Special Issue Introduction

Dynamics, Stability & Tradition

The Role of the Religions of Iranian Speakers in Central and Eastern Asia

Yukiyo Kasai 🆔
Ruhr-Universität Bochum, Germany

ABSTRACT   Various religions were transmitted through the Silk Roads, a famous system of trade routes. For this transmission, the Iranian speakers played a vital role. They travelled on the Silk Roads, migrating and establishing colonies alongside their trade networks and leading to the geographical expansion of their activity fields. Because of their vast activities, some Iranian languages are counted as a lingua franca, or the shared language for communication, on the Silk Roads. The Iranian speakers adhered to Buddhism, Christianity (Church of the East), Islam, Manichaeism, or Zoroastrianism. Some kept the religious practices of their homeland in these newly established colonies, while others converted to the local dominant religions. At times, their religious activities resulted in dynamic changes for themselves and their exchange partners whilst, at other times, they led to the establishment of new traditions which became stabilised within their settled communities.

KEYWORDS   Iranian speakers, Manichaeism, Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, Central Asia, East Asia, Sogdians

From ancient times, leading trade routes ran through Central Asia that are now often collectively referred to as the "Silk Roads." The people who transported merchandise along these routes adhered to various religions, spoke many different languages, and came from various cultural backgrounds. Thus, these Silk Roads were also routes for the transmission and transformation of religions, languages, and cultures. Over the centuries, although numerous people with a variety of different affiliations contributed to these active exchanges through the Silk Roads, the Iranian speakers' activities deserve special attention. [1]

By the fourth century at the latest, Iranian-speaking Sogdians, whose homeland, Sogdiana, is located in today's Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, had already reached the Dunhuang (敦煌) area, an oasis located at the eastern fringe of the Tarim Basin in Eastern Central Asia (present-day [2]

Gansu 甘肅 Province, in the northwest of the People's Republic of China).[1] They established numerous colonies along the Silk Roads in Central and East Asia through their trade activities and established networks covering this vast area. Numerous Sogdians also settled in the core region of China, and some even served as civil and military officials to the rulers of local dynasties.[2] Because of their well-connected trade networks in Central and East Asia and their wide range of activities, it is most likely that the Sogdian language (Iranian) became a lingua franca for communication between various peoples on the Silk Roads. This is especially so because Sogdians were not the only Iranian speakers who acted as traders and cultural intermediaries, for other Iranian speakers, such as the Bactrians, also actively participated in trade and settled in Central and East Asia, equally serving local rulers as officials as well.[3]

The Iranian speakers' activities based on the networks in Central and East Asia and the relevance of their language for communication were ideal for transmitting religions. Throughout history, the Iranian speakers were documented as followers of different religions. Together with the Iranian-originated religions (Zoroastrianism and Manichaeism), Buddhism, the Church of the East (a branch of Christianity which was widespread in eastern Central Asia and China), and Islam were also spread among Iranian speakers.[4] It was, of course, not the case that these religions were all accepted in the society of Iranian speakers at the same time and to an equal degree. As Iranian religions, Zoroastrianism and Manichaeism were widespread already in Iranian speakers' homelands in West Asia, and some of their adherents remained true to their original beliefs even after they migrated to Central and East Asia.[5] [3]

Whereas Sogdians probably came in contact with Buddhism in East Asia under the influence of Chinese people, another group of Iranian language speakers, the Khotanese, became supporters of Buddhism in their homeland in the oasis of Khotan in eastern Central Asia.[6] Concerning the transmission of Christianity and detailed activities of local Christians in Central [4]

---

1   The so-called "Ancient letters" were found near Dunhuang, documenting Sogdians' activities in the region during this period. They were written in the Sogdian language and Sogdian script. For information on these letters, including previous studies, see, e.g., de la Vaissière (2005, 43–70).

2   For the Sogdians and their activities in Central and East Asia, see, e.g., de la Vaissière (2005). In recent years there has been quite a bit of new research on the Sogdians and their colonies in China, mainly due to the discovery of Sogdian epitaphs in China (see Moribe 2010; Rong 2014; Iwami 2016; Fukushima 2017; Huber 2020).

3   For Bactrians in China, see, e.g., Fukushima (2017, 225–59).

4   Traces of Iranian speakers following these religions are documented in written sources and art objects found in Central and East Asia (see, e.g., Reck 2006, 2016, 2018; Wertmann 2015; Yoshida 2019). The Iranian-speaking Muslims are a well-discussed topic in the research on the Mongolian Empire (see, e.g., various contributions in Biran, Brack, and Fiaschetti 2020).

5   Religious contacts occurred in many different fields which impacted each other. Considering changes caused by these contacts, the intra- and inter-religious relationships have to be taken into consideration. Thus, even the group of Iranian speakers who remained true to their original belief was not untouched by changes and the impacts of others. For a detailed theoretical and methodological discussion on this topic, see Krech (2012).

6   For the introduction of Buddhism to the Sogdians, see, e.g., Compareti (2008); Tremblay (2007, 89–97); Yoshida (2020, 194, 200–201). Khotanese Buddhism and its culture were discussed on the basis of various materials when Erika Forte (Kyoto), Christoph Anderl (Ghent), and Carmen Meinert (Bochum) organized a workshop at CERES in Bochum in 2014: "Dynamics in the History of Religions Between Asia and Europe". Some of the participants dealt with topics connected to Khotanese Buddhism and the results were published as *BuddhistRoad Paper* 6.1. *Special Issue: Ancient Central Asian Networks* (https://omp.ub.rub.de/index.php/BuddhistRoad/catalog/category/Transfer, accessed on July 15, 2022). For Buddhism and the other Iranian speakers, see, e.g., Tremblay (2007, 80–88). Furthermore, Tocharians established their Buddhist culture in the oases Kuča and Karashar (Chin. Yanqi 焉耆) on the northern section of the Silk Roads in eastern Central Asia. Their language does not belong to the Iranian group, but is counted as an Indo-European language, the group to which Iranian languages also belong. With regard to Tocharian Buddhism, Tocharian inscriptions collected in the caves of Kuča and the reconstruction of mural paintings in the caves of Kɪzɪl have been published recently (see Zhao 2020, 2021).

Asia, there are still many unsolved issues. However, Sogdian Christian texts from the Turfan area show that the Christian community was particularly active in places like Astana, Kočo, Bulayık, Kurutka, or Toyok.[7] Compared with the Zoroastrians, Manichaeans, Buddhists, and Christians, the activities of Iranian-speaking Muslims in Central and East Asia are primarily reported much later on in the Mongolian period (thirteenth to fourteenth centuries), although the Islamisation of Iranian speakers in Western Asia had already begun in the seventh century.[8] In the case of Muslims, it is worth mentioning that they reached East Asia through Central Asia using the maritime section of the Silk Roads.[9]

After leaving their homeland, some Iranian speakers practised their original religious rituals and customs in their new environments, while others began to adopt the local religions. It is well-documented that Iranian-speaking communities partly continued previously well-established practices and customs, among which were their burial customs; e.g., the burial objects found in Sogdian tombs in China provide evidence that Sogdians kept their Zoroastrian belief and burial rituals.[10] The Khotanese Iranian speakers in eastern Central Asia cultivated the Buddhist culture in their kingdom over the centuries, establishing their status with such success in the Buddhist world that their king and kingdom even appear in some Buddhist narratives (e.g. Rong 1987, 1988). They thereby participated in a major way in the transmission of Buddhism. As mentioned above, however, some Sogdians became Buddhists because of the impact of their new neighbours in East Asia, mainly the Chinese. In contrast, for the Turkic speaking Uyghurs, these Sogdians facilitated the Uyghur rulers' decision to introduce Manichaeism in their nomadic empire.[11]

The few examples mentioned above demonstrate the historical impact made by contacts with Iranian speakers, who often played a vital role in the transmission of various religions in Central and East Asia. Despite their importance, however, the details of their religious activities remain unclear. A major reason for this difficulty is the extremely fragmentary condition of the sources. Many Iranian languages, which played a relevant role in the communication between peoples from various regions, now belong to the vanished languages, and the sources that document the activities of their speakers were found only by chance in Central and East Asia. Because of this material condition, the number of specialists in the field is very small so that they cannot easily meet with others to discuss their research.

Furthermore, for most of the materials, only the first step in research, namely cataloging and preparing text editions, has been completed so far, so that they are now ready for the second step, their evaluation from the point of view of religious studies. The workshop "Dynamics, Stability & Tradition: The Role of the Religions of Iranian Speakers in Central and Eastern Asia," hosted by the Center for Religious Studies (CERES) of Ruhr-Universität Bochum (RUB),

[5]

[6]

[7]

---

7 The Sogdian Christian texts in the Berlin Turfan Collection were catalogued by Christiane Reck, and some of them are edited by Nicholas Sims-Williams (see Reck 2018; Sims-Williams 1996, 2014, 2015, 2017, 2019; Pittard and Sims-Williams 2013). Erica C. D. Hunter also worked intensively on the Christian materials written in Syriac from Turfan (see, e.g., Hunter 2013; Hunter and Coakley 2017).
8 For the Islamization of Iranian speakers, see, e.g., Grenet and de la Vaissière (2002).
9 The maritime networks are one of the research topics recently dealt with from various aspects, as Schottenhammer's edited volumes show (see Schottenhammer 2019b; esp. Wade 2019; see also, e.g., Chaffee 2018).
10 For one of these examples from the tomb of An Jia (fl. sixth century, 安伽), see, e.g., Wertmann (2015, 54–65).
11 The official introduction of Manichaeism to the Uyghur nomadic empire was dated to 762/763 with the conversion of the third Uyghur ruler. It has been suggested that one of the reasons for this ruler's decision was to foster a close relationship with Sogdians, whose trade network covered the whole of Eurasia and promised a tremendous financial advantage. For a summary of this topic, including previous research, see, e.g., Kasai (2020, 65).

Germany, in March 2019, was organized by myself with the cooperation of Carmen Meinert as a platform for specialists to discuss the religious activities of these Iranian speakers and their exchanges in various places.[12] This special issue resulted from this workshop, in which participants examined written sources and art objects in order to gain a better understanding of the religious activities of Iranian speakers in the region. It became clear from these investigations that the interactions between Iranian speakers and others on the Silk Roads had a profound impact on both parties, with cultural influences moving in both directions.

Iris Colditz focuses on Buddhist and Indian elements in Manichaean onomastics in her article "Buddhist and Indian Elements in the Onomastics of the Iranian Manichaean Texts" (2020). She collected name elements in the Iranian Manichaean texts from the Turfan region and analysed their origin. It has already been pointed out that Manichaeism absorbed some Indian-originated religious ideas and concepts. Besides the names with Iranian origin, Colditz indicates four categories for names that contain non-Iranian elements, whether these names be partly or entirely non-Iranian. Although the number of non-Iranian and hybrid Iranian/non-Iranian names is small, certain terms exhibiting a close relationship with Buddhism or with the Indian tradition are clearly visible in these names, demonstrating that Iranian-speaking Manichaeans had exchanges with Indian religious traditions and cultures, mainly Buddhism and/or Jainism.

[8]

Pavel Lurje's contribution "Buddhist Indian Loanwords in Sogdian and the Development of Sogdian Buddhism" (2021) also deals with terms of Indian origin in Sogdian, but in this case not in Manichaean but Buddhist texts. He collected almost 300 Indian loanwords and analysed their origin. According to his study, around eighty percent were borrowed from Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, although in some cases it is difficult to recognise their Sanskrit origin. Another twenty percent have Prakrit as their original or are intermediated by other languages such as Parthian, Tocharian or Chinese. The detailed analysis by Lurje shows how vowels and consonants in the original languages were rendered with vowels and consonants in Sogdian. The words discussed in his paper are listed as an index. Lurje also deals with the topic of Buddhism in Sogdiana and Sogdian colonies, as additional remarks to his paper. Whether Sogdians had already converted to Buddhism in Sogdiana is still an unsolved question, despite intensive discussions over some decades. Lurje examined a newly discovered wooden panel from Panjakent and sealings from Kafir-kala (near Samarkand) hitherto presented as "Buddhist." He concludes that the wooden panel indeed shows the worship of Buddha, while the sealings probably represent a Turkic noble lady.

[9]

Christiane Reck, research staff of the Academy project "Union Catalogue of the Oriental Manuscripts" in Göttingen, provides an excellent overview of the Sogdian materials preserved in the Berlin Turfan Collection. Her paper "The Sogdians and their Religions in Turfan: Evidence in the Catalogue of the Middle Iranian Fragments in Sogdian Script of the Berlin Turfan Collection" (2021) discusses various religions introduced among the Sogdians, based on the

[10]

---

12   The workshop was held on March 14-15, 2019, with the support of the Käte Hamburger Kolleg (KHK) "Dynamics in the History of Religions Between Asia and Europe." The workshop was, in addition, visited by the members of the ERC-funded project "Dynamics in Buddhist Networks in Eastern Central Asia 6th to 14th Centuries (Hereafter: BuddhistRoad)," housed in CERES, enabling them to obtain a more profound understanding of the religious situation in Central Asia (see https://buddhistroad.ceres.rub.de/en/). Because of this opportunity, further intensive discussions in the ERC project BuddhistRoad were promoted. Thus, the workshop produced a complementary effect with that project. Some of the topics connected with Iranian speakers will be published in the project's conference proceedings (see Kasai and Sørensen 2022; Doney et al. forthcoming).

materials in Sogdian excavated from Central Asia. She also exemplifies the difficulty in identifying religious affiliation visible in those texts which are in extremely fragmentary condition.

Chen Ruixuan deals with the introduction of Buddhism in Khotan and the shifting of the Buddhist tradition to the Mahāyāna in his contribution "Lurching Towards a Canon. Mahāyāna Sūtras in Khotanese Garb" (2021). He underlines the text-centeredness of the Mahāyāna community in Khotan and points out that Buddhist texts circulating in Khotan in the fifth and sixth centuries were of Sanskrit (or Middle Indic) origin. Therefore there was a gap between the Sanskrit language of the authoritative texts and the Khotanese (eastern Middle Iranian) of the faith community. With the *Book of Zambasta*, which adopted some cantos from various Mahāyāna sūtras, he discusses the possibilities of the existence of an independent Khotanese canon and shows how Khotanese Buddhists dealt with the language gap. [11]

The topic of Erica C. D. Hunter's contribution "Turfan. Connecting with Seleucia-Ctesiphon" (2021) is the Christian, more precisely: Church of the East, community in Turfan. She notices that a Syriac liturgy text found in Turfan and dating between 771 and 884 CE, which is the most complete text found so far, contains the commemoration of Mart Shir, a Sassanid queen, and the prayer of Bar Sauma, the bishop of Nisibis. While Mart Shir became the evangelist of Merv, Bar Sauma cultivated good relations with rulers and other influential persons in Seleucia-Ctesiphon. Hunter's study concludes that this liturgical text preserves memories of the relationship between Merv, a distant outpost of the Church of the East, and its capital Seleucia-Ctesiphon. [12]

With Max Deeg's contribution "The 'Brilliant Teaching': Iranian Christians in Tang China and Their Identity" (2020), the focus moves to China. In Tang (618–907, 唐) China, the Christian community, mainly consisting of Iranians, called their religion Jingjiao (景教) "Brilliant Teaching." Two relevant sources for that community are "Stele Inscription of the Brilliant Teaching's Spread to the Middle Kingdom" and the so-called Christian *dhāraṇī* pillar. While the former was found in Xi'an (西安) in 1625, the latter was only discovered in 2006 in Luoyang. The stele from Xi'an can be dated to the year 781 during the Tang Dynasty; It mentions the place named Daqin (大秦) "Palestine/Syria or Byzantium" as the birthplace of Jesus Christ, and also as the homeland of the Christian priest who came to the capital of the Tang Empire as a missionary. Remarkably, the non-Chinese names attested in both the stele and the pillar contain Iranian elements, so it seems as if the community and its members bore multiple identities. Deeg, however, points out that in sources from the Tang period the place name Bosi (波斯) "Persia" is replaced by Daqin, so that the latter's definition shifts to Persian/Iranian territory. As the reason for this replacement, he indicates the fall of the Sassanian Empire, the decreasing importance of mentioning Bosi, and also the increasingly sceptical attitude towards Iranians in China after the rebellion of An Lushan (703–757, 安禄山), the famous Sogdian general. [13]

Masaki Mukai's contribution "Persian Speakers in Fujian under Mongol Rule: An Analysis of the 'Culture of Tolerance'" (2022) leads our focus to the southeast coast of China in the Mongolian period and discusses a religious donation by the famous Persian speaking family Pu (浦), who migrated to the region where they became active as sea trading Muslim merchants. Mukai deals with the fact that members of this family financially supported the restoration of a local Daoist-Buddhist shrine and points out the coexistence of various people in religious harmony in this region in the Mongolian period. [14]

Previous research on the materials which inform us about the activities of Iranian speakers mainly concentrated on philological and linguistic aspects. Building upon the valuable results [15]

of that pioneering research, the evaluation of the material from the aspect of religious studies has only just begun. This special issue is a welcome first step in opening up this important new field to further enquiry.

References

Biran, Michal, Jonathan Brack, and Francesca Fiaschetti, eds. 2020. *Along the Silk Roads in Mongol Eurasia. Generals, Merchants, Intellectuals*. California: University of California Press.

Chaffee, John W. 2018. *The Muslim Merchants of Premodern China. The History of a Maritime Asian Trade Diaspora, 750–1400*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chen, Ruixuan. 2021. "Lurching Towards a Canon: Mahāyāna Sūtras in Khotanese Garb." *Entangled Religions* 11 (6). https://doi.org/10.46586/er.11.2020.8774.

Colditz, Iris. 2020. "Buddhist and Indian Elements in the Onomastics of the Iranian Manichaean Texts." *Entangled Religions* 11 (6). https://doi.org/10.46586/er.11.2020.8710.

Compareti, Matteo. 2008. "Traces of Buddhist Art in Sogdiana." *Sino-Platonic Papers* 181: 1–42.

Deeg, Max. 2020. "The 'Brilliant Teaching': Iranian Christians in Tang China and Their Identity." *Entangled Religions* 11 (6). https://doi.org/10.46586/er.11.2020.8674.

Doney, Lewis, Carmen Meinert, Yukiyo Kasai, and Henrik H. Sørensen, eds. forthcoming. *Buddhism in Central Asia III. Doctrine, Exchanges with Non-Buddhist Traditions*. Leiden / Boston: Brill.

Fukushima, Megumi [福島恵.]. 2017. *Tōbu yūrashia no sogudojin–Sogudojin kanbun boshi no kenkyū* [東部ユーラシアのソグド人–ソグド人漢文墓誌の研究] [The Sogdians in the Eastern Eurasia–A Study of the Sogdian Epitaphs in Chinese]. Tokyo: Kyūko shoin.

Grenet, Franz, and Étienne de la Vaissière. 2002. "The Last Days of Panjikent." *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 8: 155–96.

