WAS THERE A KUSANA RACE?

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THERE is no lack of numismatic evidence for the fact that the words *Kūšan šāhān šāh* and *Kūšan šāh* were used as personal attributes by certain princes reigning about the year A.D. 300. On the obverse of one of the coins in question Professor Marquart reads the legend: *mazdēšn bagē Pērōzē (i) wažurg Kūšan šāh*, "des mazdaverehrenden Gottes Pērōz, grossen Königs der Kūšan." M. Drouin translates the same legend as follows: "le mazdéen, le divin Pérose, grand Kouchan, roi."¹

It would be difficult to decide which of these two translations was preferable, if the words *Kūšan šāh* were always preceded or followed by a personal name. This, happily, is not the case. Ibn Khordadbeh,² who wrote in the ninth century A.D., gives a list of many royal titles, and tells us that the title of the King of Transoxania (گوشان شاه) was *Kūšan šāh* (ماوراء النهر).

This enables us to state positively that the title *Kūšan šāh*, "king of the Kūšan," enjoyed a great prestige in A.D. 300, and was not forgotten even in the ninth century of the Christian era.

¹ See Marquart, *Erānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i*, Berlin, 1901, p. 49, and Drouin, *Revue numismatique*, 1896, p. 170.

² The author of the fundamental work *Turkestan at the time of the Mongol Invasion*, by W. Barthold, St. Petersburg, 1900 (in Russian), drew my attention to p. 98 of his book, where, while discussing the title *Kūšan šāh*, he refers to Ibn Khordadbeh (cf. de Goeje's edition of the latter's *Liber Viarum et Regnorum*, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, pars sexta, text p. 40, transl. p. 29). Cf. also *Annales quos scripsit . . . Tabari*, secunda series, iii, Recensuerunt I. Guidi, D. H. Müller, et M. J. de Goeje, Lugd. Bat., 1885-9, p. 1449, l. 21.

We find the earliest mention of the Chinese form of the title *Kūśān śāh*, viz. *Kuei-shuang-wang*, in the phrase ¹ 自 (tzu) 立 (li) 爲 (wei) 王 (wang) 國 (kuo) 號 (hao) 貴 (kuei) 霜 (shuang) 王 (wang), "he [Kadphises I] established himself as a king (wang) and used the dynastic title 'king of the Kūśān'." This phrase occurs in the Hou-han-shu (Annals of the later Han dynasty), and from the same chronicle we learn that Kadphises I (K'iu-tsiu-k'io) at the beginning of his reign had to content himself with the more modest title of 貴 (kuei) 霜 (shuang) 翁 (hsi) 侯 (hou). It was only after having defeated certain rivals that he styled himself *Kuei-shuang-wang* (*Kūśān śāh*).

Everybody seems to admit that *Kuei-shuang-hsi-hou* (Cantonese pronunciation according to Williams' Cantonese dictionary: Kwai-séung-yap-hau) is the Chinese form of

¹ I give the original phrase as I find it in the Chinese block-print (As. Dep., No. 624, ch. 118, p. 11b) of the Hou-han-shu, belonging to the Asiatic Museum of St. Petersburg. A copy of the same edition has, apparently, been used by Dr. O. Franke, who quotes the same page in his book *Zur Kenntniss der Türkvolker und Skythen Zentralasiens* (Berlin, 1904, p. 66). The translation is mainly based on the authority of Dr. Franke, whose rendering of the phrase is, "Er setzte sich selbst als König (wang) ein und führte den dynastischen Titel König von Kuei-shuang."

It can hardly be doubted that the first word of the title *Kūśān śāh* represents the name of a race. Cf. the title *Guṣanavaśaśamvardhaka* (according to M. Senart's reading of the Manikyāla inscription, *Journal Asiatique*, Janvier-Février, 1896, p. 8), which Professor Lüders translates by "scion of the Guṣana race" (JRAS., 1909, p. 666). M. Senart (op. cit., p. 12) hesitated between two alternative translations: "auteur de l'accroissement de la race des Koushans" and "issu de la race des Koushans". Dr. Thomas (JRAS. 1906, p. 203) translates the title by "propagator of the Kushan stock".

