Notes on the Yuezhi – Kushan Relationship and Kushan Chronology

By Hans Loeschner

Professor Michael Fedorov provided a rejoinder\(^1\) with respect to several statements in the article\(^2\) “A new Oesho/Shiva image of Sasanian ‘Peroz’ taking power in the northern part of the Kushan empire”.

In the rejoinder Michael Fedorov states: “The Chinese chronicles are quite unequivocal and explicit: Bactria was conquered by the Ta-Yüeh-chih! And it were the Ta-Yüeh-chih who split the booty between five hsi-hou or rather five Ta-Yüeh-chih tribes ruled by those hsi-hou (yabgus) who created five yabghuates with capitals in Ho-mo, Shuang-mi, Hu-tsaao, Po-mo, Kao-fu”. He concludes the rejoinder with words of W.W. Tarn\(^3\): “The new theory, which makes the five Yüeh-chih princes (the Kushan chief being one) five Saka princes of Bactria conquered by the Yüeh-chih, throws the plain account of the Hou Han shu overboard. The theory is one more unhappy offshoot of the elementary blunder which started the belief in a Saka conquest of Greek Bactria”.\(^1\)

With respect to the ethnical allocation of the five hsi-hou Laszlo Torday provides an analysis with a result which is in contrast to the statement of Michael Fedorov: “As to the kings of K’ang-chü or Ta Yüeh-shih, those chiefs of foreign tribes who acknowledged their supremacy were described in the Han Shu as “lesser kings” or hsi-hou. … The hsi-hou (and their fellow tribespeople) were ethnically as different from the Yüeh-shih and K’ang-chü as were the hou… from the Han. … If Kuei-shuang and his four colleagues were not ethnic Yüeh-shih, then their forefathers had to be those princes who had been compelled to swear allegiance to the victorious Yüeh-shih king. Like all hsi-hou or yabghu before or after them, they too were put in charge of outlying territories. … The overwhelming probability is that these hsi-hou were chiefs of those subjugated K’ang-chü elements which had been rolled south by the Yüeh-shih onslaught and which had subsequently participated in the ravaging of Ta Hsia.”\(^4\)

In the essay “Sogdians and Buddhism” Mariko Namba Walter informs: “The Han-shu describes five lesser kings of K’ang-chü, which match with some major Sogdian and neighboring city kingdoms, according to the Tang shu’s editor, who thus interpreted the record of the Han-shu. These five kingdoms are Čač (Tashkent), Bocāra (Bukhara), Kešš (Šahr-i-Sabz), Kušāniya (west of Samarqand), and Khwārizm (Khiva).\(^5\) South-west of Samarqand is the fertile river region of the Kashkha Darya (Figure 1). Large-scale irrigation systems were developed in the Zerashshan and Kashka Darya valleys and the Tashkent oasis, as well as in the Surkhan Darya and Sherabad Darya valleys.\(^6\)

When c. 245 the Bactrian satrap Diodotos I broke away from the Seleucid empire, Ferghana and parts of Sogdiana gained independence from Greek rule. These Sogdian parts were the Samarkand (Marakanda) and probably also the Kashkadarya oasis regions. Bukhara gained independence from Greek rule in 208/6 BC\(^7\) under Euthydemos (c.220-186BC\(^8\)) weakened by the Seleucid emperor Antiochos III laying siege to his capital Balkh (Bactra).

Greek rule could further be maintained for half a century in “Southern Sogdiana”, the fertile river regions north of the Oxus (Amu Darya) river which had formed the border between the Bactrian

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1. Fedorov 2008
2. Loeschner 2007
3. Tarn 1951, p. 283.
and Sogdian satrapies. This region, heartland of the Kushan empire, included “Oxiane”, that are the Sherabad and lower Surkhan river regions (Figure 1) and the other oases along the upper Surkhan river, the Karfirnigan and the right bank of the Wakhsh. Oxiana is a geographical name known mainly in relation with the period of Alexander.

Figure 1: Map of Central Asia including recent allocations

Oxiana, coined “Northern Bactria” by Soviet archaeologists, is well protected to the North and to the West by steep mountain regions only cut by narrow gorges, apart from a connection to Kashka Darya through a pass in the Hissar (Oxiane or Sogdian) mountains west of Derbent. At this weak spot a protective wall was erected in Hellenistic times which later during the Kushan era was further strengthened and known as the famous “Iron Gates”.

Recent excavations at Samarkand-Afrasiab have shown that Eucratides I (c. 172/171 – 145 / 139 BC) was able to regain Sogdia for a short time period. Claude Rapin points out that the

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10 Grenet and Rapin 2001
11 Rapin and Rakhmanov 2002
12 Rapin, Baud, Grenet, and Rakhmanov 2006
13 Pugachenkova 1966; cited in ref. 47, p. 102.
14 Reproduced with permission from Claude Rapin. This map is published in: Rapin 2007, p. 30.
Hellenistic programme of urban fortification was interrupted before it was completed, “only a short time after his murder around 145 BC, in the first year of the rule of Heliocles I, a few coins of whom have been discovered north of the Oxus.”\textsuperscript{15}

Also Northern Bactria (Oxiana) was lost by the Greeks towards the end of the reign of Eucratides I, at a time when Ai Khanum (Eucratidia) was first destroyed in c. 145 BC (Paul Bernard: “La fin de la ville grecque fut brutale”\textsuperscript{16}).

In his detailed book “The Yuezhi” Craig G.R. Benjamin explains that in “133/2 BC the Yüeh-chih / Yuezhi were expelled from the lii region”\textsuperscript{17} by the Wusun (with support from the Xiongnu) and, after a short residency in southwestern Ferghana “limited perhaps to the winter of 133/2 BC or 132/1 BC” entered the Kangju state who, in order to avoid conflict, passed them on to their lesser kingdoms in Sogdiana in the Zeravshan valley, including the oasis of Samarkand and Bukhara, as testified by archaeological excavations.\textsuperscript{18} Though, the attribution of podboi\textsuperscript{19} tombs to the Yuezhi should be taken with caution as pointed out by Enguo Lu\textsuperscript{20}; “...when there are no written documents available, one should be especially cautious about relating the archaeological material to ancient ethnic groups”.

There is most valuable information from the Chinese Han envoy Zhang Qian (Chang Ch’ien) who in 138 BC started his mission under emperor Wudi (149 – 86 BC) to find the Yuezhi but fell into the hands of the Xiongnu (Hsuiang-nu) for 10 years. Escaping from captivity he reached the Da Yuezhi in 129/8 BC after passing through Dayuan (Dawan, Ta-Yüan) in Ferghana and the Kangju (K’ang-chü) territories. Taishan Yu points out: “The ‘Kangju’ that he reached must have been the dependent territory of the Kangju, namely Sogdiana, which was located between the Syr Darya and Amu Darya. This is because the mainland of Kangju was located on the northern bank of the Syr Darya, thus...he went to the royal court of the Da Yuezhi from Dayuan, and the court was located on the northern bank of Amu Darya, and Sogdiana was the road that he had to take”\textsuperscript{21}.

The location of the royal court of the Da Yuezhi north of the Amu Darya at the time of the visit of the Chinese envoy Zhang Qian is not known. There are different theories, two of which are shortly described:

- Lazlo Torday points out: “The great German Iranist Marquart recognised in the Yüeh-shih the tribe known to Ptolemy as the ‘latioi’...The most likely Han-period pronunciation of Yüeh-shih was *Ywati, sounds which a Hellenistic source could only have transcribed as lat(oi)...Ptolemy marks the Yüeh-shi (latioi) along the lowermost section of the Jaxartes...The king’s camp was, therefore, in the ‘Scythian delta’, formerly the site of K’ang-chü winter camps, in the vicinity of Babish Mulla, Balandy and Chirik, sites which give clear indication of having been suddenly abandoned in the middle of the second century BC.”\textsuperscript{22}

- Craig G.R. Benjamin points out: “By 128/7 BC then, the Yuezhi were well established at the seat of the (king’s) government’ at Jianshi (Khalchayan?), and in their most comfortable position for decades...they had established themselves in a strongly-fortified position in the Surkhan Darya valley, and had subdued the extensive, wealthy and organised state of Bactria to the south, where the land was ‘rich and fertile and seldom troubled by invaders. They were also protected by an important buffer state in Kangju/Sogdia, which already acknowledged ‘nominal sovereignty’ to the Yuezhi.”\textsuperscript{23}

\textsuperscript{15} Rapin 2007, p. 48.
\textsuperscript{16} Bernard 2006, p. 66.
\textsuperscript{17} Benjamin 2007, pp. 164-166.
\textsuperscript{18} Zadneprovsky 1999, pp. 3-6.
\textsuperscript{19} Tombs with a lateral niche, in Russian ‘podboï’ (reference 12)
\textsuperscript{20} Lu 2006, p. 6.
\textsuperscript{21} Yu 2002, pp. 21-22.
\textsuperscript{22} Torday 1997, pp. 301 and 306.
\textsuperscript{23} Benjamin 2007, pp. 214-215.
Torday’s allocation is not supported so far by archaeological findings and therefore not accepted. Benjamin’s allocation is not consistent with the relative locations of places described by Zhang Qian (Figure 2). There is the statement that the eastern border of the Yuezhi is Anxi (An-shi, for Parthia) which at that time included the Margiana oasis and reached as far as to the Oxus river north of Bactria.

