls the entrance to the Betwā Valley. This valley gave access to the capitals of Vidiśā and Ujjayinī and was more than once the scene of pitched battles between the Hūṇa and Indian kingdoms.[iii]

The sun temple in which the inscription had been found no longer exists today; it may have been the successor of the original temple dedicated to the Sun (Bhānu) founded by Mātṛceṭa, who was living in the fort (*parvatadurga*). Mātṛceṭa was one of the people who were said to reside there owing to (*prasādena*) King Mihirakula; these people are mentioned as the beneficiaries sharing in the merit of the foundation. The newly founded Sun Temple may therefore have been a place of worship of the Hūṇa garrison in the fort.

In view of the Iranian connections of the Alchon—instanced by the very name of the king, Mihirakula, 'Family(?) of Mihira,' that is of Mithra—I consider it not unlikely that a contingent of the garrison had an Iranian background, whose religious needs were served by a temple that housed a blend of the sun gods of Iran and India— Mithra and Sūrya—just as Mithraea are found in Roman legionary stations.

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[i] The early coins of Khiṅgi(la), G 44, 57 (Pfisterer 2013, 240, 247) show an elongated skull, which does not necessarily mean, however, that the effigy reflects the specific traits of Prince Khiṅgi; it may represent the corporate identity of the Alchons.

[ii] See Bakker (2018) for a detailed argumentation.

[iii] See Bakker (2017).

To conclude, an unexpected issue proceeds from our inquiry. In none of the inscriptions belonging to category 3, nor in those that belong to 2, in which Toramāṇa's suzerainty is acknowledged, does the word *hūṇa* feature. This is different in the Sanskrit literary sources and the inscriptions of category 1. In CE 515 the Aulikara king Prakāśadharman of Daśapura (Mandasor) claims to have nullified in the battlefield the title "Overlord," *adhirāja*, of the *hūṇādhipa*, i.e. Hun commander, Toramāṇa (X.010 v. 16). In the *Sondhni Pillar Inscription* (X.013 v. 4) his successor Yaśodharman boasts of reigning over countries that had not even been reached by the Hūṇa commanders (*hūṇādhipa*). This outcome not only sustains our categorization, it seems also to lend support to the view that the Sanskrit word *hūṇa* had a pejorative connotation.

X.1. Literary sources

Csaba Dezső and Gergely Hidas (Buddhist texts)

X.1.1. Ethnological and geographical lists

X.001. *Mahābhārata*

Text from GRETIL[i] (digitised by Tokunaga Muneo et al., revised by John Smith; based on the BORI critical edition).

X.001/A. *MBh* (1) *Ādiparvan*, Vasiṣṭha's cow Nandinī generates barbarians

Translation from J. A. B. van Buitenen (1973).

> asṛjat pahlavān pucchāc chakṛtaḥ śabarāñ śakān| 01,165.035ab
> yonideśāc ca yavanāñ chakṛddeśāc chakāṃs tathā| 01,165.035b*1768_0
> mūtrataś cāsṛjac cāpi yavanān krodhamūrcchitā‖ 01,165.035cd
> barbarāṃś caiva pārśvataḥ| 01,165.035c*1769_01
> prāṇataḥ prāsṛjac ceyaṃ| 01,165.035c*1769_02
>
> puṇḍrān kirātān dramiḍān siṃhalān barbarāṃs tathā| 01,165.036ab
> cibukāṃś ca pulindāṃś ca cīnān hūṇān sakeralān| 01,165.036b*1770_01
> tathaiva daradān mlecchān phenataḥ sā sasarja ha‖ 01,165.036cd
>
> From her arse she [i.e. Vasiṣṭha's cow] created the Pahlavas; the Śabaras and Śakas from her dung; from her urine she created the Yavanas, as she well-nigh swooned with rage. From her foam she brought forth the Puṇḍras, Kirātas, Dramiḍas, Siṃhalas, Barbaras, Daradas and Mlecchas.
>
> [additional line, not translated by van Buitenen:]
>
> Cibukas, Pulindas, Cīnas, Hūṇas as well as the Keralas.

X.001/B. *MBh* (2) *Sabhāparvan*, Nakula's conquest

Translation from J. A. B. van Buitenen (1975).

> ramaṭhān hārahūṇāṃś ca pratīcyāś caiva ye nṛpāḥ|
> tān sarvān sa vaśe cakre śāsanād eva pāṇḍavaḥ‖ 2.29.11

[i] http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gret_utf.htm#MBh

Variae lectiones: *hārayūnāṃś*, *hārahūrāṃś*, *avakūlāṃś*, *śūrahūṇāṃś*, *harahūṇāṃś*, *kārahūṇāṃś*, *haramāṇāṃś*, *hārāṃkuhūnāṃ*, *hāraghūṇāṃ*, *harihūkāṃś*

> The Ramaṭhas and the Hārahūṇas and the Western kings: Pāṇḍu's descendant subjugated all of them by his command alone.

X.001/C. *MBh* (2) *Sabhāparvan*, Duryodhana speaks of the wonders he saw at the Pāṇḍavas' palace

Translation from J. A. B. van Buitenen (1975).

> cīnān hūṇāñ śakān oḍrān parvatāntaravāsinaḥ|
> vārṣṇeyān hārahūṇāṃś ca kṛṣṇān haimavatāṃs tathā‖ 2.47.19
>
> niṣādān pārasīkāṃś ca kṛṣṇān haimavatāṃs tathā|
> ākhyātuṃ tān aśakto 'haṃ vividhān dvāri vāritān‖ 2.47.19*0465–6_01[i]
>
> na pārayāmy abhigatān vividhān dvāri vāritān|
> balyarthaṃ dadatas tasya nānārūpān anekaśaḥ‖ 2.47.20
>
> Chinese men I saw and Huns, Scythians, Orissans, the ones who live in the interior forest, Vārṣṇeyas, Robber Huns, Black Folk and Himālayans[ii] — I cannot get over the many who came and were denied admission, yet paid tribute to him, of so many shapes and so numerous.

X.001/D. *MBh* (3) *Āraṇyakaparvan*, Kṛṣṇa speaks to Yudhiṣṭhira

Translation from J. A. B. van Buitenen (1975).

> yā sā samṛddhiḥ pārthānām indraprasthe babhūva ha|
> rājasūye mayā dṛṣṭā nṛpair anyaiḥ sudurlabhā‖ 3.48.17
>
> yatra sarvān mahīpālāñ śastratejobhayārditān|
> savaṅgāṅgān sapauṇḍroḍrān sacoladraviḍāndhakān‖ 3.48.18
>
> sāgarānūpagāṃś caiva ye ca pattanavāsinaḥ|
> siṃhalān barbarān mlecchān ye ca jāṅgalavāsinaḥ‖ 3.48.19
>
> paścimāni ca rājyāni śataśaḥ sāgarāntikān|
> pahlavān daradān sarvān kirātān yavanāñ śakān‖ 3.48.20
>
> hārahūṇāṃś ca cīnāṃś ca tukhārān saindhavāṃs tathā|
> jāguḍān ramaṭhān muṇḍān strīrājyān atha taṅgaṇān‖ 3.48.21

[i] This stanza is excluded from the core text of the critical edition.

[ii] "In the interior forest" seems to be a mistake; the Sanskrit text means "in the interior mountains" or "between mountains." "Robber Huns" is van Buitenen's rendering of *hārahūṇa*. (Ed.)

ete cānye ca bahavo ye ca te bharatarṣabha|
tāṃś cānyāṃś ca subahūn āhūtān bharatarṣabha| 3.48.22b*0200_01[i]
āgatān aham adrākṣaṃ yajñe te pariveṣakān|| 3.48.22

sā te samṛddhir yair āttā capalā pratisāriṇī|
ādāya jīvitaṃ teṣām āhariṣyāmi tām aham|| 3.48.23

The great fortune, beyond the grasp of other kings, that was the Pārthas' in Indraprastha at the Royal Consecration, where I saw all kings subdued by the fear of the might of your weapons — Vaṅgas, Aṅgas, Puṇḍras, Uḍras, Colas, Draviḍas, Andhrakas, those who live by the ocean and marshes and in settlements, Simhalese, Barbaras, Mlecchas and other jungle folk, the western kingdoms by the hundreds from as far as the ocean, all the Pahlavas and Daradas, Kirātas, Yavanas, Śakas, Robber Huns, Chinese, Tokharians, Saindhavas, Jaguḍas, Ramathas, Muṇḍas, queen-ruled tribes, Taṅganas, and all the many others who had come, bull of the Bharatas, as your servitors at the sacrifice — that same great fortune, fickle and making the rounds, I shall take with the lives of the ones who have taken it!

X.001/E. *MBh* (6) *Bhīṣmaparvan*, Saṃjaya speaks to Dhṛtarāṣṭra (6:10,63–68)

uttarāś cāpare mlecchā janā bharatasattama|| 6.10.63cd

yavanāś ca sakāmbojā dāruṇā mlecchajātayaḥ|
sakṣaddruhaḥ kuntalāś ca hūṇāḥ pāratakaiḥ saha|| 6.10.64

tathaiva maradhāś cīnās tathaiva daśamālikāḥ|
kṣatriyopaniveśāś ca vaiśyaśūdrakulāni ca|| 6.10.65

Other, northern Mleccha peoples are the Yavanas and the Kāmbojas, cruel Mleccha tribes, the Kuntalas and the Kṣaddruhs (?), the Hūṇas and the Pāratakas, likewise the Maradhas, Cīnas, likewise the Daśamālikas, the habitats of Kṣatriyas as well as communities of Vaiśyas and Śūdras.

X.001/F. *MBh* (8) *Karṇaparvan*, Karṇa's victories

The following verses are read in the Southern MSS, said about Karṇa.

śabarān parahūṇāṃś ca[ii] prāṅmukhān saralān api| 08,005.020d*0044_01
mlecchārāṣṭrādhipāṃś caiva durgān āṭavikāṃs tathā| 08,005.020d*0044_02
jitvaitān samare vīraḥ sutīkṣṇaiḥ kaṅkapatribhiḥ| 08,005.020d*0044_03
karam āhārayām āsa … 08,005.020d*0044_04

[i] This unmetrical line is excluded from the core text of the critical edition.
[ii] V. l. *hārahūṇāṃś ca*, *varahūṇāṃś ca*.

> The Śabaras, the Remote Huns [or "Superior Huns," *parahūṇa* v. l. *hārahūṇa*] and even the east-facing Saralas—after that valiant man defeated in battle the rulers of all these barbarian nations and inaccessible forest dwellers, he extracted tribute [from them].

X.001/G. *MBh* (12) *Śāntiparvan*, Śuka's travels

> sa deśān vividhān paśyaṃś cīnahūṇaniṣevitān|
> āryāvartam imaṃ deśam ājagāma mahāmuniḥ‖ 12,312.015
>
> Having seen various countries inhabited by Cīnas and Hūṇas, the great sage came to this country, to Āryāvarta.

X.002. The Lay of Lands in the *Purāṇas*

The excerpts below show the text as reconstructed by Willibald Kirfel (1954); reconstructions of critical segments by D. C. Sircar (1971, 26–47; first published 1945) and C. A Lewis (1962) are shown in the apparatus for each excerpt.

X.002/A. Condensed List of Peoples

Kirfel 1954, 18–19 (Die erste Textgruppe, 3. Kapitel).

> tathāparāntāḥ saurāṣṭrāḥ śūdrābhīrās tathārbudāḥ‖ 13_2
>
> kārūṣā mālavāś caiva pāriyātranivāsinaḥ|
> sauvīrāḥ saindhavā hūṇāḥ śālvāḥ śākalavāsinaḥ|
>
> madrā rāmās tathāmbaṣṭhāḥ pārasīkādayas tathā‖ 13_3
>
> āsāṃ pibanti salilaṃ vasanti saritāṃ sadā|
> samīpato mahābhāgā hṛṣṭapuṣṭajanākulāḥ‖ 14

Concordance:

AgniP 118:1–8; *BrahmaP* 19 (17):1–27; *GaruḍaP* 55:4b–10(11); *KūrmaP* 47:20b–42; *ŚivaP Dharmasaṃhitā* 34:1–21; *ŚivaP Umāsaṃhitā* 18:1–21; *ViṣṇuP* II.3.1–26.

13_3 = *BrahmaP* 19(17):17b–18; *KūrmaP* 47:40–41a; *ViṣṇuP* II. 3.16b–17.

Variae lectiones:

13_3c]] *saindhavāpannāḥ BrahmaP* (Kirfel) *saindhavāpasnāḥ BrahmaP* (Sircar); *saindhavākūṇāḥ / saindhavākṛṣṇāḥ KūrmaP* (Sircar) • 14ab]] *āsāṃ pibanti pāṇīyaṃ saraḥsu vividheṣu ca* v. l. (Kirfel)

> In the extreme west are the Saurāṣṭras, Śūras, Ābhīras, Arbudas: the Kārūṣas and Mālavas, dwelling along the Pāriyātra mountains: the Sauvīras, the Saindhavas, the **Hūṇas**, the Sālvas, the people of Śākala, the Madras, the Rāmas, the Ambaṣṭhas, and the Pārasīkas, and others.

> These nations drink of the water of the rivers above enumerated, and inhabit their borders, happy and prosperous.

X.002/B. Realms of the North

Kirfel 1954, 108ff. (Die zweite Textgruppe, 3. Kapitel).

> bāhlīkā vāṭadhānāś ca ābhīrāḥ kālatoyakāḥ|
> aparāntāś ca śūdrāś ca pallavāś carmakhaṇḍikāḥ‖ 39
>
> gāndhārā yavanāś caiva sindhusauvīramadrakāḥ|
> śakā druhāḥ kulindāś ca pāradā hāramūrtikāḥ[i]‖ 40
>
> ramaṭhāḥ kaṇṭakārāś ca kekayā daśamālikāḥ|
> kṣatriyopaniveśāś ca vaiśyaśūdrakulāni ca‖ 41
>
> kāmbojā daradāś caiva barbarā aṅgalaukikāḥ|
> cīnāś caiva tuṣārāś ca pahlavā bahyatodarāḥ‖ 41_1
>
> ātreyāś ca bharadvājāḥ prasthalāś ca daserakāḥ|
> lampākās talagānāś ca sainikāḥ saha jāṅgalaiḥ‖ 42
>
> apagāś cālimadrāś ca kirātāṇāṃ ca jātayaḥ|
> tomarā haṃsamārgāś ca kāśmīrās taṅganās tathā‖ 42_1
>
> cūlikāś cāhukāś caiva hūṇadarvās tathaiva ca|
> ete deśā udīcyās tu prācyān deśān nibodhata‖ 43

Concordance:

BrahmāṇḍaP I.16.1–69; *LiṅgaP* I.52.25–32; *MatsyaP* 113.78–114.57; *VāyuP* 45.67–137; cf. *KūrmaP* 47.26–37.

40 = *BrahmāṇḍaP* I.16.47a, 48a; *MatsyaP* 114.41; *VāyuP* 45.116. 43a = *BrahmāṇḍaP* I.16.52; *VāyuP* 45.121a

Variae lectiones:

40d⟧ *hāramūrtikāḥ* Kirfel; *hārahūṇakāḥ* Sircar, *BrahmāṇḍaP 2*; *hārapūrikāḥ VāyuP*; *vindhyacūlikāḥ BrahmāṇḍaP 1*. Sircar: *śatadrujāḥ kuṇindāś ca pāradā hārahūṇakā[ḥ]*; Lewis: *śatadrujāḥ kulindāś ca pāradā hārahūṇakāḥ*. • 43b⟧ *hūṇadarvās* Kirfel; *ūrṇā(hūṇā?) dārvās* Sircar; *pūrṇadarvāś VāyuP*; *jarṇā darvās MārkaṇḍeyaP* (in some editions). Sircar: *kulūtāś cāhu(bāhī?)kāś caiva ūrṇā(hūṇā?) dārvās tathaiva ca* (noting that Dārvas are the people of Dārvābhisāra); Lewis: *kulūtāḥ kuhukāś caiva hūṇā darvās tathaiva ca*.

> Bāhlīkas, Vāṭadhānas, Ābhīras, Kālatoyakas, Aparāntas, Śūdras, Pallavas, Carmakhaṇḍikas, Gāndhāras, Yavanas, as well as Sindhus, Sauvīras and Madrakas, Śakas, Druhas, Kulindas,

[i] For *hāramūrtikāḥ Bḍ1* reads *vindhyacūlikāḥ*, *Bḍ2* reads *hārahūṇakāḥ*, *Vā* reads *hārapūrikāḥ*.

> Pāradas, Hāramūrtikas [/**Hārahūṇas**?], Ramaṭhas, Kaṇṭākaras, Kekayas, Daśamālikas, also settlements of *kṣatriya*s and clans of *vaiśya*s and *śūdra*s, Kāmbojas, Daradas as well as Barbaras, Angalaukikas, Cīnas as well as Tuṣāras and Pahlavas, Bahyatodaras, Ātreyas, Bharadvājas, Prasthalas, Daserakas, Lampākas, Talagānas and Sainikas along with the Jāṅgalas, Apagas, Cālimadras and tribes of Kirātas, Tomaras, Haṃsamārgas and Kāśmīras and Taṅgaṇas, Cūlikas and Cāhukas as well as **Hūṇadarvas**[i]—these are the northern lands. Now learn of the eastern lands.

X.002/C. Mountain-dwelling People

Kirfel 1954: 118ff. (Die zweite Textgruppe, 3. Kapitel).

> ato deśān pravakṣyāmi parvatāśrayinaś ca ye‖ 55
>
> nihārā haṃsamārgāś ca kupathās taṅganāḥ khasāḥ|
> kuthaprāvaraṇāś caiva ūrṇā darvāḥ sahūhukāḥ‖ 56
>
> trigartā maṇḍalāś caiva kirātās tāmaraiḥ saha|

Concordance:

56 = *BrahmāṇḍaP* I.16.67; *MatsyaP* 114.55b–56a; *VāyuP* 45.135b–136a.

Variae lectiones:

56d]] *ūṇā/ūrṇā dārvāḥ sakṛtrakāḥ Mārkaṇḍeyap*; *hūṇā darvāḥ sahūdakāḥ/sahūhakāḥ/sahūhukāḥ VāyuP*; *hūṇadarvāḥ bahūdakāḥ BrahmāṇḍaP*; *urṇā/ūrṇā darvāḥ samudgakāḥ MatsyaP*; *ūrṇāḥ pluṣṭāḥ sahūhukāḥ VāmanaP*. Sircar: *karṇaprāvaraṇāś caiva hūṇā dārvāḥ sahūhukāḥ*; Lewis: *karṇaprāvaraṇāś caiva hūṇā dārvāḥ sakūhukāḥ*.

> Now I shall enumerate lands and [people] who live in mountains. Nihāras, Haṃsamārgas, Kupathas, Taṅganas, Khasas, Kuthaprāvaraṇas, as well as Ūrṇas [/Hūṇas[ii]], Darvas along with Hūhukas, Trigartas, Maṇḍalas as well as Kirātas together with Tāmaras.

[i] The Hūṇadarvas and others in this passage seem to be listed as Eastern people in the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* (1.16.51–55). The overlapping section of the list runs: *aṅgavaṅgāś colabhadrāḥ kirātānāṃ ca jātayaḥ| tomarā haṃsabhaṅgāś ca kāśmīrās taṅgaṇās tathā‖ jhillikāś cāhukāś caiva hūṇadarvās tathaiva ca‖ […] prācyāṃ janapadāḥ smṛtāḥ* (text from http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil/1_sanskr/3_purana/brndp1_u.htm). Tagare (1983, 158), following Dey (1979, 76), tentatively locates the Hūṇadarvas in the "country round Mānasa-Sarovar."

[ii] The *Vāyupurāṇa* reads *hūṇā* for *ūrṇā*. The passage in that text (45.135cd–136) runs as follows: *nigarharās haṃsamārgāḥ kṣupanās taṅgaṇāḥ khasāḥ‖ kuśaprāvaraṇāś caiva hūṇā darvāḥ sahūdakāḥ| trigartā mālavāś caiva kirātās tāmasaiḥ saha‖* (text from Caturveda and Siṃha 1995).

X.003. Other *Purāṇic* enumerations

X.003/A. *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*

Text from GRETIL.[i] Translation after G. V. Tagare (1978).

> tataḥ kalyastrato jātā āndhrāḥ puṇḍrāś ca bhūmipāḥ|
> kirātāḥ śabarā hūṇā yavanāḥ pāpavṛttayaḥ‖ 3:29,131
>
> [The *asura* Bhanda discharged the dreadful Kali missile.] Thereupon from the Kali missile were born kings of Andhras and Pundras, Kirātas, Śabaras, Hūṇas and Yavanas who had sinful activities.

X.003/B. *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*

Text from Rajendranath Sharma (1987); translation after G. V. Tagare (1978).

> kirātahūṇāndhrapulindapulkaśā ābhīrakaṅkā yavanāḥ khasādayaḥ|
> ye 'nye ca pāpā yadupāśrayāśrayāḥ śudhyanti tasmai prabhaviṣṇave namaḥ‖ 2:4,18
>
> The Kirātas, the Hūṇas, the Āndhras, Pulindas, Pulkasas, Ābhīras, Ka[ṅ]kas [=Śakas], Yavanas, Khasas and other [sinful] tribes and other sinners are purged of their sins even by taking refuge in those who depend on him. To that Almighty Lord, we offer our greetings.

> te vai vidanty atitaranti ca devamāyāṃ strīśūdrahūṇaśabarā api pāpajīvāḥ|
> yady adbhutakramaparāyaṇaśīlaśikṣās tiryagjanā api kimu śrutadhāraṇā ye‖ 2:7,46
>
> Verily they comprehend and cross over the *māyā* of God. And women, Śūdras, Hūṇas, Śabaras and even sinful souls like non-human beings, if they have got the training with regard to the virtuous character of the devotees of Hari of wonderful strides, can understand and go beyond the *māyā*. What to say about those who can concentrate their minds on the form of the Lord [described] in the Vedas?

> kirātahūṇān yavanān andhrān kaṅkān khaśāñ chakān|
> abrahmaṇyān nṛpāṃś cāhan mlecchān digvijaye 'khilān‖ 9:20.30
>
> During his expedition for the conquest of the world, he defeated the tribes of Kirātas, Hūṇas, Yavanas, Āndhras, Kaṅkas, Khaśas and Śakas and killed the Mleccha kings who were inimical to Brahmins or Vedas.

[i] http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil/1_sanskr/3_purana/brndp1_u.htm

X.004. *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*

Text from GRETIL[i] (digitised by Michio Yano and Mizue Sugita based on the edition of A. V. Tripāṭhī 1968), with references to H. Kern's (1865) text and translation. Translation from V. Subrahmanya Sastri and M. Ramakrishna Bhat (1946).

X.004/A. *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* 11.61

ulkābhitāḍitaśikhaḥ śikhī śivaḥ śivataro 'tidṛṣṭo[ii] yaḥ|
aśubhaḥ sa eva colāvagāṇasitahūṇacīnānām‖ 11.61

A comet whose crest has been hit by a meteor will prove auspicious; and if there be rain as soon as he is risen [reading *'bhivṛṣṭo*], it will be still more auspicious. The same will become unfavourable to the people of Chola, Afghans, the white Huns and the Chinese.

X.004/B. *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* 14.24ff., a list of people in the North

uttarataḥ […]‖ 24

ambara-madraka-mālava-paurava-kacchāra-daṇḍa-piṅgalakāḥ|
māṇahala-hūṇa-kohala-śītaka-māṇḍavya-bhūtapurāḥ‖ 27

gāndhāra-yaśovati-hematāla-rājanya-khacara-gavyāś ca|

yaudheya-dāsameyāḥ śyāmākāḥ kṣemadhūrtāś ca‖ 28

In the north [there are] … Ambaras, Madrakas, Mālavas, Pauravas, Kacchāras, Daṇḍas, Piṅgalakas, Māṇahalas, Hūṇas, Kohalas, Śītakas, Māṇḍavyas, Bhūtapuras; Gāndhāras, [the people of] Yaśovati and Hematāla, Rājanyas [/warriors], Khacaras [sky-walkers?] and Gavyas, Yaudheyas, Dāśameyas, Śyāmakas and Kṣemadhūrtas.

X.004/C. *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* 16.37–38

giridurga-pahlava-śvetahūṇa-colāvagāṇa-marucīnāḥ|
pratyanta-dhani-maheccha-vyavasāya-parākramopetāḥ‖ 16.37

paradāra-vivāda-ratāḥ pararandhrakutūhalā madotsiktāḥ|
mūrkhādhārmikavijigīṣavaś ca ketoḥ samākhyātāḥ‖ 16.38

Ketu presides over mountain strongholds, the Pahlavas, Swetas, Huns [/Śvetahūṇas], Cholas, Afghans, desert, Chinese [/desert Cīnas], the cavemen [rather, borderlands], rich men, highly ambitious persons, energetic men, those endowed with prowess, adulterers, disputants, those that take pleasure in others' misfortunes, persons elated with pride, fools, unrighteous people and men desirous of conquest.

[i] http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil/1_sanskr/6_sastra/8_jyot/brhats_u.htm
[ii] Kern: *'bhivṛṣṭo*.

X.1.2. Genealogies

X.005. Reconstructed *Purāṇic* genealogy

Following Pargiter (1913, 45–48).

> yavanāṣṭau bhaviṣyanti tuṣārās tu caturdaśa
> trayodaśa muruṇḍāś ca hūṇā hy ekādaśaiva tu
>
> […]
>
> śatāni trīṇi bhokṣyante hūṇā hy ekādaśaiva tu
>
> There will be eight Yavanas, fourteen Tuṣāras, thirteen Muruṇḍas and eleven Hūṇas.
>
> […]
>
> The eleven Hūṇas will rule [the earth] for three hundred [years].

Concordance:

MatsyaP 273.17b–24; *VāyuP* 99.358b–365; *BrahmāṇḍaP* III.74.171–179;

Major variae lectiones (see Pargiter for details):

muruṇḍāś *VāyuP*⟧ *guruṇḍāś MatsyaP*, *BrahmāṇḍaP* • ***hūṇā*** *MatsyaP*⟧ *maunā* most MSS of the *VāyuP* and *BrahmāṇḍaP* • ***ekādaśaiva tu*** *BrahmāṇḍaP*⟧ *aṣṭādaśaiva tu VāyuP*; *ekonaviṃśatiḥ MatsyaP* • ***bhokṣyante hūṇā hy*** *VāyuP*, *BrahmāṇḍaP*⟧ ***bhokṣyante varṣāṇy*** *MatsyaP*

X.006. *Viṣṇupurāṇa*

Text from GRETIL[i] (digitised by Peter Schreiner based on the edition of M. M. Pathak 1997–99).

> tataś cāṣṭau yavanāś caturdaśa tuṣārā muṇḍāś ca trayodaśa ekādaśa maunāḥ|
> ete pṛthivīṃ trayodaśa varṣaśatāni navanavatyadhikāni bhokṣyanti‖ 4:24,12‖
>
> Then eight Yavanas, fourteen Tuṣāras, thirteen Muṇḍas, eleven Maunas [=Hūṇas?]. These [kings enumerated up to this point] will rule the earth for thirteen hundred ninety-nine years.

X.007. *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*

Text from Rajendranath Sharma (1987); translation from G. V. Tagare (1978).

> tato 'ṣṭau yavanā bhāvyāś caturdaśa turuṣkakāḥ|
> bhūyo daśa guruṇḍāś ca maulā [v.l. *maunā*] ekādaśaiva tu‖ 12:1,29

[i] http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil/1_sanskr/3_purana/vipce_pu.htm

ete bhokṣyanti pṛthivīṃ daśa varṣaśatāni ca|
navādhikāṃ ca navatiṃ maulā [v.l. *maunā*] ekādaśa kṣitim‖ 12:1,30

bhokṣyanty abdaśatāny aṅga trīṇi taiḥ saṃsthite tataḥ| 12:1,31ab

They [the seven Ābhīras] will be succeeded by eight Yavana rulers [Bactrian Greeks], and fourteen kings of the Turuṣka race. Again there will be ten kings of Guruṇḍa [probably Maruṇḍa] race and eleven of the Mauna [=Hūṇa?] dynasty. These kings [beginning from the Ābhīras up to the Maunas, viz. sixty-five kings] will enjoy the sovereignty of the earth for [a total of] one thousand ninety-nine years. And the eleven Mauna kings will rule over the earth for three hundred years.

X.008. Jinasena's *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* 60.

A text of the Digambara Jaina tradition from the 8th century. Text as cited by K. B. Pathak (1917, 198).

[…] guptānāṃ ca śatadvayaṃ|
ekatriṃśac ca varṣāṇi kālavidbhir udāhṛtam‖ 487

dvicatvāriṃśad evātaḥ kalkirājasya rājatā|
tato 'jitaṃjayo rājā syād indrapurasaṃsthitaḥ‖ 488

varṣāṇāṃ ṣaṭśatīṃ tyaktvā paṃcāgrāṃ māsapaṃcakam|
muktiṃ gate mahāvīre śakarājas tato 'bhavat‖ 552

Those who are knowledgeable about time say that the Gupta dynasty rules two hundred and thirty-one years. Then Kalkirāja's reign for forty-two years, then Ajitaṃjaya shall be king with his seat in Indrapura. The Śaka king appeared when six hundred and five years and five months had passed after Mahāvīra's attainment of liberation.

See the commentary under X.010 about Kalkirāja.

X.009. Guṇabhadra's *Uttarapurāṇa* 76.

A text of the Digambara Jaina tradition composed by Jinasena's pupil Guṇabhadra in the 9th century. Text as cited by K. B. Pathak (1917, 219).

yathoktabhūbhujābhāvāj jāte varṇādisaṃkare|
duḥṣamāyāṃ sahasrābdavyatītau dharmahānitaḥ‖ 394

pure pāṭaliputrākhye śiśupālamahīpateḥ|
pāpī tanūjaḥ pṛthivīsundaryāṃ durjanādimaḥ‖ 395

caturmukhāhvayaḥ kalkī rājodvejitabhūtalaḥ|
utpatsyate māghasaṃvatsarayogasamāgame‖ 396

samānāṃ saptatis tasya paramāyuḥ prakīrtitam|
catvāriṃśat samā rājyasthitiś cākramakāriṇaḥ‖ 397

ṣaṇṇavaty uktapāṣaṇḍivargasyājñāvidhāyinaḥ|
nijabhṛtyatvam āpādya mahīṃ kṛtsnāṃ sa bhokṣyati‖ 398

When a thousand years have passed in the *duḥṣamā* age, social classes and such shall become chaotic due to the damage to *dharma* brought about by the lack of a proper king. At this time a wicked king who shakes the earth shall be born in the town called Pāṭaliputra in a Māgha year. This vilest of villains, Kalki who is called Caturmukha [=four-faced] shall be the son of King Śiśupāla by [Queen] Pṛthvīsundarī. His entire lifespan is said to be seventy years, and the kingship of that conqueror shall last forty years. Turning ninety-six sects into his obedient servants, he shall rule the entire earth.

See the commentary under X.010 about Kalkirāja.

X.010. Nemicandra, *Trilokasāra*

A text of the Digambara Jaina tradition of the 10th century. Text as cited by K. B. Pathak (1917, 221).

paṇachassayavassaṃ paṇamāsajudaṃ gamiya vīraṇibbuido|
sagarājo so kalkī[i] caduṇavatiyamahiyasagamāsaṃ‖ 840

{śrīvīranāthanirvṛteḥ sakāśāt pañcottaraṣaṭśatavarṣāṇi pañcamāsayutāni gatvā paścāt vikramāṅkaśakarājo jāyate tata upari caturṇavatyuttaratriśatavarṣāṇi saptamāsādhikāni gatvā paścāt kalkī jāyate|}

When six hundred and five years and five months have passed from the *nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra, the Śaka king [comes]. Kalkin [comes] three hundred and ninety-four years and seven months [after him].

so ummaggāhimuho caummuho sadarivāsaparamāū|
cālīsarajao jidabhūmi pucchai sa maṃtigaṇaṃ‖ 841

{sa kalky unmārgābhimukhaś caturmukhākhyaḥ saptativarṣaparamāyuṣyaś ca catvāriṃśadvarṣarājyo jitabhūmiḥ san svamantriṇaṃ pṛcchati|}

That heretical Caturmukha [four-faced one], whose entire lifespan is seventy years and whose reign is forty, asks his council of ministers…

Pathak (1917, 198–99) equates Kalkirāja to Mihirakula, and points out that according to the Digambara tradition he was born exactly one thousand years after Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa*, and 394 years and 7 months after the Śaka king, in other words in the 395th current year of the Śaka era,

[i] Em. to *kakkī*?

corresponding to 472 CE. Therefore Mihirakula lived 472 to 542 CE and reigned 502 to 542 CE.

Bhide (1919), however, emphasises the inconsistency and unreliability of Jaina sources regarding Kalki. He further emphasises that the Śvetāmbara tradition (see Text X.011 below) puts him a millennium later than the Digambara tradition does.

X.011. The *Mahāvīracarita* of Hemacandra

A text of the Śvetāmbara Jaina tradition from the 12th century. Text as cited by H. B. Bhide (1919, 128).

mannirvāṇagateṣv abdaśateṣv ekonaviṃśatau|
caturdaśābdyāṃ ca mlecchakule caitrāṣṭamīdine‖13.78

viṣṭau bhāvī nṛpaḥ kalkī sa rudro 'tha caturmukhaḥ|
nāmatrayeṇa vikhyātaḥ pāṭaliputrapattane‖13.79

When nineteen hundred and fourteen years have passed after my *nirvāṇa*, a king shall arise in a barbarian (*mleccha*) family on the eighth day of [the month] Caitra in the city of Pāṭaliputra. He shall be known by three names: Kalkin, Rudra and Caturmukha.

X.012. *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* 53

'The Mañjuśrī Root Ritual Instruction.' Core *c.* 7th century; Chinese translations in the 8th century. The prophetic history included in the text (chapter 53, the *Rājavyākaraṇa*), probably belongs to the late 8th century, as it knows of the Pāla king Gopāla (r. *c.* 750–775 CE), but it does not mention his successor Dharmapāla (Sanderson 2009b, 129). Text originally edited by T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī (1920–25); chapter 53 improved with the aid of a Tibetan translation by Rahul Sankrityayana published with study by Jayaswal (1934), which is the source of the texts, translations and (paraphrased) commentaries below. See Jayaswal (1934, 53–65) for further details of his historical interpretation.

X.012/A. Later Imperial Guptas and the East

tasyāpy anujo bhakārākhyaḥ prācīṃ diśi samāśṛtaḥ‖760‖

tasyāpi sutaḥ pakārākhyaḥ prāgdeśeṣv eva jāyataḥ|
kṣatriyaḥ agraṇī proktaḥ bālabandhānucāriṇaḥ‖761‖

daśa varṣāṇi saptaṃ ca bandhanastham adhiṣṭhitaḥ|
gopākhyena nṛpatinā baddho mukto 'sau bhagavāhvaye‖762‖

His [Samudragupta's] descendant Bh. [=Bhānugupta] settled in the East. His son P. [Tibetan: Pra. = Prakaṭāditya] was born in the Eastern countries. He has been described as the leading

Kṣatriya. He was imprisoned as a boy and remained in prison up to the age of 17 years. He had been imprisoned by king Gopa and was released at Bhagavat[pura].

Jayaswal: the king called Gopa here may be Goparāja, who fought by the side of Bhānugupta in a battle at Eran in 510 CE, most likely against Toramāṇa (see Text X.035). He was a subordinate ruler under Bhānugupta, and Pra. must have been put into prison by an order of Bhānugupta, his father.

X.012/B. Installation of Pra[kaṭāditya] by H[ūṇa]

paścāddeśasamāyātaḥ akārākhyo mahānṛpa|
prāciṃ diśi paryantaṃ gaṅgātīram atiṣṭhata‖763‖

śūdravarṇo mahārājā mahāsainyo mahābalaḥ|
so taṃ tīraṃ samāśṛtya tiṣṭhate ca samantataḥ‖764‖

purīṃ gauḍajane khyātaṃ tīrthāhvati viśrutaḥ|
samākramya rājāsau tiṣṭhate ca mahābalaḥ‖765‖

tatrau ca kṣatriyo bālaḥ vaṇinā ca tathāgataḥ|[i]
rātrau praviṣṭavāṃs tatra rātryante ca prapūjitaḥ‖766‖

śūdravarṇai nṛpaḥ khyātaḥ punar eva nivartayam|
gaṅgātīraparyantaṃ nagare nandasamāhvaye‖767‖

māgadhānāṃ tadā rājyaṃ[ii] sthāpayām āsa taṃ śiśum|
[…]

A. [Tibetan: H. = Hūṇa], having come from the West, was a great king. He occupied the banks of the Ganges up to the East. He was of Śūdra caste, a *mahārāja* of large army and great power. From his base on the Ganges, from all sides he invaded the city of the Gauḍas called Tīrtha and remained there as a powerful king. There that Kṣatriya boy with a merchant entered at night, and was acknowledged at the dawn by the Śūdra king, who then retired to Nandapura [= Pāṭaliputra] on the Ganges, and in Magadha installed that boy as king.

Jayaswal: H., the Śūdra from the western country who invaded Magadha and Gauḍa, seems to have been the Hūṇa Toramāṇa. Later, in verse 777 he is described as having enjoyed kingdoms of others. To the author of this passage, who probably lived in the seventh century or around the turn of the eighth, the remnants of the Huns in India who had become part of the population and who have come down in several castes to our own times, would have been easily regarded as Śūdras.

[i] Em. *vaṇijā ca sahāgataḥ*.
[ii] Em. *rājye*.

X.012/C. Graha son of H[ūṇa] and his father

[…]

kāśinaṃ pada[i] prāpya vāraṇasyamataḥ pure‖768‖

praviśec chūdravarṇas tu mahīpālo mahābalaḥ|
mahārogeṇa duḥkhārtaḥ abhiṣece sa taṃ tadā‖769‖

abhiṣicya tadā rājyaṃ **grahākhyaṃ** bāladārakam|
mahārogābhibhūtas tu bhūmāv āvarta vai tadā‖770‖

tatordhvaṃ niḥśvasya yatnena bhinnadeho 'pi tīryataḥ|
tiryebhye vasaṃ māsāṃ aṣṭa saptaṃ ca vai tadā‖771‖

[…]

parair upārjitaṃ rājyaṃ anubhoktā bhaviṣyati|
tasyāpi ca suto rājā vārāṇasyāṃ tu pratiṣṭhitaḥ‖777‖

[The powerful Śūdra king] entered the Kāśī country and, falling ill at Benares, he crowned his son Graha, a minor, and died. [Verses 771 to 776 describe his subsequent incarnations.]