Huber, Moritz. 2020. *Lives of Sogdians in Medieval China*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Hunter, Erica C. D. 2013. "Traversing Time and Location: A Prayer-Amulet of Mar Tamsis from Turfan." In *From the Oxux River to the Chinese Shore. Studies on East Syriac Christianity in China and Central Asia*, edited by Li Tang and Dietmar W. Winkler, 25–41. Zürich / Berlin: Lit Verlag.

———. 2021. "Turfan: Connecting with Seleucia-Ctesiphon." *Entangled Religions* 11 (6). https://doi.org/10.46586/er.11.2020.8779.

Hunter, Erica C. D., and J.-F. Coakley. 2017. *A Syriac Service-Book from Turfan*. Berliner Turfantexte 39. Turnhout: Brepols.

Iwami, Kiyohiro [石見清裕.]. 2016. *Sogudojin boshi kenkyū* [ソグド人墓誌研究] [Research on Sogdian Epitaphs]. Tokyo: Kyūko shoin.

Kasai, Yukiyo. 2020. "Uyghur Legitimation and the Role of Buddhism." In *Buddhism in Central Asia I. Patronage, Legitimation, Sacred Space, and Pilgrimage*, edited by Carmen Meinert and Henrik H. Sørensen, 61–90. Leiden / Boston: Brill.

Kasai, Yukiyo, and Henrik H. Sørensen, eds. 2022. *Buddhism in Central Asia II. Practice and Rituals, Visual and Material Transfer*. Leiden / Boston: Brill.

Krech, Volkhard. 2012. "Religious Contacts in Past and Present Times: Aspects of a Research Programme." *Religion* 42 (2): 191–213.

Lurje, Pavel B. 2021. "Buddhist Indian Loanwords in Sogdian and the Development of Sogdian Buddhism." *Entangled Religions* 11 (6). https://doi.org/10.46586/er.11.2020.9279.

Moribe, Yutaka [森部豊]. 2010. *Sogdojin no tōhō katsudō to higashi yūrashia sekai no rekishteki tenkai* [ソグド人の東方活動と東ユーラシア世界の歴史的展開] [Sogdians' Activities in East and the Historical Progress of Eastern Eurasia]. Suita: Kansai daigaku shuppanbu.

Mukai, Masaki. 2022. "The Complexity of Religious Traditions in Quanzhou 泉州 Under Mongol Rule: An Inscription from Chunyang 純陽 Cave in Mt. Qingyuan 清源, Quanzhou." *Entangled Religions* 11 (6). https://doi.org/10.46586/er.11.2022.9746.

Pittard, William J., and Nicholas Sims-Williams. 2013. "Fragments of Sogdian Gospel Lectionaries: Some New Identifications." In *From the Oxux River to the Chinese Shore. Studies on East Syriac Christianity in China and Central Asia*, edited by Li Tang and Dietmar W. Winkler, 43–50. Zürich / Berlin: Lit Verlag.

Reck, Christiane. 2006. *Mitteliranische Handschriften, Teil 2: Berliner Turfanfragmente manichäischen Inhalts in soghdischer Schrift*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

———. 2016. *Mitteliranische Handschriften, Teil 2: Berliner Turfanfragmente buddhistischen Inhalts in soghdischer Schrift*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

———. 2018. *Mitteliranische Handschriften, Teil 3: Berliner Turfanfragmente christlichen Inhalts und Varia in soghdischer Schrift*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

———. 2021. "The Sogdians and Their Religions in Turfan: Evidence in the Catalogue of the Middle Iranian Fragments in Sogdian Script of the Berlin Turfan Collection." *Entangled Religions* 11 (6). https://doi.org/10.46586/er.11.2020.9222.

Rong, Xinjiang [荣新江]. 1987. "Cong dunhuang de wutaishan huihua he wenxian kan wudai songchu zhongyuan yu hexi yutianjian de wenhua jiaowang [从敦煌的五台山绘画和文献看五代宋初中原与河西于阗间的文化交往] [Cultural Exchanges between Central China and Hexi, Hotan during the Five Dynasties Period and the Beginning of the Song Period Seen from the Paintings and Manuscripts of Mt. Wutai in Dunhuang]." *Weibo* [文博] [Relics and Museology] 4: 68–75.

———. 1988. "Dunhuang wenxian he huihua fanying de wudai songchu zhongyuan yu xibei diqu de wenhuajiaozhu [敦煌文献和绘画反映的五代宋初中原与西北地区的文化交往] [Cultural Exchanges between Central China and Northwestern Region during the Five Dynasties Period and the Beginning of the Song Period Reflected in Dunhuang Manuscripts and Paintings]." *Beijing daxue xuebao (Zhexue shehui kexue ban)* [北京大学学报（哲学社会科学版）] [Beijing University Journal (Philosophy and Social Science Edition)] 2: 55–62.

———. 2014. *Zhonggu zhongguo yu sute wenming* [中古中国与粟特文明] [Medieval China and Sogdian Culture]. Beijing: Xinhua shudian.

Schottenhammer, Angela. 2019b. *Early Global Interconnectivity Across the Indian Ocean World, Volume II. Exchange of Ideas, Religions, and Technologies*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Sims-Williams, Nicholas. 1996. *The Christian Sogdian Manuscript C2*. Berliner Turfantexte 12. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.

———. 2014. *Biblical and Other Christian Sogdian Texts from the Turfan Collection*. Berliner Turfantexte 32. Turnhout: Brepols.

———. 2015. *The Life of Serapion and Other Christian Sogdian Texts from the Manuscripts E25 and E26*. Vol. 35. Berliner Turfantexte 35. Turnhout: Brepols.

———. 2017. *An Ascetic Miscellany: The Christian Sogdian Manuscript E28*. Berliner Turfantexte 42. Turnhout: Brepols.

———. 2019. *From Liturgy to Pharmacology. Christian Sogdian Texts from the Turfan Collection*. Berliner Turfantexte 45. Turnhout: Brepols.

Tremblay, Xavier. 2007. "The Spread of Buddhism in Serindia–Buddhism Among Iranians, Tocharian and Turks Before the 13th Century." In *The Spread of Buddhism*, edited by Ann Heirmann and Stephan Peter, 75–129. Leiden: Brill.

Vaissière, Étienne de la. 2005. *Sogdian Traders. A History*. Translated by James Ward. Leiden / Boston: Brill.

Wade, Geoff. 2019. "Islam Across the Indian Ocean to 1500 CE." In *Early Global Interconnectivity Across the Indian Ocean World, Volume II. Exchange of Ideas, Religions, and Technologies*, edited by Angela Schottenhammer, 85–138. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Wertmann, Patrick. 2015. *Sogdians in China. Archaeological and Art Historical Analyses of Tombs and Texts from the 3rd to the 10th Century AD*. Darmstadt: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.

Yoshida, Yutaka. 2019. *Three Manichaean Sogdian Letters unearthed in Bäzäklik, Turfan*. Kyoto: Rinsen shoten.

Yoshida, Yutaka 吉田豊. 2020. "Sogudogo no mikkyō kyōten to semirechie bukkyō [ソグド語の密教経典とセミレチエ仏教] [Some Problems Surrounding Sogdian Esoteric Texts and the Buddhism of Semirech'e]." *Teikyō daigaku bunkazai kenkyūjo kenkyū hōkoku* [帝京大学文化財研究所研究報告] [Bulletin of Research Institute of Cultural Properties, Teikyo University] 19: 193–203.

Zhao, Li [赵莉]. 2020. *Guizi shiku tiji* [龟兹石窟题记] Cave [Inscriptions in Anscient Kucha]. Edited by Xinjiang [荣新江] Rong. Vol. 3. Shanghai: Zhongxi shuju.

———. 2021. *Kezier bihua fuyuan yanjiu* [克孜尔壁画复原研究] [A Study on the Restoration of the Kizil Grotto Murals]. 2. vols. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe.

Buddhist Indian Loanwords in Sogdian and the Development of Sogdian Buddhism

PAVEL B. LURJE ⓘD
State Hermitage Museum, Russia

ABSTRACT Buddhist Sogdian texts contain about 300 loanwords of Indian origin excluding the ones that are known also in Manichaean, secular, or Christian Sogdian texts. About sixty percent of these can easily be seen to be borrowed from Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit. A further twenty percent or so are not so easily recognized as from that source because they also reflect linguistic developments within Sogdian. Another twenty percent are from a Prakrit or show the intermediation of another language, such as Parthian (probably including *pwty* 'Buddha'), Tocharian, or Chinese. About one percent has unclear sources. The Indian loanwords in Manichean, Christian and secular Sogdian texts, in contrast, are in the majority from a Middle Indian source. In Buddhist Sogdian, the narrative texts like the Vessantara Jātaka feature more of the less regular loan shapes, which suggests a different path of transmission and probably an earlier date. An appendix discusses the role of Buddism in Sogdiana from finds there: personal names reflect the divinity of the Buddha; a wooden plaque with a devotional scene was recently discovered in Panjakent; a seal from Kafir-kala depicts a Turkish noblewoman rather than a Boddhisatva. A study of place names indicates the presence of Vihāras (*Nawbahār, Farxār*) at the gates of several main cities in and around Sogdiana.

KEYWORDS Sogdiana, Buddhist Sogdian texts, Old and Middle Indo-Aryan, Middle Iranian, Chinese Tripiṭaka, translation technique, Buddha images, toponymy

Introduction: Status Quaestionis

The problem of Sogdian Buddhism has long been a focus of research of both philologists and archaeologists studying this ancient East Iranian people of Central Asia.[1] The discovery [1]

---

1 I am grateful to two anonymous reviewers and Yukiyo Kasai for their help and valuable comments. I gladly accepted some of their remarks while the others, I hope, enabled me to present the arguments in a more systematic way. Douglas Hitch improved significantly the style of the paper and made valuable comments; important remarks were expressed by Yutaka Yoshida. Evgeniy Kiy eagerly answered my inquiries about Chinese Tripitaka, Olga Lundysheva advised me on Indian matters, and Vikentiy Parshuto helped with

of Sogdian Buddhist texts in the early twentieth century in Dunhuang and Turfan (along with Buddhist texts in another middle Iranian vernacular, Khotanese, as well as Tocharian languages, Gāndhārī Prakrit, Uyghur, Chinese and Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit) was initially perceived as an indication of Iranian transmission of Mahāyāna Buddhism from the Indian subcontinent into China. It was soon realized, however, that the majority of the Sogdian Buddhist compositions were translations from Chinese and that these texts could not be a source of the Chinese Tripiṭaka. Some decades later, extensive archaeological excavations in Soviet Central Asia indicated that on the territory of Sogdiana proper, i.e., in the Zeravshan and Kashka-darya valleys as well as adjacent territories to the north, the traces of Buddhism were very scarce (unlike in Bactria, Merv, or the Chu valley in Semirechie).

[2] The historical records often confirm the absence of Buddhism in Sogdiana but sometimes they do not. Xuanzang 玄奘 (around 630) mentions two *vihāra*s in Samarkand and the hostile attitude of the local people and the king, who did not follow the law of Buddha (tr. Beal 1911, 45–46). Huichao 慧超 some hundred years later mentions one monastery and one monk who moreover did not know how to rever Buddha properly (Yang et al. 1984, 54). In the Xin Tangshu, chapter CCXXIB, however, Sogdiana is said to honour Buddhism and to worship the 'celestial god' (tr. Chavannes 1903, 135); Weishu (102.2281) and Jiu Tangshu (198.5310-11) simply state Sogdians believe in Buddha and that Buddhist dharma is widespread (tr. Huber 2020, 30, 51). The Muslim bibliographer Ibn al-Nadīm wrote in the tenth century that *al-Samaniyya* (**Shamaniyya*, Buddhism) was the first religion of Transoxiana (tr. Dodge 1970, 801–2).

[3] After more than 100 years of investigation, all the Buddhist Sogdian texts from Dunhuang in the collections of Paris, London, St. Petersburg and Kyōto have been published. The publication of the Berlin collection, which comprises materials from Turfan, usually in very fragmented condition, is constantly increasing. The catalogue of the collection, prepared by Christiane Reck (2016), is abundant in detail and apparatus, so all the proper names, the Buddhist special terms, and the unclear words from the whole collection are put in very helpful indexes. At present, scholars can effectively access the overall picture of the surviving Sogdian Buddhist literature through the available publications without significant lacks.[2]

[4] Sogdian Buddhist literature has been revisited several times during this century. The most recent overview articles are written by Yutaka Yoshida (2009, 2013, 2015). His articles on particular subjects which are most useful to our subject are that of 2008 with an analysis of the word Bodhisattva in Sogdian and Tocharian loanwords; that of (2013), where he advocates the 'colonial' nature of Sogdian Buddhism; and that of (2019a), where a group of texts from the (Mūla)-Sarvāstivādin tradition of the northern Tarim Basin is highlighted. In another article (2017), he proposes that the blossom of Sogdian Buddhism did not start before the mid-seventh century.[3]

[5] The subject of the first two chapters of the present paper, the Buddhist Indian loans in Sogdian, has been treated in several papers. D. Neil MacKenzie compiled a glossary of Sogdian

---

compiling an index. In the sections 4. b. and c. I reproduce drawings kindly provided by Maria Gervais and Nazokat Kosimova. I thank Christiane Reck and Yutaka Yoshida for sending me several articles that I could not otherwise access, especially under conditions of quarantine. Of course, all the conclusions and possible errors are the author's sole responsibility.

2   Of course, one can hope for new finds, as it happened recently with a Sino-Sogdian bilingual inscription on a funerary stūpa (Sims-Williams and Bi 2020).

3   Xuanzang noted the existence of literary compositions and historical texts records of Sogdiana (tr. Julien 1857, 24; Huber 2020, 39). His report might suggest that Buddhist Sogdian literature had already existed for some time prior to the early seventh century.

translations of Buddhist Chinese terms and names with their Indian parallels (1972, 1976, 179–220). Nicholas Sims-Williams (1983) offered a survey of Indian loans in Parthian and Sogdian, and although he refrained from scrutinizing Buddhist material ("The Indian terms in use in the Buddhist Sogdian are too numerous to be surveyed in detail here," 137), the observations on the loanwords attested in Manichaean/Christian as well as Buddhist texts and on the borrowings from Middle Indic are very important. In 2010, Yutaka Yoshida published a concise treatment of variations in Indian borrowings in Sogdian Buddhist texts where he proposed to divide them into several groups according to the degree of naturalization in Sogdian. All the proper names of Indian origin found in published Sogdian texts were collected by Lurje (2010). Finally, a long article of Elio Provasi (2013) surveys 68 names borrowed from Indic into Sogdian, paying great attention to various Central Asian forms and especially ones found in the Chinese Tripiṭaka.

In this paper we aim to survey the almost 300 attested Indian borrowings in Sogdian Buddhist texts, including proper nouns, in order to disclose the main devices of transliteration used by Sogdian scribes and to show that these devices presuppose Buddhist (Hybrid) Sanskrit[4] as the main source (chapter 3. h.). Cases of deviations caused by intra-Sogdian transmission or the mediation of other languages are surveyed in section 3. Section 4 provides an update on the Buddhist remains discovered in Sogdiana proper after the standard surveys of Mkrtychev (2002) and Compareti (2008). It also includes a discussion on the anthroponymy of the Sogdian Buddhists and on the Buddhist toponymy of Sogdiana and her neighbours, thus trying to illuminate some features of the *modus vivendi* of Sogdian Buddhism. [6]

2. Conventions of Borrowings from Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit into Sogdian

I have collected almost 300 borrowings from Indian that are recorded in Sogdian exclusively in Buddhist texts that mirror the ideas, concepts, names, and place names of the teaching. With this material I attempt to show the conventions of rendering Indo-Aryan phonetics into Sogdian. [7]

My working hypothesis is that Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit was the source of the major part of the borrowings without mediating traditions. The principal method is to explain the material as far as possible as regular loans or as loans that change their shape within the Sogdian language. I further elaborate this research background under section 3. h. [8]

Many of the forms quoted below are *hapax legomena* in Sogdian and appear only once or only in one text. Some others, however, are attested in several texts in (almost) identical forms, and if these texts are distant from one another (e. g., one coming from Dunhuang and another from Turfan)[5], we can consider them rather established technical lexica among [9]

---

4   For the sake of convenience abbreviated as BHS, although in our discussion the 'hybrid' nature (Middle Indic substrate and simplifications of grammar) of the idiom is rarely taken into account (but see 3. e.).

5   For example, *’’myt’* – *Amitābha* (P2, P8, Dunhuang and So14700(9) + 20236/3, Turfan) *βyr’wp’kš/βyrwpkš* – *Virūpākṣa* (P8, 51, Dunhuang and Urumqi, 80TBI: 562, 1, Turfan); *k’š’yp* – *Kāśyapa* (*MPN* I, II, passim, Turfan and L93, Dunhuang).

Y. Yoshida (2010, 89–90) proposed to divide the borrowings into several categories: (a) loanwords naturalized in the Sogdian language (i.e., those that appear in non-Buddhist texts as well); (b) well-established Buddhist terms (their common features are numerous attestations and the ability to form derivations with Sogdian suffixes); (c) Buddhist terms borrowed via Chinese; (d) simple transcriptions of Sanskrit terms; (e) idiosyncratic terms apparently due to lack of scholarship in Sanskrit; and (f) special forms based on

Sogdian Buddhists. It is natural that the more essential the concept is to the teaching, the more chance it has to be well established in the Sogdian Buddhist lexicon. Most of these lexemes, however, are occasional borrowings.

In the course of the discussion, we must form a clear borderline between the purely Buddhist borrowings[6] and the loan words that are attested in other variants of Sogdian, the Manichaean, Christian, and secular, since, as it is well known (especially Sims-Williams 1983), the shape and the contexts of these loans were different. The forms that appear both inside and outside Buddhist Sogdian texts are excluded from the list below but are often mentioned in the footnotes. I am aware that some loans might have been overlooked. I tried to include the whole corpus in the Index and to use each loan at least once in the body of the article.   [10]

Almost all Buddhist Sogdian texts are written in the inherited West-Semitic quasi-alphabet, with its obvious limitations regarding exact phonetic recording. This means that vowels can be rendered with so-called *matres lectionis* (*'aleph*, *waw*, *yodh*) and their combinations, or they can be left unrecorded. Many oppositions (such as distinction of voiced and voiceless stops: *k* and *g*, *č* and *ǰ*, *t* and *d*, *p* and *b*) were weakly differentiated (while voiced stops appeared mostly in special positions and loanwords, as we can judge from Manichaean and Christian Sogdian texts written in more exact orthography). Some essential features of Indo-Aryan phonology (such as aspirate/non aspirate stops, retroflex consonants) were unknown to Sogdian (as to many other Iranian tongues), and the inflection in the target language was largely reduced as compared to the distantly read Sanskrit.   [11]

We will start the analysis with consonants arranged according to the Sanskrit alphabetization sequence, follow with the vowels and end with the rendering of word endings. Our primary reference on the Indian side is Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit. For the sake of simplicity, in the body of the article the lexicographical sources will be omitted, but briefly listed in the index.[7] We try to reconstruct more or less strict rules of rendering which can be applied to as many borrowings as possible. Later, we shall examine some special substandard cases with re-etymologization, mediation of other languages, etc.   [12]

Chinese transcription. The categories (d), (e) and (f) are applicable to the foreign words that are attested only once. I could not follow the proposed division throughly, but in the index tried to mark which forms are so far *hapax legomemon*, or what can be roughly called *idiolectic* forms (those that appear several times in only one text) from those which are attested in different texts. This includes 108 items, or somewhat above one third of the material that appears in different texts, the others are either *hapax* or *idiolectic*.