Zhang Qian clearly separates between the Yuezhi and Daxia (Ta Hsia, Bactria) realms, again in 116/115 BC during his second mission (to the Wusun) where in the Shi jí ch. 123 it is recorded that “Zhang Qian, therefore, sent his deputy envoys on separate missions to the states of Dayuan, Kangju, Da Yuezhi, Daxia, Anxi, Shendu, Yutian, Wumi and the adjacent states”.24

For A.K. Narain at that time Bactria “was still an independent state south of the Oxus and could be negotiated with.”25

![Figure 2: Relative locations of places described by the Chinese Han envoy Zhang Qian](image)

Thus, Jianshi, the seat of the royal court of the Yuezhi at the time of early conquest, might be located at the middle section of the Oxus river which was bordering Anxi. There is low probability that the royal seat was at the Bokhara oasis. Therefore it might be possible that Jianshi, the royal court of the Yuezhi north of the Amu Darya, was located in the Kashka Darya region. If indeed the Yuezhi entered this region in 130/129 BC most likely the Kušāniya king, former hsi-hou of the Kangju became a hsi-hou of the Yuezhi with a stronghold in Oxiane due to earlier conquests 145 – 140 BC.

Near modern Karshi, the capital of the Kashka Darya region, the impressive (1.5x1.5km²) nomadic city of Kala-i Zakhoki Maron has been found which due to the archaeological context was built in the second to first century BC.28 This site might have been Jianshi, the early Yuezhi capital north of the Oxus river.

With respect to the Yuezhi conquest of Daxia (Bactria) Craig G.R. Benjamin points out that “…by the time the Yuezhi arrived, the remaining Greek elites had already abandoned much of their former realm to the Saka hordes and refocused their attention south of the Hindu Kush (although remnants of Greek power persisted locally in parts of Bactria north of the Hindu Kush for up to another half century…)..... Northern Graeco-Bactria thus suffered (at least) two separate nomadic “conquests” – by the Sakas in c. 145-140 and by the Yuezhi a decade and a half later.”29 This double invasion is testified by the discoveries made in 1977 and 1978 in the royal treasury of Ai Khanum.30

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26 Torday 1997, p. 108.
27 Mallory and Mair 2000, p. 56.
28 Abdullaev 2007, pp. 84-86.
29 Benjamin 2007, p. 189.
An explanation of the Yuezhi conquest of Bactria and the later conquest of Kao-fu by the Kushan is envisioned by Lazslo Torday as follows: “One can easily visualise a young Kuei-shuang prince and his fellow noblemen leading the southern K'ang-chü elements across the Oxus to subdue Ta Hsia and hold it in sway on behalf of the Yüeh-shih king. In 128 BC Chang would write about these ‘petty chiefs ruling the various cities’ in a country which had ‘no great ruler’. Four decades after Chang left the region, the descendants of these ‘petty chiefs’ would be fully-fledged hsi-hou, virtual masters of Ta Hsia, though still nominally loyal to their Yüeh-shih overlord. It is not surprising that a descendant of the most highly born among them, the hsi-hou Kuei-shuang, should later have eliminated his fellow barons and seized the throne of the Yüeh-shih king. The Han were evidently unaware of the blood-tie between the ruling house of K'ang-chü and the ‘kings of Ta Yüeh-shih’ until AD 84 when they discovered (according to a notice in HHS 74) that the two royal families had ‘recently’ become ‘related by marriage’.”

Comparing the list of the five yabghus in HS 96 and HHS 118 reveals a discrepancy which cannot be glossed over. In the Han Shu the fifth yabghu is named Kao-fu (Kabul) while in the Hou Han Shu he is called Tu-mi (Termez). The author Fan Yeh was determined to put the record straight by insisting that the Han Shu list was anachronistic: Kaofu never belonged to the Yüeh-shih [during the Early Han period]. When the Han Shu makes it one of the five hsi-hou, this is incorrect. Later it belonged to An-shi [in this context to Gondophares] and after the Yüeh-shih defeated An-shi, [it was then that] for the first time they possessed Kao-fu (with text in [ ] brackets by Laszlo Torday).”

The western itinerary of the Yuezhi like the one sustained by Lazslo Torday is contested by Claude Rapin who thinks that “when this nomad group reached the frontiers of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom, the Zerafshan valley was then already occupied by the Sakaraucae – or a neighbouring people – which had destroyed Samarkand around 145 B.C. As can be inferred from the discoveries made at Aï Khanum, it seems that the Yuezhi penetrated in the Oxus region through the Karategin (meanwhile, indeed, Zhang Qian arrived through Ferghana). Therefore, Jianshi has not to be searched in the Kashka Darya valley, which was then already occupied by the Kangju, successors of the Sakaraucae, but on the east of the Iron Gates.”

A recent study of Frantz Grenet, using detailed and valuable information from François Thierry, locates Jianshi near Khulum (south of the Amu Darya, west of Bactra) and the five yabghus north of the Amu Darya: (i) “Gaofu” with capital “Gaofu” at the lower Sherabad and Surkhan river valleys, (ii) “Shuangmi” with capital “Shuangmi” at the upper Surkhan Darya, “Xidun” with capital “Bomao” at the lower Kafirnigan valley, (iii) “Xiumi” with capital “Hemo” at the upper Wakhsh, and (v) “Gueishuang” (Kushan) with the capital “Hucuo” at the lower Wakhsh (Oxus) and the Darya-i Pandj (Ochus) river valley towards Aï Khanum.

32 Rapin 2007, pp. 48-49: “...the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom ...was apparently conquered through two routes: the first followed the most direct road from Chinese Turkestan to Bactria along the north eastern valley of Karategin in Tadjikistan, the Comedai of the ancients; the second led to conquest from the west, from the northern regions and by various tracks that crossed the Semirechie or the Ferghana valley, then the Ustrushana (between the Syr-darya and Djizak) towards the Zerafshan valley. In the same period, the western part of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom suffered pressure from the Parthians.”
33 Claude Rapin (private communication March 17th, 2008) will develop this opinion in a study on the cartographical organisation of the Central Asia detailed by Zhang Qian (forthcoming).
34 Thierry 2005
35 Grenet 2006, p. 334: “Pour la localisation du Gaofu originel, il existe une solution beaucoup plus simple, qui rend directement compte du remplacement de ce nom par celui de Termez: c’est qu’il s’agit de la même région, le Kuftân des sources arabes, le région montagneuse du Kuhitang (les Montes Oxiens de Plotémée), avec le bassin du Sherabad-darya et sans doute aussi le bas Surkhan-darya. *kāu-b’iu,* kauh-bôh, doit refléter la forme iranienne ancienne *kaufa* «montagne, pays de collines», don Kuftân est la forme moyen-iranienne doublement suffixée (pluriel sogdien –t, suffixe de nom de lieu – ān)“. 
36 Grenet 2006, map on p. 341.
At Xuanquan at Dunhuang researchers have found most interesting inscribed slips of the Han Dynasty, dated from the first century BC. Documents dated 87-49 and 84-73 BC mention ambassadors of the “king of the Da Yuezhi” whereas there are later documents from xihou ambassadors: A document from 43 BC on “Wanruo, the ambassador of the xihou of Shuangmi of Dayuezhi” and another document from 37 BC informs about an “escort […] xihou of Ximu of the Da Yuezhi.” Frantz Grenet provided the following comment on these documents: “Ceci évidemment laisse ouverte la possibilité que les hordes auxquelles commandaient les yabghus n’étaient pas composée uniquement de Yuezhi.” He points out the possibility that in the time period 80 – 50 BC the Yuezhi lost their royal supremacy and that the power vacuum then was filled through “re-unification” of the five yabghus by Kujula Kadphises.

There is important analysis on the relationship between the Yuezhi and the Kushan by Taishan Yu as cited in an article by Xinru Liu: “The presence of the Sakas and the Scythians in Bactria was obvious even under the rule of the Kushan. Yu Taishan argued that the five tribes, or Xihou as recorded in the Chinese history, unified by the Kushan were not necessarily from the Yuezhi, because the Xihou was not a known institution in the Yuezhi structure before they entered Bactria. The Xihou were probably tribal chiefs in Bactria before the Yuezhi and were assigned by the Yuezhi ruler to maintain order there.” As for the statement ‘all the five Xihou are subject to the Da Yuezhi’ it shows precisely that all the five Xihou were not Da Yuezhi.