The king will be the enjoyer of a kingdom which had been earned by others. His son was established at Benares.

samantāddhatavidhvastaviluptarājyo bhaviṣyati|
dvijakrāntam abhūyiṣṭhaṃ[ii] tad rājyaṃ ripubhis tadā‖778‖

pramādī kāmacārī ca sa rājā grahacihnitaḥ|
apaścime tu kāle vai paścācchatruhato mṛtaḥ‖779‖

The latter's kingdom will be lost on account of an attack from his neighbour. The kingdom will be full of Brahmins and will be attacked by enemies. The king marked as Graha was an erring man and arbitrary; and without much delay he was struck by enemy and died.

Graha, lit. 'seizer,' is a common term for celestial bodies and is thus understood by Jayaswal as a reference to Mihira[kula].

[Note Bakker] Graha should rather be understood as a reference to the Maukhari ruler Grahavarman, whose father was Avantivarman (indicated by the abbreviation A in the Sanskrit text of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*) and who was killed by Devagupta the king of Mālava (see also Bakker 2014, 85).

[i] Em. *kāśījanapadaṃ*.
[ii] Em. *dvijākrāntabhūyiṣṭhaṃ*.

X.013. *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* Chapter 10

'The Descent into Laṅkā Sutra.' Core *c.* 4th century CE; first extant Chinese translation by Guṇabhadra in 443 CE includes chapters 2–8; Bodhiruci's 513 CE tr. also includes chapters 1,9,10. Text and translation from Eltschinger (2014, 81–82); original edition by Nanjio (1923) translated by Suzuki (1932).

> vyāsaḥ kaṇāda ṛṣabhaḥ kapilaḥ śākyanāyakaḥ|
> nirvṛte mama paścāt tu bhaviṣyanty evamādayaḥ‖10.784‖
>
> mayi nirvṛte varṣaśate vyāso vai bhāratas tathā|
> pāṇḍavāḥ kauravā rāmaḥ paścāc chaurī bhaviṣyati‖10.785‖
>
> mauryā nandāś ca guptāś ca tato mlecchā nṛpādhamāḥ|
> mlecchānte śastrasaṃkṣobhaḥ śastrānte ca kalir yugaḥ|
> kaliyugānte lokaiś ca saddharmo hi na bhāvitaḥ‖10.786‖
>
> [the former Buddha Viraja speaking]
>
> "Once I [shall] have passed away, afterwards, there will be [teachers] such as Vyāsa, Kaṇāda, Ṛṣabha, Kapila and the Guide of the Śākyas. Once I have passed away, within one hundred years there will be Vyāsa as well as [his] *Bhārata*, the Pāṇḍavas, the Kauravas, Rāma and, afterwards, Kṛṣṇa. [There will be] the Mauryas, the Nandas and the Guptas, and then, the Mlecchas [will be] the vilest among rulers. At the end of the Mlecchas, [there will be] an armed conflagration, and at the end of the warfare, the *kaliyuga* [will open up]. And at the end of the *kaliyuga*, the Good Law will no longer be cultivated by people."

X.1.3. The Kashmir secular tradition

Introduction

The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is a work of belles-lettres, a *kāvya*, and poets were not just allowed but expected to adapt the plot of stories they used to the sentiments (*rasa*s) they tried to convey. Kalhaṇa's aim was to create a coherent narrative which illustrated his world view and ethos. As Stein (1900, I: 23) pointed out, the principal sentiment of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is *śāntarasa*, "quietude," and Kalhaṇa took pains to demonstrate the instability of everything human, the transitory nature of mundane glory, and that retribution follows offences against moral laws. Kalhaṇa's sources, the earlier chronicles were fragmentary and contained many errors; he also used other historical documents, e.g. inscriptions, as well as popular traditions, but he never indicated his sources. Dates start to appear in the Fifth Book of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, which deals with the events of the ninth century.

There are several factors that make the chronology of the Hūṇa rulers in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* confusing: some names are reshuffled (Mihirakula comes before Toramāṇa, though it is not clear, which Toramāṇa), others are repeated (three Tuñjīnas, Jalauka / Jalaukas, a Hiraṇya appears as

Mihirakula's grandfather and Toramāṇa's brother), stories are recycled, some reigns are impossibly long, and we can also observe telescoping (a later king with the same name is given the stories of an earlier king).

As Stein (1900, I: 79) observed, Mihirakula is completely severed from other kings whose names indicate Hun descent. He is said to be the grandson of Hiraṇyakula, and while no Toramāṇa appears among his ancestors, a Hiraṇya is later mentioned as Toramāṇa's brother. According to the Schøyen Copper Scroll (Text X.030), Khīṅgīla, Toramāṇa, Javūkha and Mehama were contemporaries in 495: all kings with these or similar names are post-Mihirakula in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (where some of the names are Sanskritized: Meghavāhana probably corresponds to Mehama, Tuñjīna to Tuysīna, and Jalauka(s) to Javūkha). Pfisterer (2013, 83ff) describes the common coinage of Lakhāna, Mehama, Javūkha and Khiṅgila found in Kashmir Smast, but Laḵkhaṇa is post-Mihirakula in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. Two possibilities offer themselves to solve these anomalies: either the chronology found in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is confused, or there were in fact post-Mihirakula kings with the same names in Kashmir. Hiraṇyakula and Vasukula could be Sanskrit(ized) names of Hūṇa kings, or Kalhaṇa might simply have connected these with Mihirakula just because their names ended in *-kula*.

Cribb (2017, esp. 110) dates the coins of Meghama, Pravarasena, Tuysīna and Toramāṇa to the sixth and seventh centuries, the Toramāṇa coin being the latest, Meghama and Pravarasena being close in time, and Tuysīna coming before or after Meghama and Pravarasena. Kalhaṇa tells us that Meghavāhana "restored" the "Gonandīya dynasty," his son was Tuñjīna II (also called Śreṣṭhasena / Pravarasena I), his sons were Hiraṇya and Toramāṇa, Toramāṇa's son was Pravarasena II, his son was Yudhiṣṭhira II, and his sons were Laḵkhaṇa Narendrāditya and Raṇāditya (= Tuñjīna III). Based on the above we can tentatively date Meghavāhana and Pravarasena I (=Tuñjīna II), as well as Toramāṇa and Hiraṇya and Pravarasena II to 600–650. If the Tuñjīna coins are earlier, they might belong to Tuñjīna I, son of Jalaukas (before Meghavāhana, but after Mihirakula). If they are later, they might have been issued by Tuñjīna II or Tuñjīna III (=Raṇāditya, who reigned for 300 years according to Kalhaṇa).

According to the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, between Toramāṇa and Pravarasena II (father and son) reigned Mātṛgupta, who was sent to Kashmir by Harṣa-Vikramāditya of Ujjain, father of Śīlāditya-Pratāpaśīla. Could it be possible that Kalhaṇa here confounds some Vikramāditya of Ujjain, the Maitraka Śīlāditya (king of Mālava and thus of Ujjain), Prabhākaravardhana Pratāpaśīla and Harṣavardhana Śīlāditya? The Maitraka–Vardhana connection points to the beginning of the seventh century (600–620).

Finally, how many Mehamas were there? The coins of Mehama I were found in Kashmir Smast, together with the coins of Lakhāna, Javūkha and Khiṅgila. This Mehama ruled at the end of fifth century and he is probably identical with the Mehama of the Schøyen Copper Scroll. The coins of Me(g)hama II were found together with those of Pravarasena, Tuysīna and Toramāṇa, and can be dated after 600. In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Meghavāhana is post-Mihirakula, he lived in exile at the court of the king of Gandhāra, was a patron of Buddhism, and led a world conquest (*digvijaya*) to impose the prohibition of slaughtering animals on the whole world. Could it be that Kalhaṇa telescoped the two Mehamas together?

Overview of the Succession of Kings (Stein 1900, I: 140)

Book I

Kings recorded by Chavillākara

Aśoka

|

Jalauka

Gonandīya dynasty

… Hiraṇyākṣa — Hiraṇyakula — Vasukula — Mihirakula — Baka — Kṣitinanda — Vasunanda — Nara II — Akṣa — Gopāditya — Gokarṇa — Khiṅkhila Narendrāditya — Yudhiṣṭhira I

Book II

Pratāpāditya I (a relative of Vikramāditya) — Jalaukas — Tuñjīna I

Vijaya — Jayendra

Saṃdhimati-Āryarāja

Book III

Gonandīya dynasty restored

[Yudhiṣṭhira I … Gopāditya —] Meghavāhana — Śreṣṭhasena-Pravarasena I – Tuñjīna II — Hiraṇya & Toramāṇa *yuvarāja* — Pravarasena II — Yudhiṣṭhira II — Laṉkhaṇa Narendrāditya & Raṇāditya Tuñjīna III — Vikramāditya & Bālāditya

X.014. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*

Text from M. A. Stein (1892); translation from Stein (1900).

X.014/A. Jalauka / Jalaukas

mlecchaiḥ saṃcchādite deśe sa taducchitaye nṛpaḥ|
tapaḥsaṃtoṣitāl lebhe bhūteśāt sukṛtī sutam‖ 1.107

so 'tha bhūbhṛj jalauko 'bhūd bhūlokasuranāyakaḥ|
yo yaśaḥsudhayā śuddhaṃ vyadhād brahmāṇḍamaṇḍalam‖ 1.108

[107]As the country was overrun by Mlecchas, the pious [king, i.e. Aśoka] obtained from [Śiva] Bhūteśa, whom he had pleased by his austerities, a son in order to exterminate them. [108]Then this [son] called Jalauka became king, an Indra of the earthly regions, who by the [white] stucco of his fame made spotless the universe. [109–111: divine power, transforms metals into gold, has intercourse with Nāga women]

tatkālaprabalapreddhabauddhavādisamūhajit|
avadhūto 'bhavat siddhas tasya jñānopadeśakṛt‖ 1.112

vijayeśvaranandīśakṣetrajyeṣṭheśapūjane|
tasya satyagiro rājñaḥ pratijñā sarvadābhavat‖ 1.113

[…]

sa ruddhavasudhān mlecchān nirvāsyākharvavikramaḥ|
jigāya jaitrayātrābhir mahīm arṇavamekhalām‖ 1.115

te yatrojjhaṭitās tena mlecchāś chāditamaṇḍalāḥ|
sthānam ujjhaṭaḍimbaṃ taj janair adyāpi gadyate‖ 1.116

jitvorvīṃ kanyakubjādyāṃ tatratyaṃ sa nyaveśayat|
cāturvarṇyaṃ nije deśe dharmāṃś ca vyavahāriṇaḥ‖ 1.117

[112]His instructor in the doctrines was the saint Avadhūta, the vanquisher of crowds of Bauddha controversialists, who at that time were powerful and flushed [with success]. [113]That truth-speaking king had made a vow that he would ever worship [Śiva] Vijayeśvara and Jyeṣṭheśa [residing] at Nandīśakṣetra.

[…]

[115]He who was endowed with mighty courage, expelled the Mlecchas who oppressed the land, and conquered in victorious expeditions the earth up to the encircling oceans. [116]The place where the Mlecchas who occupied the land, were routed [*ujjhaṭitās*] by him, is called by the people even at the present day Ujjhaṭaḍimba. [117]Having conquered the earth, including Kanyakubja and other [countries], he settled from that region people of all four castes in his own land, and [particularly] righteous men acquainted with legal procedure.

[… 120. Jalauka established eighteen offices (*karmasthānas*).]

dvārādiṣu pradeśeṣu prabhāvogrāṇy udagrayā|
īśānadevyā tatpatnyā mātṛcakrāṇi cakrire‖ 1.122

śrutanandipurāṇaḥ sa vyāsāntevāsino nṛpaḥ|
sevanaṃ sodarādīnāṃ nandīśaspardhayā vyadhāt‖ 1.123

[122]His noble queen Īśānadevī placed ‘circles sacred to the Mothers’ [*mātṛcakra*] which were distinguished by their spiritual power, at the ‘Gates’ [of Kashmir] and other places. [123]The king having heard the Nandipurāṇa [recited] by some pupil of Vyāsa, frequented Sodara and other [sacred springs] as vying [in holiness] with Nandīśa.

[124–130. the legend of the Sodara spring; 124. erected a [shrine of] Jyeṣṭharaudra at Śrīnagarī; 131–147. the story of the Kṛtyā]

rājñas tasya kadā cit tu vrajato vijayeśvaram|
yayāce kā cid abalā bhojanaṃ mārgamadhyagā‖ 1.131

yatheṣṭam aśanaṃ dātuṃ tato ’nena pratiśrute|
vyavṛṇod vikṛtā bhūtvā sā nṛmāṃsāśrayaṃ spṛhām‖ 1.132

sa tattvahiṃsāviratas tasyai māṃsaṃ svavigrahāt|
anujñāṃ pradadau bhoktuṃ yadā saivaṃ tadābravīt‖ 1.13

bodhisattvo 'si bhūpāla ko 'pi sattvorjitavrataḥ|
kāruṇyaṃ prāṇiṣu dṛḍhaṃ yasyedṛk te mahātmanaḥ‖ 1.134

bauddhabhāṣām ajānāno māheśvaratayā nṛpaḥ|
ko bodhisattvo yaṃ bhadre māṃ vetsīti jagāda tām‖ 1.135

punar babhāṣe sā bhūpaṃ śrotavyaṃ matprayojanam|
ahaṃ hy utthāpitā bauddhaiḥ krodhād viprakṛtais tvayā‖ 1.136

lokālokādripārśvasthās tāmasyaḥ kṛtyakā[i] vayam|
bodhisattvaikaśaraṇāḥ kāṅkṣantyas tamasaḥ kṣayam‖ 1.137

[…]

[131]Once upon a time, when the king was proceeding to Vijayeśvara, a woman [whom he met] midway on the road, begged food from him. [132]When he had promised to give her such food as she should desire, she changed her form and disclosed a desire for human flesh. [133]When he who had renounced the killing of living beings, gave her permission to please herself with flesh from his own body, she thus addressed him:

[134]"O king, you must be a Bodhisattva, whose observance of vows is supported by absolute goodness [*sattva*], since you show, O high-minded one, such deep compassion with living creatures."

[135]The king, who being a proper worshipper of Śiva did not understand the Bauddhas' ways of expression, asked her: "O fair one, who is the Bodhisattva for whom you know me?"

[136]Again she spoke to the king: "Listen to my case. I have been sent forth by the Bauddhas whom in your anger you have injured. [137]We witches [*kṛtyakāḥ*] living by the side of Mount Lokāloka [which divides light and darkness], belong to the darkness [sin]. Putting our whole trust in the Bodhisattvas we long for liberation from the darkness."

[138–139: She explains what a Bodhisattva is.]

vihāratūryanirghoṣair unnidraḥ preritaḥ khalaiḥ|
purā bhavān vyadhāt krodhād vihāroddalanaṃ yadā‖ 1.140

mahāśākyaḥ sa nṛpatir na śakyo bādhituṃ tvayā|
tasmin dṛṣṭe tu kalyāṇi bhavitā te tamaḥkṣayaḥ‖ 1.141

asmadgirā preraṇīyo vihārakaraṇāya saḥ|
dattvā svahemasaṃbhāraṃ tvayā malinitaḥ khalaiḥ‖ 1.142

tasmin kṛte na jāyeta vihāracchedavaiśasam|
tasya tatprerakāṇāṃ ca prāyaścittaṃ kṛtaṃ bhavet‖ 1.143

[i] Em. Stein. MSS: *kṛttikā*.

kruddhair bauddhair anudhyātā tvadvadhāya pradhāvitā|
anuśiṣṭā samāhūya bodhisattvais tadety aham‖ 1.144

[…]

[140–144]"When you had lately been kept from sleep by the noise of the music of a *vihāra*, you had at the instigation of a wicked person caused in your anger the destruction of the *vihāra*. The excited Bauddhas thought of me and sent me forth to kill you. But then the Bodhisattvas called me and gave me the following directions: 'That king is a great Śākya [*mahāśākya*]. You cannot hurt him; but in his presence, O good one, you will obtain liberation from darkness [sin]. In our name you shall exhort him who has been led into guilt by wicked people, to give up his hoarded gold and to build a *vihāra*. If he does so, no misfortune shall befall him in consequence of the destruction of the *vihāra*, and atonement shall thus be made for him and his instigators.' "

[…]

atha kṛtyāśrame kṛtvā vihāraṃ vasudhādhipaḥ|
tatraiva kṣīṇatamasaṃ kṛtyādevīm asaṃdhayat‖ 1.147

vidhāya so 'śmaprāsādaṃ nandikṣetre kṣamāpatiḥ|
bhūteśāya kṣamāṃ kośaiḥ pūjāṃ ratnamayīṃ dadau‖ 1.148

cīramocanatīrthāntar gaṇarātraṃ tapasyatā|
brahmāsananiviṣṭena dhyānaniḥspandamūrtinā‖ 1.149

rājñā kanakavāhinyā sucirāt puṇyakarmaṇā|
nandīśaspardhanotkaṇṭhā tenānīyata kuṇṭhatām‖ 1.150

hlādodayān nṛttagītakṣaṇe nartitum utthitam|
pradadau jyeṣṭharudrāya svāvarodhavadhūśatam‖ 1.151

bhuktvaiśvaryaṃ sa paryante praviṣṭaś cīramocanam|
patnyā samaṃ yayau rājā sāyujyaṃ girijāpateḥ‖ 1.152

[147]Thereupon the king built the Kṛtyāśrama *vihāra*, and worshipped there the divine sorceress who had been freed from the darkness. [148]This king erected a stone temple at Nandikṣetra for [Śiva] Bhūteśa, and offered [to the god] a sacrifice of precious stones together with [other] treasures. [149–150]This pious king passed many a night in ascetic exercises at the Tīrtha of Cīramocana, taking up the position adapted for meditation, with his body motionless in contemplation, and thus slowly relaxed his desire of touching Nandīśa on account [of the presence] of the Kanakavāhinī River. [151]A hundred among the ladies of his seraglio, who had risen to dance [in honor of the god] at the time fixed for dancing and singing, he gave out of joy to Jyeṣṭharudra. [152]After enjoying supreme power, the king at the end of his life repaired to Cīramocana, and along with his queen obtained communion with the husband of Pārvatī.

bhuktvā dvātriṃśatam varṣān bhuvaṃ tasmin divaṃ gate|
jalaukās tatsuto bhūmer bhūṣaṇaṃ samapadyata‖ 2.9

pitur eva samaṃ kālaṃ vṛddhihetoḥ sa didyute|
viṣuvatpūrṇaśītāṃśur iva śītetarārciṣaḥ‖ 2.10

[9]When after a reign of thirty-two years he [Pratāpāditya I] had ascended to heaven, his son Jalaukas became the ornament of the earth. [10]He shone forth for the same length of time as his father for the country's benefit, just as the full moon at the equinox [shines as long] as the sun.

Alexis Sanderson (2009a, 106) remarks: "it is probable that Kalhaṇa, or rather his lost source Chavillākara, has transferred to this [i.e. Aśoka's] time traditions that belonged properly to another king of this name (in the variant form Jalaukas), whom Kalhaṇa records as the father and predecessor of his Hephthalite king Tuñjīna I. The name Jalauka / Jalaukas, meaning 'leech' in Sanskrit, is certainly implausible to my mind, except as a Sanskritisation of the Hephthalite name Javūka via Jalauka's by-form **jaūka*. The motive for doing so is evident enough: to strengthen the Brahmans' claim of the antiquity of their local religious culture by pushing back traditions associated with a more recent anti-Buddhist, pro-Śaiva, and pro-Brahman culture hero."

X.014/B. Tuñjīna I

atha vākpuṣṭayā sārdhaṃ devyā divyaprabhāvayā|
bhuvaṃ tatprabhavo bhuñjaṃs tuñjīno 'rañjayat prajāḥ‖ 2.11

Then his [Jalaukas's] son Tuñjīna ruled the earth and delighted the people, along with the queen Vākpuṣṭā, who was possessed of divine gifts.

X.014/C. Tuñjīna II

atha kṣmābhṛd rarakṣa kṣmāṃ śreṣṭhasenas tadātmajaḥ|
āhuḥ pravarasenaṃ yaṃ tuñjīnaṃ cāñjasā janāḥ‖ 3.97

Then the earth was protected by his [Meghavāhana's] son King Śreṣṭhasena who the people forthwith called [also] Pravarasena [I] and Tuñjīna [II]. [He was the father of Toramāṇa.]

X.014/D. Tuñjīna III

tasyānujo dharaṇibhṛd raṇādityas tato 'bhavat|
tuñjīnāparanāmānaṃ yaṃ janāḥ prāhur añjasā‖ 3.386

jagadvilakṣaṇaṃ yasya śāṅkhamudrāṅkitaṃ śiraḥ|
apūrvaśarvarīśāntarlīnabhānuśriyaṃ dadhe‖ 3.387

[386]Then his [Laḥkhaṇa Narendrāditya's] younger brother Raṇāditya became king, whom the people forthwith called by another name, Tuñjīna. [387]His head which was formed like a shell and different from [that of all] beings, showed as unprecedented splendor as if the sun had been absorbed in the moon.

X.014/E. Mihirakula

atha mlecchaganākīrṇe maṇḍale caṇḍaceṣṭitaḥ|
tasyātmajo 'bhūn mihirakulaḥ kālopamo nṛpaḥ|| 1.289

dakṣiṇaṃ sāntakāmāśāṃ spardhayā jetum udyatā|
yanmiṣād uttaraharid babhārānyam ivāntakam|| 1.290

sāṃnidhyaṃ yasya sainyāntar hanyamānāśanotsukān|
ajānan gṛdhrakākādīn dṛṣṭvāgre dhāvato janāḥ|| 1.291

divārātraṃ hataprāṇisahasraparivāritaḥ|
yo 'bhūd bhūpālavetālo vilāsabhavaneṣv api|| 1.292

bāleṣu karuṇā strīṣu ghṛṇā vṛddheṣu gauravam|
na babhūva nṛśaṃsasya yasya ghorākṛter ghnataḥ|| 1.293

[289]Then his [Vasukula's, whose father was Hiraṇyakula] son Mihirakula, a man of violent acts and resembling Kāla [Death], ruled in the land which was overrun by hordes of Mlecchas. [290]In him the northern region brought forth, as it were, another god of death, bent in rivalry to surpass the southern region which has Yama [as its guardian]. [291]The people knew his approach by noticing the vultures, crows and other [birds], which were flying ahead eager to feed on those who were being slain within his armies' [reach]. [292]This royal Vetāla was day and night surrounded by thousands of murdered human beings, even in his pleasure-houses. [293]This terrible enemy of mankind had no pity for children, no compassion for women, no respect for the aged.

[294ff. expedition to Siṃhala]

sa tatrānyaṃ nṛpaṃ dattvā tīvraśaktir upāharan|
paṭaṃ yamuṣadevākhyaṃ mārtāṇḍapratimāṅkitam|| 1.299

vyāvṛtya colakarṇāṭalāṭādīṃś ca nareśvarān|
sindhurān iva gandhebho gandhenaiva vyadārayat|| 1.300

[…]

agrahārāñ jagṛhire gāndhārā brāhmaṇās tataḥ|
samānaśīlās tasyaiva dhruvaṃ te 'pi dvijādhamāḥ|| 1.307

[…]

[299]After this [king] of mighty power had installed there another ruler, he brought away [from there] the cloth called by the name of Yamuṣadeva which was stamped with an image of the sun. [300]On his return he scattered the Cola, Karnāṭa, Lāṭa and other kings as an elephant in rut [scatters the other] elephants by his mere odour.

[301–305. committed inhuman acts, some of which the author prefers not to mention; 306. founded Mihireśvara at Śrīnagarī and Mihirapura in Holaḍā]

307. Brahmans from Gandhāra, resembling himself in their habits and verily themselves the lowest of the twice-born, accepted *agrahāras* from him.

[…]

sa varṣasaptatiṃ bhuktvā bhuvaṃ bhūlokabhairavaḥ|
bhūrirogārditavapuḥ prāviśaj jātavedasam‖ 1.309

so 'yaṃ trikoṭihā mukto yaḥ svātmany api nirghṛṇaḥ|
dehatyāge 'sya gaganād uccacāreti bhāratī‖ 1.310

ity ūcur ye mate teṣāṃ sa eva parihāradaḥ|
khaṇḍayan vītaghṛṇatām agrahārādikarmabhiḥ‖ 1.311

ākrānte dāradair bhauṭṭair mlecchair aśucikarmabhiḥ|
vinaṣṭadharme deśe 'smin puṇyācārapravartanam‖ 1.312

āryadeśyān sa saṃsthāpya vyatanod dāruṇaṃ tapaḥ|
saṃkalpya svavapurdāhaṃ prāyaścittakriyāṃ vyadhāt‖ 1.313

ata evāgrahārāṇāṃ sahasraṃ pratyapādayat|
gāndhāradeśajātebhyo dvijebhyo vijayeśvare‖ 1.314

kṣurakhaḍgāsidhenvādipūrṇe 'yaḥphalake tadā|
vahnipradīpte sahasā paryante svāṃ tanuṃ jahau‖ 1.315

ity etasmiñ janāmnāye ke cid avyabhicāriṇi|
prāhuḥ puruṣasiṃhasya krauryaṃ tasyāvigarhitam‖ 1.316

ye nāgena ruṣā pluṣṭe nagare prābhavan khaśāḥ|
teṣāṃ nāśāya vṛttāntaṃ pūrvoktaṃ jagaduḥ pare‖ 1.317

[309]After ruling the land for seventy years this terror of the earth became afflicted in his body with many diseases, and immolated himself in the flames. [310]When he sacrificed his own body there issued from the sky a voice which declared: "This destroyer of three crores [of human beings] has attained salvation, since he has shown no mercy for his own person either."

[311]In the opinion of those who report this, he figures as a liberal patron who has made amends for his cruelties by gifts of *agrahāras* and similar deeds. 312–316. Some excuse the cruelty of this lion among men by [referring to] a tenacious popular tradition, which maintains: "After killing the inhabitants of Āryadeśa he performed terrible penance, and re-established pious observances in this land which, overrun by impure Dāradas, Bhauṭṭas and Mlecchas, had fallen off from the sacred law. When determined to burn himself in the flames he offered an atonement. It was on this account that he bestowed a thousand *agrahāras* on Brahmans from the Gandhāra-land at Vijayeśvara. Then finally he bravely gave up his body to the flames on an iron board which was studded with razors, swords, knives and other [sharp instruments]."

[317]Others have declared that his above described acts were intended for the destruction of the Khaśas, who had obtained predominance when the city [of Nara] had been burned through the wrath of the Nāga.

[318–323. the story of Candravatī; Mihirakula slaughtered three crores of women together with their husbands and sons]

evaṃ kṣudro 'pi yad rājā saṃbhūya na hato janaiḥ|
tatkarma kārayadbhis tad daivatair eva rakṣitaḥ‖ 1.324

[324]That a king of such wickedness was not killed by a rising of his subjects, can only be due to his having been protected by the gods who caused him to act in this manner.

X.014/F. Khiṅkhila Narendrāditya

sūnur narendrādityo 'sya khiṅkhilānyābhidho 'bhavat|
bhūteśvarapratiṣṭhānām akṣayiṇyāś ca kārakaḥ‖ 1.347

divyānugrahabhāg ugrābhidho yasya gurur vyadhāt|
ugreśaṃ mātṛcakraṃ ca prabhāvodagravigrahaḥ‖ 1.348

[325. after Mihirakula, his son Baka became king: virtuous *māheśvara*. 333. a *yoginī* sacrificed him to the *devīcakra*. 336ff. Kṣitinanda, Vasunanda, Nara II, Akṣa. 339. Gopāditya brought back the first *yuga*. 346. Gokarṇa]

[347]His son Narendrāditya [I.], who bore the second name of Khiṅkhila, consecrated shrines to [Śiva] Bhūteśvara, and founded a permanent endowment [for the feeding of Brahmans].[i] [348]His guru, Ugra by name, who was the recipient of divine favours, and whose stature was raised by dignity, constructed the [shrine of Śiva] Ugreśa and a 'circle of the Mothers.'

[350ff. Yudhiṣṭhira I.]

X.014/G. Toramāṇa

hiraṇyatoramāṇākhyau vyadhattām atha tatsutau|
sāmrājyayuvarājatvabhājane rañjanaṃ kṣiteḥ‖ 3.102

balāhatānāṃ prācuryaṃ vinivāryāsamañjasam|
toramāṇena dīnnārāḥ svāhatāḥ[ii] saṃpravartitāḥ‖ 3.103

mām avajñāya rājñeva kasmād etena valgitam|
iti taṃ pūrvajo rājā krodhano bandhane vyadhāt‖ 3.104

[i] Cf. silver coin with the legend Deva Śāhi Khiṅgila (Stein).

[ii] A3 gloss: *svāhatāḥ svanāmākṣaramudrāṅkadānena āhatāḥ saṃpravartitāḥ vyavahāraviṣayāḥ kṛtāḥ*.

[102]Then his [Śreṣṭhasena's] two sons Hiraṇya and Toramāṇa, holding the position of sovereign and *yuvarāja* [respectively], delighted the earth. [103]Suppressing the undue abundance of [coins] struck by …[i] , Toramāṇa put in circulation coins [*dīnnārāḥ*] struck in his own [name].

[104]"How did this [Toramāṇa dare to] make display as if he were king, disregarding me?" Thus thought in anger the king his elder brother, and placed him in prison.

- Stein (1900, I: 82–83): the name of Toramāṇa is found on a species of Kashmir copper coins … must belong in their earliest issues to the fifth or sixth century of our era …
  - [if this Toramāṇa is the father of Mihirakula then] we should, indeed, have to charge Kalhaṇa with having placed the father some seven hundred years after the son. But it must be remembered that as far as our present knowledge goes, Kashmir may well have known another and later ruler bearing the name Toramāṇa. The name, though unusual and probably of Turkish origin, can be shown from Kalhaṇa's narrative to have been borne by a Hindu Ṣāhi prince of Gandhāra as late as the tenth century.
- Toramāṇa died in captivity, his son Pravarasena left Kashmir for a tour of pilgrimages (3:123).
- Between Hiraṇya and Pravarasena II: the poet Mātṛgupta
  - sent to Kashmir by King Harṣa-Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī, who was the father of Śīlāditya-Pratāpaśīla (3:330)

X.014/H. Pravarasena II

- received the news of Vikramāditya's death and Mātṛgupta's abdication when he was in Trigarta or Kāngra marching against Kashmir to recover the kingdom of his forefathers (3:285 sqq.)
- expedition in the course of which he vanquished the inhabitants of Surāṣṭra and recovered for Śīlāditya-Pratāpaśīla the throne of his father Vikramāditya (3:330 sq.); Stein I. p. 84: Hiuen Tsiang tells us that Śīlāditya was on the throne of Mālava sixty years before his own time, i.e. about 580 CE
- founded Pravarapura on the site of modern Śrīnagar

vitastāyāṃ sa bhūpālo bṛhatsetum akārayat| 3.364ab

This king had the 'Great Bridge' built on the Vitastā.

bhittvā tam aśmaprāsādaṃ jagāhe vimalaṃ nabhaḥ|| 3.374cd

… he [Pravarasena] … breaking through that palace of stone [i.e. the temple of Pravarasena] entered the spotless sky.

[i] Stein refrained from translating the expression *balāhatānāṃ*, as he could not find an appropriate sense for it.

Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* describes[i] the Pravarasena temple in Pravarapura as "showing to this day a gap above resembling the gate of heaven, through which King Pravara bodily ascended to heaven."

- Stein (1900, I: 85): coins of Pravarasena, both in gold and silver, show close connection on the one hand with the Kashmir Toramāṇa coins, and on the other hand with the coinage of the 'Kidāra' Kuṣāṇas

X.014/I. Laḫkhaṇa Narendrāditya

padmāvatyāṃ sutas tasya narendrāditya ity abhūt|
laḫkhanāparanāmā yo narendrasvāminaṃ vyadhāt‖ 3.383

His [Yudhiṣṭhira II's] son from [queen] Padmāvatī was Narendrāditya, who bore a second name, Laḫkhaṇa, and who built the temple of Narendrasvāmin.

Stein ad loc.: cf. silver coin *[rā]ja laḫkhaṇa udayāditya,*

- resembling the coin of Deva Śāhi Khiṅgila, + copper coins showing the name Narendra

X.014/J. Alakhāna

uccakhānālakhānasya saṃkhye gūrjarabhūbhujaḥ|
baddhamūlāṃ kṣaṇāl lakṣmīṃ śucaṃ dīrghām aropayat‖ 5.149
tasmai dattvā ṭakkadeśaṃ vinayād aṅgulīm iva|
svaśarīram ivāpāsīn maṇḍalaṃ gūrjarādhipaḥ‖ 5.150

[149]The firmly rooted fortune of Alakhāna, king of Gūrjara, he [King Śaṃkaravarman[ii]] uprooted in battle in a moment, and made long grief rise [in its place]. [150]The ruler of Gūrjara gave up to him humbly the Ṭakka-land, preserving [hereby] his own country, as [if he had saved] his own body [at the sacrifice] of a finger.

- The name of Alakhāna may be connected to Laḫkhaṇa and/or to the term Alchon.
- Gūrjara comprised "the upper portion of the flat Doāb between the Jhelam and Cināb rivers south of Dārvābhisāra, and probably also a part of the Panjāb plain further east" (Stein 1900, I: 99).
- Stein's note ad 150: Ṭakka-land is presumably identical to Xuanzang's Tseh-kia [see Text I.086], bordering in the east on the Vipāśā (Biās) and in the west on the Indus; its capital was Śākala. Stein (1900, I: 99): Ṭakka-land was probably a tract adjoining the lower hills east of the Cināb.

[i] 18.28cd, *yad yātasya pravaranṛpater dyāṃ śarīreṇa sārdhaṃ svargadvārapratimam upari cchidram adyāpi dhatte‖*
[ii] R. 883–902 CE (Stein 1900, I: 99).

- Verse 155 further on adds that the illustrious Lalliya Śāhi of Udabhāṇḍa was Alakhāna's supporter (*alakhānāśrayaḥ*). Udabhāṇḍapura was the capital of Gandhāra, Waihand in Albērūnī (Stein 1900, II: 337).

X.1.4. Miscellaneous references to Hūṇas

X.015. *Raghuvaṃśa* of Kālidāsa, 4:70–71 in Vallabhadeva's version

Dominic Goodall and Harunaga Isaacson (eds.), *The Raghupañcikā of Vallabhadeva, Being the Earliest Commentary on the Raghuvaṃśa of Kālidāsa. Vol. I*. Egbert Forsten, Groningen, 2003.

vinītādhvaśramās tasya vaṅkṣutīraviveṣṭanaiḥ|
dudhuvur vājinaḥ skandhāṁl lagnakuṅkumakesarān||70||

{[Vallabha:]raghor aśvā aṃsān adhunvan| saktaghusṛṇakiñjalkān| tatsamparkaḥ kuta ityāha| vaṅkṣvākhyanadīpulinaparivartanair ativāhitamārgakhedāḥ| aśvānāṃ mārgakhedo nivartate viveṣṭanena||}

His horses, having relieved their fatigue of the road by rolling on the banks of the Oxus, shook their shoulders onto which filaments of saffron were stuck.

- Later commentators, except Śrīnātha and Vaidyaśrīgarbha, read Sindhu- (Indus) instead of Vaṅkṣu- (Oxus).

tatra hūnāvarodhānāṃ bhartṛṣu vyaktavikramam|
kapolapāṭanādeśi babhūva raghuceṣṭitam||71||

{[Vallabha:]uttarāpathe hūnākhyajanapadāntaḥpurāṇāṃ raghor vyāpāras tadbhartṛmāraṇātmakaḥ| gaṇḍayor nakhādibhir vikartanakāri| patiṣu hūneṣu prakaṭā śaktisampad yasya, tacceṣṭitena teṣāṃ vyāpāditatvāt| pativadhāc ca bhāryā śocantī kucakacakapolān nakhair dārayati||}

There Raghu's exploits, the force of which had been demonstrated on the husbands of the royal Hūṇa ladies, gave the command of cutting their cheeks.

{[Vallabha:]Because her husband has been killed, the mourning wife splits her breasts, hair and cheeks with her nails.}

- Later commentators read *-pāṭalādeśi* in place of *-pāṭanādeśi*, meaning that their cheeks become flushed, rather than cut.

X.016. *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa

X.016/A. *Harṣacarita*, *Ucchvāsa* 4

Text from P. V. Kane (1965, 1); translation from E. B. Cowell and F. W. Thomas (1897, 101).

> teṣu caivam utpadyamāneṣu krameṇodapādi hūṇahariṇakesarī sindhurājajvaro gurjaraprajāgaro gāndhārādhipagandhadvipakūṭapākalo lāṭapāṭavapāṭaccaro mālavalakṣmīlatāparaśuḥ pratāpaśīla iti prathitāparanāmā prabhākaravardhano nāma rājādhirājaḥ.
>
> The line so proceeding, there was born in course of time a king of kings named Prabhākaravardhana, famed far and wide under a second name Pratāpaśīla, a lion to the Hūṇa deer, a burning fever to the king of the Indus land, a troubler of the sleep of Gujarat, a bilious plague to that scent-elephant the lord of Gāndhāra, a looter to the lawlessness of the Lāṭas, an axe to the creeper of Mālava's glory.

X.016/B. *Harṣacarita*, *Ucchvāsa* 5

Text from P. V. Kane (1965, 19); translation from E. B. Cowell and F. W. Thomas (1897, 132).

> atha kadācid rājā rājyavardhanaṃ kavacaharam āhūya hūṇān hantuṃ hariṇān iva harir hariṇeśakiśorakam aparimitabalānuyātaṃ cirantanair amātyair anuraktaiś ca mahāsāmantaiḥ kṛtvā sābhisaram uttarāpathaṃ prāhiṇot.
>
> Subsequently the king one day summoned Rājyavardhana, whose age now fitted him for wearing armour, and, as a lion despatches his whelp against the deer, placed him at the head of an immense force and sent him attended by ancient advisers and devoted feudatories towards the north to attack the Hūṇas.

X.016/C. *Harṣacarita*, *Ucchvāsa* 6

Text from P. V. Kane (1965, 36); translation from E. B. Cowell and F. W. Thomas (1897, 165).

> hūṇanirjayasamaraśaravraṇabaddhapaṭṭakair dīrghadhavalaiḥ samāsannarājyalakṣmīkaṭākṣapātair iva śabalīkṛtakāyam […]
>
> Long white bandages, bound about arrow-wounds received in battle while conquering the Hūṇas, dotted [Rājyavardhana's] form like side-glances from his approaching royal glory.

X.017. *Kuvalayamālā* of Uddyotana Sūri, p. 282. vv. 6–7

Text from A. N. Upādhye (1959); translation from Christine Chojnacki (2008).

