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Historical Notes on Kāpiśī and Kābul in the Sixth-Eighth Centuries*

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I. Zhuna and Sūrya

1. *Buddhists in the North and Non-Buddhists in the South*

The density of sites of Buddhist sanctuaries in the area around the capital of the kingdom of Kāpiśī, or in the northern part of Kāpiśī, is consistent with the distribution of the sites given by Xuanzang. According to Xuanzang's biography edited by Huili 慧立 and Xuancong 彦悰, the Shaluojia 沙落迦 monastery built in honour of the Kashgarian hostage is at the northern foot of a hill about three or four Chinese miles to the east of the capital of the kingdom of Kāpiśī. On the top of the hill to the north of this monastery are caves where the hostage practiced samālhi, and about two or three Chinese miles to the west of the caves, there is an Avalokiteśvara image on the high mountain. Further northward on the top of the Great Snow Mountains (大雪山), about two hundred Chinese miles to the northwest of the royal city, there is a lake of the nāga king, by which stands a

* This paper presents an interpretation of history of sixth-eighth century Kāpiśī and Kābul with the aid of the evidence mainly from Chinese literary sources and partly from archaeological materials. Several articles relevant to this object are brought together in order to make my standpoint clearer. Kuwayama 1975, 1991b and 1998 reappear in a more or less revised form as the first, second and fourth chapters respectively.

stupa containing the bone-flesh śarīras of the Tathāgata. To the northwest of the royal city is a large river, which may reasonably be identified with the Panjshir River after the confluence with the rivers Ghōrband and Salang. On the southern bank are three Buddhist monasteries: two built by the previous king and the other by his queen. To the southwest of the capital is Mount Filsara (象堅山), on the great solid rock of the summit of which is a stupa called Filsara. To the north of the stupa is also a saṅghārāma. Then Xuanzang says that about thirty Chinese miles to the southeast of the capital is the Rāhula saṅghārāma and a stupa with a height of about a hundred Chinese feet.

Such a distribution of Buddhist monuments in the early seventh century corresponds well to the density of Buddhist ruins and stray finds in the vicinity of the third and last occupation of Begram site, such as Shotorak, Qol-i Nader, Top Darah, Kham Zargar, Jabal as-Saraj, and Paitava (Fig. 1). In fact, no Buddhist sanctuary is mentioned by Xuanzang to the south of the capital except the Rāhula saṅghārāma isolated from the northern group. Such isolation also corresponds well to a still standing stupa called Borj-e Kafir that is the one and only site which still exists in the south far away from Begram.

In contrast to this distribution of Buddhist monuments in northern Kāpiśī, as found both in Xuanzang's description and in archaeological reality, are two clearly Brahmanical monuments referred to by Xuanzang in southern Kāpiśī: one at a town called Xibiduofaluoci 醯蔽多伐剌祠, about forty Chinese miles to the south of the royal capital, and the other at Alunuoshan 阿路猱山, about thirty Chinese miles to the south of Xibiduofaluoci. In this context special mention should be made of the two non-Buddhist monuments Tapa Skandar and Khair Khana. At Tapa Skandar the Kyoto University Archaeological Mission unearthed in the center of the site in 1970 the marble Umā-Maheśvara statue seated on the bull Nandin together with Skanda, the pedestal of which contains an inscribed hymn in Acute-Angled Brahmī dedicated to Maheśvara (Kuwayama 1972). On the other hand, the discoveries of the marble Sūrya images, one by Hackin in 1936 and the other by soldiers in 1980 (Bernard and Grenet 1981), have been well known at Khair Khana. In more recent times not a few marble Brahmanical images have been discovered especially in the area to the south of Mir Bach Kot, or the southern part of ancient Kāpiśī.

Xuanzang usually points out, when describing the heretics in the nearby countries, that the non-Brahmanical people live mixed with the rest of the population without isolating themselves from the others. In the case of Kāpiśī, however, no mention is made of how and where they are living. From the viewpoint of the above distribution, it seems that the Buddhist and Brahmanical

populace did not live in the same area, but Buddhists were mainly in the north and the non-Buddhists in the south. In addition, such a coincidence of distributions known from both Xuanzang's description and modern archaeological surveys may reveal that the dates of most of the remains in the ancient Kāpiśī area could converge within a limited time span which includes the time of Xuanzang's visit to Kāpiśī, 629.

2. *Aruṇa and Zhuna*

On Xuanzang's route from Changan to Nālandā, Kāpiśī is the last country before entering India, the record of which is placed at the end of the first volume of the *Da Tang Xiyu ji*. In Kāpiśī Xuanzang first mentions non-Buddhist deities, the shrines and supporters being represented by the 'deva' shrines (天祠) and heretics (異道) that include ascetics such as the Pāśupatas with naked bodies smeared with ashes, the Kāpalikas, and the Digambaras. Thus Brahmanism had expanded to Kāpiśī, east Afghanistan in the early seventh century. The Pāśupatas and the supporters of this Śivaite sect most probably based themselves in the town Xuanzang calls Xibiduofaluoci, which should be interpreted as the town with a shrine dedicated to Śvetavara, probably a corrupt form of Śvetaśvatara, and identifiable with an actual site, Tapa Skandar or Bala Hisar near Sarai Khwaja, Mir Bacha Kot, about thirty kilometers to the north of Kābul and some fifty kilometers south of Begrām. The marble Umā-Maheśvara statue found in a shrine of this site has correctly been associated with the seventh-eighth century Brahmanical statues discovered at other sites in the Kābul Valley and its vicinity (Kuwayama 1976).

Another site of non-Buddhist character referred to by Xuanzang is Alunuo-shan, which can be taken as Mount Aruṇa. Xuanzang locates it about thirty Chinese miles to the south of Xibiduofaluoci. About this mountain there was told a legend which suggests the conflict between two heretic sects. The following is a translation based on Beal's and modified by the present author:

> Thirty Chinese miles or so to the south of the town with a Śveta[ś]va[ta]ra shrine inside is a mountain called Alunuo (Aruṇa). The ridges of this mountain are precipitous, its rocky valleys are dark and deep. Each year the peak increases in height several hundred Chinese feet. As soon as it dimly faces Mount Zhunahira (<*dz'iu[siu]nahila) in the kingdom of *dzâukïutâ (>dzaul[i]/dzaul/=Zābul in the Islamic geographic sources), it falls down. According to local tradition, the deity Zhuna first came from far to this mountain desiring to dwell on it, but the original deity of the mountain trembled with anger and shook the valleys. Zhuna said, 'As having no wish to live together, you are thus trembling. If you only entertained me as a guest, I would confer on you great riches and treasure. Now I go to

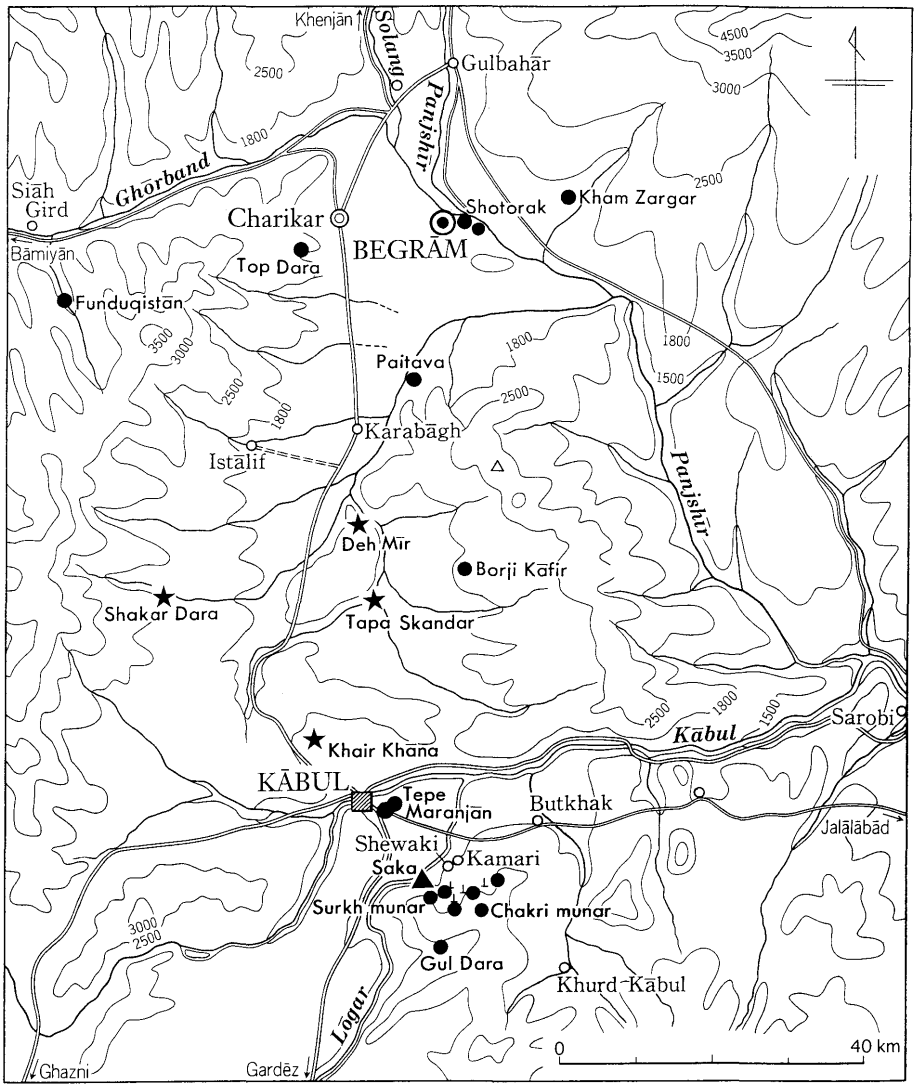

Fig. 1. Buddhist and Brahmanical sites in the Kāpiśī-Kābul region. Black dots indicate the Buddhist sites; stars Brahmanical.

> Mount Zhunahira in Zābul. Whenever the king and his ministers may offer me their yearly tributes, then you shall stand face to face with me.' Therefore Mount Aruṇa increases its height, and as soon as it stops doing so, it crumbles down at the top.

Zhuna thus could not stay on the mountain in Kāpiśī and went to the kingdom of Zābul. This country recorded by Xuanzang in the twelfth volume of the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* is one of the largest countries to the south of of Kāpiśī. According to his account, although the people in this country worship various gods, Buddhism is the most honoured. Among the heretics the most powerful are those worshipping Zhuna. Xuanzang says as follows:

> There are several dozen 'deva' temples, and the sectarians of various denominations dwell together. Among those counted, the Tīrthakas are many in number and very powerful. They follow Zhuna (<*siuna). In the past this deva came from Mount Aruṇa of Kāpiśī to live on Mount Zhunahira on the southern border of this country. He showed dignity and gave the people happiness, or perpetrated violence and evil. Those who believed in this deity attained their wishes, whereas those who looked down on him received misfortune. Therefore all people, both from far and near, worshipped him; and all people, both from the upper and lower classes, held him in reverence. People from neighbouring countries and of different manners and customs, kings and courtiers assemble together every year on an auspicious day of that year, and sincerely devote themselves by presenting gold and silver as well as rare treasures, or by competitively dedicating cattle and horses as well as domestic animals. Accordingly, the floors were full of gold and silver, while the valleys were full of sheep and horses. Nobody has any intention to steal them, but solely tries to offer such objects. The heretics who intently serve the deva practice asceticism, and then the deva gives them magical power in return. The heretics effectively perform magic to treat illness, by which many recover completely.

3. *Cao, i.e., Kāpiśī*

It is not hard to take what was enshrined on Mount Aruṇa as the image of Sūrya, a deity having a close connection with Aruṇa, the personification of dawn in the form of a driver of the chariot of the sun, although Zhuna is of an uncertain character (Simms-Williams 1997: 17–19). Xuanzang's story is simple, but suggests a historical background: there happened a conflict between the two religious groups, the Sūrya group and the Zhuna group. The whole story, with a special stress on the relationship between a deity of Mount Aruṇa in Kāpiśī and Zhuna in Zābul, allows for two interpretations.

The first is that what Xuanzang says may be accepted as historical fact: when the Zhuna group came to Kāpiśī the mountain had already been occupied by the group of the Sūrya followers. Mount Aruṇa had been a center of the sect who

honored such a god, when the other group worshipping Zhuna came there to enshrine their own god. But the former group did not accept the new one. Following a conflict between them, the latter had to shift its base to Zābulistān.

The other interpretation is based on a view that the reverse is the case. The incident which the story talks about happened before Xuanzang's visit. When he first reached Kāpiśī, Zhuna had already gone to reside in Zābul and Mount Aruṇa was occupied by the opposing group. Hardly believable is that the Sūrya followers opposing themselves to the Zhuna supporters told Xuanzang a story sympathetic to the other. So, the Sūrya group told Xuanzang that it had long resided on Mount Aruṇa insisting on its priority of occupying that mountain contrary to the truth that the Zhuna group had actually dwelled there before the Sūrya group came. According to this second interpretation, the earlier occupant of Mount Aruṇa was the Zhuna group, and later the Sūrya group arrived there and dispelled Zhuna to Zābulistān.

In fact, we have good documentation for taking the second interpretation as more probable. A paragraph from the kingdom of Cao in the Western Region chapter of the *Suishu* says as follows:

> As a custom of this country, people worship a deity of dubious character. On Mount Congling 葱嶺 is its statue called Zhun (順). The ceremonial institution is extremely gorgeous. The shrine is roofed with both gold and silver plates and paved with silver on the floor. More than one thousand people visit this shrine every day. In front of the shrine is a backbone of a fish. At the center is a hole through which a mounted horseman can pass freely.

There is no room to doubt Zhun as identical to Zhuna in the *Da Tang Xiyu ji*. However, which Zhun does the *Suishu* refer to, the one in Kāpiśī or in Zābulistan? Lévi (1895: 374–375) solved the location of both Jibin and Cao with the conclusion that Cao of the *Suishu* is identical to either Caojuzha 漕矩吒 or Caoli 漕利 in the *Da Tang Xiyu ji*. This interpretation was later supplemented by Marquart (1901: 285; 1915: 249) and Shiratori (1917: 33–102) and followed by Fujita (1931: 49a) and Uchida (1972: 69). Using such a traditional solution of Cao, we have to take the above paragraph as explaining what was going on in Zābul. However, the discussion which follows favors the identification of Cao with Kāpiśī.

Untenable is the hypothesis that Cao is an abridged form of Caojuzha. Xuanzang annotates Caojuzha (*dzâukïutâ) as also called Caoli (*dzâuli), while the *Tangshu* says that Zābulistān is called either Caojuzha or Caoju. Daoseng 道宣, an eminent monk-scholar and a biographer of Xuanzang, gives another form, Zaoli (*dzâuli) 皁利, to Caoli. The early Tang sources thus show Caoju, Caoli and Zaoli instead of Caojuzha, but no evidence supports a view that a single character Cao

represents Caojuzha. The account of Zābulistan in the *Tangshu* says that Empress Wu (her reign: 690–705) officially used *Ziajiwat in place of *Dzâukïuta or *Dzâukïu which had been used prior to her. This chronologically fits well with what Xuanzang and Daoxuan used. In early Tang before A.D. 690, therefore, Caojuzha was called Caoju and Caoli as well as Zaoli. If Cao in the Sui period had been the same as Caojuzha, why was Caojuzha not called or not abridged as Cao? Cao is different from Caojuzha.

The kingdom of Cao again appears in another Sui source which indicates that it is located at the southern foot of the Hindukush on a long distance trade route connecting Central Asia with the Northwest. The *Xiyu Tuji* 西域圖記, the Illustrated Accounts of the Western Region, is a book of information about the Western Region bearing the same character as the Western Region chapter of any official dynastic history, such as the *Suishu*. The book was personally compiled by Pei Ju 裴矩 (557–627), a Sui official of low rank in charge of relations with the long distance western traders at Zhangye 張掖. He succeeded in editing information about various western countries he got from such traders and dedicated it to Emperor Yangdi 煬帝, knowing well his interest in such curiosities.