6   The Sogdian medical texts based on the Indian tradition (P 19 in Benveniste 1940; Reck and Wilkens 2015) are close to the Buddhist compositions and included in this survey. Short Sanskrit *dhāraṇi*'s found in Sogdian texts are included while longer invocations in Sogdian script are not. The colophons or inscriptions of clearly Buddhist nature are also taken into consideration.

7   For abbreviations of Sogdian lexicographical sources, see n. 79. The Sogdian forms are given in standard transliteration, followed, in some cases, in phonematic rather than phonological transcription in slashes.

If not stated otherwise, all BHS lemmata are quoted from Edgerton (1953), Pāli forms from R. Davids and W. Stede (1921–1925), Gāndhārī from the online dictionary of S. Baums and A. Glass (https://gandhari.org/dictionary?section=gd, last accessed 6. September 2021), Tocharian A and B from CEToM = A Comprehensive Edition of Tocharian Manuscripts (http://www.univie.ac.at/tocharian, last accessed 6. September 2021) directed by M. Malzahn, Khotanese from Bailey (1979), Buddhist Chinese from Soothill, Hodous (1937) (also searchable at http://mahajana.net/texts/soothill-hodous.html, last accessed 6. September 2021), Early Middle Chinese (EMCh) reconstructions are quoted from Pulleyblank (1991). The Uigur dictionary by Jens Wilkens (2021) caught my notice too late to be used in full.

Note that Indian forms given here are the source of the borrowing and not necessarily the exact translations: e.g., Sogdian *šl'wk*, *šr'wk(')* translates Chinese *jie* 偈 (Early Middle Chinese *giat*), which comes from Skt *gāthā*, although the Sogdian loan originates in *śloka*.

i. Consonants

a. Back Consonants *k, kh, g, gh, ṅ*. All these stops are always rendered with Sogdian *k* (which [13]
could be pronounced as /k/ or /g/): *knkmwny – Kanakamuni*; *kntrβ – gandharva*; *’’m(’)wkp’š*
– Amoghapāśa.

The groups *ṅk, ṅg* are rendered as *nk*: *rnk’/lnk’ – Laṅkā*; *knky(h) – Gaṅgā*[8]. Internal *k* is often [14]
geminated in writing: *ckkr – cakra*; *rkš, rkkš – rakṣā*.

In a few cases we see that Indian suffixal *k* is recorded as *(’)y*, which interchanges with [15]
spelling with *(’)k(k)*: *’wp’s’y, wp’s’k, ’wβ’s’k – upāsaka*; *βyr’wr’y, βyr’wt’kk, βr’wr’k – Virūḍhaka*;
maybe *nysrky – niḥsargika*. Similarly an expected *k* can be omitted after long *ā*: *pr’’, pr’kh*, Pl.
pr’tt’ – paṭāka. We return to this problem later (see 2.s; 3.b).

One should notice explicitly the single occurrence of writing back stops as *x* or *γ* so far in the [16]
corpus: *’n’wγt’r’ s’m myγ s’m pwδ’y – anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi*.[9] This has long been considered
a Chinese loan (Gauthiot and Pelliot 1926, 2:66; see also under 3. g.).

b. Palatal consonants: *c, ch, j, jh, ñ*. Usually *c* and *j* are rendered as *c*: *cynt’’mny – cintāmaṇi*; [17]
’’c’r’y – ācārya; *βcrp’n – Vajrapāṇi*. I have not found cases of *jh* in the borrowings. The only
case of aspirate *ch* is in geminated *cch* and is rendered as *šc*: *’yšcyntyt, ’yšc’tyk – icchantika* or
c: *kycrwnmyl – kṛcchronmīla*.[10]

It is not uncommon to see *j* rendered as *t*: *p’štsyn – Bhaiṣajyasena*; *rwk’yntr r’t – Lokendra* [18]
rājan.[11] There are no cases of *j* simplified into *y* recognized so far, on *kršny’n* see 3. a, 3. i.
below.

ñ is rendered as *n*: *kncnsr – Kāñcanasāra* and sometimes as *ny*: *’’tny’tkwtyn – Ājñā-* [19]
takauṇḍinya; *pr’tny’p’rmyt, prtnyh p’rmyt – prajñāpāramitā*. The initial group *jñ* appears as *ny*
in *ny’ncynt – Jñānacinta* (the name of translator, not the character in doctrinal text; compare
see Pāli *ñāṇa*, Gāndhārī *ñāna = Jñāna*, Toch. B. *Ñāna-* in personal names).

In one special case *j* is rendered as both *c* and *z*: *r’zβwrt, r’cβrt – Rājyavardhana* (in the same [20]
text)[12] and in one case probably as *š*: *’ykr’šn - ekarājan*.

c. Retroflex *ṭ ṭh ḍ ḍh* are rendered through *t* and *r*: For *ṭ*, the variant *t* seems to pre- [21]
vail: *kr’ytkwt – Gṛdhakūṭa*; *šr’ykwty – Śrīkūṭa*, with the exceptions of *n’r(kr’k) – nāṭa*; *pr’’ –*
paṭāka. I do not have reliable examples for *ṭh*. *ḍ* is either *t* or *r*: *kr’wr – Garuḍa* and *βcrkr’wt*
– Vajragaruḍa; *cwrypnt’kk – Cūḍᵃ̆panthaka* and *mncwty – Maṇicūḍa*. The same pattern holds
for the rarer *ḍh*: *βyr’wr’y, βyr’wt’kk, βr’wr’k – Virūḍhaka*. There is no attested usage of *δ* for
retroflexes and, moreover, there are no cases of spelling Indian retroflexes through /l/ (which
is recoreded in some Sogdian texts through a newly invented letter or variation of *r* and *δ*),
unlike in Khotanese and Tocharian B. A special case is *kwrt(t)y, kwtty – koṭi*.[13]

ṇ is normally rendered as *n*: *β’yšrβn – Vaiśravaṇa*; *nyrβ’n – nirvāṇa*: *βynwβn – Veṇuvana*.[14] [22]

---

8   The protective spirit *knk’ cytk* could be either *kanaka* "gold" or Ganges.
9   *cxš’pt – śikṣapada* (only Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra in Buddhist Sogdian, otherwise *škš’pt/δ*) comes from
     Manichaean Parthian and entered Buddhist Sogdian from Manichaean usage; see Yoshida (2008, 350);
     Sundermann (2010, 80).
10   Maybe in itself a Middle Indian form 'frozen' in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit; see Karashima (2007, 73 n. 33;
     also under 3. e, or Sogdian re-etymologization, see 3.a).
11   See Sims-Williams (1983, 138). Also in a Manichaean text *r’’t – rājan* (Yoshida 1994, 19, 23).
12   See under 3i; The form *βz’yr- vaj(i)ra* might be treated separately since it appears in Manichaean *(’)βjyr-*;
     purely Buddhist *βcyr-* is regular in this respect (note variant spelling *vajira/vajra* in BHS).
13   Written with a subscript hook under the first or second *t* in Dhyāna 121, 152 (MacKenzie 1976, III, 79,
     82) and with superscript sign *kwŕty* in Sukhāvatīvyūha R6 (Yoshida 2010, 87), as I was reminded by
     anonymous reviewer.

The group *ṇḍ* is often rendered as *ntr*: *tntr'k* – Daṇḍaka;[15] *mntr* – maṇḍa. But it remains *nt*   [23]
in *cnt''r* – Caṇḍāla; *kntyk* – Ghaṇṭikā and is simplified in *''tny'tkwtyn* – Ājñātakauṇḍinya. The
rendering is unclear in *pwntr'yk* – puṇḍarika.

Some irregular changes can be the result of elimination of haplology, such as the loss of *ṇ*   [24]
in *''tny'tkwtyn* – Ājñātakauṇḍinya, and the loss of *ṭ* in *snk'swtr* – Saṃghāṭasūtra (see 3. a).[16]

d. Dental *t, th, d, dh, n*. The voiceless stops are usually rendered as *t*, and often as *tt* in   [25]
non-initial position: *tr'ymwkt* – Trimukti; *pr'ttymwkš* – prătimokṣa; *'yry''pt* – īryāpatha; *p'rmyt*
– pāramīta. An Indian geminate often remains the same: *pt(t)r* – pattra (the word seems to be
restricted to Turfan texts), *δyβδtt* – Devadatta. T(h) transcribed *δ(δ)* is limited to non-initial
position but fairly common (see. under 3. e): *k'wδ'm, k'wt'm* – Gautama; *''ry'βrwkδyšβr* – Ārya
Avalokiteśvara. T in the cluster *tp* is lost in *(')wpδ(')y* – utpala (compare Gāndhārī *upala*, Pāli
uppala, Toch. B. *uppāl*, A *oppal*), and in the final position in *twškr*–duṣkṛta.

d can be rendered as *t* and *δ* in any position, and for *dh* the latter prevails. Initial *d* is *δ*:   [26]
δyβdtt – Devadatta. Initial *d* is *t*: *twškr* – duṣkṛta. Non-initial *d* is *t*: *mx'tyβ* – mahādeva. *d* is *δ*:
šrγw swδ's – Siṃhasaudāsa. Initial *dh* is *δ*: *δy'(')n(y)* – dhyāna. Initial *dh* is *t*: *t'rn'y* – dhāraṇī.
Non-initial *dh* is *δ*: *s'δw s'δw* – sadhu sadhu. Non-initial *dh* is *t*: *syt(t)* – siddhi, *srβ''rtt sytt* –
Sarvārthasiddha. Variation occurs in *βytty'tr / βyty'δr* – vidyādhara. D after *n* is always spelled
t: *cntn* – candana.

Geminate *ddh* results once in *nt* in *šnt'wδn* – Śuddhodana, and *r* renders *dh* in *s'm''r* –   [27]
samādhi[17]; we consider these forms irregular; one sees a diacritic sign in *kr'ẉt'* – krodha (in-
vocation).

Indian *n* is always *n* in Sogdian: *n't'y k'š'yp'* – Nadī Kāśyapa; *mx'y'n[y]* – Mahāyana. N is lost   [28]
in *δ'p't* – dānapati and *d* is simplified to *y* in *k'wy'ny, kwy'n'* – Godānīya (see under 3. g).

e. Labials *p, ph, b, bh, m*. All stops are regularly rendered by *p* in all positions: *pr'pt* –   [29]
Prāpta; *pyms'r* – Bimba/isāra; *ptrp'r* – Bhadrapāla; *mx'kp(')yn* – Mahākapphiṇa; *'wrpyrβ' k'š'yp'*
– Urubilvā (Uruvilvā) Kāśyapa; *kwp'yr* – Kubera (invocation); *βyšβ'pw* – Viśvabhu.

m usually appears as *m*: *mnc'wšyry* – Mañjuśrī; *c'δysm'r* – Jātismara, *kr''m* – grāma; but before   [30]
p, n can be written: *rnpyh* – ḍomba; *s'δynp'y'* – sālambha.

Sogdian *β* for the stops is rare and is known in a few cases in non-initial position: *'wβ's'k*[18],   [31]

---

14   The special case is *pwrny'n, pwny'n* – puṇya, which is shared in Manichaean vocabulary. This might be
      influenced by Sogdian *pwrn* "full" (> "accomplished"?).
15   Compare Khotanese *Ttaṃtraa* (Provasi 2013, 204–5).
16   Note also *kwn'k'r* – kūṭāgāra, supposing Prakrit prototype *kūḍāgāra*, Toch A *kᵘrekar* etc, Sims-Williams
      (1983, 137, see 3. e.). Also in Manichaean.
17   Meisterernst and Durkin-Meisterernst (2009, 315) consider it a loan from Chinese, although most common
      Chinese transcriptions of *samādhi*, *san-mei* (三昧 Early Middle Chinese *samʰ-mej*), *san-mo-di/ti* (三摩地, 三摩
      提, 三摩帝, 三摩底 Early Middle Chinese *samʰ-ma-tɕj/diʰ*) do not fit well. Maybe Bactrian *σαμαλο could be
      its source?
          Incidentally I wonder if *sm'tyh* in the Manichaean (in Sogdian script) tale of the 'Kara fish' would stand
      for *samādhi* rather than Skt *śamita*, Pali *samita-* (pace Henning 1945, 483, n. d; Sims-Williams 1983, 137,
      141). The vocalism of *sm'ytyh, symtyh* in the Vessantara Jātaka, however, would need an explanation. This
      word is always in hendiadys with *ršt'wc'r* "consolation." See Gershevitch (1969 (1970), 182) for an Iranian
      etymology.
          We encounter also *th* rendered as *nt* in *βws'ntk , βs'nt'* – (upa)vasatha, which is a word that appears in
      Manichaean texts as well.

’wβ’s’nc ’wp’s’k – *upāsaka, upāsikā*; *prβr’c* – *Prabhārāja*.[19] In *ṗykšw* – *bhikṣu* the diacritic writing <*ṗ*> probably indicates /b/ (Sims-Williams *apud* MacKenzie 1976, ii 9, note. 37).

f. Sonorants *r, l, y, v* do not follow a unitary rule. *R* is always rendered as *r*: *rkkš* – *rakṣā*; [32]
’’s’wr – *Asura*; *βrδ’(m)[* – *Vardhamānamati* (?). When several *R*-like sounds are in the source, one *r* sometimes drops out: *kr’ytkwt* – *Gṛdhrakūṭa* or *Gṛddhakūṭa*; *trytr’št* – *Dhṛtarāṣṭra*; *βympx’r* – *Vimalaprabhāsa*, but *š’rypwtr* – *Śāriputra*. A non-etymological *r* appears in *βrx’r* – *vihāra* (see 4. d), as well as in *kr’ẓ’k (nγ’wδn)* – *kāṣāya*, for which numerous Central Asian variations have been documented (Bailey 1949, 130).[20]

l can be treated in three ways, as the newly shaped letter *l (ṛ)* in some relatively late texts, [33]
as *r* or (somewhat less commonly) as δ: *lnk’, rnk’* – *Laṅkā(vatāra-sūtra)*; *δwk’* – *loka*; *kδp klp krp-h* – *kalpa*; *ptr klp(-)* – *bhadrakalpa*; *p’r’wr* – *balūla*; *stwl(’nc)* – *Sthūlā(tyaya)*. Yutaka Yoshida (2010, 90) noticed that the spelling with δ is common among well-established Sogdian terms. Manichaean writing *δwk-* (and not *lwk*) might indicate a fricative /δ/, and not a sonorant pronunciation, compare also *prδwk’* – *paraloka*; but *rwkδ’t* – *lokadhātu*.

In two instances, postvocalic *l* and *r* are written as *n*: *’ncn(δst)* – *añjali*[21] and *p’n nyrβ’n* [34]
parinirvāṇa (see under 3. g).

Y is rendered as *y*: *ywcn* – *yojana*; *βyny* – *vinaya*; *p’ytyk* – *pāyattika, pātayantika*; *βy’y’m* – [35]
vyāyāma; *kš’try* – *kṣatriya*.

Quite often, post-consonantal *y* is lost: *cwδ’yk’ c’wtyšk’* – *Jyotiṣka*; *p’štsyn, p’tsyn* – *Bhaiṣa-* [36]
jyasena; *’’tny’tkwtyn* – *Ājñātakauṇḍinya*; *’’s’nk(y)* – *asaṃkhyeya*. One can explain in the same way *š’kmwn* from *š’kymwn* – *Śakyamūni*. The first form appears in Manichaean Sogdian and has been explained as Prakritic (Sims-Williams (1983), 137; *š’kymwn* in a Manichaen text is largely a restoration, see Lurje (2010), 365). Consequent simplifications are observed in *mwtkr’’y’n, mwtklyn* – *Maudgalyāyana*.

Another common feature is metathesis of non-initial *ya, ye* into *’y* (pronounced as /e/?): [37]
’’c’r’y – *Ācārya*; *k’š’yp* – *Kāśyapa*; *prt’ykpwt(t)* – *pratyekabuddha*. See under 2. m. for the opposite case.[22]

Indian *v* is always rendered as β in Sogdian: *β’yšrβn* – *Vaiśravaṇa*; *β’swmytr* – *Vasumitra*. [38]

In few exceptional cases it is recorded as *p*: *srp’šwr* as variant for *srβšwr* – *Sarvaśūra* in the [39]
Saṅghāṭasūtra; *pwrpδ’yš* – **Purvadeśa* and *synt’’p* – *saindhava*.[23] I did not notice *any* case of Sogdian *w* for Sanskrit *v*.

g. Sibilants *ś ṣ s h*. The first two are regularly rendered by *š*: *š’ky*– *Śākya*; *β’yš’ly* – *Vaiśālī*; [40]
wšn’yš – *uṣṇīṣa*; *(p)wrβ’š’(t)* – *Pūrvāṣāḍhā*;[24] *snk’’βšyš* – *Saṃghāvaśeṣa*; *š’str* – *śāstra*.

---

18   Compare Toch. A. *wasāk*, as suggested by an anonymous reviewer.

19   For the names like *šβ’y* and *’wrpyrβ’* one can consider attested BHS variants as the source; note *Śivi* (not *Śibi*) and *Urubilvā* (not *Uruvilvā*; Turfan Sanskrit *Urbilvā*, Tocharian B *Urbilva*, A *Ūrbilwā*; see Lurje 2010, 116–17). The name *sym’βnt* – *sīmābandha* I prefer to explain as reetymologization (see under 3. a).

20   Note the loss of *r* in *šmny*, (var. *šrmn*) for *śramaṇa* which is documented in Manichaean Parthian (*šmn*) and Manichaean Sogdian.

21   Compare Manichaen (in national script) *δst-’nc’l* (Yoshida 2019a, 172, with discussion). On the sporadic change of *l > n* in loanwords in Sogdian compare *nksyntr < Ἀλέξανδρος* (Lurje 2010, 268).

22   The cases of final *aya* treated as *’k*: *kr’ẓ’k* – *kāṣāya*; *rš’’k* – *ṛṣāya*; and *mytr’k (mytr’y, m’ytr’y, m’ytr’k)* – *Maitreya* are dealt with under 3. b.

