

voneinander trennt – und dem Iaxartes; dieser bildet die Grenze zwischen den Sogdiern und den Nomaden.”

## Events in the time of Kujūla Kadphises

### 055 – Years AD ±75-±89: Dates for the “Kuṣāṇa”, assumed to be Kujula, in inscriptions: Azes era 122-136

as *yaua* (*yabghu*): year 126 Azes = AD ±79 (reliquary, CKI 331)

as *maharaya guṣaṇa*: year 122 Azes = AD ±75 (reliquary, CKI 59)

as *maharaya rajatiraja devaputra khuṣaṇa*: year 136 Azes = AD ±89 (reliquary, CKI 60)

On the undated Māt statue his son Vema Takṣu is called: *kuṣāṇaputro* (§ 088).

**Note ed.:** It seems that the founder of a dynasty in those centuries had to indicate his non-royal descent through a particular title borne singly or in combination, since a “real” king had to be born from a king. Comparable cases are Arsaces I (ca. 250 -211 BC), the Parthian *autokrator* in the third cent. BC (Olbrycht 2011), Tryphon in Syria (142-138 BC, *autokrator*) and Puśyamitra, founder of the Śuṅga dynasty in the first cent. BC, who called himself simply *senāpati*, “General”, while Kujula uses his *yabghu* status to prove his elected status. None of his successors ever uses this title on coinage, while *kuṣāṇa* slowly turned into a dynastic self-designation.

### 056 – Year ca. AD ±30: Kujula does away with four co-Yabghus

HHS 88/118.9a-9b (2921), 《後漢書·列傳·西域傳·30》; Zürcher 1968: 367, Thierry 2005: 493 § 7, Hill 2009: 28f.:

後百餘歲，貴霜翽侯丘就卻攻滅四翽侯，  
自立為王，國號貴霜王。

“More than a hundred years later, the prince [*xihou*] of Guishuang, named Qiujiuque [Kujula Kadphises ed.], attacked and exterminated the four other *xihou*.

He established himself as king, and his dynasty was called that of the Guishuang [Kushan] King.”

**Note CHING:** The official edition reads 國號貴霜 without the final 王 *wang* “king”, which leads to an understanding as “the name of the/his state was called Guishuang”.

**Note ed.:** The year “more than a hundred years later” can refer, according to the context, either to the migration to Bactria after 176 BC, or after the installation of the five *yabghus* an uncertain time later. The latter poses no chronological problems.

### 057 – The “Heraios/Heraus” coinage

There are two views still current: a) This coinage from mainly the northern part of Bactria was issued before Kujula assumed power; b) it was issued by Kujula himself,

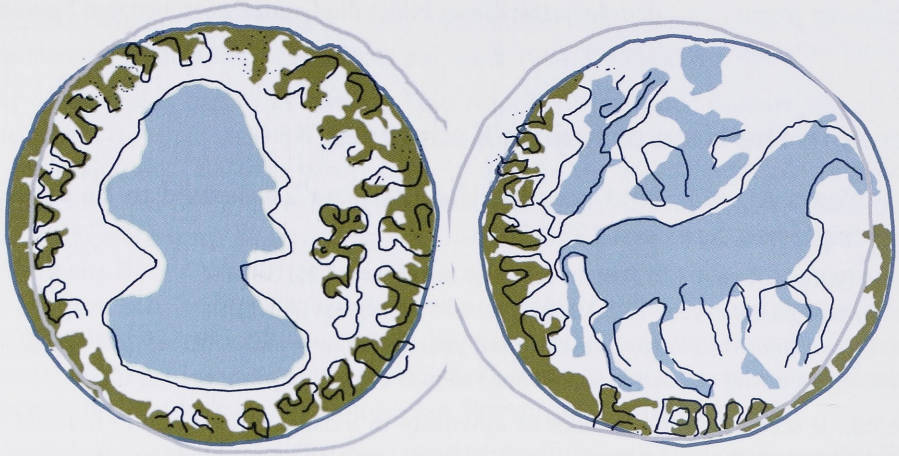


Fig. 5: Superimposed outlines from the two preserved coppers, clearly reading 5°: *devaputrasa kuyula-ka(?)akapasa / ma[harayarayatirayasa]* on the obverse inscribed in Kharoṣṭhī, and 8°: TYRAN/// and 7°: KOPPA/// on the reverse, supporting the readings in Cribb 1996: 124. On *katakapa* cf. Thierry 2005: 442.

naming himself as “*kuṣāna*”. A third view, placing it after Kujula under Sōtēr megas was presented by MacDowall & Wilson (1979) and has not found acclaim.