Taishan Yu explains in “A Study of Sakā History”: “The Sai tribes as seen in Hanshu, ch. 96A, must have been the Sakās of the Behistun inscription of Darius I (521-486 B.C.) of Achaemenian Persia. The Sai or Sakās were mainly made up of the four tribes the Asii, the Gasiani [sic], the Tochari and the Sacarauli. By the end of the 7th century B.C. the Asii and other tribes had already lived in the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu. They were called “Issedones” in the “Arimaspea”, a long epic written by a Greek poet, Aristaeas of Proconnesus, to describe what he had seen and heard during his journey to Central Asia. “Iscedones” may be a transcription of “Asi”. It seems to show that the Asii and the other tribes had already formed a tribal confederacy, which gave first place to the Asii. As late as the 520s B.C. the Asii and the other tribes extended westwards as far as the right bank of the Syr Darya, from the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu, and drove away the Massagetae, who originally lived there. After that, they were called “Sakās” by the Persians. In around 177/176 B.C., the Sai tribes were forced to give up the valleys of the Ili Rivers and Chu because of migration of the Da Yuezhi. Some of them moved south and split and separated in the Pamir Region and then moved east and entered the oases in the Tarim Basin. In around 140 B.C., large numbers of the Sakās crossed the Syr Darya and moved south. A group of them entered Ferghāna and another group, Bactria. The latter destroyed the Greek kingdom of Bactria. The states they founded were respectively noted as Dayuan and Daxia in the Shiji, ch. 123. Both “Da-yuan” [dat-luat] and “Da-xia” [dat-hea] appear to have been transcriptions of “Tochari”, which seemed to show that those who founded both of the states were mainly the Tochari. At about the same time, another group of the Sakās (who were mainly made up of the Asii) migrated to the littoral of the Aral Sea and the Caspian Sea going downstream along the Syr Darya. These Sakās were noted as “Yancai”, but those who remained on the northern bank of the Syr Darya were known as “Kangju” in the Shiji, ch. 123. “Yan-cai” [lām-tziat] may be taken as a transcription of “Asii” and “Kang-ju” [kang-kia] may be taken as “Sacarauli”, as [ki(kang)] would be palatalised to [si(sa)]. Therefore, the former were mainly the Asii and the latter, the Sacarauli. In 130 B.C., the Wusun made an expedition to the Da Yuezhi; they defeated the latter and occupied the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu. The

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37 Grenet 2006, p. 339 and n. 39 providing the Chinese references
42 Also cited by Hill 2003.
43 Yu 1998, n. 50 on p. 43.
Da Yuezhi once more migrated west and reached the valley of the Amu Darya, defeating Daxia and occupying their territory. Thereupon, the state of Wusun and the Da Yuezhi, as described in *Shiji*, ch. 123, were established. On the other hand, some of the Sakās who lived in the Pamir region passed through a natural barrier, which was known as “Suspended Crossing”, and invaded Gandhāra and Taxila, driving away the Greek rulers and founding the state of Jibin as recorded in *Hanshu*, ch. 96. The date was not earlier than 129 B.C. The second western migration of the Da Yuezhi also drove some of the Sakās to invade the Parthian Persia from Sogdiana and Tukhārestān, and to occupy Drangiana and Arachosia. Drangiana was consequently called Sakāstan. These Sakās had once been crushed by Mithridates II (124/123-87 B.C.) but they proclaimed independence soon after the latter had died. The state of Wuyishanli described in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96, was in fact the kingdom of the Sakās, whose political center was in Sakāstan. After they had occupied the territory of the Daxia, the Da Yuezhi ruled Bactra and its surrounding area directly, and controlled the eastern mountain region by means of the so-called five Xihou. The five Xihou were all Daxia, who were propped up and used as puppets by the Da Yuezhi. Qiujuque, the Guishuang Xihou, who overthrew the power of the Da Yuezhi, and established the Kushān kingdom, must have been the descendant of the Gasiani, one of the Sakā tribes which invaded Bactria. The state of Guishuang described in the *Hou Hanshu*, ch. 88, may also be considered to have been established by the Sakās. “Guishuang” [giuət-shiang] must have been a transcription of “Gasiani”.44

Taishan Yu further points out that “the Sai tribes, which appeared in the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers by the end of the seventh century B.C. had possibly come from the east: “The precursors of the Asii, the Tochari, the Gasiani and the Sacarauli seem to have been the Rong of the surname Yun, the Daxia, the Yuzhi and the Suoju who appeared in pre-Qin records and books. In 623 B.C., Duke Mu of Qin, dominated the Western Rong and opened up territories which extended for 1,000 li. This event possibly caused the Sai tribes’ westerly migration.”45

The Kushan dynastic temple (Figure 3) from Khalchayan46,47, located along the upper Surkhan river (ancient Pareitakene – region of the “rock” of Chorienes of the time of Alexander the Great, see Figure 1), shows most interesting reliefs which can be interpreted as a narration of this transition from Yuezhi to Kushan lordship.

Figure 3: Reconstruction of the Kushan dynastic temple from Khalchayan47

One relief shows a seated king with five standing warriors / princes next to him (Figure 4). The focus is on one of these princes standing at the right side of the seated ruler. This prince holds a heavy cavalry armour. A goddess standing in a horse driven chariot, probably Nana - the Kushan goddess of investiture48, is ready to meet him.

47 Stawiski 1979, pp. 91-103.
48 Ghose 2006
Thus, this relief most likely shows the seated Yuezhi ruler with his lesser kings, the five *hsi-hou* who ruled Daxia. The full plastic statue of the standing prince taking up the royal warrior suit could be nearly completely restored (Figure 5) and shows an impressive portrait. The eyes have an oblique position, induced or reinforced\(^{49}\) by the artificial skull deformation.

![Figure 4: Reconstruction of one side relief of the Kushan dynastic temple from Khalchayan\(^{47}\)](image)

![Figure 5: Standing prince with royal warrior suit of the Khalchayan Kushan dynastic temple\(^{47}\)](image)

![Figure 6: Coins of the “Tyrant *Hsi-Hou* Sanab (repulser of an enemy\(^{50}\)) Kushan”: a) Tetradrachm (Ø 29/30mm)\(^{51,52,53}\), b) Obol (Ø 12mm)\(^{54}\)](image)

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\(^{49}\) Abdullaev 2003), footnote 15: “It is possible that the oblique position of the eye was reinforced by the skull deformation”.


\(^{51}\) Obtained at the 57th auction of H.D. Rauch, Vienna, Austria, lot no. 89, (April 4\(^{th}\), 1996)

Already in 1966 Galina A. Pugachenkowa, the excavator of Khalchayan, has pointed to the similarity between this portrait sculpture and the coins of “Heraios.” Figure 6 shows impressive portraits on tetradrachm and obol coin examples.

In two Xiongnu kurgans (Kurgan 6 and Kurgan 25) in Noin-Ula, located in present day eastern Mongolia, precious “Bactrian carpets” were found. One of these shows a “Heraios” type portrait (Figure 7). Kurgan 6 is the tomb of the Xiongnu Shanju Wu-chu-li Jo-ti-hsien and could be dated exactly to 12/13 AD. The carpets in Kurgan 6 and Kurgan 25 are from the same fabric. Thus this date provides an estimate for the earliest possible start of the reign of the “Tyrant Hsi-Hou Kushan”: Assuming that the Xiongnu emperor died at the age of 70 and that he received the carpet as a present when he started his rule at an age of 20, the start of the reign of the Hsi-Hou Kushan (“Heraios”) might be prior to 40 BC.

The centre relief (Figure 9), above the entrance to the sanctuary room at the Khalchayan dynastic temple, shows a seated emperor and queen, with princes and princesses on their sides, and on a lower throne, a further seated royal couple with – according to Galina A. Pugachenkowa – “Parthian appearance”.

Most probably the seated king in the centre of the panel shows Kujula Kadphises, the first Yuezhi / Kushan emperor. This interpretation is supported by rare coins (Figure 10) of Kujula Kadphises where the king wears a similar royal hood, not known from other Kushan emperors.

Galina A. Pugachenkova also found a terracotta medallion in Khalchayan showing a seated king who wears this early type of a Kushan crown (Figure 8). A flying Nike is placing the wreath of investiture on the emperors head, the same motif as visible on the reverse of the Tyrant Kushan 4Δ coin (Figure 6a). There is very rare AE coinage of the “Heraus type” in the name of Kujula Kadphises pointing to the close connection between the first Kushan emperor and the “Hsi-Hou Kushan”.