23   For *synt’’p* , Yoshida sees Tocharian mediation; see under 3.f. *pwrpδ’yš* is Middle Indic, see n. 56.
     One can add *snptsr sāṃvatsara* (also in Christian and Manichaean), a Gāndhārī mediation (*saṃbatsara* alongside *saṃvatsara*, *savatsara*, compare Khotanese *saṃbatsara*, Tocharian B *saṃvatsara-*) has been proposed by Sims-Williams (1983, 136 n. 36); the relation of these forms to Pahlavi (Parthian) *symsp’r y’twk* with MacKenzie (1970, 70) is dubious, see Ambarcumjan (2009, 227–29).

24   Reck (2016, s.v. *](p/k)wrβ’š’* among unknown words, 444); Tocharian B *purvvaṣāt**.

Twice in the corpus *ṣ* appears as *ẓ /ž/*: *twẓ’yt βγyst’n* – *Tuṣita*-Heaven (but *sntwš’yt* – *San-* [41]
tuṣita) and *rẓ’y* (usually *rš’ ’k*) – *r̥ṣi*.[25] The group *kṣ* simplifies into *š* in *š’ymnkr* (alias *kš’ymnkr*
cf. inscriptional Tocharian B *Ṣemaṅkar-*) *Kṣemaṃkara*. *Ṣ* is lost in *p’tsyn* – *Bhaiṣajyasena*. All
these cases are either archaic, dialectal or clerical errors.

S is also rendered as *s* in a straightforward way: *srβ’stβ’t* – *sarvāstivāda*. There is one case of [42]
r /l?/ for Sanskrit *s* in *βympx’r* – *Vimalaprabhāsa*.[26]

Indian *h* can be rendered through *x* or less commonly with no sign in Sogdian (no cases of [43]
initial *h* recognized so far): *pr’xmn / pr’m(’)n* – *brāhmaṇa*; *’r’x’n, rx’nt-* (Manichaean *rhnd*!) –
arhat; *r’ckr(’)y* – *Rājagr̥ha*. Skt. *mahā* (when not translated) is always rendered as *mx’*-: *mx’r’c*
– *mahārāja*; *mx’stβ* – *mahasattva*; *mx’yšβr* – *Maheśvara*.

h. *Visarga (ḥ), anusvāra (ṃ)* Since endings will be treated separately, and these signs have [44]
limited usage in non-final position, the documentation is scarce. *Visarga* is not recorded in *nys-*
rky[– *niḥsargika*, and *anusvāra* appears as *n (k)š’ymnkr* – *Kṣemaṃkara*; *snk’* – *saṃgha*; *snkr’m* –
saṃghārāma; *typ’nkr* – *Dīpaṃkara* (all before back consonants) or *m: smyk’ smpwtt* – *samyak-*
saṃbuddha (before labial), *smrk* – *saṃrāga*; the common *snks’r* – *saṃsāra* is unusual; recently
N. Sims-Williams ([2021](#), 34–35) proposed to see here a contamination with *saṃskāra*. In fi-
nal position, it is *m* or *n*: *’wm* – *oṃ*; *pk’ ’β’n* (in Skt invocation; see 3. g.) – *Bhagavant*, nom.
Bhagavān; *’ ’ry’nc* – *āryaṃ ca* (invocation: before *c*).

ii. Vowels

i. Short *a* is rendered as single or double *aleph* in the beginning and single *aleph* or more [45]
often no sign in the middle of a word: *’ ’m’(w)kp’š* – *Amoghapāśa*; *’pyδrm* – *abhidharma*; *βyp’š*
– *Vipaśyin*; *knkmwny* – *Kanakamuni* ; *m’k(’)t* – *Magadha*.

Fronting to *y, ’y* sometimes occurs: *prsn’ycy* – *Prasenajit*; *’yšcyntyt, ’yšc’tyk* – *icchantika*; [46]
βymyrkr’yt (and *βymrkyrt*) – *Vimalakīrti*; *k’r’ynt knδh, k’r’ynk’* – *Kalandaka /Karaṇḍa / Kaliṅga*;
s’δynp’y – *sālambha*. Initial *a* can be lost in *’psm’r / psm’r* – *apasmāra*.

Long *ā* is always double aleph initially and single or double medially: *’ ’ry’βrwkδyšβr* – *Ārya* [47]
āvalokiteśvara, *cnt’ ’r* – *Caṇḍāla*, *βyr’wp’kš* – *Virūpākṣa*, *p’tr* – *pātra*, *šr’ ’βk* – *śrāvaka*. Shortenings
are uncommon: *tn(’)pt* – *dānapati*; *kncnsr* – *Kāñcanasāra*[27], *prβr’c* – *Prabhārāja*. On the proba-
ble articulation of single and double initial *aleph* in loanwords in Sogdian see Sims-Williams
([1983](#), 138–39).

j. In initial position *i* and *ī* are usually rendered as *’y*: *’yšcyntyt, ’yšc’tyk* – *icchantika*; *’yšβr* [48]
– *īśvara*, once as *y: yntr’y* – *indrāya* (Skt Dative). In medial position, the most common is *y*:
βykn βyn’ywkh – *vighnavināyaka*; *kntyk* – *ghaṇṭikā*, but *’y* or no sign are attested rather widely,
too: *kpl[β]st, kp’yrβst* – *Kapilavastu*; *’ ’βcy, ’ ’βycy, ’ ’βyc* – *avīci*; *kwmp’yr* – *kumbhīra*; *kšytkrp* –
Kṣitikalpa.

Metathesis is visible in *βymyrkr’yt* – *Vimalakīrti*; the group *śr* is often changed into *šyr* (a re- [49]
sult of reetymologization, see 3. a. below): *mnc’wšyry* – *Mañjuśrī* (also BHS *Mañjuśiri*); *kwm’ršyr*
– *Kumāraśri*; *šyr’ ’βsth* – *Śrāvastī*.

k. Initially *u* is rendered as *’w* or *w*: *’wp’k’* – *Upāka*; *’wβ’s’k, wp’s’k* – *upāsaka*; *wp’ty’y* – [50]
upādhyāya. In medial position *u* and *ū* are mostly rendered as *w* or *’w* as well: *’ ’s’wr* – *asura*;

---

25   One can add the cultural word *kr’ẓ’k* – *kāṣāya*, and two cases of *ś* rendered as *c*: *’ ’k’c(y)* – *ākāśa*; *cxš’pt*
     – *śikṣapada* (see under 3. d); both are related to Parthian *’ ’g’c, cxš’byd* and are found outside Buddhist
     contexts ([1983](#), 136–37).

pwšpcwty – *Puṣpacūḍa*; *kwm'r* – *kumara*; *δ'wt'* – *dhūta*; *m'ywr* – *mayūra*; *n'ywt* – *nayuta*; *pwr'wš* – *Puruṣa*. Unusual is *sywpwδ'y* – *Subhūti*;[28] *šnt'wδn* – *Śuddhodana*.

l. Skt *ṛ* is attested only in *rz'y, rš''k* – *ṛṣaya* in the beginning and more often in non-initial position. It is rendered as *r* or *r(')y*: *kr'ytkwt* – *Gṛdhakūṭa*; *r'ckr* – *Rājagṛha*; *trytr'št* – *Dhṛtarāṣṭra*; *twškr* – *duṣkṛta*; *m'trk š'str* – *mātṛkā-śāstra-*. The vowel *ḷ* is absent within the corpus I could collect.   [51]

m. Initially *e* is attested once and rendered as *'y*: *'ykr'šn* – *ekarājan*. In medial position, *e* is *'y, y*: *δyβδtt* – *Devadatta*; *nymyš* – *nimeṣa*; *pr'yt* – *preta*; rarely *y'*: *'rny'm* / *'rn'ym* – *Araṇemi* (see under 2f), *pwtkšy'tr* / *pwt(')kš(')ytr* – *Buddhakṣetra*. It is *aleph* in Sanskrit invocation: *cnt βcrp'n'y mx''k'y s'n'pt'y* – *Caṇḍavajrapāṇaye mahākāye senāpate*.   [52]

Medial *ai* can be rendered as *'y, y* or even no sign: *β'yš'ly* – *Vaiśālī*; *βyr'wcn* – *Vairocana*; *pyš'ckwr* – *Bhaiṣajyagūru*; *cntrβrwcn* – *candravairocana*. Note *aleph* for *ai* in *p'štsyn, p'tsyn* – *Bhaiṣajyasena*.   [53]

n. Initially, *o* is once rendered as *'w*: *'wm* – *oṃ*. In medial position, *o* and *au* are usually *'w* or *w*: *cwδ'yk', c'wtyšk'* – *Jyotiṣka*; *mwkš* – *mokṣa*; *k'wšyk'* – *kauśika*; *mwtklyn, mwtkr''y'n* – *Maudgalyāyana*; *k'w šwt* – semi-translating *Gocara*. Unusual are *rnpyh* – *ḍomba* and *''m'kp'š* – *Amoghapāśa* (var. *''m'wkp'š*).[29]   [54]

o. On non-etymological prothetic vowels, see 3. b.   [55]

iii. Endings

p. As it is well known, in Sogdian 'light' and 'heavy' stems are distinguished. The former are ones with no long vowels or diphthongs, the latter have at least one long vowel or diphthong. In the nominal inflection in singular, 'light' stems differentiate gender and six cases while 'heavy' stems have only direct and oblique cases. The major part of the Indian loanwords in Sogdian are 'heavy' stems that have zero ending in Rect. Sg., */-i/* in Obl. Sg, */-t/* in Rect. Pl and */-ti/* in Obl. Pl as well as vocative in */-a/*.   [56]

The Indian loans that follow, with some reservations, the 'light' stem pattern are *pwty* – *Buddha*; *rtn-* – *ratṇa*; *šmn-* – *śramana*; *smwtr-* – *samudra*; *ykš-* – *yakṣa*; *'st'wp-* – *stūpa*.[30] The rendering of *Gaṅgā*, nom. *knk'* (see n. 8) and gen. *knky(h)* might represent feminine 'light' stem.   [57]

What concerns us here more is the rendering of Skt endings in Sogdian inasmuch as we can detect them within the declension of the different language.   [58]

q. The thematic *-a* ending is naturally most common among the borrowed lexemes. It is lost   [59]

The single (dubious) attestation of Sogdian *s* on the place of Sanskrit *ś sm'tyh, symtyh, sm'ytyh*, if from Skt *śamita*, Pali *samita-* (see n. 17), is in any case found in Manichaean texts as well.

26 Note also Khotanese *uṣṇirä*, Toch A *uṣṇīr* etc. from *uṣṇīṣa* (Bailey 1967, 31).

27 Both are explained as Tocharian mediation, see 3. f.

28 From Chinese, with Sims-Williams (1983, 138), see 3. g.

29 If indeed S *''* can stand sometimes for Skt *o*, maybe *prm''cky* So20101/R/3 Reck (2016), No. 857 would be *pramocaka* "savior"? Or *m'n prm''cky* is an error for *m'n prm'ncky*?

30 Only *'stwp-* is limited to Buddhist texts, all others appear in Manichaean and some in Christian texts as well. One can possibly add here *rnpyh* – *ḍomba*, although it is not clear whether it is attested in the oblique of heavy stems, the genitive of light stems or is a frozen form.

In all these loan words there are certain deviations from the principal patterns. See Lurje (Lurje 2010, 313, No. 964) on the irregularity of the accusative and ablative endings in *pwty*. For the accusative of *stūpa* we see the expected *'stwpw* alongside the forms *'st'wp', 'st'wp*. 'Graphic' accusative on heavy stems appears e. g. in *pyntp'tw* – *piṇḍapāta*. In *kwsty rs* – *kusṭha rasa* monosyllabic *rs* might indicate the foreign word.

in the majority of cases: *’’n’nt* – *Ānanda;*[31] *’’kš’r* – *akṣara* (?). Sometimes it is rendered as *’*: *mx’k’š’yp’* – *Mahākāśyapa;*[32] *s’l’ ryzkry xwβw* – *Sāla-Īśvararāja*. Elio Provasi (2013, 277–78) supposes that the loans with *aleph* for final *-a* are to be placed in time between the earliest Prakritic forms and the standard transliterations from Sanskrit, as in Chinese Buddhist borrowings, but I do not find definitive proof. The recording of final *-a* as *aleph* seems to be more common after *k*, probably in order to avoid reading */-e/*: *snk’* – *saṃgha*; *δwk’* – *loka*; *smyk’ smpwtt* – *samyaksaṃbuddha*; *’wp’k’* – *Upāka*; *šl’wk, šr’wk(’)* – *śloka*. It is lost in declentional forms: *n’k’*, pl. *n’kt* – *nāga* (also Manichaean); *pwtr’ky* (obl) – *Potalaka*.

In a few isolated cases we see final *a* as *y* or *-’y*: *mncwty* – *maṇicūḍa*; *rtncwty* – *Ratnacūḍa*; *swβrncwty* – *Suvarnacūḍa*; *swttršny* – *Sudarśaṇa*; *pwrn’y* – *Pūraṇa*.[33] The final Sogdian *h*, which can be purely graphical marker or convey *-ǎ* is sometimes attested too: *kδp klp krp-h* – *kalpa*.[34]   [60]

r. Feminine *-ā* is usually rendered as *’*, *’h* or *h*: *mx’m’yh* – *mahāmāyā*; *yš’wδrh* – *Yaśodharā*; *’’š’h* – *Āšā*; *’wrpyrβ’ k’š’yp’* – *Urbilvā Kāśyapa*; *k’y’’ k’š’yp’* – *Gayā Kāśyapa*; *βc’* – *vacā 'Acorus calamus'*. This writing might indicate a final */-ǎ/*. A zero ending is probably attested in *kntyk* if it is *ghaṇṭikā*, *mwtr* – *mudrā*; note variants *šβ’kwšh, šβk’wš, šyβkwš, šyβkwšh* etc. – *Śivaghoṣā*.   [61]

s. The masculine *-i* and feminine *-ī* is either rendered with *-y* or not recorded: *’’βcy, ’’βycy, ’’βyc* – *avīci*; *š’r’βst, šyr’’βsth* – *Śravastī*; *syt(t)* – *siddhi*; *m’ytr* – *maitrī* (or *maitrā*, also in Manichaean); *β’yš’ly* – *Vaiśālī*, *rtnkyrt* – *Ratnakīrti*; *swk’βty* – *Sukhāvatī*. Digraph *’y* appears in *šβ’y, šβ’’y* – *Śivi*; *t’rn’y* – *dhāraṇī*. In *rz’y, rš’’k* – *r̥ṣi*, BHS *r̥ṣaya* it alternates with *’’k* which would indicate spelling */rišē/*, see 3. b.   [62]

t. Similarly, *-u* can be recorded with or without final *w* or *’w*: *s’δw s’δw* – *sadhu sadhu*; *r’xw* – *Rāhu*; *rwkδ’t* – *lokadhātu*; *m’δ’w* – *Madu*; *kpl[β]st, kp’yrβst* – *Kapilavastu*. One can notice that the final *y* and *w* are more common in monosyllabic bases. The form *pykš’k* (Manich. *pykšy*) – *bhikṣu*, unlike *pykšw*, is quite unusual.   [63]

u. The final *n* of athematic endings is often not preserved and the preceding vowel may or may not be preserved (see Kasai 2015, 405, 413 for Uyghur): *’’n’k’my* – *anāgāmin*, nom. *anāgāmī*; *βyp’š* – *Vipaśyin*, *Vipaśśin* (L, P), *ckkrβrt* – *cakravartin*, nom. *cakravartī*; *rwk’yntr r’t* – *Lokendra rājan*, nom. *rājā*; *kwm’rβ’s* – *Kumāravāsin*; it is preserved in *rtnšykyn* – *Ratnaśikhin*, but *šyky* – *Śikhin*; *’ykr’šn* – *ekarājan*.   [64]

v. Final *t* is not recorded in *prsn’ycy* – *Prasenajit,* compare Pali *Pasenadi*, Toch A. *Prasenaji*, B *Prasenaci*, Old Turkic *Prasaniči*. In *-nt* stems we see ending *n* or *nt*[35], *’r’x’n, rx’nt* (also in Manichaean *rhnd*) – *arhant*, nom. *arhāṇ*.   [65]

w. In general, Sogdians tended to borrow words in the nominative singular form rather than the base. Sometimes we notice Indian cases other than the nominative, especially in   [66]

---

31   Note common vocative *’’n’nt’*.

32   But *mz’yx k’š’yp*.

33   It is unlikely to see here the Sogdian oblique case. Four of these forms come from the Sogdian language invocation in P8, where grammatically *swttršny* might stand in the oblique case, but all other Bodhisattvas below and above do not. *mncty* and others are in an isolated position, followed by *srβ’’rt sytt*. For *pwrn’y* maybe one can propose non-historical spelling of **pwrn’k*, it is followed by *βykδyn’y* "heretic."

    One can notice similarity of this spelling to nominative Tocharian ending in *-e* and Khotanese in *-ä*, but without additional proofs this observation remains too conjectural. Note however *nkwly* – *nakula* Toch B. *nakūle* "ichneumon, mongoose" in a medical text which shows many ties to Tocharian. Common Uyghur records of *-i* in the final position for Sanskrit *-a* is explained as Tocharian mediation (Kasai 2015, 404–5, 411–13).

34   It is probable that neutral nominative ending is seen once in *pw(r)ny’n* – *puṇyam*, also in Manichaean; the Sogdian antonym *’krt’ny* is at least responsible for the long vowel (Gershevitch 1954, 157–8).

35   See under 3. g. and n. 60 on *pk’β’m*.

dhāraṇis: *kry'n 'sy' pykšw – Kalyaṇasya bhikšoḥ* (genitive); *yntr'y – Indrāya* (dative); *βyr'wkt'yn – vilokitāyāṃ* (locative).

As we see, the larger part of Indian Buddhist loanwords in Sogdian follows relatively clear   [67]
rules of transmission with limited variation which can be put in the following conspectus. In
chapter 3. h. I argue that the source of these standard borrowings is Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit
as perceived by Sogdians. The loans that follow the rules of this table, which we consider
regular, constitute 62 percent of the material at hand.