Cribb in his seminal paper from 1996 bases his interpretation on the two preserved pieces of copper with a similar design and showing the legend *kuyulasa* in Kharoṣṭhī along with remnants of the ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΥΝΤΟΣ in Greek (Fig. 5).

**Note Fussman:** There is no regal title. That is why Davidovitch, Zejmal’, and me believe he was a *yabghu* predecessor of Kujula or Kujula before becoming king.

**Note Hill:** It seems very unlikely to me that Xie was Kujula Kadphises as Cribb suggests because Xie is named as a “Viceroy” during the invasion of the Tarim Basin in 90 CE.

**Note ed.:** Coins in silver of “Heraios” are plentiful, mainly found north of the Oxus. The time of their being distributed cannot be narrowed down to a span of a few years, but their issuer is the king who calls himself “the Kushan”, because he held the “Kushan” *yabghu* realm. Reading from the distribution chart (cf. Fig. 4, p. 77) this realm covered the whole width and height of “northern Bactria”, preceded by different types of crude copies of Graeco-Bactrian coinages (Figs. 2, 3, pp. 75, 76). The quality of the pictorial and epigraphic engraving of the Heraus coinage is superb and presupposes ample state funds and skilled artisans. The term τυρρανουντος alludes to the former co-regents who have now to subordinate themselves to a sole ruler.

There are two denominations. The larger type weighs always less than 16 g and shows the head of the king to right, with royal fillet over long hair surrounded by the classical bead-and-reel ornament. The reverse shows a horse-rider to right followed by a flying Nike holding a wreath from behind above his head. The legend says ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΗΙΑΟΥ / ΚΟΡΡΑΝΟΥ. Between the legs of the horse letters are found which add up to



ΣΑΝΑΒ in most cases, to ANTEIX in comparatively few. The meaning of these two terms is unclear. The main legend deteriorates over time; the P of ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΥΝΤΟΣ tends to disappear and the last N becomes a square omicron. The title in initially perfect Greek says that the person is “acting as a single ruler”, which does not mean that he is the sole ruler, τυράννος. The spelling ΚΟΡΡΑΝΟΥ shows that the sound /s/ has not yet found a standard representation. The double *rho* for spoken /s/ may be traced back to the coins of Śpalises, spelled ΠΠΑΛΙΡΙΣΟΥ in the genitive, a number of decades earlier, with the *rho* replacing the sibilant. On some of the small issues of the “Heraios” coinage the name is spelled ΧΟΡΚΑΝΟΥ, using at least one sibilant preceded by the diacritic *rho* to indicate that it is not a dental /sa/.

Τυράννουντος and κορράνου are titles in the genitive. But what is ΗΙΑΟΥ? Some SANAB editors initially spelled the term with a small stroke: Η'ΑΟΥ, while the ANTEIX editors prefer a full-length *iota*: ΗΙΑΟΥ. Most degenerated legends show neither stroke nor *iota*. This *iota* was read as a *rho* and thus the ghost-name Heraios was coined. It is still disputed what idea exactly stands behind this term with its various spellings. An old explanation, forwarded by Lévi (1913: 330) who took it as “Sāhi”, that is *śāhi* in Kushan Brāhmī orthography, has much to its advantage. Some coins of Gondophares show that this term was not simply a title but represented the possession of a certain realm. As Alram (1983) has shown, Gondophares calls himself βασιλεὺς βασιλέων μέγας ὑνδοφέρρης ὁ ἐπονομαζόμενος σαη, “King of Kings, the Great, Gondophares, with the sobriquet Saē”. The last term, written ΣΑΗ, most likely represents the Iranian *śah*, spelled *śāhi* in Kushan Brāhmī. Gondophares, who was in the possession of the Kabul area, Gandhara and parts of the Panjab, seems to have lost some of this to Kujula, who formerly held only the areas north of Gondophares. As a result, Kujula calls himself, on the carefully composed and cut coins showing a sovereign with Kushan trousers on a Roman curule chair as: ΚΟΖΟΛΑΚΑΔΑΦΕΣ ΧΟΡΑΝΟΥ ΖΑΟΥΟΥ. The spelling ΧΟΡΑΝΟΥ is only a slight improvement on ΧΟΡΚΑΝΟΥ as found on some small “Heraios” coins. The “true” Bactrian š [ɣ] had not yet been designed. As the *sigma* on this type is the angular Σ I take what looks like ΟΥ as an imperfectly copied ΟΥ. That ΖΑΟΥΟΥ represents yabghu/“ǰawu” was seen by Marquart (1901: 204). Kujula is nowhere else called *śāhi* in an Indian script, but Vema Takhtu is, on the socle at Māt (s. § 088).