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54 Donated to the author by Indusnumis, UK (June 2007).
55 Stawiski 1979, Figure 55 and p. 83
57 Maybe residing as “lesser king of the Kushan emperor” in the Shiberghan oasis west of Bactra / Balch, where at Tillia Tepe, (“golden hill”) in 1979 a Soviet–Afghanian archaeology team under Viktor Sarianidi excavated six tombs: Schiltz 2006.
58 Senior 2001, Vol. II, p. 219, coins B4.1D and B4.2D. Photographs of the coins were taken by Walt Dobbins (Robert C. Senior, private communication, Jan 30th, 2008).
59 Stawiski 1979, pp. 90-103 and Figure 75.
60 Cribb 1993, Plate XXVII, coins no. 155 and no. 156.
At the Khalchayan dynastic temple there are additional reliefs with battle scenes (Figure 11) where the Bactrian artist treated the images of the adversaries of the Kushan / Yuezhi in a grotesque manner. According to Kazim Abdullaev “it is possible to identify all these grotesque personages with long side-whiskers as enemies of the Yuezhi and relate them to the Sakaraules….iconographically they are very close to the representations on the early coins with the archer on the reverse…, which have mainly been found in the regions of Samarkand and Bukhara”.

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61 Alram 1986, p. 302 and Plate 41, coin no. 1283.
63 Abdullaev 2007, pp. 89-94.
64 Pugachenkova, Dar, Sharma, and Joyenda 1994, p. 341, Figure 11.
Edvard Rtveladze informs: “In north-eastern Bactria, in the zone bordering the Amu Darya and probably in the south-eastern part of that region as well, Kushan tetradrachms and obols of Heraus and his successors were circulating….no finds at all of Kujula Kadphises coins, which occurred in large numbers in Taxila, for example. This testifies to the fact that Northern Tokharistan still did not belong to the Kushans during the reign of that king and was only conquered by them when Soter Megas (Wima Taktto) was in power.”\textsuperscript{65} In contest to this statement it is pointed out that Kujula Kadphises most likely issued posthumous Heliocles coins in Tokharistan as his successor Wima I Taktto continued to use this money type, adding on some rare issues his \textit{tamgha} on the rump of the prancing horse on the coin reverse\textsuperscript{66}.

A “king Kushan” is cited in the Panjtar Kharoshthi inscription, dated in year 122 (probably of the Azes Era) and on the Taxila silver scroll Kharoshthi inscription, dated Azes 136. Furthermore at Mat in India there is a Brahmi inscription where Wima is named \textit{Kushanoputro}, i.e. son of “Kushan” (through the Rabatak inscription\textsuperscript{67} there is knowledge now that this inscription refers to Wima I Taktto and not to Wima II Kadphises). Because of these circumstances Joe Cribb has identified Kujula Kadphises with “Heraios / The Kushan” based on the inscription of the “Tyrant Kushan” coin (Figure 6a).\textsuperscript{68} But probably the ruler of the Kushan empire was named “The Kushan” like in Rome the emperors were called “Caesar” or “Augustus” and the Indo-Parthians used the title “Gondophares” (Vindapharna – Old Persian for ‘Winner of Glory’\textsuperscript{69}). Therefore, the identification of “Heraios / The Kushan” with Kujula Kadphises is a possibility but not probable as outlined above using the narrative message of the panel sculptures of the Khalchayan dynastic temple which most probably was erected during the reign of Wima I Taktto.

A famous issue of Kujula Kadphises is shown in Figure 12, obviously inspired by a Roman coin type, first issued in c. 30/29 BC\textsuperscript{70} by Octavian / Augustus (Figure 13).

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure12.png}
\caption{AE coin (Δ) of Kujula Kadphises\textsuperscript{71}, \(\varnothing 17.5/18.5\)mm} \label{figure12}
\end{figure}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure13.png}
\caption{Denarius of Octavian / Augustus\textsuperscript{72}, Italian mint (Rome?), 30/29 BC, \(\varnothing 19\)mm} \label{figure13}
\end{figure}

Assuming 10 years between the Roman and the Kushan coin issues, there is definitely the possibility that the reign of Kujula Kadphises started as early as c. 20 BC, i.e. “more than 100 years after the c. 130 BC Yuezhi conquest of Daxia” referring to the Chinese sources.

On the coins there is a transformation of the ruler’s title \textit{hsi-hou} from HIAOV/HPAOY (Figure 6a) to ZAOOY (Figure 12; on the reverse in Kharoshthi the title is written as “Yavuasa/Yavugas” for \textit{yabghu}). Sir Alexander Cunningham noted: “According to the Chinese all the kings of the Tuholo or Tochari, bore the title of Shao-wu, which is transliterated in Greek by ZAOOY, or Zavu, on the coins of Kozola Kadaphes, and in Gandharian letters by Yavùa on some and by Yaüga on others. I take this to be the same title as Þòù, or Shao, on the coins of the later Kings.

\textsuperscript{65} Rtveladze 2007, pp. 89-94.
\textsuperscript{66} Cribb 2007, pp. 352-353, Figures 77 and 82, and p. 365.
\textsuperscript{67} Sims-Williams and Cribb 1995/96
\textsuperscript{68} Cribb 1993, p. 131.
\textsuperscript{69} Senior 2001, Vol. I, pp. 108-110
\textsuperscript{70} Mattingly 1928, p. 294 and Plate XL / 1
\textsuperscript{71} Obtained at the former coin shop “Numismatica”, Vienna, Austria, April 1970.
\textsuperscript{72} Obtained at CNG Auction 180, lot 121, Jan. 23\textsuperscript{rd}, 2008.
Kanishka, Huвhshka, and Vāsu-deva, and the Sháhi of the Indian inscriptions of Kanishka and Vāsu-deva.73 The later coinage of Kujula Kadphises uses already the emperor title (in Kharoshthi) “Maharayasa Rayatrayasa Devaputrasa Kuyula Kara Kapasa (Kushanasa)”74, reflecting that the Kushan rulers were venerated as “heavenly sons of the gods”.

That there was already intense trade between Central Asia and Rome in the early first century AD is testified by the deposit of an aureus of Tiberius (minted in Lugdunum between 16 and 21 AD75) as found in tomb 3 at Tillia-Tepe.76

This Roman coin finding at Tillia-Tepe is much earlier compared with the deposit at Ahin Posh near Jalalabad, where gold coins of Wima Kadphises, Kanishka I and Huвhiska were found together with aurei from Domitian, Trajan and Sabina. The coin of Sabina is described as “much worn” and this argument has been used by Robert Göbl to place this deposit to the third century AD77, overlooking arguments that the coin “seems to have greatly suffered …. by being exposed to heat.”78

There is a Azes year 103 inscription which is allocated by Joe Cribb68 to Kujula Kadphises. As pointed out by B.N. Puri this “Takht-i Bahi inscription” of the Indo-Parthian king Gondophares is dated in the twenty-sixth year of his reign. “Its reference to erjhuna kapa suggests the presence of Kujula Kadphises as a prince at the court of the Indo-Parthian king.”79 This allocation is questioned by Robert C. Senior who attributes this inscription to the second successor of Gondophares I the Great, i.e. to Gondophares-Sases.80,81

In his rejoinder Michael Fedorov raised the question “Where are the Saka?” in the conquest of Bactria.1 As pointed out above the conquest was twofold, by Saka tribes in the 145 - 140 BC time frame and 130/129 BC by the Yuezhi supported by lesser kings.

There are important Western sources as put together by Craig G.R. Benjamin: (“Strabo [XI, 8.2] wrote, in a general discussion of the Scythian ‘peoples’: “But the best known of the nomads are those who took away Bactriana from the Greeks, I mean the Asii, Pasiani, Tochari and Sacarauli, who originally came from the country on the other side of the Jaxartes River (Syr Darya) that adjoins that of the Saceae and the Sogdians and was occupied by the Saceae.” In Justin’s Prologue to Pompeius Trogus’ Book XLI there is the information: “Since then it has been ruled by Scythian people, the Sakaueae and the Asii, who occupied Bactria and Sogdia” and later, in the Prologue to the Book XLII, there is the important addition “Reges Tocharorum

73 Cunningham 1893/4, p. 113.
75 Zeymal 1999, p. 240.
77 Göbl 1993, pp. 22-23.
78 Gardner 1886, page ii. “The reigns of the Roman imperial persons in this deposit cover the period 81-136 AD; and this proves that the deposit cannot have been buried until about 130 AD, probably in the reign of Hoerkes”. He adds an important footnote: “Sabina came to the throne in 128. The coin of her issue, now preserved in the British Museum, is not as stated by previous writers ‘much worn,’ but seems to have greatly suffered, whether in ancient or modern times, by being exposed to heat. The coin of Trajan is worn.”
80 Senior 1997, footnote 24: “Most implausibly it is suggested by some scholars that this mention of a ‘Prince Kapa’ is a reference to Kara Kujula Kadphises. With the chronology proposed here it would be impossible though it could be possible if the Takht-i Bahi inscription is dated in an era beginning c. 129/8 BC and does refer to Gondophares The First. The inscription would then have been inscribed c. 25 BC and since I date Kujula Kadphises to c. 25 BC to c. AC 25 it could fit. However, I regard this as impossible since the inscription is almost certainly dated in the Azes-Vikrama era. Why too would a powerful Kushan ruler want to be referred to on a minor dedication mentioning his rival from a different ethnic group?”
Asiani interitusque Saraucarum", i.e. "The Asiani became kings of the Tochari and (then) annihilated the Saka king (in Bactria)."

