

moment there is no further evidence for either of the two possibilities.

Note Grenet: All such Roman synchronisms in this source clearly belong to a late stage of the redaction and are off the mark. What should be followed is only the synchronism between Ardashir and ‘Vehsacan’, which creates no impediment to the latter’s identification with Vasudeva.

Reply ed.: As Vāsudeva’s reign ends around AD 227 he may have faced difficulties with Ardashir I, which would explain his mission to China, in search of help. Vaskuṣāṇa’s date of AD ±249 according to the Sanchi inscription, however, goes well with Philip the Arab. Details are mixed up, but the story as such should be kept in mind.

The time of Vasiṣka

120 – Years AD ±251-±257: Dates for Vasiṣka in inscriptions: 24 to 30

as *mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra sāhi vāsiṣka*: years 24, 28 (SS #59, 62)

as *maharaja rajatiraja mahata tratara jayata detriata(?) svayabala maharajasa śpala-sakarita dhramathita devaputra vazeṣka guṣaṇa devamanuṣasamp(u)[j]ita*: year 30 (CKI 230)

Note ed.: The second case from Kamra (CKI 230) is so far the longest list of titles and epithets used by any of the Kushans. It means, “the *mahārāja*, the king over kings, the Great, the saviour, the victorious, *detriata*, he who has strength through himself, who is honoured by the army of the *mahārāja*, who is steadfast in the law, the son of the gods, Vaziṣka the Kuṣāṇa, honoured by gods and humans (...)”. What looks like *detriata* remains enigmatic; **svayambala*, “he who has strength through himself”, has a verbal parallel in a list of royal epitheta at Endere, in southern Xinjiang (Salomon 1999: 5) and can be compared to Kaniṣka being *χοαζαοαργο* at Rabatak. To avoid two different *mahārājas* I see a phrase *mahārājasya *śpalasatkārīta*, “honored by the Mahārāja’s army”. [Thanks to Stefan Baums for pointing out the parallels to *devamanuṣasampujita*].

The time of Kaniṣka III

121 – Years AD ±257-±268: Dates for Kaniṣka III in inscriptions: 30 to 41

as (?)*[ja t]i [kaniṣka]*: year 30 as above in § 121. This reference is obscure and would provide only a living date, while his father Vasiṣka was ruling.

as *maharaja rajatiraja devaputra kaisara vajheṣkaputra kaniṣka*: year 41 (CKI 158)

as *muroḍa marzaka kaniṣka*: year 11 (CKI 148)

Note ed.: The last case with 11 regnal years is fully covered by the dynastic dates; cf. § 118. A unique **mahākaniṣka* is found on a seal (Sims-Williams & Tucker 2005) and may refer to this king.

122 – Year ca. AD 250: The extent of the Kushan realm and its neighbours

Context: The Weilue from the third century AD furnishes two passages where the northern and south-eastern boundaries are defined. The topic is heavily based on HHS 88/118.10b (2922), above § 100.

• Weilue 《魏略·西戎傳》 cited in Sanguozhi 《三國志·魏書三十·倭人傳·10》; Zürcher 1968: 371 (partial); Chavannes 1905b: 535-539, Hill 2004: Section 5:

南道西行，

且志國、小宛國、精絕國、樓蘭國皆并屬鄯善也。

戎盧國、扞彌國、渠勒國、皮穴國皆并屬於寘。

罽賓國、大夏國、高附國、天竺國皆并屬大月氏。

“The Southern Route heads west to:

- the kingdom of Qiemo (Cherchen), the kingdom of Xiaoyuan (‘Little Yuan’ – marches south of Qiezhì), the kingdom of Jingjue (Niya), the kingdom of Loulan (north of Lop Nor), which are all dependencies of Shanshan (Lop Nor and surrounds).
- the kingdom of Ronglu (4 marches south of Jingjue or Niya), the kingdom of Hanmi (Keriya), the kingdom of Qule (south of Keriya), and the kingdom of Pikang (modern Pishan or Guma), which are all dependencies of Yutian (Khotan).
- the kingdom of Jibin (Gandhāra- Kapisha), the kingdom of Daxia (Bactria), the kingdom of Gaofu (Kabul), and the kingdom of Tianzhu (Northern India), which are all dependencies of the Da Yuezhi (Kushans).”