The term *śāhi* is also seen on the two crucial coppers found by Cunningham at an unspecified place (Fig. 5, p. 84). The reverse shows the copy of a design introduced by Gondophares, the horseman with flying Nike following, thus providing a chronological frame. The bust of the ruler and the title Tyrannountos are also found on the silver issues of “Heraios” in Bactria, where both sides are inscribed in Greek. The titles arranged around the bust say, first, that Kujula is ruling, alone, in the manner of a monarch, but, as he was not born in a royal lineage he uses, or rather, has invented the neutral term τυράννουντος. The Greek language hints at the areas formerly held by Greek kings. The second term Η(Ι)ΑΟΥ reflects *śāhi* and carries an allusion to the achievements in the South, where Gondophares was ruling. The third term ΚΟΡΡΑΝΟΥ refers to his

homeland, the *yabghu* land north of the Oxus. The “classical” weight of below 16 g. and less picks up the reduced Attic tetradrachm of kings like Heliokles.

**Note Cribb:** The coins are the forerunners of the bull/camel series issued by Kujula Kadphises in Kashmir and have the identical Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions as the first of the bull-and-camel coins. One Kujula Kadphises bull-and-camel coin in Oxford is overstruck on an example of the ‘Heraus’ type copper. The denomination and slightly magnetic alloy of the bull-and-camel coins is also shared by the ‘Heraus’ type coppers. – I still prefer to see HIAOU as another version of the Yabghu title, closer to the Chinese *xihou*.

### 058 – Year after AD ±30: Kujula takes Kabul, Nangarhar and Gandhara

HHS 88/118.9a (2921), 《後漢書·列傳·西域傳·30》; Zürcher 1968: 367, Thierry 2005: 493 § 7, Hill 2009: 28f.:

侵安息，取高附地。又滅濮達、罽賓，悉有其國。

“He invaded Anxi [Indo-Parthia], and took the Gaofu [Kabul] region. He also defeated the whole of the kingdoms of Puda [Paktia] and Jibin [Kapisha and Gandhara].”

**Note Cribb:** There are no coins of Kujula in the Peshawar valley, the limits outlined in this sentence coincide with the numismatic evidence.

**Notes ed.:** Zürcher (1968: 367) does not define *puda* 濮達. Pulleyblank (1968: 248, fn. 1) proposes Puṣkalāvātī; Hill (2015: 65-75, App. G) follows Franke (1904: 73, Cantonese P’ok-tiu = Πακτυκί) and Marquart (1905: 175f.) providing all the pertinent literature. – Thierry (2005: 493, fn. 107) points to the fact that Gaofu as a “territoire” and Puda and Jibin as a “royaume” are well kept apart.

### 059 – Year ca. AD 42-48: The Parthian Vardanes I campaigns against the Kushans in western Bactria

**Content:** The brothers Vardanes I and Gotarzes struggle for the throne of Parthia. Vardanes takes refuge in Bactria and later, after an agreement with Gotarzes, fights the Sakas in the East. Combining the events as presented in Tacitus with the imagery of a clay relief at Khalchayan showing an Arsacid king along with the Kushan royalty, Grenet (2000) concluded that the time of the refuge brought the Kushans and Vardanes I into close relationship, explaining the composition of the depiction. The complete dispersal of the Sakas in western Bactria would then have been possible by a joint campaign of Parthians and Kushans, the latter, however, remaining unmentioned in Tacitus’ report.

Tacitus, *Annales* XI.8+10; Jackson 1963: 260f., 263f.:

*Interim Gotarzes Daharum Hyrcanorumque opibus auctus bellum renovat, coactusque Vardanes omittere Seleuciam Bactrianos apud campos castra contulit. (...)*

“Meanwhile, Gotarzes, strengthened by the forces of the Dahae and Hyrcanians, renewed



hostilities; and Vardanes, compelled to abandon Seleucia, pitched his court opposite to him on the plains of Bactria. (...)”

*Et hinc contra itum ad amnem Erinden; in cuius transgressu multum certato pervicit Vardanes, prosperisque proeliis medias nationes subegit ad flumen Sindem, quod Dahas Ariosque disterminat. (...)*

“On the other side, a counter-advance brought Vardanes to the river Erindes [= Gurgan acc. to Grenet ed.]. A severe struggle at the crossing ended in his complete victory, and in successful actions he reduced the intervening tribes up to the Sindes [Harirud/Tejen acc. to Grenet ed.], which forms the boundary-line between the Dahae and Arians.”

### 060 – Year ca. AD ±50: Apracarāja Aśpavarma

**Context:** Gondophares was one of the strongest opponents to Kujula’s conquests. There are two inscriptions mentioning verifiable dates. In the first case given below, year 98 in the Azes era should fall into AD 50 for Gondophares and Aśpavarma, while the second text from Takht-i Bāhī in the Peshawar valley (CKI 53) links his 26th regnal year to the year 103, most likely of the Azes era, that would be AD 55/56.