Dr. Vogel has been so kind as to supply me with his "provisional" reading of one of the inscriptions discovered near Muttra in March, 1912. The name of the king seems to be doubtful, but the titles *Mahārāja rājātirāja devaputro Kuśānaputr[o]* are quite clear. It seems most natural to interpret as the name of a race the first part of the title *Kuśānaputr[o]*. (The long vowel (*ā*) is also of great interest.)

Considering these facts, I have no doubt that "König der [not von] *Kuei-shuang*" is the correct German rendering of the title *Kuei-shuang-wang*.

the title Kuṣanayavuga, which is found on the Kharoṣṭhī side of some (type 1) of the coins of Kujula-Kadphises (Kadphises I).

The title Kuei-shuang-hsi-hou being undoubtedly represented on the coins of Kadphises I, it would seem extremely strange if no numismatic equivalent could be found for Kuei-shuang-wang (*Kūśān śāh*) on any pieces of that monarch. Does it not seem natural under these circumstances to consider the syllables *Khuṣanasa*,¹ which we find on the Kharoṣṭhī side of what Mr. Vincent Smith calls type 3 of Kadphises I's coins, as the equivalent of the title *Kūśān śāh* ? And could not the corresponding syllables XOPANCY of the legend in Greek characters be regarded as a barbaric genitive of *XOPANCA, representing *Kūśān śāh* ?

The fact that *Khuṣanasa* does not show the genitive termination (*Khuṣanasa*)sa² can easily be accounted for by assuming that the existing sa (= *śāh*) forms a compound with the next word of the Kharoṣṭhī legend.

The following are the full Kharoṣṭhī legends of the types Kadphises I, 1 and 3, according to Mr. Smith's catalogue (I replace the *sh* of the catalogue by *ś*):

¹ It is just possible that the Kharoṣṭhī letters read *Gushanasa* by Sir A. Cunningham represent another form of the title *Kūśān śāh*. Unfortunately, however, the letters immediately following *Gushanasa* in the Panjtar inscription are broken off or mutilated, except the first one, which according to the editor is R, or perhaps N. "The second letter, which is very doubtful, may be either *re*, or *ha*, or *ne*" (Cunningham, *Archæological Reports*, vol. v, p. 62). The original of the Panjtar inscription being lost (op. cit., p. 61) it will hardly be possible to use it for the purpose of proving or disproving my contentions.

² On some coins of Gondophares, who was a βασιλεὺς βασιλέων, we find the title *sasasa* (Gardner, pp. 104, 106, 189) in Kharoṣṭhī characters, which probably represent the genitive of *sa[n]sa* (= *śāhān śāh*). I have not succeeded in ascertaining the presence of the sign representing *ṃ* (or *n*) at the bottom of the akṣara read *sa(sasa)* by Gardner, the lower part of it being, apparently, damaged on all the coins belonging to the Imperial Hermitage, as well as on the ones reproduced in the catalogues of Gardner and Smith. Cf. the title *saansa(an)* mentioned below (p. 87, note).

Kujula-kasasa Kuṣana-yavugasa dhramaṭhidaśa (type 1); *Khuṣanasa yavūśa* [sic], or *yavūśa*, *Kuyula-kaphśaśa* [cha] *dhrama* [ṭhita] *śa* (type 3).