This book itself is now lost except for Pei Ju's preface which is found in his biography in Chapter 67 of the *Suishu*. The preface includes an important reference to three main routes, the Northern, Middle and the Southern, which lead from China, or actually from Dunhuang, to the Western Sea (Xihai 西海). While China is located in the extreme east, Xihai means the western end which represents the three major civilizations at that time, i.e., the Byzantine Empire, Sassanian Persia and India. On the Southern Route is the Cao kingdom which is the last country of Central Asia located just before entering the Bei Boluomen guo 北婆羅門國 which literally means the North Brahman countries. Evidently Bei Boluomen guo is identical to Bei Yindu guo 北印度國 which appears in the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* as indicating one of the five Indian districts, or the northwestern part of the Subcontinent, which extends from Laghmān and Nagarahāra in the west to the Punjab in the east. The Southern Route runs from Dunhuang westward to the Western Sea through the countries listed in the following order: the Charkhlik-Miran area, Khotan, Kaghaliq, Tashkurghan, the Pamirs, Wa'khān, Tokhāristān, the land of the Hephthalites, Bāmiyān, Cao and Bei Boluomen guo, or the Northwest Subcontinent.

The route after the Pamirs corresponds well to that taken by Xuanzang on his way to Nālandā; i.e., the route running from Bakhl to Laghmān through Tokhāristān, Bāmiyān and Kāpiśī. He notices Laghmān as belonging to the Bei Yindu guo, or the countries included in the Northwest Subcontinent. Comparing

Xuanzang's itinerary from Tokhāristān to the Northwest with the route recorded by Pei Ju one can be led to an understanding that Cao in the time of Pei Ju (in or before 606) is identical to Kāpiśī in the time of Xuanzang (629). Really the Jibin section of the *Tongdian* (Vol. 192) says that in the reigns of the Sui Emperors Jibin was called Cao which was located southwest of the Pamirs. The *Tangshu* also states that the country called Jibin in the Tang period is the same as that called Cao in the Sui period. Jibin in this context is equal to Xuanzang's Kāpiśī, as rightly predicated by Sylvain Lévi in the article cited earlier. Xuanzang indicates that between Kāpiśī and Caojuzha is Fulishisatangna 弗栗恃薩儻那. Kāpiśī is different from Caojuzha. Cao, therefore, is Kāpiśī, not an abridged form of Caojuzha. Although Caojuzha is not found in any source in and before the Sui, Cao undoubtedly differs from Caojuzha which is Zābulistān.

The above identification of Cao with Kāpiśī enables us to think that Kāpiśī was called Cao by the Chinese court about ten years before Xuanzang's visit and that Cao kingdom in the *Suishu* therefore should be read as Kāpiśī. If so, the second interpretation rather hits the mark: Zhun in the *Suishu* must reflect a previous situation on Mount Aruṇa, as the place was called on Xuanzang's visit, and this mountain must have originally been called Congling (Mount Pamirs) in the Sui Period.

4. *Dating the Appearance of the Sūrya Group*

The next question is when the cult of Zhun in Kāpiśī was known to China. The Cao envoy arrived in the capital city during the Daye 大業 era (605–617), according to the *Suishu*. The exact year is not known. Only after his dedication of the *Xiyu Tuji* did Pei Ju give the emperor advice to invite western countries to his court in order to fulfil the emperor's wish to get curious objects from the western world. So, any information about Cao that Pei Ju got in Zhangye is presumably the earliest available in the Daye era.

If so, the date of the edition of the *Xiyu Tuji* may solve the problem, yet no direct evidence for it is anywhere recorded. In addition, it differs among different sources. In the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑, the whole record about the editorial work is placed in the very end of Vol. 180, i.e., after a series of events in the tenth month of 607, but does not intrude into the new volume which begins with the records concerning the first month of 608 (*Zizhi Tongjian*: Vol. 180). The author of the *Zizhi Tongjian* therefore seems to have regarded the edition as completed before 608, possibly in 607. On the other hand, in the *Jiu Tangshu* (Vol. 63) we find Pei Ju's work in between 605 and 607. Uchida (1973: 115–128) has convincingly succeeded in dating the edition to some time between the middle of

605 and the middle of 606. In comparison with Pei Ju's career in the court, the earlier half of 606 fits well with a period when he could have compiled it. The Zhun had believably left Mount Conglin sometime in between 606 and 629 (Xuanzang's visit to Kāpiśī) for a mountain on the southern border of Zābulistān which they were to name Mount Zhunahira, while the new Sūrya occupants of Mount Conglin changed the name to Mount Aruṇa.

5. *Dissimilarity of the Two Superimposed Sanctuaries*

The excavation by Hackin revealed two superimposed shrines, earlier and later, of different styles on a hill of Khair Khana (Figs. 2 and 3). The later shrine complex consists of several buildings extending on a ridge going downward to the east and ending with a flat square terrace supported by stone work at a lower level. The holy precinct consists of three independent, rather small cells for images, of similar plan and size, facing east and placed on the same north-to-south line within a space enclosed by walls on three sides. This is called 'Trois Sanctuaires' in the report of the excavations. Access to the sanctuary is only given by tiny doorways on both north and south walls, while the east side of the sanctuary is open to the air and supported by a high retaining wall based on the floor of the already mentioned terrace built below on the limestone bedrock of the hill. The retaining wall actually is the front wall of the earlier shrine abandoned and systematically filled with mud bricks and rubble up to the roof level, on which a new floor was built for the 'Trois Sanctuaires.' The later shrines were built on top of the previous 'Ancien Sanctuaire,' but set back to the west with a space on the east, or in front of them. The earlier 'Ancien Sanctuaire' consists of three rooms under one and the same flat roof. The large and square central room is open to the east through a narrow doorway, and connected to a room on each side by barrel-vaulted passages. The walls measure about 4 meters high with a breadth of about 2.4 meters.

The method of construction, and not only the plan, of the two superimposed sanctuaries quite differs. The retaining walls of the terrace in the western half of which the earlier shrine is built is of coarse stone work recalling the diaper masonry in Taxila, while the walls of the earlier building are made of pakhsa layers thrown on a foundation of finely packed slab masonry. The core of the walls seems to have been filled with mud and tiny chipped stones. The face of the walls is very thickly coated with four-cm-thick white plaster (chunah), which remained still intact at the time of my observations in 1964 and 1974. Each later shrine has a low foundation worked with large dressed limestone, the interstices being filled with small slabs. On the three sides of these square foundations are

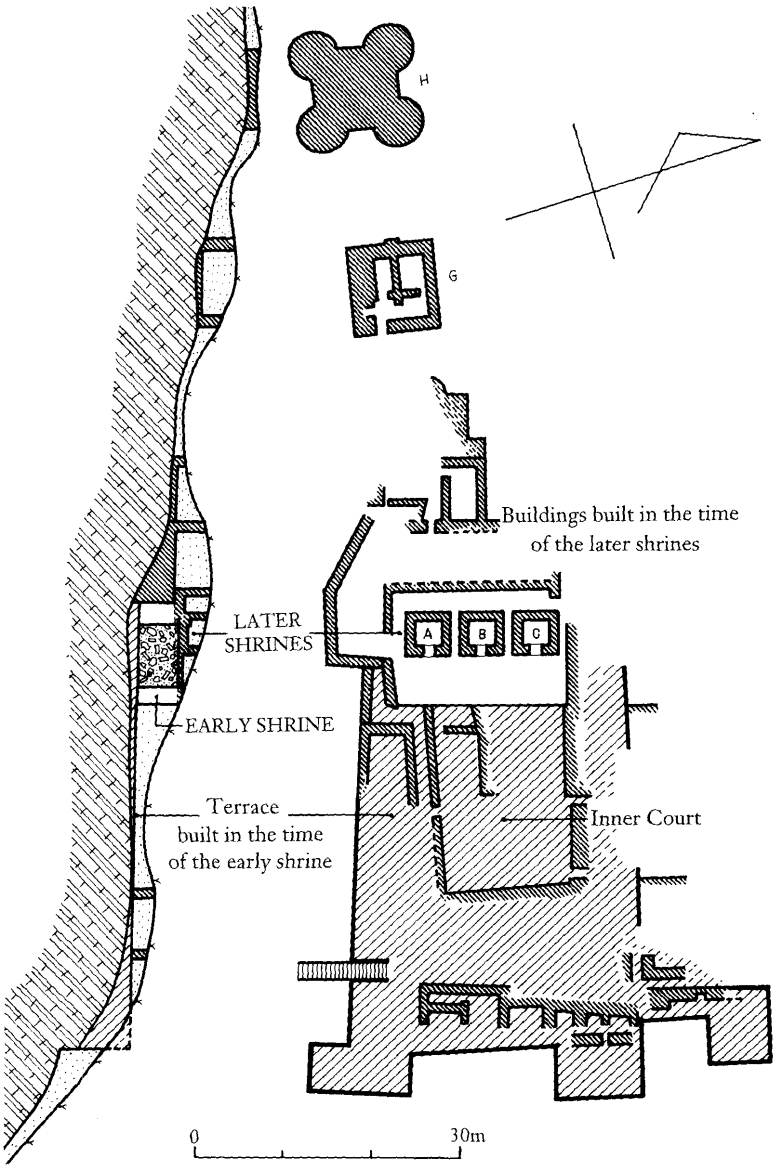

Fig. 2. Khair Khana. Plan and section. After Hackin and Carl 1936.

the enclosure walls built with square mud bricks, the size of which measures 38 cm. × 38 cm. × 9 cm.

A building of the later period, called H by Hackin, located at the topmost part of the complex is strengthened with a circular tower at each angle. Nothing is left of the architecture of this fortress-like building except for the foundation of coarse, stone work, the height of which is about one meter above the ground. Since the direction differs from that of the main buildings, Hackin takes the bastioned building as much later than the main group of three shrines (Hackin et Carl 1936: 5). It is most unlikely that the bastioned building was built after them. Building H is located on the highest part of the Khair Khana complex in order to look over the whole area, even to the extensive eastern plain. Comparable in plan and function with this are the two fortresses at Begram, one located inside the city walls and the other at the southern border of the dwelling area which had come into existence as a result of expansion beyond the then useless city walls. Therefore, such fortresses are evidently of the last stages of the town (Hackin, Carl & Meunié 1959: 104 and 106). They appeared in a period when people needed something to defend the habitation area in place of the city walls. The existence of the one inside the city further suggests that the role of city walls had indeed come to a standstill. The later sanctuary of Khair Khana strengthened by such a fortress must have still been in use during the latest stages of Kāpiśī Begram in the later half of the seventh century (see also Chapter II).

The later shrines contained at least the three marble Sūrya statues. The Sūrya statue seated on a chariot with the driver Aruṇa in front was from the debris in between two of the shrines. A base with a standing warrior and without any main deity was found in situ on the plinth set up against the back wall of one of the shrines. The third statue, a standing Sūrya of most elaborate workmanship, was found by chance in 1980 at the foot of the Khair Khana hill and promptly reported by Paul Bernard and Franz Grenet (1981: 127–146).

The seated Sūrya is worn out on the surface, whereas the standing sun god appears as if it has just been finished. In addition to the three main sculptures unearthed so far, sockets were found on the plinths, actually three in each shrine. Undoubtedly they originally received nine Brahmanical images. The shrines are similar in size to each other and regularly placed on the same line, allowing for a supposition that the nine images were regarded as of equal power and value. On the other hand, for the earlier shrine, the square central room is markedly big in both horizontal dimensions and vertical size. The remaining height of the walls, measuring no less than 4 meters, suggests a colossus.

Such dissimilarities in design and location between the two superimposed

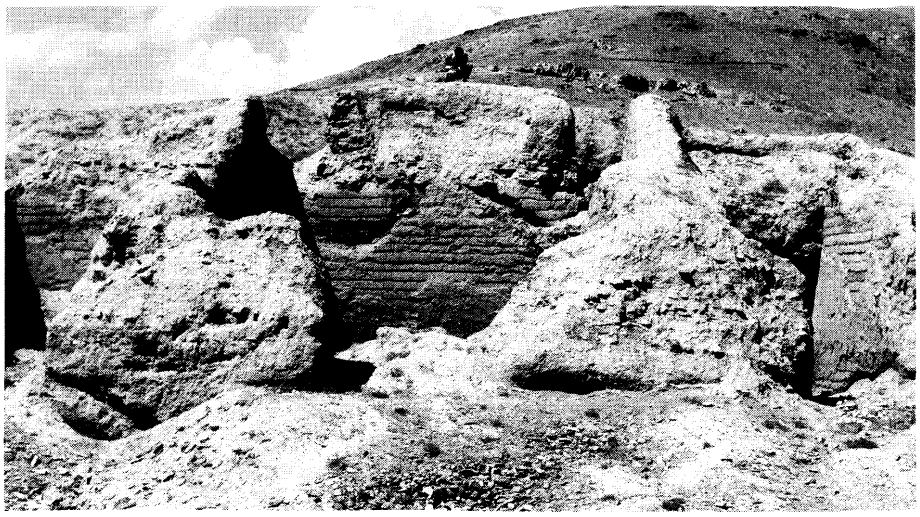

Fig. 3. Khair Khana. A view from the east in 1974 of three weathered cells and the earlier massive shrine below them. (Photo: Neg. No. Ca258–34)

religious architectures at Khair Khana lead us to the following identification: the 'Ancien Sanctuaire' was dedicated to the deity Zhun on Mount Conglin, as the *Suishu* describes, and the 'Trois Sanctuaires' were the Sūrya temple on Mount Aruṇa, as Xuanzang records. Such a change at Khair Khana is datable to some time in between 606 and 629. The later shrines at Khair Khana which contained at least three marble Sūrya images were installed sometime between these dates. Therefore, the marble Sūrya statues, seated or standing, once displayed together with other pieces of Brahmanical sculpture on the second level of the Kābul Museum but since 1992 unfortunately missing, are roughly datable to the seventh century.

II. The Napki Coins and the Khingal Dynasty in Kāpiśī

1. *Cognizance of the Bull-headed Crown*

Historians have overlooked the existence of a local king called Khingal in Kāpiśī despite the penetrating attention paid to it by Petech (1988: 187–194). In reality A kingdom inaugurated by Khingal existed in the Kābul Valleys with capitals at Begram in the summer and Hund in the winter. It came into existence in parallel with the political weakening of the Hephthalites toward the middle of the sixth century and lasted until the rise of the Turks in Kābul in the middle of

the seventh century. One of the earliest mentions of that dynasty is the Cao 漕 kingdom in the *Suishu* 隋書 which is identified with Kāpiśī in the time of the Sui, as discussed in the previous chapter.

The existing *Suishu* says in the section of the Cao kingdom that the king wears the golden crown decorated with a fish head. The same crown is also mentioned in the *Cefu Yuangui* 册府元龜 (Vol. 960), since the authors of this book perhaps quoted its description from the same *Suishu* as the existing one. Mention of the Cao kingdom is also made in the *Beishi* 北史 (Vol. 97) and the *Tongdian* 通典 (Vol. 192). The *Beishi* was edited by Li Yanshou 李延壽 in 659 quoting the then existing *Weishu, Zhoushu* 周書 (History of the Zhou Dynasty) and *Suishu* 隋書 (History of the Sui Dynasty), while the *Tongdian* was edited by Du You between 766 and 768.

The descriptions of the Cao kingdom in the *Beishi* 北史 and the *Tongdian* 通典 are the same as that of the existing *Suishu* except for the crown which is described as bull-headed, not fish-headed. The editors of the *Beishi* and the *Tongdian* unquestionably used the *Suishu* as source material in order to complete the Cao kingdom section. If so, the *Suishu* they consulted was different from the existing one and must have referred to a bull-headed crown of the Cao king. Much later in 1319 the paragraph in the *Tongdian* 通典 was again copied in the *Wenxian Tongkao* 文獻通考. Then, five hundred years later, in 1829, a selected translation of the account on Central Asian kingdoms in the last volumes of the *Wenxian Tongkao* was translated into French by Albert Rémusat. Through this French translation (Rémusat 1829: 211) Göbl (1967: 135) noticed the golden crown with a bull head in relation to a series of coins with a king's bust wearing a crown decorated with bull-head and to the Pehlevi legend Napki, Nspk, or Nezak and degenerate versions thereof. Unfortunately he did not make use of such an important Chinese account for setting up a chronological sequence of coins. It is not important whether or not a buffalo is pictured on coins and a bull is described in the historical sources. Important is the problem that scholars have since Marquart been regarding the Cao kingdom as Zābulistan in the Islamic sources and Zābulistan as a country of the Hephthalites who, as al-Khwārezmī says, were remaining in Khalaj. Did the Hephthalites really reside in Zābulistan and Kāpiśī?