• Date with Abdagases and Aśpavarma ruling (under Gondophares?); CKI 358, Sadakata 1996: 308-311:

*maharayasa mahatasa ayasa saṃvatsaraya aṭhaṇavatimaye 20 20 20 20 10 4 4 (98) cesa masa diye paṃcadaye 10 4 1 (15)*

*gupharasa bhadu-putrasa avakaśasa rajami*

*iṃtravarma-putre strateē aśpavarma me rajami*

“En l’an quatre-vingt dix-huitième 98 du mahārāja Azès le Grand, au quinzième jour 15 du mois de Caitra,

durant le règne d’Abdagasès, neveu (fils du frère) de Gondopharès,

durant le règne du strategos Aśpavarma, fils d’Indravarma.”

**Note ed.:** The last two lines could make just one sentence once we take (*a*)*me* in the sense of Skt. *asmin*: “In the reign of Abdagases (... we have now) a general Aśpavarma, son of (the former general) Indravarma; in this reign”. For a comparative syntax of *ayasa* cf. Māt (§ 088, \**ayasa* after nominatives); a *sandhi*-form is found on the coin legend of Straton II and III: *maharajasa stratasa putrasa casa priyapita-stratasa*, “(coin) of the Mahārāja Strato and of his (*cāsyā*) son, of the father-loving Strato.” – The genuineness of the reliquary body with this text on its inside is contested (Salomon 2004: 201). As body and script look and feel original I regard it as a substitute for a broken predecessor.

• Konow 1929: 57-62, no. 20; CKI 53, Konow 1929: 62:

*maharayasa guduvharasa vaṣ[ e\*] 20 4 1 1*

*sa[ṃ]ba[tśarae ti]śatimae 1 100 1 1 1 veśakhasa masasa divase*

*[pra]ṭham[e di 1 (...)]*

“(During the reign) of the *mahārāja* Gondophares, in the 26th year, in the one-hundred-and-third, 103rd year, on the first, 1st, day of the month Vaiśākha,”

**Note ed.:** Three years later than the first text, in AD 55, another Buddhist donation is made, again in the Peshawar valley and again the era is the one “called as of Azes”. During the symposium a text on a birch-bark was discussed which mentions one Aśpavarma, obviously in a high position, dealing with Buddhist matters. The identity with the co-ruler of Sases is likely, but adds nothing to the political history of the Kushans.

### 061 – Year ca. AD 60 and later: Description of the Yuezhi country within the circle of neighbours

• HS 96A.14b (3890), 《漢書·傳·西域傳·40》; Zürcher 1968: 364, Hulsewé 1979: 119, Thierry 2005: 491, texte 4:

大月氏國，治監氏城、

“Le royaume des Grands Yuezhi: le siège de l’autorité [zhi 治] est à la cité [cheng 城] de Jianshi.”

**Note ed.:** Zürcher and Hulsewé expect a “king” before 治 and translate accordingly.

• HHS 88/118-9a (2920), 《後漢書·列傳·西域傳·29》; Thierry 2005: 492, texte 7, Hill 2009: 28:

大月氏國居藍氏城，

“The headquarters of the Da Yuezhi [Kushan] kingdom is the town of Lanshi 藍氏 [Baghlan].”

• BS 97.12a (3226); Zürcher 1968: 373:

大月氏國，都臚監氏城，在弗敵沙西，去代一萬四千五百里。北與蠕蠕接，數為所侵，遂西徙都薄羅城，去弗敵沙二千一百里。

“The country of the Great Yüeh-chih has its capital at the city of Ying-chien-shih 臚監氏 (acc. to BS; the *Weishu* text has Lu-jian-shi 盧監氏, according to Zürcher 1968: 373). It lies west of Fu-ti-sha, at a distance of 14,500 *li* [5800 km ed.] from Tai [near Datong, ca. 300 km west of Beijing ed.].

In the north it borders on the (territory of the) Juan-juan, and since they were often invaded by them, they subsequently moved to the West and established their capital at the city of Po-lo, at a distance of 2,100 *li* [840 km ed.] from Fu-ti-sha.”

**Note CHING:** For Ying-chien-shih 臚監氏 Zürcher (1968: 388, ae) relied on a reconstructed “Ancient Chinese” pronunciation /yǎng-kam-zié/. In several Chinese dictionaries compiled in the 11th-12th centuries (e.g. Jiyun 集韻 and Guangyun 廣韻), the pronunciation of 臚 is diversified, hence this character can be rendered as Pinyin *sheng*,



*ying* or *yun*. However, to transcribe it specifically as *ying* is at least supported by Yupian 玉篇, a famous dictionary compiled in the 6th century.