Confusion was caused by some interpretations of Strabo’s message who most likely put together events from different times into one statement that (implicitly, though not explicitly) at the same time the Asii, Pasiani, Tochari and Sacarauli took away Bactria from the Greeks.

The presently wide-spread assumption that the Yuezhi can be identified with the Tocharians and the Asiani with the Kushans is contested by the detailed analysis of Taishan Yu in “A Study of Sakā History” as outlined above.

Meanwhile the Asii-Asiani could be the Kangju on the West of Derbent and not the Kushans, Claude Rapin considers that "on a cultural point of view the Kushans east of Derbent differed from the proto-Sarmatians and proto-Alans identified on the west of this frontier in the necropolis of Sogdiana and in the tombs of Tillia-Tepe. As he was not Kushan, the king of Tillia-Tepe could have belonged to a southern tribe of the Kangju federation, which occupied western Bactria before the definitive victory of the Kushans (as can be inferred from the date of these tombs it means that this Kushan victory occurred in the 1st century AD, and not before our era)."

"Reges Tocharorum Asiani" means that for a while the Tochari-Kushans have been under the power of the Asiani-Kangju, with a territorial distinction between the peoples. The modern translations of the Prologue XLII are rarely correct, as the original text is grammatically erroneous because it has probably been cut by a lacuna and has no verb: the meaning could be "[facts] of the period when the Asiani dominated the Tochari and of the end of the Saraucaruae."

On 'Scythicae gentes, Saracae et Asiani, Bactra occupauere et Sogdianos' Claude Rapin comments: "As there are no literary references to the first Saka who conquered Eastern Bactria, the information provided by the Graeco-Roman sources and available to the West seems to concern mainly the western edge of the Graeco-Bactrian world, the nearest region to the Parthian kingdom and "Bactria" means the Graeco-Bactrian Kingdom in the period when is was deprived from the Sogdian part with Samarkand. On the other hand, some territories had probably changing extensions before the strengthening of the frontier of Derbent: the Sacaraucae occupied probably Sogdiana from the region of Samarkand to Oxiana on the right bank of the Amu Darya in the region of the Sherabad and Surkhan Darya; we do not know if later the Kangju occupied Oxiana, but it is probable that they occupied also a part of western Bactria south of the Oxus (cfr Tillia-Tepe), before they abandoned the southern part of central Asia and were limited in their expansion in the Kushan territory by the wall of Derbent."

As Michael Fedorov pointed out in his rejoinder, citing the Hou Han Shu: "...One hundred years and odd later Ch’iu-chiu-ch’ueh, hsi-hou of the Kuei-shuang, attacked and destroyed four hsi-hou, became independent (underlined by HL) and set himself on the throne".

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82 Benjamin 2007, pp. 184-185.
83 According to Claude Rapin (private communication March 17th, 2008), "it must be precised by the words... who originally came from the country of the other side of the Jaxartes River (Syr Darya) that adjoins that of the Sacae and the Sogdiani and was occupied by the Sacae" could be referred only to the Sacaraucae, and not necessarily also to the Asiani, Pasiani and Tochari.
84 Rapin 2007, p. 58, footnote 43: "The ethnonym 'Pasianoi' is probably an erroneous form resulting from the fusion of the Greek 'or' (the letter eta being confused with pi) and "Asianoi" (original form of the textual source: 'Asioi or Asianoi'..."
86 Leriche 1988, p. 341.
87 Abdullaev 2007, p. 75.
88 Claude Rapin, private communication March 31st, 2008.
Kujula Kadphises has been identified with Chi’iu-chiu-ch’ueh.\textsuperscript{89} He ousted Gondophares (who before had been successful to build up his huge "Indo-Parthian" empire) from the Kabul region, as testified by Robert C. Senior through careful analysis of the posthumous Heraclius coinage.\textsuperscript{90}

Many ethnical groups have been incorporated into the Kushan domains as is usually the case for an empire of nomadic origin. Despite of this fact there are indications about the mother tongue of the Kushan elite: According to János Harmatta there is high probability that the Kushan rulers spoke a Saka language\textsuperscript{91} ("Khotanese Saka", language distribution shown in "The Tarim Mummies" of J.P. Mallory and Victor H. Mair\textsuperscript{92}). János Harmatta pointed out that this Saka language is very similar to the Bactrian language as outlined in his analysis of the Dasht-e Nawur inscriptions (DN I in Bactrian, DN III in Khotanese Saka).\textsuperscript{91}

Nicholas Sims-Williams pointed out that "the Kushans, or more generally the Yuezhi, introduced some ‘Saka’ elements into the Bactrian language, including of course the hypocoristic suffix -\textsuperscript{(ni)ko}. In the Prologues of Pompeius Trogus, we read that ‘Scythian tribes’, amongst them the Asiani, seized Bactra and Sogdiana, and that later ‘the Asiani became kings of the Tochari’…If the Kushans were indeed the royal family of the Asiani or Asii, the likely ancestors of the Ossetes, we need not be surprised to find Scythian elements in the names of their kings."\textsuperscript{93} "It seems to me virtually certain that the Aryan language referred to in the Rabatak inscription is Bactrian, and that by this time -- after several generations in Bactria -- the Kushans had adopted the Bactrian language as their own. But their names, especially those ending in -shk, are clearly not Bactrian. They probably belong to another Iranian language, perhaps Saka/Scythian, but that is not an absolute certainty."\textsuperscript{94}

János Harmatta translated the Dasht-e Nawur inscription DN I as follows: "[Era-year] 279, 15\textsuperscript{th} [day of the month] Gorpiaios. King of Kings, the noble, great Ooēmo Takpiso, The Kuşāņa, \textsuperscript{91}.

He allocated this inscription to Wima Kadphises as the existence of Wima I Takto was not yet known at the time of his study.

János Harmatta pointed also to a further most important unfinished Bactrian inscription from Surkh Kotal: "Era-year 299, on the 9\textsuperscript{th} [day of month] Dios. King of Kings Ooēmo Takpiso, the Majesty, the Kuşāņa, had the canal d[ug here]", together with the following statement: "Very likely, Wima Kadphises died after the completion of the canal and before the finishing of the inscription. Thus, he assured the water supply for the building operations which were probably continued by his successor Kanishka without interruption. Therefore, the inscription witnessing the building activity of Wima Kadphises at Surkh Kotal was never finished.

With the Rabatak inscription the previous error in the allocation of the Dasht-e Nawur inscription could be corrected, i.e. to allocate the inscription in the Unknown Era year 279 to Wima I Takto.

In 1996/1999 Joe Cribb commented the "Unknown Era" as follows: {"The Kushan kings are recorded using two eras in their inscriptions other than the Azes and Kanishka Eras....Once the Kushans were in possession of former Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian territory...they appear to have adopted a completely different dating system. Two clear examples of its use are the Dasht-e Nawur inscription of Wima I Tak[to] dated 279 and the Khalatse inscription of Wima II Kadphises dated 284 or 287. There are less clear inscriptions from Surkh Kotal which also seem to be dated according to the same era....Is it possible that during the reign of Wima I Tak[to] the Kushans invented an historical era for themselves out of an event in their own history?....The Unknown Era's association with the kings Wima I Tak[to] and Wima II Kadphises suggests that it should be recognised as the era of two early Kushan inscriptions found at

\textsuperscript{89} Sims-Williams 1998
\textsuperscript{90} Senior 2000, p. 62.
\textsuperscript{91} Harmatta 1994, pp. 418-420 and 422-427.
\textsuperscript{92} Mallory and Mair 2000, Figure 160 on p. 301.
\textsuperscript{93} Sims-Williams 2002, p. 240.
\textsuperscript{94} Nicholas Sims-Williams, private communication March 27\textsuperscript{th}, 2008.
Mathura. These inscriptions dated 270...and 299....refer respectively to the ‘Great King’ and the ‘Great King, King of Kings’....If this attribution of the year 270 and 299 inscriptions is accepted this provides a new closer margin within which to limit the first year of the Kanishka Era. The latest recorded date of Kujula Kadphises is the Azes year 136 of the Taxila inscription, i.e. AD 78. There must now be at least 30 years (270-299) between this date and the first year of the Kanishka Era. The earliest possible date for year 270 is during AD 78 (i.e. the Unknown Era commenced in 193 BC or soon after), so the earliest possible date for Kanishka Era year 1 is AD 107.95

Joe Cribb questioned the above cited year 299 Surkh Kotal inscription and dated the Khalatse inscription to year 284 or 287.96

The allocation of the Unknown Era year 299 to the last year of the reign of Wima II Kadphises led to a conflicting situation with (i) the allocation of Kanishka Year 1 to 127 AD as pushed forward by Harry Falk97 and (ii) the finding of Richard Salomon98 that the Yona (Greek) Era probably started in 186/5 BC (by Demetrios I, crushing the Mauryan empire) under the assumption that the Azes Era equals the Vikrama Era, started 58/57 BC.