Conspectus: Standard Buddhist Sogdian Renderings of Sanskrit

Sanskrit (transcription)	Sogdian (transliteration)
Consonants (and some clusters)	
k, kh, g, gh	*k (-kk)*[36]
ṅ	*n*
c	*c*
j	*c, t*
ñ	*n, ny*
ṭ	*t, -r*
ḍ, ḍh	*t, -r*
ṇ	*n*
ṇḍ	*-nt, -ntr*
t, th,	*t (-tt), -δ*
d, dh	*δ, t*
n	*n*
p, ph, b, bh	*p*
m	*m*
mp	*np*
r	*r*
l	*r, ḷ, δ*
y	*y, Ø*
ya	*y', 'y*
v	*β*
ṣ, ś	*š*
s	*s*
h	*-x, -Ø*
ḥ	*-Ø*
ṃ	*-m,-n*
Vowels and diphthongs	
a	*'', '-, -'-, -Ø-*
ā	*'', -''-, -'-*
i, ī	*'y-, y-, -y-, -'y-, -Ø-*
u, ū	*'w-, w-, -w-, -'w-*
r̥	*r-, -r-, -ry-, -r'y-*
e, ai	*'y-, -y-, -'y-*

Sanskrit (transcription)	Sogdian (transliteration)
o, au	*ʼw, -ʼw-, -w-*

3. Special Cases in Rendering

a. Contaminations

As it is evidenced from the conspectus, Sogdian writing did not possess the means for rendering all Indo-Aryan phonological detail. In some parts it was triggered by limitations in Sogdian alphabet or phonetic system, but in others (differentiation of aspirate and non-aspirate consonants and long and short vowels other than *a, ā*) I could not notice any attemtp of Sogdian scribes to record the distinction. So sometimes the spellings of different words merged: *mntr* comes from *mandala, mantra,* and *maṇḍa* in different contexts[37], and perhaps non-etymological *n* in the name *mntrʼyh Madrī* was triggered by one of these loans (note also the inclusion on *n* in Chinese, Uyghur and Tocharian forms of the name, Provasi 2013, 230–31; Ogihara 2018, e41).

[68]

The last example highlights a feature we see rather often in these borrowings: re-etymologizations on the base of Sogdian or Indian language. We already saw the inclusion of *y* in the group *śr >šyr*: *kwmʼršyr – Kumāraśri*; *šyrʼʼβsth – Śrāvastī*; *mncʼwšyry – Mañjuśrī*.[38] In this, an association with S *šyr* "good, nice" probably played a role. A doublet form of *šyrʼʼβsth*: *šʼrʼβst* might be affected by Western Middle Iranian word *šahr* "town, province," note *šʼrystʼn* in Sogdian Manichaean church history. The spelling *cntrsyn* for the river *Citrasena* is probably affected by very common Indian *candra* "beauty, moon," while *swttrsyn* implies virtual *Sūtrasena,* an unattested(?) but quite Buddhist looking name "army of Sūtras," based on *swttr – sūtra*. *snksʼr – saṃsāra* and maybe *snkʼswtr Saṃghāṭasūtra* might be influenced by *snkʼ saṃgha* (differently N. Sims-Williams, see under 2. h). See also discussions on *kršnyʼn – Kṛṣṇājinā* styled as Sogdian personal name "Boon of Krishna"; *ʼykrʼšn – *Ēkarājan* below.

[69]

In the word *βykn βynʼywkʼ – vighna vināyaka* one can explain *w* at the end as contamination with S *ywk* (*ywkʼ* in the Sūtra of Causes and Effects 59) "teaching." Sogdian *symʼβntt, sym βyntʼy*, if from *sīmābandha* might be affected by Sogdian *βnt* "bundle," *βynt-* "to bind" with *symh* "fear" in the beginning. *Nārāyaṇa* is constantly (in four different texts) rendered in S with aleph in the final syllable, *nʼrʼyʼn* and not *nʼrʼyn*, as if in contamination with Sogdian names in *yʼn* "boon." Compare also *cytβnt, kyn(n)tr* under 3.b; *ʼyšcyntyt, ʼyšcʼtyk – icchantika* could be influenced by Sogdian *ʼšcyʼnʼk* "worthy."

[70]

b. Simplifications

The long consonant groups in Sanskrit, especially in compound words, were hardly articulated by a foreigner, so various shortenings took place. We do not witness the insertion of epenthetic (*svarabhakti*) vowels in the consonant clusters (with possible exception of *twrʼw(n)[wtn* if for

[71]

---

36 The dash to the left indicates that this spelling is attested in non-initial position only; the dash to the right is for initial position; parenthesis indicates graphic variants.

37 Moreover, one wonders if in So14449/R/7 (Reck 2016, No. 663) *rʼδwh mntr ʼxw* a "palace, shrine" (Skt., Pāli *mandira*) is intended.

38 The variant *Mañjuśiri* is also attested in BHS, see also Gāndhārī *śiri*, Pāli *sirī*.

Droṇodana), although prothesis or loss of the initial short vowel—in accord with native Sogdian development—is documented: *ʼknšk – Kaniṣka; ʼstʼwp- – stūpa; ʼpsmʼr, psmʼr – apasamara; ʼprʼtykʼ pwt, prtʼykpwt – pratyekabuddha;ʼkwšty*, Brāhmi *kuṣṭ(h) – kuṣṭha*.

In respect of consonant clusters, *ṇ* and *y* are lost in *ʼʼtnyʼtkwtyn – Ājñātakauṇḍinya* (note Gāndhārī *A(ṃ)ñadako(ṃ)ḍi(ṃ)ña*, Pāli *Aññātakoṇḍañña*), the syllables *na* and *va* probably fall in *cyttrʼn – Cittanavarāṇa* (?), *n* in *kycrwmyl = kṛcchronmīla*, subsequent simplifications we attest in *pʼštsyn, pʼtsyn – Bhaiṣajyasena*, *r* is lost in *trytrʼšt – Dhṛtarāṣṭra*, *t* falls in *smʼnptr*, var. *smʼnt pwtr, smʼntpttr – Samantabhadra*. These simplifications could result either from Sogdian processes or from a mediating tradition, be it Indic, Iranian, or Chinese. The shortening and metathesis of *pwtystβ, pwtsβ, pwδysβt* etc. *bodhisattva* (Yoshida 2008, 347–48) goes along the same lines. The Sogdian tendency to a labial articulation of the vowel between *P* and *D* (Sims-Williams 1985, 61, n. to 24R) is visible in *smʼnt pwtr – Samantabhadra*. [72]

The shortening or shift of vowels in long words may sometimes result from mediation in transmission and may sometimes be a Sogdian development or even inaccuracy in the rendering of long words: *cntrβrwcn – Candravairocana; swryβrwcwn – Suryavairocana; prsnʼycy – Prasenajit* (see 2. i); *prytpkwpt – pratyekabuddha*. Abbreviation probably occurred in *ʼʼmʼwk – Amogha(vajra?)* and *rwkδyšβʼr – (Aryāva)lokiteśvara* which may be contaminated with *Lokeśvara* "lord of the world," which was often used as an epithet of the former Buddha (Brough 1982, 68). [73]

Non-etymological consonants *r, n* or *t*, sometimes appear, too: *cytβnt – Jetavana* forest;[39] *kyn(n)tr – Kiṃnara*;[40] *šntʼwδn – Śuddhodana*.[41] Most often discussed in this context is *βrxʼr – vihāra*, Old Turkic *vrxar* (Gauthiot 1911, 52–59; Gershevitch 1954, 54, compare Sogdian *βrywr* from Old Iranian **baivar-* "10 000"), probably a Sogdian development, on which see also below 4. d, *krʼẓʼkh – kāṣāya* (see n. 25). The change of *r* or *l* into *n* has been discussed above (under 2. f). [74]

The Sogdian sound-change of **-aka-* stems into */-e/* and **-ākā-* into */-ā/*, which is evident by the interchange of historical spellings with *k* and synchronic without *k,* and by Manichaean and Christian writing, can be also documented in Buddhist loans: *ʼwpʼsʼy, ʼwβʼsʼk – upāsaka; prʼʼ, prʼkh,* Pl. *prʼttʼ – paṭāka* (see 2. a); one can explain the spellings *ršʼʼk* and *mytrʼk, mytrʼy* either as non-standard loans or as Sogdian attempts at pseudo historic spelling. The *aleph* written after *k* in the borrowings like *snkʼ – saṃgha* (see 2. q) can be explained as an attempt to record articulated */-k/*. [75]

In the index below, 55 items, or 18 percent of the material in question, can be considered deviations explainable through Sogdian development without any mediation in transmission. [76]

c. Mediations in Transmission

This problem has been analyzed more than all the above ones, and the role of a Middle Indic source of loanwords and a Parthian, Tocharian, or Chinese transmission has been recognized in a number of words. Some of them will be reviewed below. [77]

---

39   Probably influenced by S *cytβnt* "salutation"; see Henning (1946, 724 n. 2).
40   The non-etymological *t* appears in several Chinese and Central Asian forms as well; see Provasi (2013, 226–27), who suggests that contamination with *gandharva* could take place.
41   Note OTu *Š(a)ntudan* (Van Tongerloo 2005, 390). One should mention Manichaean and Buddhist *βwsʼntk, βsʼntʼ – (upa)-vasatha* (Sims-Williams 1983, 137, n. 43), and *krʼx, krʼnx*, Christian *krx* Yaghnobi *karax* if from Skt *grāha*, see Schwartz (1982, 86 ff.).

d. Parthian and Manichaean Transmission and the Word Buddha

The Indian loans in Parthian and non-Buddhist Sogdian texts were the subject of a detailed [78]
article of Nicholas Sims-Williams (1983). He showed that Indian loans started to appear in
the earliest texts in Manichaean Parthian and were common in the later texts as well.[42] A
number of conventions among these forty or so loanwords, such as the simplification of some
consonant clusters, the development of *kṣ > xš*, the spelling of *g* for Sanskrit *y*, the change of
v into *b* and of *ḍ* into *l* were convincingly ascribed to the North-Western Prakrit (Gāndhārī),
while metathesis and the *ś > c* shift are Parthian (and also Bactrian, see. n. 44) developments.
The voicing of postvocalic consonants could have taken place either in Indian or Iranian
context (Sims-Williams 1983, 132–35).

Among ten Indian loanwords in Christian Sogdian and forty in Manichaean Sogdian, Sims- [79]
Williams identified the ones borrowed via Parthian ('*'k'c – ākāśa*, '*xšn- – kṣaṇa*[43], *p'š – bhāṣ-*,
cxš'pt/δ – śikṣapada) and those from Middle Indic, North-Western Prakrit in particular, noting
that Old Indian was not its principal source (Sims-Williams 1983, 137). Five loans appear in
the Sogdian 'Ancient letters', mirroring the trade vocabulary. Only one (dubious, see n. 17)
example shows *s* in place of *ś, ṣ*, which is typical for most of the Prākrits as well as Pāli, but
not the North-Western Prākrit (Gāndhārī). The Khotanese and Tocharian Brāhmī systems also
keep *s, ś, ṣ* distinct, but not Bactrian in Greek script![44]

A case to be mentioned here specially is the word for Buddha himself, Sogdian *pwt-*, rarely [80]
pwtt-. In principle, it follows the 'standard' rendering of BHS in Sogdian, but *a priori* it cannot
be separated from the form *bwt-* in Manichaean texts.

Thanks to the work of Iris Colditz on the onomasticon of Iranian Manichaean texts, we [81]
have a contextually organized list of appearances of the Buddha in the compositions of the
Manichaeans (Colditz 2018, 264–68, No. 170). It appears that the form *bwt* or *bwt* is predom-
inant in the corpus: it appears in Manichaean Parthian, Middle Persian (including the transla-
tion of Mani's 'Book of Giants'), Bactrian and, with final vowel *-y*, in Sogdian in Manichaean
script. The similar form *βοτο* appears once in inscriptional Bactrian[45], Book Pahlavi *bwt'* and
New Persian *but* "idol" clearly belong here too (Ḥasandūst 1393, 1:408–9). All these forms

---

42   A tentative addition to the early stratum of these loans was noticed later: inscriptional *nymstyk*, Manichaean
      nmstyg "appeal" if from *namas te* "greetings" (Skjærvø 2008, 160).

43   Different from Buddhist Sogdian *kšn, kš'n* (MK, R).

44   Among Indian loans in Bactrian documents, Old Indian *s* and *ś* are rendered by *σ* while *ṣ* is *þ* (in the few
      attested cases): *Σακομανο – Śākyamuni* (Gāndhārī *Śakamuni*) *Βησραμανο – Vaiśramaṇa, Μανοσιρο – Mañjuśiri,
      πισασο – Paiśaca* but *ρακþ(ασ)ο – rākṣasa, rakṣā, ιακþο – yakṣa, þμαν-*, Manichaean Bactrian *šmn- – Gāndhārī
      ṣamana* (from *śramaṇa*) (Sims-Williams 2007, s.v.). One can suppose that Bactrian *σ*, when rendering Old
      Indian *ś*, had the phonetic value of an affricate (/ts/, /tʃ/) rather than sibilant (/s/), as it was noted by Y.
      Yoshida (2008, 353–54, n. 37). In this case, the model is similar to Parthian, where Indian *ś* (and not *ṣ*!)
      is recorded as *c*. As an *areal* feature at least the Bactrian and Parthian way of recording Indian sibilants
      can be compared with Nuristani (Kafiri) historical phonology, where Indo-European *$\hat{k}$* (Old Indian *$\hat{s}$*, Old
      Iranian *s*) is realized as *c*, while *s* (Old Indian *s*, Old Iranian *h*) is *s* and *s* under the *RUKI*-rule is *$š$*
      (Old Indian *$ṣ$*, Old Iranian *$š$*), see e. g. Blažek, Hegedűs (2012, 46, with literature). One wonders how the
      Kharosthi letters transliterated as *s, ś* and *ṣ* were actually articulated in the North-Western Prakrit(s). Note,
      however, Bactrian *ζ* for *ś* in the Kushan period records: *κωζαμβο Kauśambi, ζιριτιαμβο Śrī-Campā βιζαγο
      Viśākha* (Sims-Williams 2008, 54).

45   In all other texts in Bactrian the standard form *βοδδο, βουδο* appears since Kushan coin legends. Khotanese
      balysä is beyond the scope of the subject.

share the same phonetic value */but/* with the last consonant voiceless and as a rule not gem-
inated.[46]

Werner Sundermann (1991, 427–30, 2001437–40) analyzed this form in great detail and   [82]
proposed that the Parthian language (as well as Middle Persian) preferred unvoiced geminate
stops after vowels: *pattabag* "splendor" (< **pati-tapaka-*, spelt *ptbg*), *appar* "predatory" (<
*apa-bar-, spelled *'pr*). In a postscript of 2001 (p. 450), he considered the devoicing after sim-
plification of bisyllabic words into monosyllabic: *dat* < *dahat* "er gibt," *nēk* < *nēwak* "gut,
schön," *Bāt* < *Bagdāt* etc as the "einfachste Erklärung" for *bwt*. Sundermann's second expla-
nation (which is accepted by Colditz) does not look satisfactory, since it requires a bisyllabic
prototype with final consonant.[47]

As for the first possibility, some additional comparanda can be supplemented: N. Sims-   [83]
Williams postulated for Bactrian the rule that the comparative suffix is normally δαρο, but
with a final *d* of an adjective base it turns into ταρο: þαδο "happy" þαταρο "happier" *οαδο
"bad" οαταρο "worse, worst" (Sims-Williams and Tucker 2005, 591–92). Parallel cases are
observed in Manichaean Western Middle Iranian *wtr* "worse" and Khotanese *battara* "less".
Compare also Middle Persian *jwtr* "different, otherwise" < *jwd(y)* + *dr*, *kbwtr* "pigeon" <
*kbwd "blue" + *dr*, Parthian *p'twg* "punishment" < **pati-taug*, *pt'w* "stay, suffer" < **pati-
taw-*. The suffix which is normally spelt *-gr*, obtains the form *-kr* after bases ending in *-g* (as
zyntkr "redeemer," see Durkin-Meisterenst 2014, 168–69). It is true that in the cases listed
above historically one or both consonants were voiceless, so *wtr* e. g. comes from **wata-tara*,
but still I think that this process, namely the devoicing of postvocalic geminates was the
main reason for the peculiar form but in Middle and New Western Iranian, wherefrom it was
borrowed into Sogdian.

It is important to notice here that there are no Indic loans that passed through Parthian   [84]
mediation into Sogdian that are not also documented in Manichaean texts and limited to
Buddhist ones. No Buddhist loans with Bactrian mediation have been attested in Sogdian so
far, despite the fact of close contacts between the two neighboring regions.[48]

e. Prakrit Forms in Buddhist Sogdian

For the Buddhist Sogdian texts, Sims-Williams suggests that the majority of loans are of Prakrit   [85]
origin but notes that "however there are also many spellings which reflect the increasing
prestige of Buddhist Sanskrit" (1983, 137). One of the features he considered Prakritic was
the rendering of *t* as δ, thus *k'wt'm* would be from Sanskrit and *k'wδ'm* from Prakrit. I do

---

46   In Western Middle Iranian geminated consonants were not recorded as such (Durkin-Meisterenst 2014,
      108), but in Bactrian and Sogdian they were often written as two letters. The absence of gemination in the
      Persian *but* is documented *rhythmi causa* in the Shahnameh (Wolff 1935, 115).

47   One can notice some examples of consonant devoicing due to the loss of *h*, as in colloquial Tajiki *meti'ad*
      < *medihad* "she/he gives" or colloquial Persian *lāmasab* "non-believer, hooligan" < literary *lā mazhab*,
      Arabic *lā maḏhab* "without religious path," but they seem to be too late to be used here.