> tīrammi tīya payaḍā pavvaïyā ṇāma rayaṇa-sohillā|
> jattha ṭṭhieṇa bhuttā puhaī siri-torarāeṇa‖
>
> tassa gurū hariütto āyario āsi gutta-vaṃsāo|
> tīĕ ṇayarīĕ diṇṇo jeṇa ṇiveso tahiṃ kāle‖

tīrammi tīya⟧ *atthi* P • ***payaḍā***⟧ *payaḍā purīṇaṃ* P • ***jattha ṭṭhieṇa bhuttā***⟧ *jatthatthi ṭhie bhuttā* J • ***jattha***⟧ *tattha* P • ***siri-torarāeṇa***⟧ *siritorasāṇeṇa* P (ed.: *sāṇeṇa* can be read as *māṇeṇa*) • ***hariütto***⟧ *hariyatto* P • ***tīĕ ṇayarīĕ***⟧ *tīya ṇayarīya* J • ***diṇṇo jeṇa ṇiveso tahiṃ kāle***⟧ *dinno jiṇanivosā tahiṃ kālo* P

> Sur sa [= Candrabhāgā] berge, il y a la célèbre Parvatikā. Dans cette ville embellie de joyaux résidait l'illustre Tora qui régnait sur la terre. Le roi avait pour maître spirituel le maître Harigupta, de la lignée des Gupta. Dans la ville, il lui donna un emplacement à cette époque.

See page 278 for a discussion and an English translation by Hans Bakker.

X.018. *Nītivākyāmṛta* of Somadeva Sūri, *Durgasamuddeśa* 8.

Dated Śaka 881. Text from Rāmcandra Mālavīya (1972).

> śrūyate kila hūṇādhipatiḥ paṇyaputavāhibhiḥ subhaṭaiḥ citrakūṭaṃ jagrāha.
>
> According to hearsay, the Hun king captured Citrakūṭa with his soldiers who carried baskets full of merchandise(?).

X.019. *Pādatāḍitaka* of Śyāmilaka, a Hunnish horse

A play of the second half of the fifth century, set in Ujjayinī. Edited by G. H. Schokker (1966, 89); text and translation from Csaba Dezső and Somadeva Vasudeva (2009, 50–51).

> aye kasya khalv ayam ahūṇo hūṇamaṇḍanamaṇḍita āryaghoṭakaḥ pāṭaliputrikāyāḥ puṣpadāsyā bhavanadvāram āviṣkaroti? *(nirvarṇya)* ā jñātam! ebhir ihābaddhaśvetakāṣṭhakaṛnikāprahasitakapoladeśair baddhakarair asajjam apy asakṛt sajjam iti sāñjalipravādibhir lāṭaḍiṇḍibhiḥ sūcitaḥ senāpateḥ senakasyāpatyaratnaṃ bhaṭṭi-makhavarmā bhaviṣyati.
>
> Whose is this Aryan horse which marks the door of Puṣpadāsī from Pāṭaliputra? It is not a Hun horse, yet it is decorated with Hunnish ornaments. *(looking)* Ah! I know! It must be Bhaṭṭi Makhavarman,[i] the excellent son of general Senaka. He is given away by these cynic ascetics

[i] Dasharatha Sharma (1957, 20–21) identified Makhavarman with the son of the *senāpati* Dharasena I of the Maitraka dynasty of Valabhī (end of the fifth century).

from Lāṭa[i] whose cheeks laugh with white wooden earrings,[ii] who join their hands in supplication and incessantly protest that something is ready though it is not. It is impossible to pass by without speaking to him. By ignoring him I would show indifference to friendship. Let's go closer then.

X.020. *Cāndravṛtti* of Candragomin, I.2.81 *parokṣe liṭ*

Text from Bruno Liebich (1918, XIII. 521 S).

parokṣe ca lokavijñāte prayoktur darśanaviṣaye darśanayogyatvāt parokṣatvasyāvivakṣāyāṃ laṅ bhavaty eva: ajayaj jarto hūṇān iti.

To express [a past action] which was not directly perceived [but] which is known to the people and which could have been seen by the speaker, if one does not intend to express the fact that it was not directly experienced, we do indeed use [not perfect but] imperfect, e.g. "Jarta defeated the Hūṇas."

- Variae lectiones: *japto*, *jarto*
- Skandagupta's victory soon after 465?
- Yaśodharman's in 544?
- Atreyi Biswas (1973, 124): Kielhorn, Hoernle and Konow regard the word *jarto* as the ancient name of the Jāṭs; that is Yaśodharman who was probably a Jāṭ.
- Saletore (1943, 484): it refers to Rājyavardhana in the seventh century
- *Mahābhārata* 8,30.14: *jartikā nāma bāhlīkās teṣāṃ vṛttaṃ suninditam*

X.021. *Subhāṣita*s

X.021/A. A Hunnish woman: *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa* 924

= *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* 1:367. Attribution: Aparājitarakṣita; also quoted in *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* 9. Text from Kosambi and Gokhale (1957, 168) translation by Ingalls (1965, 277)

udgarbhahūṇataruṇīramaṇopamarda-[iii]
bhugnonnatastananiveśanibhaṃ himāṃśoḥ|
bimbaṃ kaṭhorabisakāṇḍakaḍāragaurair
viṣṇoḥ padaṃ prathamam agrakarair vyanakti‖

[i] It is noteworthy that the "cynics" (Diṇḍins) are associated here with the Lāṭa country in southern Gujarat, where Kārohaṇa was located, the place of origin of the Pāśupata sect where Śiva's four *avatāras* took place in the four *yuga*s. Diṇḍi or Diṇḍimuṇḍi (or °muṇḍa) was Śiva's incarnation in the second (Tretā) *yuga* (cf. Bisschop 2006, 33).

[ii] The colour associated with laughter is white. On the other hand the *viṭa* might consider these earrings laughable because they are made of wood instead of ivory (cf. Schokker, note ad loc., p. 209).

[iii] V. l. *uddarpa-*.

> The cool-rayed moon is swollen and pressed flat
>
> like the breast of a pregnant [v.l. proud] Hunnish woman pressed against her lover.
>
> With its rays pale yellow as full-grown lotus stems
>
> it opens to our sight the whole extent of earth.

The poetician Vāmana, after quoting the above verse (in *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtra* 4,2.2) quotes a line in which an orange is likened to the shaved chin of a Hun, *sadyomuṇḍitamattahūṇacibuka-praspardhināraṅgakam* (Jhā 1971, 138).

X.021/B. A Hunnish woman: *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* 3:1483

Attribution: Ācāryagopīka. Text from S. C. Banerji (1965, 400).

> pītvā sāndratamaṃ tamas timirahā devaḥ prasūte yamaṃ
> kālindīṃ ca śanaiścaraṃ ca timirāhārānusārād iva|
> tejas tv asya punar virodhivasudhāpālāṅganākajjalāny
> ācāmad gurugarbhahūṇataruṇīgaṇḍāvadātaṃ yaśaḥ‖1483‖
>
> After consuming the densest gloom, the darkness-slaying god [the Sun] generates Yama, and likewise [generates] Kālindī and Saturn seemingly because he has partaken of darkness. But as for this one, his blaze sips of the kohl on the eyes of enemy kings' wives [before giving rise to] glory that is white like the cheek of a heavily pregnant Hunnish damsel.

Yama is the mythological first man; Kālindī is a wife of Kṛṣṇa. Both, as well as the planet Saturn, are thought of as children of the Sun. All three are characterised by a dark colour (Kālindī perhaps through being equated to the river Yamunā, which the name also signifies), said here to be caused by the fact that the Sun drinks darkness. In contrast, the heroic prowess of the unnamed king praised in the stanza generates a thoroughly luminous thing—his reputation—even though it consumes the dark eyeliner of his enemies' wives (who stop wearing makeup upon being widowed, or whose tears over the loss of their husbands wash off their kohl).

X.022. Hunnic script in the *Mahāvastu*, Chapter 7

'The Great Chapter.' Core *c.* 1st century BCE/CE; later additions until 5th–6th century CE; gradual development; no Chinese translation. Text and translation as cited by Karttunen (2015, 267–68), originally edited by Senart (1882–97, I. 135) and translated by Jones (1949–56). Recent study and partial edition in Tournier (2017), on the Hūṇa script see pp. 119–21. Passage listing the 32 styles of writing Siddhārtha learns at school.[i]

[i] Pāṇini *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 3.2.21 only mentions *lipi* in general. Salomon (1998, 8–10): the older Jaina *lipi*-lists do not include a Hūṇa script.

> yā vā imā loke saṃjñā brāhmī puṣkarasārī kharostī yāvanī[i] brahmavāṇī puṣpalipī kutalipī śaktinalipī vyatyastalipī lekhalipī mudrālipī ukaramadhuradaradacīṇa**hūṇā**pīrā vaṅgā sīphalā tramidā dardurā ramaṭhabhayavaicchetukā gulmalā hastadā kasūlā ketukā kusuvā talikā jajarideṣu akṣabaddhaṃ sarvā eṣā bodhisattvānāṃ nīti.
>
> All the names of the styles of writing known in the world have been mastered by Bodhisattvas. These are the Brāhmī style, the Puṣkarasārī, the Kharosti, the Greek, the *brahmavāṇī*, the *puṣpā*, the *kutā*, the *śaktinā*, the *vyatyastā*, the *lekhā*, the *mudrā*, the style of Ukara,[ii] of Madhura,[iii] that of the Daradas, of the Chinese, of the Hūṇas, of the Abhīras, and of the Vaṅgas, the *sīphalā* style, the Dravidian, the Dardura, the Ramaṭha, the *bhayā*, the *vaicchetukā*, the *gulmalā*, the *hastadā*, the *kasūlā*, the *ketukā*, the *kusuvā*, the *talikā*, the *jajarideṣu*, and the *akṣabaddhā*.

X.023. Hunnic script in the *Lalitavistara*, Chapter 10

'The Extensive Narration of the Play [of the Buddha],' *c.* 3rd–4th century CE; first Chinese translation 308 CE; gradual development. Text from Lefmann (1902). Translation from Bays (1983, 189–90), using the French translation of Foucaux (1884–92) and the Tibetan translation. Study in Salomon (1998, 8–10). The chapter containing the excerpt bears the title 'Seeing the Writing-school.'[iv] Passage listing the 64 styles of writing Siddhārtha learns at school.[v]

> atha bodhisattva uragasāracandanamayaṃ lipiphalakam ādāya divyārṣasuvarṇatirakaṃ samantān maṇiratnapratyuptaṃ viśvāmitram ācāryam evam āha| katamāṃ me bho upādhyāya lipiṃ śikṣāpayasi| brāhmīkharoṣṭīpuṣkarasāriṃ aṅgalipiṃ vaṅgalipiṃ magadhalipiṃ maṅgalyalipiṃ aṅgulīyalipiṃ śakārilipiṃ brahmavalilipiṃ pāruṣyalipiṃ drāviḍalipiṃ kirātalipiṃ dākṣiṇyalipiṃ ugralipiṃ saṃkhyālipiṃ anulomalipiṃ avamūrdhalipiṃ daradalipiṃ khāṣyalipiṃ cīnalipiṃ lūnalipiṃ **hūṇalipiṃ** madhyākṣaravistaralipiṃ puṣpalipiṃ devalipiṃ nāgalipiṃ yakṣalipiṃ gandharvalipiṃ kinnaralipiṃ mahoragalipiṃ asuralipiṃ garuḍalipiṃ mṛgacakralipiṃ vāyasarutalipiṃ bhaumadevalipiṃ antarīkṣadevalipiṃ uttarakurudvīpalipiṃ aparagoḍānīlipiṃ pūrvavidehalipiṃ utkṣepalipiṃ nikṣepalipiṃ vikṣepalipiṃ prakṣepalipiṃ sāgaralipiṃ vajralipiṃ lekhapratilekhalipiṃ anudrutalipiṃ śāstrāvartāṃ gaṇanāvartalipiṃ utkṣepāvartalipiṃ nikṣepāvartalipiṃ pādalikhitalipiṃ dviruttarapadasaṃdhilipiṃ yāvaddaśottarapadasaṃdhilipiṃ madhyāhāriṇīlipiṃ sarvarutasaṃgrahaṇīlipiṃ vidyānulomāvimiśritalipiṃ ṛṣitapastaptāṃ rocamānāṃ dharaṇīprekṣiṇīlipiṃ gaganaprekṣiṇīlipiṃ sarvauṣadhinisyandāṃ sarvasārasaṃgrahaṇīṃ sarvabhūtarutagrahaṇīm| āsāṃ bho upādhyāya catuṣṣaṣṭīlipīnāṃ katamāṃ tvaṃ śiṣyāpayiṣyasi|

[i] em. Senart; *yonārī* MS. Edgerton (1953, 448) suggests *yonānī*.
[ii] Jones: Uttarakuru.
[iii] Jones: Magadha.
[iv] *lipiśālāsaṃdarśanaparivarto daśamaḥ*.
[v] There are actually 65 items in the list.

> The Bodhisattva took up an exquisitely colored writing tablet made of the essence of Uraga sandalwood, strewn with gold dust and decorated all around with precious stones, and spoke to his teacher Viśvāmitra: "Well, master, which of the sixty-four scripts will you teach me?"
>
> "The Brāhmī, Kharoṣṭhī, Puṣkarasāri scripts? Or the scripts of Aṅga, Vaṅga, or Magadha? Or the Maṅgalya, Mānuṣya, or Aṅgulī scripts? Or the scripts of Śakāri, Brahmavalī, Drāviḍa, Kināri, Dākṣiṇa, or Ugra? Or the scripts known as Saṅkhyā, Anuloma, or Ardhadanus? Or the scripts of Darada, Khāṣya, Cīna, Lūṇa or Hūṇa? Or those known as Madhyākṣaravistara or Puṣpa? Or the scripts of the Devas, Nāgas, Yakṣas, Gandharvas, Kinnaras, Mahoragas, Asuras, or Garuḍas? Or the scripts known as Mṛgacakra or Cakra? Or the scripts of the Vāyumaruts, Bhaumadevas, or the Antarīkṣadevas? Or the scripts of Uttarakurudvīpa, Aparagoḍāna, or Pūrvavideha? Or the scripts known as Utkṣepa, Nikṣepa, Vikṣepa, Prakṣepa, Sāgara, Vajra, or Lekhapratilekha? Or the scripts Anudruta, Śāstrāvarta, Gaṇanāvarta, Utkṣepāvarta, Nikṣepāvarta, Pādalikhita, or Dviruttarapadasaṃdhi? The Yāvaddaśottarapadasaṃdhi, Madhyāhāriṇī, Sarvarutasaṃgrahaṇi, Vidyānuloma, or Vimiśrita scripts? Or the scripts known as Ṛṣitapastapta, Rocamānadhāraṇīprekṣaṇa, Gaganaprekṣiṇī, or those known as Sarvauṣadhiniṣyanda, Sarvāsarasaṃgrahaṇi, or Sarvabhūtarutagrahaṇi?
>
> Which of these sixty-four scripts will you teach me?"

X.024. Hārahūṇas in the *Purāṇas*

References from Upendra Thakur (1967, 53). See also Text X.002/B.

- *BrahmāṇḍaP* 45:109–136: *hārahūṇakāḥ*
- *MārkaṇḍeyaP* 57:37b: *hārabhūṣikāḥ*
- *BrahmaP* 27:46b: *hārabhūṣikāḥ*
- *VāyuP* 45:116d: *hārapūrikāḥ*
- *MatsyaP*: *hāramūrttikāḥ*
- others: *hāramūṣikāḥ*

X.025. Hārahūra in the *Arthaśāstra* 2:25,24–25.

Text from GRETIL[i] (digitised by Muneo Tokunaga et al. based on the edition of R. P. Kangle 1969); translation from Patrick Olivelle (2013, 156).

> mṛdvīkāraso madhu| tasya svadeśo vyākhyānam kāpiśāyanam hārahūrakam iti|
>
> *Madhu* is the juice of grapes. The explanation for its names "Kāpiśāyana" and "Hārahūraka" is their places of origin.

[i] http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil/1_sanskr/6_sastra/5_artha/kautil_u.htm

Olivelle's note: Kapiśa was an area around Kabul; Hārahūra may be a name of a people or region in the northwest of the subcontinent; see Kangle's note and Scharfe (1993, 279). Its connection to the Hūṇas has been disproven by Trautmann (1971, 183–84).

See also page 276 for Hans Bakker's arguments against identifying Hārahūṇas as a Hunnic people.

X.026. Hārahaura in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*

Text from GRETIL[i] (digitised by Michio Yano and Mizue Sugita based on the edition of A. V. Tripāṭhī 1968). Translation from V. Subrahmanya Sastri and M. Ramakrishna Bhat (1946).

vargair āgneyādyaiḥ krūragrahapīḍitaiḥ krameṇa nṛpāḥ|
pāñcālo māgadhikaḥ kāliṅgaś ca kṣayaṃ yānti‖ 14:32

āvanto 'thānarto mṛtyuṃ cāyāti sindhusauvīraḥ|
rājā ca hārahauro madreśo 'nyaś ca kauṇindaḥ‖ 14:33

When these groups of asterisms beginning with Krittika are hurt by malefic planets, the kings of the following countries will in their order be destroyed: Panchala, Magadha, Kalinga, Avantee, Anarta, Sindhusauveera, Harahaura [Hārahūṇa?], Madra and Kuninda.

[i] http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil/1_sanskr/6_sastra/8_jyot/brhats_u.htm

X.2. Epigraphic Sources

Hans Bakker

Since the texts below are cited for reference, their orthography has been normalised silently. Verse numbers and commas are editorial additions. *Daṇḍas* (|) for verse punctuation have been inserted by the editor in accordance with standard convention.

X.027. Bhitari stone pillar inscription of Skandagupta

The text presented here is based on the editions by Fleet in *CII III* (1888, 52–56) and Sircar in *SI I* (1965, 321–24). Translation by Fleet (*op. cit.* 54–56); verse 8 retranslated by Hans Bakker.

> […]
>
> prathitapṛthumatisvabhāvaśakteḥ, pṛthuyaśasaḥ pṛthivīpateḥ pṛthuśrīḥ|
> pi(tṛ)pa(ri)gatapādapadmavartī, prathitayaśāḥ pṛthivīpatiḥ suto 'yam‖1‖
>
> jagati bhu(ja)balā〈:ḍhyo:〉 guptavaṃśaikavīraḥ,
> prathitavipuladhāmā nāmataḥ **skandaguptaḥ**|
> sucaritacaritānāṃ yena vṛttena vṛttaṃ,
> na vihatam amalātmā tāna(dhīdā)vinītaḥ‖2‖
>
> vinayabalasunītair vikrameṇa krameṇa,
> pratidinam abhiyogād īpsitaṃ yena la(bdhv)ā|
> svabhimatavijigīṣāprodyatānāṃ pareṣāṃ,
> praṇihita iva le(bhe sa)ṃvidhānopadeśaḥ‖3‖
>
> vicalitakulalakṣmīstambhanāyodyatena,
> kṣititalaśayanīye yena nītā triyāmā|
> samuditaba(la)koṣān (yudhy amitrāṃś ca ji)tvā,
> kṣitipacaraṇapīṭhe sthāpito vāmapādaḥ‖4‖
>
> prasabham anupa(mai)r vidhvastaśastrapratāpair,
> vina(yasa)mu[citaiś ca] kṣāntiśaur(yai)r nirūḍham|
> caritam amalakīrtter gīyate yasya śubhraṃ,
> diśi diśi parituṣṭair ākumāraṃ manuṣyaiḥ‖5‖
>
> pitari divam upe(te)viplutāṃ vaṃśalakṣmīṃ,
> bhujabalavijitārir yaḥ pratiṣṭhāpya bhūyaḥ|
> jitam iti paritoṣān mātaraṃ sāsranetrāṃ,
> hataripur iva kṛṣṇo devakīm abhyupe(ta)ḥ‖6‖
>
> (svai)r da(ṇḍaiḥ) ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – t pracalitaṃ vaṃśaṃ pratiṣṭhāpya yo,
> bāhubhyām avaniṃ vijitya hi jiteṣv ārteṣu kṛtvā dayām|

notsikto (na) ca vismitaḥ pratidinaṃ saṃvardhamānadyutir,
gītaiś ca stutibhiś ca vandakajano yaṃ (prā)payaty āryatā(m)‖7‖

hūṇair yasya samāgatasya samare dorbhyāṃ dharā kampitā,
bhīmāvartakarasya śatruṣu śarā – – ⏑ – – ⏑ –|
– – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⟨:viracitaṃ:⟩ prakhyāpito (dīptidā),
na ⟨:dyo:⟩ti ⏑ na – ⏑ lakṣyata iva śrotreṣu śārṅgadhvaniḥ‖8‖

[…]

1 Puṣpitāgrā • 2–6 Mālinī • 7–8 Śārdūlavikrīḍita

2a ***°balāḍhyo***⟧ em. Fleet, Sircar : ***°balāḍyo*** ins. • 4c ***yudhy amitrāṃś ca jitvā***⟧ conj. Divekar, Mirashi, Bakker : *puṣyamitrāṃś ca jitvā* Fleet, Sircar (uncertain) • 5b ***vinayasamucitaiś ca***⟧ conj. Sircar : ***vina*** ⏑ ⏑ ***mu*** ⏑ – – Fleet • 7a ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ***t***⟧ Sircar : ⏑ ⏑ *ra(?)tyu – t* conj. Fleet • 7d ***vandakajano***⟧ ins. : ***vandakaja(?)no(?)*** Fleet, Sircar • 8c ***dīptidā***⟧ conj. Sircar : *– i* ⏑ *i –* Fleet • 8d ***dyoti*** ⏑ ***na*** – ⏑⟧ Sircar : ***dyo(?)ti*** ⏑ ***nabhī(?)ṣu*** conj. Fleet • 8d ***śārṅgadhvaniḥ***⟧ Sircar : ***gāṅgadhvaniḥ*** Fleet

[The inscription gives the Gupta genealogy up to Skandagupta in prose.]

[1]The king [son of Kumāragupta], who was renowned for the innate power of [his] mighty intellect [and] whose fame was great, [is] this [present] king, by name **Skandagupta**, who possesses great glory; who subsisted [like a bee] on the wide-spreading waterlilies which were the feet of [his] father; whose fame is spread far and wide; [2]who is amply endowed with strength of arm in the world; who is the most eminent hero in the lineage of the **Guptas**; whose splendour is spread far and wide; by whom, practising [good] behaviour, the conduct of those who perform good actions is not obstructed; [and] who is well disciplined in the understanding of musical keys(?);[i]

[3][Skandagupta], by whom,—having, with daily intense application, step by step attained his object by means of good behaviour and strength and political conduct,—instruction in the art of disposition [or resources][ii] was acquired, [and] was employed as the means of [subduing his] enemies,[iii] who had put themselves forward in the desire for conquest that was so highly welcome [to them]; [4]by whom, when he prepared himself to restore the fallen fortunes of [his] family, a [whole] night was spent on a couch that was the bare earth; and then having defeated in battle his enemies,[iv] who had developed great power and wealth, he placed [his] left foot on a foot-stool which was the king [of that tribe himself]; [5]the resplendent behaviour of whom,

[i] Sircar notes: "Possibly, 'modest owing to his knowledge of the object of senses.'"
[ii] Sircar notes: "*saṃvidhānopadeśa* is 'instruction in execution.'"
[iii] Sircar notes: "*pareṣāṃ praṇihite* is 'in the application against enemies.'" Maybe the phrase could be rendered as: "after having obtained the (position) he had desired …, he obtained instruction in applying it against his enemies …"
[iv] Fleet's translation "having conquered the Puṣyamitras" modified to follow the reading proposed by Divekar and accepted here in the text. See also the commentary below.

possessed of spotless fame,—inherent, [but increased] by … and patience and heroism,[i] which are emphatically unequalled, [and] which destroy the efficacy of the weapons [of his enemies],—is sung in every region by happy men, even down to the children.[ii]

[6][Skandagupta] who, when [his] father had attained the skies, conquered [his] enemies by the strength of [his] arm, and established again the ruined fortunes of [his] lineage; and then, crying, "the victory has been achieved," betook himself to [his] mother, whose eyes were full of tears from joy, just as Kṛṣṇa, when he had slain [his] enemies, betook himself to [his mother] Devakī; [7]who, with his own armies, established [again] [his] lineage that had been made to totter … , [and] with his two arms subjugated the earth, [and] shewed mercy to the conquered peoples in distress, [but] has become neither proud nor arrogant, though his glory is increasing day by day; [and] whom the bards raise to distinction with [their] songs and praises.

[8]When he [Skandagupta] joined in close conflict with the **Hūṇas**, the earth was made to tremble due to [the power of] his arms, since he caused a terrible whirlpool among the enemy by ... of arrows; the brilliant ... is proclaimed ..., [which] sounds like the twanging of [his] bow [*śārṅga*] in [their] ears.

[The inscription concludes with four verses in which the installation of an image of Śārṅgin (Viṣṇu) and a donation of a village are recorded. For this part of the inscription see Bakker (2005).]

The purport of the *Bhitari Stone Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta* is the foundation of a Viṣṇu temple in Bhitari, possibly called the Kumārasvāmin Temple, in memory of Skandagupta's father Kumāragupta, to whom the merit of the construction is bestowed (Bakker 2005).

According to Mirashi (1982) the verses presented here refer to three major conflicts in which the young Skandagupta was involved.

The first conflict took place in the last years of the reign of Kumāragupta, Skandagupta's father; the verses 3 to 5 refer to this stage. Skandagupta was not the legal heir of Kumāragupta but a boy from the harem. Verse 3 seems to refer to his rise to a position of power and verse 4 relates his conflict with anonymous enemies and his successful restoration of Gupta authority. Rather than the unknown 'Puṣyamitras' (Fleet's reading), the enemy (*amitra*) was, according to Mirashi, the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena II (Skandagupta's nephew on his father's side), who had crossed the boundary river Narmadā in *c.* 445 (Mirashi 1982, 69; Bakker 1997, 25ff; 2006, 178; see also Gai and Chhabra in Fleet and Bhandarkar 1981, 315). The Junagadh inscription suggests that the Vākāṭakas joined the revolt of the Nāgas in Malwa (see below, p. 320).

Verses 6 and 7 refer to the war of succession after Kumāragupta had died in the early fifties of the fifth century. The adversary was Skandagupta's paternal uncle Ghaṭotkaca, viceroy in Vidiśā. Support for this theory is obtained from the *Kevala Narasiṃha Temple Inscription*

[i] According to the conjecture proposed by Sircar and accepted here, this phrase could be translated: "and whose good conduct implies endurance and valour commensurate to his discipline …"

[ii] Or "up to Kumāra," i.e. his father Kumāragupta.

(Bakker and Isaacson 1993; Bakker 1997, 27ff; 2006, 172–79). Verse 6 reports that Skandagupta came out victoriously and verse 7 may refer to his accession to the Gupta throne in *c.* 454.

Shortly after this success Skandagupta was confronted with Hunnic power, referred to in verse 8. His adversaries may have been the Kidarites and Alchons, who had settled in Gandhāra and the Punjab by the middle of the fifth century (Bakker 2017).

X.028. Junagadh rock inscription of Skandagupta

The text presented here is based on the editions by Fleet in *CII III* (1888, 56–65) and Sircar in *SI I* (1965, 307–16). The translation is by Hans Bakker.

[…]

nṛpatiguṇaniketaḥ **skandaguptaḥ** pṛthuśrīḥ,
caturu(dadhijal)āntāṃ sphītaparyantadeśām|
avanim avanatārir yaḥ cakārātmasaṃsthāṃ,
pitari surasakhitvaṃ prāptavaty ātmaśaktyā‖3‖

⟨:api:⟩ ca jita(m e)va tena, prathayanti yaśāṃsi yasya ripavo 'pi|
āmūlabhagnadarpā, [nirvacanā] **mlecchā**deśeṣu‖4‖

krameṇa buddhyā nipuṇaṃ pradhārya,
dhyātvā ca kṛtsnān guṇadoṣahetūn|
vyapetya sarvān manujendraputrāṃl,
lakṣmīḥ svayaṃ yaṃ varayāṃcakāra‖5‖

[…]

3 Mālinī • 4 Āryā • 5 Upajāti

2a ***śaśvat śrī°***⟧ ins. : *śaśvac chrī°* emends Sircar • 3ab ***°śrīḥ catu°***⟧ ins. : *°śrīś catu°* emends Sircar • 4a ***api ca***⟧ conj. : *āpi ca* Fleet (unmetrical), *āpa ca* Sircar (unmetrical) (typo?) • 4d ***nirvacanā***⟧ conj. Fleet (accepted by Sircar)

[Verse 1 is in praise of the god Viṣṇu, and verse 2 glorifies Skandagupta as an emperor who defeated "serpents," i.e. the Nāga Kings of Malwa.]

[3]When his father had won the company of the gods, he, **Skandagupta** of great glory and possessed of kingly virtues, forced his enemies to their knees and conquered the earth up to the borders of the four oceans by his own power, [making also] the border territories thrive. [4]Moreover, even his enemies spread his fame in **Mleccha countries**, signalling his veritable victory—not through words, [but] through the eradication of their pride. [5]Lakṣmī [Fortune] has chosen him [Skandagupta] as her husband of her own accord, dismissing all the [other] royal

> princes,[i] after she had balanced [them] one by one, carefully and wisely, by considering their dispositions to perfection and imperfection.
>
> [The inscription continues with the appointment of Parṇadatta as governor of Surāṣṭra and the repairs made to the dam of the Sudarśana reservoir by his son Cakrapālita.]

The inscription consists of two parts. The first part records the restoration of the embankment of the reservoir Sudarśana at the foot of the hill Ūrjayat near Junagadh (= Girinagara/Girnār) in Kathiawad (Gujarat). This embankment had burst due to monsoon rains in the Gupta Year 136 (455 CE) and was restored by Cakrapālita in the Gupta Year 137 (456 CE). The first part of the epigraph dates to 456 CE. The second part records the foundation by Cakrapālita of a Viṣṇu temple on Mount Ūrjayat, the Cakrabhṛt Temple, in the Gupta Year 138 (457/58 CE).

Cakrapālita was the son of Parṇadatta, who had been appointed governor of Surāṣṭra by Skandagupta after his accession to the imperial throne, which took place before 455.

The first part of the inscription seems to refer to the same three conflicts that are mentioned in the Bhitari inscription.

Verse 2 refers to Skandagupta's conflict with the Nāgas, whose revolt may have been joined by the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena II, son of the Nāga/Gupta queen Prabhāvatī, who we think (Bakker 1997, 25–28; 2006, 172–81; 2014, 25ff) was meant by the anonymous "enemies whose wealth and power had increased" (verse 4 of the Bhitari inscription). This conflict took place when Kumāragupta was still alive and it launched Skandagupta's rise to power.

The second conflict, the war of succession, is mentioned in verse 3. It resulted in the establishment of Skandagupta's authority throughout the empire and involved a (third) conflict with the Mlecchas. The latter conflict, which may have been solved immediately after Skandagupta's enthronement, is mentioned in verse 4. It is generally assumed that the Mlecchas of the Junagadh inscription are the same as the Hūṇas of the Bhitari inscription. This military success confirmed Skandagupta's sovereignty, expressed in verse 5.

It is difficult to assign a definitive chronological order to the two inscriptions. The immediate cause of the Bhitari inscription is to commemorate the death of Kumāragupta by building a temple; that inscription may therefore by slightly earlier than the Junagadh inscription; but the two inscriptions could also both date to 456. The conflict with the Hūṇas (Kidarites?) may have taken place in 455.

X.029. Inscription on a silver bowl from Swat

The text edition is by Bakker (2020).

> kh(i)ṅg(i) 200 6 ka

[i] Sircar observes: "*manujendraputra* may simply indicate 'princes,' but it may also refer to other Gupta princes who might have struggled with Skandagupta for the imperial throne after Kumāragupta's death."

khi⟧ conj. Bakker : ***kha*** Allan, ***va*** Falk. • ***ṅgi***⟧ conj. Bakker : ***ṅgā*** Falk, ***nti*** or ***mbhi*** Allan • ***200 6***⟧ conj. Balogh, Bakker : ***ṇurī*** Göbl, ***ṇuga*** Allan



Figure 2. The inscription punched on the Swat Bowl

This silver bowl was recovered when "during a flood on the Swat River part of the bank was washed away." It is presently in the British Museum (BM 1963,1210.1). The BM website gives the following details: weight 819.3 g, diameter 15.7 cm, height 5.7 cm, volume 630 ml.

The uppermost rim of the bowl's frieze (Figure 2), directly underneath the edging, seems to have been difficult to punch for some reason, as a consequence of which the top vowel signs appear truncated. I conjecture that the intended reading of the first two *akṣaras* is *khiṅgi*, a name of an Alchon king, well-known from coins and short-hand for Khiṅgila.

The number 206 may refer to a year in an unspecified era. In view of the stylistic and palaeographic dating of the bowl to the first half of the fifth century, this era could be the Bactrian Era, which started in CE 223, the year of the foundation of the Sasanian Empire by Ardashir I. If this is correct, it would give a date to the bowl of CE 428/9, which date implies that Prince Khiṅgi of the bowl with curly hair cannot be the same as the Alchon king Khiṅgila with elongated skull or the Devaṣāhi Khiṅgila of the coinage. Khiṅgi(la) was a common name among the Hunnic peoples, like other names known from coins such as Javūkha and Mehama.

Or, if we read *ka* and not (truncated) *ki* (which could stand for Kidara) at the right side of the head, the numerical symbols may refer to the weight in silver: 206 *ka*, viz. *karṣāpaṇa*.

John Allan (1914) reckons with a standard of 1 *karṣāpaṇa* of silver being between 32 to 36 grains (Troy), which is again equivalent to 2.07 to 2.33 gram. This would yield a silver content

of the bowl of 426 to 480 g, far short of the weight of the bowl as given on the BM website of 819.3 g.

The British Museum bowl from the Swat Valley testifies to the historic view of Hunnic warlords taking possession of Northwest India in the first half of the fifth century. Its iconography shows a joint hunting party of four Hunnic princes belonging to two different groups, the Kidara and Alchon. The bowl may have been the possession of a prince who is depicted in the central medallion and whose name is given in the inscription, Khiṅgi(la).

For a more detailed treatment of this bowl see Bakker (2020).

X.030. Schøyen copper scroll

The text presented here follows the reconstructed text of Gudrun Melzer 2006. It takes this reconstruction as body text checked against the readings (from photo) by Dániel Balogh. The translation is by Melzer, except for verses 7 to 10, which have been re-translated by Hans Bakker.

[…]

[32]saṃvatsare aṣṭāṣaṣṭita[33]me 60 8‖ kārttikamāsaśuklatithau saptamyām,
atra divase pratiṣṭhāpito ’yaṃ tathāgatacaityo dhātugarbha[ḥ] [34]mahāvihārasvāminā
opandaputreṇa tālagānikadevaputraṣāhī × × × × × × × × [pā][35][rthi]vena sārdhaṃ pitrā
opandena,
sārdhaṃ patnyā sāradaṣāhiduhitrā buddh × × × × × ×,
[sārdhaṃ ma][36]hāvihārasvā⟨:mi:⟩nyā arccavāmanāyāḥ,
sārdhaṃ pitrā ho× gayena mātrā mahād[e]vy[ā] × × ×,
[37]sārdhaṃ kalyāṇamitreṇa ācāryaratnāgamena,
sārdhaṃ mahāṣāhi**khīṅgīlena**,
sārdhaṃ devarājena [38]**toramānena**|
sārdhaṃ mahāvihārasvāminyās sāsāyāḥ,
sārdhaṃ mahāṣāhi**mehame[na]**|
sārdhaṃ [39]sādavīkhena,
sārdhaṃ mahārāje[na] **javūkhena** sādavīkhaputreṇa|

mehamarājye vartamāne|

yasyādyāpi (tu)ṣārahārakumuda⟨:spa:⟩ṣṭhīkṛśaṅkhaprabhaiś,
chatrodārani(rū)ḍhavedikadharaiś cañcatpatākajvalai⟨:ḥ:⟩|
stūpair bhāti mahī dharādharanibhais trailokyapūjyārcitai⟨:s:⟩,
taṃ mūrdhnā namate nṛmaulimukuṭavyālīḍhapādaṃ jinam‖4‖

saṃkalpā[n yān bibhrati kecit] suviśuddhān,
pūryantā⟨:ṃ:⟩ te prāṇ⟨:a:⟩bhṛtām aśu ja⟨:ga:⟩d vaḥ|
[yan] nistriṃśodbhrā⟨:nta:⟩śarāpātavimuktaṃ,
kṣipraṃ bhūyād brāhmasurāvāsasamāmam‖5‖

śāntiṃ gatasya sugatasya śarīrabhṛdbhi〈:ḥ:〉,
stūpair iyaṃ vasumatī pratip[ū]ritā yaiḥ|
tiṣṭhantu dāmanakṛtapramukhāni tāni,
kalpaṃ yathācalapa[ti]ḥ surarājajuṣ〈:ṭa:〉ḥ‖6‖

buddhyāśrayam etad yasmi[ṃ] śucivṛddhaṃ,
gātraṃ **mama deśe** deśaḥ sa śivasthaḥ|
durbhikṣabhṛ[śādh]ivyādhipravimukto,
muktaś ca vivādaiḥ śāntiṃ samupaitu‖7‖

stūpaiḥ śāradameghavṛndasadṛśair ākṣiptasā – ⏑ ⩵ ,
– vārkāṃśusahasr(a)śodhitamukhaiḥ padmākarair bhūṣitaḥ|
asmajjanmanidhānahetur iha yaḥ [kṣetraḥ] sa (dhan)yo mahān,
āryagrāma udāra〈:sattva:〉caritaḥ syāt svargatulyaḥ sadā‖8‖

satyāṃbu(snāta)dehaḥ para ⏑ ⏑ yaratis tyaktasaṃgas titikṣur,
hiṃsādoṣāpavṛttaḥ kharapiśunavacovibhramāt saṃnivṛttaḥ|
śraddhādhī – ⏑ – (s.e priya)vacanarataḥ prāptasāmyas trivargaḥ,
〈:so:〉 'yaṃ **śārdīysavāsī** ciram avikhalitaḥ syā ⏑ – – ⏑ [mā]rgaḥ‖9‖

ṛdhyantāṃ tyāgaśūrāḥ kulabala[vinayair ītayo] yāntu nāśam,
vardh(y)antāṃ dakṣiṇīyā guṇaga(ṇa)nicayaiḥ sasyasaṃpattir astu|
pūjyantāṃ dhā〈tu〉garbhājva ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ – dīrgharātraṃ,
dharmātmā dātṛrājā praśamasukhabhujaḥ – ⏑ – – ⏑ – –‖10‖

4 Śārdūlavikrīḍita • 5 Mattamayūrī • 6 Vasantatilaka • 7 Maṇimālā • 8 Śārdūlavikrīḍita • 9 Sragdharā • 10 Sragdharā

33 °***garbhaḥ***〗 conj. Melzer • 34 °***ṣāhī***〗 ins. : °*ṣāhi* conj. Melzer • 34–35 °***pārthivena***〗 conj. Balogh • 35 ***patnyā***〗 em. Melzer : *ṣatnyā* ins.; ***sārdhaṃ ma***°〗 conj. Melzer 36 ***svāminyā***〗 em. Melzer : *svāsinyā* ins.; °***devyā***〗 conj. Melzer • 38 ***mehamena***〗 conj. Melzer • 39 ***rājena***〗 conj. Melzer

4a ***tuṣāra***°〗 Balogh : *dhaṣāra*° Melzer; °***spaṣṭhīkṛ***°〗 em. Melzer : °*sspaṣṭhīkṛ*° ins. : °*sphāṣṭikya* conj. Balogh • 4b °***nirūḍha***°〗 ins. : °*nigūḍha*° conj. Balogh; °***jvalaiḥ***〗 . em. Melzer • 4c °***ārcitais***〗 em. Melzer • 5a ***saṃkalpān yān bibhrati kecit***〗 conj. Bakker : ***saṃkalpān ye bibhrati kecit***〗 conj. Balogh : *saṃkalpā.ye.i⏑ ti ke.it/n* Melzer • 5b ***pūryantāṃ***〗 em. Melzer; ***prāṇabhṛtām***〗 em. Balogh : *prāṇibhṛtām* Melzer • 5c ***yan***〗 conj. Balogh, Bakker : – Melzer • 6a ***bhṛdbhiḥ***〗 em. Melzer • 6b ***pratipūritā***〗 conj. Melzer • 6c °***patiḥ***〗 conj. Melzer; ***juṣṭaḥ***〗 em. Melzer : *juṣṭhaḥ* ins. • 7a ***buddhyāśrayam***〗 ins. : *buddhāśrayam* conj. Melzer; ***yasmiṃ***〗 em. Melzer • 7c °***bhṛśādhi***°〗 em. Melzer • 8b °***sahasra***°〗 conj. Melzer; ***kṣetraḥ***〗 conj. Balogh : *deśaḥ* Yokochi • ***dhanyo***〗 conj. Bakker : *tulyo* Melzer • 8d °***sattva***°〗 conj. Melzer : °*saśva*° ins. • 9a ***satyāṃbusnāta***〗 conj. Balogh : *satyāṃbuṃbhāta* or °*bhīta* Melzer • 9d ***so***〗 em. Melzer : *sau* ins. • 10a °***vinayair ītayo***〗 conj. Balogh : ° *va[ya]vairī (ca) yo* Melzer (emending *va* to *ca*) • 10b ***vardhyantāṃ***〗 ins. : *vardhantāṃ* conj. Melzer

[The scroll begins with an invocation to the Buddha and the *saṅgha*, and continues with passages taken from the *Śrīmatībrāhmaṇīparipṛcchā Sūtra*.]