As a consequence Joe Cribb recently contested the common view that the great Indo-Scythian Scythian king Azes started his reign in 58/7BC but instead proposed a start of the Azes Era in 46 BC99 which explains itself by the 128 year time span between the Yona Era and the Azes Era100 and subtracting 299+2 years from 127 AD (127 AD - 299 - 2 + 128 = 46 BC).

However, when correctly allocating the year 299 to the last year of Wima I Takto100 at first hand there is no conflict to identify the Unknown Era with the Yona Era started in 186/5 BC as then the last year of his reign is 112/3 AD, leaving sufficient time span for the reign of Wima II Kadphises until the start of the reign of Kanishka in 127 AD, as outlined for Case B (KE1=127AD) in Table 1. As a consequence the Khalatse inscription is allocated to the year 184 as was originally the case.101

But as outlined by Robert C. Senior, with a start of the Yona Era in 186/5 BC the start of the Apraca ruler Vijayamitra is fixed to 12 BC and the length of his reign until 19/20 AD (Figure 14). As a consequence the great Indo-Scythian king Azes (there is not a second one under this

95 Cribb 1999, pp. 201-202
96 Cribb 1992
100 Bracey 2004: A wealth of valuable information, in particular also about inscriptions, is found on the website of Robert Bracey: www.kushan.org, in particular in the essay “A new discovery and a new problem”, where the UE 299 inscription is allocated to Wima I Takto.
101 A most important narrative is provided by Francke 1914, pp. 94-95: “On the 25th September, we marched to Khalatse, on the right bank of the Indus. Half a way we passed by a gorge which forms the entrance to the valley of the village of Tar. ... We arrived in Kalatse just in time to prevent the boulders containing the oldest inscriptions of Ladakh from being broken. There are several rocks near Khalatse bridge, bearing ancient Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions, and one with an ancient Brahmī inscription. As a new bridge was under construction, many boulders, some with interesting rock carvings and inscriptions had been blasted; and the boulder with the Brahmī inscription had already been marked for blasting. I spoke to the Public Works overseer in charge, as well as to the authorities at Khalatse, and entreated them to preserve these invaluable stones. I hope that this may not have been in vain. We took photos of the Brahmī, the longer Kharōṣṭhī, and the old Gupta inscriptions. ... * “Our photograph of the longer Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions was sent to Professor Rapson of Cambridge. He writes in his letter of the 23rd September 1910, as follows: The title Maharajasa is quite clear. After this comes the name beginning with A and ending with the genitive termination sa. Four or five syllables intervene, but I am not quite certain about any of them. Above the king’s name is a date which I read – with some doubt as to whether three strokes at the end are part of the date or not – as 100 + 20 + 20 + 20 + 4 [+3]; that is to say 184 or 187”.
scenario) rules until 12 BC and the great Indo-Parthian king Gondophares I until c. 5 BC followed by the Indo-Parthian kings Abdagases and Gondophares-Sases (19/20 – c. 50 AD).  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unknown Era</th>
<th>T1 Yona Era</th>
<th>T2 Azes Era</th>
<th>T3</th>
<th>T4</th>
<th>Kanishka Era Year 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Case A</td>
<td>c. 245 BC</td>
<td>186/5 BC</td>
<td>58/57 BC</td>
<td>12 BC</td>
<td>19/20 AD  78 AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case B</td>
<td>= Yona Era</td>
<td>186/5 BC</td>
<td>58/57 BC</td>
<td>12 BC</td>
<td>19/20 AD  127 AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case B*</td>
<td>208/6 BC</td>
<td>172/1 BC</td>
<td>44/3 BC</td>
<td>c. 0 AD</td>
<td>30 AD   127 AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case C</td>
<td>= Yona Era</td>
<td>c. 120 BC</td>
<td>c. 5 AD</td>
<td>c. 45 AD</td>
<td>75 AD   227 AD</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 14: Relationship between the Unknown Era, Yona Era and the Azes Era, the reign of the Apracaraja Vijayamitra, the first Indo-Parthian rulers and Kushan emperors for Cases A, B, B* and C, respectively, stimulated by a corresponding figure for Case A.  

This causes still unresolved conflicts within Case B as Kujula Kadphises is contemporary to Gondophares I whereas Wima I Takto is contemporary with Gondophares-Sases.  

Because of these reasons Robert C. Senior has outlined in his publications that Case A (KE1=78AD) would solve the Indo-Scythian, Indo-Parthian and Kushan chronology issues (Table 1).  

With allocation of year 299 of the Unknown Era not to Wima II Kadphises but correctly to the last year of the reign of Wima I Takto, for Case A the Unknown Era starts in c. 245, i.e. at the times when Sogdiana gained independence from Greek rule. Most likely during the reign of Wima I Tak[to] the Kushans came back to a historical era out of an important event in their own history. For Case A the year 184/7 Khalatse inscription cannot be attributed to the Azes Era but instead is attributed to the era of Maues (c. 120 – 85 BC).  

Rejecting the common view that “Soter Megas” can be identified with Wima I Takto, Osmund Bopearachchi recently has put forward the hypothesis that Soter Megas was a usurper who became powerful as the general installed by Kujula Kadphises to rule the conquered Indian territories. His chronology of the early Kushan empire is as follows:  

102 Senior 2005/6, pp. vi - ix.  
103 Senior 2005  
104 The author thanks Claude Rapin for this reference and making this recent publication available.  
105 Bopearachchi 2007
But, in the authors’ view, the only possibility to keep KE1=127AD is by shifting the Azes Era, in analogy to Joe Cribb, but taking into account that the Year 299 inscriptions should be attributed to Wima I Takto and that the Khalatse inscription has Year 184(187). This scenario is denoted as Case B* (Figure 14 and Table 2). The Khalatse inscription cannot anymore be attributed to the Azes Era and therefore is attributed to the Maues Era (as valid for Case A). This attribution is probable because of the location of the inscription\(^{101}\) in the heartland of Maues. As the king’s name on the Khalatse inscription is not very clear\(^{101}\) the attribution to Kujula is a possibility.

For Case B* the start of the Yona Era is shifted to 172/1 BC, i.e. the start of the reign of Eucratides I\(^8\). With 128 years between the Yona Era and the Azes Era, the latter starts in 44/43 BC. The Unknown Era, which cannot anymore be allocated to the Yona Era, starts for Case B* in 208/6 BC when under Euthydemos\(^7\) all parts of Sogdia except the Oxiana east of Derbent gained independence from Graeco-Bactrian rule.

With respect to the “Kushano-Sasanian Era”, previously fixed to start 232/3 AD, an interesting analysis was recently provided by Martha Carter.\(^{106}\) But this case is not applicable anymore because of the most important finding that the Kushano-Sasanian Era started in 223/4 AD and is the same as the Era of Ardashir I, the founder of the Sasanian empire.\(^{107,108}\)

At the 6th European Conference on Iranian Studies, Vienna, 18-22 September 2007, Nikolaus Schindel presented the talk “The Year 1 of the Kushan King Kanishka I”. He informed that the Year 1 of Kanishka I the Great may be allocated to 227 AD\(^9\) based on his careful study of the Kushano-Sasanian coinage\(^{110}\) in connection with Sasanian numismatics\(^{111}\). According to Nikolaus Schindel the analysis of Robert Göbl\(^{112,113,114}\), though needing corrections in some details\(^{110}\), is largely valid (as was supported in 1996 by Michael Alram\(^{115}\)). Further, the year 227 AD is explicitly outlined in the “yuga of Sphujiddhava”\(^{116}\) to be the start of the “Kushan Era”.

Frantz Grenet, adopting Kanishka Year 1 in 127 AD, pointed out recently that “the semi-independent dynasty of the Kushanshahs came into power after Bahram I (273-276 AD), maybe shortly afterwards, maybe after the rebellion of the eastern provinces in the early 280s…Peroz I Kushanshah’s campaign in Gandhara took place in the early years of the ‘little Kushan’ Vasudeva II (whom Göbl, perhaps rightly, calls Vasudeva III), as the reverse of the victory coin is copied from the first issue of that long-reigned adversary (compare Göbl 1984, coins 555 and 569-70).”\(^{117}\)

Kujula Kadphises definitely ruled in the first century AD and was a contemporary of Gondophares the Great. According to the Rabatak inscription he was the great-grandfather of Kanishka I.\(^{67}\) Thus, with Case C an enormous time span has to be accomplished which, in principle, is possible if the Kushan emperors adopted a policy to choose their youngest son as successor. Assuming a long life span (for Ch’iu-chiu-ch’ueh identified with Kujula Kadphises the Chinese sources provide information that he died at an age above 80), Case C (KE1 = 227 AD) is an attempt to care for this situation (Table 3). Consistency with the established coin sequence is only possible by strongly shifting the Azes Era to c. 5 AD. Consequently the Yona Era, due the fixed time span of 128 years between these two eras, shifts to c. 120 BC, the start of the Maues Era.