Note Ching: 且志國 is a clerical mistake for 且末國 [cf. Chavannes 1905b: 536, fn. 4 ed.]; and 皮穴國 is wrong for 皮山國 [cf. Chavannes 1905b: 538, fn. 2 ed.].

Note Cribb: Kujula period coins are found from Begram to Khotan, a clear sign for the preference given to the southern route.

• Weilue 《魏略·西戎傳》 cited in Sanguozhi 《三國志·魏書三十·倭人傳·12》; Chavannes 1905b: 551, Zürcher 1968: 372, Hill 2004: Section 7:

車離國一名禮惟特，一名沛隸王，

在天竺東南三千餘里，其地卑溼暑熱。其王治沙奇城，有別城數十，人民怯弱。月氏、天竺擊服之。

其地東西南北數千里，人民男女皆長一丈八尺，乘象橐駝以戰，今月氏役稅之。

“The kingdom of Juli (should read ‘Dongli’ = ‘Eastern Division’ of the Kushan Empire) is also called Liweite (Ayodhyā), and Peiliwang.

It is more than 3,000 *li* (1,247 km) to the southeast of Tianzhu (Northern India). This country is low, humid, and very hot. The king rules from the town of Shaji (or Shaqi = Saketa). There are several tens of other towns. The people are cowardly and weak. The

Yuezhi (Kushans) and Tianzhu (Northwestern India) attacked and conquered them. This territory is several thousand *li* from east to west, and north to south. The men and women of this nation are all eighteen *chi* tall [mistake for 8 *chi* = 1.85 metres, or just over 6 feet, as in the *Hou Hanshu*]. They ride elephants and camels into battle. Currently they provide military service and taxes to the Yuezhi (Kushans).”

123 – Year ca. AD 250: Description of Yuezhi country and people

Nanzhou Yiwu Zhi 南州異物志 from the third century, quoted in AD 736 by Zhang Shoujie 張守節 on Shiji 123.3b; Zürcher 1968: 372:

在天竺北可七千里，地高燥而遠，國王稱天子。國中騎乘常數十萬匹，城郭宮殿與大秦國同。人民赤白色，便習弓馬，土地所出及奇瑋珍物，被服鮮好，天竺不及也。

“The country of the Great Yüeh-chih lies about 7.000 *li* [3000 km ed.] north of T’ien-chu. The land is high and arid, and far away. Its king is called “Son of Heaven”. The riding horses which in this kingdom are (used for warfare) number several hundred thousands. The city-walls and palaces are of the same kind as those of Ta-ch’in (the Roman Orient).

The people are of reddish-white colour; they are skilled in the (use of) bows and horses. The products of the soil as well as the rare gems and precious objects and the coverlets and clothes (made there) are not equalled by those from T’ien-chu.”

Iranian dominance

124 – Year ca. AD 270: *Res Gestae Divi Saporis*

Context: Shahpur lists all countries he holds or which have to pay tribute. First, in §2, he lists in Middle Persian, Parthian and Greek language the centre with Persis and Parthia with the regions adjoining in the West, then follow in §3 the countries in the East in a counter-clockwise order around the centre of Afghanistan: Merv, Herat, Abaršahr, Kerman, Seistan, Turan, Makran, then he seems to turn north. The Middle Persian version is almost entirely destroyed here.

• *Šābuhr Ka’ba-i Zardušt* Parthian line 2; §§2-3 in Huyse 1999: 22-23:

Parthian: (...) skstn twgrn mkwrn p’rtn hndstn kwšnhštr *HN prhš* OL pškbwr W HN OL k’š swgd W ššstn [W MNhw (?)] Š[ΘR]A [Y]MA mzw[nh]štr

Middle Persian: (...) Sagestan, Tuγrān, Mak(u)rān, Pār(a)dān, Hindestān, Kušānšahr yad fraxš ō Paškabūr ud yad ō Kāš, Surγd ud Čāčestān (...)

“(…) Sagestān, Tuγrān, Makrān, Pārdān, Hindestān, Kušānšahr bis vor Pešāwar (?) und bis nach Kāšγar (?), Sogdien und Taškent (...)”