• HS 96A.14b (3890), 《漢書·傳·西域傳·40》; Zürcher 1968: 364, Hulsewé 1979: 119:

去長安萬一千六百里。  
不屬都護。

“(…) and it is distant by 11600 *li* from Ch’ang-an.

It is not subject to the Protector General.”

• HS 96A.14b (3890), 《漢書·傳·西域傳·40》; Zürcher 1968: 364, Hulsewé 1979: 119-120:

戶十萬, 口四十萬, 勝兵十萬人。

“There are 100 000 households, 400 000 individuals with 100 000 persons able to bear arms.”

• HHS 88/118 (2920), 《後漢書·列傳·西域傳·29》; Hill 2009: 28f.:

戶十萬, 口四十萬, 勝兵十餘萬人。

“There are 100,000 households, 400,000 individuals, and more than 100,000 men able to bear arms.”

• HS 96A.14b (3890), 《漢書·傳·西域傳·40》; Zürcher 1968: 364, Hulsewé 1979: 120:

東至都護治所四千七百四十里,

“To the east it is a distance of 4740 *li* to the seat of the Protector General;”

• HHS 88/118 (2920), 《後漢書·列傳·西域傳·29》; Hill 2009: 29:

東去長史所居六千五百三十七里, 去洛陽萬六千三百七十里。

“To the east, it is 6,537 *li* [2,718 km] from the seat of the Chief Clerk [in Lukchun], and 16,370 *li* [6,807 km] from Luoyang.”

• HS 96A.14b (3890), 《漢書·傳·西域傳·40》; Zürcher 1968: 364, Hulsewé 1979: 120:

西至安息四十九日行,

“(…) and to the west one reaches An-hsi after 49 days’ journey; (…)”

• HHS 88/118 (2920), 《後漢書·列傳·西域傳·29》; Hill 2009: 29:

西接安息, 四十九日行、

“To the west it borders Anxi [Parthia], which is 49 days march away.”

**Note ed.:** The HHS drops the following since Jipin is now part of the country of the Da Yuezhi.

• HS 96A.14b (3890), 《漢書·傳·西域傳·40》; Zürcher 1968: 364, Hulsewé 1979: 119-120:  
南與罽賓接。

“(…) to the south it adjoins Chi-pin.”

• HS 96A.14b (3890), 《漢書·傳·西域傳·40》; Zürcher 1968: 364, Hulsewé 1979: 120:  
土地風氣, 物類所有, 民俗錢貨, 與安息同。  
出一封橐駝。

“The land, climate, types of goods, popular way of life and coinage are identical with those of An-hsi.

The land produces the single-humped camel.”

### 062 – Years ca. AD 70: Kushans in the *Periplus*?

*Periplus* § 47: Casson 1989: 80+81:

καὶ τούτων ἐπάνω μαχιμώτατον ἔθνος βακτριανῶν ὑπὸ βασιλέα οὔσαν ἴδιον τόπον.

“And beyond these is a very warlike people, the Bactrians, under a king. (...)”

**Note ed.:** Kennedy (1913: 129) proposes an emendation of the οὔσαν of the single manuscript to κουσαν and supplies αρχοντα after it, understanding “that the Bactrians were under a Kushan king who directly ruled Bactria, implying thereby that his sovereignty extended over a much wider dominion”. He expects Vima Kadphises as the king referred to. MacDowall & Wilson (1970: 228f.) deal with this and other emendations and accept the κ, but end with ὑπὸ βασιλέα Κοόσαν Ἴδιον ὄν, “(all these races) being under a Kuṣāṇa king *Heraios*”, and claim to have found the name of the “unknown king”, Sōtēr megas.

Would it pay to consider οὔσαν to represent what is clearly written *oṣana* in Kharoṣṭhī on one type of silver coinage of Kujula from Taxila (*maharajasa rajatirajasa tratarasa oṣanasa*)? A comparable spelling is found on the small issues of “*Heraios*”, i.e. most likely Kujula, which are to be read from the right: OPPANOY / HIAOY, while those to be read from the left write XOPPANOY or XOPCANOY, PP and PC meant to be read as P. If the answer is yes, then how should one treat ἴδιον τόπον? In the manner of Kennedy or of MacDowall & Wilson? On the miserable state of the sole ms and on this passage cf. Marquart (1901: 210, fn. 3).