2. *The Absence of the Hephthalites*

No written document contemporary with or soon after the Hephthalites supports the extention of their power beyond the western Hindukush to Kāpiśī and Zābulistān. In fact, sources mentioning the rise and fall of the Hephthalites are scarce and fragmentary, but the Hephthalite section in the Western Region

chapter of the *Weishu* 魏書 (Vol. 6. 2279) describes that they subjugated Samarkand, Khotan, Kāshgar, Margiana (Anxi) and thirty other small countries in the Western Region and that they called their state a big country (大國 Da Guo). The account of Songyun's travel to the Hephthalites as edited in Volume 5 of the *Luoyang Qielanji* 洛陽伽藍記 (Record of the Buddhist Monasteries in Luoyang) also tells that their power extended to the Turks in the north, to Khotan in the east, to Sassanian Persia in the west and to the still unidentified region Dieluo 牒羅 at the time of Songyun's official visit to the Hephthalite king at his headquarters in Tokhāristān and to the tegin of Gandhāra in 520 (Zhou 1963: 195, 197; Wang 1984: 225). It further says that some forty countries sent their envoys to the headquarters. The same source also informs us that they controlled the important places to the east of the Pamirs, saying that Tashkurgan in the Pamirs and Yarkand on the southwestern margin of the Taklamakan Desert were under their rule (*Weishu* Vol. 6. 2279f.). It is very important that the *Weishu* and Songyun's account, which are of great value as sources of contemporary information about the Hephthalites, make no mention of Bāmiyān and Kāpiśī among the vassal states of the Hephthalites.[1]

The Great Yuezhi 大月氏 section of the *Weishu* (Vol. 6. 2275) says that the king of the Great Yuezhi called Jiduoluo 寄多羅 (>*kidāra), brave and fierce, eventually sent his troops southward and invaded the Bei Tianzhu 北天竺 (the Northwest including parts of the Punjab) crossing the great mountains (Da Shan 大山) to subjugate the five kingdoms located to the north of Gandhāra. Particularly invaluable is the statement of subjugating the five kingdoms located to the north of Gandhāra. The Kidāra Kushans did not come from the west, but from the north to the Northwest. The very same number of kingdoms is recorded as subjugated by the Hephthalites in the Western Region chapter of the same

[1] It is important to appreciate the nature of the contents of the Western Region chapter of the existing *Weishu* in order to use it properly as authentic information about the Western Region kingdoms in the time of the Northern Wei Dynasty. Since it had lost many paragraphs when the compilers of the *Beishi* tried to use the *Weishu* as a source for their own Western Region chapter, they filled them up with paragraphs extracted from the *Zhoushu* and the *Suishu*. They eventually replaced the Western Region chapter of the original *Weishu* with the newly compiled chapter of the *Beishi*. The Western Region chapter of the existing *Weishu* is in fact an exact copy of that of the *Beishi*. That chapter of the existing *Weishu* therefore consists of mixed information derived from different sources of different times. Fortunately, access to some of the original paragraphs is easily given since those quoted from the *Zhoushu* and the *Suishu* are easily recognizable. Information about the Hephthalites in the existing *Weishu* can thus be used as authentic and contemporaneous with them.

source book (*Weishu* Vol. 6. 2279f.): Yārkand (Zhuju 朱俱), Tāshkurghān (Kepanduo 渴槃陀), Wa'khān (Buhuo 鉢和), Chitrāl (Shemi 賒彌) and Gandhāra (Ganduo 乾陀), all of them being governed by the Hephthalites in their heyday in the first thirty years of the sixth century. The course and method of nomadic invasion into India is not likely to be manifold, and the Hephthalites may have also followed their predecessors. The existence of the five kingdoms to the north of Gandhāra and no mention of Bāmiyān, Kāpiśī, or Zābulistān may lead us to think that the Hephthalites came to the Northwest through the area between the eastern Hindukush and the western Karakorum and did not touch the areas farther to the west. This is why Songyun's narrative and the relevant paragraphs in the *Weishu* significantly keep silence about all of the kingdoms in and south of the western Hindukush.

Useful for proving the absence of the Hephthalites in Kāpiśī and Zābulistān is Songyun's itinerary toward the residence of the Hephthalite tegin in Gandhāra from their headquarters in Tokhāristān. As the *Luoyang Qielanji* tells (Zhou 1963: 192–209; Wang 1984: 224f.), he proceeded from Tashkurghan in the Pamirs through Wa'khān to the Hephthalite headquarters in Baghlān (Kuwayama 1989: 120ff.) and left there for Gandhāra through Zēbāk (Bozhi 波知), Chitral (Shemi) and Swat (Wuzhang 烏塲). There is no mention of crossing the Hindukush to Kāpiśī. Particularly on his way to the Gandhāran tegin from Tokhāristān, he must have passed through Hephthalite territory, because Songyun was not a simple pilgrim but the head of an official Northern Wei mission to the Hephthalites. So the five kingdoms to the north of Gandhāra and Songyun's itinerary lend strong support to the view that the Hephthalites never occupied the areas of Bāmiyān, Kāpiśī, Laghmān and Nagarahāra, all south of the Hindukush, not to speak of countries further to the south of Kāpiśī, e.g., Zābulistān.

To the contrary, kingdoms such as Bāmiyān, Kāpiśī, and Zābulistān first appear in the *Suishu*, the *Xiyu Tuji* (Illustrated Account of the Western Regions edited in or before 607) and the biographies of Jinagupta and Dharmagupta in the *Tang Gaoseng zhuan* (Tang Biographies of Eminent Monks edited by Daoxuan in the middle of the seventh century), all posterior to the documents concerning the Hephthalite activities, such as the *Weishu* and the *Luoyang Qielanji*.

In the earlier half of the sixth century the Hephthalites and the Ruiruis 柔然 were two strong nomadic states dividing Central Asia into the east and the west. After rising in the area between these two nomadic states and defeating the Ruiruis in Mongolia in the middle of the century, the Turks next had to rid themselves of the menace of the Hephthalites. The Hephthalites, in fact, had had marital ties with the Ruiruis: the Hephthalite chieftain had married three sisters of

the Ruirui chief Poluomen 婆羅門 and in 523 Poluomen had tried to flee to the Hephthalites in quest of protection on his failure in rebellion against the Chinese government at Dunhuang (*Weishu* Vol. 6. 2302; *Zhoushu* Vol. 10. 3262). The decay of the Hephthalites at their main headquarters in Tokhāristān had already begun when the Turkish chieftain, Mugan Khaqan 木杆可汗, attacked them immediately after defeating the Ruiruis in between 552–555 (*Tongdian* Vol. 196; *Beishi* Vol. 10. 3287). An eyewitness of this event is Jinagupta, a Buddhist monk of Gandhāran origin, who left there in 554 for Chinese Central Asia via Kāpiśī, Bāmiyān and Tokhāristān. His biographer Daoxuan makes a special allusion in the *Tang Gaoseng zhuan* 唐高僧傳 (Vol. 2) to the 'current political emergency' which Jinagupta often suffered from on his stay in 555 at the Hephthalite headquarters where he saw the land extensive but barren without producing anything to eat and drink (*Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 50. 433 c). Three years later Sinzhibu Khaqan, another Turkish chieftain, attacked the Hephthalites from the north in alliance with Khusrow I who had replaced the pro-Hephthalite king Kawad I and had close ties with Sinzhibu as his son-in-law (Marquart 1901: 64; Altheim 1969: II, 260–261; Haussig 1956: 23). This attack released the Tashkent, Ferghana and Samarkand regions from the yoke of the Hephthalites, and they became unable to send missions to Chinese Northern Zhou after that date, as recorded in the Hephthalite sections of the *Zhoushu* 周書 (Vol. 3. 918). In between 562 and 568 Ton-shad Zijie 通設字詰 eventually crossed the Amu Darya under the leadership of Sinzhibu to forcibly occupy the most favorable lands for pasture (*Suishu* Vol. 6. 1854).

As the Hephthalites in Tokhāristān were weakened at the advent of the Turks, their ties with the tegin of the Gandhāra Hephthalites naturally were broken. Into this political vacuum a local kingdom in the Kābul Valley rose to power covering all the valleys extending some 300 kilometers east to west between their summer headquarters at Begram at the confluence of the Ghōrband and the Panjshir Rivers and their winter residence at Uḍabhāṇḍapura/Waihind on the right bank of the Indus. The kingdom is called Kāpiśī by Xuanzang in the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* and Jibin in the Chinese historical sources of the Tang Dynasty. The identification of Jibin with Kāpiśi was rightly made by Lévi (1895; 1896). The rise of Kāpiśī was not a direct result of the Hephthalite weakening, but depended much more on the Turks' policy never to invade India, unlike the Hephthalites, the Kidara Kushans, the Kushans, and the Greeks before them. The successive invasions of these people from their headquarters in Tokhāristān into the northwestern part of the Subcontinent had long since connected the latter with the former, and more extensively with Central Asia, and had led Gandhāra to the

economic wealth that enabled the long survival of large numbers of Buddhist monks and monasteries. The Turkish attitude to leave Gandhāra untouched caused the traditional trunk road running through the eastern fringe of the Hindukush to become deserted. Eventually Gandhāra and environs inevitably fell into economic decline; hence the desolate Buddhist communities as witnessed by Xuanzang in Jalalabad, Gandhāra, Swat, Taxila, and other minor states in the Punjab. As shown by the fact recorded in a biography of Xuanzang—the *Da Tang Da Ciensi Sanzangfashi zhuan* 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 (Great Tang Biography of the Master of Tripiṭaka in the Great Cien Monastery)—that the Turkish chief, Tardu-shad, in Tokhāristān offered to escort him to Kāpiśī, the Turks politically had good relations with countries to the south of the Hindukush, most probably through Bāmiyān. The first appearance of the actual routes connecting Tokhāristān to Kāpiśī through Bāmiyān occurs in the biography of the Buddhist monk Jinagupta who was at the Hephthalite court in Tokhāristān in 555, as mentioned above (*Tang Gaoseng zhuan* Vol. 2; Chavannes 1905: 333f.; Kuwayama 1987: 718f.). Based on this evidence, it is presumably correct to say that Gandhāra lost its economic superiority to Kāpiśī some time in the middle of the sixth century.

3. *The Khingal Dynasty of Kāpiśī*

Insofar as the accessible written sources are concerned, the kingdom of Kāpiśī sent a dozen tributary missions to the Tang court from 619 onward (Kuwayama 1991a: 115, Table 3). Speaking of 658, the time of the first official setting up of the Xiuxian Dudu Fu 修鮮都督府 (governor generalship Xiuxian) at Jibin 罽賓 (Kāpiśī), the *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 (Vol. 16. 5309), the *Tangshu* 唐書 (Vol. 20. 6241) and the *Tang Huiyao* 唐會要 (Vol. 99) describe that the first king of Kāpiśī was Xingnie 馨孽—x[i]äng-ngär in Middle Chinese restorable to *henger > *khingal (khingar)—and that the kingship had been inherited from father to son for the twelve generations prior to the present king called Hejiezhi 曷揭支—γarγärtśie in Middle Chinese restorable to *gharghärchi > *ghar-ilchi. The *Cefu Yuangui* 册府元龜 (Vol. 970) records that the Jibin mission came to the Tang court in the eleventh month of the fourth year of the Yonghui 永徽 era (653) telling that the crown prince succeeded his father in Jibin. Accordingly Ghar-ilchi might have become a king of Jibin in or a little before 653.

As noted above, the first mention of Kāpiśī in any kind of sources is the biography of Jinagupta. He stayed there around 554 on his way to Bāmiyān and the Hephthalite headquarters in Tokhāristān. The association of this with the above Tang sources suggests that Khingal founded his dynasty in the middle of

the sixth century. Later, in 661, when Tang China firmly established its political presence in Central Asia, the position of the Xiuxiang governor general of Kāpiśī was reconfirmed at the capital town which the Tang historical sources call the city of Ehe 遏紇 *γarγär. The name of the king is not shown herewith, but the very silence about it in the sources rather suggests that Ghar-ilchi must have still been the king even in 661. In any case, we are allowed to admit that there was in Kāpiśī a line of kings which was inaugurated with Khingal in the middle of the sixth century and continued at least until 661.

The Geography Section in the *Jiu Tangshu* and the *Tangshu* says that the state of Jibin politically consists of eleven principalities. This number matches with that given by Xuanzang who records that the king of Kāpiśī rules over more than ten principalities. The fact that such principalities cover an extensive area mainly along the Kābul River with Kāpiśī as king's summer residence and Gandhāra as the winter one is also shown by Xuanzang: on the way back from the *doab* to China, he was warmly received by the Kāpiśī king at Uḍabhāṇḍapura on the northern bank of the Sindhu or the Indus, from where the king accompanied Xuanzang to proceed to Kāpiśī through Nagarahāra, Laghmān, Parachinār and Ghazna. The main town called Ehe in the Tang sources is possibly identifiable with Kāpiśī-Begram of Period III, which, according to the excavations by Ghirshman, came into existence after a long vacuum following Period II of Begram, probably contemporary with the Kushan rule in India. This local kingdom to the west of the Indus that emerged with the decline of the Hephthalites appears in Chinese sources as either Jibin or Kāpiśī, occupying the area with modern Parawan in the west and Yusufzai in the east and keeping good relations with the newborn Kārkoṭa Dynasty of Kashmīr in the regions to the east of the Indus.

4. *Identity of Khingal*

First, careful attention should be drawn to the identification of the Khingal Dynasty with a dynasty of the Cao kingdom in the Chinese sources of the Sui period (581–618). As discussed in detail in the previous chapter, Cao is not an abridged form of either Cao-juzha or Cao-li, which are assignable to Zābulistān, but synonymous with Kāpiśī which the Tang Chinese called Jibin. The identification of Cao in the Sui time with Jibin in the Tang had already been recognized by Du You 杜佑. He reproduced all of the then *Suishu*'s records on the Cao kingdom in the section on Jibin in the *Tongdian* when he edited the latter in 766–768.

Xuanzang tells that on his visit in 629 to Kāpiśī, the king belonged to a family of Chali 刹利 (*Da Tang Xiyu ji*, Vol. 1), which is a Chinese synonym for the

Kṣatriya. This clearly shows that the Khingal line of kings belongs to the Kṣatriya. In the manuscripts of the *Da Tang Xiyu ji*, datable to the Tang period and found in Dunhuang, and in others preserved in existing Buddhist monasteries in Japan, such as Chusonji 中尊寺 and Ishiyamadera 石山寺, Chali is replaced by Suli 卒利 which usually means Sogdians. Yet the existence of a Sogdian king of Kāpiśī does not seem of any historical reality. This word might presumably be derived from a copyist's mistake, at least if one does not take seriously the statement of the *Suishu* that the king of Cao (Kāpiśī) had the family name Zhaowu 昭武. This name was usually held by local Sogdian dihqans. This statement of the *Suishu* may have been confused with the account of a Sogdian kingdom also called Cao 曹. The Chinese character applied to the Sogdian kingdom only lacks the first three strokes of the character for Kāpiśian Cao and shares the same phonetical value. These characters therefore are liable to be confused. Insofar as the Indian terminology is concerned, the Khingal king of Kāpiśī was not a descendant of the nomadic Hephthalites but indigenous, belonging to the warrior class. Since the king in Xuanzang's time was not Hephthalite, all kings of the Khingal Dynasty in Kāpiśī were not Hephthalite, succeeding to the throne at least up to 661 from Khingal to Ghar-ilchi through a king met by Xuanzang.