48   See Yoshida (2008, 344–53), where he plausibly argues that S *pwtystβ/pwδystβ* etc. does not show traces
      of Parthian mediation. He further argues that only *''k'c* – *ākaśa* shows Parthian influence in Buddhist
      Sogdian and presupposes the spelling *αγασο in Bactrian. One can add to these Parthian loans *cxš'pt* (only
      in the late Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra, see n. 9), probably *šmn-* and *mytr'k* with Parthian *mytrq, mytrg* and
      Tocharian *Metrak*, but see under 3. b, Sogdian *lyšp* – *śleṣman*, Western Middle Iranian *lyšp* and Tocharian B
      leṣp; Parthian, Manichaean *smyr* and Buddhist Sogdian *sm'yr* – *Sumeru*. For the opposite direction, namely
      Indian words following transmission patterns of Buddhist Sogdians in Manichaean texts, I can name only
      r''t – *rājan* (see n. 11). Bactrian rendering of Indic differs not only in perception of sibilants (see n. 44) but
      also common Indic *mahā* is *mx'* in Sogdian but *μαα-* in Bactrian.

not know cases of δ for Sanskrit *t(h)* in the beginning of a word, while in postconsonantal position it appears quite often: *c'δysm'r* – *jātismara*; *c'δyšrwn* – *Jātiśroṇa*; *tδ'ktswm* – *Tathagatasoma*. Yoshida noticed that the same convention appears in the name *''ry'βr'wkδyšβ'r* – *Āryavalokiteśvara* attested only in the late, Tantric sutras that cannot have had a Middle Indic prototype and thinks that the irregularity of δ/*t* is an inner Sogdian phenomenon (Yoshida 2008, 348 with n. 26). Yutaka Yoshida kindly reminded me of variance of Buddhist *mx'pwδy* and Manichaean *mx'pwtty* for *Mahāboddhi*. One can further adduce the same convention in transcribing Sanskrit invocation: *š'kymwn tδδ'kt'w 'r'x'n smyk' smpwtt* – *Śākyamumi tathagato arahan (!) samyaksambuddha* (Dhyāna 358, MacKenzie 1976, 74–75), showing that this was a perception of Sanskritic postvocal *t(h)* by the translator.[49]

Among the Middle Indic loans we should distinguish ones that have Prakritic features surviving in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit as well as occasional shortenings: *krkswn(t)[*[50] – *Krakucchanda*, Turfan Sanskrit *Krakasunda*; *βcyr-* – *vajira*; perhaps *'yšcyntyt*, *'yšc'tyk* – *icchantika* (see n. 10); *βr'yšmn* – *Vaiśramaṇa*;[51] *'yry''pt* – *īryāpatha*; *p'ytk* – *pātayantika*, *pāyattika* (if not Tocharian, Yoshida 2008, 340), *k'l'y xwt'w* – half-translated *Kalirājan, Kaliṅgarājan* (Khot. *Kalä rri*, Uyghur *Kali bäg* and Chinese *Jiali* 迦利). [86]

What remains are several 'cultural' words: *k'rt'k*[52] – *gṛhastha* (Khot. *ggāṭhaa*, Toch. B. *kattāke*); *kr'ẓ'k* – *kāṣāya*, Toch. A *kāṣār(i)*, Niya Prākrit *kaṣara*, Old Turkic *k(')r'ẓ'* (Bailey 1949, 130); *pwrsnk* – *bhikṣusaṃgha* with Khotanese *bilsaṃgga*, Toch A *pis-saṅk*, Uyghur *pursang* (Bailey 1967, 242), *trywr* – *tripuṭā*, Khotanese *ttrola* (Maue and Nicholas 1991, 491, n. 38, although one cannot exclude error for **trypr*, Manichaean *trypl*, Brāhmī *ṭṛphāl* – *triphala*), *kwn'k'r* – *kūṭāgāra* (Middle Indic *kūḍāgāra*, Toch A *kᵘrekar* etc, Sims-Williams 1983, 137) the names of continents (see n. 56). [87]

Among the Indian loans that are found outside Buddhist texts, the majority come from Middle Indic (Sims-Williams 1983), but some of them show certain older features: Manichaean *krm* "(evil) action" – *karman* (Gāndhārī *kaṃma* but sometimes spelt *kram-*, *karm-*, Pāli *kamma*), Manichaean (?) *('ynt'wk)δyβr'c* – *Devarājā*, *r''t* – *rājā* (Gāndhāri *raya*, but sometimes spelt *raja*, Manichaean Middle Persian *mh'r'c*, Persian *rāja*). [88]

f. Tocharian

Yoshida (2008, 338–40) noticed several Indic loans in Sogdian that witness vowel and consonant shifts typical for Tocharian B: *synt''p*, Sanskrit *saindhava*, Tocharian B *sintāp* "stone salt," *tn'pt*, Sanskrit *dānapati*, Tocharian B *tanāpate*,[53] *pkc'n*, Sanskrit **upagacchana*[54], Tocharian B *pakaccāṃ*, A *pākäccāṃ*; *p'ytk* – *pāyattika*, *pātayantika*, Tocharian B *pāyti*. The same is supposed for the name *kncns'r* Sanskrit *Kāñcanasāra* with Tocharian initial shortening, the name *Kañcanasāre* is now attested in Tocharian B, and the closely related form is Uyghur *kancanasare* [89]

---

49   See also the variation *t / d* in the Sanskrit version of the fragmented Sanskrit-Sogdian Brāhmī bilingual (Maue and Nicholas 1991, 487–88); however, a *Fremdzeichen* <δ> or Indic <*dh*> (= <*t*>) was used to render Sogdian /δ/ in these texts (Sims-Williams 1996, 309). In BHS there is a sporadic voicing of postvocalic *t* into *d* (Edgerton 1953, II:17), including the Turfan materials (Yoshida 2012, 57). The same feature is observed in Uyghur written in Brahmi script: *atipatipal* for *adipatiphala* but *vyakridha-* for *vyākṛta* (Kasai 2015, 417).

50   For the reconstruction of *(t)* see Provasi (2013, 227) with n. 19.

51   Perhaps contaminated with Semitic *Baʻl Šamin*, who was part of the pre-Christian Armenian pantheon as well, see Lurje (2020). Completely regular *β'yšrβn* – *Vaiśravaṇa* is also attested.

52   Compare the earlier loan *γ'tk*, *γ'th* (Sims-Williams 1992, 2:52).

53   Maybe the same in the personal name *tnpt[* in the Buddhist colophon (Reck 2016, XVIII, 2:413).

54   One would expect **(')wpkc(')n* in the case of direct borrowing.

(Sundermann [2006](#), 719–20; Yoshida [2019a, 155](#) with n. 45). Note also *ny'ncynt Jñānacinta* (name of the monk who translated the Intoxication Sutra from 'Indian' into Sogdian) under 2. b., explainable as Middle Indic or Tocharian.

g. Chinese

Despite the fact that Chinese was the direct source of most of the Sogdian Buddhist texts, very few of the Indic loanwords have traces of Chinese mediation. Elio Provasi examined almost 70 loans and compared them to the wide range of Chinese renderings in the Tripiṭaka. He reached the conclusion that Chinese transmission can be detected in very few cases ([2013](#), 280–81).   [90]

The phonetics of the Chinese language is fairly distant from Sogdian (like any other any Indo-European) even if in the Tang period it possessed more means to record postvocalic consonants than in modern Mandarin.   [91]

Chinese loans in Sogdian texts (such as the names of eras) are often detectable by their 'atomistic' outlook: monosyllabic characters are written as separate words that are usually shorter than Sogdian lexemes (see Chinese in Sogdian transcription in Yoshida [2013](#), 169ff., pl. I).   [92]

So, it is easy to see this convention in *'n'wxt'r' s'm myγ s'm pwδ'y* – *anuttarasaṃyaksaṃbodhi* which passed through Chinese *a-nou-duo-luo san-miao san-pu-ti* 阿耨多羅三藐三菩提 (EMCh *ʔa-nəwʰ-ta-la sam-mjiaw' sam-bɔ-dɛj*; see already Gauthiot and Pelliot [1926](#), 2:66)[55] as compared to *'nwtr'y'n sm(')yk smpwδ'y* (loc. sg. *anuttarāyāṃ*, see Yoshida [2010](#), 90), which is attested in other texts and was borrowed from Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit directly. The Chinese mediation here is documented not only with rendering *n'wx* for *nəwʰ* and *myγ* for *mauk*, but also with the separate writing of the prefix *sam-*.   [93]

The names of four continents in the Sogdian Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra: *cympwδ'y* –*Jambudvipa*, *'wt'nwr* – *Uttaravati*, *k'wy'n'* – *Godānīya*, *pwšp'δ'y* – *Pūrvavideha* are difficult and at least two were borrowed from Chinese[56]: *Yanfuti* (閻浮提 EMCh *jiam-buw-dɛj*), *Yudanyue* (欝單越 *ʔut-tan-wuat*), see extensively Provasi ([2013](#), 217–19, 264–65). The Sogdian forms, however, do not look like Chinese loans; perhaps the translator of the Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra did not know the Indian forms and tried to reconstruct them from the Chinese transcription.[57] The same development might be attested in *kyδy'* – *Jetavana*, Chinese *Qidia* (祇陀, *gji-da*, see Provasi [2013](#), 216–17). The form *cwδ'yk'* – *Jyotiṣka*, Chinese *Shutiqie* (樹提伽, EMCh. *dʑuǎ' dɛj gia*), unlike the doublet *c'wtyšk'* might be considered Chinese, too (Sims-Williams [1983](#), 138).   [94]

A special case is Sogdian *''myt'*, which is much closer to Chinese *Amituo* (阿彌陀 *ʔa-mji-da*) than to Sanskrit *Amitābha, Amitāyus* (Yoshida [2010](#), 88–89; Provasi [2013](#), 199). As for Chinese *Amituo,* this form did not appear from nowhere, and many suggestions have been made on the shorter Indic prototype;[58] the recent suggestion of Jan Nattier ([2006](#), [2007](#)) that a North-Western Prakrit form **Āmitā'a* from *Amitābha* was the source of Lokakṣema's translation should be mentioned. Moreover, the figure of *Amitābha/Amitāyus,* and his paradise in   [95]

---

55   MacKenzie ([1976](#), 201) reconstructs *mauk*.

56   The names of the continents in the Dhyāna: *cnpwδβyp, 'wtrkwr, k'wy'ny, pwrpδ'yš* are explainable as Sanskrit *Jambudvipa, Uttarakuru* and Middle Indic *Purpadeśa and *Goyana*, Khotanese *Ggoyāni, Ggauyāṃni.*

57   See Yoshida ([2010](#), 90). The mysterious *pwšp'δ'y* in this case might be a reetymologization with Sanskrit *puṣpa-* flower?

58   One of these suggestions was Middle Indic form *Amida* (vel. sim) from Sanskrit *amṛta-* "immortal" (see literature in Nattier [2006](#), 188, [2007](#), 388–89, Nattier herself is skeptical about it). Incidentally we see once Amitābha rendered as *''mr'yt'* in Sogdian (Reck [2016](#), XVIII, 2:503).

Sukhāvatī, has been considered an Iranian plot which was incorporated in Mahāyāna, and the early translators of sūtras on Amitābha were of Parthian, Bactrian, Sogdian[59] and Khotanese origin (Scott 1990, 68–71). With these reservations, the Chinese source of Sogdian *'myt'* cannot be taken for granted.

In the remaining cases, we notice Chinese mediation only in a vowel shift or other minor   [96]
phonetic features, the transcription appears to be combined from both Indian and Chinese sources: *sywpwδ'y, sypwty – Subhūti*, Chinese *xu-pu-ti* (須菩提 EMCh. *syou-bou-dei*, see Sims-Williams 1983, 138); maybe *twr'w(n)[wtn* if for *Droṇodana*, Chinese *Tulünuotanna* (途盧諾檀那 EMCh *dɔ-liǝʰ-nak-dan-na'*). One can compare *pn nyrβ'n parinirvāṇa* with Chinese *(da)ban nie pan* (大般涅槃 EMCh *pan-nɛt-pan*), see Sundermann (2010, 77). The dissimilation of *r – r* could however appear in an Iranian context as well (under 2. f). Characteristic is *pyms'r – Bimbisāra*, where the loss of the second *b* agrees with the Chinese *Pingsha* (洴沙 EMCh. *bɛjŋ-ṣaɨ/ṣɛ:*), while the second syllable follows Sanskrit well. Sims-Williams (1983, 138; Yoshida 2010, 90) explains Sogdian *pk'β'm* as a loan from Chinese *Pojiafan* (婆伽梵 EMCh *ba-kia-buamʰ*)[60]. This term for Buddha is most common in Chinese texts and appears twice in Sogdian (once in the transcription of Skt invocation). Much more common is the epithet *βγ'n bxtm*, which is similar to other Central Asian traditions: Skt. *Devatideva,* Gāndhārī *devadideva,* Khotanese: *gyastānu gyastä balysä,* Manichaean Parthian *bg'n bgdwm,* Tocharian B *ñakteṃts ñakte pūdñäkte (pañäkte)*, Uyghur *täŋri täŋgrisi burxan.*

We have to bear in mind however that many names and technical terms of Chinese Bud-   [97]
dhist texts were translated and not transcribed, and in some cases the source of translation is detectable: Sanskrit *kleṣa* is translated as *wytxwy ('t) sryβt'm* "suffering (and) pain," rendering Chinese *fannao* 煩悩, "vexation – annoyance" (Yoshida 2015, 838) and bodhisattva *'k'c ptc'n* "concealer of empty space" stands for Chinese *Xukongzang,* 虛空藏, "empty-space-conceal" (Lurje 2010, 68), while *pw px'rš pw nm'n'k βγpyδr'k* "prince without retreat without repentance" is translated from Chinese *butuizhuan tianti* (不退轉天子), "no-retreat-return-god's-son" and not from Sanskrit *Devaputra Avaivartika* (Lurje 2010, 312). Eight of 32 names of Buddhas and 16 of 42 names of Bodhisattvas attested in Sogdian are translations and not transcriptions (Lurje 2010, 523–24).

h. Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit as the Source of the Main Body of the Borrowings

Theoretically, in the case of many standard borrowings there is a possibility that they entered   [98]
Sogdian from a mediating language: e.g. Sogdian *knkmwny – BHS Kanakamuni* could be borrowed from Tocharian A *Kanakamuni,* Khotanese *Kanakamāmṇa,*[61] Old Turkic *Kanakamuni* or Chinese *Jianuojiamouni* (迦諾迦牟尼, MCh *Kɨa-nak-kɨa-muw-nri,* see Provasi 2013, 218–21). None of these forms is at odds with Sogdian rendering.

In very many other instances, however, these parallel renderings are significantly different   [99]
from Sogdian. From a general point of view (according to *Research in the Social Scientific Study*

---

59   The Sogdian version of the Larger Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra was translated from the Chinese translation produced in the third century by Kang Sengkai 康僧鎧 (Saṃghavarman), himself of Samarkand descent; moreover, other occurences of *'m'yt'* in Sogdian are in free adaptations of so-far unknown originals or in the Sogdians' own compositions, see Yoshida (2010, 88–89).

60   However, I do not exclude that BHS *bhagavāṅ* (nom) could be recorded in the same way; see the variation in the rendering of *anusvāra* (see 2. h, 2. v).
      Yutaka Yoshida (2010, 90) considers *pwδy – bodhi* a borrowing via Chinese *pu ti* (普提 EMCh *b'uo d'uei*), although I do not see traces of Chinese transmission here; note also *pwt'y mntr- bodhimaṇḍa.*

61   Late Khotanese <ā> became a labial vowel.

of Religion or Occam's razor), it is advisable, however, to formulate a simple scheme, namely to derive, as much as possible, the material at hand as coming from the single source, and to explain eventual deviations as much as possible as features of the Sogdian language (see 3. a., 3. b). Only if the shape of the loan does not fit this explanation, or if there are significant cultural or philological considerations,[62] can we adduce mediation of a tertiary language or tradition (3. c. – 3. g).

The features of Western Iranian, Prakrit, Tocharian, or Chinese transmission of the bor-   [100]
rowings in question are present in a limited number of cases, and each one received special attention above.

Returning to the main body of material in standard transmission (in the conspectus), we   [101]
should evaluate arguments *contra* ascribing them to any of the neighboring languages of the Buddhist teaching.

These borrowings cannot come from a 'regular' Prākrit (or Pāli) since they do not show   [102]
coincidence of sibilants or simplification of consonant clusters. They cannot come from the Gāndhārī (North-Western Prakrit) because of the preservation of consonant clusters or the absence of lenition of postvocalic consonants (such as $j > y$). These borrowings did not pass through Parthian or Bactrian because of the different rendering of sibilants (3d, n. 44), the absence of such features as changes in consonant clusters, restoration of *v* into *b*, or the frica-tivization of non-initial stops.

Tocharian A or B cannot be the source of these borrowings because of the absence of vowel   [103]
quantity and quality shifts, the preservation of *-v* as *-β* and not *-p*, and the few detectable traces of the voiced articulation of stops (see under 2. e.). We do not see in these borrowings the shift of vowels, or the lenitions typical for Khotanese. Uyghur Buddhist texts cannot be the source of these borrowings for obvious chronological grounds, being later than Sogdian ones, let alone the absence of vowel quantity in Uyghur.

We do not see Chinese imprints in vowel change or the loss of postvocalic consonants. There   [104]
are no cases of syllable-by-syllable spellings save for one example.

In the majority of cases there is no contradiction to the assumption that Buddhist Hybrid   [105]
Sanskrit was the main source of these borrowings (see Yoshida 2009, 291; Provasi 2013, 277).

However, there are three features that are notable exceptions from a straightforward ren-   [106]
dering: the transmission of retroflexes as *r*; the rendering of *j* as *t* and the representation of the four postvocalic dentals as *t* or *δ* (2c, 2b, 2d). The first is explainable through the absence of retroflexes in Sogdian and the proximity of their articulation place to the sonants *l, r*. A similar development is visible in Khotanese and Chinese rendering (as in Sogdian *βyr'wr'y*, Khotanese *värūlei, vīrrulai*, Chinese *Piliule*, 毗留勒 EMCh *bji-luwʰ-lək*) and in numerous Indic varieties (e. g. Pāli *vēḷuriya* from *vaiḍurya*). However, we do not encounter rendering of retroflexes through /l/ in Sogdian. The spelling of *j* as *t* /d/ or /t/, as if reducing the affricate /dž/ to its first element, is unusual. One can notice that a voiced affricate did not exist in the Sogdian pho-netic system. It is more common to render a foreign /dž/ as *c* or *ž* in loanwords.[63] For the representation of postvocalic *t, th, d, dh* as either *<t>* or *<δ>* see the discussion under 3. e.

It is evident of course that the words in question were borrowed from the recorded literary   [107]
language. However, the literary language was pronounced in some way which was more or less close to the written text as we perceive it now. When writing down loanwords, the Sogdian

---

62   Such as the presence of these words in non-Buddhist Sogdian; for the few works translated from Tocharian (see Yoshida 2008, 337–40) one can suppose Tocharian rather than Sanskrit as the source.

63   The Sinhalese development of *j* into *d* (*rada* for *rājan*, *ädilla* for *añjali*) and Ossetic *Wastyrǵi* for Saint George (< *Wac-ǰirǵy*, Abaev 1989, 56) are of little help here.

translators, using their own script, had nothing else to do but to record the pronunciation as they heard or learned it, since they could not just copy the writing (as is commonly the case of Tocharian or Khotanese written in Brahmi script). With more experience, however, the translators worked out certain rules of rendering, but one cannot expect a fully systematic scheme.