**Note Hill:** Cf. Fussman (1991: 37-38), transl. in Hill (2015,I: 253): “According to Christian Robin’s *L’Arabie du Sud et la date du Périples de la mer Erythrée*, the South Arabic evidence would support a date between A.D. 40 and 70 for the *Periplus*, which is exactly the date that the Indian evidence now supports. Previous attempts to connect the *Periplus* with the Indian chronology used to identify Nambanus/Manbanus with Nahapāna. This association, first adduced on phonetic grounds by Abbé Boyer, does not hold water now for Nahapāna is no Sanskrit name. The only sure evidence the *Periplus*



provides is the description of the political situation in North Western India as described in § 38, 1-3 and 47, 3-6. The country appears divided between shifting powers and waiting for the Kushan invasion, which would point to a date ca. A.D. 30, in any case prior to A.D. 50.”

**Reply ed.:** Whether Nahapāna’s name is Sanskritic or not has nothing to do with his chronological position, which is now defined by Caṣṭana’s coming to power, not unreasonably connected with the introduction of the Śaka era in AD 78, after the downfall of Nahapāna. The equation Nambanus/Manbanus = Nahapāna is proven by a coin of his where his name in the genitive appears as NABANOY (Bhandare 2007). An argument for a date for the *Periplus* “prior to AD 71” was presented already by Marquart 1901: 209, with fn. 5.

### 063 – Years as before: Silk from China in the *Periplus*

**Content:** Two roads for the silk trade from China (Thina) are mentioned in the *Periplus*, one overland from China to Bactria and further down to Broach (Barygaza), the other one involves the Ganges and leads to the Kerala coast.

*Periplus* § 64; Casson 1989: 90+91:

Μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν χώραν ὑπ’ αὐτὸν ἤδη τὸν βορέαν, ἔξωθεν εἰς τινα τόπον ἀποληγούσης τῆς θαλάσσης, παράκειται [δὲ] ἐν αὐτῇ πόλις μεσόγειος μεγίστη, λεγομένη Θῖνα, ἀφ’ ἧς τό τε ἔριον καὶ τὸ νῆμα καὶ τὸ ὀθόνιον τὸ Σηρικὸν εἰς τὴν Βαρύγαζον διὰ Βάκτρων πεζῆ ἕρεται καὶ εἰς τὴν Λιμυρικὴν πάλιν διὰ τοῦ Γάρρου ποταμοῦ.

“Beyond this region, by now at the northernmost point, where the sea ends somewhere on the outer fringe, there is a very great inland city called Thina from which silk floss, yarn, and cloth are shipped by land via Bactria to Barygaza and via the Ganges River back to Limyrike.”

**Note ed.:** Trivial as the statement may seem, it could explain why half a century later Kaniṣka took the pains to invade the Ganges valley down to its eastern end. Importing goods overland into northern India via southern China may have an old tradition (see § 035). Blocking that road or supervising the trade there could have been vital for the Bactrian connection.

### 064 – Year ca. AD 70: Sadaṣkaṇa, son of Kujula

Senavarma copper-plate; CKI 249, von Hinüber 2003: 29:

8g: maharaja-rayatiraya-kuyula-kataphtsa-putro sadaṣkaṇo devaputro

9a: sadha aṇakaena suhasomeṇa aṣmaṇakareṇa

9b: (...) puyita.

“Der Sohn des Großkönigs, des Oberkönigs über Könige, Kujula Kadphises, Sadaṣkana,

der Sohn der Götter, ist zusammen mit seinem Gefolgsman Sutasoma, dem Aşmanakara, mit seinen Reittieren, mit seinem Heer und seinen Wagen, mit den Guşuraka und den Stūraka geehrt.”

**Note Fussman:** In a chronology other than yours, Sadaşkaņa could also be Wima Kadphises, who may be the same as Sadaşkaņa: The Emperor may have changed his name when ascending the throne. But Kujula may have had hundreds of sons!

**Note ed.:** For the time being, this document is the earliest epigraphic attestation of the term *devaputra*, “son of a god”, in the Kushan family and its use is justified as Sadaşkaņa was born as the son in a ruling family, unlike his father, cf. note to § 055. If the Greek and Roman habit to name only defunct ancestors as *theos/divus* was also followed in Gandhara then the range of titles found here could mean that Kujula had died but his successor was not yet installed. To assume just one son of Kujula and to identify Sadaşkaņa with Vema Takhtu alias Sōtēr megas is an arbitrary assumption.

### 065 – Year AD ±75 = year 122 of Azes: Kujula nameless as *guşaņa*

Panjtar inscription on rock; Konow 1929: 67-70, no. 26, CKI 59; Konow 1929: 70 [+ ed.]:  
1: *saṃ 1 100 20 1 1* (122) *śravanasa masasa di pradhamē 1 maharayasa guşaņasa rajami*  
“In the year 122, in month *śrāvāṇa*, on the first day, 1, during the reign of the *mahārāja*, the Guşāṇa.”