In the sixty-eighth year (Year 68); on the seventh day of the bright half of the month Kārttika [corresponding to October–November]. On this day this *caitya* of the Realized One [*tathāgata*] containing relics was established by:

1) the lord of the great monastery, the son of Opanda, the Tālagānika-Devaputra-Ṣāhi … [king],[i]

2) together with [his] father Opanda,

3) together with [his] wife, the daughter of Sārada-Ṣāhi, [named] Buddh …,

4) together with the mistress of a great monastery Arccavāmanā,

5) together with [her] father Ho…gaya,

6) [and] with [her] mother, the queen …,

7) together with the spiritual friend, the religious teacher Ratnāgama,

8) together with the great Ṣāhi **Khīṅgīla**,

9) together with the god-king **Toramāna**;

10) together with the mistress of a great monastery Sāsā,

11) together with the great Ṣāhi **Mehama**;

12) together with Sādavīkha,

13) together with the great king **Javūkha**, the son of Sādavīkha;

during the reign of **Mehama**.

[4]Whose *stūpa*s even today light up the earth—mountain-like [*stūpa*s] resembling the colour of white frost, pearl necklaces, white water lilies, crystals,[ii] and conch-shells, raised high by parasols and possessing railings,[iii] with flames made up of waving flags, and worshipped by those who are worthy of being honoured by the three worlds—one bows down with the head before this Victorious One, He, whose feet are touched by the crowns [i.e. by the rays of jewels on the crowns] of men.

[5]May the honest vows made by some come to fruition: let thanks to you the world of living beings be quickly freed from the brandishing of swords and shooting of arrows, [so that] it soon becomes like the celestial abode of the gods [i.e. paradise].[iv]

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[i] Based on the conjecture of Dániel Balogh.

[ii] Melzer notes: "*spaṣṭīkṛ* metri causa for *spaṣṭīkṛt* ('making clear')." Balogh conjectures *sphāṣṭikya* = *sphāṭikya* ('made of crystal').

[iii] Balogh proposes to read *nigūḍha* and translates: "bearing railings covered by the excellent parasols."

[iv] The translation of this verse, tentatively restored by Balogh, is by Bakker.

[6]May the *stūpa*s by which the earth is filled up, [the *stūpa*s] containing relics of the Sugata, who has attained tranquillity, headed by one/those made by Dāmana (?), stand for a *kalpa*, as long as the Lord of the Mountains [i.e. Meru], inhabited by the king of gods.

[7]May **my homeland**,[i] in which land this pure and exalted body,[ii] the basis for understanding,[iii] is located, be happy and, freed from famine, severe illness and diseases as well as freed from dissension, may it attain peace.

[8]Here where our native soil is,[iv] which is adorned with *stūpa*s resembling a mass of [white] autumn clouds, ..., [and] lotus ponds, the surface of which has been purified by thousands of [...] sunrays, that fortunate and great place—a commune of noble beings that is constantly frequented by exalted spirits—may that always be like another heaven.

[9]The one whose body is bathed by the nectar/water of truth, who delights in ..., who is free of attachment and is forbearing, who has turned away from the fault of violence and desists from the error of [using] harsh and malignant words, who … his mind on/to faith, who is dedicated to friendly words and whose three constituents [*triguṇa*] have reached equilibrium, may that resident of **Śārdīysa**[v] for a long time, without stumbling [*aviskhalita*[vi]], remain [on the path towards] … .

[10]May the champions of liberality prosper with respect to family, strength and virtuous conduct; let [their] tribulations come to an end. May those who are worthy of respect be made to prosper in their collecting of a host of merit; let there be an abundance of grains. May the relics ... be worshipped ...; [let] ... for a long time. The righteous donor king,[vii] [may he cause] ... who are enjoying peace and happiness.

The Copper Scroll is a charter in which the foundation of a Buddhist *caitya* (*stūpa*) is recorded. It is dated in the Year 69 of an unnamed era. According to Gudrun Melzer, the editor of the scroll, there are two possibilities: if corresponding to the Kaniṣka Era, 495/96 CE, or if corresponding with the Laukika Era, 492/93 CE; Melzer goes for the second, earlier date, I think the Kaniṣka Era to be most likely.

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[i] It has been argued by Bakker (2018) that the speaker in these verses, to whom "my homeland" refers, is the wife (*patnī*) of the King of Tālagāna, the actual donor, said to be the daughter of the king of Sārada named Buddh… Sārada may be (the later) *śār(a)da*, the Neelum Valley, where the famous Śāradā Temple is, i.e. Kashmir.

[ii] This "body," *gātra*, may imply the exalted entities (*kāya*s) invoked in the first three stanzas: the Buddha and the Stūpa, containing the relics (vv. 4–6).

[iii] Melzer suggests to emend to *buddhāśraya* and takes *gātra* to refer to the *dharmakāya*.

[iv] Melzer notes *ad* 8c: "The exact meaning of °*nidhāna*° is not sure. Could it stand for *nidāna*?" Harry Falk suggested to understand *nidhāna* as referring to the "depositing" of the mortal remains, either the body or the ashes. I take it in the meaning of "receptacle," i.e. "locus."

[v] Melzer: "Śārdīysa must be the name of the village or town where the *stūpa* was built. It could not be identified so far." See Bakker (2018) and p. 326 below.

[vi] Melzer: "*avikhalitaḥ* is metri causa for *aviskhalitaḥ*."

[vii] An ambiguous expression. The king of Tālagāna as principal, statutory donor may be styled 'donor king' or 'king of the donors' (*dātṛrāja*), unusual as this epithet might be, but he is also the royal consort (*rāja*) of 'the one who commissioned the donation' (*dātṛ*), whom we think was the Princess of Sārada, the queen of Tālagāna.

The scroll quotes extensively from the Mahāyāna Sūtra *Śrīmatībrāhmaṇīparipṛcchā*, in addition to two verses from Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamakakārikās*. These passages are left out here.

The findspot of the inscription is unknown, but the text features three toponyms Tālagāna, Sārada and Śārdīysa. Melzer proposes to identify Tālagāna with Ṭālaqān in Bactria, 70 km east of Qunduz, in Afghanistan north of the Hindukush (Melzer 2006, 256). This identification has been rejected by Étienne de La Vaissière (2012), who proposes to identify the place with the town of Tālagang in the Punjab, 50 km north of Kurā. Bakker (2018) argues that, if the place is not the present Tālagang, it has yet to be looked for in West Punjab, rather than north of the Hindukush.

The scroll records the names of four Alchon kings who seem to be contemporaries, a quadrumvirate that may have formed a sort of confederacy: Khīṅgīla, Toramāna, Mehama and Javūkha. The site of the *stūpa* seems to have been under the control of King Mehama at the time of the foundation (*mehamarājye vartamāne*).

The statuary donor of the *stūpa* is the king (Devaputra Ṣāhi) of Tālagāna, the son of Opanda, who is the director (*svāmin*) of a *mahāvihāra*, presumably in Tālagāna. An important part of the inscription is devoted to specifying other people involved in the donation/foundation, including the queen of Tālagāna named Buddh…, who is said to be the daughter of the king (*ṣāhi*) of Sārada. There is nothing in the inscription to suggest that the king and queen of Tālagāna belonged to the Alchon. The title Devaputra rather indicates a Kuṣāṇa descent of the king.

The place where the new *stūpa* was founded is said to be the village of Śārdīysa. Bakker (2018) argues that this may be the native town of the Princess of Sārada and that it may be looked for in the Neelum Valley, identifiable with the modern Śārdi, home of the (Sanskritized) Goddess Śāradā, who gave her name eventually to the script of the country, which became known as Śāradābhūmi (i.e. Kashmir).

The home institution of the new foundation may have been the *mahāvihāra* in Tālagāna, directed by the king and Arcavāmanā, the *mahāvihārasvāminī*. The beneficiary institution seems to have been the *mahāvihāra* directed by the *mahāvihārasvāminī* Sāsā in Śārdīysa.

X.031. Kurā stone inscription of the time of Toramāṇa Ṣāhi

The text presented here is based on the editions by Sircar in *SI I* (1965, 422–24) and Bühler (1892), and the reading (from photo) by Dániel Balogh. The translation is by Bühler, with minor changes.

[1][rājādhi]rāja-mahārāja**toramāṇa**ṣāh(i)jaū(ḫkhasyā)[bhivardha](mānarājye) × × [saṃvatsare]
[2]× × × × me mārgaśiramāsaśukladvitīyāyām, cāndra(magra)[haṇa] × × × gaga[na][3](care ca)
varaśuciśā〈:nta:〉dhyānādhyayanamokṣacittānukūle prad(iṣṭa) × × × × × × × × [na][4]kṣatre,
bhagavato buddhasya devātidevasya sarvapāpaparikṣīṇasarvapuṇyasamudgata(sya)
[5]tīrṇasa〈:ṃ:〉sārārṇava[sya] sattvānāṃ tārayitā daśabalabalina[ś]
catu[r]vaiśāradyacatasrapratisaṃ〈:vida:〉 [6]aṣṭādaśāveṇīkādbhutadharmasamanvāgatasya

sarvasattvavatsalamahākāruṇikasya, bu[7]ddhapramukhacāturdiśe bhikṣusaṅghe, deyadharmo ’ya〈:ṃ:〉 vihāra〈:ḥ:〉 pratiṣṭhāpana **naścīra**patipraśastā[8]dāritanāmadheya**viśeṣavṛddhiḥ roṭṭajayavṛddhi**-anekavihārasvāmino satputreṇa|

yad atra puṇyaṃ tad bhavatu [9](mā)tāpi〈:troḥ:〉 ā〈:pyā:〉yakapoṣakacitrasya jambudvīpasya darśayitāro agrebhāvapratyaṃśatāyās tu, tathā vihārasvāmino [10]**roṭasiddhavṛddhi** sarveṣāṃ bhrātarāṇāṃ bhaginīnāṃ patnīnāṃ putrāṇāṃ duhitṝṇāṃ, mahārāja**toramāṇa**ṣāhajaū(ḫkha)ḥ sa[11]rveṣāṃ devīnāṃ rājaputrāṇāṃ rājaduhitānāṃ ca sarvasattvānāṃ anuttarajñānāvaptaye|

ayaṃ puna[r] vihārasyo[12]pakaraṇa cāturdiśe bhikṣusaṅghe parigrahe ācārya(ma)hīś(āsakānāṃ),|

(sāddhakapu) × × treṇa × × (ācārya) … [13] …

1 ***rajādhi°***⟧ conj. Fleet, Bühler, Sircar; ***jaūḫkhasyā°***⟧ Melzer 2006, 261 : *jaūvlasyā°* Fleet, Bühler, Sircar; ***°bhivardha°***⟧ conj. Bühler, Sircar; ***saṃvatsare***⟧ conj. Bühler, Sircar 2 ***°magrahaṇa°***⟧ conj. Sircar; ***gagana°***⟧ conj. Sircar • 3 ***°care ca***⟧ Sircar : ×× Bühler; ***°śānta°***⟧ Bühler (?), Bakker : *°śāṃta°* conj. Sircar; ***na°***⟧ conj. Bühler, Sircar • 5 ***°saṃsārā°***⟧ em. Sircar : *°sasārā°* ins.; ***°ārṇavasya***⟧ conj. Sircar : *°ārṇava* ins.; ***tārayitā***⟧ ins. : *tārayituḥ* conj. Sircar; ***°balinaś***⟧ em. Bakker : *°balinaḥ* conj. Sircar, *°balina°* ins.; ***catur°***⟧ em. Sircar : *catu°* ins., *catva°* conj. Bühler; ***°catasra°***⟧ ins. : *°catuḥ°* conj. Sircar; ***°saṃvida***⟧ conj. Balogh, Bakker : *°saṃvidā* ins. • 7 ***’yaṃ***⟧ em. Sircar : *°ya* ins.; ***°ṣṭhāpana***⟧ ins. : *°ṣṭhāpitaḥ* conj. Sircar • 8 ***°viśeṣavṛddhiḥ***⟧ ins. : *°viśeṣavṛddhinā* conj. Sircar, *°viśeṣavṛddheḥ* conj. Bühler; ***°jayavṛddhi***⟧ ins. : *°jayavṛddheḥ* conj. Sircar • 9 ***°pitroḥ***⟧ em. Sircar : *°pitro* ins.; ***āpyāyaka°***⟧ em. Sircar : *āpāyaka°* ins.; ***°poṣaka°***⟧ ins. : *°poṣakayoḥ* conj. Sircar; ***darśayitāro***⟧ ins. : *darśayitro* conj. Sircar; ***agrebhāvapratyaṃśatāyās***⟧ ins. : *agrabhāgapratyaṃśatāyai* (or *°śāya*) conj. Sircar; ***tu***⟧ ins. : *astu* conj. Sircar • 10 ***bhrātarāṇāṃ***⟧ ins. : *bhrātṝṇāṃ* conj. Sircar; ***°ṣāha°***⟧ ins. : *°sāhi°* conj. Sircar; ***°jaūḫkhaḥ***⟧ Melzer 2006, 262 : *°jaūvlaḥ* Bühler, *°jaūvlasya* conj. Sircar 11 ***°duhitānāṃ***⟧ ins. : *°duhitṝṇāṃ* conj. Sircar; ***punar***⟧ em. Sircar : *puna* ins. • 12 ***karaṇa***⟧ ins. : *karaṇaḥ* conj. Sircar; ***ācārya°***⟧ ins. : *ācāryāṇāṃ* conj. Sircar

In the prosperous reign of the king of kings, the great king **Toramāṇa** Ṣāhi [Jaūḫkha];[i] in the … year, on the second [lunar day] of the bright half of the month of Mārgaśiras. Under the … *nakṣatra*, which is propitious for pure, tranquil meditation, study and reflection on salvation … this appropriate and meritorious gift [*deyadharma*], the erection of a *vihāra* for the congregation of the monks of divine Buddha, the god of gods, freed from all sins and endowed with all holiness, who has crossed the ocean of births,[ii] the saviour of beings, who possesses the power of the ten powers, who has attained the four subjects of confidence, the four analytical sciences, the eighteen independent conditions, the supernatural condition, who cherishes all creatures and is most compassionate,—of which congregation Buddha is the chief and which comes from the four quarters of the world—[this gift has been made] [by **Viśeṣavṛddhi**, H.T.B.], whose name is praised and honoured by the lord of **Naścīra**, the virtuous son of **Roṭṭa-Jayavṛddhi**, who is

[i] For the title Jaūḫkha, reading proposed by Gudrun Melzer (2006, 261), see Sims-Williams (2007, 215), Glossary s.v. *ιαβγο*: *ηβοδαλο ιαβγο*, “the *yabghu* of Hephthal.” Chinese *xihou*, Turkish *yabγu*. Cf. Bosworth 2012.

[ii] The translation follows Sircar’s emendation. Bühler reads this *in composito* with *sattvānām*.

the lord of many *vihāras*.[i] Whatever merit [there is] in the [act], may it be for the attainment of supreme knowledge by:

1) [my] parents, who are guides to Jambudvīpa, which grows and nourishes in manifold ways,[ii] [their] share being a preferential one; moreover,

2) the lord of the *vihāra* **Roṭa-Siddhavṛddhi** [and] all his brothers, sisters, wives, sons and daughters;

3) the great king **Toramāṇa** Ṣāhi Jaūẖkha [and] all his queens, princes and princesses;

4) all creatures.

But this benefaction by a *vihāra* [is] for the congregation of the monks of the four quarters, for the acceptance of the teachers, the Mahīśāsakas. By the son of Sāddhaka …

The inscription, whose date has been lost, records the donation of a monastery to the monks of the Buddhist Mahīśāsaka division (*hīnayāna*) by Viśeṣavṛddhi, who is the son of Roṭṭa-Jayavṛddhi. The latter is "Master of several *vihāras*." The intended master of the newly founded monastery may have been Roṭa-Siddhavṛddhi, whom Bühler (1892, 239) mistook for the donor.

The foundation is made under the reign of king (*ṣāhi*) Toramāṇa, who, in addition to his royal titles, holds the title Jaūẖkha (see above, n. i on p. 327). The location of the founded monastery is not given, unless it is Naścīra, whose lord (*pati*) is said to honour the donor Viśeṣavṛddhi. It might have been somewhere in West Punjab, in the region of the Salt Range, where the inscription was recovered.

Just as in the Schøyen Copper Scroll, a list is given of people who will share in the merit of the benefaction: the parents of the donor, the family of the donee, and the household of the reigning King Toramāṇa.

X.032. Eran stone boar inscription of the time of Toramāṇa

The text presented here is based on the editions by Fleet in *CII III* (1888, 158–61) and Sircar in *SI I* (1965, 420–22). The translation is the one given by Fleet (*op. cit.* 160ff), with minor changes.

[i] There is something wrong with this strange sentence. Bühler translates: "(Jayavṛddhi), whose name, praised and honoured by the lord of Naścīra, (indicates a) particularly (great) prosperity." Sircar's conjecture °*viśeṣavṛddhinā* seems to imply that he takes it as a proper name of the son of Jayavṛddhi: Viśeṣavṛddhi. This makes more sense, but an emendation may not be warranted. The inscription gives several times the names of the protagonists in the nominative where a genitive or instrumental is expected: *tārayitā* (l. 5), *viśeṣavṛddhiḥ* (l. 8), *darśayitāro* (l. 9), *roṭasiddhavṛṛddhi* (l. 10), *toramāṇaṣāhijaūẖkhaḥ* (l. 10). That the donor is Viśeṣavṛddhi (and not Siddhavṛddhi, as supposed by Bühler) seems to be confirmed by the mentioning of Roṭa-Siddhavṛddhi and his family among those who benefit (ll. 10f.). It is not known to which country Naścīra refers.

[ii] The translation follows Sircar's emendation. Bühler translates: "the instructors of Jambūdvīpa that is famous for nurses and nourishers." Bühler explains: "The meaning of the phrase seems to be that, though India possesses many tender mothers and dutiful fathers, yet all can learn something from the donor's parents."

om‖

jayati dharaṇyuddharaṇe, ghanaghoṇāghātaghūrṇitamahīdhraḥ|
devo varāhamūrtis, trailokyamahāgṛhastambhaḥ‖1‖

varṣe prathame pṛthivīm pṛthukīrtau pṛthudyutau|
mahārājādhirājaśrī**toramāṇe** praśāsati‖2‖

phālgunadivase daśame, ity evaṃ rājyavarṣamāsadinaiḥ|
etasyāṃ pūrvāyāṃ, svalakṣaṇair yuktapūrvāyām‖3‖

[3]svakarmābhiratasya kratuyājino dhītasvādhyāyasya viprarṣer
maitrāyaṇīyavṛṣabhasy**endraviṣṇoḥ** prapautrasya, [4]pitur guṇānukāriṇo **varuṇaviṣṇoḥ**
pautrasya, pitaram anujātasya svavaṃśavṛddhihetor **hariviṣṇoḥ**
putrasyātyantabhagavadbhaktasya vidhātur icchayā [5]svayaṃvarayeva rājalakṣmyādhigatasya
catuḥsamudraparyantaprathitayaśasaḥ akṣīṇamāna(dh) anasyānekaśatrusamarajiṣṇoḥ
mahā⟨:rā:⟩ja**mātṛviṣṇoḥ** [6]svargatasya bhrātrānujena tadanuvidhāyinā tatprasādaparigṛhītena
dhanyaviṣṇunā tenaiva (sa)hāvibhaktapuṇyakriyeṇa mātāpitroḥ [7]puṇyāpyāyanārtham eṣa
bhagavato varāhamūrter jagatparāyaṇasya nārāyaṇasya śilāprās(ādaḥ) svaviṣay(e) 'sminn
airikiṇe kāritaḥ|

[8]svasty astu gobrāhmaṇapurogābhyaḥ sarvaprajābhya (i)ti‖

1 Āryā • 2 Śloka (unmetrical)[i] • 3 Āryā

5 ***mahārāja°***⟧ em. Fleet, Sircar • 6 ***°parigṛhītena***⟧ there is a (cross)-mark after this word[ii]

Om!

[1]Victorious is the god [Viṣṇu], who has the form of a Boar, who, in the act of lifting up the earth [out of the waters], caused the mountains to tremble with the blows of [his] hard snout; [and] who is the pillar [for the support] of the great house which is the three worlds!

[2]In the first year; while the *mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious **Toramāṇa**, of great fame [and] of great lustre, is governing the earth; [3]on the tenth day of the [month] Phālguna—on this [lunar day], [specified] as above by the regnal year and month and day, [and] invested as above with its own characteristics—

By the younger brother of the *mahārāja* **Mātṛviṣṇu**, **Dhanyaviṣṇu**, obedient to him [scil. Mātṛviṣṇu] [and] accepted with favour by him—

[Mātṛviṣṇu], who has gone to heaven, who was excessively devoted to the Divine One, who, by the will of [the god] Vidhātṛ [i.e. Brahmā, the Creator], was approached [in marriage-choice] by the goddess of sovereignty [Lakṣmī], as if by a maiden choosing [him] of her own accord [to

[i] To be a regular *bha vipulā* the fourth syllable in *pāda* a should have been long (*prathāme*). Fleet noted: "This sentence is in prose, though it commences like a verse in the *āryā* metre."

[ii] Fleet (1888, 160 n. 2) thinks that it "indicates that *tenaiva sahāvibhaktapuṇyakriyeṇa* should have stood here, before *dhanyaviṣṇunā*." Balogh believes it may be a deletion sign pertaining to *tatprasādaparigṛhītena*.

be her husband], whose fame extended up to the borders of the four oceans, who was possessed of unimpaired honour and wealth, [and] who was victorious in battle against many enemies,—who was the son of the son's son of **Indraviṣṇu**, who was attentive to his duties, who celebrated sacrifices, who practised private study [of the scripture], who was a Brāhmaṇ saint, [and] who was the most excellent [of the followers] of the Maitrāyaṇīya [*śākhā*],—who was the son's son of **Varuṇaviṣṇu**, who imitated the virtuous qualities of [his] father [Indraviṣṇu],—[and] who was the son of **Hariviṣṇu**, who was the counterpart of [his] father [Varuṇaviṣṇu] in meritorious qualities, [and] was the cause of the advancement of his race—

[By this Dhanyaviṣṇu], accomplishing, in unison with [the previously expressed wishes of] him [i.e. his brother Mātṛviṣṇu], a joint deed of religious merit, for the sake of increasing the religious merit of [his] parents, this stone temple of the [god] Nārāyaṇa, who has the form of a Boar [and] who is entirely devoted to [the welfare of] the universe, has been caused to be made in this his own *viṣaya* of **Airikiṇa**.

Let prosperity attend all the subjects, headed by the cows and the Brāhmaṇs!

The inscription records the completion of a project that had begun under the emperor Budhagupta by a local feudatory Mātṛviṣṇu and his younger brother, Dhanyaviṣṇu, namely the building of a religious complex on the south banks of the River Bina, dedicated to Viṣṇu, the Gupta Empire's tutelary deity. Here the two brothers, had erected a twin temple guarded by a thirteen-metre-high pillar,[i] the "Column of Janārdana" (i.e. Viṣṇu/Kṛṣṇa).[ii] It supported the image of Viṣṇu's emblem (*ketu*), Garuḍa, corresponding with the imperial standard. Under the eye of the Imperial Eagle the first battle of Eran (Airikiṇa) was fought, and lost. Dhanyaviṣṇu survived the dramatic events and was given a choice: accept the sovereignty of the Alchon conqueror Toramāṇa or die. He chose the former, as the present inscription attests. The inscription is found on the *c.* 3.5 m high, theriomorphic image of Varāha (an incarnation of Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa), which Dhanyaviṣṇu was evidently allowed to complete in the first year of Toramāṇa's reign.

X.033. Mandasor inscription of Gauri

The text presented here is based on the edition by Sircar (1954, 127–32). The translation is by Bakker.

[jitaṃ bhaga](vatā te)na garutma⟨:dra:⟩thayāyinā|
trailokyām(a) ⏑ – – ≍ [viṣṇunā cakra]pāṇinā‖1‖

jitvā ripubalaṃ saṃ⟨:khye:⟩ ramyaṃ **pura[ṃ] daśā[hvayam]**|

[i] Cunningham in *ASI Reports 10* (1880, 87 Plates XXV, XXVI). This twin temple was probably dedicated to Vāsudeva and Saṃkarṣaṇa, alias Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma. For a similar twin temple on the Rāmagiri see Bakker (1997, 30).

[ii] Described as *janārdanasya dhvajastambhaḥ* in line 9 of the *Eran Stone Pillar Inscription of Budhagupta* (Fleet 1888, 88–90).

[praśāsati] (na)ravyāghre narendr**ādityavardhane**‖2‖

āsīn māna ⏑ – – ≍, ≍ ≍ ≍ ≍ ⏑ vardha〈:na:〉ḥ|
rāṣṭravardha〈:na:〉satpu〈:tro:〉 **yaśogupto** narā[dhipaḥ]‖3‖

≍ ≍ ≍ ≍ [ta](nū)jena śrīmahārāja**gauriṇā**‖4‖

yasya mātāmahaḥ śr(ī)[mān] ≍ ≍ ≍ ≍ (pratā)pavān|
hariś(ū)reti vikhyātā jananī ca pativra(t)ā‖5‖

≍ ≍ ≍ ≍ samāsādya taptvā tapam anuttamam|
dattvā dānam dvijebhya(ḥ) [sā] ≍ ≍ ≍ ≍ divaṃ gatā‖6‖

yena k(ū)pās taṭākāni maṇḍapāś ca mano(harāḥ)|
≍ ≍ ≍ ≍ ⏑ vṛddhyarthaṃ grāmeṣu nagareṣu ca‖7‖

tenedaṃ nagarābhyā(se) [mātuḥ puṇyābhi]vṛddhaye|
khāni〈:tas:〉 sa(rvasattvānāṃ) sukhape(yo ja)lā[śayaḥ]‖8‖

[ ] prada [ ] teva mātāpitro [ ]

1–8 Śloka

1a ***jitaṃ bhagavatā tena***⟧ conj. Sircar • 1b ***°madratha°***⟧ em. Sircar : *°maratha°* ins. 1c ***viṣṇunā cakrapāṇinā***⟧ conj. Sircar • 2a ***saṃkhye***⟧ em. Sircar : *saṃkkhe* ins. • 2b ***puraṃ daśāhvayam***⟧ conj. Sadhu Ram : ***puraṃ daśādikam*** conj. Sircar, *puradaśā⏑≍* ins. • 2c ***praśāsati***⟧ conj. Sircar (his alternative suggestion, *pālayati* is unmetrical) • 3a ***māna°***⟧ ins. : *mānavagotrasya* conj. Sircar • 3b ***°vardhanaḥ***⟧ em. Sircar : *°vardhaṇaḥ* ins. • 3c ***°vardhana°***⟧ em. Sircar : *°vardhaṇa°* ins. • 3d ***°putro***⟧ em. Sircar; ***narādhipaḥ***⟧ conj. Sircar • 4a ***°tanū°***⟧ conj. Sircar (suggesting *tasyānena tanūjena*) • 5a ***śrīmān***⟧ conj. Sircar • 6a ≍ ≍ ≍ ≍⟧ ins. : *vaidhavyañ ca* or *vārddhakyañ ca* conj. Sircar • 6d ***sā***⟧ conj. Sircar • 7c ≍ ≍ ≍ ≍ ⏑⟧ ins. : *kāritāḥ puṇya°* conj. Sircar • 8a ***tenedaṃ***⟧ ins. : *tenāyaṃ* conj. Sircar • 8b ***mātuḥ puṇyābhi°***⟧ conj. Sircar • 8c ***khānitas***⟧ em. Sircar : *khānitaṃs* ins. 8d ***jalāśayaḥ***⟧ conj. Sircar

[1]Victory has been obtained by that Lord, the Rider of Garutmat, … of the universe, Viṣṇu, whose hand wields the discus!

[2]At the time that King **Ādityavardhana**, tiger among men, was ruling the beautiful town of **Daśa[pura]**,[i] after having obtained a victory over the army of his enemies in battle[ii]—[3]There was a king **Yaśogupta**, worthy son of **Rāṣṭravardhana**, who increased … of the **Mānava** family. [4]… by [his] son, the illustrious *mahārāja* **Gauri** [5]— whose maternal grandfather was the illustrious and powerful …, and whose pious mother was named **Hariśūrā**; [6]after the latter had

[i] Daśapura is the modern city of Mandasor in western Malwa.

[ii] Sircar (1954, 129) observes: "The use of the seventh case-ending (*bhāve saptamī*) in verse 2 in lines 2–3 suggests that the author is going to describe an event that happened during the reign of a ruling king mentioned in it. The event in question, however, is referred to in a stanza in lines 9–10 about the end of the epigraph and the intervening stanzas deal with facts which relate to the ancestors of the person responsible for the said event and mostly happened before the reign of the ruler referred to in verse 2."

> obtained [widowhood?], had practised severe asceticism, and had made donations to the brahmins, she … has gone to heaven[i]—
>
> [7]by that [**Gauri**], [after he had constructed] wells, ponds, and beautiful pavilions to increase …, in villages and towns [8], this tank here, whose waters bring happiness to all living beings when they drink it, has been excavated on the outskirts of the town in order to increase [the merit of his mother].
>
> […]

The stone slab containing this inscription was found in 1946 on the banks of the River Shivna at Mandasor after a heavy flood. It opens with a *maṅgala* verse dedicated to "the Rider of Garutmat," i.e. Viṣṇu. This is followed by a reference to the reigning King Ādityavardhana in an locative absolute construction, who is said to rule the town of Daśapura after having slain his enemy in battle. The devotion to Viṣṇu expressed in the first verse naturally accrues to Ādityavardhana in the second. It is syntactically impossible to identify Ādityavardhana with *mahārāja* Gauri, whose pedigree follows in the verses 3 to 6.

King Gauri, who belongs to the family of the Mānavāyaṇis, is known from the *Choṭī Sādrī Inscription*, dated to the Mālava Era year 547 (491 CE), in which Gauri testifies to his devotion to the Goddess, without any reference to an overlord.[ii] Gauri is the son of Yaśogupta and Hariśūrā and grandson of Rāṣṭravardhana. The *Choṭī Sādrī Inscription* informs us that his great- and great-great-grandfathers were Rājyavardhana and Puṇyasoma.

The purport of the inscription is to record the excavation by Gauri of a tank near Daśapura for the merit of his mother Hariśūrā, who had just died.

The reason to include this inscription among the epigraphic Sanskrit sources related to the Hūṇas, is the featuring of King Ādityavardhana in it. Despite his name ending in °*vardhana*, an ending that is widespread within the dynasties of Daśapura of the fifth and sixth centuries (see Salomon 1989, 14ff), it is not possible to link this king positively to any of those lineages. The fact that he is said to rule Daśapura after a victory on the battlefield also points to a conqueror from outside the area.

Only one conqueror of western Malwa in the last decade of the fifth century is known from history: the Alchon Toramāṇa (see Text X.034 below). There are some other reasons to connect Ādityavardhana with Toramāṇa.

The first element of his name, Āditya, reminds us of Prakāśāditya, the title used by Toramāṇa on the reverse of his gold dinars.[iii] The dedication to the "Rider of Garutmat" reminds us of the

[i] Sircar (1954, 129) observes: "This abrupt introduction (in parenthesis as it were) of the king's mother as the daughter of his maternal grandfather is due to the fact that the tank in question was apparently excavated for the merit of the queen mother who was then dead."

[ii] Sircar (1954, 124–26).

[iii] Pankaj Tandon (2015, 2018) has restored conclusively the legend on the obverse of these coins: "The Lord of the Earth, Toramāṇa, having conquered the earth, wins heaven" (*avanipatitoramā(ṇo), vijitya vasudhāṃ divaṃ jayati*).

Garuḍadhvaja on the same dinars. An identification of Ādityavardhana with Toramāṇa can therefore no longer be excluded.[i] If Ādityavardhana is not Toramāṇa himself, he might have been a figurehead installed by him.

The obvious interpretation of both inscriptions of Gauri in tandem is that, between the *Choṭī Sādrī Inscription* of 491 and the *Mandasor Inscription*, Daśapura had been conquered by Ādityavardhana, and as a result Gauri had lost his independence. This may explain why he stopped using the Mālava (Vikrama) Era and does not refer to his own devotion to the Goddess in the *Mandasor Fragmentary Inscription*.

X.034. The Sanjeli charters

The text presented here is based on the editions by R. N. Mehta and A. M. Thakkar (1978; below: M & Th) and K. V. Ramesh 1986 (1986; below: R), with readings checked from new photos by Dániel Balogh. The translation is by Bakker.

X.034/A. Charter 1, Year 3

[1][saṃvat]sa[re] 3 śrāva śu di 2,

paramabhaṭṭārakamahārājādhirājaśrī**toramāṇe** pṛthivīm anuśāsati, tatprasādād viṣayapati[2][mahā](rā)ja**bhūtasya śivabhāga〈:p:〉ure** bhujyamānake, **vadrapālyāḥ** pūrvasyāṃ diśi etadrājamāt〈:ur:〉 **vīrāḍhyikā**kārita[3](ka)deva**jayasvāmi**pādānāṃ balicarusattradhūpagandhapuṣpadīpatailakhaṇḍasphuṭitapratisaṃskāraṇ〈:o:〉payogyam, [4]ātmanaḥ puṇyābhivṛddhaye, caturdiśābhyāgatakavaideśyavāṇijakāḥ vastavyāḥ poṭṭalikāputrāś ca lekhayanti|

[5]yatra guḍalavaṇakarpāsabhāṇḍabharakeṣu, ācandrārkārṇavakṣitisthitisamakāl(ī)yaṃ, daśaviṃśopa[6]kīnakaḥ|

[…]

[10]evaṃ cāsya pramāṇaṃ vāṇijakāḥ svahastena lekhayanti|[ii]
dā〈:ś:〉apuravāstavya gomikavematta|
māthurasaṃnihi[11]tamāthurikavāstavya senavarmā|
kanyaku〈:bj:〉āka pitṛyaśa cirāyuṣa|
aujjenaka ..śū(ra)bhaśśama|
varuṇodarīvāstavya poṭṭa[12]likāputra droṇa somabhakkala|
mahiṣahradaka bhannitya dhruvabhakṣaṇa agniśarma|

[…]

[i] On this issue see the discussion in Salomon (1989, 21), who tends to identify Gauri and Ādityavardhana; Sircar (1954, 130ff) and Balogh (2019, section A8).

[ii] Ramesh treats the entire following list as a compound, but the nouns were probably intended as separate nominatives in spite of their lack of a case ending (Balogh).

[15]atraiva cākṣayaṇīhetoḥ vāṇija[16]ka ṣaṣṭhi gṛhavastu ceti‖

1 ***saṃvatsare***⟧ conj. M & Th, R • 2 ***°mahārāja°***⟧ conj. M & Th, R; ***°bhāgapure***⟧ em. M & Th, R : *°bhāgamure* ins.; ***°mātur***⟧ em. R : *°mātu°* M & Th • 3 ***°kadeva°***⟧ R : *°svadeva°* M & Th; ***°kāraṇopa°***⟧ em. M & Th, R : *°kāraṇāpa°* ins. • 10 ***dā(ś)apura°***⟧ em. Bakker : *dāgapura°* ins. • 11 ***kanyakubjāka***⟧ em. R : *kaṇyakuldāka* ins., *kaṇyakulyāka* M & Th; ***°ka ..śūra°***⟧ Balogh, Bakker : *°kaṃgghuśūra°* R, *°kaṃ gḍhuśūe°* M & Th • 12 ***bhannitya***⟧ ins. : *vāṇija* conj. Bakker • 16 ***°ka ṣaṣṭhi gṛhavastu ceti***⟧ ins. : *°kaṣaṣṭhigṛhe vastu ceti* conj. Bakker, *°kaṣaṣṭhigṛhavāstu ceti* conj. R, *°ka ṣaṣṭhi gṛhavastuveti* conj. M & Th

In the third year of the reign of the supreme lord *mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious Toramāṇa, thanks to whose grace **Śivabhāgapura** is ruled by *mahārāja* **Bhūta** as district governor—

In order to provide for the renewing of that which is broken and torn, and the services of food [*bali*], boiled rice [*caru*], charity [*sattra*], incense, perfumes, flowers, lamps and oil for the sake of the revered god Jayasvāmin, who has been installed by Vīrāḍhyikā, the mother of this king [Bhūta], to the east of **Vadrapāli**—and for the increase of their own merit—foreign merchants residing [here], coming from all quarters of the world, as well as travelling traders confirm in writing:

[That] here a tenfold 'twentieth' [*viṃśopakīnaka*] [is levied] on loads of merchandise [*bhāṇḍa*], cotton, salt and molasses—for as long as moon, sun, ocean and earth exist.

