

“Later [some time after AD 105 ed.], the Western Regions rebelled, and these relations [with China ed.] were interrupted. Then, during the second and the fourth Yanxi years in the reign of Emperor Huan [159 and 161 CE], and frequently since, [these] foreigners have arrived [by sea] at the frontiers of Rinan [Commandery south of Jiaozhi] to present offerings.”

### 109 – Kaniṣka son of Huviṣka?

**Context:** In Sonkh near Mathura a unique copper coin (Göbl 1984: 103 no. 984; Härtel 1993: 464 no. 6) was found with legends on both sides reading *huviṣkasya* on the obverse and according to Härtel [*pu*]*tra ka* plus *ṇ(i)kas[y]a* in two lines on the reverse. This was interpreted as a) Kaniṣka I being the son of an otherwise unknown Huviṣka or b) Huviṣka having an otherwise unknown son Kaniṣka. According to Härtel (1993: 462b) “one should not, in spite of the unusual wording of the inscription, exclude the possibility that this is a medal for Huviṣka, the son of Kaniṣka (I)”.

**Note ed.:** On the reverse almost all letters can be disputed: the supposed *pu* looks rather like *ma*; *tra* appears possible; *ka* could be a human figure; in the second line the first letter must be a *ka*, because a *na* or *ṇa* would be positioned much too high in the line; *ka* is fine and *sa* is *su*. A reading *kaṇikasa* for *kaniṣkasya* is absolutely ruled out.

## Events in the time of Vāsudeva

### 110 – Years AD ±191-±225: Dates for Vāsudeva in inscriptions: 68 to 98

as *mahārāja vāsudeva*: years 80, 83 (SS #136, 139)

as ? *devaputra vāsudeva*: year 68 (SS #127)

as *mahārāja devaputra vāsudeva*: year 93 (SS #153)

as *mahārāja rājātirāja ṣahi vāsudeva*: year 87 (SS #147)

as *mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra vāsudeva*: year 74 (SS #132)

as *mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra ṣahi*: years 80, 84 (SS #88, San Francisco)

as *rājan vāsudeva*: year 98 (SS #156)

**Note ed.:** The last case is not derogatory, but comes from Jain circles which initially used no king’s name or title at all. The text marks the beginning of a change in dating habits among Jain clerks.

### 111 – Year ca. AD 222: Bardaiṣan on Kushan habits

**Context:** The Syrian philosopher and theologian Bardaiṣan (AD 154-222) met Indians who came to Babylon in the time of an “Antoninus of Emesa”, most likely (cf. de Beauvoir Priaulx 1862: 280, fn. 2) during the reign of the Roman emperor Elagabal (AD 218-222). The *Book of the Laws of the Countries* was composed by his pupil Philippus from his sayings. It is preserved in the Syriac language. To demonstrate that stars and planets are not of pivotal importance to the fate of human individuals he lists a series of local

particularities from China to the Germanic tribes, which would not exist if the heavenly bodies had a general influence on all people born under the same constellations.

Drijvers 2006: 47, where the original is given in Syriac letters:

- “Among the Bactrians who are called Kushanians the women are fond of wearing fine male attire, a lot of gold, and beautiful ornaments. And the slaves and slave-women do more service to them than to their husbands, and they ride on horses caparisoned with gold and jewels. Now these women do not remain chaste, but have intercourse with their slaves and with foreigners who come to that country. Their husbands do not reproach them with this and they are not afraid, because the Kushanians have their wives to mistress.”
- “The Kushanians spit in the face of anyone who has committed a theft of this kind (= stealing a trifle).”

### 112 – Years AD 222-252: Embassy from Cambodia receives Yuezhi horses from Muruṇḍas in eastern North India

**Content:** In the Wu period (AD 220-277) an ambassador from China went to Funan and met sailors who had just returned from India where they had made the acquaintance of a ruler of a kingdom on the Ganges named Meou-loun (茂論). They returned with horses from the Yue-zhi (月支) country.

Quotation from the *Wu shi waiguo zhuan* 吳時外國傳 of Kang Tai 康泰 (third cent. AD) in the *Liangshu* 梁書, “History of the Liang state”, *juan* 卷 54, 海南諸國列傳; Pelliot 1903 (in part); Thierry 2005: 495f.; Lévi 1896a: 176-187 (repr. 235-243 <235f.):

唯吳時扶南王范旃遣親人蘇物使其國，從扶南發投拘利口，循海大灣中正西北入歷灣邊數國，可一年餘到天竺江口，逆水行七千里乃至焉。天竺王驚云：“海濱極遠，猶有此人。”即呼令觀視國內，仍差陳、宋等二人以月支馬四匹報旃，遣物等還，積四年方至。其時吳遣中郎康泰使扶南、及見陳、宋等，具問天竺土俗，云：“佛道所興國也。人民敦龐，土地饒沃。其王號茂論。所都城郭，水泉分流，繞于渠壟，下注大江。其宮殿皆雕文鏤刻，街曲市里，屋舍樓觀，鐘鼓音樂，服飾香華；水陸通流，百賈交會，奇玩珍瑋，恣心所欲。左右嘉維、舍衛、葉波等十六大國，去天竺或二三百里，共尊奉之，以為在天地之中也。”

“Au temps des Wei et des Tsin (220-419) les relations entre la Chine et l’Inde furent interrompues, et elles ne reprirent pas de longtemps. Seulement à l’époque de la dynastie

Ou (222-277) le roi du Fou-nan (Pégou, Siam) nommé Fan-tchen (范旃) envoya un de ses parents nommés Sou-ou (蘇物) en ambassade dans l'Inde. Parti de Fou-nan, il sortit de l'embouchure du fleuve Teou-kieou-li, et suivit la grande courbe du littoral droit vers le nord-ouest, entra dans un grand golfe que bordaient plusieurs royaumes, et au but d'un ans et plus arriva à l'embouchure du fleuve de T'ien-tchou (l'Inde). Il remonta le cours du fleuve, parcourut 7.000 li, et arriva à destination. Le roi de l'Inde fut rempli de surprise et s'écria: »Quoi! il existe des hommes comme ceux-ci sur les bords des mers les plus lointaines! » Et il ordonna de leur faire visiter l'intérieur de son royaume. Ensuite il envoya deux hommes, Tchenn-soung etc. pour offrir en retour à Fan-tchen et à Sou-ou quatre chevaux du pays des Yue-tchi. Ils n'arrivèrent qu'au bout de quatre ans.