I suppose that the source of the major part of the borrowings is Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, pronounced in the articulation of Central Asian monks (for none of them Sanskrit was mother tongue!), and recorded according to the perception of foreign sounds by the Sogdians. However, I cannot offer definitive explanations for the peculiarities discussed earlier in this section. [108]

As is well known, for Buddhist loans in various languages there is a feature of reversed stratigraphy: in the earlier records we observe more advanced Middle Indic forms, but in the later texts, more archaic standardized Sanskrit ones are predominant (e. g. Karashima 2006 for Chinese; Salomon 2002 for Gāndhārī; Sims-Williams 1983, 137 for Sogdian). [109]

I propose to explain the predominance of BHS loans in Sogdian as an indication of a relatively late date (after the seventh century) of the bulk of the translations. These loans are thus later than those of the Indian words that entered common Sogdian and Manichaean usages and form an older layer of Indic loans attested in Buddhist texts. [110]

i. Incomprehensible Loans and Distribution of Non-Standard Loanwords within Sogdian Buddhist Texts

Although the great majority of the names in Buddhist Sogdian texts have been explained satisfactorily, there remain some that withstand any attempts. One of them is the name of the fish king in the story in the P2 manuscript, *pr'wxy* (L). In the Sogdian version of the Śukasūtra (L-93) we encounter a number of incomprehensible names: *c'wš'r, k'wšr't, šwr't, mx'wr* without Indian or any other satisfactory explanation at hand;[64] the other names from this text *š'ymnkr Kṣemaṃkara* (cf. 2. g) and *pyms'r Bimbisāra* are irregular, too (Rosenberg 1920). [111]

Some other texts are characterized by irregular, somewhat artificial names. One of them is in the Berlin manuscript of the *Saṃghāṭasūtra* with the names *'ykr'šn, βympx'r, srpšwr, p'tsyn*. They have been explained as prakritisms and pseudo-Sanskrit retrospections (Yakubovich and Yoshida 2005; Yakubovich 2013, 42–45). [112]

In the Sogdian Vessantara Jātaka we see many re-etymologized names: *mntryh, kršny'n, r'zβwrt*. For the name of the main protagonist *swδ''šn* foreign explanations, Parthian and Gāndhārī, have been proposed.[65] [113]

In general, it is safe to assume that non-standard loans appear in certain Buddhist Sogdian texts of rather popular nature, with free narration, lacking footprints of verbatim translation from Chinese, and having even an elaborate style in the case of well-preserved Sogdian Vessantara Jātaka (Yoshida 2015, 840 with literature). [114]

---

64   For *mx'wr* the explanation as *mahoraga* was independently proposed by Lurje (2010, No. 720) and Provasi (2013, 233–35), who further adds Old Turkic *Mohar*. The Brahmin's name *ptm'pr'yš Padmapreśa* is also at odds with other versions of the story (Yoshida 2019a, 147).

65   Sims-Williams (1983, 139) advocating a Parthian origin and Provasi (2009) in favour of a Gāndhārī one. See also Yoshida (2009) on the Chinese rendering of the name. I see a theoretical scenario linking the Parthian and Gāndhārī versions of the etymology: Parthian macaronic *Su-dāšn* "(he performing) nice gifts" was borrowed into Gāndhārī as *Sudaṣa*, from which the pseudo-Sanskrit form *Sudaṃṣṭra* "he with nice teeth" was extracted (on these forms see Karashima 2006, 362). The Sogdian form in this case has been borrowed from Parthian or Gāndhārī.

4. Additional Remarks: Some Considerations on Buddhism in Sogdiana and Sogdian Colonies

a. The Perception of the Buddha by Lay Sogdians

The Buddhist Sogdian texts were of course written and read by a limited circle of educated people, principally monks, but rich laymen acted as sponsors. Even if we can presume a relatively high degree of literacy among the Sogdians, the beautiful sūtra script of these texts indicates professional scribes. A large number of Sogdian settlers in the Turfan and Dunhuang area and elsewhere continued to profess their native religion (Grenet and Zhang 1998). Others were Buddhists, Manichaeans, or Christians. The colophons to Sogdian Buddhist texts (P-8 and the Ōtani fragment) as well as the recently discovered Sino-Sogdian funerary inscription (Sims-Williams and Bi 2020) show that within one and the same family of patrons of Buddhism, various persons had Buddhist and non-Buddhist names. In the mentioned epitaph, the An (Bukhara) clan of the sponsor was comprised of possessors of Sogdian names *wys'k, w'ywš/wy'ws, srδm'n, ''δprn*, while only the third son of the deceased laywoman had the name *pwtyδβ'r* "given by Buddha." Some theophoric names based on Buddha appear in other colophons and inscriptions in Sogdian[66], and many more in Chinese documents from the Turfan and Dunhuang areas, which were collected by Yoshida (2017, 47, elaborating earlier versions; see also Wang Ding [王丁] 2019, 192–95). We put them side by side with standard Sogdian theophoric names based on the popular goddess Nanaia and the Moon-god Mākh to show the similarity of the formation.

[115]

Name based on Buddha[67]	Meaning	Name based on Nanaia or other deity	Meaning
*pwtyβntk **pwty*	slave of Buddha (of) Buddha (short name)	*nnyβntk* *nny*	slave of Nanaia (of) Nanaia (short name)
pwtyprn[68] **pwtyβyrt*	glory of Buddha obtained through Buddha	*nnyprn* *nny'βy'rt*	glory of Nanaia obtained through Nanaia
pwtyδ'yh[69]	maidservant of Buddha	*nnyδ'yh*	maidservant of Nanaia
*pwtym'n	resembling Buddha	*nnym'nch*[70]	resembling Nanaia
pwty'n[71] *pwtyδβ'r*[72] *pwttδ's*	boon of Buddha gift of Buddha slave of Buddha (Indic form)	*m'xy'n* *nnyδβ'r* *δyβδ's*	boon of Moon-god gift of Nanaia slave of god (both parts are Indic)

---

66   *pwttδ's* "slave of Buddha" (an Indian name!) among the early Sogdian inscriptions in the upper Indus valley, with patronymy or ethnic adjective *kwš'nk'nk* "Kushan one"; *(pw?)ttyy-'n* in the Mt Mugh document used as scabbard cover, the letters are defective but still visible, see Lurje (2010, 314–15 with literature); Yoshida (2013, 155 n. 4) considers the latter name far from certain.

67   For the sake of simplicity, we do not provide the Chinese form and its reading. The names with asterisks are the ones attested only in the *Nebenüberlieferung*.

68   The name is also attested in the Ladakh Sogdian inscription.

This table shows that in the eyes of ordinary lay Sogdians, Buddha was considered a kind [116] of benevolent deity worthy of devotion of a newborn's name after him. Of course this view was not restricted to Sogdians and such names are attested in many other people's versions of Buddhism. In many cases, as said, these names are mingled with ones based on Sogdian deities.

b. A Newly Discovered Buddhist Wood-Carving from Panjakent

Much literature has been devoted to the remains of Buddhist art in Sogdiana. The surveys of [117] Tigran Mkrtychev (2002) and Matteo Compareti (2008) are in general up-to-date and reliable sources on this issue. They are now supplemented with the collective volume Religions of Central Asia and Azerbaijan. III. Buddhism (Voyakin et al. 2019). Within the vast range of late antique Sogdian art, the Buddhist remains are very few. Apart from dubious architectural remains and one mural painting from a secondary level in Panjakent, Buddhist artefacts of Sogdiana are limited to a few sculptures in terracotta and metal (the latter being a Chinese import). In some other murals the Buddhist subjects can be considered sources of inspiration for the non-Buddhist messages. On the next pages I add several little known additions to this corpus, one of them being doubtful.

In 2016 the Panjakent expedition found a burned wooden plaque at area XXVI in the eastern [118] block of the city (Kurbanov and Lurje [Lur'e] 2017, fig. 1). The stratigraphic considerations suggest that it was abandoned before the fire of 722 (although the traces of fire in this part of the city are not visible). The semi-oval shape of the plaque 58 x 53 cm, tentatively suggests that once it decorated a lunette above a door. Its sides however did not survive. The central figure (of which the upper quarter is lost) is sitting cross-legged on what one can considered a stylized lotus flower and is raising his right hand. His dress with a triangular collar resembles garments on Panjakent murals and at the same time the 'Buddha parè' of Fundukistan in Bactria (e. g. Rowland 1961, 20–24). A smaller-sized donor on bent knees is offering something under the lotus on the right-hand side, and traces of another donor can be detected on the opposite side, and maybe another smaller lotus was further to the right.

This panel is the first detected example of Sogdian wood carving with a Buddhist scene, and [119] probably represents a well-known scene of adoration. The iconography of the panel, however, witnesses Sogdian style (as in the case of painted and terracotta Buddhas from Panjakent): the lotus flower features typically Sogdian petals and the Buddha has thin, elongated legs with small feet, like the characters in the murals of Panjakent and unlike the heavy limbs of early Buddhist style.

c. Sealings from Kafir-Kala and Some New Plastic Finds

The site of Kafir-kala near Samarkand, probably the countryside palace of rulers of Sogdiana, [120] ikhshids, was the spot of numerous finds of well-preserved clay bullae which were discovered in the fire layer of 711. There is a set of offprints of one seal with a figure in full face sitting cross-legged on an ornamented throne (fig. 2); Sogdian inscription appears on two sides of the character. The excavators proposed to see here a depiction of a Buddhist character with the

---

69   The name attested also in the colophon to P8.
70   *-ch* here is feminine marker.
71   The name is attested two or three times in Sogdian, see Lurje (2010, 315).
72   In the epitaph, see above.

features of *Avalokiteśvara, Amitābha,* and *Padmapāṇi* (Berdimuradov et al. 2016; Bogomolov 2019, 339–45). An alternate interpretation may be preferred.

In the inscription the Turkic word *x'ttwn* "lady, wife of the kaghan" is clearly written in Sogdian script and on its other side there is a less comprehensible Turkic name that includes *'p'* "elder" (Berdimuradov et al. 2016, 53). It is logical to assume that a Khatun was depicted on the seal. Very peculiar is the headgear (or halo, as the authors suggest) with three tips. This kind of headdress is common among the depictions of Old Turkic noble women. The best example is apparently the petroglyph on the lost funerary statue from Kudyrge in Highland Altai, where the lady is depicted as well (Azbelev 2010 with literature; Yatsenko 2013, 75). The double portrait coins from Tashkent oasis are particularly close in date, place, and iconography (Shagalov and Kuznetsov 2006, 75–86, 308). One of the types is inscribed by Ton Yabghu Kaghan, the leader of the Western Turks in the early seventh century. Recently, the observations linking the sealing with noble Turkic ladies were also expressed in Japanese by A. Begmatov (2017, 208–9) and in Uzbek by G. Boboyorov (2020, with an untenable re-reading of the inscription); Yutaka Yoshida informed me that he reached a similar conclusion in an unpublished lecture he held in Stockholm in 2018. [121]

Other features also agree with the interpretation of the seal with Turkic Khatun. Her right hand does not show a *vitarka mūdra* but holds a small open bowl with two fingers (which was mistaken as a collar), in agreement with stone statues of the Turks (Sher 1963). The crescent to the right is probably the lip of a flask with two handles that can be seen as well. The ribbons from her shoulders must be regarded as a Sasanian cultural practice that was widely followed in Sogdiana. All in all, in my opinion, this seal is an important indication of the role of the Turks in pre-Islamic Sogdiana and the position of noblewomen within their society, but has little to do with Buddhism. [122]

One should add here that a fragment of a bronze figurine of the Buddha enthroned (probably an importation, or rather a somewhat careless recasting of an import) was found recently in Kanka in the Chach (Tashkent) area (Bogomolov and Musakaeva 2020, 288–90). The Buddhist attribution of several minor bronze plastics from Fergana (Bogomolov 2019, 346–48) remains unproven, in my opinion. [123]

d. Toponymic Data

Both Xuanzang and Huichao (see under 1) mentioned one or two Buddhist monasteries in Samarkand, albeit in weak condition. There are very detailed descriptions of early Muslim Samarkand (and other cities of Sogdiana) and among the gates of the city one finds Nawbahār gates. Persian *Nawbahār* (*Nava Vihāra*) is the name of a Buddhist monastery in Balkh, famous for its richness, from where the mighty Abbasid viziers of the Barmakī family originated (De la Vaissière 2010, with literature). [124]

The *Nawbahār* gates were located in the western wall of the city (madīna) of Samarkand and in the eastern wall of the inner suburb (*rabaḍ*) of Bukhara,[73] with two settlements nearby (Bol'shakov 1973, 221–25, 243, 252–3, with literature). [125]

From what is said above one can suppose that the Buddhist monasteries were located near the *Nawbahār* gates in Samarkand and Bukhara, as in fact was once proposed by W. Barthold (1928, 102 n. 4). Following the same logic, Richard Bulliet (1976) considered all the places [126]

---

73   The etymology of the name *Buxārā* (Sogdian *pwx'r*) from *vihāra*, which was related by the medieval authors and appears from time to time in scholarly and popular literature, cannot be maintained, see Frye (2000).

named *Nawbahār* of medieval (in Beihaq in Khorasan and near Rayy close to Tehran) and modern Iran to be places of Buddhist structures.

In later Persian literature, the word *Nawbahār* had the meaning 'beauty, beloved' since the [127] "idol" of the Balkh temple was considered an ideal. It was easily contaminated with Persian *naw bahār* "early spring," the time of great outdoor festivities of Iranians. Consequently, not every place called *Nawbahār* will have a Buddhist origin.

The proof that *vihāra* is reflected in the *Nawbahār* of the names of gates of Samarkand and [128] Bukhara can be found in the gate-names of less Persianized cities within the Sogdian sphere of influence in the early Islamic period, where the Sogdian word for *vihāra*, *βrx'r*, survived (see Lurje [Lur'e] 2013, 229, 250 n):

Among the gates of Isfījāb city on the Arys river (Sayram in modern southern Kazakhstan) [129] there was a gate which can be reconstructed as *Farxār* (in Arabic script, *f* was commonly used for the labiovelar *β* which did not have a parallel in the Arabic phonetic system).[74]

Similarly, one of the gates of Binkaθ, the capital of the Tashkent oasis inside the modern city, [130] had the gates which we restore as *Farxār* from defective writing in the Muslim manuscripts.[75]

Of course, the etymology of *Farxār* / modern Parxor in the north-east of historical Bactria [131] (southern Tajikistan, on the Panj river, above the confluence with Vakhsh) is the same.[76] Near Parkhor, the late antique and medieval site of Zoli Zard is located (Jakubov and Dovudi 2012). An accidental find of a small limestone head of Buddha from Zoli Zard has been reported recently: https://www.ozodi.org/a/30635395.html (last accessed 03.07.2020); one can recognize Bactrian *βοδο* in archaic rhombic-shape lapidary script to the right of the face.[77]

5. Some Conclusions

The analysis above has outlined the conventions that Sogdian Buddhists used to render Bud- [132] dhist Hybrid Sanskrit terms. Although some deviations are attested, the majority of forms follow the conventions regularly. This study shows that more than sixty percent of the almost 300 loanwords into Sogdian which appear only in Buddhist texts follow these conventions, and that the source language is best identified as Buddhist (Hybrid) Sanskrit and not as a Middle Indic vernacular (section 2 with conspectus, 3. h). Among the non-standard loans one can recognize several that originated in Gāndhārī, Tocharian, or Chinese, as well as some Wanderwörter (3. e–g). The loanwords that passed through Parthian are mostly found in Manichaean texts. The few found in Buddhist texts probably include *pwt/bwt* "Buddha" (3. d). Less than twenty percent of the material show the likely influence of a mediating language. In the equal, if not greater, number of cases the deviations in renderings might be caused by inner-Sogdian developments such as consonant simplifications or re-etymologization (3. a–b).

Although, as it is well known, the major part of Sogdian Buddhist literature was translated [133] from Chinese, we see a quite limited amount of Chinese transmission of Buddhist terms (3. g). Yoshida (2009, 291) and Provasi (2013, 277) already noted that Sogdian monks carefully

---

74   فرخار So in Ms C of Muqaddasī, other MSs have فرخان, فرجان (ed. Goeje 1906, 272); Ibn Ḥauqal: فرخاذ (Kramers 1939, 510); Persian translation of Iṣṭakhrī: فرخان , فرخاذ (Afshār 1968, 263).

75   Ibn Ḥauqal: فرجان , الفرجان (Kramers 1939, 508); Persian translation of Iṣṭakhrī: فرخان (Afshār 1968, 261).

76   There is a certain number of Sogdian place names on the Panch river, as *Padkunob* "inverted water" in the lower Darvaz upstream of Amu-darya. Another village Farkhār is located near Nishabur in Iranian Khorasan.

77   Recently, a clay head of the Buddha with traces of a gypsum coating coming from Fozilon at 10 km distance from Farkhor was published (Filimonova 2019, 217–18).

studied Sanskrit and probably used some word lists for translation similar to the attested Manichaean Middle Persian/Parthian to Sogdian and Sogdian to Uyghur word lists (Provasi 2013, 281). One can add the fragmented Sanskrit-Sogdian bilingual in Brāhmī script on eye diseases (Maue and Nicholas 1991). The Sogdian translations of this fragment follow Sanskrit short phrases or more often individual words one by one, so one can suppose that it was a word list of a physician on a given theme rather than a continuous text with translation. One wonders if similar lists were once used by translators of sūtras. However, one does not need a reference for a correct transcription in every case as the general knowledge of the ultimate source language is often sufficient.[78]

Given that Chinese was the source of the majority of Sogdian Buddhist translations, it is surprising that only a few cases of Chinese mediation of Indic loans are attested (3. g). However, the translation, rather than the transcription, even among names, constitutes a quarter to one third of the corpus, and in many cases we see footprints of Chinese as the source of this translation. [134]

Turning to irregular, even unexplained transcriptions of Indian names, one can notice that they appear more often among the texts of popular, narrative nature: the *Sūkasūtra*, the *Samghāṭasūtra,* and the famous *Vessantara Jātaka* (3. i). These texts probably appeared before more regular translations, and witness an early form of Sogdian Buddhist literature. We do not know where these texts were composed, in the homeland or in the colonies along the so-called Silk Road. [135]

Traces of Buddhism exist in Sogdiana proper. A recently discovered wooden panel of the worship of Buddha in distinctly Sogdian artistic style from Panjakent can be added to these (4. b). A set of sealings from Kafir-kala near Samarkand recently interpreted as a depiction of Buddha more probably represent a Turkic noble lady, a *khatun* (4. c). Medieval toponymic data of Sogdiana and adjacent lands indicates the presence of Buddhist monasteries. The place names *Naubahār* "New Vihāra," *Farkhār* (Sogdian *βrx'r* "Vihara") are attested in the neighborhood of Samarkand, Bukhara, Binkath in the Tashkent oasis, Isfijāb further north as well on the Panj river to the south-east (4. d). The acquaintance of lay Sogdians with Buddhism, its 'popular' version, can be observed not only through the few Buddhist artistic remains from Sogdiana or through the free translations of popular literature but also through the personal names which follow the old Sogdian theophoric models, replacing the name of a deity of the native religion by that of Buddha (4. a). [136]

I hope that the revisited analysis of Buddhist loans in Sogdian as well as additional notes on onomastics, archaeology, and toponymy would throw some light on peculiar aspects of the history of Buddhism in the multilingual and multicultural Central Asia. [137]