[Here follows a specification of the ten imposts.]

The merchants have ratified this ordinance accordingly also with their own signatures:

Gomika Vematta[i] from **Daśapura**,

Senavarman living in Māthurika near **Mathurā**,

Cirāyuṣa Pitṛyaśas from **Kanyakubja**,

..śūra Bhaśśama from **Ujjayinī**,

the travelling traders [*poṭṭalikāputra*] Droṇa and Somabhakkala [Somabhakṣaka] living at **Varuṇodarī** [the shore of the ocean?],

the merchants [*vāṇija*] Dhruvabhakṣaṇa and Agniśarman from **Mahiṣahrada** [Māhiṣmatī?].

[Here follows a long list of proper names and toponyms that are unknown.]

[Laid down in writing] here in this [charter], as well as ratified in the house of the merchant Ṣaṣṭhi[datta] for permanent agreement.[ii]

[i] The weaver, *vemaka*?

[ii] Or perhaps rather: "And a house and estate of the merchant Ṣaṣṭhi is to serve as a permanent endowment for this very purpose." Cf. the summary of the omitted section of Text X.034/B below. (Balogh).

X.034/B. Charter 2, Year 6

[1]svasti| **vadrapālyāḥ** paramabhaṭṭārakapādānudhyāto mahārāja**bhūtaḥ** kuśalī śivabhāgapure sarvān eva svān āyuktakān sādh(i)karaṇān viṣayapatikula[2]putrakacāṭ〈:a:〉bhaṭād〈:īṃs:〉 tadviṣayāntarvicāriṇaḥ samājñā〈:pa:〉yati|

viditam astu vo yathā mayā **tantiyakāmrilakagrāmau** soparikarasodraṅgasabhūtavātapratyāyau, paramadaiva[3]tapūjyārcanī〈:yāṃ:〉 gurvīṃ janitrīṃ rājñīv〈:ī:〉rāḍhyikāṃ mātaram uddiśya, tayaiva kāritakabhagavatpādāyatanasya balicarugandhadhūpamālyadīpatailacchādyalepyakhaṇḍasphuṭitaprati[4]saṃskāraṇāya, **parivrājabhojyāv** ācandrārkārṇavakṣitisthitisamakālīnāv udakātisargeṇāgrahārāv atisṛṣṭāv|

[…]

[12]saṃvatsare 6 jyeṣṭha śuddha 10‖

1 ***sādhi°***⟧ ins. : *yā dhi°* M & Th, *ya dhi°* conj. M & Th • 2 ***°cāṭa°***⟧ em. R, M & Th (silently) : *°cāṭā°* ins.; ***°bhaṭādīṃs***⟧ em. R : *°bhaṭādīṃ* ins., *°bhaṭāṃdi* M & Th (typo?); ***samājñāpayati***⟧ em. R, M & Th (silently) : *samājñābayati* ins. • 3 ***°ārcanīyāṃ***⟧ em. : *°ārcanīyān* ins., *°ārcanīyāṅ* conj. R; ***gurvīṃ***⟧ ins. : *°ūrviṃ* M & Th; ***°āyatanasya***⟧ em. R, M & Th : *°āyatanasyaṃ* ins.

Hail! From **Vadrapāli**, *mahārāja* **Bhūta** who is in good health, who has been authorized by the revered supreme lord, issues a command to all his officials and administrations in **Śivabhāgapura**, including the district headmen, noblemen, constables, soldiers etc., and [all] those who live within his district:

Let it be known to you that by me two villages, Tantiyaka and Āmrilaka, along with minor taxes, the land tax, and income from natural circumstances, have been handed over, with libations of water, as rent-free domains [*agrahāra*] to be enjoyed by mendicants for as long as the moon, sun, ocean, and earth remain, in the name of [my] mother, the revered queen mother **Vīrāḍhyikā**, who is entirely devoted to god [*paramadaivata*] and is to be honoured and venerated, for the sake of the sanctuary of the revered Lord [*bhagavatpāda*] that has been built by her,[i] in order to provide for services of food [*bali*], boiled rice [*caru*], perfumes, incense, garlands, lamps, oil, thatch-covering, ointments, and the renewing of that which is broken and torn.

[This is followed by some more donations to temple servants, *parivrājakas* etc., and by the donation of farmland, a well and the house of Ṣaṣṭhidatta. And the donations should also be used for the Mātṛgṛha (i.e. a Devī shrine?) built by the watchman Bhūtila from Undura near the main Temple of the Lord, in front of two shrines dedicated to Āditya (i.e. two Sun temples?), also built by him.]

In the Year 6, on the 10th of the bright half of the month of Jyeṣṭha.

[i] This I take to refer to the Jayasvāmin Temple mentioned in the first charter, Year 3 (see above, p. 334).

X.034/C. Charter 3, Year 19

[1]svasti| śivabhāgapurāt paramabhaṭṭārakapādānudhyāto mahārājamatṛdāsas tatputra mahārājabhūtas tatputra mahārājamatṛdāsaḥ [2]kusalī sarvān eva svān āyuktakān adhikaraṇaṃ ca samājñāpayati|

astu vo viditaṃ yathā mayā vadrapalyāṃ pūrvasyāṃ diśi rājñi[3]pitāmahikāyikāpādakārāpitakadevakulasvāminārāya⟨:ṇa:⟩devapādānāṃ saṃgamapallikāgr⟨:ā:⟩maḥ, pitāmahikāyikāpādānāṃ [4]puṇyāpyāyanārtham, ācandrārkārṇavasthitikṣitisamakāl⟨:īṇo:⟩ gandhapuṣpadhūpadīpatailabalicarusattropayojyaḥ khaṇḍa[5]sphuṭitapratisaṃskāraṇārthaṃ cātisṛṣṭa[ḥ]|

[…]

[6]saṃvatsare 10 9 caitra śuddha di 5‖

[…]

2 ***rājñi°***⟧ ins. : *rājñī°* em. R, M & Th (silently) • 3 ***°pādakārāpitaka°***⟧ ins. : *°pādakārārpitaka°* conj. Bakker; ***°nārāyaṇa°***⟧ em. R, M & Th (silently) : *°nārāyaṇe* ins.; ***°grāmaḥ***⟧ em. R, M & Th (silently) : *°gramaḥ* ins. • 4 ***°kālīṇo***⟧ em. : *°kāliṇa* ins., *°kālīṇa* conj. M & Th, *°kālīṇaḥ* conj. R • ***°sṛṣṭaḥ|***⟧ em. : *°sṛṣṭa* ins.

Hail! From **Śivabhāgapura**,[i] *mahārāja* **Mātṛdāsa [II]**, son of *mahārāja* **Bhūta**, grandson of *mahārāja* **Mātṛdāsa [I]**, who is in good health, who has been authorized by the revered supreme lord, issues a command to the administration and all his officials:

Let it be known to you that by me, to magnify the merit of the august state [*kāyikāpāda*] of [my] grandmother,[ii] the village **Saṃgamapallikā** has been handed over to the revered god Svāmin Nārāyaṇa, whose temple, at the east side of **Vadrapāli**, has been consigned [*arpita*] to the service [*kāra*] of the august state of the queen grandmother, in order to provide for services of perfumes, flowers, incense, lamps, oil, food [*bali*], boiled rice [*caru*] and charity [*sattra*], and for the renewing of that which is broken and torn, for as long as the moon, sun, ocean and earth remain.

[The inscription continues with warnings not to interfere with the servants of the god.]

In the Year 19, on the 5th of the bright half of the month of Caitra.

[The inscription concludes with some imprecatory verses, and a statement concerning the (tax) conditions of the land donation.]

The three Sanjeli copper plate charters, found in 1974 in a field on the outskirts of the town of Sanjeli, centre on a complex of temples at the east side of the town of Vadrapāli. The oldest one, the Jayasvāmin Temple, was founded by Queen Vīrāḍhyikā, probably during the reign of her husband, King Mātṛdāsa I. The first charter of a group of merchants endowed this Viṣṇu temple

[i] This may be the district or an eponymous town.
[ii] This is *mahārāja* Bhūta's mother Vīrāḍhyikā.

with the twentieth part of the taxes imposed on merchandise passing the city during the reign of Vīrāḍhyikā's son, Bhūta.

In the second charter, king Bhūta endowed this temple, referred to as the "Sanctuary of the Revered Lord" (*bhagavatpādāyatana*),[i] with the income from two villages, during the lifetime of his mother, the founder of this temple. This charter mentions also some other shrines in the vicinity of the main temple, which are said to have been built by Bhūtila: two Āditya (= Sūrya?) shrines and a *mātṛgṛha* (a shrine dedicated to the Mothers?).

The third Copper plate of Year 19, records an endowment made by Bhūta's son, King Māṭṛdāsa II, to the Svāmin Nārāyaṇa Temple, which seems to have been a memorial temple of his grandmother Vīrāḍhyikā, which had been built to increase her merit after her death.

There are two major issues connected to these three charters.

1) The first charter is dated in the year 3 of the reign of *mahārājādhirāja* Toramāṇa, thus testifying to the conquest of Rajasthan and Gujarat by the Alchon king in the first years of his monarchy. King Bhūta is a governor installed by him in the district of Śivabhāgapura.

The second and third charters are dated in years 6 and 9, while the supreme ruler of those years is only referred to as *paramabhaṭṭāraka*. Mehta & Thakkar and Ramesh have little doubt that these years refer also to the reign of Toramāṇa, and this seems to fit the chronology of this king who is recorded to have been beaten by Prakāśadharman of Daśapura in 515 (below, p. 341). So the reign of Toramāṇa spanned at least 19 years, from *c.* 495 to 515. Soon after 515 he was succeeded by his son Mihirakula. No other *paramabhaṭṭāraka* ruling Rajasthan and Gujarat during this period is known. Therefore Toramāṇa is the most likely candidate. Why he is not mentioned by name in the last two charters is everybody's guess. But note that also the *bhagavatpāda* temple mentioned in the second charter is not called by name. A possible explanation could be that these three charters have belonged together from the beginning and no need was felt to repeat what was known at the time.

2) The location of Śivabhāgapura and Vadrapāli are uncertain. Mehta & Thakkar think that the southern border of the district of Śivabhāgapura was the River Orsang, which runs along Saṅkheda before it joins the River Hiran. The northern border is unclear. Ramesh identifies Śivabhāgapura with Shivarajpur, 26 km north of Sankheda.

Ramesh observes that "Vadrapālī has been wrongly identified by Mehta and Thakkar with Varuṇḍa lying 8 kms to the west of Sanjeli. The place should be properly identified with modern Vaḍphalī in the north-western extremes of West Khandesh, about 50 kms to the south-east of Saṅkheda" (Ramesh 1986, 180). We think that both identifications are wrong and that it is most likely that Vadrapāli is Sanjeli, the findspot of the copper plates.

From an historical point of view the first Sanjeli charter is the most informative. It testifies to the important role of the town of Vadrapāli/Sanjeli in the trade along the route that ran from

[i] Ramesh 1986, 182 thinks this is a temple different from the Jayasvāmin Temple mentioned in the first charter.

Mathurā to the Arabian Sea. Sanjeli's unique physical geography, being set within a series of natural fortifications in the form of low, rocky mountains, made it a strategic caravanserai on the road to the coast. Toramāṇa succeeded in installing a governor in Vadrapāli—a thousand kilometres south of his homeland in the Punjab—which testifies to his strategic and organisational talents. The places of origin of the "foreign" merchants who signed the charter give an impression of the extent of Toramāṇa's realm: from Kanyakubja in the Ganges Plain to Ujjayinī and the coast (Varuṇodarī) in the south-west.

X.035. Eran pillar inscription of Goparāja

The text presented here is based on the editions by Fleet in *CII III* (1888, 91–93) and Sircar in *SI I* (1965, 345–46). The translation is by Fleet (ibid.).

[1]om| saṃvatsaraśate ekanavatyuttare śrāvaṇabahulapakṣasa(pta)my(āṃ)| [2]saṃvat 100 90 1 śrāvaṇa ba di 7‖

≍ (lakṣa)vaṃśād utpanno ≍ ≍ rājeti viśrutaḥ|
tasya putro 'tivikrānto nāmnā rājātha mādhavaḥ‖1‖

goparāja(ḥ) sutas tasya śrīmān vikhyātapauruṣaḥ|
śarabharājadauhitraḥ svavaṃśatilako ('dhunā)‖2‖

śrī**bhānugupto** jagati pravīro, rājā mahān pārthasamo 'tiśūraḥ|
tenātha sārdhaṃ tv iha gopar(ājo), mitrānu(gatyena) kilānuyātaḥ‖3‖

kṛtvā [ca] (yu)ddhaṃ sumahatprak(ā)śaṃ, svargaṃ gato divyana(rendrakalpaḥ)|
bhaktānuraktā ca priyā ca kāntā, bh(āryāva)la(gn)ānugatā(gni)r(ā)śim‖4‖

1–2 Śloka • 3–4 Indravajrā

1 ***om***⟧ Fleet : *siddham* expressed by symbol • 1a ***lakṣa°***⟧ Fleet : ≍ *kla°* Sircar 1b ≍ ≍ ***rāje°***⟧ Fleet : Sircar notes : "The two letters containing the name cannot be read. There are possibly traces of a subscript *r* sign which may suggest that the name was something like Dhruvarāja, or Goparāja?" • 2d***'dhunā***⟧ conj. Sircar : *dhunā* Fleet 3d ***mitrānugatyena***⟧ Sircar : *mitrānuvatyāra* Fleet (uncertain) • 4a ***ca***⟧ inserts Fleet, Sircar

In a century of years, increased by ninety-one; on the seventh lunar day of the dark fortnight of [the month] Śrāvaṇa; the dark fortnight; the day 7: —

[1][There was] a king, renowned under the name of …rāja, sprung from the … lineage; and his son [was] that very valorous king [who was known] by the name [of] Mādhava. [2]His son was the illustrious **Goparāja**, renowned for manliness; the daughter's son of the Śarabha king; who is [even] now(?) the ornament of his lineage. [3]There is the glorious **Bhānugupta**, the bravest man on earth, a mighty king, equal to Pārtha [i.e. Arjuna], exceedingly heroic; and Goparāja, following [his] friend, came here along with him.[i] [4]And having fought a very famous battle, he

[i] The translation follows Sircar's reading.

> [i.e. Goparāja], who was equal to the celestial king [i.e. Indra],[i] [died and] went to heaven; and [his] devoted, attached, beloved, and beauteous wife, in close companionship, accompanied [him] onto the funeral pyre.

The historical importance of this inscription ensues from the great battle that is mentioned to have taken place in Eran in the Gupta Year 191, 510 CE. Neither Goparāja nor Bhānugupta are known from any other sources and the relationship of Bhānugupta with the family of the imperial Guptas, if any, is not clear. He is, though a great hero, without royal titles and may have belonged to the local elite of Vidiśā, the once western capital of the empire. Gopa-rāja may, as suggested by Dániel Balogh, be the king of Gopa-giri, i.e. Gwalior, where Toramāṇa's son Mihirakula had a garrison stationed (see Text X.037).

This inscription seems to testify to the definite end of the Gupta empire. It is found on a memorial stone, converted into a *liṅga*, on the south bank of the Bina River, marking the spot where the cremation of Goparāja has taken place, *c.* 1100 m east-south-east of the Varāha image. The fate of Bhānugupta is unknown, but the odds are that he too fell in this battle. Goparāja's wife committed suttee (*satī*).

The *Eran Stone Boar Inscription* (Text X.032) testifies to the first battle of Eran (Airikiṇa); it took place in the last years of the fifth century. This battle resulted in a consolidation of the rule of Toramāṇa. Mātṛviṣṇu lost his life, but his younger brother accepted the new regime (see the commentary to that text). This second battle shows that not all resistance against the Alchon conqueror had been quelled. It has generally been accepted, though the enemy is not mentioned by name, that it was again Toramāṇa who hammered the final nail in the coffin of the Gupta Empire.

X.036. Rīsthal inscription of Prakāśadharman

The text presented here is based on the edition by Richard Salomon (1989). The translation is by Salomon, except verses 16–18, 24 and 28, which have been re-translated by Bakker.

> […]
>
> kṣitipatitilaka(sya) tasya b(ā)hu-
> draviṇanipītasamagraśatrudīptiḥ|
> sucaritaghaṭitaprakāśadharmā,
> nṛpatilalāma sutaḥ **prakāśadharmā**‖13‖
>
> amalinayaśasāṃ prabhāvadhāmnāṃ,
> sakalajaganmahanīyapauruṣāṇāṃ|
> avitathajanatānurāgabhā(j)āṃ,
> sthitipadavīm anuyāti yo gurūṇāṃ‖14‖

[i] Fleet: "[who was little short of being equal to] the celestial [king (Indra)]."

yaḥ svānvayakramaparamparayopayātām,
āropitāṃ guṇarasā(p)ahṛtena pitrā|
lokopakāravidhaye na sukhodayāya,
rājaśriyaṃ śu(bhapha)lodayinīṃ bibharti‖15‖

ā **toramāṇanṛpater** nṛpamauliratna-
jyotsnāpratānaśabalīkṛtapādapīṭhāt|
hūṇādhipasya bhuvi yena gataḥ pratiṣṭhāṃ,
nīto yudhā vitathatām adhirājaśabdaḥ‖16‖

saṃgrāmamūrdhani vipāṭhanipātitānāṃ,
tasyaiva yena madavārimucāṃ gajānām|
āy(ām)idantaghaṭitāni taponidhi(bhyo),
bhadrāsanāni rucimanti niveditāni‖17‖

tasyaiva c(ā)havamukhe tarasā jitasya,
yenāvarodhanavarapramadāḥ pramathya|
lokaprakāśabhujavikramacihnahetor,
viśrāṇitā bhagavate vṛṣabhadhvajāya‖18‖

rājñe pitāmaha**vibhīṣaṇavardhanāya**,
ślāghyānubhāvagurupuṇyaphalaṃ nivedya|
vistāri bindusarasaḥ pratibimbabhūtam,
etad **vibhīṣaṇasaras** samakhāni tena‖19‖

etac ca nṛttarabhasaskhalitendulekhā-
vāntāṃśuvicchuritamecakakaṇṭhabhāsaḥ|
sthāṇos samagrabhuvanatrayasṛṣṭihetoḥ,
prāleyaśailataṭa(ka)lpam akāri sadma‖20‖

sadvyabdasaptatisamāsamudāyavatsu,
pūrṇeṣu pañcasu śateṣu vivatsarāṇām|
grīṣme 'rkatāpamṛditapramadāsanātha-
dhārāgṛhodaravijṛmbhitapuṣpaketau‖21‖

lakṣma bhāratavarṣasya nideśāt tasya bhūkṣitaḥ|
akārayad **daśapure prakāśesvarasadma** yaḥ‖22‖

tasyaiva ca purasyāntar brahmaṇaś cāru mandiram|
unmāpayad iva vyoma śikharair ghanarodhibhiḥ‖23‖

āśrayāya yatīnāṃ ca sāṅkhyayogābhiyog(in)ām|
vyadhatta kṛṣṇāvasathaṃ bujjukāvasathaṃ ca yaḥ‖24‖

sabhākūpamaṭhārāmān sadmāni ca divaukasām|
yo 'nyāṃs cānyāyavimukho deyadharmān acīkarat‖25‖

tenaiva nṛpates tasya pūrvajāmātyasūnunā|
rājasthanīya**bhagavaddoṣeṇā**doṣasaṇginā‖26‖

etaj jalanidhihrepi viśālaṃ khānitaṃ saraḥ|
idaṃ ca jaladollekhi śūlinas sadma kāritam‖27‖

kisalayaparivartī vīrudhāṃ vāti yāvat,
surabhikusumagandhāmodavāhī nabha(svān)|
sara i(da)m abhirāmaṃ sadma śambhoś ca tāvad,
vihataduritamārge kīrtivistāriṇī stām‖28‖

iti tuṣṭūṣayā tasya nṛpateḥ puṇyakarmaṇaḥ|
vāsulenoparacitā pūrveyaṃ kakkasūnunā‖29‖

13–14 Puṣpitāgrā • 15–21 Vasantatilaka • 22–27 Śloka • 28 Mālinī • 29 Śloka

13d ***°lalāma***⟧ ins. : *°lālama* Salomon (unmetrical) (typo) • 28d ***°vistāriṇī***⟧ ins. : *°vistariṇī* Salomon (unmetrical) (typo?) • 29a ***tuṣṭūṣayā***⟧ ins. : *tuṣtūṣayā* Salomon (typo) • 29d ***pūrveyaṃ***⟧ Bakker : *pūrvveyaṃ* ins., *purvveyaṃ* Salomon (typo)

[The inscription begins with an invocation to Pināki̇n [Śiva], followed by praise of the ruling king Prakāśadharman. In verses 3 to 12 the lineage of the Later Aulikara kings is given from Drapavardhana to Prakāśadharman.]

[13]The son of that most eminent king [Rājyavardhana] is **Prakāśadharman**, a crest of kings, who by the power of his arms seized away all of his enemies' fame, and created with his great deeds a quality of glory [*prakāśadharmā*]. [14]He equals the level of stature of his elders, who were of stainless glory, abodes of power whose manly valour was celebrated throughout the world, and who enjoyed the sincere love of the populace. [15]He bears the royal glory, which brings auspicious results, in order to benefit the world and not to increase [his own] pleasure. This [royal glory] came to him in due course according to the order of his lineage, bestowed upon him by his father who was captivated by the sweetness of his virtues.

[16] By whom the title 'Overlord' [*adhirāja*] of the **Hūṇa** commander [*adhipa*] was nullified in battle, [though it] had been firmly established on earth by the time of king **Toramāṇa**, whose footstool had glittered with the sparkling jewels in the crowns of kings [that had bowed at his feet] [17],[i] by whom auspicious seats were offered to the ascetics, splendid ones, made of the long

[i] Salomon (1989, 10) remarks about this verse: "The verse is […] not entirely free of ambiguities, and other plausible interpretations could be offered. In particular, the singular form of *hūṇādhipasya*, which cannot be in apposition with *ā toramāṇanṛpater* (ablative), is disturbing." Salomon refers to the interpretation of this verse as presented by Ramesh and Tewari (1983, 97), who (wrongly) claim that *ā toramāṇanṛpater* literally means 'from Toramāṇa onwards.' Cf. Speijer (1886, 168): "*ā* always agrees with the ablative, and is put before its noun. It serves to denote the boundary or limit, either the terminus *a quo* or the terminus *ad quem*, mostly the latter." I do not see the case disagreement of *hūṇādhipasya* and *ā toramāṇanṛpater* as disturbing, because, while the latter refers to one historical individual, viz. King Toramāṇa, the former refers to the Hūṇa ruler in general, Toramāṇa as well as other Hūṇa commanders (*adhipa*) before him who may have claimed to be *adhirāja*. That claim was nullified.

tusks of that same [commander's] elephants, whose rut was dripping [from their temples] while they were being shot down by [his] arrows at the battle front [18], and by whom were carried off a choice of ladies of the harem of that same [commander],[i] whom he had defeated by his vigour in the thick of battle, after which he offered them to Lord Vṛṣabhadhvaja [Śiva] to mark the strength of the arms of the 'Light of the World' [Lokaprakāśa, i.e. Prakāśadharman].

[19]That [King Prakāśadharman][had] constructed this broad **Vibhīṣaṇa Lake**, which is a mirror image of the Bindu Lake, dedicating to his grandfather, King **Vibhīṣaṇavardhana**, its great meritorious fruit of excellent dignity [20], and he also built this temple, which resembles the slopes of the snowy mountains [the Himālayas], of Sthāṇu [Śiva], the source of the creation of the entire three worlds, whose dark throat shines with the mingling of the rays poured forth by the crescent moon that has slipped down [from his head] in the violence of his dance.[ii]

[21]When five hundred years, to which is added seventy years plus two more, had passed [i.e. in the year 572 of the Mālava or Vikrama Era, corresponding to 515 CE], in the summer when Puṣpaketu [Kāma] was blooming within the fountain rooms that were peopled by young women who were overcome by the heat of the sun, [22]he [Bhagavaddoṣa] had constructed in **Daśapura** the **Prakāśeśvara Temple**, the ornament of **Bhāratavarṣa** [India], at the command of that King [Prakāśadharman], [23]and, within that same city, a beautiful house of Brahman, measuring out, so it seemed, the sky with its spires that block the clouds.[iii]

[24]And to accommodate ascetics who are engaged in Sāṃkhya and Yoga he [Bhagavaddoṣa] set up the Kṛṣṇa and Bujjuka Institutes[iv];[25] being averse to wrongdoing, he [also] had built assembly halls, wells, monasteries and gardens, as well as temples to [various] gods and other pious gift—[26]it was by this Viceroy [*rājasthānīya*] **Bhagavaddoṣa**, who was attached to virtue [*adoṣa*], the son of the minister [*amātya*] of the senior [i.e. father] of that king [Prakāśadharman] [v],[27] that this broad lake which puts to shame the ocean was excavated,[vi] and that this temple of Śūlin [Śiva] which scrapes the clouds was caused to be constructed.[vii]

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[i] *tasyaiva* refers to Toramāṇa (as in the preceding verse). As was customary, the Hūṇa king brought (some of) his wives with him in the army train. Prakāśadharman claims that he seized that train and the ladies in it were offered to Śiva, that is to say, they were handed over to his temple to work as *devadāsīs*.

[ii] This must be the temple which, like the Vibhīṣaṇa tank, was actually built by the *rājasthānīya* in the king's name, as becomes clear from verses 26–27.

[iii] It is not entirely clear what is meant by *brahmaṇaś cāru mandiram*. Temples dedicated to the creator god Brahmā are rare. *cāru* as a qualification of a temple is also not usual. At least it must have been a tall building. Maybe this *brahma-mandira* was a sort of mansion (*mandira*) of brahmins.

[iv] Salomon translates: "He built a shrine to Kṛṣṇa and one to Bujjuka as a refuge for ascetics…" I don't think that we are here concerned with shrines, but rather with schools or colleges (*avasatha*), in which of course there may have been shrines of the deities mentioned (cf. Willis 2009, 105f.). Bujjuka is unknown, however. Possibly these colleges were named after a famous ascetic in the tradition of the *yatis*.

[v] This refers to Prakāśadharman's father Rājyavardhana and his minister Ravikīrti (father of Bhagavaddoṣa), who was married to Bhānuguptā, possibly the sister of the hero Bhānugupta who fought Toramāṇa in Eran in 510 (see above, p. 339).

[vi] This is the Vibhīṣaṇa Tank (*saras*) (see verse 19).

[vii] This is the Śiva temple said to have been founded by Prakāśadharman in verse 20.

> [28]May [both monuments], the Temple of Śambhu and this beautiful [Vibhīṣaṇa] Tank [*saras*], continue to block the path of evil and spread the glory, as long as the wind blows, twirling the leaves of the vines and wafting the scents of fragrant flowers.
>
> [29]The preceding [eulogy] was composed by Vāsula, son of Kakka,[i] with the desire thus to praise that King of virtuous acts.

For the history of the Alchon invasions into India the present inscription is of capital importance, marking a turning point in the Hunnic wars at 515 CE. If the facts reported in it reflect the historic truth, Toramāṇa was badly beaten and forced to retreat to his home country in West Punjab. He must have been an old man, having ruled as monarch for at least 20 years.

To celebrate his victory and regained independence, Prakāśadharman of Daśapura had a Śiva temple and (adjacent?) tank constructed. Balogh (2019, section A9) argues convincingly that this temple and tank are to be looked for near the findspot of the inscription in the village of Rīsthal. The Prakāśeśvara Temple was founded in Daśapura itself, probably in what is now the fort area in the present city of Mandasor, where a large image of Śiva Śūlapāṇi was discovered.

The inscription also provides information about the power relations in the Daśapura kingdom, as it assigns the executive power to Bhagavaddoṣa, who is known from the *Mandasor Stone Inscription* (Text X.038) to be a member of the family of merchants (Naigama), who acted as *rājasthānīyas* or viceroys of the Later Aulikara dynasty for three generations.

For a detailed analysis of the contents of this inscription see Salomon (1989) and Balogh (2019, section A9).

X.037. Gwalior stone inscription of Mihirakula

The text presented here is based on the editions by Fleet in *CII III* (1888, 161–64) and Sircar in *SI I* (1965, 424–26), with readings checked from old photos by Dániel Balogh. The translation is by Bakker.

> [ja](ya)ti jaladavāladhvāntam utsārayan svaiḥ,
> kiraṇanivahajālair vyoma vidyotayadbhiḥ|
> u[daya](giri)taṭāgra(ṃ) maṇḍayan yas tura(ṃ)gaiḥ,
> cakitagamanakhedabhrāntacaṃcatsaṭāntaiḥ‖1‖
>
> udayag(iri)⌣ – – grastacakro 'rtihartā,
> bhuvanabhavanadīpaḥ śarvarīnāśahetuḥ|
> tapitakanakavarṇair aṃśubhiḥ paṅkajān(ā)m,
> abhinavaramaṇīyaṃ yo vidhatte sa vo 'vyāt‖2‖

[i] The same Vāsula, son of Kakka, composed the *Sondhni Pillar Inscription* of Prakāśadharman's successor, king Yaśodharman, about 20 years later (see Text X.039). He therefore must have been a young man when he worked on the present inscription.

śrī**tora(māṇa** i)ti yaḥ, prathito [bhūcakra]paḥ prabhūtaguṇaḥ|
satyapradānaśauryād, yena mahī nyāyata[ḥ] śāstā‖3‖

tasyoditakulakīrteḥ, putro 'tulavikramaḥ patiḥ pṛthvyāḥ|
mihirakuleti khyāto, 'bhaṅgo yaḥ paśupatim (a)[vanataḥ]‖4‖

(tasmin rā)jani śāsati, pṛthvīṃ pṛthuvimalalocane 'rtihare|
abhivardhamānarājye pañcadaśābde nṛpavṛṣasya‖5‖

śaśiraśmihāsavikasitakumudotpalagandhaśītalāmode|
kārttikamāse prā⟨:pte:⟩, gagana[patau](ni)rmale bhāti‖6‖

dvijagaṇamukhyair abhisaṃstute ca puṇyāhanādaghoṣeṇa|
tithinakṣatramuhūrte, saṃprāpte supraśastadine‖7‖

mātṛtulasya tu pautraḥ, putraś ca tathaiva mātṛdāsasya|
nāmnā ca **mātṛceṭaḥ**, parva[tadurg](ānu)vāstavyaḥ‖8‖

nānādhātuvicitre gopāhvayanāmni bhūdhare ramye|
kāritavān śailamayaṃ bhānoḥ prāsādavaramukhyam‖9‖

puṇyābhivṛddhihetor, mātāpitros tathātmanaś caiva|
vasatā[ṃ] ca girivare 'smi[n], rājñaḥ ⏑⏑ ⏑⏑ ⏑ (sā)dena‖10‖

ye kārayanti bhānoś, candrāṃśusamaprabhaṃ gṛhaprava⟨:ram:⟩|
teṣāṃ vāsaḥ svarge, yāvat kalpakṣayo bhavati‖11‖

bhaktyā raver viracitaṃ, saddharmakhyāpanaṃ sukīrtima⟨:yam:⟩|
nāmnā ca keśaveti, prathitena ca ⏑⏑ ⏑ – tyena‖12‖

yāvac charvajaṭākalāpagahane vidyotate candramā,
divyastrīcaraṇair vibhūṣitataṭo yāvac ca merur nagaḥ|
yāvac corasi nīlanīradanibhe viṣṇur vibharty ujjvalāṃ,
śrīṃ tāvad girimūrdhni tiṣṭhati [śilāprā]sādamukhyo rame‖13‖

1–2 Mālinī • 3–12 Āryā • 13 Śārdūlavikrīḍita

1a ***jayati***⟧ conj. Fleet, Sircar; ***jaladavāla°***⟧ Fleet : *jaladavelā°* conj. Sircar, *jaladakāla°* conj. Bakker • 1c ***udayagiri°***⟧ conj. Fleet, Sircar • 2a ***giri° ⏑ – – grasta°***⟧ Fleet : *girivanāntagrasta°* conj. Sircar • 3b ***bhūcakra°***⟧ conj. Fleet, Sircar • 3c ***°pradāna°***⟧ ins. : *°pradhāna°* conj. Fleet • 4d ***paśupatim avanataḥ***⟧ conj. Bakker : *paśupatim ⏑ – –* Fleet, *paśupatim arccayati* conj. Sircar (unmetrical), *paśupatim upanataḥ* conj. Balogh 5a ***tasmin rājani***⟧ conj. Fleet, Sircar • 6c ***prāpte***⟧ em. Fleet, Sircar : *prāpta* ins. 8d ***parvatadurgānu°***⟧ conj. Sircar (printing : *parva[tadug*/[ānu°]* typo(?) (unmetrical)) : *parva[ta]* … Fleet, *parvatagopapura°* or *parvatagopāhva°* conj. Balogh • 10c ***vasatāṃ***⟧ conj. Fleet, Sircar; ***'smin***⟧ conj. Fleet, Sircar • 10d ***⏑ sādena***⟧ Sircar (Sircar conj. *°prasādena*) : … *pādena* conj. Fleet • 11b ***°pravaram***⟧ em. Sircar : *°pravaraṃ* ins., Fleet • 12b ***kīrtimayam***⟧ em. Sircar : *kīrtimayaṃ* ins., Fleet • 12d – ***°tyena***⟧ ins. : *°dityena* conj. Fleet, Sircar; number and quantity of missing syllables uncertain • 13d ***śilāprāsāda°***⟧ conj. Sircar, Fleet

[1]He is victorious, the one who dispels the darkness of the clouds [of the rainy season] by the dense fabric of his rays that lightens the sky, and whose horses ornament the high slopes of the Sunrise Mountain, when their startling gait makes their tossing manes dishevel and fly, [2] who is the lamp in the edifice of the world causing the night to vanish, and who takes away the pain, when the wheels [of his chariot] swallow the … of the Sunrise [Mountain?], and who restores a delightful freshness to the lotus flowers by the lustre of his beams which shine like refined gold—may that [Sun] favour you.[i]

[3]There was a ruler of the earth of great excellence, renowned by the name of the illustrious **Toramāṇa**, by whom the world was governed with justice thanks to his heroism, largesse and truthfulness—[4]that one, who had raised his family to fame, had a son of unequalled prowess, a lord of the earth whose name was **Mihirakula**, and who, [though] unbent, [was bending to] Paśupati.[ii]

[5]While that king with large, bright eyes ruled the earth, alleviating pain—in year 15 of the prospering reign of [this] bull among kings,[iii] [6]when the month of Kārttika had arrived with its cool fragrances of sweet-smelling lotuses and waterlilies burgeoning by the laughing [i.e. white] rays of the moon, and [this] lord of the sky was shining brightly, [7]when a very favourable solar-day had arrived, and the lunar-day, lunar-house and moment had been loudly declared auspicious by a most prominent group of brahmins—[8]the grandson of Mātṛtula and son of Mātṛdāsa, named **Mātṛceṭa**, living in the Hill [Fort],[iv] [9]has built a most excellent stone temple of Bhānu [i.e. the Sun] on [this] beautiful mountain that is rich in minerals and is known by the name of **Gopa**, [10]for the sake of increasing the merit of his father and mother, as well as of himself, and of those who live on this excellent mountain due to the … [grace] of the king.[v]

[11]Those who commission the building of an excellent house of Bhānu [Sun], brilliant like the [white] rays of the moon, they live in heaven till the end of the world-period.

[12][This] proclamation of the good law so full of glory has been done out of devotion to the Sun by the renowned …, also known by the name of Keśava.

[13]As long as the moon shines in the thicket that is Śarva's [Śiva's] crown of matted hair, as long as the slopes of Mount Meru are adorned by the feet of celestial women, and as long as Viṣṇu's

---

[i] In view of the historic Iranian background of the Alchon Huns it may not come as a big surprise that a Sun Temple was erected on the site which housed a garrison of Mihirakula's forces.

[ii] This is the first unambiguous profession of Śaivism by an Alchon king. Cf. Pfisterer (2013, 163): "Auf den Münzen Mihirakulas spiegelt sich deutlich seine auch inschriftlich und literarisch überlieferte Neigung zum Kult Śivas wieder."

[iii] Cf. the 'bull' symbolism on Mihirakula's coins: *jayatu vṛṣadhvaja, jayatu vṛṣa* (Pfisterer 2013, 163).

[iv] This translation is based on Sircar's conjecture in 8d: *parvatadurgānuvāstavyaḥ*. Gwalior Hill (Gopagiri) served as a fort for the troops of Mihirakula, who, it seems, are being remembered with a part of the merit of the benefaction in v. 10cd.

[v] Despite the fact that half of 10d is missing, I think that this hemistich refers to King Mihirakula's troops quartered in the hill fort. Among them there might have been Sun worshippers, given the contacts of the Alchons with the Iranian hinterland.

> breast, dark like a rain-cloud, bears the radiant Śrī, so long [this] most excellent temple of stone will stand on top of [this] lovely hill.

The inscription yields valuable information about Mihirakula. It calls him the son of Toramāṇa, whose last epigraphical attestation was the *Rīsthal Inscription* of 515 CE (Text X.036). The present inscription belongs to Year 15 of Mihirakula's reign and may thus date from *c.* 530. Mihirakula's titles are less exalted than those of his father, which evinces that the Alchons had lost strength.

In the years between the *Rīsthal Inscription* and this *Gwalior Inscription* the Alchons recovered from the blow dealt to them by Prakāśadharman and rallied round Toramāṇa's son.

The findspot of the inscription in a Sun Temple in the fort on Gwalior Hill, in the inscription referred to as Mount Gopa (i.e. Gopagiri), seems significant for tracing the history of the Alchons under Mihirakula.[i] The inscription testifies to people living on this hill due to the king (v. 10), which may imply that the Alchon king had a garrison stationed on the hill, and Mātṛceṭa probably belonged to it (v. 8). The fort of Gopagiri (Gwalior Hill) controlled the entrance to the Betwā Valley, in which Toramāṇa fought at least two battles (Eran). It thus seems that Mihirakula followed in the footsteps of his father in order to recover lost Indian territory.

Worship of the sun by members of the Alchon garrison does not come as a surprise, since some of them may have had an Iranian (family) background. Significant is that the Alchon king had embraced Śaivism and insisted that his devotion to Paśupati was officially declared in his records. It meant a break with the religious affiliation of his father, of whom only Buddhist and Vaiṣṇava documents are known.

X.038. Mandasor stone inscription of Yaśodharman

The text presented here is based on the editions by Fleet in *CII III* (1888, 150–58) and Sircar in *SI I* (1965, 411–17). The translation is by Bakker (verses 5–11, 22–28) and Fleet (verses 18–21).