There is other evidence for separating Khingal from the Hephthalites: different coinage. If the dynasty inaugurated by Khingal was truly local and issued coins, they must have differed from the last series of Hephthalite coins depicting the peculiar busts of Hephthalite kings. In fact there exists an enigmatic series of coins bearing on the obverse the Pehlevi legend Npki MLK-a, Nspk MLD-sh, or degenerate versions thereof as read by Göbl (1967: E. 198–205, 217, 221, 222, 262, 264–269 and 271). This specific coinage has always been attributed to the line of Hephthalite kings and dated using many different methods by different scholars; e.g., de Morgan (1923–1936), Ghirshman (1948), Göbl (1967), and Mitchner (1975), who have all held fast to an interpretation of history that the Hephthalites governed over Zābulistān and Kāpiśī even after the Turkish occupation of Tokhāristān. We have already argued against this illusory interpretation. Actually a substantial difference between the above-noted Hephthalite coin series and that bearing the Napki legend is beyond question. It will be later shown that the Napki coins depicting a king who wears a crown with a bull's head either on top of it or at the front (Göbl 1967: I, 132f. and II, 71f.) are attributable to the Khingal Dynasty. The fact that a twig-like ornament placed below the king's bust on some of the Hephthalite coins is shared with the Napki coins has led scholars to assign the latter to the Hephthalites. Yet sharing this similar ornament does not necessarily lend support for the above identification, as

the Napki coins also borrow some elements from Sassanian coins. For those who begin minting a new series of coins, the use of elements on coins anterior to them may not be unusual.

In the historical context of the Northwest and eastern Afghanistan, however, several names of kings quite similar to the founder of the Kāpiśī kingdom, Khingal, are known: (1) Deva Shāhi Khiṅgila on the Hephthalite coins, (2) Khiṅkhila in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and (3) Khinkhil (Khinjil? or Khinjal?), an Arabic transcribed form of Khiṅgila or Khiṅgala, in al-Ya'qūbī's *Ta'rikh* (Houtsma 1969: 479). We also add to the above another Khiṅgāla in the two line inscription of the marble Gaṇeśa statue from Gardez, who is mentioned to be Śri Shāhi/Uḍḍiyāna Shāhi (see the last chapter and Kuwayama 1991b). Petech (1988: 187–194) thinks that Khingal is not a personal name but an eponym based on the name of a dynasty which passed down from generation to generation in east Afghanistan and the Northwest. However, it does not seem reasonable to regard Khingal as an eponym and to attribute these names to one and the same ethnic line. Khinkhil or Khinjil was one of the Kābul Shahs of Turkish origin in the time of al-Mahdi (775–785), as al-Ya'qūbī mentions that al-Mahdi sent to kings of various countries messengers who asked for their submission and that many of them did submit among whom were the Kābul Shāh called Khinkhil and others. Khiṅgāla in the Gaṇeśa inscription is also one of the Kābul Shahs, identifiable with Bofuzhun who ascended the throne in 745 as stated in the *Jiu Tangshu* (Vol. 198) and the *Tang Huiyao* (Vol. 99) (Kuwayama 1991b: 283). Possibly Arabic Khinkhil is identical with Chinese Bofuzhun. Neither is a descendant of the Hephthalites. Based on the Tang sources mentioned earlier, the king Ghar-ilchi was the twelfth king of the Khingal Dynasty who ascended the throne in or before 653. The twelve generations are so long that Xingnie (Khingal) seems to have founded the dynasty in the remote past. If so, Khingal of Kāpiśī cannot be identical with either of the above names associated with the Kābul Shāhs.

Kalhaṇa's Khiṅkhila and Khiṅgila on the Hephthalite coins are chronologically closer to Khingal of Kāpiśī. Nevertheless they also are historically distinct. The *Rājataraṅgiṇi* (Stein 1900: I, 52, Taraṅga 347) says that 'his [Gokarṇa's] son Narendrāditya...bore the second name of Khiṅkhila....' In this case Khiṅkhila clearly indicates a personal (individual) name. In the same way, Deva Shāhi Khiṅgila on coins also is a distinct personality, one among the many specific Hephthalite kings known from their coins such as Toramāṇa and Mihirakula. Khiṅkhila Narendrālitya is attributed by Kalhaṇa to a dynasty called Gonaṇḍīya along with the names of other rulers, some of whom, e.g., Toramāṇa and Mihirakula, are clearly Hephthalite. Indeed, Stein's assumption seems

acceptable that Khiṅkhila Narendrālitya 'must be recognized in the Ephthalite ruler who calls himself on his coins Deva Shāhi Khiṅgila' (Stein 1900: I, 80). The Gonaṇḍīya Dynasty is said to be much earlier than the Kārkoṭa Dynasty. The Kārkoṭa Dynasty was founded by Durlabhavardhana Prajñāditya who was, according to Kalhaṇa, on the throne between the years 3677 and 3713 of the Laukika era (601/602–637/638) and contemporaneous with Xuanzang who passed through Kāpiśī and Kashmir some sixty years after the Hephthalite breakup. So, the date of Khiṅkhila Narendrāditya is assignable to sometime before or even long before 600, which is consistent chronologically with Khingal of the Chinese sources, however he was Hephthalite. Since Khingal of Kāpiśī, as previously shown, was not Hephthalite, he cannot, therefore, be associated with either Deva Shāhi Khiṅgila on the Hephthalite coins or Khiṅkhila in the Kashmir chronicle. But an additional question arises: Could Khiṅkhila Narendrāditya really be a Hephthalite ruler over Kashmir?

The account of Songyun's visit in 520 clearly refers to the Hephthalite tegin as a king of Gandhāra who 'has been fighting against Kashmir for the control of the territory for three years' (Zhou 1963: 210; Wang 1984: 235). As I interpreted this passage (Kuwayama 1989: 95f.), the king, in fact, resided in the vicinity of Jhelum to the east of the Indus rather than in Gandhāra to the west of the Indus, fighting for control of the salt trade to Kashmir which had caused both of them to claim the territory. It is really incredible that there would have been two different Hephthalite kings, one in Gandhāra and the other in Kashmir, fighting against each other. The names and events of the Hephthalite kings placed before the descriptions regarding the Kārkoṭa dynasty in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* may have intentionally or unintentionally been edited into the dynastic lists by Kalhaṇa for whom any vacancy in history was unthinkable. Even if he was Hephthalite, Khiṅkhil in the Kashmir chronicle presumably was not a king who resided in and actually ruled Kashmir, but somewhere outside it, or more properly, the Northwest excluding Kashmir.

5. *Authenticity of the Bull Crown in the Suishu*

As I mentioned at the beginning of this paper, the bull crown of the Cao (Kāpiśī) king is referred to in the Western Region chapter of the *Beishi* (Vol. 10. 3238f.) edited by Li Yanshou in 659. The bull crown is also seen in the Jibin section in the *Tongdian*, Vol. 192, edited by Du You between 766 and 768. Undoubtedly the *Suishu* was one of the main source books for Du You. However, in no accessible edition of the *Suishu*, Vol. 83 (the Western Region chapter), is the 'bull head' found, but strangely is replaced by a 'fish head.' The *Cefu Yuangui*

(Vol. 960) edited in the eleventh century also follows the surviving editions of the *Suishu*. Considering the chronological order of these references to the crown, differences possibly existed among the *Suishus*, or between the existing editions and the ones that were used for the *Beishi* by Li Yanshou in the middle of the seventh century and for the *Tongdian* by Du You in the middle of the eighth. Were it not for the bull crown in the *Suishu* which was available to Li Yanshou and Du You, they could not have described it in their accounts of the Cao kingdom. This supposition gives cause to think that the original *Suishu* certainly alluded to the bull crown and that the king of Cao (Kāpiśī) had actually worn that crown until the early seventh century. Yet, before accepting the above solution, we should furthermore give a brief explanation as to the source materials used for the Western Region chapter of the original *Suishu* to prove how the record in that chapter is authentic and contemporary.

In the end of the Wendi 文帝 regime and in the early half of the Yangdi 煬帝, or in 602–610, information about countries in Central Asia and in the South Asian subcontinent was variously collected by several officials to help realize Yangdi's policy toward the Western Region and edited in such publications as the *Xifan ji* 西蕃記 (Record of the Western Barbarians), the *Da Sui Xiguo zhuan* 大隋西國傳 (Great Sui Record of the Western Countries), the *Xiyu Tuji* 西域圖記 (Illustrated Accounts of the Western Region), the *Tianzhu ji* 天竺記 (Record of India), and the *Damojiduo zhuan* 達摩笈多傳 (Biography of Dharmagupta). All of these editions must have served as basic sources for the Western Region chapter of the *Suishu* when later compiled by the early Tang officers in 629–630.

The *Xifan ji* was edited in an unknown year between 602–610 by a Sui official, Wi Jie 韋節, who travelled as the head of an official mission to the western countries in the company of Du Xingman 杜行滿. Although it is lost, some paragraphs from it explaining some Sogdian cities are quoted in the *Tongdian*. According to the preface of the Western Region chapter of the *Suishu* (Vol. 6. 1841), Wi Jie and Du Xingman visited at least three kingdoms: Jibin (Kāpiśī) where they gained an agate goblet; the kingdom of Shi 史 (Shahr-e Sabz) from where they brought ten dancing girls and other curious things; and a 'town of a king's residence (wangshe cheng 王舍城)' where they found Buddhist scriptures.[2]

In c. 602 the *Da Sui Xiguo zhuan* was edited by Yan Cong under the emperor's order. According to the biography in the *Tang Gaoseng zhuan* (Vol. 2), Yan Cong 彦琮 was well versed in both Buddhist and non-Buddhist literature and famous for his profound knowledge in the languages, Chinese and Sanskrit. He devotedly participated in translating Buddhist scriptures brought either by Indian monks

themselves or by Chinese monks who had been in Central Asia in search of scriptures. He thereby became well acquainted with Dharmagupta, whom he knew well enough to publish his biography. Dharmagupta arrived at Sui Changan (properly called in the Sui time Da Xing 大興) in 590 leaving Takkadeśa in the Punjab and travelling in the eighties of the six century, after the Hephthalite decay, through Kāpiśī, Bāmiyān, Tokhāristān, Badakhshān, Wa'khān, Kucha, Turfan and Dunhuang. Yan Cong's biography of Dharmagupta, though lost, therefore may have included the extensive descriptions of the above Central Asiatic kingdoms which made up the main parts of the *Da Sui Xiguo zhuan*. Daoxuan's biography of Dharmagupta in Volume 2 of the *Tang Gaoseng zhuan* clearly states how this record was compiled:

> Realizing that Dharmagupta's knowledge about these countries surpassed the information given by other Indian monks who had reached Changan before him, Yan Cong edited on behalf of the emperor a record of the kingdoms in the western region. It consisted of ten chapters on products, climates, towns, politics, education, codes of conduct, foods, dress, treasures and natural topographies (*Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* 50: 435c).

The *Da Sui Xiguo zhuan* unfortunately ceased to circulate and was lost after Xuanzang's *Da Tang Xiyu ji* became popular enough to take its place, although Xuanzang seems to have taken information therein for his *Xiyu ji*.

The *Xiyu Tuji*, only the author Pei Ju's preface being extant, was an illustrated description of Central Asian kingdoms based on information given in

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[2] The *wangshe cheng* simply means a town of a king's residence. Whenever it appears in Buddhist contexts it is usually taken as a Chinese translation of Rājagṛha in East India. However, careful attention should be drawn to the fact that it is used in the *Suishu*. The Sui court does not seem to have got any information about India before Dharmagupta came to Changan. That is why Yan Cong and Pei Ju edited the Record of India in between 606 and 610 based on Dharmagupta's knowledge about India. Therefore, I do not think that Wi Jie and Du Xingman climbed up Rājagṛha or even actually reached mainland India. The section on the Hephthalite kingdom in the Western Region of the *Zhoushu* describes that 'the Hephthalite king resides in *badiyan cheng* 拔底延城 which in all probability means the *wangshe cheng*'. This word *badiyan* has been believed to be a proper noun but simply means a town of a king's residence, or the capital of a kingdom. The *wangshe cheng* in the *Suishu* is, I believe, copied from Wi Jie's *Xifan ji*. I do not hesitate to ascribe it to a leading town around which the Hephthalites customarily resided in tents as their *qishlaq*. Therefore, Wi Jie and Du Xingman visited the Hephthalite capital, although the Hephthalites had already declined by the time of their visit. For a detailed discussion about the whereabouts of the Hephthalite capital, or their *qishlaq*, see Kuwayama 1989.

606 by long-distance traders at Zhangye. The preface by Pei Ju in his biography in the *Suishu* (Vol. 6. 157ff.) remarkably elucidates the three major routes leading from Dunhuang to the three contemporary civilized worlds: the Byzantine Empire, Sassanian Persia and India (*Suishu* Vol. 6. 1579f.). On the southern route, to India, one can reach Northern India by passing in due order several kingdoms on the southern fringe of the Taklamakan Desert, Tashkurghan in the Pamirs, the Tokhāra (Tuhuoluo) and Hephthalite (Yida) regions, Bāmiyān (Fanyin) in the Hindukush and Kāpiśī (Cao) south of it.

Thus the source materials used for the Western Region chapter of the *Suishu* are authentic. Hence the description in the *Suishu* that a Kāpiśī king in the late sixth or the very early seventh century wore a golden crown decorated with bull head is historically reliable and also proves that he was quite distinct from the Hephthalites. The late sixth or the early seventh century covers the period of the Khingal Dynasty which lasted from the time of Khingal through Xuanzang's time until 661 at the earliest. If so, we are allowed to think that the crown decorated with bull head is the dynastic one of the Khingal line of kings in Kāpiśī, not that of the Hephthalites.

Neglect of the bull crown in the written documents, at least in the light of the evidence given by Rémusat, has prevented scholars from locating the coins themselves in their proper historical context. A misconception about an illusory Hephthalite presence in Kāpiśi and Zābulistān has long strongly influenced scholars to take a firm hold of a historical unreality and attribute the so-called Napki coins to the Hephthalite coinage. The Hephthalites really had nothing to do with these kingdoms, but directed their concerns only toward the Northwest. A reference in the *Suishu* to the crown worn by a king of Cao lends strong support for the identification of the Napki coins with those issued by the kings of the Khingal line of Kāpiśī.

6. *Coins with Bull Crown: Collapsed and Uncollapsed Types*

Beside the reverse depicting within a single beaded circle a fire-altar in the center and an attendant on each side of it, on the obverse, also, certain Sassanian elements are manifest on the more or less degenerate types of the bull-crown coins classified by Göbl to E. 262–E. 271. The latter requires discussion first in order to obtain an approximate dating of the whole series (Göbl's E. 198–205, 221, 222, 262–271).

E. 262 and E. 264 have on both sides a single circle and on the obverse in particular the star-on-crescent mark at three corners outside the circle. These Sassanian elements are confined to the coins of Hormizd IV (579–590) and of

Kawad I from his 13th regnal year (500) to the 19th (506). E. 263 has crescents without stars placed at three corners outside a single circle as found only on the coins of Khusrow I (531–579) and Vahram IV (590–591). On the other hand, E. 265 and E. 266 bear a specific mark, a 'wineglass,' replacing the star-on-crescent seen on E. 262 and E. 264. Coins with the wineglass-like mark therefore represent a further modified or more remote version of the Sassanian prototypes.

These three Sassanian coin types are chronologically confined to the sixth century, specifically the years 500–506 and 531–591. If we exclude Kawad I's coins, which are exceptionally earlier, the others mostly converge toward the second half of the 6th century, but significantly have nothing to do with any coin of Khusrow II (590/591–628) and his successors. Although it is hard to determine which is the exact prototype of E. 262 and E. 264, Kawad I's coins or Hormizd IV's, the two emissions might depend on the latter rather than Kawad I's. The reason for this assumption is that Kawad I was the Sassanian king closest to the Hephthalites: he had been a hostage in the Hephthalite headquarters in the time of Peroz and later was a puppet king of the Hephthalites during their most powerful period. For the Khingal Dynasty, coming to power after the Hephthalite decline in the fifties of the sixth century, the coinage of Kawad I must have been historically more distant than the others. Therefore the bull-crown coins bearing the above Sassanian coin elements are roughly datable to sometime in or after the second half of the sixth century.