Only the transcription of the first legend is followed by a translation ([coin] of Kujulakasa, the Kuṣān chief, the pious), and those who contend that *Khuṣanasa* is a genitive singular will hardly be able to interpret the second legend (type 3) without getting into difficulties. Besides having to admit that the equivalent of *Kūṣān śāh* (*Kuei-shuang-wang*) cannot be found on the coins of Kadphises I, they will be forced to concede that he called himself "a Kūṣān [and] a yavu[g]a" on some of his coins (*Khuṣanasa yavūśa*, type 3) and "the yavuga of the Kūṣān" (*Kuṣanayavugasa*, type 1)¹ on others. Both difficulties vanish as soon as my interpretation of *Khuṣanasayavūśa*, "king [and] yavu[g]a of the Kūṣān," is accepted.²

We know that the Persian word *šāh* has been rendered by the Greek letters *σα* (for instance in the name *σαπαρης* = *śāhpūr*), and the legend *σατραπυ* *ξε* [ω] *ν* [v] *σου*

¹ The translation of *Kuei-shuang-wang* as "king of the Kūṣān" being certain, *Kuei-shuang-hsi-hou* and its equivalent *Kuṣanayavuga* must mean "yavuga of the Kūṣān".

The Kharoṣṭhī legends of Kadphises I's type 1 (*Kuṣanayavugasa*) are not only found on pieces bearing that monarch's Greek name on the obverse, but also on coins which he minted conjointly with Hermæus (cf. *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, vol. i, by Vincent A. Smith, Oxford, 1906, p. 33). The Kharoṣṭhī legend, type 3 (*Khuṣanasayavūśa*), however, is found only on coins belonging exclusively to Kadphises I. This proves *Kuṣanayavugasa* (the admitted equivalent of *Kuei-shuang-hsi-hou*) to be older than *Khuṣanasayavu[g]aśa* (which, as suggested above, contains the equivalent of *Kuei-shuang-wang* [*Kūṣān śāh*]).

It need hardly be pointed out how well the data of the Chinese Chronicle agree with the Kharoṣṭhī legends if interpreted according to my view. I do not discuss the types 2 and 4 of Kadphises I, the readings being too uncertain. I have, however, examined them without finding anything disproving my contentions.

² Accumulations of various titles are very frequent on the numismatic and epigraphic documents of the period, and it will hardly strike anyone as improbable that Kadphises I, after having assumed the more exalted dignity (*Kūṣān śāh*), should retain his old title (*yavu[g]a*) by the side of the new one.

(Gardner, p. 110) shows that it is not impossible to regard XOPANCY as a genitive.¹ When composing his catalogue of the coins of the Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and India, Professor Gardner evidently considered XOPANCY as consisting of two words, (1) XOPAN and (2) CY (cf. Cat., p. 187). Both words the distinguished numismatist places under the heading "Scythic [titles] in Greek letters". He also states that the same word *σν* occurs on some coins of the king Hermæus. The fact that three of the four words composing the Greek legend (*Βασιλεως σπηρος σν ερμαιου*) of those coins undoubtedly show genitive terminations tends to support my explanation of XOPANCY² as a genitive of *XOPANCA (*Kūšan śāh*).

Some of Kaniška's coins, according to Mr. Smith, bear the following legend (on the obverse): ΠΑΟΝΑΝΟΠΑΟ-ΚΑΝΗΡΚΙΚΟΠΑΝΟ, *Ṣaonano - ṣao Kanēṣki Koṣano*, "Kaniška the Kuśān, king of kings." (I replace Mr. Smith's *sh* by *ṣ*.) It is difficult to think of any reason why we should not consider ΚΑΝΗΡΚΙ as the first (or the last) word of the legend, and ΚΟΠΑΝΟ ΠΑΟΝΑΝΟ ΠΑΟ as his title. This is the only arrangement which enables us to recognize the title *Kūšan śāh* (in an amplified form, cf. the title *Kūšan śāhān śāh* mentioned on p. 79) on the coins of the monarch who, surely, was the most prominent Kūšan ruler known to history.

I have already pointed out (Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg, 1908, p. 1369) that the last three letters (ANO = *ānu*) of the genitive

¹ Professor Rapson (JRAS., 1897, p. 321) and Dr. Thomas (JRAS., 1913, p. 632) also regard XOPANCY as a genitive singular.