> […]
>
> atha jayati janendraḥ śrī**yaśodharma**nāmā,
> pramadavanam ivāntaḥ śatrusainyaṃ vigāhya|
> vraṇakisalayabhaṅgair yo 'ṅgabhūṣāṃ vidhatte,
> taruṇatarulatāvad vīrakīrtīr vināmya‖5‖
>
> ājau jitī vijayate jagatīṃ punaś ca,
> śrī**viṣṇuvardhana**narādhipatiḥ sa eva|
> prakhyāta aulikara-lāñchana ātmavaṃśo,
> yenoditoditapadaṃ gamito garīyaḥ‖6‖

[i] Gopagiri is situated in the western part of Cedi (Bundelkhand), the western boundaries of which are formed by the Chambal and its tributary the Kalisindh river.

prāco nṛpān subṛhataś ca bahūn udīcaḥ,
sāmnā yudhā ca vaśagān pravidhāya yena|
nāmāparaṃ jagati kāntam ado durāpaṃ,
rājādhirājaparameśvara ity udūḍham‖7‖

snigdhaśyāmāmbudābhaiḥ sthagitadinakṛto yajvanām ājyadhūmair,
ambho meghyaṃ maghonāvadhiṣu vidadhatā gāḍhasampannasasyāḥ|
saṃharṣād vāṇinīnāṃ kararabhasahṛtodyānacūtāṅkurāgrā,
rājanvanto ramante bhujavijitabhuvā bhūrayo yena deśāḥ‖8‖

yasyotketubhir unmadadvipakaravyāviddhalodhradrumair,
uddhūtena vanādhvani dhvaninadadvindhyādrirandhrair balaiḥ|
bāleyacchavidhū(sa)reṇa rajasā mandāṃśu saṃlakṣyate,
paryāvṛttaśikhaṇḍicandraka iva dhyāmaṃ raver maṇḍalam‖9‖

tasya prabhor vaṃśakṛtāṃ nṛpāṇāṃ
pādāśrayād viśrutapuṇyakīrtiḥ|
bhṛtyaḥ svanaibhṛtyajitāriṣaṭka
āsīd vaśīyān kila **ṣaṣṭhidattaḥ**‖10‖

himavata iva gāṅgas tuṅganamraḥ pravāhaḥ,
śaśabhṛta iva revāvārirāśiḥ prathīyān|
param abhigamanīyaḥ śuddhimān anavāyo,
yata uditagarimnas tāyate **naigamānām**‖11‖

[…]

praṇidhidṛganugantrā yasya bauddhena cākṣṇā,
na niśi tanu davīyo vāsty adṛṣṭaṃ dharitryām|
padam udayi dadhāno 'nantaraṃ tasya cābhūt,
sa bhayam **abhayadatto** nāma vi(ghna)n prajānām‖18‖

vindhyasyāvandhyakarmā śikharataṭapatatpāṇḍurevāmburāśer,
golāṅgulaiḥ sahelaplutinamitataroḥ **pāriyātrasya cādreḥ**|
ā **sindhor** antarālaṃ nijaśucisacivādhyāsitānekadeśaṃ,
rājasthānīyavṛttyā suragurur iva yo varṇināṃ bhūtaye 'pāt‖19‖

vihitasakalavarṇāsaṃkaraṃ śāntaḍimbaṃ,
kṛta iva kṛtam etad yena rājyaṃ nirādhi|
sa dhuram ayam idānīṃ **doṣakumbhasya** sūnur,
guru vahati tadūḍhāṃ dharmato **dharmadoṣaḥ**‖20‖

svasukham anabhivā⟨:ñcha:⟩n durgame 'dhvany asaṅgāṃ,
dhuram atigurubhārāṃ yo dadhad bhartur arthe|
vahati nṛpativeṣaṃ kevalaṃ lakṣmamātraṃ,
valinam iva vilambaṃ kambalaṃ bāhuleyaḥ‖21‖

upahitahitarakṣāmaṇḍano ⟨:jā:⟩tiratnair,
bhuja iva pṛthulāṃsas tasya **dakṣaḥ** kanīyān|
mahad idam udapānaṃ khānayāmāsa bibhrac,
chrutihṛdayanitāntānandi **nirdoṣa**nāma‖22‖

sukhāśreyacchāyaṃ pariṇatihitasvāduphaladaṃ,
gajendreṇārugṇaṃ drumam iva kṛtāntena balinā|
pitṛvyaṃ proddiśya priyam **abhayadattaṃ** pṛthudhiyā,
prathīyas tenedaṃ kuśalam iha karmoparacitam‖23‖

pañcasu śateṣu śaradāṃ yāteṣv ekānnanavatisahiteṣu|
mālavagaṇasthitivaśāt kālajñānāya likhiteṣu‖24‖

[…]

nirmāpito 'yam‖26‖

[…]

dhīmān **dakṣo** dakṣiṇaḥ satyasaṃdho
hrīmāñ chūro vṛddhasevī kṛtajñaḥ|
baddhotsāhaḥ svāmikāryeṣv akhedī
nirdoṣo 'yaṃ pātu dharmaṃ cirāya‖28‖

utkīrṇā govindena‖

5 Mālinī • 6–7 Vasantatilaka • 8 Sragdharā • 9 Śārdūlavikrīḍita • 10 Indravajrā • 11 Mālinī • 18 Mālinī • 19 Sragdharā • 20–22 Mālinī • 23 Śikhariṇī • 24 Āryā • 26 Mālinī • 27 Sragdharā • 28 Śālinī

9a ***°dhūsareṇa***⟧ conj. Sircar : °*dhūmareṇa* Fleet • 18d ***vighnan***⟧ conj. Sircar : *cinvan* Fleet • 19b ***sahela°***⟧ Sircar : *sahelaṃ* Fleet • 19c ***°deśaṃ***⟧ ins. : °*deśāṃ* Fleet (typo?) • 20c ***dhuram***⟧ ins. : metri causa for *dhurām* • 21a ***anabhi°***⟧ Sircar : *anati*° Fleet; ***°vāñchan***⟧ conj. Fleet, Sircar : °*vācchan* ins. • 21b ***dhuram***⟧ ins. : metri causa for *dhurām* • 22a ***jāti°***⟧ ins., Fleet : *jñāti*° conj. Sircar • 22c ***khānayāmāsa***⟧ Sircar : *khātayāmāsa* Fleet (typo?) • 26a ***kampayan***⟧ conj. Sircar : *rāmayan* Fleet 27a ***°samudayāsaṅga°***⟧ conj. Sircar : °*samudayaṃ saṅga*° Fleet

[Verses 1 to 4 contain a prayer to Śiva and a request to preserve the well whose excavation is recorded in this inscription.]

[5]And victorious is the illustrious King **Yaśodharman**! When he plunges into the army of his foes as if it were a pleasure grove and bends down the fame of heroes as if they were delicate tendrils of a tree, he adorns his body with wounds that are like shattered shoots. [6]Furthermore, that same illustrious King **Viṣṇuvardhana**, who raises his renowned dynasty, whose mark is 'Aulikara,' to an ever higher state of dignity, wins the world, as he is a winner in war.

[7]After having subjugated by peaceful means and by force the eastern kings and the many, very powerful northern ones [respectively],[i] he bore as his second name 'Rājādhirāja Parameśvara,' that [title] desirable, [but] difficult to obtain in the world. [8]After he had conquered many countries on earth by [the power of] his arms, these [countries] enjoy the government of a just monarch: [in these countries] the sun is obscured by the smoke—black as thick rain clouds—of clarified butter offered [in the fire] by sacrificers; their crops are abundant thanks to Maghavan, who supplies [the land] within their borders with [sufficient] water in the form of clouds; and in [these countries] the fresh shoots of the mango trees in the parks are plucked eagerly by the hands of wanton women in excitement.[ii] [9]At the time that his [i.e. Yaśodharman's] forces marched through the jungle with their banners raised, and the infuriated elephants of the army tossed the *lodhra* trees about with their tusks, [producing] a noise that made the crevices of the **Vindhya Mountains** resound, then, by the dust—grey like the skin of an ass—that was thrown up by [his forces], the rays of the sun became dimmed and the orb seemed blotted out, as if it were the eye in a peacock's tail reversed.[iii]

[10]There once was a servant of the dynastic ancestors of that lord [Yaśodharman], **Ṣaṣṭhidatta**, whose self-control was very great indeed and who had conquered the six foes by his own resoluteness;[iv] the glory of his virtuousness was wide-spread thanks to his respectful attachment to those kings. [11]Like the water-mass of the Revā River flows forth from the moon,[v] or that of the Gaṅgā from the Himavat, streaming downwards from the top and branching off, so descends the noble lineage of the **Naigamas** from him [i.e. Ṣaṣṭhidatta], from his lofty dignity, [a lineage] whose company is most sought-after.

[In verses 12 to 17 the lineage of the Naigamas ('Merchants') is given, who served during five generations as chief minister or viceroy (*rājasthānīya*) under the dynasty of the Later Aulikaras of Daśapura. See the commentary.]

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[i] It has been argued by Bakker (2014, 39ff) that the Aulikara king led what seems to have been a coalition of Indian kings against their common "northern enemy," the Hūṇas. The "eastern kings," to whom the inscription refers, the ones who were won over by "peaceful means," most likely were the Maukharis of Kanauj (see the *Jaunpur Inscription* and the *Haraha Inscription* below, Texts X.040 and X.041).

[ii] The verse conveys the orthodox Brahmanical view on the world: (1) If the king (*kṣatriya*) does his traditional duty of protecting the country and bringing peace, (2) the brahmins are able to fulfil their tasks and offer the required sacrifices (*dharma*), which (3) brings prosperity into the land in the form of abundant crops etc. (*artha*), and this again (4) enables the population to enjoy love (*kāma*).

[iii] If there is any historic truth underlying this verse, it may refer to Yaśodharman's campaign with his "Eastern" allies against the "Northern" enemies, the Hūṇas. As we know from the Gwalior inscription of Mihirakula, the Alchons kept a stronghold at the entrance of the Betwā valley (see p. 346 above, and Map 7 in Bakker 2020). The two powers, Aulikara and Maukhari, may have united somewhere in this valley. In order to come there Yaśodharman's army had to cross the Vindhya Mountains (Bakker 2014, 52). In this valley, in all likelihood, a decisive battle was fought, which resulted in Yaśodharman's victory and the consequent blessings to his country as described in the preceding verse (8).

[iv] The "six foes" (*ariṣaḍvarga*) are according to the *Arthaśāstra* 1.6.1: *kāma, krodha, lobha, māna, mada, harṣa* (Kane 1930–62, III/52ff; Fleet 1888, 156 n. 5): "desire, wrath, covetousness, bewilderment, pride and envy").

[v] *Raghuvaṃśa* 5.59 calls the Narmadā (=Revā) "Somodbhavā." Vallabhadeva ad loc.: *narmadā somād āvirbhūtety āgamaḥ*.

[18]And after him [i.e. Bhagavaddoṣa][i] there came that [well known] **Abhayadatta**, maintaining a high position on earth, dispelling[ii] the fear of [his] subjects—by whose eye of intellect, which served him like the eyes of a spy, no trifle, however remote, remained undetected, [even] at night—[19][Abhayadatta], of fruitful actions, who like [Bṛhaspati] the preceptor of the gods, to the advantage of those who belonged to the [four recognized] castes, with the functions of a *Rājasthānīya* protected the region, containing many countries presided over by native governors, [the region] which lies between the **Vindhya** [mountains], from the slopes of the summits of which there flows the pale mass of the waters of [the river] Revā, and the mountain **Pāriyātra**, on which the trees are bent down in [their] frolicsome leaps by the long-tailed monkeys, [a region that stretches] up to the [Western] Ocean [**Sindhu**].[iii]

[20]Now he, **Dharmadoṣa**, the son of **Doṣakumbha**,—by whom this kingdom has been made, as if [it were still] in the Kṛta-age, free from any intermixture of all the castes, [and peaceable through] having hostilities allayed, [and] undisturbed by care,—in accordance with justice proudly supports the burden [of government] that had [previously] been borne by him [i.e. Abhayadatta];— [21][Dharmadoṣa], who,—not being eager about his own comfort [and] independently bearing the very heavily weighted burden [of government] on the difficult path [of administration] for his lord's sake—wears royal apparel only as mark of distinction [and not for his own pleasure], just as a bull carries a wrinkled pendulous dewlap.

[22]The broad-shouldered younger brother of that [Dharmadoṣa], 'the dexterous one'/**Dakṣa**, who bears the name of **Nirdoṣa**/'the faultless one,' which is very pleasant to the ear and the heart—he who is as it were like the arm [of his elder brother], for he [too] wears a protective ornament studded by jewels, namely his relatives[iv]—he has excavated here this big well. [23]This very great and skilful work was accomplished by that broad-minded [Nirdoṣa] for his beloved paternal uncle **Abhayadatta**, who had been [struck down] by mighty Death, like a tree is pulled down by an elephant, [although] it [still] gives wholesome and sweet fruits when ripened and its shade is a pleasant place to be.

[24]After five-hundred plus eighty-nine autumns had elapsed, written according to the practice of the Mālava people by reason of calendar,[v]

[Verses 25–26 give a flowering description of the season in which the well was excavated.]

[26]this [well] was caused to be constructed.

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[i] Bhagavaddoṣa served as *rājasthānīya* under King Prakāśadharman, predecessor (and probably father) of Yaśodharman. He founded the Prakāśeśvara Temple in Daśapura (above, p. 342).

[ii] I follow Sircar's conjecture; Fleet: "collecting (in order to dispel it) the fear of (his) subjects (?)."

[iii] Sircar (1965, 416 n. 1) comments: "Abhayadatta is claimed to have been ruling the land between the Vindhya and the Pāriyātra and stretching as far as the Arabian Sea, as viceroy of Yaśodharman surnamed Viṣṇuvardhana." Regarding the Pāriyātra Mountains Sircar remarks (1965, 204 n. 1): "Pāriyātra = the Aravelly and Western Vindhyas."

[iv] The bracelet that ornaments the arm (of his elder brother) serves as a protective amulet (*rakṣā*), being studded with jewels (*ratnair*); Nirdoṣa is compared to this arm since he too is enveloped by a "protective ornament," namely the protection of his brother/kinsmen (*jñāti*).

[v] The Mālava Era coincides with the Vikrama Era. The year 589 corresponds to 532 CE.

> […]
>
> [28]May this **Nirdoṣa** protect the law [*dharma*] for a long time to come, ['the faultless one'] who is wise and dexterous/**Dakṣa**, able, attached to the truth, modest, heroic, respectful towards his elders, grateful, whose strength is solid, and who is never tired of services to his master.[i]
>
> [This inscription] has been engraved by Govinda.

The stone-tablet in which the present lengthy inscription in accomplished *kāvya* style is engraved was found (in 1885 CE) in an old well within the fort of Mandasor, ancient Daśapura (Fleet 1888, 150). It may thus have been at or near the site where it originally was placed to memorize the pious act of Nirdoṣa, who had a well excavated in 532 for his deceased uncle, the Naigama *rājasthānīya* Abhayadatta.

Nirdoṣa, alias Dakṣa, belonged to the family of the Naigamas, which supplied high officials to the House of the Later Aulikara kings for five generations. The inscription at issue gives the family pedigree of these Naigamas or 'Merchants' (Figure 3).[ii] The event that occasioned the recorded benefaction was the (recent) sudden death of Abhayadatta. Nirdoṣa's elder brother Dharmadoṣa (see pedigree below) had succeeded his uncle in the office of *rājasthānīya*.

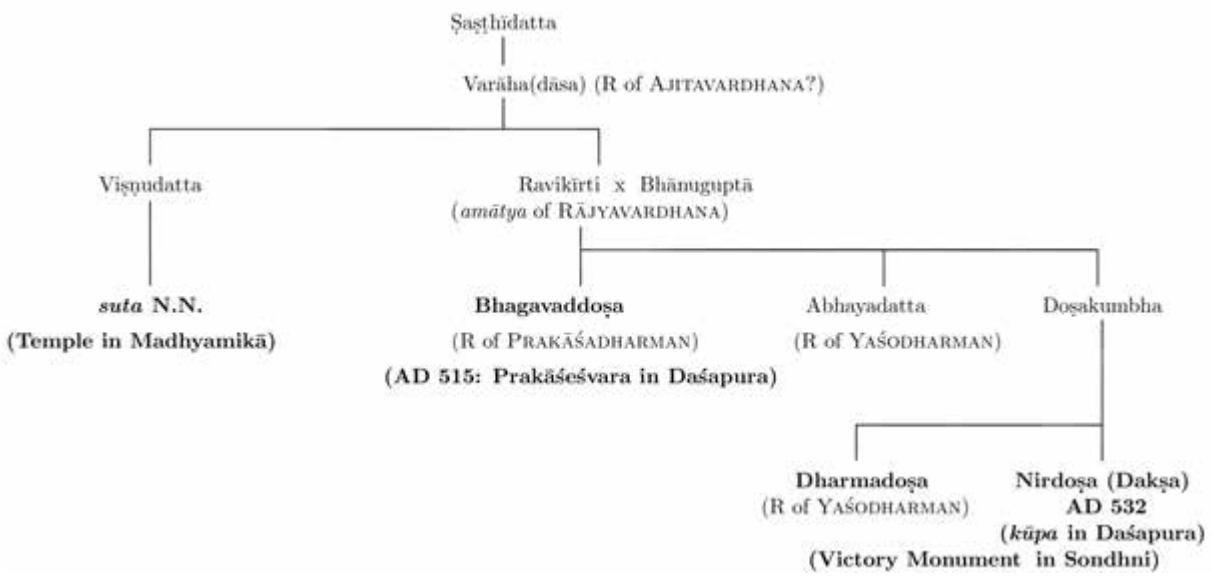


Figure 3. The Naigama family

The inscription contains some valuable historic information. Although it does not mention the Huns/Alchons by name, we suspect that they are referred to in verse 7 by the phrase "the many, very powerful northern kings." These kings were defeated by King Yaśodharman, it seems, in alliance with the "eastern kings," which we suspect to have been the Maukharis of Kanauj, more

[i] Rather than King Yaśodharman, Nirdoṣa's immediate superior (*svāmin*) might have been meant here, his elder brother, the viceroy Dharmadoṣa, to whom also the *dharma* mentioned in *pāda* d may refer in a double-entendre. In verse 21b King Yaśodharman as lord of Dharmadoṣa is referred to as *bhartṛ*.

[ii] See also 'The Naigamas' in Balogh (2019) for an alternative reconstruction of the genealogy.

in particular Īśvaravarman. The inscription describes Yaśodharman as a great conqueror who brought peace and prosperity to his country (v. 8), which could only have happened if the Alchons had been defeated.

In verse 9 reference is made to the campaign of King Yaśodharman, whose army is said to have crossed the Vindhya mountains. A decisive battle with Mihirakula may therefore have taken place in the Betwā Valley, where also two earlier battles with his father Toramāṇa had been fought (Eran).

X.039. Sondhni pillar inscription of Yaśodharman

The text presented here is based on the editions by Fleet in *CII III* (1888, 142–50) and Sircar in *SI I* (1965, 418–20). The translation is by Bakker.

vepante yasya bhīmastanitabhayasamudbhrāntadaityā digantāḥ,
śṛṅgāghātaiḥ sumeror vighaṭitadṛṣadaḥ kandarā yaḥ karoti|
ukṣāṇaṃ taṃ dadhānaḥ kṣitidharatanayādatta(pañcāṅgulā)ṅkaṃ,
drāghiṣṭhaḥ śūlapāṇeḥ kṣapayatu bhavatāṃ śatrutejāṃsi ketuḥ||1||

āvirbhūtāvalepair avinayapaṭubhir laṅghitācāramārgair,
mohād aidaṃyugīnair apaśubharatibhiḥ pīḍyamānā narendraiḥ|
yasya kṣmā śārṅgapāṇer iva kaṭhinadhanurjyākiṇāṅkaprakoṣṭhaṃ,
bāhuṃ lokopakāravratasaphalaparispandadhīraṃ prapannā||2||

nindyācāreṣu yo 'smin vinayamuṣi yuge kalpanāmātravṛttyā,
rājasv anyeṣu pāṃsuṣv iva kusumabalir nābabhāse prayuktaḥ|
sa śreyodhāmni samrāḍ iti manubharatālarkamāndhātṛkalpe,
kalyāṇe hemni bhāsvān maṇir iva sutarāṃ bhrājate yatra śabdaḥ||3||

ye bhuktā **guptanāthair** na sakalavasudhākrāntidṛṣṭapratāpair,
nājñā **hūṇādhipānāṃ** kṣitipatimukuṭādhyāsinī yān praviṣṭā|
deśāṃs tān dhanvaśailadruma⟨:ga:⟩hanasaridvīrabāhūpagūḍhān,
vīryāvaskannarājñaḥ svagṛhaparisarāvajñayā yo bhunakti||4||

ā lauhityopakaṇṭhāt talavanagahanopatyakād ā mahendrād,
ā gaṇgāśliṣṭasānos tuhinaśikhariṇaḥ paścimād ā payodheḥ|
sāmantair yasya bāhudraviṇahṛtamadaiḥ pādayor ānamadbhiś,
cūḍāratnāṃśurājivyatikaraśabalā bhūmibhāgāḥ kriyante||5||

sthāṇor anyatra yena praṇatikṛpaṇatāṃ prāpitaṃ nottamāṅgaṃ,
yasyāśliṣṭo bhujābhyāṃ vahati himagirir durgaśabdābhimānam|
nīcais tenāpi yasya praṇatibhujabalāvarjanakliṣṭamūrdhnā,
cūḍāpuṣpopahārair **mihirakula**nṛpeṇārcitaṃ pādayugmam||6||

[gā]m evonmātum ūrdhvaṃ vigaṇayitum iva jyotiṣāṃ cakravālaṃ,
nirdeṣṭuṃ mārgam uccair diva iva sukṛtopārjitāyāḥ svakīrteḥ|
tenākalpāntakālāvadhir avanibhujā śrī**yaśodharmaṇāyaṃ**,
stambhaḥ stambhābhirāmasthirabhujaparigheṇocchritiṃ nāyito 'tra‖7‖

(ślā)ghye janmāsya vaṃśe caritam aghaharaṃ dṛśyate kāntam asmin,
dharmasyāyaṃ niketaś calati niyamitaṃ nānunā lokavṛttam|
ity utkarṣaṃ guṇāṇāṃ likhitum iva **yaśodharmaṇaś** candrabimbe,
rāgād utkṣipta uccairbhuja iva rucimān yaḥ pṛthivyā vibhāti‖8‖

iti tuṣṭūṣayā tasya nṛpateḥ puṇyakarmaṇaḥ|
vāsulenoparacitāḥ ślokāḥ kakkasya sūnunā‖9‖

[9]utkīrṇā govindena‖

1–8 Sragdharā • 9 Śloka

4c ***°gahana°***⟧ em. Fleet, Sircar : *°śahana°* ins. • 7a ***gām evo°***⟧ conj. Fleet, Sircar : *dhāmevo°* conj. Balogh • 9⟧ cf. v. 29 of the *Rīsthal Inscription of Prakāśadharman* (above, p. 341) • l. 9⟧ cf. the *Mandasor Stone Inscription of Yaśodharman/Viṣṇuvardhana, Year 589* (above, p. 348)

[1]May [this] very tall column [*ketu*] of Śūlapāṇi [i.e. Śiva] destroy the forces of your enemy, the column that bears the Bull marked by the prints of the five fingers of the daughter of the mountain [i.e. Pārvatī], that [bull] whose terrific bellowing makes the quarters vibrate, bewildering the demons with fear, and whose pounding horns make the rocks in the valleys of Mount Sumeru crack.

[2]Oppressed by kings of the present [Kali] age of blatant haughtiness who lacked any love for the good,[i] whose delusion made them violate the path of proper conduct and who were cruel due to a total lack of decency—this earth took refuge to the arm of him, [Yaśodharman]—an arm which steadily brings observances to completion for the benefit of the world and whose lower part shows the calluses caused by the hard string of his bow, just as [the earth finds succour in the likewise] marked [fore]arms of the Wielder of the Bow [Śārṅgapāṇi, i.e. Viṣṇu].

[3]"Emperor," which designation shone just as little as a flower-offering on a dunghill, when it, in this age destitute of decency and by a fit of imagination alone, was applied to other kings whose conduct was reprehensible,[ii] that [designation] perfectly shines in him, [Yaśodharman], who is a storehouse of goodness and a spitting image of Manu, Bharata, Alarka and Māndhātṛ,[iii] just like a jewel shines in a beautiful golden mounting.

[4]After having overpowered their kings by his prowess, [Yaśodharman now] reigns—with the same ease as he rules his own house—over countries which are clasped by the arms of heroes,

[i] From this and other inscriptions it is clear that the Hūṇa kings are meant.
[ii] This again may be a sneer at Toramāṇa or Mihirakula.
[iii] Celebrated kings of yore.

rivers, jungle, forests, mountains and deserts—countries that were not [even] controlled by the **Gupta** emperors, whose glory was displayed by their invasion of the entire earth, and countries that the command of the **Hūṇa** captains [*adhipa*] had not reached, [though] it had affected many a royal crown.

[5]Feudatories who were bowing to the feet of this [Yaśodharman] made the ground/land divisions to become dappled/mixed-up when the beams that radiate from the jewels in their crests spread over it are/were blending, [feudatories]—from the borders of the Lauhitya River to the foot of the Mahendra Mountain with its impenetrable palmyra woods, from the Snow Mountains [Himālaya] whose tablelands are embraced by the Gaṅgā River up to the Western Ocean—whose pride had been taken away by the power of his arm.[i]

[6]**Mihirakula**, whose head had never been forced to bow in humility by anyone save Sthāṇu [i.e. Paśupati/Śiva],[ii] and the embrace of whose arms gave the Himālaya Mountain the illusion of being "impregnable,"[iii] even by that king the feet of this [Yaśodharman] were humbly worshipped with an offering of flowers [fallen from] his crest, when the strength of his arms bent that [Hūṇa] monarch's head painfully down into deference.

[7]**Yaśodharman**, who reigns the earth with a steady, club-like arm as beautiful as a column, by that illustrious (king) this column that will last till the end of the Age has been erected here, as if to measure the earth from above, to count the multitude of stars, and to point out to the highest skies, as it were, the path of his glory achieved by his heroic deeds.

[8] [A column] that is, as it were, a raised arm of the earth,[iv] erected out of love, and that, endowed by splendour, radiates widely, as if to write the excellences of **Yaśodharman's** qualities on the disk of the moon, so that it may be known: "He is of noble birth, of behaviour, charming and purifying of sin, and the abode of Dharma, controlled by whom the conduct of the people does not falter."

[9]This eulogy was composed by Vāsula, son of Kakka, with the desire thus to praise that King of virtuous acts.[v]

[This inscription] has been engraved by Govinda.[vi]

---

[i] This extravagant claim spans the whole Indian subcontinent. As Sircar (1965, 419 n. 3) rightly remarks, it "refers to *digvijaya*, which the king claims to have performed, and gives the conventional boundaries of the *cakravartikakṣetra*."

[ii] This seems to be a rejoinder to Mihirakula's boast in his Gwalior Inscription (above, p. 345).

[iii] This refers to the home country of Mihirakula, the Punjab and Kashmir.

[iv] Cf., for instance, Samudragupta's *Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription*, lines 29ff (Fleet 1888, 8ff).

[v] This same Vāsula, son of Kakka, composed the *praśasti* of King Prakāśadharman, *c.* 30 years earlier, after his victory over Toramāṇa (above, n. i on p. 343). He is not mentioned as the author of Yaśodharman's Mandasor Stone Inscription of 532 CE, but to judge by the style this could have been a composition by him as well. Vāsula was a fairly good *kāvya* poet at the court of the Later Aulikara kings of Daśapura, to whom we owe a great deal of our knowledge of the two Hunnic wars in India.

[vi] The same Govinda engraved the Mandasor Stone Inscription of 532 CE (above, p. 348).

The inscription is engraved on a victory column (*raṇastambha*) found near a village known as Sondhni, at 2.7 km south-east of Mandasor Fort. This site preserves two such columns, both containing an inscription. Due to damage the text of the second inscription is only partly preserved, but from what remains of it (Fleet 1888, 149ff), it is clear that it consists of exactly the same text as the one presented here in full; it is also engraved by Govinda.

Both columns are made of sandstone and therefore must have come from elsewhere. One of the columns may have been meant for another location, but this plan was not executed for reasons unknown.

The pillars are about 13.5 m high, but the finished columns must have been significantly higher, since the statue that stood on the summit is missing. In view of the opening verse, in which Śiva's Bull (*vṛṣabha*) is mentioned, it seem reasonable to assume that the pillar was once crowned by an image of this emblem (*ketu*).

From the contents of the inscription it is evident that these columns were made after King Yaśodharman's victory over the Alchon king Mihirakula. That victory is also referred to in this king's *Mandasor Stone Inscription, Year 589* (532 CE, Text X.038), but the inscribed column seems somewhat later than the Mandasor inscription; hence our tentative dating of the pillar to *c.* 534 CE.

The importance of the inscription cannot easily be overrated. It informs us of the end of Mihirakula's exploits in India. The Alchon Huns may have retreated to their stronghold in West Punjab around Sialkot. The eulogy suggests that after this victory Yaśodharman became recognized as supreme ruler by the kings of the subcontinent, but for this there is no supportive evidence. On the contrary, after this inscription nothing is heard anymore of Yaśodharman or the dynasty of Later Aulikaras of Daśapura. The reason for this is unknown, but one explanation could possibly be that the region had been hit by a strong earthquake in the mid thirties of the sixth century. This could explain at least the unfinished character of the Sondhni site.

X.040. Jaunpur inscription of Īśānavarman

The text presented here is based on the editions by Fleet in *CII III* (1888, 228–30) and Bakker (2009). The translation is by Bakker.

… °gam‖1‖

dorbhyām (ā)tmabhuvo dhanuḥ sahabhuvā kṣatreṇa labdhātmanā,
vistārī ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – ⏑ –|
– – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – ⏑ –,
– – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – ⏑ –‖2‖

⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – ⏑ – – ,
(u)dayini **mukharāṇāṃ** bhūbhujām anvavāye|

sakalapuruṣaśaktivyaktaśārṅgapratāpo,
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – ⏑ – –‖3‖

[…]

tasya dikṣu (v)itatāmalakīrter, ātmajo nṛpatir **īśvaravarmā**|
– ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –, – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –‖6‖

– – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – ⏑ –,
– – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – ⏑ –|
– – – ⏑ (kṛ)pānurāgaśamita**krūrāga(mo)padravair**,
lokānandakarair guṇair guṇavatāṃ ko nāma – – ⏑ –‖7‖

– – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – ⏑ –,
– – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – ⏑ –|
– – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – ⏑ –,
– – – ⏑ (a)dhiṣṭhitaṃ kṣitibhujāṃ siṃhena siṃhāsanam‖8‖

2 Śārdūlavikrīḍita • 3 Mālinī • 6 Svāgatā • 7 Śārdūlavikrīḍita • 8 Śārdūlavikrīḍita

[…]

[2][Harivarman] who by innate martial power [*kṣatra*], fully accomplished, [wielded] the bow of the Self-born(?) with his own two arms, the mighty … [3]… [who was born] in the rising dynasty of the **Mukhara** kings; the strength of whose bow was fully revealed by his manliness[i] …[ii]

[…[iii]]

[6]The son of this [king Ādityavarman], whose spotless fame spread worldwide, was **Īśvaravarman** … [7]… who, indeed, … of the virtuous people [would equal him] in virtues, which brought happiness into the world and alleviated the distress caused by **the arrival of cruel [people]**[iv] through compassion and love.[v] [8]… by whom [Īśānavarman], lion to [other] kings, the lion-throne was ascended …[vi]

[Verses 9 to 13 refer to the Maukhari king Īśānavarman (Bakker 2009).]

This inscription is traditionally ascribed to the Maukhari king of Kanyakubja (Kanauj), Īśvaravarman, on account of the fact that he is the only king mentioned by name in the fragment (Fleet 1888, 228ff). When we collate the fragmentary text with the *Haraha Inscription* (554 CE), it appears that a similar pattern underlies both *praśastis* and that it is highly unlikely that

[i] Cf. *Kirāṭārjunīya* 13.14: *cāpanāma prathamaṃ pauruṣacihnam*.
[ii] Cf. *Haraha Inscription* (Text X.041) v. 4.
[iii] Collation with the *Haraha Inscription* v. 7 suggests that the fragmentary verses 4 and 5 of the Jaunpur inscription refer to Ādityavarman.
[iv] It has been argued by Bakker (2014, 51ff) that the phrase "the arrival of cruel people" (*krūrāgama*) may refer to Īśvaravarman's war with the Alchon Huns headed by Mihirakula.
[v] Cf. *Haraha Inscription* v. 8.
[vi] Cf. *Haraha Inscription* v. 13.

Īśvaravarman was the last king mentioned, a conclusion also reached by Sircar, though on other grounds.[i] Both *praśastis*, however, are independent compositions and it is difficult to say with certainty which one is the older, though the *Haraha Inscription* seems to be slightly more ornate and therefore may be somewhat later; this would give a *terminus ante quem* of 554 CE to the Jaunpur inscription.

The importance of this inscription for the study of the Hunnic Wars in India is the reference in verse 7 to "the arrival of cruel people." We think it plausible that this refers to the Hunnic people of the Alchons, and Mihirakula in particular. Mihirakula may have been the enemy of the father of Īśānavarman, King Īśvaravarman (vv. 6–7), who had entered into a strategic alliance with the Later Aulikara king of Daśapura, Yaśodharman (above, p. 349 with n. i; below, p. 359).

X.041. Haraha inscription

The text edition presented here is based on the editions by H. Sastri (1918) and Sircar in *SI I*, (1965, 385–89). The translation is by Bakker.

[…]

tenāp**īśvaravarmaṇaḥ** kṣitipateḥ kṣatraprabhāvāptaye,
janmākāri kṛtātmanaḥ kratugaṇeṣv āhūtavṛtradviṣaḥ|
yasyotkhātakalisvabhāvacaritasyācāramārgaṃ nṛpā,
yatnenāpi yayātitulyayaśaso nānye 'nugantuṃ kṣamāḥ‖8‖

nītyā śauryaṃ viśālaṃ suhṛdam aku⟨:ṭile:⟩no[tta]mecchāṃ kulena,
tyāgaṃ pātreṇa vittaprabhavam api ⟨:hri:⟩yā yauvanaṃ saṃyamena|
vācaṃ satyena ceṣṭāṃ śrutipathavidhinā praśrayeṇottamarddhiṃ,
yo badhnan naiva khedaṃ vrajati kalimayadhvāntamagne 'pi loke‖9‖

yasyejyāsv aniśaṃ yathāvidhi hutajyotirjvalajjanmanā,
dhūmenāñjanabhaṅgamecakarucā dikcakravāle tate|
āyātā navavāribhāravinamanmeghāvalī prāvṛḍ ity,
unmādoddhatacetasaḥ śikhigaṇā vācālatām āyayuḥ‖10‖

8, 10 Śārdūlavikrīḍita • 9 Sragdharā

9a ***akuṭileno°***⟧ em. Sastri, Sircar : *akuṭhimeno°* ins.; ***°nottamecchāṃ***⟧ em. Sircar : *°nomecchāṅ* ins., *°nottamorvvīṅ* conj. Sastri • 9b ***hriyā***⟧ em. Sircar, (Sastri)[ii] : *hṛyā* ins. • 9d ***khedaṃ***⟧ Sastri : *khadaṃ* Sircar (typo); ***kalimaya°***⟧ Sastri : *kalimaye* Sircar

[i] Sircar (1964, 129). Cf. Fleet (1888, 229): "But the lacunae in the following lines are so extensive, that it is impossible to say whether the historical information given in them refers to Īśvaravarman, or to one of his descendants."

[ii] Intended reading, but unmetrical according to Sastri *op. cit.* p. 116. Sircar op. cit. p. 387 accepts *hriyā* and notes: "The syllable before *pra*, *hra*, *bra* and *kra* was optionally regarded as short."

[The inscription begins with praise of Śiva, then that of the dynasty and of its progenitor Harivarman, followed by his son Ādityavarman.]

[8]By him [Ādityavarman] was begotten, destined to gain the power of nobility, the lord of the earth **Īśvaravarman**, whose soul was well-disciplined and who invoked the Enemy of Vṛtra [i.e. Indra] in many sacrifices; other kings, no matter how they tried, were unable to match his way of conduct, he whose deeds eradicated the very nature of the Kali Age and who equalled Yayāti in fame. [9][Īśvaravarman], who did not despair, not even in [these days] that the Kali Age had plunged the world into darkness, since he curbed great heroism by polity, friendship by honesty, high ambition by noble descent, liberality by worthy recipients, might of wealth by modesty, youth by discipline, speech by truthfulness, action by the injunctions of the revelation, and affluence by humility. [10]When the firmament was covered by smoke, the dark-blue lustre of which was like powdered antimony, [smoke] that rose from the blazing sacrificial fires in which he [Īśvaravarman] incessantly offered oblations in accordance with the prescripts—flocks of peacocks became noisy, since their minds became intoxicated by the thought that the rainy season had arrived with its banks of clouds that hang low due to their loads of fresh water.

[The inscription continues with the birth and deeds of Īśānavarman and his son Sūryavarman.]

[21]At the time that the illustrious **Īśānavarman**, who had overthrown his enemies, was lord of the earth, when six-hundred autumns had become increased by eleven, [verse 22 is a poetic description of the monsoon season. The end of the inscription records the name of the poet Raviśānti and the engraver Mihiravarman.]

This Maukhari inscription records the renovation of a Śiva temple by a son of Īśānavarman, Sūryavarman, in the year 611 (Vikrama Era) corresponding to 554 CE. The *praśasti* describes the reigns of the Maukhari kings and their achievements in the usual panegyric style. Three of the verses are concerned with King Īśvaravarman, whose rule can be dated to the second quarter of the sixth century on account of this inscription. The inscription does not directly refer to the Hūṇas or Mihirakula, but it emphasizes the dark days of the reign of Īśvaravarman, who had to face the full brunt of the Kali Age. I am inclined to take this as a covert reference to the Hunnic Wars: “the arrival of cruel people” as mentioned in the Jaunpur Inscription (above, p. 356).

X.042. Aphsad inscription of Ādityasena

The text presented here is based on the editions by Fleet in *CII III* (1888, 200–208) and Sircar in *SI II* (1983, 44–49). The translation is by Bakker.