The other degenerate types of coins with bull crown are assignable to sometime after 615–627. The U-shaped beard of the attendants beside the fire-altar on the reverse of E. 266 only appears on the Khusrow II coins issued in his eleventh regnal year (602). Throughout E. 267–E. 271, the following points are observable: (1) The collapse of the Pehlevi script is clearly discernible, e.g., the illegibly degenerated *'p* on the obverse and *bg'* on the reverse; (2) A star-on-crescent motif on both sides of the king's head is shared with the specific coins of Khusrow II issued only in his regnal years 26 (615/616), 27 (616/617), 36 (625/626) and 37 (626/627); (3) The reverse of E. 267 depicts a markhord-like deer, while E. 268 and E. 269 bear a standing king-like figure, in addition to a wineglass-like motif on the reverse.

The reuse with countermarks and the entire imitatation of the coins of Khusrow II, as in the case of Yazdegard III's, began with Arab-Sassanian coins. Of the five groups of Arab-Sassanian coins classified by Walker, only those issued by the Umaiyyad Caliphs, i.e., those from A.H. 31 (651) to A.H. 83 (702), are closely related to the coins under discussion. It was parallel with and in response to the Umaiyyad way of minting Arab-Sassanian coins that coins imitating those

of Khusrow II so often appeared in the Kābul region from the second half of the seventh century to the eighth century. However, quite a basic difference exists between these Arab-Sassanian coins and the coins with bull crown: the latter did not use the dies of Sassanian coins but only took some of the elements such as the star-on-crescent; for the coins with bull crown only minor elements of the Sassanian coins were needed. The difference chronologically suggests that the bull-crown coins are anterior to the Arab-Sassanian coins or roughly before the last days of the Sassanians. Of the bull-crown coins which bear Sassanian elements, therefore, some are datable to after the middle of the sixth century and the others after the second decade of the seventh century, while none of them is later than the third quarter of the seventh century.

The bull-crown coins without Sassanian elements, or uncollapsed types (Göbl's E. 198–205, 217, 221, 222), began to be minted with the inauguration of the Khingal Dynasty approximately in the middle of the 6th century or a little earlier. The coins have the king's bust facing right with a crown decorated with a bull head either on top of it or at the front and flanked at the right and left sides by extended wings. Another usual element is a crescent placed at the lower front, which looks like an element supporting the bull head. In the case where the bull head is placed on top of the crown, the crescent supports another element such as a disk or a star-like object. To the right of the king's bust is the Pehlevi legend Npki or Nspk and to the left of it a Pehlevi script clearly readable as *a* in the case of Npki and *sh* in the other, according to Göbl. He also thinks that the legend on some coins, such as E. 198, 200, 201, 202 and 205, can be read as Npki MLK plus *a* and that on others, such as E. 217, 221 and 222, as Nspk MLD plus *sh*. Göbl thinks that Nspk MLD-sh is chronologically prior to Npki MLK-a. On the other hand, Humbach (1966: I, 59), without any regard to *a* and *sh*, reads Npki MLK as npky MLK', which is restorable to 'nāfak shāh, and Nspk MLD as nycky MLDH or ssfky MLDH, which is a collapsed version of the former.

The script *n* is hard to read in some cases or actually not written in other cases (E. 217–1, 217–5, 222I–222VI). In addition, the *sp* of Nspk is often replaced by a strange script similar to the Arabic numeral 8 which does not make any sense. These facts mean that Nspk MLD-sh was not a basic or the earliest legend but a type which was transformed from Npki MLK-a and that Npki MLK-a is earlier than Nspk MLD-sh. Therefore the coins of the Npki MLK-a series presumably appeared earlier than those of the Nspk MLD-sh series.

Among the Npki MLK-a coin series some legends lack N and L to make 'pki MK-a' (E. 203 and E. 204), and even 'pki MK-a' cannot be read on coins such as E. 267–E. 271, on which Göbl read the script written to the left of the king's bust

as *p* which should have been written as *a* or *sh*. Göbl does not misread it, but the inscriber himself could not understand what should be written at this location. On the reverses of these coins something like a deity (E. 268 and E. 269), a kind of symbol (E. 271), and a deer (E. 267) replace the usual design, a fire altar with attendants. These coins with the 'pki MK' legend are also much lighter in weight than the others and characteristically bear a wineglass-like mark on the reverse. In view of the degenerate legends and other extraordinary characteristics, the coins with the 'pki MK' legend are still later than those with Nspk MLD or even spk MLD.

7. *Typology and Chronology of the Coins with Bull Crown*

The degradation of the legends suggests a chronological sequence of the bull-crown coins as follows: (A) the Npki MLK-a series; (B) the Nspk MLD-sh series; (C) the pki MK series. An association of these three legends with the crown types tentatively gives us the following typological groups:

[Type IA] Bull head on top of the crown and crescent at the front. Npki MLK-a legend (E. 198).

[Type IB] Bull head on top of the crown and crescent at the front. Nspk MLD-sh legend (E. 222).

[Type IIA] Bull head on a crescent at the front. Npki MLK-a legend (E. 200–E. 203).

[Type IIB] Bull head on a crescent at the front. Nspk MLD-sh legend (E. 217 and E. 221).

[Type IIIA] Bull head on top of the crown and crescent decorated with a small dot at both ends placed at the front and supporting a large disk. Npki MLK-a legend (E. 205).

Of the above five groups, Type IA is earlier than Type IB and Type IIA is earlier than Type IIB; viz., Types IA, IIA and IIIA (with Npki MLK-a) are the oldest of all and are followed by Types IB and IIB (Nspk MLD-sh) if we attach primary importance to the chronology of the legends. From this point of view, the location of the bull head on the crown is chronologically meaningless. In addition to this sequence, the coins on which Sassanian elements are discernible can be classified as follows:

[Type IV] Bull head on top of crown and two neighbouring crescents on the diadem, the right crescent supporting a star-like object. 'pki MK' legend and

star-on-crescent motif on either side of the king's bust (E. 267–E. 270). They are not earlier than 615–627 since a star-on-crescent on either side of the king's bust only appears on coins issued by Khusrow II in his 26th, 27th, 36th and 37th regnal years.

[Type V] Bull head on top of crown and two neighbouring crescents on the diadem. 'pki MK' legend (E. 265 and E. 266). E. 265 is later than the 5th regnal year of Khusrow I, or 535. E. 266 is later than 601, or the eleventh regnal year of Khusrow II, since the U-shaped beard of the guardians of the fire altar on the reverse only appears on the coins issued in the 11th regnal year of Khusrow II.

[Type VI] Bull head on top of crown and element of reversed C at the front of the diadem. Legend unidentified. The examples are E. 262–E. 264. A star-on-crescent placed outside of a single circle is an imitation of Khusrow I's coins. The appearance of this type of a star to the right and a crescent to the left of the fire altar on the reverse, which is characteristic of the coins of Hormizd IV (579 – 590) and Bahram VI (590), suggests a date later than 580.

The above examination of the coins themselves and the dynastic trends in the Kāpiśī-Kabul-Zabul region allow us to attribute the coins with bull-head crown to three chronological groups as follows:

(1) Types IA, IIA and IIIA—Göbl's Emissions 198, 199, 200, 201 and 202—are the earliest of the coin series that bears a crown with bull head and is attributable to the Khingal lines of kings in Kāpiśī, one of them being the king described in the Kāpiśī section of the Western Region chapter of the *Suishu*.

(2) The coins succeeding the above are Types IB and IIB, the legend Nspk MLD-sh losing the original meaning represented by Npki MLK-a despite its intention to express the same legend. They might be attributable to the rulers of Zābulistān after having split off from the Khingal line of rulers at Kāpiśī subsequent to the Khair Khana conflict and datable to sometime between 606 and 630.

(3) Coin Type IV and following are the latest groups of the bull-head series and hard to assign to specific rulers. However, taking into consideration that the Turkish rulers of Kābul replaced the Khingal dynasty in the third quarter of the seventh century and that their coins are quite different from the bull-head series — depicting a king wearing a crown with a triśula on top — these groups may not be later than the third quarter of the seventh century.

III. Kāpiśī and Kābul: A History of Tang Jibin

1. *Emergence of Turkish Titles*

In Tokhāristān the West Turks occupied the lands most useful to the nomads after their decisive victory over the Hephthalites in and after 558. The Hephthalites in Tokhāristān were forced to live with the Turks, while the Gandhāra Hephthalites consequently went into a period of decay, losing ties with the Tokhāra Hephthalites. The West Turks never passed through the Hindukush either southwards to Jibin 罽賓 or southeastwards to Gandhāra, residing in Tokhāristān with their main qishlaq at Huo 活 (*war) in the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 or Warwaliz in Islamic sources, which is evidently attributable to Bālā Hisār near Qal'a-e Zāl on the south bank of the Amū Daryā. According to the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* and the *Da Tang Da Ciensi Sanzangfashi zhuan* 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳, Xuanzang's most extensive biography, the West Turks seem to have firmly established their hegemony at Balkh to the west of *War, at Tālaqan to the east of Khānābād, the Khōst and Nahrīn districts, and Andarāb. By 628/629, the time of Xuanzang, they had already subjugated the local principalities extending from Balkh to Tālaqān and also the area to the east of the Surkhāb from the Amū Daryā to the foot of the Hindukush. According to the above biography, the Tardu-shad 咄度設, a Turkish ruler residing at *War, promised Xuanzang an official escort to accompany him to Kāpiśī. This paragraph suggests friendly relations between the West Turks and the countries at the southern outskirts of the Hindukush, most probably through the Andarāb district which was evidently subject to their rule, and a customary way to Kāpiśī might have run through the Kōtal-e Khawak and along the Panjshīr, as the king of Kāpiśī escorted Xuanzang on this route.

Particularly important for the history of the Northwest was the policy of the West Turks never to cross the Hindukush in order to occupy Gandhāra and beyond. Therefore, after the decline of the Hephthalites, a political vacuum suddenly appeared and stimulated local powers to rise. The vast regions to the west of the Indus thus fell into the hands of a local dynasty which had been inaugurated in Kāpiśī by a ruler called Khingal.

This new political map drawn from the middle of the sixth century onward is also closely related with a drastic change in the trade routes connecting the north with the south through the Hindukush. Before that time the Karakorum highway had connected Gandhāra with Tokhāristān to the northwest and with the Tarim Basin to the northeast. This route had flourished throughout several centuries since at least the Kushans and brought continuous prosperity to Gandhāra and its

Buddhist establishments. It was eventually replaced by a new route through the western Hindukush which became secure under the West Turkish hegemony. This change was really an epoch-making event by virtue of its atrophying effect on Gandhāra and its promotion of Bāmiyān and Kāpiśī as trade centres stimulating their sudden prosperity in and at the south foot of the Hindukush respectively (Kuwayama 1987a). It was the first time in history that the plain of Kāpiśī was firmly connected with the north of the Hindukush.

Chinese characters phonetically equivalent to Kāpiśī hardly appear in the Tang sources. In many cases Jibin represents Kāpiśī or a kingdom ruling over the Kābul Valley from the Paghman Range in the west to the west bank of the Indus. It had very often sent missions to the Tang court even before the Chinese Tang Dynasty claimed its presence in the Western Region and set up the Xiuxian Governor-generalship at Jibin in 658. They were received by the Tang emperors in the years 619, 629, 637, 640, 642, 647, 648, 651, 652, 653, 654 and 658. As stated earlier, the only known king of Jibin in the seventh century is Ghar-ilchi who seems to have succeeded the throne in or just before 653 and seems to be on the throne until 661.

According to the Western Region chapter of the *Jiu Tangshu*, the Jibin king was approved by the Emperor Kaozong 高宗 as the Qaradachi Tegin in 719, when he sent an envoy to the Chinese court bringing with it a volume of astronomy and western medicines. Some of the Chinese written sources (*Tang Huiyao*, Vol. 99; *Taiping Huanyuji* 太平寰宇記 Vol. 182) say that a book on astronomy and some medicines were presented in 719 and that the year of approval as the Qaradachi Tegin was 720. On the other hand, Volume 971 of the *Cefu Yuangui* records that Jibin brought to the Tang court the book and the medicines in the second month of the eighth year of the Kaiyuan era (720) and also presented good horses, coming together with the mission from Zābul in the ninth month of the same year. However, another volume, 964, of the same source book records that the Tang emperor sent an ambassador to Jibin where he gave the title Qaradachi Tegin to the king of Jibin and also approved the king of Zābul as the Qaradachi Eltäbär. It seems that the Kāpiśīan king presented to the Tang emperor the astronomical book in either the seventh month of the seventh year of the Kaiyuan era or the second month of the eighth year. At the same time the Qaradachi Tegin was approved. Furthermore, when the envoys from Jibin and Zābul were received by the Tang emperor in the ninth month of the eighth year, the king of Zābul was endorsed as the Qaradahi Eltäbär and the king of Jibin was again recognized in his position as the Qaradachi Tegin.

The Qaradachi Tegin apparently is a Turkish title, and it shows that a king of

Turkish origin officially assumed the command of the people and army in Jibin. The Turkish king ascended the throne in Jibin before 719, while the Zābul king also was Turkish, taking the title Qaradachi Eltäbär before 720. Ethnically the kings on the line originated by Khingal were neither Turkish nor Hephthalite, since they belonged to the kṣatrya class as clearly described by Xuanzang in the Kāpiśī section of the *Da Tang Xiyu ji*. The point is that the dynasty in Jibin changed from the non-Turkish line to the Turkish in the years between 661 (ref. p. 41f.) and 719.

The appearance of the Turkish title allows for one of the following two cases: (1) a greater Turkish sovereign bestowed a Turkish title on a king of the Khingal line; (2) a Turk usurped the throne of the Khingal Dynasty. In the first case, such a Turkish ruler could be no other than the Tokhāra Yabghu 吐火羅葉護 in Tokhāristān. No written evidence supports the first case, nor does any interpretation of the written sources suggest that the Tokhāra Yabghu took such action against the rulers at the southern foot of the Hindukush. According to the *Cefu Yuangui* (Vol. 999), a memorial was presented in 718 to Emperor Kaozong by Boluo 僕羅 who was residing in Changan as a hostage from the Tokhāra Yabghu called Nadunili 那都泥利, an elder brother of his. The memorial really aimed to make his ranking higher in the Tang court. In this memorial the kings and rulers, including those of Jibin and Zābul, are explained as being under the Tokhāra governor-generalship. The Tang court seems to have taken a policy to not directly rule the western countries, especially the countries beyond the Pamirs, but to have the Tokhāra Yabghu control the minor governor-generals, since he was the most powerful among the rulers and had good relations with the Chinese government.

The second case seems more suitable to the historical situation: The event most probably was the Turkish usurpation of the local Khingal Dynasty, and it happened after 661. The *Cefu Yuangui* records that Jibin and Zābul sent envoys to the Tang court in the first year of the Jingyun 景雲 era (710). The Zābul section (Vol. 221b) of the *Tangshu* says that the Turks, the Kāpiśīans, and the Tokhārians dwell together in central Zābul (or the modern Ghaznī area) and that Jibin defends them against the Arabs taking youngsters from among them. It also refers to Zābul: they had sent an envoy to the Tang court in the beginning of the Jingyun era, but since then they had become a subject of Jibin. The 'beginning of the Jingyun era' means the first year of that era referred to in the *Cefu Yuangui* cited above. Around 710 Jibin had very close relations with Zābul, gaining a military force from Zābul in order to defend the area from the Arab-Muslims. Eventually they took hegemony over Zābul, sometime after 710. A Korean monk-pilgrim,

Hyech'o 慧超, states the position of Jibin and Zābul in and about 726 saying that the kings and military forces of Jibin and Zābul are all Turkish; the Zābul king, a nephew of the king of Jibin, independently resides in this country with his ulaq and military force; he does not belong to any other country, even that of his uncle. The kings of Jibin and Zābul were Turkish. The Jibin king and the father of the Zābul king were brothers. Interpreting these facts together with the above evidence given by the Tang historical sources, the king of Jibin had subjugated his nephew, the king of Zābul, after 710, but such a relationship of lord and vassal was broken before 726.