² It is a significant fact that we find the word *rajarajasa* on the Kharoṣṭhī side of several Hermæus (alone without Kadphises I) coins showing *σν* on the obverse, and that the word *rajarajasa* never appears on the pieces (mentioned by Gardner, Smith, and von Sallet, *Nachfolger Alexanders des Grossen*) bearing the shorter Greek legend *Βασιλεως σπηρος ερμαιου*. If there were no *σν* coins omitting *rajarajasa* we should possess an absolute proof for the fact that *σν* was a royal title.

plural **PAONANO** (according to Mr. Smith "of kings") represent the same termination which appears in the word *gyastānu* (genitive plural of a theme *gyasta*, meaning "deus"), and which generally indicates the genitive plural in the second "unknown" language of Eastern Turkestan.¹

The second **ANO** of the title **KOṔANO PAONANO**² **PAO** almost certainly representing *ānu* (Professor Lüders, loc. cit., speaking about the title *śāhanuśāhi*, says: "das griechische **ANO** kann für *ānu* stehen, wie **ΒΟΔΔΟ** für Buddha zeigt"), the rendering of **KOṔANO** by *Kuśānu* is, to say the least, possible. That this rendering is more than a possibility is suggested by various circumstances.

The *akṣara* corresponding to the letters (*guṣa*)*na* in the third line of the Manikyāla inscription (as read by M. Senart, *Journal Asiatique*, Janv.-Févr. 1896, p. 8, pl. i) shows a distinct hook at the bottom of the *mātrkā*. The hook is absent from the *mātrkā* in all other cases (fourteen) where *na* has been read, but it is clearly visible at the bottom of the *akṣara* representing *thu* (in *thuvam*,

¹ The *a*-themes of that language generally show the termination *i* in the nominative singular, and in the article mentioned I compared the title *śāhanuśāhi* (or *sāhanuśāhi*), "king of kings," which apparently belonged to *Kūśān* princes (cf. Sir M. A. Stein's article in the *Ind. Ant.*, 1888, p. 95 sq., and Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 8), with the expression *gyastānu gyasti* (in the language ii "deorum deus"). I arrived at the conclusion that traces of the language ii could be found in the titles of the *Kūśān* princes. This view has since been accepted by Professors Konow (*Festschrift für Wilhelm Thomsen*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 96) and Lüders (*Sitzungsberichte Kgl. Preuss. Ak. Wiss.*, 1913, p. 426).

² Professor Konow accounts for the first **N** in **PAONANO**, which he explains as a genitive plural of a theme *ṣavan* (derived from *kṣāy + van*), by assuming that the **N** lost in the nominative singular **PAO** reappears before the termination of the genitive plural **ANO**. Dr. Salemann draws my attention to the fact that this explanation is confirmed by the existence of the words *χṣē-van-ē* (king) and *χṣā-van* (might) occurring in the "Soghdische Texte" published by Professor F. W. K. Müller (see the index of that edition in the *Abhandlungen Kgl. Preuss. Ak. Wiss.*, 1912 [published 1913], p. 108). Professor Konow tells me that his full explanation of the **N** will soon appear in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*.

l. 6). M. Senart (op. cit., p. 11) has not overlooked the hook in the third line, and explains it as a “maladresse du lapicide”.

On two coins of the Imperial Hermitage of St. Petersburg, and on at least as many specimens of Kadphises' I pieces belonging to the Kgl. Münzkabinett of Berlin, instead of *Kuṣāṇayavugasa* (type 1, cf. above, p. 82) we clearly read *Kuṣāṇuyavugasa*.

Reverses of Kadphises I's coins belonging to the Kgl. Münzkabinett (Nos. 1 and 2), and to the Imp. Hermitage (No. 3). The Greek legend of coin No. 3 has [κο]ζουλο (not [κο]ζουλα).

These facts obviously cannot be accounted for by assuming a series of identical blunders, and we shall have to admit that the word *Kuṣāṇu* (*Gūṣāṇu*)¹ really existed, or to suppose that the die-sinkers of Kadphises I conspired with the stone-cutters of the general Lala in order to puzzle future archæologists.