[…]

prakhyātaśaktim ājiṣu puraḥsaraṃ śrī**kumāraguptam** iti|
ajanayad ekam sa nṛpo hara iva śikhivāhanaṃ tanayam||7||

utsarpadvātahelācalitakadalikāvīcimālāvitānaḥ,
prodyaddhūlījalaughabhramitagurumahāmattamātaṅgaśailaḥ|

bhīmaḥ śrī**śānavarma**kṣitipatiśaśinaḥ sainyadugdhodasindhur,
lakṣmīsaṃprāptihetuḥ sapadi vimathito mandarībhūya yena‖8‖

śauryasatyavratadharo yaḥ prayāgagato dhane|
ambhasīva karīṣāgnau magnaḥ sa puṣpapūjitaḥ‖9‖

śrī**dāmodaragupto** 'bhūt tanayas tasya bhūpateḥ|
yena dāmodareṇeva daityā iva hatā dviṣaḥ‖10‖

yo **maukhareḥ** samitiṣūddhata**hūṇa**sainyā,
valgadghaṭā vighaṭayann uruvāraṇānām|
saṃmūrchitaḥ surava⟨:dhūr:⟩ varayan mameti,
tatpāṇ(i)paṅkajasukhaspa⟨:ri:⟩śād vibuddhaḥ‖11‖

guṇavaddvijakanyānā[ṃ] nānālaṃkārayauvanavatīnām|
pariṇāyitavān sa nṛpaḥ śataṃ nisṛṣṭāgrahārāṇām‖12‖

[…]

7 Āryā • 8–9 Vasantatilaka • 10 Śloka • 11 Vasantatilaka • 12 Āryā

9b ***dhane***⟧ ins. : *dhanī* conj. Sircar • 11c ***°vadhūr***⟧ em. Fleet, Sircar : °*vadhur* ins. 11d ***°spariśād***⟧ em. Sircar : °*sparśād* ins. (unmetrical) • 12a ***°kanyānāṃ***⟧ em. Fleet, Sircar : °*kanyānā* ins.

[The inscription gives the genealogy of the Later Gupta kings of Magadha, beginning with Kṛṣṇagupta, Harṣagupta and Jīvitagupta.]

[7]Just as Hara [i.e. Śiva] begat [the war god] who rides the peacock [i.e. Skanda/Kumāra], that king [Jīvitagupta] begat a son named **Kumāragupta**, the illustrious one, whose power was renowned and who was leading in battle; [8][Kumāragupta] who, after he had become Mount Mandara, [a dasher] as it were, quickly churned the formidable milk-ocean that was the army of the illustrious moon among kings **Īśānavarman**,[i] [an ocean] in which the spreading undulating rings were the banners, easily waving in the rising wind, and in which the rocks were the massive, aggressive war-elephants, which were played round by the water-mass that was the dust that flew up—[this ocean] that was the source from which [his royal] fortune/Lakṣmī was obtained; [9]who, faithful to his word and prowess, has gone to Prayāga in state, and, plunging [himself] into a fire of dry cow-dung, as if into water, became adorned with flowers.[ii]

[10]The son of that king was the illustrious **Dāmodaragupta**, who killed his enemies just as Dāmodara [i.e. Kṛṣṇa] the Daityas [demons]. [11]While he was rendering asunder the stepping array of the mighty elephants of the **Maukhari**, which had in [earlier] battles thrown aloft the

[i] This is the Maukhari king of Kanyakubja (Kanauj) Īśānavarman, son of Īśvaravarman. The Maukharis and Later Guptas had a long history of rivalry, fighting over what is now Uttar Pradesh and Bihar (Magadha) (see Bakker 2014, 57–62, 130–33).

[ii] This seems to refer to the religious suicide of Kumāragupta in Prayāga (Bakker 2014, 61).

army of the **Hūṇas**,[i] [Dāmodaragupta] fainted and, by the sweet caresses of the lotus-hands of the ladies of heaven, regained consciousness, taking his choice: "mine!"[ii]

[12]That king has given away in marriage a hundred daughters to virtuous brahmins, [daughters] who possessed youth and all kinds of ornaments and who were dowered with tax-free land [*agrahāra*].

[The inscription continues with Mahāsenagupta, son of Dāmodaragupta, Mādhavagupta and Ādityasena. The purpose of the inscription is to record the building of a Viṣṇu temple by Ādityasena and a religious college (*maṭha*) and tank by his mother Koṇadevī (Bakker 2014, 131).]

This inscription was found in Aphsad, also known as Jafarpur on the right bank of the Sakarī River in the Gayā District (Bihar) (Fleet 1888, 201). It is undated, but we possess a date of Ādityasena: (Harṣa) *saṃvat* 66 = 672 CE.[iii] Ādityasena considered himself the successor of Harṣavardhana of Kanauj. The bombastic language of the Aphsad inscription, composed by Sūkṣmaśiva of Gauḍa, reports on the antagonism of the Maukharis and the Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha. Its significance for the present collection is that it confirms the victory of the Maukharis over the Hūṇas, which we think may refer to Īśvaravarman's war with Mihirakula, an historical event of such a magnitude that it is still remembered in an inscription of a rivalling dynasty more than a century later.

X.043. Kabul inscription of Ṣāhi Khiṅgāla

The text presented here is based on the edition of D. C. Sircar (1963, 44–47), supplemented with observations (from photo) by Dániel Balogh and the readings of Kuwayama (1991; 2002, 249–59). The first reading was given by Tucci (1958, 328). The translation is by Sircar.

[1](siddham)‖
sa(ṃ)vatsare aṣṭatame saṃ 8 jyeṣṭhamāsaśuklapakṣati⟨:th:⟩au tra(yo)daśyāṃ śudi 10 3
⟨:ṛ:⟩k(ṣ)e vi(śā)khe śubhe si(ṃhe) ci(traka)[2](m) mahat pratiṣṭhāpitam idaṃ mahāvināyaka
paramabhaṭṭārakamahārājādhirājaśrīṣāhi**khiṃg(ā)lau**tyātaṣāhipadai(ḥ)‖

1 ***siddham***⟧ "Expressed by symbol" Sircar : *oṃ* Tucci • ***aṣṭatame***⟧ ins. : *aṣṭame* em. Sircar • ***°tithau***⟧ em. Sircar : °*tilau* ins. • ***ṛkṣe***⟧ em. Sircar : *jikṣe* ins., *rikṣe* Tucci, Kuwayama ***citrakam***⟧ conj. Sircar : *citrakarmma* "may not be impossible" Sircar, *citrake* Kuwayama • 2 ***°vināyaka***⟧ ins. : °*vināyaka-bimbaṃ* conj. Sircar • ***°khiṅgālautyāta°***⟧ conj. Sircar (Sircar : "the letters read as *t* may be *n* also") : °*khiṃgalotyāna*° Tucci, °*khiṃgālauḍyāna*° Kuwayama

[i] This may refer to the second Hunnic war in the second quarter of the sixth century, in which the Maukhari king Īśvaravarman allied with the Aulikara king Yaśodharman of Daśapura against Mihirakula (above, p. 349, n. i on p. 349.)

[ii] Evidently Dāmodaragupta was killed in a battle against the Maukharis, either still under Īśānavarman or his son, Śarvavarman, around the middle of the sixth century.

[iii] Fleet (1888, 208ff); Bakker (2014, 130).

> May it be well! In the eighth year—year 8—on the thirteenth *tithi* of the bright half of the month of Jyeṣṭha—bright day 13—in the constellation Viśākha [and] the auspicious Siṃha, this lovely [and] big [image of] Mahā-Vināyaka has been installed by the illustrious *paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja* Ṣāhi Khiṅgāla [alias] Otyāta-Ṣāhi.[i]

The marble image of Gaṇeśa (*c.* 71 cm in height) that carries this two-line inscription on its pedestal was reportedly "discovered somewhere at Gardez (famous for its fortress called Bala Hissar) about 70 miles (113 km) to the south of Kabul and that image was removed to Kabul where it was being worshipped by the Hindu residents of the city at Dargāh Pīr Ratan Nāth near the Pamir Cinema. At Gardez, however, the local people could not confirm the story of the discovery of the image at that place."[ii] Palaeographically the inscription is thought to belong to "the sixth or seventh century A.D." (Sircar 1963, 44), or "the end of fifth and beginning of sixth century" (Tucci 1958, 328). Dhavalikar (1971, 332) dates the Gaṇeśa statue "on stylistic grounds to the latter half of the fifth century or early sixth century."



Figure 4. The sculpture of Gaṇeśa from Gardez

[i] Tucci (1958, 328) suggests that the reading could be *oḍyāna* and connects this with Uḍyāna, Uḍḍiyāna, i.e. the Swat Valley; this is thought to be doubtful by Sircar. Tucci is followed by Kuwayama (2002, 252) who also reads *oḍyāna* and takes this as a reference to Oḍiyāna or Uḍḍiyāna, i.e. Swat. He translates: "the king of Oḍyāna." Sircar (1963, 46) takes 'Otyāta-shāhi' as a second name of Shāhi Khiṅgāla. °*autyātaṣāhipadaiḥ* may be a formula of respect, if °*autyāta*° could be read/emended to °*odyata*° in the meaning of 'elevated' (*udyata*). An alternative translation would run: "By his venerable Majesty (*udyataṣāhipadaiḥ*), the illustrious King Khiṅgāla, Supreme Sovereign and Lord of Lords."

[ii] Sircar (1963, 44). The image has been briefly described by Tucci (1958, 328).

The question of the date of the image and inscription hinges on the identification of King Khiṅgāla, in whose eighth regnal year it was installed. If the early date of the fifth century is correct, this king Khiṅgāla could plausibly be identified with the Alchon Ṣāhi Khiṅgila known from numerous coins (Pfisterer 2013, 59–100). He may be the same as the Mahāṣāhi Khīṅgīla mentioned in the Schøyen Copper Scroll (Text X.030).

Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* refers to a Narendrāditya, son of Gokarṇa, king of Kashmir in the line of Mihirakula, whose second name is said to have been Khiṅkhila; he founded the Bhūteśvara Temple.[i] This Narendrāditya is usually identified with the Kashmir king Narendra. His numerous coins with the legend *jayatu śrīnarendra* never, to my knowledge, carry the name Khiṅkhila (Pfisterer 2013, 157–60). Identification of King Khiṅgāla of the Gaṇeśa statue with this *narendra* cannot be excluded, though.

Kuwayama (2002, 257) argues for a later date of the image and king Khiṅgāla: "The king bearing the name Śrī Ṣāhi Khiṃgāla in the inscription is a definite personality in the eighth century, perhaps one of the Turk Shahis in the Kabul Valley, or the Kabul Shahis."

The donor king may have been one of the Alchon–Nezak rulers of Kapiśī of the seventh century (personal communication of Minoru Inaba), as implied by two reasons: 1) the name Khiṅgala/Khiṅgāla is Alchon, and 2) the Indian titles *paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *mahārājādhirāja* may have been considered by the later Alchons as part of their dynastic legacy ever since Toramāṇa in the Sanjeli Inscription of year 3. See also Note Inaba to Text I.090.

[i] *Rājataraṅgiṇī* I.347 (see Text X.014/F); Tucci (1958, 328); Sircar (1963, 46).

X.3. Seals from India

Dániel Balogh

X.044. Seal impressions excavated at Kauśāmbī

Two presumably Hunnic sealings were reportedly discovered in the excavation of the Ghoṣitārāma Buddhist monastery (Thaplyal 1972, 61–64). One is inscribed *toramaṇa*, the other bears the legend *hūṇarāja* (G. R. Sharma 1960, 21, 37). The stratum in which these seals were found witnesses "large-scale destruction" and large quantities of a particular type of arrowhead (K1) not characteristic of other strata (G. R. Sharma, ibid.). The sealing inscribed with *hūṇarāja* is also reported in IAR 1954–55, 18, but the writing is illegible in the accompanying photograph (Plate XXXIIB).

The discovery of a seal of Mihirakula in Kauśāmbī is mentioned by Chattopadhyaya (1958, 197; 1968, 238), but this is probably a mistake; such a seal does not appear to be reported anywhere.

X.045. Seal impressions with a fragmentary genealogy from Nālandā

Two fragments of seal impressions in terracotta were excavated in Nālandā in the second or third decade of the 20th century. The seal is an oval, divided by a thick horizontal line. The upper field appears to have borne an image of Viṣṇu riding Garuḍa, while the lower field is inscribed with a genealogy phrased like that on Maukhari seals. The characters are palaeographically appropriate to the sixth century. One fragment is broken vertically and comprises roughly the left half of the device and text; nothing of the tenth line is discernible in this. The other fragment comprises parts of the first halves of lines 5–10. Reported by Hirananda Sastri (1942, 70–71) with photograph (Plate XC-d) and discussed by A. Ghosh (1943). Text re-edited by Dániel Balogh from published photographs of both fragments. Restored text is based on analogy with the Sohnag Seal of Avantivarman (Vats 1948).

[1][catu]ssamudrātikrāntakīrtti(ḥ pra)[tāpānurāgopanatānyarājo va]
[2][rṇṇāśra](ma)vyavasthāpanapra(vṛtta)cakkra[ś cakkradhara iva prajānām artti]
[3][ha]raḥ **śrīmahārājala(v)khāṇa**pu[ttras tatpādānudhyātaḥ parama]
[4][bhāga](va)to **mahārājādhirājaśrī(ta)** ××× [tasya puttras tatpā]
[5][dā](nu)dhyātaḥ śrīdevyā(ṃ) vittavvade[vyām utpannaḥ paramabhāga]
[6][va]to **mahārājaśrīja(u)v(kha)[s** tasya puttras tatpādānu]
[7](dh)yātaḥ śrīdevyāṃ melyāde[vyām utpannaḥ parama]
[8][bhā](ga)vato **mahārājādhirāja(śrī)** ×××
[9]tas[y]a p(u)t(tr)as (t)atpādā(nu)[dhyātaḥ śrīdevyāṃ]
[10]××× (v)[y](ā)m ut(panno) ××××
[11]…

The progenitor's name in line 3 was tentatively read as *lakṣmaṇa* by Sastri (1942). His editor suggests the correction *lavkhāṇa*; Ghosh (1943) concurs and notes the similarity of the name to *lakhana/lakhāna udayādit(y)a* known from a Hunnic silver drachm.[i] The reading *laḫkhāṇa* seems likewise possible. No editor proposes any reading for the mostly lost name of the *mahārājādhirāja* in line 4, but the consonant *t* seems fairly certain from the extant left side of this character. For the name in line 6, Sastri reads *jarā*…, which his editor corrects to *jarāvva*. Ghosh proposes to read *jarīva*, referring to coins with the legend *ṣāhi jara/jari* (Cunningham 1894 Pl. VII Nos 11, 12) and noting that the second character looks different from other specimens of *rā* in these seals. I suggest that the character (on the sealing, and perhaps also on the coins) may be a form of *u* or *ū* rather than *rā* or *rī*. The third character does not appear to be *vva*, as its subscript component lacks a bottom stroke; *ṅga* may be possible, but the most plausible readings are *vkha* or *ḫkha*, yielding the familiar name *jau(v/ḫ)kha*. Previous editors read nothing of the 10th line, but the vestiges suggest the reading given above. This implies that there must have been a short 11th line, and that the king to whom the seal belonged probably did not bear the title *paramabhāgavata*.

The seal yields the following genealogy:

mahārāja La(v/ḫ)khāṇa

his son *mahārājādhirāja* T… = Queen Vittavvadevī

their son *mahārāja* Jau(v/ḫ)kha = Queen Melyādevī

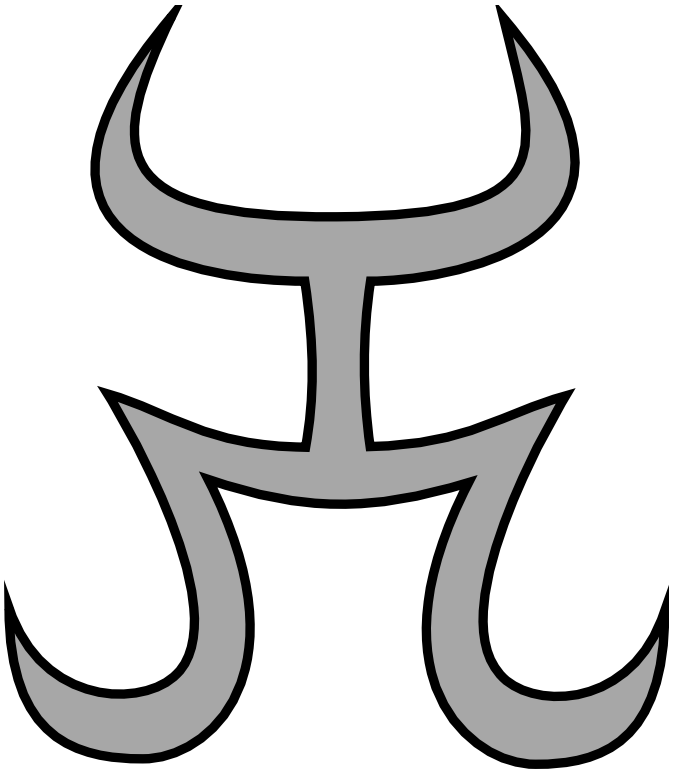
their son *mahārājādhirāja* … = Queen …

their son …

[i] Göbl type 79 (Vondrovec 2014, 323–24), belonging to the later part of the Alchon issues.

Appendix: Numismatic and Sigillary Evidence

Robert Bracey



Relevant publications

The coinage of the Central Asian Huns is loosely defined as those issued by rulers of Hunnic affiliations (whether understood in a political, ethnic, or tribal sense). These rulers appear to have been part of dynasties formed by nomadic elites, from the Kidarites in the late fourth century CE to the Western Turks in the sixth/seventh centuries. Numismatically the most pronounced common feature is a dependence on Iranian prototypes[i]. The series was originally defined by Robert Göbl as 'Iranian' Huns for this reason in a corpus published in 1967. Göbl himself subsequently expanded his own listings, and these have been further extended in sylloges based on the Aman ur Rahman (K) and Jean-Pierre Righetti (P) collections. Cribb and Khan have published additional material without employing the numbering system commenced in G67. The principal publications are:

ACW Michael Mitchiner, *Ancient and Classical World* (Mitchiner 1978)
C Joe Cribb, 'The Kidarites, the Numismatic Evidence' (Cribb 2010)
G67 Robert Göbl, *Dokumente zur Geschichte der Iranischen Hunnen in Baktrien und Indien* (Göbl 1967)
G83 Robert Göbl, 'Supplementa Orientalia I' (Göbl 1983)
G87 Robert Göbl, 'Supplementa Orientalia II' (Göbl 1987)
G93 Robert Göbl, 'Supplementa Orientalia III' (Göbl 1993)
K Nasim M. Khan, Elizabeth Errington and Joe Cribb, *Coins from Kashmir Smast: New Numismatic Evidence* (Khan, Errington, and Cribb 2008)
P Matthias Pfisterer, *Hunnen in Indien* (Pfisterer 2013)
V Klaus Vondrovec, *Coinage of the Iranian Huns and their Successors from Bactria to Gandhara* (Vondrovec 2014)

The criteria for which coinage is Hunnic and which is not are ill-defined (see below). Some Kidarite coins are included in G67, K, and P, but some are not. Authors disagree over whether the Kidarites were ethnically or politically associated with the Huns (more specifically the Alchons). Likewise G67 included a number of coins definitely not issued by Hunnic rulers, and some coins issued under Toramāṇa and Mihirakula are excluded, though most of their issues are included.

The Göbl numbers

Robert Göbl's original list (G67) presented the coins in an approximate chronological order associating coins which belonged to the same series. G83, G87, G93, P and V have supplemented the numbers. Supplements are achieved by adding new numbers (the original list ends at 297 and supplements begin at 301) or by extending the system of suffixes employed in G67:

[i] The coinages depend on a range of prototypes (Kushan, Gupta, Kota, Indo-Parthian(?)) current in the areas the Huns ruled, though Iranian prototypes were prioritised in the seminal work of Robert Göbl, even to the exclusion of some coins issued by Hunnic rulers.

A, B, C … A new type can be added to the listing by adding a suffix letter if it is closely associated with a previous type.

F is used as a suffix in V to indicate both modern and contemporary forgeries. Strictly speaking it would be better if F were used exclusively to indicate a contemporary forgery (such as an impression or jeweller's cast).

Var.# Where a type by Göbl is subsequently found to consist of several different types, such as 150, these can be broken up by adding a *var* suffix.

E Numbers prefixed by an E were initially used in G67 and extended, but were abandoned from G93 onwards.

G Numbers prefixed by a G followed by a letter indicating a general dynastic affiliation (K for Kidarite or A for Alchon) were introduced in V as a supplementary system to handle the many new types of copper coins discovered at Kashmir Smast.

These conventions are not universally followed. C employs a different hierarchical classification which partially overlaps. In some cases authors have changed a number used by Göbl (for example E5 is classified as 37B, and E12 as 307A by V). In some cases there have been reclassifications. For example G67 indicates three coins under type 36. These should not be the same type, as the first has a *tamga* before the king's face missing on the others. So P reclassified the latter two coins as 36A. Unfortunately little consistency has been maintained in the use of a letter suffix (A, B, C…) and varieties (var.) so both are used for very similar purposes. The former (letter suffixes) are probably better practice in general.

The expansion from the original list is considerable. Though an exact count of types is difficult due to ambiguities in what counts and what does not, the original list (G67) contains approximately 279 entries, with subsequent publications raising that number to about 587.

Issues for consideration

Definitional

The use of Göbl numbers is not a fundamentally bad system. As a listing it does not encode the kind of minting structure information a list such as that provided by Cribb does but that may be an advantage when such reconstructions are not widely accepted.

More problematic is the lack of a firm definition of what precisely constitutes a Hunnic coin. The list includes two groups (Hephthalite and Western Turk) who may not qualify as Huns (depending on definition). It also omits many series which may have been issued by Hunnic rulers. Göbl's original criteria (in G67) were numismatic: he was attempting to trace connections between coins that look similar. However, the listing has often been subsequently read as representing the coins issued by particular groups which are linked ethnically or politically.

Of the omissions, the most egregious are all of those coins which depend upon Kushan (and occasionally Gupta) prototypes. This means that only a section of the coins issued by the Kidarites

is usually considered, and several relatively common copper, silver and gold types which can firmly be associated with the Mihirakula and Toramāṇa are usually excluded.



Figure 5. BM 1894,0506.246, issue in the name of Shahi Mihiragula (*ACW* 3779–3781)

In terms of major series, the coinage of Kashmir is not covered in G67, though the numbers 166 to 170 and 194 to 197 are set aside for images of some of the associated types. From the fifth century Kashmir coinage seems to be broadly derivative of Kidarite designs, though accurate attribution of coinage to a particular region remains difficult.

Likewise the whole series of Sind gold coinage, in which there is another issue of Mihirakula, is not included in G67 or any subsequent publication, though it shares many numismatic characteristics with other Hunnic series (particularly a strong association with Sasanian coinages).

On the other hand the list in G67 includes many types which would not make sense in a listing based on issuer (particularly a number of Sasanian issues, much later coinages, and the coins of the Kotas).

What coins can (and cannot) tell us about history…

It is important to remember that coins as evidence mostly tell us about coins, particularly about how mints operated, how coins were used and how they travelled, what iconographies they adopted etc. To move from numismatically interesting observations to observations with wider historical value requires some care.

One of the things coins should be able to provide is a king list. Coins tend to (but do not always) carry the name of the issuing authority, and usually (but not always) an image of the figurehead (and often principal authority) of a political unit. There are issues with different rulers using the same name, or the conservative tendency of coins leading to a name being used long after the individual it refers to had died (immobilisation). So since the relative order of issue can be established by numismatic criteria the coins ought to be able to provide a list of names of the kings of various political units, and the order in which they succeeded to each other.

By the same token where coins were made, and where they are found, should provide firm evidence as to the political units over which kings exercised authority and the extent of the political units. The failure to establish these basic historical facts so far is partly due to lack of evidence (there are relatively few finds of these coins with good provenance) but is mostly due to a lack of

study, and in part due to the failure to establish firm agreement over which coins are Hunnic and exactly what in the inscriptions constitutes a name.

What these coins cannot tell us is very much about ethnic identity. The designs on the coins reflect designs on other coins, with Sasanian influence being the most marked element but Kushan and Indian elements clearly present. The imitative tendency of the coins indicates that they rested more on familiarity for the authority they needed to circulate than on reference to the identity/power claims of the authorities who issued them.

The state of numismatic research

Whether a clear answer can be given on numismatic questions tends to depend more on the depth of study the corpus has been subject to than the extent of that corpus. The current corpus has been subject to only a fraction of the research that has been invested in broadly contemporary issues (for example the Kushan, Sasanian, Gupta, series) with a single type catalogue (G67) and two more recent sylloges of particular collections (P and V).

The Lists

The first concordance lists all of the numbers associated with Hunnic coins in numerical order (those with letter prefixes come last). For each it indicates which of the principal publications it appears in (see above for abbreviations) with page, listing, or alternative type numbers where appropriate.

An inscription index is also offered here, but is subject to two important caveats. First, that various authors dissent substantially in both reading and transcription practice. For example for type 7 (Cribb A2b) C transcribes the Pahlavi *ky varhran k…*, while P offers *kdy wlhl'n ZY k-wš'n MLK(A)* (the latter half assumed rather than read) and G67 gives *kd' wrhr'n ZY k…* which does not agree with either P or C. On the same type C offers *nandaka* for the Brahmi inscription while P offers *naṃdaka*. Neither looks correct, examining Göbl's two examples the second coin has a clearer inscription and it shows neither an *anusvāra* above nor a conjunct, so *nadaka* would better represent the actual inscription. The second caveat is that this list is not systematic in whose reading it follows, nor has it been checked or validated.

Other abbreviations:

AU	Gold
AR	Silver
AE	Copper
Bi	Billon
BM	An example of the type is in the British Museum

List 1. Main list

1B (AR)	V (p. 54), P, C (B1a).
1A (AR)	G87, V (p. 53), P, C (B1b) (Göbl 1981).
No number	C (B1b).
1 (AR)	G67, V (p. 52), C (B1c). BM.
2A	V (p. 93), K (185ff).
2 (AR)	G67.
3 (AR)	G67, V (p. 55), C (C1a).
3A	V (p. 56), C (D1).
No number	C (D2).
4 (AR)	G67, P, C (C1b).
No number	C (C1c).
No number	C (C2a).
5 (AR)	G67, P, C (A1). BM.
6 (AR)	G67, P, C (A2a).
7 (AR)	G67, P, C (A2b).
8 (AR)	G67, V (p. 57), P, C (A2c). BM.
9 (AR)	G67, V (p. 58), P, C (A2d). BM.
10 (AR)	G67, V (p. 59), P, C (A2e). BM.
10A (AR)	P (Göbl 1981).
11 (AR)	G67, V (p. 60), P, C (C2b). BM.
11A (AR)	V (p. 62), P, C (D3).
12	G67, C (C2c).
12A (AR)	V (p. 63), P.
13	G67, C (D5a). BM.
13A (AR)	P, C (D5b).
14 (AR)	G67, V (p. 64), P, C (B3). BM.
15 var.1 (AR)	G67, P, C (B4a). BM.
15 var.2 (AR)	G67, V (p. 66), P, C (B4b). BM.
16 (AR)	G67, V (p. 67), P, C (D4a). BM.
16A	C (D4c). BM.
17 (AR)	G67, P, C (D4b). BM.
18 (AR)	G67, V (p. 68), P, C (C3). BM.
18B (AR)	V (p. 70), P, C (D6).
18A (AR)	P.
19A (AR)	V (p. 74), P, C (B2). BM.
19 (AR)	G67, G87, V (p. 72), P, C (E1). BM.
20 (AR)	G67. BM.
21 (AR)	G67, V (p. 75), C (D7). BM.
22 (AR)	G67.
23 (AE)	G67, V (p. 113). BM. Cribb 2010, no.69.
24 (AR)	G67, V (p. 76), P, C (E2).
1 to 24 broadly cover Kidarite silver in Sasanian style which forms only a part of Kidarite issues—see C for a broader context of the previous metal coinage.	

25 (AE)	G67, V (p. 375).
26 (AE)	G67.
27 (AE)	G67, V (p. 376).
28 (AE)	G67, P.
28A (AR)	G67.
29 (AR)	G67.
30 (AR)	G67.
31 (AR)	G67.
32 (AR)	G67, V (p. 392).
32A (AR)	V (p. 393).
32B (AR)	V (p. 394).
32C (AR)	V (p. 395).
32D (AR)	V (p. 396).
33 (AR)	G67, P.
34 (AE)	G67, V (p. 228).
34/35 (AE)	P.
35 (AE)	G67, V (p. 229).
36 (AR)	G67, G87, V (p. 230).
36A (AR)	G87, P.
37 (AE)	V (p. 231).
37A var.1 (AE)	V (p. 232).
37A var.2 (AE)	V (p. 232).
37B (AE)	G67, V (p. 233), P, K (289).
38 (AE)	G67, V (p. 234), P.
39 (AR)	G67.
40 (AR)	G67, V (p. 235).
41 (AR)	G67, V (p. 236), P.
42 (AR)	G67.
43 (AE)	V (p. 237), P.
43A (AE)	V (p. 238).
43B (AE)	V (p. 239).
44A (AE)	V (p. 240).
44B (AE)	V (p. 241).
44C (AE)	V (p. 242).
44 (AR)	G67, V (p. 291), P.
45 (AE)	G67, V (p. 243), P.
45A (AE)	V (p. 244).
46A (AE)	V (p. 245), K (290).
46B var.1 (AE)	V (p. 246).
46B var.2 (AE)	V (p. 246).
46B var.3 (AE)	V (p. 246).
46B var.4 (AE)	V (p. 246).
46B var.5 (AE)	V (p. 246).
46B var.6 (AE)	V (p. 246).
46B var.7 (AE)	V (p. 246).

46B var.8 (AE)	V (p. 246).
46B var.9 (AE)	V (p. 246).
46 (AR)	G67.
47 (AE)	G67, P.
48 (AE)	G67, V (p. 248), P.
48A (AE)	V (p. 249).
49	G67.
50 (AR)	G67, V (p. 318), P.
51 (AR)	G67, V (p. 320).
52 (AR)	G67, V (p. 328), P.
52A (AR)	P.
53	G67.
54 (AE)	G67, V (p. 292).
55 (AE)	G67, V (p. 252).
55B (AE)	V (p. 253).
55A (AE)	V (p. 371).
56 (AR)	G67, P.
57 (AR)	G67, V (p. 294), P.
58 (AR)	G67, V (p. 308).
59A (AR)	V (p. 295).
59 (AR)	G67.
60 (AR)	G67, V (p. 301), P.
61 (AR)	G67, V (p. 296), P.
61 F (modern fake)	V (p. 297).
61A (AR)	V (p. 298), P.
62 (AR)	G67, V (p. 309), P.
63 (AR)	G67, V (p. 310).
64 (AR)	G67, P.
65 (AR)	G67.
66 (AR)	G67.
67 (AR)	G67, V (p. 302).
67A var.1 (AR)	V (p. 303).
67A var.2 (AR)	V (p. 303).
68 (AR)	G67.
69 (AR)	G67, V (p. 325), P.
69A (AR)	V (p. 326).
70 (AR)	G67, V (p. 304), P.
70A (AR)	P.
71 (AR)	G67, V (p. 311).
71A (AR)	P.
72 (AE)	G67, V (p. 261).
73 (AR)	G67, V (p. 312), P.
73A (AR)	V (p. 313).
74 (AR)	G67, V (p. 314), P.
74 (bracteate) (AR)	V (p. 315).

75 (AR)	G67, P.
75C (AR)	P.
76 (AR)	G67, V (p. 335), P.
76A (AR)	V (p. 336).
76B (AR)	P.
77 (AR)	G67, V (p. 329), P.
78 (AR)	G67, P.
79 (AR)	G67, V (p. 323), P.
80 (AR)	G67, P.
81 (AR)	G67, V (p. 300), P.
82 (AR)	G67, V (p. 321), P.
83 (AR)	G67, V (p. 306).
84 (AU)	G67, V (p. 148), P. Göbl (1984, 733–40)
84B (AU)	V (p. 151).
Peroz	V (p. 152).
84A (AU)	V (p. 153).
85 (AU)	G67, G87, V (p. 154), P.
85A (AU)	V (p. 155), P.

84 to 85

Cover a variety of gold coins whose treatment in G67 is substantially under-developed. There is additional treatment which overlaps but is not comprehensive in C and Göbl 1984.

	C Classification	Hun no.	Göbl 1984
Varahran Kushanshah	1A–1C		748–752
Kidarite in name of **Varahran**	2A–2B		713–713A, 718, 754
Kidarite Peroz	3A–3C		714–717, 756–757
Kidarite Kidara	4A–6E	84	718–737
Peroz Shahanshah	7A–7B		
Post **Peroz** types	6F–6G		739–740
Mehama		84A	
		84B	741
Adomano		85, 85A	

The treatment of this is also indicative of the inconsistent way in which Kidarite coinage in general is handled in the list, see also 1–24.

86 (AR)	G67, V (p. 349), P.
87 (AR)	G67, P.
88 (AR)	G67, V (p. 350).
88A (AR)	P.
89 (AR)	G67.
90 (AR)	G67, V (p. 358), P.
91 (AR)	G67, V (p. 351), P.
92 (AR)	G67, V (p. 352), P.
93 (AR)	G67, P.
94 (AR)	G67, P.

95 (AR)	G67.
96 (AR)	G67, V (p. 353).
96A (AR)	P.
97 (AR)	G67.
98 (AR)	G67, P.
99 (AR)	G67, V (p. 354), P.
100 (AR)	G67.
101 (AR)	G67.
102 (AR)	G67.
103 (AR)	G67.
104 (AR)	G67, P.
105 (AR)	G67, P.
106 (AR)	G67, P.
106A (AR)	P.
107 (AR)	G67, V (p. 355).
108 (AR)	G67, P.
109 (AR)	G67.
110 (AR)	G67.
111 (AR)	G67, V (p. 356).
111A (AR)	V (p. 359), P.
112 (AR)	G67, V (p. 307).
113 (AR)	G67, V (p. 357), P.
114 (AR)	G67.
115 (AR)	G67, P.
116 (AR)	G67.
116A (AR)	P.
117 (AR)	G67, V (p. 322).
118 (AR)	G67.
118A (AR)	P.
119 (AR)	G67.
120 (AE)	G67, P.
121A (AE)	V (p. 372).
122 (AE)	G67.
122B (AE)	P.
123 (AE)	G67.
124 (AE)	G67.
125A (AE)	V (p. 380).
126 (AE)	J. BM.
127 (AE)	G67.
128 (AE)	G67.
129 (AE)	G67.
130 (AE)	G67.
130A (AE)	P.
131 (AE)	G67.
132 (AE)	G67.

132A (AE)	P.
133 (AE)	G67.
134 (AE)	G67.
134A (AE)	G87.
135A (AE)	V (p. 377).
135 (AR)	G67.
136 (AR)	G67.
137 (AR)	G67.
138 (AR)	G67.
139A (AR)	V (p. 332), P.
139 (AR)	V (p. 360), P.
140 (AR)	G67.
141A (AR)	V (p. 364).
142 (AR)	G67, P.
142A (AR)	P.
143A (AR)	V (p. 365). BM.
143B (AR)	V (p. 366).
143C (AR)	V (p. 367).
143 (AR)	G67.
144A (AR)	V (p. 368).
144 (AR (Billon))	G67.
145 (AR)	V (p. 369), P.
145A (AR)	P.
146 (AR)	V (p. 361), P.
v.146 (AR)	P.
147A (AR)	V (p. 370).
147 (AR)	G67.
148 (AR)	G67, V (p. 362).
149 (AR)	G67.
150 var.1 (AE)	V (p. 338), P.
150 var.2 (AE)	V (p. 340), P.
150 var.3 (AE)	V (p. 346), P.
150 var.4 (AE)	V (p. 348).
150A (AR)	P.
151 (AR)	G67.
152 (AE)	G67, V (p. 379), P.
152 The assumption that 152 no.46 (BM 1889,1203.38) depicts a simplified bull seems unsound. At the very least it represents a later degraded design or imitation, and so ought to receive a 152A designation.	
153 (AE)	G67. BM.
154 (AE)	G67.
155 (AE)	G67.
156 (AE)	G67.
157 (AE)	G67.
158 (AE)	G67.
159 (AE)	G67, P.

160 (AE)	G67.
161 (AE)	G67.
162 (AE)	G67.
163 (AE)	G67.
164 (AE)	G67.
165 (AE)	G67, V (p. 264), P.
165A (AE)	V (p. 266).
166 to 170 and **194 to 197:** these numbers were removed from G67 after the list was compiled, and were originally intended to cover various Kashmir types related to the Kidarites and Alchons. Contemporary coinages of the fourth to sixth century, usually attributed to Kashmir and derivative of Kidarite types are (like Sind and coinages derived from Indian prototypes) not fully represented in these lists.	
171 (AE)	G67.
172 (AE)	G67.
173 (AE)	G67.
174B (AE)	V (p. 381), P.
174 var.a (AE)	G67.
174 var.b (AE)	G67.
175 (AE)	G67.
176 (AE)	G67.
177 to 189 are coins of the Kotas. Judging by weight these were issued parallel with Kushan currency from the period of Kaniṣka II to Shaka (*c.* 230 – 350 CE), probably in the upper Gangetic valley. Though their designs may have influenced Hunnic types in the Punjab they are not themselves Hunnic coins and have been eliminated.	
193 (AE)	G67.
190–193 The Kota coins precede a small group in G67, the most common of which (type 192a and 192b) have the Brahmi inscription *jiṣnu*. Though superficially similar to Kota coins (issued *c.* 250 to 350 CE in the Punjab) they are closer in weight and design to a group published by Michael Mitchiner in *ACW* (1978, 496; Nos. 3800–02). Mitchiner associates that group with type 159 (*ACW* 3807), type 152 (*ACW* 3808–12), coins of Kashmir in the name of Toramāṇa (*ACW* 3792–99), (also 124 = *ACW* 3800–02, and 122 = *ACW* 3804–06), and a group deriving from Kushan prototypes (with a seated Ardochsho reverse[i]). The last are clearly Hunnic issues but are not listed in G67, probably because they derive specifically from a Kushan prototype. Mitchiner identifies two main types based on the inscription, *ACW* 3779–81 and *ACW* 3782–83[ii].	
For **194** to **197** see note above relating to 166 to 170.	
198 (AR)	G67, V (p. 475).
198 F	V (p. 477). modern forgeries.
199 (AE)	G67.
200 (Bi)	G67, V (p. 598).
200A (Bi)	G67, V (p. 599).
201 (Bi)	G67, V (p. 600).
202 (AE)	G67.
203 (AE)	G67, V (p. 601).

[i] The particular model are the debased late gold staters of Shaka and Kipunadha rather than the local copper imitations which continued to be issued for several decades after the end of Kushan power.

[ii] Mistyped as 3682–3 in Mitchiner.