**Note Fussman:** This is a supposition. There is no name: It could be Kujula, Sōtēr megas, even Wima Kadphises.

### 066 – Year AD 78: The Yuezhi seek good relations with the Chinese

**Context:** Much of the further development depends on the activities of the Imperial General Ban Chao who now enters the scene.

HHS 47/77.4a (1575), 《後漢書·列傳·班梁列傳·7》; Chavannes 1906: 224-225, Zürcher 1968: 369:

建初三年，超率疏勒、康居、于寘、拘彌兵一萬人攻姑墨石城，破之，斬首七百級。

超欲因此叵平諸國，乃上疏請兵。曰：

“臣竊見先帝欲開西域，故北擊匈奴，西使外國，鄯善、于寘即時向化。今拘彌、莎車、疏勒、月氏、烏孫、康居復願歸附，欲共并力破滅龜茲，平通漢道。

“In the third Qianchu year (78 A.D.) (Ban) Chao, at the head of ten thousand soldiers from Kashgar, (the kingdom of) Kangju, Khotan, and Jumi (Keriya), attacked Aksu and Uch-Turfan and vanquished them. He cut seven hundred heads off. (Ban) Chao wanted



to take advantage of this to immediately establish his domination over all the various kingdoms. He therefore addressed a request to the Emperor for reinforcement in these terms:

‘I have understood that the Emperor who proceeded you wanted to open up the Western Countries. That’s why he attacked the Xiongnu to the north; towards the west, he sent ambassadors to the foreign kingdoms. (The princes of) Shanshan (to the south of Lop Nor) and Khotan were turning towards our renewed influence. Now, (the countries of) Jumi (Keriya), Yarkand, Kashgar, the Yuezhi, the Wusun (in the Ili Valley) and (the kingdom of) Kangju, again wish to come for refuge to us. I would like to reunite all their forces to crush and destroy Kucha, in order to reopen and pacify the route that leads to China.’

### 067 – Year AD ±79 = year 126 of Azes: Kujula nameless as *yabghu*

Inscription on a reliquary cist, cf. Fussman 1985: 48, CKI 331, ed.:

- 1 *sabatśaraye śaviśavaśaśatimae*
- 2 *maharayasa mahatasa ayasa kalagada*
- 3 *sa aśaśasa masasa divasami*
- 4 *treviśami iśa divasami*
- 5 *yauasa rajami*

“In the hundred-and-twentysixth year of the *mahārāja* Azes the Great, who is dead, in month Āśāḍha on the 23rd day, at this day, in the reign of the Yabghu (...).”

### 068 – Year AD 84: Ban Chao attacks Yarkand and the role of the Yuezhi

HHS 47/77.6b-7a (1579-1580), 《後漢書·列傳·班梁列傳·10》; Zürcher 1968: 369f. (partial), YU 2004: 156, Thierry 2005: 494, texte 9, Chavannes 1906: 230-231:

明年, (...) 超 (...) 擊莎車。疏勒王忠, 遂反 (...) 而康居遣精兵救之, 超不能下。是時月氏新與康居婚, 相親, 超乃使使多齎錦帛遺月氏王, 令曉示康居王, 康居王乃罷兵, (...) 後三年, (...) 南道於是遂通。

“L’année suivante (84 p.C.) (...) »(Pan) Tch’ao« (...) attaqua »So-kiu« (Yarkand) (...) Tchong, roi de »Sou-le« (Kachgar) (...) alors se révolta (...) le »K’ang-kiu« (Sogdiane) envoya des soldats d’élite au secours de »Tchong«, et »(Pan) Tch’ao« ne put soumettre ce dernier. En ce temps, comme les »Yue-tche« (Indoscythes) venaient de s’allier par un mariage avec le »K’ang-kiu« (Sogdiane), »(Pan) Tch’ao« chargea un ambassadeur d’apporter des présents considérables en étoffes de soie au roi des »Yue-tche« (Indoscythes) et de l’inviter à faire des remontrances au roi de »K’ang-kiu« (Sogdiane); le roi de »K’ang-kiu« (Sogdiane) cessa alors les hostilités (...). Trois ans plus tard (87 p.C.) (...) La route du sud se trouva alors ouverte.”

**069 – Year AD 87: Ban Chao, Yarkand and the Yuezhi again**

HHS 3/33.17a (158) 《後漢書·紀·肅宗孝章帝紀·113》, Thierry 2005: 493, texte 8, Zürcher 1968: 370:

是歲，西域長史班超擊莎車，大破之。

月氏國遣使獻扶拔、師子，

“(The first year *chang-ho*, A.D. 87). In this year the governor-general of the Western Region Pan Ch’ao attacked So-chü (Yarkand) and greatly defeated it.