According to the *Tongdian* 通典 (Vol. 212), the title of the Zābul king was the tegin when the Tang emperor received a Zābul mission in the tenth month of the twelfth year of the Kaiyuan era (724). In the record of the eighth year of the Kaiyuan era (720), he is entitled the Qaradachi-Eltäbär Zābul, while the title Qaradachi Tegin is given to the Jibin king. Strange here in the *Tongdian* is the title tegin for the Zābul king. The Zābul king may have been independent, leaving the yoke of Jibin before 724. These relations between Zābul and Jibin suggest that the Jibin king had already been Turkish before 710, the year that the Tang court saw the joint-mission of Jibin and Zābul.

2. *The Turks in Kābul*

When and where was such a Turkish line inaugurated? The traditional identification of Jibin in the Tang sources with Kāpiśī may allow one to think that the usurpation took place at Begram. However, the archaeological evidence does not seem to support this view. The site of Begram comprises three main superimposed occupations, Begrams I, II and III, at the place called by Hackin 'New Royal City.' There is little cultural break between Begrams I and II, whereas Begram III began long after the end of Begram II showing differences from Begram II in pottery and architectural features. Such differences were not taken as serious by Ghirshman. He assigned the Begram II city to the time from Kanishka to Vasudeva and Begram III to the reign of the Kidara Kushans who in turn disappeared at the advent of the Hephthalites at the end of the fifth century. Ghirshman's dating of the last and third phase (Niveau III) at Begram particularly is untenable since it must have covered roughly a century from the middle of the sixth century onward. Detailed discussions to date Begram III were made elsewhere (Kuwayama 1975: 57–78; 1992A: 79–120).

At the end of Begram III a cluster of smaller houses were built outside of the city gate and two independent fortress-like buildings strengthened at each of the four corners by a tower existed within and outside of the city wall. The former

made the city gates and walls senseless, and the latter well might have protected the population which had spread beyond the city wall. In one of the fortresses fragments of medallion-stamped pottery were acquired by Ghirshman. This typical decoration on pottery covers a wide geographical area from Kāpiśī to Ghaznī through Kābul, yet nothing was reported from the excavations at Funduqistan, the terminus post quem of which is given by an Arab-Sassanian silver coin, issued in 689, deposited in a cinerary urn buried under the pedestal of a clay carving of a princely couple in one of the niches in the walls encircling a central stupa. This fact gives the end of Begram III an approximate date; i.e., the last decades of the seventh century. As observed, no trace of fire or devastation was exposed. Begram III ended with no calamity. It gradually declined. The Chinese historical sources clearly state that the Turks emerged in Jibin as an ascending power in the latter half of the seventh century. If Jibin is Kāpiśī, the archaeological evidence at Kāpiśī Begram does not support the emergence of the Turks there; the ascending Turks would not have been based in such a declining town as Begram. Where was the Turkish dynasty inaugurated?

According to the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* (Vol. 12), there was a country between Kāpiśī in the north and Ghazni in the south. It was called Fulishisatangna 弗栗恃薩儻那. Xuanzang keeps silence on the distance between Kāpiśī and Fulishisatangna. Yet the latter is about five hundred Chinese miles to the north of Caojuzha 漕矩吒 (Zābul, whose main town is assignable to modern Ghazni). Fulishisatangna is described by Xuanzang as an oblong country measuring two thousand Chinese miles from east to west and one thousand from north to south. The length is too long to be compared with any nearby countries except for Bāmiyān, but the north to south distance is more than three times as long as that of Bāmiyān. Since Xuanzang says that Kāpiśī measures about four thousand Chinese miles in circuit, the size of Fulishisatangna is very big, covering an area extending probably to Wardak in the southwest and to Kotal-e Lataband in the east with Kābul as its center.

The *Da Tang Xiyu ji* (Vol. 12) records the king of Fulishisatangna as Turkish. This certainly suggests that the Turkish tribes had lived in Kābul since before 629. The Turks in the south of the Hindukush in the seventh century are quite mysterious. No written evidence exists for the Western Turks having crossed the Hindukush to the south any time between 555 (the year of the Turks' first appearance in Tokhāristān) and 628–29 (the time of Xuanzang's visit to these countries). The Turks of Fulishisatangna can be different from the Western Turks in the north. Xuanzang does not give any sufficient explanation of this country despite being so big, whereas he gives incomparably many lines to Zābul

and Kāpiśī. In addition, the *Da Tang Da Ciensi Sanzangfashi zhuan* (Vol. 5) gives no word on Fulishisatangna.

3. *Aye 阿耶 by Hyech'o 慧超*

Presumably Xuanzang's general neglect of Fulishisatangna suggests the politically weak position of this country. Certainly it was still under the suzerainty of Kāpiśī. Hyech'o's reference to the origin of the Turkish king in Jibin supports the contention. In Gandhāra Hyech'o says as follows:

> In the past this country (Gandhāra) was ruled by a king of Jibin. So the 'aye' 阿耶 (father) of the Turkish king was under that Jibin king, keeping with him the military force and his ulaqs. Later, however, as the Turkish military power became strong, he ascended the throne assassinating the king of Jibin.
> [Author's note] 'A king of Jibin' is of the Khingal line in Kāpiśī. 'The Turkish king' is a king contemporary to Hyech'o.

Who is the 'aye'? Toyohachi Fujita takes him as Barha Tegin who is, according to Bīrūnī, the first Turkish king in Kābul. The original Chinese phrase 爲此突厥王阿耶領一部落兵馬投彼罽賓王 should be read as the above. Walter Fuchs reads it as follows:

> Dieses Land war früher unter dem Herrschaftseinfluss der Könige von Kapiśa (Nordest-Afghanistan); deswegen unterwarf sich der Vater (阿耶) des T'u-küeh-Königs (Barha tegin) mit den Truppen seines ganzen Stammes jenem König von Kapiśa.

Furthermore, he says that 'Barha tegin war der erste Fürst der neuen türkischen Dynastie in Kapiśa; weshalb hier der Vater von Barha tegin genannt wird, is mir unklar' (Fuchs 1938: 444–445, 445 fn. 1). As mentioned, according to Bīrūnī, Barha Tegin is the first king of the Kābul Shāhis. With a misconception that the 'Turkish king' is one and the same person as Barha Tegin, Fuchs concludes that the man who killed the Jibin king to ascend the throne was the father of Barha Tegin, despite his right understanding of 'aye' as father. Fuchs could not understand such a simple relationship.

'Aye' is not a personal name nor is it a Chinese word phonetically equivalent to a Turkish title. It simply means father and the 'tujue wang' (Turkish king) placed before 'aye' in the original Chinese text is a Turkish king in the time of Hyech'o. Since Hyech'o tells that the rulers and armies in the Kābul Valley and Zābulistān were all Turkish, the 'father of the present Turkish king' is a man who usurped the royal throne of Jibin. The historical circumstances become much clearer when we associate them with Bīrūnī's reference to the Turkish line of kings inaugurated in Kābul (Sachau 1888: II, 10):

> The Hindus (Indians) had kings residing in Kābul; Turks who were said to be of

> Tibetan origin. The first of them, Barhatakin (Barha Tegin), came into the country and entered a cave in Kābul, which none could enter except by creeping on hands and knees....
> Some days after he had entered the cave, he began to creep out of it in the presence of the people, who looked on him as a new-born baby. He wore Turkish dress, a short tunic open in front, a high hat, boots and arms. Now people honoured him as a being of miraculous origin, who had been destined to be king, and in fact he brought those countries under his sway and ruled them under the title of a shāhiya of Kābul. The rule remained among his descendants for generations, the number of which is said to be about sixty.

Bīrūnī suggests that Barha Tegin was still to be a Kābul Shāh when he first came to Kābul, but entering the cave he became qualified as a king. This allows us to think that Barha Tegin's history underwent at least two periods. Reading Bīrūnī in close connection with Hyech'o, we can further interpret Barha Tegin to have been a Turkish vassal in Kābul of the Kāpiśī Khingal dynasty before his inauguration of the Turkish Dynasty in Kābul which naturally followed his assassination of the king of Jibin.

Fully supported by the Tang historical sources and the interpretation of a conflict having taken place at Khair Khana near Kābul, the history of Kāpiśī may be read as follows: In the latter half of the sixth century the Khingal line of kings first appeared in Kāpiśī, their headquarters being Begram, and they were most powerful in the time of Xuanzang's visit around 629. Before Xuanzang, between 606 and 629, at the shrine of Khair Khana in southern Kāpiśī there was a conflict between the two different religions. The conflict suggests political implications. One is the existence of a group of supporters of a traditional local deity called Zhun or Zhuna, a restored name from the Chinese Sui history and Xuanzang, or called Zur in the Muslim sources. The other is the existence of a new intruder group worshipping Sūrya as the one and only deity. The latter might have closely been connected to a Turkish group in Kābul headed by Barha Tegin. The story either reveals the appearance of the Turks in the Kābul region or the growth in power of the Turks. In either case, the result was that the new Turks gained a victory along with the increasing political importance of Kābul. The Zhuna supporters fled to the southern border of Zābulistān where they newly established on Mount Zhunhira a great temple enshrining a huge statue of Zhuna, or Zur according to Balādhurī (Murgotten 1924: 144) with the eyes set with rubies. In the time of Xuanzang (spring 629) the Turks in Kābul were still subject to the Khingal dynasty in Kāpiśī. Ghar-ilchi, the latest king of the Khingal dynasty, is not documented in any source after 661. So, this date gives the earliest possible time limit for Barha Tegin to take over the Khingal hegemony. The usurpation did not

include Kāpiśī itself. The Khingal dynasty must have not died out so soon after usurpation of its empire and might have kept local power a little longer. This supposition may be supported by the archaeological evidence for the latest phases at Begram III which I have shown above. Also written evidence exists, for the name of Kāpiśī is still being used in the records of the *Cefu Yuangui* (Vol. 971), dated in the fourth month of the seventh year of the Kaiyuan era or 719, which reports that by the princely order of Nasai 捺塞 of Kāpiśī (Hepishi 訶毘施) a great chieftain of Tokhāra named Luomosuoluo 羅摩娑羅 presented a lion and five-colored parrots to the emperor of Tang. Even after the Turks gained power in Kābul, Kāpiśī might have been still enjoying its role as an important entrepôt at the southern foot of the Hindukush on the long distance trade route. In fact, Begram is located at the confluence of the Ghōrband and the Panjshīr. The former led one to Bāmiyān, from where the route runs to the Khulm valley or the Rui-Samangān district through Kahmard or to Balkh through the Āb-e Ajār and Daryā-ye Sūf, while along the Panjshīr the route crossed the Khawak Pass downward to Andarāb which was under Turkish rule. Escorted by the Kāpiśī king on his way back in 643 Xuanzang took the Panjshīr route.

Jibin quite often appears in the Tang sources and has usually been identified as Kāpiśī. However, such cannot evidently be correct especially when it appears in the sources concerning the events after the time of the Kābul Shāh's usurpation of Kāpiśī. In such sources Jibin in its narrower meanings should be Kābul in the Fulishisatangna country. Historically speaking, Jibin means the extensive area stretching from the Kābul valleys to the Indus, ruled by a dynasty with its summer residence at Kābul and winter headquarters at Uḍabhāṇḍapura or present Hund. Two sources support this. First of all, in the paragraphs describing Gandhāra Hyech'o tells about such a dynastic change, suggesting that the Turkish king's territory covers the area even to Gandhāra in the east. Secondly, there is evidence in so-called 'Wukong's narrative' or the *Da Tang Zhenyuan xinyi Shidideng jing ji* 大唐貞元新譯十地等經記 (Great Tang Record of a New Translation of the Shidi jing and Others in the Zhenyuan Era: Taisho 17: 715c–717c). The Tang emperor dispatched a return mission to Jibin which had asked for military protection at the time of their envoy. Che Fengzhao 車奉朝, a lower officer, was a member of the mission who later received the complete precepts in Kaśmira and whose name became Wukong 悟空. In the middle of the eighth century (twentieth day of the second month of the twelfth year of the Tianbao 天寶 era) he reached Gandhāra. He records that Gandhāra is the eastern capital of Jibin where the king resides in the winter season and that he also dwells in Jibin in the summer. Quite evident from Wukong's note is the existence in the

west of the other capital which Wukong also calls Jibin, that is, Kābul. Following the Khingal dynasty of Kāpiśī, the Turkish Shāhis politically and economically kept the Kābul valleys as their territory in place of the Khingal kings along with territory reaching to the Indus in the east.

Presumably coming into Kābul in between 606 and 629, the Turks were still a political minority at the time of Xuanzang's visit, in 629, under the rule of the Kāpiśī Khingal dynasty, long before they gained sufficient power to usurp the latter. In the time of Ghar-ilchi, who was presumably enthroned in 653, the Kāpiśi dynasty was forced to fight against the Arab-Muslims who, based in Sistan, were making onslaughts on Kābul from Zābulistān. Xuanzang records Mount Aruṇa (or archaeologically, the later sanctuary of Khair Khana) as located in the southernmost portion of Kāpiśī. Actually it was just in the northern suburb of Kābul. It is Barha Tegin, a Turkish king under the Khingal rule, that had to move against the Muslims as an impending danger.

The Turkish king tried to associate himself with the ruler of Zābul in order to defend the country against stubborn attacks. Close associations between the two countries are historically obvious, no matter who the ruler in Kābul and Zābul may have been. For example, the Kābul people could find a better place for their deity in Zābul in the early seventh century, and joint missions were often sent from Kābul and Zābul to China in the eighth century. In early fighting against the Muslims in the latter half of the seventh century, Kābul took an irreplaceably important role representing the southern frontier of Kāpiśī. Most probably, economic advantage from long distance trade between India and Central Asia and well-known silver mines in the Panjshīr valley supported Kāpiśī's provision of military supplies to Kābul.

4. *Khōrasan Tegin Shāh and Rtbyl*

Who followed in the line of Turkish kings after Barha Tegin? According to the section of Jibin—now assignable to Kābul—in the *Jiu Tangshu* (198) and the *Tang Huiyao* (99), the aged king of Kābul, *wusan* Tegin Shāh 烏散特勤灑, sent a memorial to the Tang court on the occasion of the mission in the twenty-seventh year of the Kaiyuan era (739). In it he asked the emperor to accept his abdication in favour of his heir Fulin Jisuo (拂菻罽娑 **vuar-liam-kiäi-shâ*). The emperor accepted it appointing him as the new king of Jibin. The *Cefu Yuangui* (964) says that it happened in the tenth month of the twenty-sixth year of that era or 738. Whichever the proper year may be, a peaceful shift of kingship in Jibin took place before 738/739.

The Kābul Shāh, called in Tang Chinese *wusan* Tegin Shāh, retired for the

reason of high age and was succeeded by his son Fulin Jisuo. Humbach (1966: 20ff; 1983: 303–309) rightly restored Fulin Jisuo as **f(h)rom kesaro* or the Caesar of Rome, based on his interpretation of a Bactrian legend *phrom khcopo* on the coins. He also succeeded in finding among the Bactrian and Pehlevi legends of coins the *uorsan* of *tegin uorsan shau* (=Khōrasan Tegin Shāh) and *hwr's'n of tgyn' hwr's'n mlk* which are equivalent to *wusan* of the Tang sources. Taking his high age into consideration, a king with the title of Khōrasan Tegin Shāh might have long been on the throne.