As soon as the explanation of **KOPANO** as representing *Kuṣāṇu* is accepted, the interpretation of it as a genitive plural of the theme *Kuṣa* suggests itself (cf. *gyastānu gyasti*, “deorum deus”), and we are fortunately able to show that such a theme did exist at the time of Aśva-ghoṣa's patron.

¹ The long *ā* generally being neglected in the Kharoṣṭhī writing of the period, both readings *Kuṣāṇu* (*Gūṣāṇu*) and *Kuṣānu* (*Gūṣānu*) are possible. The fact that in the title *Kuṣāṇaputr[o]* (cf. sup., p. 80), on the (Pahlavi) legends deciphered by Drouin and Marquart (cf. sup., p. 79), in Khordadbeh's work, and in other Arabic texts the *ā* is clearly marked, suggests the reading *Kuṣāṇu* (*Gūṣāṇu*) [not *Kuṣānu* (*Gūṣānu*)]. Cf. also the legend *Kiddra Kushāna shāhi* mentioned by Cunningham, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1893, p. 184.

In Āśvaghoṣa's *Sūtrālaṃkāra*, which only exists in a Chinese translation, we find the phrase, 拘 (*kū*) 沙 (*sha*) 種 (*chung*) 中 (*chung*) 有 (*yiiu*) 王 (*wang*) 名 (*ming*) 眞 (*chen*) 檀 (*tan*) 迦 (*kia*) 膩 (*ni*) 吒 (*ch'a*), "in the Kuṣa¹ (*kū-sha*) race there was a king (*wang*) called devaputra Kanīṣka (Kanikṣa)." According to Dr. Thomas' translation of the Mahārājakani[ś]kalekha, which has come down to us in a Tibetan version (*Ind. Ant.*, 1903, p. 356), Āśvaghoṣa writes to Kanīṣka: "Train yourself in the way of your own people: born in the Kuṣa race (*ku-śahi-rigs-su*) do you impair not the household law of your ancestors."

Considering the fact that the existence of the theme Kuṣa, meaning "a member of Kanīṣka's race", is suggested by circumstances independent of the two texts just quoted, we must refuse to believe that Kuṣa in both cases is nothing but an abbreviation of, or a mistake for, *Kuṣana*.

Consequently we are justified in translating the title ΚΟΡΑΝΟ ΠΑΟΝΑΝΟ ΠΑΟ by "the emperor of the Kuṣas", and *Kūśān śāh*² by "the king of the Kuṣas (or Kūśas)".

¹ It cannot be disputed that *kū-sha* represents *Kuṣa*. Cf. M. Sylvain Lévi's translation of the passage, *Journal Asiatique*, Nov.-Déc., 1896, p. 457. The character 沙 (*sha*) is in many transcribed texts the regular representative of 𑖦 (*ṣa*). See my edition of the *Kien-ch'ui-fan-tsan* (Āśvaghoṣa's *Gaṇḍīstotragāthā* in a Chinese transcription, Bibliotheca Buddhica, xv, p. 179). According to Giles' Dict. (No. 2886) 種 (*chung*), i. a., means "race". I quote the Chinese phrase from the copy of the Tripitaka (vol. xix, fasc. 4, ch. 6, p. 93b) belonging to the Asiatic Museum of St. Petersburg. It was Professor Konow who first pointed out to me that some confirmation could be found for my view (*Kuṣa*, not *Kuṣana*) in Āśvaghoṣa's *Sūtrālaṃkāra*.