The country of the Yüeh-chih sent an envoy who offered (as tribute) *fu-pa* (antelopes) and lions.”

**Note ed.:** Thierry erroneously takes the year as the second of the Zhang He era; this does not affect his interpretation of the chronological discrepancies (2005: 479).

• HHS 47/77.7a-7b (1580), 《後漢書·列傳·班梁列傳·13》; Chavannes 1906: 232, Thierry 2005: 494, texte 9, Zürcher 1968: 370:

初，月氏嘗助漢擊車師有功，

“Previously, the Yüeh-chih had earned merit by helping the Han to attack Chü-shih (Turfan).”

**Note de la Vaissière:** This could be the ‘Little Yuezhi’.

**Note ed.:** Thierry (2005: 480 § 21) discusses the whole passage at length and proposes with good reasons to replace Jushi 車師, Turfan, by Suoju, Yarkand, ascribing the mistake to the “compilations de seconde main” used by Fan Ye. The character *ju* 車 is common to both city names. This view implies a date different from the one based on Ban Chao’s biography.

**070 – Year AD 88: Ban Chao blocks a marriage proposal and provokes enmity between Yuezhi and Han**

**Context:** The Yuezhi try to link themselves with the Han, probably in connection with their help to the successful attack of Ban Chao on Yarkand. In the HHS book 47/77 it is Ban Chao who stops this from happening, while chapter 3/33 from the Imperial Chronicles, covering the same period, doesn’t even know of it.

HHS 47/77.7a-7b (1580), 《後漢書·列傳·班梁列傳·13》; Chavannes 1906: 232, Thierry 2005: 494, texte 9, Zürcher 1968: 370:

是歲貢奉珍寶、符拔、師子，因求漢公主。超拒還其使，由是怨恨。

“In this year (A.D. 86) they offered as tribute precious stones, *fu-pa* (antelopes) and lions, and they used this occasion to ask for a Han princess. (Pan) Ch’ao stopped their



envoy and sent him back, and from that moment they bore a grudge (against the Han).”

**Note ed.:** Thierry (2005: 494, fn. 116) refers to a gloss specifying the pronunciation of the “antelopes” as *fu-bo*, not *fu-ba*. According to HHS 118,22 they resemble Chinese unicorns without the horn (符拔形似麟而無角), according to a gloss in Sui-tang 《通典·邊防八·條支》, they are like deer with long hair (似鹿, 長毛).

### 071 – Year AD ±89 = year 136 of Azes: Kujula nameless, sick (?), as *khuṣaṇa*

Taxila silver scroll inscription, Konow 1929: 70f., no. 27, CKI 60; Konow 1929: 77 [+ed.]:

1: *sa 1 100 20 10 4 1 1 ayasa aṣaḍasa masasa divase 10 4 1 (...)*

3: *maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa khuṣaṇasa arogadakṣiṇae (...)*

“In the year 136 of (the era of) Azes, on the 15th day of month Āṣāḍha (...) for the gift of health of the *mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra* *Khuṣaṇa (...)*”

**Note Fussman:** That is your supposition. There is no name: It could be Kujula, Sōtēr, even Wima Kadphises. The term *arogadakṣiṇae* does not mean that the Emperor is sick. It means only that the donor wishes the Emperor good health now and in the future.

### 072 – Year AD ±89 or ±90: Kujula dies

HHS 88/118.9a-9b (2921), 《後漢書·列傳·西域傳·30》; Zürcher 1968: 367, Pulleyblank 1968: 247-248, Hill 2009/2015: 28f.:

丘就卻年八十餘死,

“Ch’iu-chiu chü [Kujula Kadphises] died when over eighty years of age.”

**Note Hill:** “I.e. over 79 by Western reckoning, as Chinese count their age as beginning at 1 at birth.”

**Note Fussman:** Don’t take numbers too literally, cf. the age of Buddha.

## Events in the time of Vema Takhtu alias Sōtēr megas

### 073 – Years and titles for Vema Takhtu: AD 90-104

as “King \*Ta(k)” in a Chinese chronicle: AD 90 (§ 074)

as βασιανδε ραι ι βωγο ι στοργο (...) κορανο ι ραϕτογο ι βαγο ι ηζνογο in year 279 = AD 104 (§ 090).

**Note ed.:** On the form of the name Vema Takhtu cf. Falk 2009.

### 074 – Year AD 90: Kushan king/viceroy attacks Ban Chao west of Kucha and is beaten back

**Content:** A “king” or “viceroy” of the Kushans fought with Ban Chao. He is referred to