En ce temps-là l'empereur de la dynastie Ou avait envoyé un officier de second rang, K'ang-t'ai (康泰) en mission au royaume de Fou-nan. Il y rencontra Tchenn-soung etc. et il les interrogea sur les coutumes de l'Inde. Ils lui répondirent:

'C'est un pays où la loi du Buddha prospère. La population y est droite et honnête, et la terre est très fertile. Le titre (*hao*) du roi est Meou-loun (茂論). (...)

Plusieurs royaumes, même situés à deux ou trois mille *li* du T'ien-tchou, lui obéissent. parce qu'ils considèrent que ce royaume est situé au milieu de l'univers.”

**Note ed.:** This episode is important for dating the change from the imperial Kushans to those of the second Kushan century where unusual titles are used. Maolun 茂論 has been linked to the Muruṇḍas, mentioned by Samudragupta on the Allahabad pillar (§ 131), last after Daivaputras, Śahis, Śahānuśahis and Śakas.

### 113 – Years as before: Kushan horse trade by ship

Taiping yu lan 《太平御覽·兵部九十·羈·5》 cites in chapter 90 on *ji* 羈 “halter” Kang Tai 康泰 (cf. § 054) with his Wushi waiguo zhuan 吳時外國傳 on “Wu-period [AD 222-280] commerce with foreign lands”. Thierry 2005: 496, texte 12:

加營國王好馬，月支賈人常以舶載馬到加營國。國王悉為售之。若於路失羈鞮，但將頭皮示王，王亦售其半價。

“Le roi du Jiaying 加營 [= Geying, in Funan Thierry] raffolait des chevaux. Régulièrement, les commerçants yuezhi envoyaient sur de grands navires des chevaux jusqu'au Jiaying. Le roi les leur achetait tous. Si en route l'un perdait son licou et ses entraves, on se contentait de présenter sa tête au roi qui payait alors la moitié du prix.”

### 114 – Year ca. AD 224: Kushan envoys to Ardashir

**Context:** The formation of the Sasanian state by Ardashīr, with discussion of his campaigns in the East, as reported ca. AD 900.

al-Ṭabarī, ed. De Goeje 1979-1901,I: 819-820; Bosworth 1999: 15, (with vowels added):

*thumma anšaraḥa min marwa ilā fārsa wa-nazala jūra fa-ʿatathu rusulu maliki kūshāna wa-maliki tūrāna wa-maliki mukrāna bi-l-tāʿati* [.]

“Then he returned from Marw to Fārs and took up his quarters at Jūr. Envoys from the kings of the Kūshān, of Tūrān, and of Makrān, came to him offering their submission.”

**Note ed.:** De Goeje’s edition reads *mukrān*; Bosworth changes to *makrān* and translates accordingly.

### 115 – Year AD 230: Embassy of Vāsudeva reaches the Chinese capital

Weishu 魏書 cited in the Sanguozhi 《三國志· 魏書三· 明帝紀·12》; YU 2004: 199, Thierry 2005: 497, texte 14, Zürcher 1968: 371:

太和 (...) 三年 (...) 十二月 (...)

癸卯, 大月氏王波調遣使奉獻, 以調為親魏大月氏王。

“In the third year of the Taihe 太和 reign-period (A.D. 229), in the twelfth month (...) on the day of *guimao* 癸卯 (= 26. January 230), the king of Da Yuezhi 大月氏, Bodiao 波調, sent envoys to present tribute. [The Wei 魏 Dynasty] made [Bo]diao [波]調 the King of Da Yuezhi 月氏 Who is Close to Wei 魏.”

**Note ed.:** The embassy must have started early in AD 229, if we compare the marching time of seven months from the Pamir to Chang’an (de la Vaissière 2009: 534).

**Note Cribb:** The northern gold mint of Vasudeva probably at Balkh stopped producing at the end of his reign.

### 116 – Years AD 220-265: Yuezhi and other nations send tribute to China

Weishu 魏書 cited in Sanguozhi 《三國志· 魏書三十· 東夷傳·1》; Zürcher 1968: 371:

魏興, 西域雖不能盡至, 其大國龜茲、于寔、康居、烏孫、踈勒、月氏、鄯善、車師之屬, 無歲不奉朝貢, 略如漢氏故事。

“Although (since) the rise of Wei [AD 220-265 ed.] the Western Regions could not entirely be reached (by Chinese influence), yet the largest states such as Ch’iu-tzu (Kuchā), Yü-t’ien (Khotan), K’ang-chü (Sogdia), Wu-sun (Ili basin), Su-le (Kashgar), Yüeh-chih, Shan-shan (Lop nor) and Chü-shih (Turfan) every year sent tribute to the court, more or less as had been the custom in Han times.”

## The time of Kaniška II

### 117 – Years AD ±231-±245: Dates for Kaniška II in inscriptions: 4 to 18

as *mahārāja kaniška*: years 4, 9, 18 (SS #17, 34; CKI 149)

as *devaputra kaniška*: year 5 (SS #24)