\(^{106}\) Carter 2006, pp. 81-84.
\(^{107}\) Sims-Williams 2006/7, pp. 5-6.
\(^{109}\) Nikolaus Schindel, private communication: Jan. 11th, 2008.
\(^{110}\) Schindel 2005.
\(^{111}\) Schindel 2004, pp. 245-248.
\(^{112}\) Göbl 1984.
\(^{113}\) Göbl 1993.
\(^{114}\) Göbl 1999.
\(^{115}\) Alram 1996, p. 124.
\(^{117}\) Grenet, Lee, Martinez, and Or 2007, n. 16 on pp. 259-260.
With Case C there is no Vasu Deva Kushan emperor in 230 AD, leading to the hypothesis that a high ranking Kushan official carrying the Vasudeva name (maybe a son of Kanishka I) must have visited the Wei\textsuperscript{118} in China at this time.

But Case C is probably ruled out to be possible with the surprising find of the Sasanian relief at Rag-i Bibi in Northern Afghanistan in 2002 showing a royal hunt of two Indian rhinoceroses with an obviously subordinated Kushan king assisting the horse mounted Sasanian emperor. As pointed out by Frantz Grenet there is very high probability that the royal hunter depicted in this outstanding rock relief is Shapur I (240–272).\textsuperscript{119} This finding is well in context with the novel Peroz-2 coin\textsuperscript{2} showing on the reverse a Sasanian Oesho / Shiva placing the Kushan crown onto his head while taking off a mural crown to be attributed to Shapur I (Figure 15).

Summarizing, important studies of top numismatic experts still provide astounding substantial uncertainty in the chronology of the Kushan empire. The present study suggests that the uncertainty can be narrowed down between Case A (start of the Unknown Era in c. 245 BC, Yona Era in 186/5 BC, Azes = Vikrama Era in 58/57 BC, Kanishka = Saka Era in 78 AD, Kushan Era in 227 AD) and Case B* (start of the Unknown Era in 208/6 BC, Yona Era in 172/1 BC, Azes Era in 44/43 BC, Kanishka Era in 127 AD).

To gain certainty by “hard facts” is illusionary in the case of the radiocarbon dating of the “Senior scrolls”\textsuperscript{6}: The 2-sigma radiocarbon dating 130 – 250 AD of these scrolls\textsuperscript{120}, dated in Kushan Era year (1)12, can be allocated to all three scenarios: for Case A to 78 + (1)12 = 190 AD, for Case B* to 127 + 12 = 139 AD, and for Case C to 227 + 12 = 239 AD. For Case A (Kanishka Year 1 = 78 AD) the Senior scrolls in a pot with inscribed year 12 are dated to 78 + (1)12 = 190 AD, at the very centre of the 2-sigma range of the radiocarbon dating\textsuperscript{2}.

As outlined, a start of the Kanishka Era in 127 AD is only possible by shifting the Azes Era from 58/57 BC to 44/3 BC (Case B*, Table 2).

For Case A the Unknown Era starts c. 245 BC where Bactria segregated from the Seleucid empire and major parts of Sogdiana gained (it’s first) independence from Graeco-Bactrian supremacy.

As Case B is not consistent, this leaves Case A (Table 1) with a start of the Kanishka Era in 78 AD as the only possibility to keep the Azes Era in 58/57 BC and the Yona Era in 186/5 BC.

Finally, commenting on the rejoinder of Michael Fedorov\textsuperscript{1} with respect to the artificial skull deformation of members of the Yuezhi elite and of Kushan emperors, recent excavations at Koktepe, 30km north of Samarkand, have revealed an aristocratic grave of a queen or priestess dated in the first century AD. As Claude Rapin informs: “Michelle Glantz of the University of Colorado could recognize, in the fragments of the back of the scull, that the deceased presented an artificial deformation of the head, a well known feature in nomad burials seen in a geographical-chronological development from Central Asia to early mediaeval western Europe.” In the grave a bronze cauldron was found which “clearly identifies the Scythian origin of the deceased”.\textsuperscript{121}

Artificial skull deformation was used in Central Asia for many more centuries to come to distinguish the ruling elite as prominently visible on a coin issue (Figure 16) of the Alchon Hun “Kchingila” (ca. 430/440-490\textsuperscript{122,123,124}, ca. 460-490\textsuperscript{125}).

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{118} Pulleyblank 1968
\textsuperscript{119} Grenet, Lee, Martinez, and Ory 2007, pp. 257-261.
\textsuperscript{120} Allon, Salomon, Jacobsen, and Zoppi 2006
\textsuperscript{121} Rapin 2007, p. 30.
\textsuperscript{122} Melzer 2006, pp. 258-260.
\textsuperscript{123} Vondrovec 2005, pp. 251-253.
\end{flushright}
Figure 15: AE coin$^{2,126}$ of Peroz 2 / Shapur I, Ø 20/21.5mm

Figure 16: Drachm$^{127}$ of the Alchon Hun Khingila, NumH 43$^{128}$, Ø 28/29mm

Referring to the Weishu chap. 102, p. 2275, Zhoushu chap. 50, p. 918, Beishi chap. 97, pp. 3230-31; and Suishi chap. 83, p. 1854: all wrote that the Hephtalites (Yada in the Weishu, the Zhoushu, and the Beishi, Yida in the Suishu) “are a branch of the Da Yuezhi”. But Étienne de la Vaissière points out that “the description of the Hephtalites as a branch of the Da Yuezhi is convincingly interpreted by K. Enoki$^{129}$ as meaning only that in the sixth century they occupied the former territory of the Da Yuezhi, that is Bactriana and Tokharistan”. Furthermore in the Tongdian, summarizing the original Weishu, there is the statement: “Yada country is said to either be a division of the Gaoju or of Da Yuezhi stock. They originated from the north of the Chinese frontier and came down south from the Jinshan mountain. They are located west of Khotan”. Thus, Étienne de la Vaissière concluded that “the link established by the original Weishu between the Hephtalites and Gaoju may mean that the Hephtalites were a Turkish tribe and, more precisely, an Oghuric one”.$^{130}$

Concerning the statement of Michael Fedorov about the “elementary blunder which started the belief in a Saka conquest of Greek Bactria”$^1$ there are the archaeological results from the cities of Ai Khanum and Samarkand paralleled by Claude Rapin: “The eastern part of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom, around the city of Ai Khanum is probably the first to have been overrun by nomads, seen in the evidence of two successive events of pillaging in the ruins of the royal treasury...each event corresponds to a different foreign group...The first invasion was by nomads of Scythian origin, as in 145-144 BC one of them left in the treasury a silver ingot bearing an inscription of runic type...similar to an older found in the Issyk kurgan, in Semirechë...A few years later, a second wave of nomads, which corresponds to the Yuezhi (Yüeh-chih) of the Chinese sources (the Tochari of the later classical sources), followed the same road and put a definitive end to urban life in the Hellenistic city of Ai Khanum...the invaders of the region of Samarkand after 145 BC differ from the first nomads of Ai Khanum...It is usually accepted that this branch of the nomad migration should be attributed to the Sacarauca of the Graeco-Roman historians, or to a group close to them”.$^{131}$

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124 Vondrovec 2007
125 Grenet 2002, p. 221.
126 Obtained from antiquarian and numismatics expert Stefan Nebehay, Vienna, Austria (August 2005).
127 Obtained from Senior Consultants (Butleigh Court, Somerset, UK, List Winter 2001, #172).
128 Göbl 1967, NumH 43 = Emission 43.
129 Enoki 1970
130 Vaissièrè 2007, pp. 120 and 121.
131 Rapin 2007, p. 50.
Future research and archaeology will show if the Yuezhi in 130/129 BC conquered Daxia and former Graeco-Bactria from the east (via Comedai down the Oxus) as well as from the west (after passing the Zerafshan and Kashka-Darya valleys in Sogdiana), in analogy to the prior conquests of the Saka tribes in 145-140 BC.