204 (AE)	G67, V (p. 602).
204A	V (p. 608).
205 (Bi)	G67, V (p. 618).
206 (Bi)	G67, G87, V (p. 648).
207 (Bi)	G67, V (p. 650).
208 (AR)	G67, V (p. 656).
209 (AR)	G67.
210 (Bi)	G67, V (p. 657), K (659–661).
210A	V (p. 659).
210B	V (p. 660).
211 (AR)	G67.
212 (AR)	G67.
213 (AR)	G67.
214 (AR)	G67.
215 (AR)	G67.
216 (AR)	G67, V (p. 669).
216A (AE)	G67, V (p. 671).
216B	V (p. 672).
217 (AR)	G67, V (p. 462).
218 (AR)	G67, V (p. 463).
218A	V (p. 464).
219A	V (p. 465).
219 (AR)	G67.
220 (AR)	G67, V (p. 466).
220A	V (p. 467).
220B	V (p. 468).
221 (AR)	G67, V (p. 469).
222 (early) (AR)	V (p. 472). Equivalent to I-III, and VI.
222 (late) (AR)	V (p. 474). Equivalent to IV and V.
222/I (AR)	G67.
222/II (AR)	G67.
222/III (AR)	G67.
222/IV (AR)	G67.
222/V (AR)	G67.
222/VI (AR)	G67.
	222 Classified differently by V than in G. 222 early = I,II,III, VI 222 late = IV, V
223	G93, V (p. 611).
223A	V (p. 612).
224	G93.
224A	V (p. 470).
224B	V (p. 471).
225 (AR)	G67, V (p. 490).
226 (Bi)	G67, V (p. 492).

227 (AE)	G67, V (p. 493).
228 (AE)	G67.
229 (AE)	G67, V (p. 494).
230 (AR)	G67.
231 (AE)	G67, V (p. 495).
232 (Bi)	G67, V (p. 497).
233 (AE)	G67, V (p. 498).
234 (AR)	G67, V (p. 499).
235 (AE)	G67, V (p. 500).
236 (AR)	G67, V (p. 572).
237 (Bi)	G67, V (p. 574).
238 (AE)	G67, V (p. 575).
239 (AE)	G67, V (p. 577).
239A	V (p. 579).
240 (AR)	G67, V (p. 651).
240A	V (p. 654), K (603).
241 (AR)	G67, V (p. 613).
242 (AR)	G67, V (p. 614).
243 (AR)	G67, V (p. 615).
243A	V (p. 616).
243B	V (p. 617).
244 (AR)	G67, V (p. 643).
244B	V (p. 645).
244A	V (p. 681).
245 (AE)	G67, V (p. 661).
245A (AE)	G87.
245B	V (p. 663).
245C	V (p. 664).
245D	V (p. 665).
245E	V (p. 666).
245AA	V (p. 667).
246 (AE)	G67, V (p. 668).
246A (AE)	G87.
247 (AR)	G67, G85, V (p. 674).
247A (AR)	G85.
247B (AR)	G85.
247C (AR)	G87.
248 (AR)	G67.
249 (AR)	G67.
250 (AR)	G67, V (p. 675).
251 (AR)	G67.
251A	G87.
251C	V (p. 678). Where is B?.
252 (Bi)	G67, V (p. 581).
253 (AE)	G67, V (p. 583).

254 (Bi)	G67, G87, V (p. 621).
254AA	V (p. 625).
255 (Bi)	G67, G87, V (p. 622).
255A	V (p. 623).
255B	V (p. 624).
255C	V (p. 626).
256 (AE)	G67, V (p. 627).
256B	V (p. 682).
256A (AE)	G67, G87. G67 lists a Pahlavi inscription but G87 offers a Bactrian one, are these two different types?
257 (Bi)	G67, V (p. 585).
258 (AE)	G67, V (p. 586).
258A	V (p. 587), K (637–643).
259 (AR)	G67, G87, V (p. 683).
259A	V (p. 685).
260 (AR)	G67.
261A (AR)	V (p. 437).
261 (AR)	G67.
262 (AR)	G67.
263 (AR)	G67, V (p. 628).
264 (AR)	G67.
265 (AR)	G67, G87, V (p. 630).
265A	V (p. 632).
266 (AR)	G67, V (p. 633).
266A (AR)	G87, V (p. 634).
266B	V (p. 635).
267A	V (p. 603).
267 (AE)	G67, V (p. 604).
268 (AE)	G67, V (p. 606).
269 (AE)	G67, V (p. 607).
270 (AE)	G67, G87, V (p. 609).
270A (AR)	G87, V (p. 610).
270B (AE)	G87, V (p. 636).
271 (AE)	G67, V (p. 605).
271A	G67.
272 (AR)	G67.
273 (AR)	G67.
274 (AR)	G67.
274A	G87.
275 (AR)	G67.
276 (AR)	G67.
277 (AR)	G67.
278 (AR)	G67.
279 (AR)	G67.
280 (AR)	G67, V (p. 640).

281A	V (p. 641).
281 (AR)	G67
282 to 286 are Sasanian issues which Göbl included because they have countermarks probably applied under the Hephthalites.	
pre-287 (AR)	V (p. 408).
287 (AR)	G67, V (p. 409).
287 F (AR)	V (p. 411).
287A (AR)	V (p. 412).
287B (AR)	V (p. 413).
287C (AR)	V (p. 414).
288 var.1 (AR)	G67, V (p. 415).
288 var.2 (AR)	G67, V (p. 416).
289 (AR)	G67, V (p. 418).
290 (AR)	G67, V (p. 431).
291 to 294 included a wide range of varieties most of which are of 'Indo-Sasanian' type but also included coins of the Pratiharas. Though Hunnic coinage was an important route through which elements of Sasanian coin design spread into Indian in the eighth to tenth centuries none of these coins are actually Hunnic so are excluded from this list.	
295 var.1 (AR)	V (p. 432).
295A (AR)	V (p. 435).
295 var.2 (AR)	V (p. 432).
295 var.3 (AR)	V (p. 432).
296	G67.
297	G67.
301	G85, V (p. 639).
302 (AE)	G85.
303 (AR)	G87.
304	G93, V (p. 71), C (E3) 1.
305 (AR)	G93, V (p. 327), P.
306 (AR)	G93, V (p. 77), P.
307 (AR)	G93, P.
307A (AR)	G67, V (p. 333), P.
307B (AR)	V (p. 334).
308 (AR)	G93, P.
309 (AE)	G93, V (p. 262).
309A (AE)	V (p. 263).
310 (AE)	G93, V (p. 378), P.
311	G93.
312	G93.
313	G93, V (p. 589), K (629–636).
313A	V (p. 591), K (625–626).
313B	V (p. 594), K (616–620).
313C	V (p. 597).
314	G93, V (p. 619).
314A	V (p. 637).

314B	V (p. 638).
315	G93, V (p. 689).
316 (AR)	V (p. 317).
317 (AR)	V (p. 316), P.
318 (AR)	V (p. 299).
320 (AR)	V (p. 337).
321 (AE)	V (p. 382).
323 (AE)	V (p. 383).
324 (AE)	V (p. 384).
325 (AR)	V (p. 330).
326 (AR)	V (p. 331).
327 (AR)	V (p. 676), P.
327A	V (p. 677).
328	V (p. 673).
329	V (p. 646).
329A	V (p. 647).
330	V (p. 679).
331	V (p. 686).
331A	V (p. 687).
331B	V (p. 688).
GC-K 1 (AE)	V (p. 79).
GC-K 2 (AE)	V (p. 81), K (266).
GC-K 2A (AE)	V (p. 93), K (185–193, 229).
GC-K 3 (AE)	V (p. 83), K (196ff) Göbl (1984 no. 1113).
GC-K 4 (AE)	V (p. 87), K (352ff).
GC-K 5 (AE)	V (p. 89), K (362ff).
GC-K 6 (AE)	V (p. 90), K (253ff).
GC-K 7 (AE)	V (p. 92).
GC-K 8 (AE)	V (p. 95), K (303).
GC-K 9 (AE)	V (p. 96), K (304ff).
GC-K 9A (AE)	V (p. 97).
GC-K 10 (AE)	V (p. 98).
GC-K 11 (AE)	V (p. 100).
GC-K 12 (AE)	V (p. 101), K (268).
GC-K 13 (AE)	V (p. 103), K (332ff).
GC-K 14 (AE)	V (p. 106), K (246ff).
GC-K 15–1 (AE)	V (p. 108).
GC-K 15–2 (AE)	V (p. 108).
GC-K 15–3 (AE)	V (p. 108).
GC-K 16 (AE)	V (p. 109), K (230ff).
GC-K 17 (AE)	V (p. 111).
GC-K 18 (AE)	V (p. 112).
GC-K 19 (AE)	V (p. 114).
GC-K 20 (AE)	V (p. 115), K (292ff).
GC-K 21 (AE)	V (p. 117).

GC-K 22 (AE)	V (p. 118), K (291).
GC-K 23 (AE)	V (p. 119).
GC-K 24 (AE)	V (p. 120).
GC-K 25 (AE)	V (p. 122).
GC-K 26 (AE)	V (p. 123).
GC-K 27 (AE)	V (p. 125).
GC-K 28 (AE)	V (p. 126). See also G67 type 23.
GC-K 29 (AE)	V (p. 127), K (316–317).
GC-K 30 (AE)	V (p. 129).
GC-K 31–1 (AE)	V (p. 130).
GC-K 31–2 (AE)	V (p. 130).
GC-K 31–3 (AE)	V (p. 130).
GC-K 31–4 (AE)	V (p. 130).
GC-K 31–5 (AE)	V (p. 130).
GC-K 31–6 (AE)	V (p. 130).
GC-K 31–7 (AE)	K (285).
GC-K 32 (AE)	V (p. 132).
GC-K 33 (AE)	V (p. 133), K (321).
GC-K 34 (AE)	J.
GC-K 35 (AE)	V (p. 135).
GC-A 1 (AE)	V (p. 267), K (503–504).
GC-A 2 (AE)	V (p. 268), K (507).
GC-A 3 (AE)	V (p. 269), K (510).
GC-A 4 (AE)	V (p. 270).
GC-A 5 (AE)	V (p. 271), K (502).
GC-A 6 (AE)	V (p. 272), K (506–508).
GC-A 7 (AE)	V (p. 273).
GC-A 8 (AE)	V (p. 274).
GC-A 9 (AE)	V (p. 275), K (505).
GC-A 10 (AE)	V (p. 276).
GC-A 11 (AE)	V (p. 277).
GC-A 12 (AE)	V (p. 278).
GC-A 13 (AE)	V (p. 280).
GC-A 14 (AE)	V (p. 281).
GC-A 15 (AE)	V (p. 282).
GC-A 16 (AE)	V (p. 283).
GC-A 17 (AE)	V (p. 284).
GC-A 18 (AE)	V (p. 285), K (483, 541).
GC-A 19 (AE)	V (p. 286), K (556).
GC-A 20 (AE)	V (p. 287), K (308–309).
GC-A 21 var.1 (AE)	V (p. 289).
GC-A 21 var.2 (AE)	V (p. 289).
GC-A 21 var.3 (AE)	V (p. 289).
GC-A 21 var.4 (AE)	V (p. 289).
GC-A 21 var.5 (AE)	V (p. 289).

GC-A 21 var.6 (AE)	V (p. 289).
GC-A 22 (AE)	V (p. 373).
GC-A 23 (AE)	V (p. 374).
GC-S 1 (AE)	V (p. 442).
GC-S 2 (AE)	V (p. 443).
GC-S 3	V (p. 445).
GC-S 4 var.1	V (p. 446).
GC-S 4 var.2	V (p. 446).
GC-S 4 var.3	V (p. 446).
GC-WT 1	V (p. 690), K (655).
GC-WT 2	V (p. 691), K (644–645).
GC-WT 3	V (p. 692).
GC-WT 4	V (p. 694), K (655).
GC-WT 5	V (p. 695).
GC-WT 6	V (p. 696).
E1	G67.
E2	G67.
E3	G67.
E4	G67.
E5	G67.
E6	G67.
E7	G67.
E8	G67.
E9	G67.
E10	G67.
E11	G67.
E12	G67.
E13	G67.
E14	G67.
E15	G67.
E16	G67.
E17	G67.
E18	G67.
E19	G67.
E20	G67.
E21	G67.
E22	G67.
E23	G67.
E24	G67.
E25	G67.
E26	G67.
E27	G87.
E28	G87.

List 2. Bactrian inscriptions

The Bactrian inscriptions are presented twice, once (as in G67) with upper case Greek character, and once in lower case.

ÞAIO	*Þαιο*	74 (bracteate)
ÞANO	*þανο*	67A var.1
ÞAO ΑΛΧ	*þαο αλχ*	112
ÞAOO	*þαοο*	67A var.2
ÞOIO ΑΛΧΑΝΟΝΟ	*þοιο αλχανονο*	83
ÞONO ΑΛΧΑΝΟ	*þονο αλχανο*	60
ÞONO ΑΛΧΑΝΟ	*þονο αλχανο*	67
ÞONO ΑΛΧΑΝΟ	*þονο αλχανο*	70
ÞONO ΑΛΧΑΝΟ	*þονο αλχανο*	70A
ÞOYO OΛΧONO	*þουο ολχονο*	68
ΑΔOMANO MIIPO ΣANO ÞAO	*αδομανο μιιρο σανο þαο*	85
ΑΔOMANO MIIPO ΣANO ÞAO	*αδομανο μιιρο σανο þαο*	85A
ΑΔOMANO MIIPO ΣANO ÞAO	*αδομανο μιιρο σανο þαο*	87
ΑΔOMANO MIIPO	*αδομανο μιιρο*	116A
ΑΔOMANO MYPO ΣANO ÞAO	*αδομανο μυρο σανο þαο*	86
ΑΛΚΑ	*αλκα*	34
ΑΛΚΑ	*αλκα*	35
ΑΛΚΑΝ	*αλκαν*	45
ΑΛΚΑΝΝΟ	*αλκαννο*	36
ΑΛΚΑΝΝΟ	*αλκαννο*	36A
ΑΛΚΑΝΝΟ	*αλκαννο*	40
ΑΛΚΑΝΝΟ	*αλκαννο*	41
ΑΛΚΑΝΟ	*αλκανο*	43
ΑΛΚΟ	*αλκο*	43B
ΑΛΧΑΝΝΑΝΟ	*αλχαννανο*	44
ΑΛΧΑΝΝΟ	*αλχαννο*	33
ΑΛΧΑΝΟ ΧΙΓΓΙΛΟ	*αλχανο χιγγιλο*	59A
ΑΛΧΑΝΟ	*αλχανο*	80
ΑΛΧΟ	*αλχο*	34/35
ΑΛΧONO ÞOYO ZOOBΛ	*αλχονο þουο ζοοβλ*	59
ΑΛΧONONO	*αλχονονο*	47 (P reads this as unclear)
ΑΛΧONONO	*αλχονονο*	66
BAΓO MHNAMO	*βαγο μηναμο*	84A
BAXΛO	*βαχλο*	287
BAXΛO	*βαχλο*	288 var.1
BAXΛO	*βαχλο*	288 var.2
BOÞZO	*βοþζο*	E27
BOIO KIΔAPO OOZOPKO KOÞONO ÞAO	*βοιο κιδαρο οοζορκο κοþονο þαο*	84

ΓΟΡΙΓΟ ΡΟΥΟ ΟΜΒΙΡΟ	*γοριγο ρουο ομβιρο*	273
ΓΩΖΟΓΟΝΟ	*γωζογονο*	248
ΖΑΒΟΧΟ ΜΙΙΡΟ ΣΑΝΟ ÞΑΟ	*ζαβοχο μιιρο σανο þαο*	106A
ΖΑΒΟΧΟ ΜΙΙΡΟ ΣΑΝΟ ÞΑΟ	*ζαβοχο μιιρο σανο þαο*	96A
ΖΑΒΟΧΟ ΜΙΙΡΟ ΣΑΝΟ ÞΑΟ	*ζαβοχο μιιρο σανο þαο*	97
ΖΑΒΟΧΟ ΜΙΙΡΟ ΣΑΝΟ ÞΑΟ	*ζαβοχο μιιρο σανο þαο*	98
ΖΑΒΟΧΟ ΜΥΡΟ ΣΑΝ	*ζαβοχο μυρο σαν*	107
ΖΑΒΟΧΟ ΜΥΡΟ ΣΑΝΟ ÞΑΟ	*ζαβοχο μυρο σανο þαο*	96
ΖΑΒΟΧΟ	*ζαβοχο*	100
ΖΑΒΟΧΟ	*ζαβοχο*	101
ΖΑΒΟΧΟ	*ζαβοχο*	102
ΖΑΒΟΧΟ	*ζαβοχο*	103
ΖΑΒΟΧΟ	*ζαβοχο*	99
ΖΟΛΟΟΟ	*ζολοοο*	209
ΗΒ	*ηβ*	pre-287
ΗΒ	*ηβ*	287, 288 var.1, 288 var.2
ΗΒΟ	*ηβο*	287A
ΗΒΟ	*ηβο*	287B
ΙΟΟΜΟ	*ιοομο*	289
ΚΟΡΜΟ ΖΟΟΟ	*κορμο ζοοο*	272
ΚΩΜΟ	*κωμο*	34
ΜΗΟ	*μηο*	62
ΟΜΒΙΡΟ	*ομβιρο*	274A
ΟΜΒΙΡΟ	*ομβιρο*	281
ΟΟΟ ΣΟΡΒΟ ΣΟΒΟΓΟ ΟΟΟ ΙΝΟ ΒΟΤΙΝΟΟ	*οοο σορβο σοβογο οοο ινο βοτινοο*	247B
ΟΟΟ ΣΟΡΒΟ ΣΟΒΟΓΟ ΥΟΖΙΝΟ ΒΟΤΙΝΟΟ	*οοο σορβο σοβογο υοζινο βοτινοο*	247A
ΟΟΟ ΣΟΡΒΟ ΣΟΒΟΓΟ ΥΟΖΙΝΟ ΒΟΤΙΝΟΟ	*οοο σορβο σοβογο υοζινο βοτινοο*	247C
ΠΙΡΟΖΟ ÞΑΟ	*πιροζο þαο*	19
ΤΟΒΑΖΙΝΙ ÞΑΟ	*τοβαζινι þαο*	32
ΤΟΒΑΖΙΝΙ	*τοβαζινι*	32A
ΤΟΒΑΖΙΝΙ	*τοβαζινι*	32B
ΤΟΒΑΖΙΝΙ	*τοβαζινι*	32C
ΦΡΟΜΟ ΚΗΟΣΟΡΟ ΒΟΓΟ ΧΟΟΟΗΟ	*φρομο κηοσορο βογο χοοοηο*	248
ΦΡΟΜΟ ΚΗΣΑΡΟ ΒΟΓΟ ΧΟΟΟΗΟ ΚΙΟΟΙ ΒΟΓΟ ΖΙΚΙΝΟ ΧΟΟΗΟ	*φρομο κησαρο βογο χοοοηο κιοοι βογο ζικινο χοοηο*	247C
ΦΡΟΜΟ ΚΗΣΟΡΟ ΒΟΓΟ ΧΟΟΟΗΟ ΚΙΟΟΙ ΒΟΓΟ ΖΙΚΙΝΟ ΧΟΟΗΟ	*φρομο κησορο βογο χοοοηο κιοοι βογο ζικινο χοοηο*	247A

ΦΡΟΜΟ ΚΗΣΟΡΟ ΒΟΓΟ ΧΟΟΟΗΟ ΚΙΟΟΙ ΒΟΓΟ ΖΙΚΙΝΟ	*φρομο κησορο βογο χοοοηο κιοοι βογο ζικινο*	247B
ΦΡΟΜΟ ΚΗΣΟΡΟ	*φρομο κησορο*	249
ΧΙΣΤΙΛΟ ΟΧΟΝΟ	*χιστιλο οχονο*	61
ΧΙΓΓΙΛΟ ΑΛΧΑΝΟ	*χιγγιλο αλχανο*	61A
ΧΜΟΙΟΔΟ ΒΟΙΟΝΟ	*χμοιοδο βοιονο*	39
ΧΟ … ΧΟ	*χο … χο*	32D
Corrupt or only traces of inscription:	84B, 24, 48, 64, 104, 220A, 220B, 270, 287C, GC-K 1	

List 3. Brahmi inscriptions

[ ]gilaḥ	132A
alakha	11
bānabharaja prāyata	55
baysāra jaya	110
bhalo	146
bra	120
buddhami	18
cu	42
dara	95
dekha	44C
deva ṣāhi khiṅgila	81
deva ṣāhi	65
dhama jaya	111A
dhama jaya	306
dhama jayatu	307
dhama jayatu	307A
dharma	GC-K 12
drade śrī	324
ja	GC-A 14
jā	163
jaṇadeva	55B
java mahama (P reads *ṣāhi mahama*)	317
java	76
java	GC-K 33
jaya ṣa hy avamazha	75C
jaya ṣāha	52
jaya ṣāha	52A
jaya ṣāhi javūkhaḥ	82
jaya ṣāhi	53
jaya ṣahyabhi manyu (P reads *[jaya ṣahy a] vamazha(?)*)	75
jayatu [ ]kula	137
jayatu baysāra	109
jayatu marakula	135A
jayatu mihirakula	135
jayatu mihirakula	136
jayatu mihirakula	310
jayatu naraṇa	138
jayatu śrī nare	176
jayatu śrī narendra	174 var.b
jayatu śri narendra	174B
jayatu vṛṣadhvaja	134
jayatu	321
jayatu	v.146

jiṣṇu	193
kheṅgi	54
khigi	57
khigi	66
khigila	44
khiṅgila va ṣāhi	318
kidara kuṣāna ṣā	11
kidara kuṣānaṣā hi	14
kitī	58
kṣatrapa tarīka	25
kṣatrapa tarīka	26
kṣatrapa tarīka	27
kṣatrapa tarīka	28
kuja	GC-A 22
kujaṇa	GC-K 13
kujaṇa	GC-K 20
kujānasya	GC-K 8
kujānasya	GC-K 9
kula	154
laja [ ] kha	46
ma	GC-K 28
maha nada	GC-K 4
maha nada	GC-K 5
maha	GC-K 14
maha	GC-K 19
mahadana kujaṇasya	GC-K 35
mehama	74 (bracteate)
mepama ṣaha	71
mepama	73A
mepama (P reads *mehama*)	74
mihiradata	157
ṇa	202
naṃ	3
naṃ	4
naṃ	5
naṃdaka	7
nan	6
nanda	9
nandaya	8
o	217
pa	171
pa	222 (early)
paja (P reads *jaya*)	139A
pe	6
peruṣa(?)	GC-K 2A

pha? (Brahmi character unclear)	40
pi	5
pilaca	4
piluca	3
piroso	3
pūrvāditya	92
pūrvvaditya	88
pūrvvaditya	88A
pūrvvaditya	91
pūrvvaditya	93
ra	172
ra	GC-K 7
raja lakhāna udayāditya	79
raja lakhāna	80
rāṣṭrapālana	150 var.4
(remnant)	GC-K 32
rudra	160
ṣa … latya? (P reads *ṣāhi [ ] madu (?)*)	145
ṣā	118A
ṣa (P reads *ṣāhi*)	139
ṣā	14
ṣa	23
śa	46B var.8
sa	GC-K 11
ṣa	GC-K 15–3
sa	GC-K 30
śa	GC-K 31–5
sa	GC-K 4
ṣaha dapa	GC-K 15–2
ṣaha ja	143B
ṣāha ja (P reads *ṣāhi*)	326
ṣaha jaükha	51
ṣaha javukha	50
ṣāha jaya	325
ṣaha ki	141A
ṣaha mahama	316
ṣaha manapya nada	GC-K 6
ṣaha	90
ṣāhi ha (P reads *ṣāhi [ ]madu(?)*)	56
ṣāhi javukha	140
ṣāhi javukha	49
ṣāhi javūkhaḥ	117
ṣāhi javūkhaḥ	118
ṣāhi jaya	77
ṣāhi jaya	78

ṣāhi lakha (?)	145A
ṣāhi me	71A
ṣahi mirakula	147A
ṣāhi trilo	116
ṣahi	142A
ṣahi	143A
ṣahi	143C
ṣahi	144A
ṣahi	165
ṣāhi (P reads *ṣāhi [ ]madu (?)*)	305
ṣāhi	69
ṣāhi	69A
ṣapaba (P says is unclear)	73
sato	GC-A 2
śe	43
śri (t?) mala	46B var.7
śrī jara	128
śrī jayatu narendra	174 var.a
śri ku	156
śri mā	46B var.1
śri mihirakula	152
śrī narendra	171
śrī pragupta	307B
śrī raṇa	323
śrī ṣapiro	4
śrī tora	126
śrī tṛloka (G67 gives *Sri Vaysara*)	111
śrī tṛloka (P reads *bhaloka*)	113
śrī vapata (V)//*śri sahi tora*	150 var.1
śrī varma	13A
śrī varma	GC-K 22
śrī varma	GC-K 23
śri varmasya	46A
śrī varysi[ra]	130A
śrī vāsudevaḥ	212
śrī vāsudevaḥ	213
śrī vāsudevaḥ	214
śrī vāsudevaḥ	215
śrī vaysāra	130
śrī	150 var.2
śrī	150 var.3
śrī	150 var.4
śrī	173
śruta	124
śruta	125A

thai?	41
tora	120
tora	121A
tora	122
tora	122B
tora	123
tora	27
tora	GC-A 23
toramāṇa	133
trilo	114
tu	122
tu	122B
tu	123
uditāditya	127
varo ṣāha	16
varo ṣāha	17
vijitāvanir avanipati śrī toramāṇa deva jayati	119
Corrupt, unclear or unread inscriptions: 12A, 31, 44A, 46B var.2–6&9, 76B, 150A, GC-A 12, GC-K 10, GC-K 15–1	

List 4. Pahlavi inscriptions

as	pre-287
bg xwt'p	249
dlc	262
d't	261
GDH 'pzwt	303
GDH/'pzwt '	272
HWRA ššst'	274A
hwslwb 'pzwt	295 var.1
hwslwb 'pzwt	295 var.2
hwslwb 'pzwt	295 var.3
hwslwb 'pzwt	295A
kd' wrhr'n d kwš 'n	28A
ky varhran k… (P dissents reading *kdy wlhl'n ZY k-wš'n MLK(A)*)	5
ky varhran k… (P dissents reading *kdy wlhl'n ZY k-wš'n MLK(A)*)	6
ky varhran k… (P dissents reading *kdy wlhl'n ZY k-wš'n MLK(A)*)	7
ky varhran Kushan malka	10
ky varhran Kushan malka (P dissents reading *kdy wlhl'n ZY k-wš'n MLK(A)*)	8
ky varhran Kushan malka (P dissents reading *kdy wlhl'n ZY k-wš'n MLK(A)*	9
M[alka] Pyrwcy (P notes additional unclear characters on the reverse)	1A
M[alka] Pyrwcy	1B
'n MLK'	22
nspk MLK	202
nwšst' MRW'	281
nycky MLK ā	198
nycky MLK š	217
nycky MLK š	218
nycky MLK š	218A
nycky MLK š	219A
nycky MLK š	220
nycky MLK š	221
nycky MLK š	222 (early)
nycky MLK š	222 (late)
nycky MLK š	224A
nycky MLK š	224B
'p MLK'	265
P'' šmr't' spwr bg hwt'p' whm'n'c mrt'n MLK' GDH 'pzwt spwr hwt'p	212
P'' šmr't' spwr bg hwt'p' whm'n'c mrt'n MLK' GDH 'pzwt spwr hwt'p	213
P'' šmr't' spwr bg hwt'p' whm'n'c mrt'n MLK' GDH 'pzwt spwr hwt'p	214
P'' šmr't' spwr bg hwt'p' whm'n'c mrt'n MLK' GDH 'pzwt spwr hwt'p	215
P'' šmr't' spwr bg hwt'p' whm'n'c mrt'n MLK' GDH 'pzwt spwr	211
'p	270
'p	270A
'pd spwr'n TMWH' z'wl	211

pnčwyst (truncated)	295 var.3
pnčwyst	295 var.1
pyrwc	260
Pyrwc	261
'pzwn šš̌st'	273
'pzwt ' GDH	273
RH	262
r'st'	28A
sh	248
Spyr	248
syp krm'nš'n TŠ' z'wlst'n	214
syp krm'nš'n TŠ' z'wlst'n	215
syp krm'nš'n TŠ' z'wlst'n	212
syp krm'nš'n TŠ' z'wlst'n	213
ybgw bhlkn	265
zl	261A
Unclear, traces or unread: 22, 29, 30, 33, 36, 261A, 262290, GC-S 2	

Countermarks

A range of countermarks are frequently associated with Hunnic coinages. Many of these appear on coins not originally issued by the Hunnic rulers, especially Sasanian types. There is no complete listing of these but see for example V (pp. 428, 436, 438–441) and types 282–286.

Images of Hunnic type coins

The coins in this section are selected because they represent recognisably distinct visual types to a non-numismatist. Images are shown at 200% except for particularly small coins (shown at 300 or 400%). Western Turk style coinage is not included. Vols. III-IV of G67 and Vol II of V provide much more extensive plates though there is no comprehensive set of images.

Appendix.001. Kidarite issues



[No Number; Göbl (1984) #736; C #6A]
Kidara issue in Kushanshah style. BM 1847,1201.265
(34 mm, 7.69 g)



Type 16
Kidarite silver issue in Sasanian style (see types 1 to 24 and discussion in C).
BM 1922,0424.3738
(3.74 g, 28 mm)



Type 23 (see also prefix GC-K)
Kidarite copper with frontal Sasanian bust. BM 1921,0331.50
(0.84 g, 12 mm)



[No number]
Kidarite issue (inscription *kshana kirada gadara*) in Kushan style. BM IOC.562



[No number]
Silver coin of Samarkand in Sogdia. The Sogdian inscription appears to name Kidara and these coins were issued at approximately the same period as Kidarite issues. BM 1894,0506.1756

Appendix.002. Alchon issues

Appendix.002/A. Gold coinage continuing Kushanshah tradition



Type 85A
Bactrian Inscription *ΑΔΟΜΑΝΟ ΜΙΙΡΟ ΣΑΝΟ ÞΑΟ*, 'Adomo, King of the East' – see types 84 through 85 for related Kidarite and Alchon gold. BM IOC.2354



Type 36
Sasanian style bust with Alchon inscription, early issues see also types 39. BM 1894,0506.199,



Type 34 (see also 34–35 and 37–38)
Sasanian style crown busts probably issued under the Alchons with *tamga* reverses. BM1949,0707.1



Type 41
Bare-headed busts replace Sasanian crowns on Alchon coinage
(see generally types 40 through 80). BM 1894,0506.254



Type 54 (See also 43A & B, 44A-C, 45 through 48, – 45, 54 to 55, 72, 165, 309, 309A)
Issued by Khiṅgila, inscription *khiṅgi*, Alchon copper with bust as silver coins and *tamga*, symbol, or inscription on reverse. BM 1894,0507.2006



Type GC-A 15 (?)
V divides the copper into groups, one issued centrally by mints possibly also responsible for silver, and the second by local authorities including the substantial material found at Kashmir Smast. These types are less likely to feature an inscription, and often smaller (see those types prefixed GC-A). BM 1922,0213.67.



Type 61, Alchon type with diadems which V assigns to the later stages of Alchon coinage.
(for other Khiṅgila see 44, 59A, 61, 66, 81) OR.476

Appendix.002/B. Horseman types

The horseman types go on to become the standard iconography for the successor Turkish Shahis.



Type 105, Horseman type, Javukha. (see also 106A, 107, 117, 118)
BM 1896,0506.200



Kashmir Horseman type with Ardochsho reverse.
BM 1894,0506.244

Appendix.002/C. Toramāṇa and Mihirakula



Type 120, Toramāṇa Copper.
(see types 120 through 123 and possibly the Ksatrap Tarika types, 25–28).
BM 1894,0506.1177



Type 135, Silver coinage in Alchon style in the name of Mihirakula
(see types 135 through 137).
BM IOC.2372



Copper of Mihirakula 152, 153.
BM 1894,0506.1178

Appendix.002/D. Hunnic issues after Indian and Kushan Models



No Hunnic number
Gold Issues in Gupta style with title Prakashaditya issued by Toramāṇa.[i] BM IOC.615



Type 119
Silver issues in Gupta style naming Toramāṇa. BM 1874,1003.1



Type 192
Copper coin with inscription *jiṣnu*. BM 1855,0708.91

[i] Pankaj Tandon (forthcoming; 2015).



[No number?]
Types with standing figures are only lightly covered in G67 and subsequent lists (see types 154–155, 192). BM 1920,0617.62.



Type 176
Types with seated king (Gupta model?) and goddess (see also type 156).
BM 1894,0506.287.



[No number]
Alchon copper coins with various Brahmi inscriptions including Mihirakula, following designs on late Kushan gold coins.
BM 1894,0506.250

Appendix.003. Tobazini, Hephthalite, and Nezak silver

The Tobazini and Hephthalite coinage probably minted north of the Hindu Kush are distinct from the Alchon types, usually following more closely Sasanian prototypes.



Type 32
Tobazini coins borrow designs from the Sasanian Wahram IV (388–399).
BM 1894,0506.200



Type 287
Hephthalite Coin based on designs of the Sasanian king Peroz [Internet Image]



Type 198
Nezak coins are divided into two groups based on inscriptions.
BM 1894,0506.314

Appendix.004. Sind series

Issued in Sind or Multan from the late fourth until the early sixth century. The designs imitate those of Sasanian coins and are taken to be a Sasanian mint by Alram, Schindel and others. The exclusive use of gold[i] and choice of symbols before face indicate they are probably not Sasanian and the most likely alternative is a Hunnic polity related to the Alchon and Nezak.



Shapur II style bust. Baldwin 37 Lot 519 ex-Sunrise Coll.; Triton VII Lot 618; Nelson 860; SNS C2.
7.33/7.32 g, 20 mm

[i] It is likely that base metal coins at least were issued in the area but are not known because of the relative lack of exploration, and a silver series at least partly overlaps with the end of these gold coins. However this does not alter the basic observation that large silver coins dominate the issues of all official Sasanian mints and are entirely absent here.



Ardashir II style bust. BM 1894,0507.1296 (COC26585); SNS C5
7.32 g, 20 mm, SG18.35



Shapur III style bust. Baldwin 37 Lot 577 ex-Sunrise Coll. (where it is noted as SNS III pl. 145 C11(?)); Nelson 880
7.14 g, 19 mm



Yazdegerd I style bust (type A). BM 1922,0424.24 (COC27588); Fig. 1 no. 1 of the Lakhana hoard as given in Cousens; SNS C11
7.18 g, 21 mm, SG 14.12



Yazdegerd I style bust (type B). Tandon collection



Bahram V style bust (early type). BM 1991,0416.1 (COC326260); Senior 1990 no. 4; SNS C12
7.14 g, 21 mm, 3 h



Bahram V style bust (late type).CNG 100 Lot 182 ex-Adams (purch. M Riuz Rihz 1997)
7.02 g, 18 mm, 1 h



Peroz style bust (double crenelated crown). BM 1991,0101.3 (COC326476)
7.03 g, 15 mm, 3 h



Peroz style bust (single crenelated crown). CNG 100 Lot 194 Ex-Adams (Purch. 1997)
7.03 g, 16 mm, 9 h



Balash style bust (with unread Brahmi inscription). CNG 100 Lot 200 ex-Adams (purch. Pars Coins 2007)
6.99 g, 18, mm, 12 h



Imitation of Peroz types with Brahmi inscription. Aman ur Rahman; CNG mailbid 82 lot 817
7.18/7.14 g, 5 h



Mihirakula issue in style of the imitations of Peroz group. Classical Numismatic Gallery Auction 23 (2015) Lot 66
7.07 g

Appendix.005. Seals without recorded provenance

Large collections of unprovenanced seals have been assembled in recent years. That of Aman ur Rahman has been published in two volumes (Lerner and Sims-Williams 2011; Rahman and Falk 2011). The former of these volumes covers seals from the fourth to the eight century, almost all of which are presumed to have been made/used in the Hunnic period. The most significant of these is a set of sealings belonging to Ularg (Text V.008).

While other seals belong to the Hunnic period, it is hard to see them as specifically 'Hunnic' in nature. A particular mail portrait seems to be associated with the Northwest in this period and could be described as 'Gandharan/Alchon.'



Figure 6. AB 7.4, a typical specimen of the 'Gandharan/Alchon' style portraits with the Brahmi inscription *laha*.

But it is not clear if this is simply a stylistic shift with chronological implications or an ethnic identifier. In some cases portraits might wear crowns with an apparent Hunnic connection.



Figure 7. 01.02.59 (Rahman & Falk, 2011), inscriptions in Bactrian (*Al[…]shag*) and Brahmi (*(śrī)-pā⟨:r:⟩tthiva*).

The crown resembles that on Göbl coin types 206 and 208. The possibility that seals AA 6.3 and AA 6.4 might be associated with Bactrian documents *ea* and *ed* (CE 461/2 and 474/5) which mention "Meyam, the king of the people of Kadag" and with the silver drachms (Göbl types 62, 63 71, 73) is also briefly discussed on p. 53.

Lerner and Sims-Williams (2011) cover portraits with crowns from pp. 72ff and portraits of a Göbl/Alchon type on pp. 123ff.

Some have titles which indicate they represent some form of official in the Hunnic period.



Figure 8. Ab 8.3, two impressions with the same inscription (Hc071, Hc152), referring in Bactrian to San, the army commander.

Script is broadly an indicator of the period of issue: Greek inscriptions are pre-127 CE, Kharosthi before the fourth century, with cursive Bactrian and Brahmi associated with the Hunnic period. There are also a large number of Pahlavi seals described as "unread middle Persian" published by Rahman and Falk (2011), for example this.



Figure 9. 10.04.3

The period of these is unclear, but the use of Pahlavi on some Hunnic coins suggests these unread seals may relate to the period.
Several of these Pahlavi inscriptions (15.06.3 to 15.06.7) feature a central *tamga*, symbols commonly associated with the Hunnic rulers.



Figure 10. 15.06.4

See also J1.3 and J1.4 for examples of *tamgas*, and AA 13.3 (Hc030–032 inscriptions) which has a *tamga* usually associated with Alchon coins
Seals from the region are extensively published by Rahman and Falk (2011), and Lerner and Sims-Williams (2011), as well as the earlier publication by Callieri (1997).

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Hunnic Peoples in Central and South Asia

Sources for their Origin and History

This volume is a comprehensive compilation of primary textual sources pertaining to the history of Hunnic peoples in the vast area encompassing Central and South Asia. Sources in nearly a dozen languages have been carefully selected by scholars with a specialisation in the particular language and relevant research experience. Each excerpt in the chrestomathy is presented in the original language, accompanied by an authoritative translation into a modern European language to make it accessible to specialists of other fields. Many texts are, moreover, accompanied by a commentary highlighting crucial points of interest, problematic issues and connections to the information revealed in other sources. The Sourcebook is the outcome of an interdisciplinary workshop held at Eötvös Loránd University (Budapest, Hungary) in August 2017, organised by the project Beyond Boundaries and funded by the European Research Council. The initial compilation of source texts was selectively presented, analysed and discussed at this workshop, culminating in the present volume, whose publication has also been supported by the ERC.

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