

sense that Endere is a fortified site of later periods rather than traces of prehistorical tribe(s). However, while Stein preferred to link Endere with “Tukhāra (i.e. Hephthalite)”, I think Xuanzang’s mention of *duhuoluo guguo* in the east of Niya is more likely the ruins of a colony (administrative center, immigrants’ settlement or even the residence of some Kushan hostage/consulate) since the Kushan period (CHING 2015: 13). After all, it is known that the Sogdians built their colonies on their trade routes to China and people from the historical Tocharistan (Bactria) was also active in international politics and commerce, so it is reasonable to suppose that the Kushans once established settlement(s) in Chinese Turkestan, too.

### 104 – The Tocharians subject to the Bactrians?

**Context:** The Roman historian Ammianus Marcellinus (ca. AD 330-400) has a long passage on Bactria in 23.6:55-58, in many points simply based on Ptolemy’s map. Participating in the Roman campaigns against the Sasanians he seems to have added some hear-say from his encounter with Bactrians, concerning the difference between “Bactrians” and Tocharians.

Ammianus Marcellinus *Rerum Gestarum* 23.6:55-57; Seyfarth 1970,III: 100f.:

[55] *Proximos his limites possident Bactriani, natio antehac bellatrix et potentissima Persisque semper infesta antequam circumscitos populos omnes ad dicionem gentilitatemque traheret nominis sui, (...)*

“Die nächsten Gebiete besitzen die Baktrianer, früher ein kriegerisches und sehr mächtiges, den Persern stets feindlich gesinntes Volk, bevor es alle Nachbarvölker unterworfen zur Annahme seines eigenen Namens gezwungen hatte.” (...)

[57] *Gentes isdem Bactrianis oboediunt plures, quas exsuperant Tochari,*

“Viele Stämme sind diesen Bactriern untertan, darunter vor allem die Tocharer.”

**Note ed.:** The dominant tribe, the “Bactrians”, must be the Kushans. They are said to have others made to run under their name, cf. § 126.

## Events in the time of Huviṣka

### 105 – Years AD ±153-±187: Dates for Huviṣka in inscriptions: 26 to 60

as *huviṣka*: year 31 (SS #71, 73)

as *devaputra śāhi huviṣka*: year 28 (SS #64)

as *mahārāja huviṣka*: years 26, 28, 29, 34, 48, 58 (SS #65, 68, 69, 190, 108, 123)

as *mahārāja devaputra huviṣka*: years 33, 35, 37, 38, 39, 45, 51, 53 (SS #76, 82, unpubl., 84, 85, 89, 117, 120)

as *mahārāja rājātirāja huviṣka*: years 40 (SS #87), 51 (CKI 159)

as *mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra huviṣka*: years 47, 60 (SS #94, 124)

## 106 – Year AD ±155 ≈ Kushan year 28: Huviṣka in trouble?

**Context:** The coinage of Huviṣka shows clearly that after initial good times the king ran into great financial difficulties, certainly accompanied by political upheaval. This document seems to provide a date for the troublesome period. Another date may be deduced from the two inscriptions of the year 31 (§ 105,1) where Huviṣka's name occurs without any honorific title at all.

Pillar of red Mathura sand stone. Mathura Museum acc.no. 1119, reading according to Konow 1931/32, transliteration brought up-to-date and one word (\*) read differently by ed.

- 1: *siddham saṃvatsare 20 8 gurppiya divase 1 ayaṃ puṇya-*
- 2: *śālā prācinī kanasarukamāna-putreṇa kharāsale-*
- 3: *rapatin[ā] vakanapatinā akṣayanīvi dinn[ā] tuto vṛ[ddhi]-*
- 4: *to māsānumāsaṃ śuddhasya \*caturdaśe puṇyaśā[lā]*
- 5: *yaṃ brāhmaṇa-śataṃ pariviṣitāvyam divase-diva[se]*
- 6: *ca puṇyaśālāye dvāramūle dhāriya sādyaṃ saktunā ā-*
- 7: *āḍhaka 3 lavṛṇa-prastho 1 śaku-prastho 1 harita-kalāpaka-*
- 8: *ghaṭak[ā] 3 mallak[ā] 5 etaṃ anādh[ā]nām kṛtena dātavya[m]*
- 9: *babhakṣitāna pibasitanam ya catra puṇya[m] taṃ devaputrasya*
- 10: *śāhisya huviṣkasya yeṣā[m] ca devaputro priyaḥ teṣāṃ api puṇya[m]*
- 11: *bhavatu sarvāyi ca pṛtivīye puṇya[m] bhavatu akṣayanivi dinn[ā]*
- 12: *...[r]āka-śreṇi[i]ye purāṇa-śata 500 50 samitakara-śreṇi-*
- 13: *[ye ca] purāṇaśata 500 50*