On Hyech'o's visit to Gandhāra in 726 there was a Turkish king who was a Kābul Shāh. Reportedly Khōrasan Tegin Shāh retired a few years before 738/739. The existence of any other Turkish Kābul Shāh is not attested before that date. Therefore Khōrasan Tegin Shāh should be taken as one and the same king as Hyech'o tells about. On the other hand, Hyech'o says that the Kābul Shāh is an uncle of the Zābul king. From the standpoint that the Kābul Shāh in the time of Hyech'o is a king entitled the Khōrasan Tegin Shāh, an uncle of the Zābul king is most likely to be the same person as this. The father of the Zābul king and the Khōrasan Tegin Shāh are brothers. The father of the Jibin king at the time of Hyech'o (Khōrasan Tegin Shāh) is Barha Tegin who usurped power from the Khingal king of Kāpiśī. Accordingly, Barha Tegin inaugurated the Turkish dynasty at Kābul after 661 and was succeeded by his son, a man probably later entitled the Khōrasan Tegin Shāh, sometime long before 738/39.

In addition to the Tang sources, which allow us to read a history of the Turkish Shāhis in Kābul with a special reference to their fraternal relationship to Zābul, a few Muslim sources such as Ṭabarī and Balādhurī also lead us to a possible inaugural date of the Turkish rule in Kābul (Inaba 1992). Ṭabarī (I, 2706) refers to a political movement of a Rtbyl in Zābul who was a brother of the Kābul Shāh, saying that the Kābul Shāh escaped from the Rtbyl and ran southwards to Aml where he became subject to the Muslim army. The author says it happened in the time of Caliph Mu'āwiyah (661–680). Since this event was in between 661–680, Ṭabarī's reference to the fraternal relation of the Kābul Shāh to the Zābul king coincides with what Hyech'o recorded.

Balādhurī tells about a series of events in the same period as Ṭabarī refers to: the fall of Kābul by Ibn Samurah in 665; the Kābul Shāh's recovery of Kābul in 666; and Rtbyl's rule over Zābulistān, ar-Rukhkhaji and Bust (Inaba 1992; Murgotten 1969: 146ff.). Ṭabarī refers to a Kābul Shāh who ran away from Kābul, while Balādhurī tells that he recovered Kābul from the hands of the Muslim forces. Here we have a serious contradiction: the Kābul Shāh had recovered Kābul, but fled from Kābul; in Kābul there seems to have been the Rtbyl!

Marquart (1901: 38) and Rehman (1979: 66) doubt that Ṭabarī correctly described the role of the Kābul Shāh which they say should have properly been replaced to that of the Rtbyl.

Such a strange replacement has recently been reexamined by Inaba. First of all, he looks for the possible candidates for Ṭabarī's Kābul Shāh from the related sources and eventually gets the following four: (1) the Kāpiśī Khingal king, (2) the king of Ghazna, or Zābul, in the *Da Tang Xiyu ji*, (3) the Turkish king of Jibin and (4) the Turkish king of Zābul. He eliminates them one by one in order to get the most probable king for that shāh. Based on his conclusion, which supports Balādhūri, he correctly reads the history of Kāpiśī-Kābul-Zābul in the later half of the seventh century. According to him, before the death of Mu'āwiyah in 680, the Kābul Shāh was defeated by Ibn Samurah's attacks on Kābul, yet in 666 he successfully recovered Kābul. After that successful fighting at Kābul, or after 666, something happened between the brothers, the Kābul Shāh and the Rtbyl. Then the Rtbyl escaped from his brother to join the Muslim power in Sīstān under Salm b. Ziyād, the successor of Ibn Samurah as the governor of Sīstān who died in 670 at Baṣra (Balādhurī: 147). Accordingly Ziyād was appointed governor in/after 670, the year being the terminus post quem of Rtbyl's subjugation to Ziyād. After 680, the year of Mu'āwiyah's death, the Rtbyl became independent in Kandahār from the yoke of the Muslim power and resided in that area.

Caution should be paid to the fact that the Kābul Shāh who recovered Kābul is not necessarily one and the same person as the Kābul Shāh who was the brother of Rtbyl. In fact, these two Kābul Shāhs differ from each other: the former is Barha Tegin; the latter is Khōrasan Tegin Shāh. The Turkish kingship peacefully shifted from Barha Tegin to Khōrasan Tegin Shāh, as we will discuss later.

Rehman has delved into descriptions by Ṭabarī and states that what Ṭabarī records as having happened in the time of Mu'āwiyah should be dealt with as in the time of Yazīd, since Salm b. Ziyād was a governor in the time of Yazīd (680–683), not of Mu'āwiyah (661–680). It is very strange that Rehman takes only 'Mu'āwiyah' as mistaken without examining if 'Salm b. Ziyād' is also. In fact, Inaba does not accept Rehman's forced interpretation, pointing out that there is a possibility that even 'Salm b. Ziyād' might have been confused with others, since this name historically is popular among Muslim generals. Therefore, one of the following two cases is possible: (1) the Rtbyl fled from the Kābul Shāh sometime between 680 and 683 to enter under the influence of Salm b. Ziyād, and after 683 the Rtbyl became independent residing in the Kandahār area; (2) the Rtbyl ran away in between 661 and 680, and after 680 he separated himself from the Muslim

power.

Balādhurī (Murgotten 1969: 149) says that the Rtbyl was murdered by Abū al-'Afrā (wālī of Sīstān) in 686/687, while according to Y'aqūbī, 'Abd Allāh b. Umayya killed him. In any case, Balādhurī also says that in 693/694 the Rtbyl was fighting against 'Abd Allāh b. Umayya. The Rtbyl was fighting seven or eight years after having been murdered! Hence there are possibly two different Rtbyls: the first Rtbyl before the year in between 686/687 and 693/694 and the second Rtbyl after that year.

Since the Kābul Shāh and the first Rtbyl were brothers in the latter half of the seventh century, the Kābul Shāh was an uncle to the second Rtbyl. As told by Hyech'o, at the time of 726 the Kābul Shāh was an uncle to the king of Zābulistan. The second Rtbyl came to the throne following the death of the first Rtbyl around 690. Since the Muslim sources say nothing about other enthronements posterior to this date, presumably the second Rtbyl was still in the position in the time of Hyech'o, having his uncle as the king of Kābul. No Chinese record exists of any enthronement in Zābulistān until 720, although the Zābul envoys reached Changan in 700 and 701. Only in 720 did the Tang emperor approve Qaradachi Eltäbär Shiqu'er 誓屈爾 (*dhāyul>Zābul) as the king of Zābulistan. Probably Qaradachi Eltäbär Zābul is identical with the second Rtbyl.

According to the records in the *Cefu Yuangui* (Vol. 964) as regards the tenth month of the twenty-sixth year of the Kaiyuan era (738), Emperor Xuanzong approved the appointment of the son of Shiyu 誓颼 (Zābul) as the new king of Zābul who had succeeded to his father's throne at his death. In this rescript the new king is called Rumofuda 如沒拂達 which can be restored as *dhawul-fradar>dhawul-frataraka and means Governor of Zābul (according to Yutaka Yoshida). On the same occasion Emperor Xuanzong also approved a man entitled the Roman Caesar to be a successor of the Khōrasan Tegin Shāh in Kābul. Whether or not Kābul and Zābul sent a joint mission to the Tang court is not clear in any of the extant Tang records, yet such an imperial rescript significantly implies that Kābul and Zābul were again closely related to each other in the thirties of the eighth century. Here we have as the king of Zābul two names, Shiqu'er in the 720 imperial rescript and Shiyu in the one in 738, but their possible restorable forms converge to an original word Zābul (<*dhāyul/dhāwul). So, Shiqu'er is identical with Shiyu and the second Rtbyl. Other similar approvals of either succession or accession of kings in other countries are also included in the same imperial rescript of the year 738. At the end is made a special postscript that the demises of kings in these countries were in other years. The second Rtbyl (Shiqu'er/Shiyu)'s demise rightly can be placed before 738. Naturally the

Khōrasan Tegin Shāh also retired long before 738. Given that the Khōrasan Tegin Shāh retired at a high age and that the Kābul Shāh kept a long relationship with the second Rtbyl as an uncle, there is no doubt that the Khōrasan Tegin Shāh is the only candidate for the uncle of the second Rtbyl. With this conclusion we can safely assign the Khōrasan Tegin Shāh as the Jibin (Kābul) king at the time of Hyech'o and the brother of the first Rtbyl, whereas the father of the Khōrasan Tegin Shāh should be Barha Tegin. In any case the Khōrasan Tegin Shāh was a younger brother. The Chinese characters used for uncle by Hyech'o are a-shu 阿叔, which means that he is younger than the father of the second Rtbyl.

Based on this conclusion we can explain the political movements after the usurpation of Barha Tegin. The main reason why the first Rtbyl ran away from his younger brother, the Kābul Shāh, may be his defeat in a conflict over succeeding Barha Tegin, as Inaba surmises. From Kābul, where the Khōrasan Tegin Shāh gained victory over him and ascended to the throne, the first Rtbyl escaped and subjugated himself to the Arab-Muslims against whom these brothers had jointly been fighting. The younger brother's accession to the throne is the most likely cause for the escape of the first Rtbyl.

From a chronological viewpoint, his escape further leads us to a probable date of the Khōrasan Tegin Shāh's enthronement. It happened sometime in the Yazīd regime (680–683) or before it, if one follows Rehman. According to another interpretation, however, it may have happened sometime in the Mu'āwiyah regime (661–680) or before it. A Khingal king, Ghar-ilchi, was still in Begram at the time of his being appointed as the governor-general by the Tang emperor in 661. Barha Tegin was still under Ghar-ilci. No usurpation ever happened before this year, not to mention a discord between the brothers.

According to Bālādhurī (Murgotten 1969, II: 146ff.), the first advent of the Arab-Muslims into Kābul is in the year 665 when Ibn Samurah raided it. Then the Kābul Shāh recovered it in the following year. From then on the Turkish Kābul Shāh, Barha Tegin, who was still under the Kapiśī Khingal rule, may have begun improving his military capacity to eventually upset the Khingal dynasty. Therefore, in between 666 and 683 a series of political chain reactions happened, such as Barha Tegin's usurpation, discord between Barha Tegin and the first Rtbyl and the latter's escape toward Zābulistan. Rehman regards Barha Tegin's recovery of Kābul in 666 as contemporaneous with his usurpation. However, he does not take into consideration the fact that Barha Tegin professed his enthronement in Kābul, not in Kāpiśī Begram. It is at Kāpiśī Begram that the Khingal dynasty had long established their prosperity, whereas the Turkish Shāhi's headquarters was in Kābul. Since the decline of Begram in the last

decades of the seventh century is attested archaeologically, a hypothesis that Barha Tegin took the place of a Khingal king at Begram where he further developed his powers has no grounds. Jibin in the Tang sources has traditionally been identified with Kāpiśī since Lévi. However, Jibin after a year between 666 and 683 should properly be dealt with as Kābul.

5. *Toward Dating Buddhist Monuments to the South of Kābul*

This conclusion further leads us to another hypothesis, one for dating clusters of Buddhist monuments in Shevaki and Kamari on the foot of lower hills to the south of Kābul. In each case the remains are comprised of a high stūpa of cylindrical form supported by a square plinth and a monastic mound of quadrangular plan with rooms roofed with domes supported by a squinch arch at each of the four corners. The stupa is placed close to visitors from the north, or on the northern end of each hilltop, and the monastic building is placed behind the stupa. Their proximity to Kābul and the absolute absence of any other cities and towns invites a hypothesis that Kābul might have largely supported all that was necessary for the lives of the monks and the monastic economy. Even if any villages may have existed nearby, they do not seem to have been so rich and lasting as to supply all necessities for the temples' activities. If this speculation is accepted, the monuments should be closely related to the rise and fall of Kābul. They can therefore be dated to some time after Kābul came into prominence politically and economically. Most probably, before the middle of the seventh century they could not have existed.

IV. Śri Shāhi Khiṃgāla-Uḍḍiyāna Shāhi

1. *More about the Afghan Marbles*

Of the marble Brahmanical sculptures found in the areas of east Afghanistan from Kāpiśī-Kabul through Gardez to Laghmān, only a few were found under controlled excavations, such as the seated Sūrya image and others dug in 1934 by the French Archaeological Delegation at Khair Khana in a northern suburb of modern Kabul (Hackin and Carl 1936: Pls. XI–XVI and XXIII, 32) and the seated Umā-Maheśvara image on the bull Nandin and other fragmentary pieces found in the years between 1970 and 1978 by the Japanese Archaeological Mission of Kyoto University at Tapa Skandar 30 km to the north of Kabul (Kuwayama 1972: Illus. 1 and 1974, Illus. 21). In addition to the paucity of regularly excavated sculptures, only the Gardez Gaṇeśa and the Tapa Skandar Umā-Maheśvara bear inscriptions, the latter of which is a hymn dedicated to the Lord Maheśvara and

does not contain any clues for precise dating (Yamada 1972; Gupta and Sircar 1972–73; Mirashi 1975). This situation has raised many difficulties for locating this group of sculptures in a proper chronological and historical context. Only because the sculptures are Brahmanical in character, some scholars have attributed them to the time of the Hindu Shāhis who supplanted Lagatūrmān, the last ruler in the line of the Turkī Shāhis, in the middle of the ninth century, or more precisely in 843 as suggested by Abdur Rehman on the basis of his interpretation of the Hund Slab Inscription (1979: 52, 309–316). While several scholars, including Verardi (1977), have published from time to time selected marble pieces to give them their own dating, the material available until 1970 was dealt with as a whole only by the present writer (1976). According to that analysis, all of the marble sculptures carry a common artistic tradition which is partly shared with contemporary examples of Buddhist art. The common characteristics between the two different groups of religious sculptures can give to the whole group of marble Brahmanical sculptures a seventh-eighth century chronological framework, the roughly latter half of which covers the reigns of the Turkī Shāhis from the point of view of the political history of the Kabul Valleys. This framework excludes the possibility of attributing them to the time of the Hindu Shāhis.

The discussion did not directly address the question whether the Afghan marble pieces are comparable with other Brahmanical sculptures produced in the geographical proximity of the Kabul Valleys. A recent suggestion given by J. Siudmak in a personal communication can be appreciated in this connection: the pentagon-shaped *mukṭa* of the Tapa Skandar Maheśvara evidently shows a close similarity with the central head of the Śiva Trimūrti from Pandrethan in the Śri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar, which is, according to him, dated to the first half of the seventh century (Siudmak 1989: Fig. 8). His suggestion has led me to investigate further the relationship between some of the Afghan marbles and the stone sculptures from Pandrethan where similarities seem closer than at other precincts around Srinagar. Decorative elements similar to those of the Tapa Skandar Umā and the Tagāo Durgā can now be pointed out on the crowns of two such stone sculptures as a Padmapāni and a Śaivite deity in the same museum (Siudmak 1989: figs. 12 and 13). Also highly suggestive for a comparison of at least two Afghan marbles—the Tapa Skandar Umā-Maheśvara and the Shakar Dara Gaṇeśa—with the Kashmiri stone sculptures is the comprehensive contribution published as his doctoral thesis by Pran-Gopal Paul (1986).

Of the two Brahmanical marble statues with inscriptions, the standing Gaṇeśa from Gardez, which had been an object of worship in the Dargah Pir Rathan Nath

in Kabul, is the more important for providing a signpost for the relative stratigraphy of the group of about two dozen sculptures revealed in east Afghanistan. This short note specifically concerns itself with the names of a king in the inscription of this statue. The king turns out to be chronologically significant in the eighth century stratum when dealt with in relation to other relevant historical factors.

2. *The Gaṇeśa Inscription*

Special attention was drawn to the inscription when it was first made public in the cyclostyled copy of the *Preliminary Report of the Indian Archaeological Delegation to Afghanistan* by T.N. Ramachandran and Y.D. Sharma. The same statue and inscription were later published by Tucci at the beginning of his mission to Swat in the footnotes of his article entitled 'Preliminary Report on an Archaeological Survey in Swat' which appeared in *East and West*, Vol. 9, No. 4.