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First of all, the author thanks Michael Fedorov for his rejoinder which stimulated these notes. Furthermore, the author thanks Claude Rapin, Nikolaus Schindel, Robert C. Senior, Nicholas Sims-Williams and Klaus Vondrovec for valuable discussions and for providing pre-prints and copies of publications. The critical reading of the manuscript by Robert C. Senior is greatly acknowledged. Claude Rapin provided most important improvements of the manuscript and information on recent publications of Osmund Bopearachchi and Frantz Grenet. Klaus Vondrovec supported the author by providing a large number of publication copies otherwise inaccessible, in particular to recent publications of Gudrun Melzer and Étienne de la Vaissière. The critical reading and improvements of the final manuscript by Robert Bracey are greatly acknowledged. The author could not follow his suggestions to shorten the manuscript in order to allow publication in the Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society (ONS). The author thanks Stan Goron, editor of the ONS Journal, to make the full length manuscript available on the ONS website (www.onsnumis.org).
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Table 1: Kushan Chronology for Case A (KE1 = 78 AD) and Case B (KE1 = 127 AD), with start of the Azes Era in 58/7 BC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kushan Ruler</th>
<th>Dates of Inscriptions</th>
<th>Case A KE1 = 78 AD</th>
<th>Case B KE1 = 127 AD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(in brackets if the name of the emperor is not indicated; underlined if the name of the era is indicated)</td>
<td>Era</td>
<td>Reign Period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;The Kushan&quot; (&quot;Heraios&quot;)</td>
<td></td>
<td>c.60BC – c.20BC</td>
<td>c.10BC – c.30AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kujula Kadphises</td>
<td>103? (discarded for Case A), (122), (136)</td>
<td>c.20BC – c.20AD</td>
<td>AE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wima I Takto / Soter Megas</td>
<td>(270), 279, (299), 299</td>
<td>UE</td>
<td>c.20 – c.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wima II Kadphises</td>
<td>(122), (136)</td>
<td>AE</td>
<td>c.55 – 77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanishka I</td>
<td>1 - 23</td>
<td>KE = SE</td>
<td>77/78 – c.102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huvishka</td>
<td>26 - 64</td>
<td>KE</td>
<td>c.102 – 142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vasudeva I *</td>
<td>64 - 98</td>
<td>KE</td>
<td>142 – c.180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanishka II</td>
<td>(1)05 – (1)17</td>
<td>KE</td>
<td>c.180 – c.195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vasishka</td>
<td>(1)22 – (1)30</td>
<td>KE</td>
<td>c.195 – c.210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanishka III</td>
<td>(1)41</td>
<td>KE</td>
<td>c.210 – 227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vasu(deva) II **</td>
<td>170 (disputed)</td>
<td>KE</td>
<td>227 – c.260</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Later Kushan (tentative, additional rulers not included: Mahi "usurper", Gadahara, …):

| Shaka                     |                          | c.260 – c.295      | c.320 – c.355       |
| Kipunada                  |                          | c.295 – c.320      | c.355 – c.375       |

AE = Azes Era: 58/7 BC; KE = Kanishka Era (Case A: 78 AD, Case B: 127 AD); ME = Maues Era: c.120 BC; SE = Śaka Era: 78 AD; UE = Unknown Era: c. 245 BC; YE = Yona (Greek) Era: 186/5 BC

178 AD: Start of the Saka Era = Start of the Kanishka Era
127 AD: Start of the Kanishka / Kushan Era
224 AD: Start of Ardashir I Era = Kushano-Sasanian Era
227 AD: Start of the Kushan Era
*230 AD: Embassy of Vasudeva I to the Wei
**230 AD: Embassy of Vasudeva II to the Wei
320 AD: Start of the reign of Chandragupta I
375 AD: Start of the reign of Chandragupta II

Correction (2014-02-08): In the original 2008-04-15 version there was the typing error c.320 AD: Start of the reign of Samudragupta I (Comment: there is no Samudragupta II)

The author thanks Ranabir Chakravarti, Professor of History, Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi, for pointing to this error: Note 81 on page 65 of “The Kushans”, pp. 35-68 in “History of Ancient India, Volume IV – Political History and Administration (c. 200 BC – AD 750)”, edited by Dilip K. Chakrabarti and Makkhan Lal (Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 2014).

Comment: Most but not all scholars are attributing the inauguration of the Gupta era, started according to Al-Biruni (973-1048 CE) 241 years after the 78 CE inception of the Shaka era, to Chandragupta I. Citing the "The Imperial Guptas - A Political History" by Kiran Kumar Thaplyal (Aryan Books International, New Delhi 2012) on page 402 (last paragraph), page 403 (last paragraph), and page 404 (first paragraph): "The credit of founding the Gupta era has been given variously to Gupta (the first ruler of the dynasty), Chandragupta I, Samudragupta, and Chandragupta II. …If Samudragupta is considered as the founder of the Gupta era, then he has to be assigned an unusually long reign of about 55 years - from AD 319 to c. AD 374."
18 R.C. Majumdar, in Comprehensive History of India III(i), p. 15, n. 44, and p. 36.
### Table 2: Kushan Chronology for Case B* (KE1 = 127 AD, and shift of Azes Era to 44/3 BC)

| Kushan Ruler | Dates of Inscriptions (in brackets if the name of the emperor is not indicated; underlined if the name of the era is indicated) | Case B*  
| KE1 = 127 AD  
| AE = 44/43 BC |
| --- | --- | --- |
| "The Kushan" ("Heraios") | c.10BC – c.20AD |  
| Kujula Kadphises | 103? AE | c.20 – c.60 |
| Wima I Tako / Soter Megas | (122), (136) AE |  
| Wima II Kadphises | (184/7) ME | c.60 – c.95 |
| Kanishka I | 1 - 23 KE | 126/127 – c.152 |
| Huvischka | 26 - 64 KE | c.152 – 191 |
| Vasudeva I * | 64 - 98 KE | 191 – ≥230 |
| Kanishka II | (1)05 – (1)17 KE | c.230 – c.245 |
| Vasishka | (1)22 – (1)30 KE | c.245 – c.260 |
| Kanishka III | (1)41 KE | c.260 – c.290 |
| Vasu(deva) II | 170 (disputed) KE | c.290 – ≥320 |

Later Kushan (tentative, additional rulers not included: Mahi "usurper", Gadahara, …):

- Shaka c.320 – c.355
- Kipunada c.355 – ≥375

**AE = Azes Era: 44/3 BC; KE = Kanishka Era; ME = Maues Era: c.120 BC, UE = Unknown Era: 208/6 BC, YE = Yona (Greek) Era: 172/1 BC**

| 78 AD: | Start of the Saka Era |
| 224 AD: | Start of Ardashir I Era = Kushano-Sasanian Era |
| 230 AD: | Embassy to the Wei |
| c.320 AD: | Start of the reign of Chandragupta I |
| c.375 AD: | Start of the reign of Chandragupta II |

*Corrections (2014-02-08): In the original 2008-04-15 version there was the typing error c.320 AD: Start of the reign of Samudragupta I (Comment: there is no Samudragupta II) *

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18 R.C. Majumdar, in Comprehensive History of India III(i), p. 15, n. 44, and p. 36.
Table 3: Kushan Chronology for **Case C** (KE1 = 227 AD, and shift of Azes Era to c. 5 AD)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kushan Ruler</th>
<th>Dates of Inscriptions</th>
<th>Era</th>
<th>Reign Period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;The Kushan&quot; (&quot;Heraios&quot;)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c. 5BC – c. 50AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kujula Kadphises</td>
<td>103? (184/7)</td>
<td>AE</td>
<td>c.50 – c.125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wima I Takto / Soter Megas</td>
<td>(122), (136) (270), 279, (299), 299</td>
<td>ME</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wima II Kadphises</td>
<td>(184/7)</td>
<td>AE</td>
<td>c.180 – 226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanishka I *</td>
<td>1 - 23 (1)05 – (1)17</td>
<td>KE</td>
<td>226/227 – c.252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huvishka</td>
<td>26 - 64 (1)22 – (1)30</td>
<td>KE</td>
<td>c.252 – 291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vasudeva I</td>
<td>64 - 98 (1)41</td>
<td>KE</td>
<td>291 – c.350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanishka II</td>
<td></td>
<td>KE</td>
<td>c.330 – c.345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vasishka</td>
<td></td>
<td>KE</td>
<td>c.345 – c.360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanishka III</td>
<td></td>
<td>KE</td>
<td>c.360 – c.370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vasu(deva) II</td>
<td>170 (discarded)</td>
<td>KE</td>
<td>c.370 – 375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Later Kushan (tentative, additional rulers not included: Mahi &quot;usurper&quot;, Gadahara, …):</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c.375 – c.390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kipunada</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c.390 – c.400</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**AE** = Azes Era: c. 5 AD; **KE** = Kanishka Era; **ME** = Maues Era: c. 120 BC, **YE** = Yona (Greek) Era: c. 120 BC

224 AD: Start of Ardashir I Era = Kushano-Sasanian Era
227 AD: Start of the Kushan Era = Kanishka Era
* 230 AD: Embassy to the Wei

**c.330 AD:** Division into Northern and Southern Kushan empire
**c.350 AD:** Final loss of Northern Kushan empire to Shapur II
**c.375 AD:** Start of the reign of Chandragupta II