“Success! In the year 28, on the first day of Gorpaios, this eastern hall of merit was given a perpetual endowment by the Kanasarukamāna-scion, the lord of Kharāsalerā, the lord of Vakana. From the interest therefrom month for month \*on the fourteenth (day) of the bright (half of the moon) hundred Brāhmaṇas should be served in the open hall, and day for day, having kept it at the entrance to the hall, on the same day three *āḍhaka* groats, one *prastha* salt, one *prastha śaku*, three *ghaṭaka* and five *mallaka* of green-vegetable bundles, this should be given for the sake of destitute people, hungry and thirsty, and what merit is herein, may that accrue to the Devaputra, Śāhi Huviṣka and also to those to whom the Devaputra is dear, and may the merit accrue to the whole earth. The perpetual endowment was given to the ...*rāka*-guild, 550 *purāṇa*, and to the flourmaker-guild, 550 *purāṇa*.”

**Note Critt:** The difficulties found also expression in the collapse of the initial weight standard of the coinage and the introduction of a lighter standard after the recuperation.

**Note ed.:** The HHS may provide further dates, speaking about embassies “from India” sent to the Chinese court in AD 159 and 161 (Thierry 2005: 484), that would be in ±32 and ±34, the early years of Huviṣka. Like the embassy sent in the last

years of Vāsudeva (§ 115, p. 126) the reason could be a request for help. The next paragraph shows where exactly enemies were active, in Bactria.

### 107 – Year AD ±158 ≈ Kushan year 31: Well-inscription at Surkh Kotal (SK4)

**Content:** Prior to the date of Kushan era year 31, again early in the reign of Huviška, enemies threatened the integrity of the local sanctuary.

SK4, Gershevitch 1979: 64; Sims-Williams 2012: 78-79:

§1. ειδο μα λιζο μο κανηβκο οανινδο βαγολαγγο σιδο ι βαγο βαιο κανηβκι ναμοβαργο κηρδο

§2. ταδιοο κεδο φορδαμσο μα λιζο φρογιρδο ταδηιο μανδαρο αβο νιστο χοτο ασιδο μα λιζο αβαβγο σταδο

§3. οδο καλδο ασο λρουομινανο ιειρο σταδο ταδο ι βαγε ασο ι νοβαλμο φροχορτινδο

§4. ταδο αβο λραφο οαστινδο αβο ανδηζο οτο μα λιζο πιδοριγδο

§5. τα καλδο νοκονζοκο ι καραλραγγο ι φρειχοαδηγο κιδο φρεισταρο αβο βαιο ι βαγοπουρο ι λοιχοβοσαρο ι βιζογαργο ι αλοβχαλο κιδο φαρο οισποανο μο οαδοβαργανο ωσογδομαγγο πιδο ι ιωγο οδο υηρσο χβρονο νεισανο μαο μαγο αγαδο αμο βαγολαγγο.

“This citadel (is) the temple of Kanishka the victorious, which was named(?) by the lord king Kanishka. When the citadel was first completed, it did not require(?) (an) internal water (supply), but the citadel was waterless,

and when there was an attack(?) by enemies, then the gods were displaced from (their) seat, then they were taken to the stronghold (of) Lraf and the citadel was abandoned.

When Nukunzuk the lord of the marches, the lord’s favourite, who is most dear to the king, the son of the gods, the second-in-command(?), the beneficent, the compassionate, who is pure-minded towards all living creatures, came here to the temple in the year thirty-one, (in) the month Nisan, (...)”

**Note ed.:** The most substantial difference to earlier translations is that ανδηζο is not taken any longer as a third town “Andez”, but as an appositional “stronghold”, qualifying or supplementing the city of Lraf, the Bactrian form of Drapsaka, as it appears in the classical literature, that is in Alexander’s marching accounts (cf. § 037). Lraf should not be too far away from Surkh Kotal.

### 108 – Years AD 159 and 161: Ambassadors to the Chinese court

**Note ed.:** This follows years AD 89-105 above (§ 081), where rulers from India are said to have sent tribute to China through the Western Countries. Here as above it is unclear if local kings or the Kushans are meant.

HHS 88/118 (2922), 《後漢書·列傳·西域傳·33》; Hill 2009+2015, I: 31:

後西域反畔，乃絕。至桓帝延熹二年、四年，頻從日南徼外來獻。

“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