The statue has striking importance for the two-line Acute-Angled Brahmi inscription in Sanskrit (Fig. 4) on the polished uppermost part of its plinth, which was read by Tucci in that report based on a photograph provided by Fernando Scorretti. A reproduction of his interpretation follows:

> 1. Oṃ saṃvatsare aṣṭatame sam 8 jyeṣṭha-māsa-śukla-pakṣa-tithau ttrayodaśyāṃ śudi 10–3 rikṣe viśākhe śubhe siṃhe ci..
> 2. .mahat-pratiṣṭhāpitam idaṃ mahāvināyaka paramabhaṭṭaraka-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-ṣāhi khiṃgalo-tyāna-ṣāhipadai[ḥ] (Floral Mark)

The inscription states, according to Tucci, that this great and beautiful Mahāvināyaka was consecrated by the renowned Shāhi king, the illustrious Shāhi Khiṃgala, Parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja, on the 13th of *tithi* of the white fortnight of *jyeṣṭhā* under the *nakṣatra* Viśakha and the *lagna* of the lion in the year eight. Tucci especially remarks that it is impossible to know to which era this inscription refers, but he thinks that the characters seem to be of the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth centuries. Stimulating is his cautious reading of the name *otyāna* (Uḍḍiyāna), attached to the name of the king Khiṃgala in the last line. This is important not only as the first inscribed mention of Uḍḍiyāna but also the first mention of a king's name in that country. Tucci thinks the reading is not absolutely sure, even with the support of Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, yet of considerable interest is how and whether Śri Shāhi Khiṃgala is related with similar names known from certain coins (Deva Shāhi Khiṅgi[la]) (Cunningham 1962: 265, 278–279, Pl. VII, fig. 11) and in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (Khiṃkhila Narendrāditya I) (Stein 1900: I, 52, Taraṅga 347). Tucci finds no plausible reason to dissociate the king in the inscription from those on the coins and in that

Fig. 4. The Gardez Gaṇeśa Inscription. An Ink Rubbing.

Kashmiri chronicle.

D.C. Sircar also read the inscription, based on the photograph attached to the original report, and dissented from Tucci's view at several points (Sircar 1963: 44–47). First of all, he thinks that the characters belong to the Siddhamātṛikā alphabet of the sixth or the seventh century and that the inscription is clearly not much later than the middle of the seventh century: the use of the tripartite form of the letter *y* was noticed in eastern India in such early seventh century inscriptions as the Patiakella plate of Śambhuyaśas (dated 602) and the Dubi plates of Bhāskaravarman (c. 600–650) and in Rājasthān rarely in late seventh century epigraphs like the Dhulev plate of Bhetti dated in the Harsha year 73 (=A.D. 679).

His reading follows:

> 1. [siddham] [*//] sa[ṃ]vatsare aṣṭatame saṃ 8 jyeṣṭha-māsa-śukla-pakṣa-tilau(thau) ttrayodaśyāṃ śu-di 10-3 ji(ri)k[ṣ]e viśākhe śubhe Siṃ[he] ci[traka]
> 2. mahat pratiṣṭhāpitam idaṃ mahā-vināyaka paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-ṣāhi-Khiṃgālautyāta-ṣāhi-pādai[ḥ] (Floral Mark)

Sircar delved into several different points of the inscription, among which one of the more crucial is the last passage containing Tucci's *otyāna* and the Shāhi king Khiṃgala. He revised the reading of the latter as Khiṃgāla, rightly pointing out that the vowel-mark with the letter *l* should be *au*, neither *ai* nor *ō*. According to him, moreover, the two akśaras following *lau* can be read as *tyāta*, not *tyāna*, since the letter *n* which only appears in the word vināyaka has the left and right lower limbs engraved shorter than those of *t* which occurs several times in the same inscription. Hence he has doubts about Tucci's Uḍḍiyāna associated with a Shāhi king.

He maintains that there was no *Khiṃgalotyāna ṣāhi* but Khiṃgāla Otyāta Shāhi and that Otyāta was a second name of Khiṃgāla, probably a title not connected with the territory over which he ruled. He gives such similar instances in the Gilgit manuscripts as Paṭōladeva-shāhi Vajrālitya Nandin, Śrī-Deva-Shāhi Surendravikramālitya Nanda (Nandin), and Shāhānushāhi Paṭōla-shāhi Śrī-nava-Surendrālitya Nandideva, all of them bearing double names and having ruled over the Darada country in the upper valleys of the Kishangangā in the seventh century. Although the possibility still exists that the image itself was carried from the Swat Valley to Gardez, Sircar is therefore sceptical of the existence of any Shāhis of Swat who might have occupied the Gardez region within the dominions of the Shāhis of Kāpiśi or Kabul, probably the strongest amongst the Shāhi houses if any Shāhi house actually ruled there.

The problem of the date of the king was further dealt with by M.K. Dhavalikar (1971: 331–336). He does not find any reason for the identification of Khiṃkhila Narendrālitya in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* with the king Khiṃgāla for the reason that the latter is explicitly recorded as a Shāhi king. Yet he inclines to identify Khiṃgāla with the issuer of those coins bearing the legend Khiṅga[la] or Khiṅgi[la] whom Vincent Smith ascribed to the end of the fifth century (1906: Pl. XXVII, Fig. 1). Dhavalikar does not give any definite date to the king of the inscription, agreeing with Tucci that there are too many uncertainties, but expects the Gaṇeśa statue can be dated to the early sixth century at the latest on the stylistic peculiarities of the sculpture. His 'stylistic' points, however, are specifically based on Indian iconographic trends of the post-Gupta period which seem to me other than stylistic comparisons and ignore possible relations to other marble sculptures in east

Afghanistan.

3. *A New Interpretation of the Inscription*

During the third campaign in 1974 of the excavations at Tapa Skandar, I had a chance to visit the Dargah Pir Rathan Nath in Kabul with the guidance of a Hindu clerk in the Goshoh Company in that city. The statue in question had temporarily been removed for relocation within the temple and was at that time standing free against a wall. That nice opportunity allowed me to make a good ink rubbing of the inscription (Fig. 4). I rendered a copy of the rubbing to Prof. Hide'aki Nakatani who provided the following detailed reading for which my thanks are due. His reading enabled us, against Sircar, to identify the name of the king as *khiṃgālauḍiyāna*. He admits there are many mistakes in the inscription of either engraver or writer such as the absence of a horizontal stroke in the letters *th* of *tithau* and *ś* of *śrī*. Further, the words *aṣṭatame*, *jyeṣṭha*, *rikṣe*, *viśākhe*, *mahāvināyaka* and *paramabhaṭṭeraka* should have been engraved as *aṣṭame*, *jyeṣṭhā*, *ṛkṣe*, *vaiśākhe*, *mahāvināyakaṃ* and *paramabhaṭṭāraka* respectively. The most serious mistake is *aṣṭa-tame* that seems to expose a low level of knowledge about Sanskrit in such a land of *mleccha*.

> 1. saṃvatsare aṣṭatame saṃ 8 jyeṣṭha-māsa-śukla-pakṣa-tithau ttrayodaśyāṃ śu di 10-3 rikṣe viśākhe śubhe siṃhe [citra-]
> 2. [-ke] mahat pratiṣṭhāpitam idaṃ mahā-vināyaka paramabhaṭṭeraka-mahārājādhirāja-śri-ṣāhi-khiṃgālauḍyāna-ṣāhi-pādaiḥ

His translation follows:

> On the thirteenth day of the bright half of the month of Jyeṣṭha, the [lunar] mansion being the Viśākha, at the auspicious time when the zodiacal sign Lion was bright on the horizon (lagna), in the year eight, this great [image] of the Mahāvināyaka was consecrated by the supreme lord, the great king, the king of the kings, the śrī ṣāhi Khiṃgāla, the king of Oḍyāna.

According to Nakatani, closest to the script of this inscription as a whole are the styles called by Sander as the second Gilgit-Bamiyan type and those represented by the first half, or the medical part, of the Bauer Manuscripts, usually assigned to the earlier half of the sixth century. The latter is a forerunner of the Gilgit-Bamiyan Type II which later developed into the Śārada scripts and is dated by Sander herself to the time between the sixth and the tenth centuries (Sander 1968). The Gaṇeśa inscription includes scripts related to each of these styles. To review previous datings, palaeographically Tucci thought that the inscription was datable to sometime between the end of the fifth century and the beginning of the sixth century. Sircar assigned it to the sixth or seventh century which was also accepted by Petech (1988: 187–189). The datings given by Tucci,

Sircar and Petech to the styles of letters of this inscription therefore all fall in the earlier part of Sander's chronology.

However, there are several elements that seem to converge towards a later date. One is the form of the letter *y* which was the only reason taken up by Sircar for his dating. Nakatani finds a form similar to this letter of the inscription in the manuscripts preserved in Buddhist monasteries in Japan and, based on the *Bonji Kichō Shiryō Shūsei* (1980), he believes it attributable to the eighth century.

The most important point for dating is the *saṃvat*. The readers of the inscription such as Sircar and Petech take the year eight as the regnal year of the king. Although there is no particular reason for ousting their idea, one may be allowed to suppose the possibility that the *saṃvat* eight is referrable to either the Vikrama Era or the Laukika (the Śāstra) Era, the actual date being shortened to a single digit. Since the statue itself stylistically fits well with other Brahmanical sculptures of east Afghanistan in the seventh and the eighth centuries as demonstrated elsewhere (Kuwayama 1976), the candidates for the real year under the Vikrama Era might be either 608 or 708, which would in turn be identical with A.D. 665 and 765 respectively reckoned from the vernal equinox of 57 B.C. If reckoned on the basis of the Laukika Era, the possible year might be either 3708, which is equal to A.D. 632/633 (=3708–3076/3075), or 3808, which is identical to A.D. 732/733 (=3808–3076/3075).

4. *Shāhi of Uḍḍiyāna*

According to the new reading provided in the previous section, Śrī Shāhi-Khiṃgāla bore the epithet Oḍyāna Shāhi, i.e., Shāhi of Uḍḍiyāna, to which Tucci first referred. The hypothesis of Petech, who accepted Sircar and attributed Otyāta to a local, derivative form of a personal name, Udayāditya, now needs revision (Petech 1988: 187–189).

The king bearing the name Śri Shāhi Khiṃgāla in the inscription is a definite personality in the eighth century, perhaps one of the Turkī Shāhis in the Kabul Valley, or the Kabul Shāhis. Judging from the styles of the letters used in the inscription, we have proposed above the possibility that the inscription itself is attributable to sometime later than the dates proposed by Tucci and Sircar, i.e., to the seventh or even the eighth century and, if the *saṃvat* eight belonged to one of the aforesaid eras, Śrī Shāhi Khiṃgāla could have consecrated the Gaṇeśa image in either A.D. 665 or 765, by the Vikrama Era, or in either A.D. 632/633 or A.D. 732/733, by the Laukika Era. With this in mind the last, but not least important, discussion follows in support of dating the king and his Gaṇeśa statue to the eighth century.

Chinese Tang records reveal that the year 719 is apparently the year of the first tribute of the Turkish king of Jibin whom the emperor of the Tang Dynasty, Kaozong, approved on this occasion as the *Qaradachi Tegin*, a new Turkish official title signifying one who assumes control over the country. As discussed earlier, this Turkish title, never found on kings of Jibin before him, indicates a political event which might have been the usurpation in the years between 661 (the latest date of the existence of a king in the Khingal line) and 719 (ref. p. 14f.). From 719 on, the Jibin kings appear in the Tang records with the Turkish titles. Apparently twenty years after 719, in 738, a Jibin king with the Turkish title Khōrasan Tegin Shāh sent an envoy to the Tang court to report that his son, entitled Roman Caesar, had succeeded him since he had became too old. The Khōrasan Tegin Shāh, so aged in 738, must have been the first Turkish ruler and the usurper. He is identifiable with Barha Tegin of Bīrūnī and 'aye' of Hyech'o. Volume 198 of the *Jiu Tangshu* and Volume 99 of the *Tang Huiyao* tell that in Jibin the king Roman Caesar was succeeded by his son Bofuzhun (勃匐準 *buar-biuk-tśiuen) in 745 and that in the same year the Tang emperor admitted Bofuzhun to be the king ruling over both Jibin and Wuchang. Evidently Wuchang is Uḍḍiyāna. These documents undoubtedly tell that the king of Jibin additionally held the seat of Uḍḍiyāna Shāhi.

As mentioned earlier, Sircar doubted whether the Shāhi of Swāt really existed and if he occupied the Gardez region within the dominions of the Shāhis of Kāpiśi or Kābul, probably the strongest among the Shāhi houses. Really Uḍḍiyāna scarcely appears on the historical stage which can be traced in Chinese official documents recorded by the Tang court. The only exception is their first tribute in 642 to the Tang court of Emperor Taizong's regime (*Cefu Yuangui*, Vol. 970). The second and last reference to Uḍḍiyāna in Chinese documents is the establishment of the Kabul Shāhi's rule of that country in 745 or just before that year. If we take this fact into consideration, we do not need to think that the Shāhi of Uḍḍiyāna in the inscription was an independent Shāhi other than the Turkī Shāhi in Kabul as Sircar supposed. We are therefore allowed to consider the following two possibilities in relation to the king in the inscription: Śrī Shāhi Khiṃgāla, the Shāhi of Uḍḍiyāna, is (1) identical with Bofuzhun or (2) one of the Turkī Shāhīs later than Bofuzhun—although the actual name of a king later than Bofuzhun is not known in any Chinese documents. In either case, the possible year of consecration of the Mahāvināyaka image falls only in the year 765 of the four candidates mentioned above, because the Turkī Shāhi Bofuzhun could extend his rule to Swat for the first time in 745 at the latest and the stylistic characteristics of the image do not allow us to attribute it to the ninth century. If

we take the first case as right, the name Bofuzhun would possibly be a Turkish title since it is not phonetically comparable with Khiṃgāla in the inscription, and supposed Khiṃgāla-Bofuzhun may have installed the marble Mahāvināyaka image as the king of Uḍḍiyāna twenty years after his accession. In this case, we are left without any clue to positively identify the Kabul Shāh called Khinkhil or Khinjil —whom Ya'qūbī mentions as contemporary with Al-Mahdi (775–785)—with Śrī Shāhi Khiṃgāla, Shāhi of Uḍḍiyāna. The question whether Khinkhil is identical with Khiṃgāla-Bofuzhun would simply depend on how long the latter was on the throne. There is, however, no clue for the duration of his rule. The documents on the Western Regions recorded by the Tang court refer to two further missions of Kabul-Gandhāra in 748 and 753 and eventually end with the arrival at Changan in 758 of three Buddhist monks from Kābul-Gandhāra, Central India and Kashmir. In these documents there is no mention of the name of a king in Kābul-Gandhāra. The only other document on Kabul-Gandhāra that is left for the period in question is the narrative of Wukong who travelled to Kābul, Gandhāra and Kashmir between 753 and 764, but it also says nothing of the king's name, although some of the Buddhist precincts in Kāpiśi and Gandhāra that had been visited by Xuanzang more than a century before him were referred to. Lastly, if the year eight did represent the regnal year as Sircar and Petech stated, the starting point would be the year of Bofuzun's accession to the throne.

V. Jibin in the Sui Time

The *Tangshu* says that Emperor Yangdi of the Sui Dynasty was disappointed at hearing of the absence of Jibin despite envoys arriving from more than thirty other countries of the Western Region for commercial purposes on imperial invitation. Lévi proves that Jibin in the Tang period is Kāpiśī. If Jibin mentioned above is Kāpiśī, because it is included in the paragraph from the *Tangshu*, the paragraph does not square with all other sources which clearly refer to the arrival of envoys from Cao (Kāpiśī) during the Daye 大業 era (605–617). Jibin in this paragraph is a country which was called in such a way in the Sui period. So Jibin in the Sui period differs from Jibin in the Tang. An answer to this problem is also given by Xuanzang. He clearly annotates, at the end of the Wulashi 烏剌尸 country, that Kāśmīra was previously called Jibin, which is a corrupt form of Jiashimiluo 迦濕彌羅 (Kāśmīra).

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