² Cf. the title هندوان شاه (transcribed *Hindowān-schāh* by de Goeje and followed by "dans l'Inde" in the translation of Khordadbeh's work, p. 13) and the title Σεγανσαά, "the king of the Čakas," mentioned by a Greek historian of the sixth century A. D.: Ἐπειδὴ οὖν καὶ τὸ τῶν Σεγεστανῶν ἔθνος Οὐαραράνη τῷ τοῦδε πατρὶ ἐδεδούλωτο, εἰκότως ἔρα ὁ παῖς Σεγανσαά (Segansaa) ἐπανόμαστο· δύναται γάρ τοῦτο τῇ Ἑλλήνων φωνῇ Σεγεστανῶν βασιλεὺς (Segestanorum rex). This passage we find in Agathias (ed. Niebuhrus, Bonnæ, MDCCXVIII, p. 261). The Latin

The fact that on some coins of Kadphises I we find the title *Kuṣānu yavuga* with the Scythian case suffix (genitive plural) preserved in the half-Prākṛitized legend, shows that the first part of *Kuṣana yavuga* (the form which the title takes on other pieces of the same monarch) must be regarded as a Prākṛit genitive plural (*Kuṣāna* or *Kuṣāṇa*).¹

Those who accept the interpretation of *Kuṣāna yavugasa* (Kadphises I, type 1) as meaning "of the yavuga of the Kuṣas", will admit that the explanation (the improbability of which has been demonstrated by other considerations, cf. sup., p. 82) of *Khuṣanasa-yavu[g]asa* (Kadphises I, type 3) as consisting of two genitives singular becomes impossible.

They will have to concede that *Khuṣana* (read *Khuṣāna*) *sa* is one of the forms of the title *Kūṣān śāh*, and that the corresponding XOPANCY is a barbaric genitive of *XOPANCA also representing *Kūṣān śah*, "king of the Kuṣas (or Kūṣas)."

It is a well-known fact that there is a Sanskrit word signifying "store" which the classical writers spell both ways: *kośa* and *koṣa*. It is much less astonishing that a foreign word should be spelt *Kuśa* (in the *Kaṇi[s]kalekha*), and *Kuṣa* (in the *Sūtrālaṃkāra*). Under these circumstances I do not think it necessary to blame Tibetan scribes for the spelling *Kuśa*, and

equivalents mentioned are those of Bonaventura Vulcanius' translation which accompanies Agathias' Greek text. According to Ammianus Marcellinus (ed. Gardthausen, Lipsiæ, mcccclxxiii, vol. i, p. 173) the title *saansaan*, "rex regibus imperans," belonged to the Persian king Sapor [II?], and I have no doubt that *saansaan* is nothing but a clerical error for *saansa* or *saansaa* (= *śāhān śāh*).

¹ No mechanical reproduction of the newly (March, 1912) discovered Muttra inscription mentioned above (p. 80) being at hand, Dr. Vogel was unable to tell me whether the reading *Kuṣānuputr[o]* (instead of *Kuṣānaputr[o]*) was possible or not. In any case the interpretation of that title would be identical with the translation of *Guṣanuwa[m]śa-saṃvardhaka* (cf. sup., pp. 80, 84), viz. "scion of the Kuṣa (Guṣa) race".

I believe that both ways of spelling the name were current in *India*. I think that these considerations enable us to recognize the name of Kaniṣka's race in the one of the dvīpa (Kūśadvīpa) mentioned immediately after the Śākadvīpa by the *Matsyapurāṇa* (Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, vol. i, p. 235). In the *Mahāvvyūtpatti* (Bibl. Buddhica, xiii, p. 52) we find among the names of the Cakravartins the Great Kuśa (Mahākuśa), Kuśa, and Upakuśa. The rôle assigned to Kuśa, the son of Rāma, in Indian mythology is certainly not marked enough to explain the inclusion of his name in the chapter just quoted, and it does not seem impossible to connect the Mahākuśa, etc., of the *Mahāvvyūtpatti* with the second Aśoka.

Whatever we might think of the derivation of Kūśadvīpa, Mahākuśa, etc., we must admit that Aśvaghoṣa is the best imaginable authority on the main question involved, and that Kuśa (not Kuṣana) was the correct name of the warlike race that gave Kaniṣka to the Buddhist world.