---

78   A very distant example: I am currently editing an English translation of a Russian book on Central Asian history. While striving to render the Russian text correctly, I convert the names and words from the Palladius Cyrillic system for Chinese to pinyin and from the Arabic in Russian rendering to the Encyclopedia of Islam conventions rather than using the straightforward transcription of Russian Cyrillic into English Roman. This means considering the original source language and retranscribing. It is of course the preferred practice elsewhere.
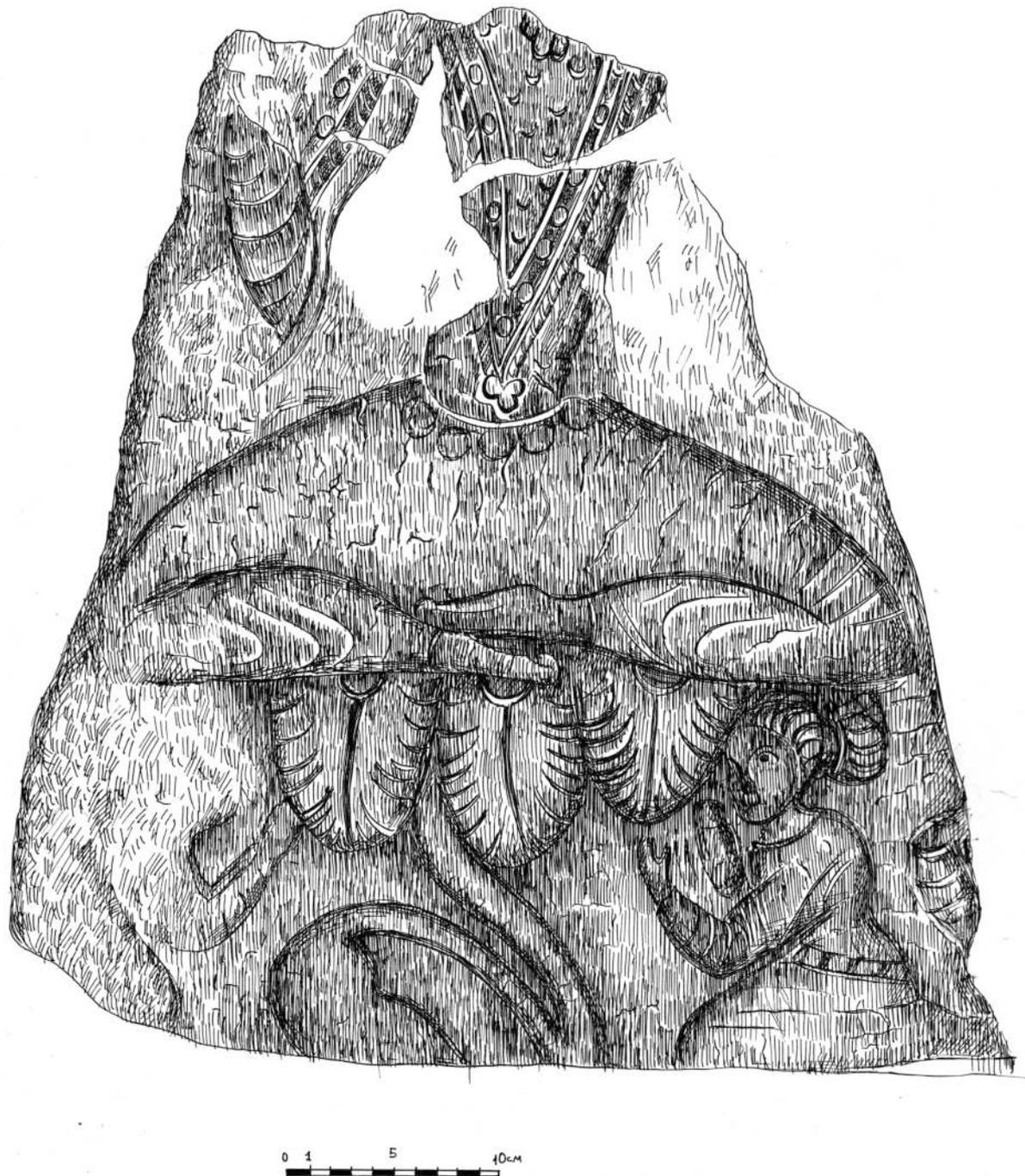
Figure 1 Burned carved wooden plaque with depiction of Buddha. Ancient Panjakent, Area XXVI, room 63, excavations of 2016. Drawing of Maria Gervais.

Figure 2   Sealing from Kafir-kala. Drawing of Nazokat Kosimova based on the published photos.

6. Index

Lexicographical sources for Sogdian wherefrom one can reach the exact quotations are the [138]
following:

1. B Benveniste ([1940](#)) [139]

2. G Gharib ([1995](#)) [140]

3. L Lurje ([2010](#)) [141]

4. MK MacKenzie ([1972](#)) [142]

5. P Provasi ([2013](#)) [143]

6. R Reck ([2016](#)) (with indexes) [144]

7. SW Sims-Williams ([1983](#)). [145]

HL abbreviates *Hapax legomenon* for a word attested only once, IL is for *idiolectic* forms, the [146]
words that appear in one text only but more than once.

a. Standard Borrowings

’’βcy, ’’βycy, ’’βyc – *avīci* (MK, R) 2. j, 2. s.
’’c’r(’)y – *ācārya* (B, G, R) 2. b. 2. f.
’’k̭š’r – *akṣara* (?, R) 2. q.
’’m(’)wkp’š – *Amoghapāśa* (L, P) 2. a; 2. i.IL
’’n’k’my – *anāgāmin*, nom. *anāgāmī* (R) 2. u. HL
’’n’nt – *Ānanda* (MK, L, P) 2. q., n. 31
’’ry’βrwkδyšβr – *Āryāvalokiteśvara* (MK, L). 2. d., 2. i., 3. e.
’’ry’nc – *āryaṃ ca* (invocation, Yoshida [2010](#), 90) 2. h. HL
’’s’wr – *Asura* (G, R) 2. f., 2. k.
’’š’h – *Āšā* (L) 2. r. HL
’nwtr’y’n sm(’)yk smpwδ’y – *anuttarāyāṃ saṃyaksaṃbodhi* (Yoshida [2010](#), 66) 3. g. HL
’psm’r / psm’r – *apasmāra* (G) 2. i.
’pyδrm – *abhidharma* (R) 2. i. HL
’r’x’n – *arhat* (MK) 2. g.; 2. v. HL
’rn’ym – *Araṇemi* (L, P) 2. m. IL
’wm – *oṃ* (G) 2. h, 2. n.
’wp’k’ – *Upāka* (L) 2. k., 2. q. HL
’wrpyrβ’ k̭’š’yp’ – *Urubilvā (Uruvilvā) Kāśyapa* (L, P) 2. e., 2. r., n. 19 HL
’wtrkwr – *Uttarakuru* (P) n. 56 HL
’yry’’pt – *īryāpatha* (MK). 2. d, 3. e. HL
’yšβr – *īśvara* (MK) 2. j. IL
’yšcyntyt, ’yšc’tyk – *icchantika* (R) 2.b., 3. e.
β’swmytr – *Vasumitra* (L, P) 2. f.
β’yš’ly – *Vaiśālī* (R) 2. g, 2. m, 2. s. IL
β’yšrβn – *Vaiśravaṇa* (L, P) 2. c, 2. f., n. 51. HL
βc’ – *vacā* (Reck and Wilkens [2015](#), R5) 2. r. HL

βcrkr'wt – Vajragaruḍa (R) 2. c. HL

βcrp'n – Vajrapāṇi (MK, L, R) 2. b. 2. m.

βcyr- – Vaj(i)ra (MK, SW) 3. e., n. 12HL

βrδ'(m)[– Vardhamānamati (?, R) 2. f. HL

βy'y'm – vyāyāma (Reck and Wilkens 2015, II R6) 2. f. HL

βymrkyrt – Vimalakīrti (L) 2. i. HL

βynwβn – Veṇuvana (P) 2. c. IL

βyny – vinaya (R) 2. f. HL

βyp'š – Vipaśyin (L, P) 2.i, 2. u. HL

βyr'wcn – Vairocana (L) 2. m. HL

βyr'wkt'yn – vilokitāyāṃ (loc., Yoshida 2010, 90) 2. w. HL

βyr'wp'kš/βyrwpkš – Virūpākṣa (L P) 2.i, n. 5.

βyr'wt'kk/βr'wr'k – Virūḍhaka (L, P) 2. a, 2. c.

βyšβ'pw – Viśvabhu (L, P). 2. e. HL

βytty'tr / βyty'δr – vidyādhara (Yoshida 2008, 348). 2. d.

c'δysm'r – Jātismara (MK) 2. e, 3. e. HL

c'δyšrwn – Jātiśroṇa (L) 3. e.

ckkr – cakra (MK) 2. a.

ckkrβrt – cakravartin, nom. *cakravartī* (MK, L) 2. u.

cnpwδβyp – Jambudvīpa (P) n. 56 HL

cnt – caṇḍ (R, Invocation) 2. m. HL

cntn – candana (MK) 2. d.

cnt''r – Caṇḍāla (MK) 2. c., 2. i.

cwrypnt'kk – Cūḍăpanthaka (L) 2. c HL

cynt'(')mny – cintāmaṇi (MK, P) 2. b.

δ'wt' – dhūta (MK) 2. k. IL

δy'(')n(y) – dhyāna (MK) 2. d.

δyβdtt – Devadatta (L) 2. d., 2. m. HL

k'l'y xwt'w – Kalirājan, Kaliṅgarājan (Reck 2013, 186) 3. e. HL

k'r'ynk' – Kaliṅga (P) 2. i. HL

k'š'yp – Kāśyapa (L P) 2. f., n. 5, n. 32.

k'w šwt – Gocara (MK) 2. n. HL

k'wδ'm / k'wt'm – Gautama (SW, MK, L, P) 2. d., 2. q, 3. e.

k'wšyk' – kauśika (L, P) 2. n.

k'y'' k'š'yp' – Gayā Kāśyapa (L, P) 2. r.

kδp klp krp-h – kalpa (MK) 2. f. , 2. q.

knkmwny – Kanakamuni (L, P) 2. a., 2. i., 3. h. HL

knky(h), knk' – Gaṅgā (B, L, R) 2. a., 2. p., n. 8

kntrβ – gandharva (MK, P) 2. a

kntyk – ghaṇṭikā (L) 2. c, 2. j, 2. r. HL

kpl[β]st kp'yrβst – Kapilavastu (P, R) 2. j, 2. t.

kr''m – grāma (B, G) 2. e. IL

kr'wr – Garuḍa (L, P) 2. c. HL

kr'ẉt' – krodha (R, invocation) 2. d. HL

kr'ytkwt – Gr̥dhakūṭa (P) 2. c. 2. l. HL

krkswn(t)[– Turfan Sanskrit Krakasunda (L, P) 3. e. HL

krp-h – kalpa (MK) 2. f.

kry'n Kalyaṇa (L) 2. w. HL

kš'try – kṣatriya (R) 2. f. HL

kš'ymnkr – Kṣemaṃkara (L) 2. g., 2. h. HL

kšn, kš'n – kṣaṇa (MK, R) n. 43.

kšytkrp – Kṣitikalpa (L) 2. j. HL

kwm'r- kumara (MK) 2. k.

kwm'rβ's – Kumāravāsin (L) 2. u. HL

kwmp'yr – kumbhīra (L) 2. j. HL

kwp'yr – Kubera (B, invoc) 2. e. HL

kwsty rs – kusṭha rasa (Reck and Wilkens 2015, R6) n. 30 HL

lnk' – Laṅkā(vatāra-sūtra) (MK, P, R) 2. f.

m'δ'w – Madu (L) 2. t. HL

m'k(')t – Magadha (P) 2. i.IL

m'trk š'str – mātṛkā-śāstra- (R) 2. l. HL

m'ytr – maitrī (or *maitrā* MK) 2. s. HL

m'ywr – mayūra (L) 2. k.

mncwty – Maṇicūḍa (L) 2. c., 2. q. HL

mntr – mandala, mantra, maṇḍa (MK, R) 2. c, 3. a.

mwkš – mokṣa (MK) 2. n.

mwtr – mudra (B) 2. r. IL

mx'- – mahā 2. g.

mx' 'k'y – mahākāye (R, invocation) 2. m. HL

*mx'k'š'yp' Mahākāśyapa – *(L, P) 2. q. HL

mx'kp(')yn – Mahākapphiṇa (L) 2. e. IL

mx'm'yh – mahāmāyā (L, P) 2. r.

mx'pwδy – mahābodhi (B) 3. e., compare Manich *mx'pwtty*

mx'r'c – mahārāja (MK) 2. g.

mx'stβ – mahasattva (MK) 2. g.

mx'tyβ – mahādeva (B) 2. d. HL

mx'y'n[y] – Mahāyana (R) 2. d.

mx'yšβr – Maheśvara (MK) 2. g.IL

n'r(kr'k) – nāṭa (Gershevitch 1954, 54) 2. c. HL

n't'y k'š'yp' – Nadī Kāśyapa (L, P) 2. d. HL

n'ywt – nayuta (R No. 670) 2. k. HL

nymyš – nimeṣa (Reck and Wilkens 2015, V6) 2. m. HL

nyrβ'n – nirvāṇa (MK) 2. c.

nysrky – niḥsargika, (R) 2. a. HL

p'r'wr – balūla (? L) 2. f. HL

p'rmyt – pāramīta (Reck 2013) 2. d. HL

p'tr – pātra (R) 2. i. HL

pk' 'β'n (invocation)* – *Bhagavant* (MK) 2. h, n. 35 HL

pr'm(')n – brāhmaṇa (MK, R) 2. g.

pr'pt – Prāpta (L) 2. e. HL

pr'tny'p'rmyt, prtnyh p'rmyt – prajñāpāramitā (MK). 2. b.

pr'ttymwkš – prătimokṣa (MK, R) 2. d.

pr'xmn – *brāhmaṇa* (MK, R) 2. g.

pr'yt – *preta* (MK) 2. m.

prδwk' – *paraloka* (B) 2. f.

prt'ykpwt(t) – *pratyekabuddha* (MK, R). 2. f.

ptrp'r – *Bhadrapāla* (L) 2. e. HL

ptr klp(-) – *bhadrakalpa* (MK) 2. f. IL

pt(t)r – *pattra* (R) 2. d.

pwδ'y – *bodhi* (MK) n. 60

pwntr'yk – *puṇḍarika* (R) 2. c.

pwr'wš – *Puruṣa* (L) 2. k. HL

(p)wrβ'š'(t) – *Pūrvāṣāḍhā* (R) 2. g. HL

pwrn'y – *Pūraṇa* (Yoshida 2019a, 148). 2. q. HL

pwšpcwṭy – **Puṣpacūḍa* (L) 2. k. HL

pwt(')kš(')ytr – *Buddhakṣetra* (MK) 2. m.

pwtr'ky (obl)* – *Potalaka* (P) 2. q. HL

pwt'y mntr- *bodhimaṇḍa* (R) 3. n. 60.

ṗykšw, pykšw – *bhikṣu* (Sims-Williams *apud* MacKenzie 1976, ii 9, note. 37, L sv. *kry'n*) 2. e.

pyntp'tw – *piṇḍapāta* (MK) n. 30 HL.

r'ckr(')y (obl) – *Rājagṛha* (P) 2. g., 2. l.

r'xw – *Rāhu* (L, P) 2. t. IL

rkš, rkkš – *rakṣā* (MK) 2. a., 2. f.

rnk'/lnk' – *Laṅkā* (MK P R) 2. a, 2. f.

rs – *rasa* (Reck and Wilkens 2015, R5) n. 30. HL

rtncwṭy – *Ratnacūḍa* (L) 2. q. HL

rtnkyrt – *Ratnakīrti* (L) 2. s. HL

rtnšykynn – *Ratnaśikhin* (L) 2. u. HL

rwk'yntr r't – *Lokendra rājan* (MK, L). 2. b, 2. u. HL

rwkδ't – *lokadhātu* (MK) 2. f., 2. t.

s'δw s'δw – *sadhu sadhu* (MK) 2. d. 2. t

s'l' ryzkry xwβw – *Sāla-Īśvararāja* (R) 2. q. HL

sm'ntpttr – *Samantabhadra* (L) 3 b. HL

smyk' smpwtt – *samyaksaṃbuddha* (MK) 2. h., 2. q.

snk' – *saṃgha* (MK) 2. h., 2. q. 3. a, 3. b.

snk''βšyš – *Saṃghāvaśeṣa* (Yoshida 2000, 287, 3) 2. g. HL

snkr'm – *saṃghārāma* (MK) 2. h.

sntwš'yt Santuṣita (R) 2. g. HL

srβ''rtt sytt – *Sarvārthasiddha* (L) 2. d, n. 33 HL

srβ'stβ't – *sarvāstivāda* (R) 2. g. HL

srβšwr – *Sarvaśūra* (L) 2. f.

stwl('nc) – *Sthūlā(tyaya)* (R) 2. f. HL

swk'βty – *Sukhāvatī* (MK) 2. s. HL

swβrncwṭy – *Suvarnacūḍa* (L) 3. q. HL

swpwδy – *Subhūti* (R) 2. s. HL

swpwṭy – *Subhūti* (R, transcription of Chinese) 2. s. HL

swttr – *sūtra* (MK) 3. a.

swttršny – *Sudarśaṇa* (L, P) 2. q.

syt(t) – *siddhi* (MK, R) 2. d., 2. s.

š'ky – *Śākya* (L, P) 2. g. HL

š'kymwn – *Śākyamuni* (MK, L, P) 3. b., 3. e. attestation in Manich. is dubious

š'r(')ypwtr – *Śāriputra* (L, P) 2. f.

š'str – *śāstra* (R, Livshits 2008, 336, 5) 2. g.

šβ'kwšh, šβk'wš, šβk'wšh, šβkwš, šβkwšh, šyβkwš, šyβkwšh – *Śivaghoṣā* (P) 2. r. IL

šβ'y – *Śivi* (L, P) 2. s., n. 19 IL

škš'pt/δ – *śikṣapada* (MK) n. 9.

šl'wk, šr'wk(') – *śloka* (MK). 2. q, n. 7.

šr''βk – *śrāvaka* (MK) 2. i. HL

šr'ykwty – *Śrīkūṭa* (SW *apud* L) 2. c. HL

šrmn – *śramana* (SW) n. 20 IL

šyβkwšh > šβ'kwšh

šyky – *Śikhin* (L, P) 2. u. HL

t'rn'y – *dhāraṇī* (MK) 2. d, 2. s.

tδ'ktswm – *Tathagatasoma* (L) 3. e. HL (PN)

tδδ'kt'w – *Tathāgatō* (MK) HL (Invoc)

tntr'k – *Daṇḍaka* (P) 2. c. IL

tr'ymwkt – *Trimukti* (L) 2. d. HL

typ'nkr – *Dīpaṃkara* (L) 2. h. HL

wp's'k – *upāsaka* (MK) 2. a., 2. k.

wp'ty'y – *upādhyāya* (R) 2. k. HL

wšn'yš – *uṣṇīṣa* (MK) 2. g.

yntr'y – *indrāya* (R) 2. j, 2. w. HL

yš'wδrh – *Yaśodharā* (L, P) 2. r. HL

ywcn – *yojana* (MK) 2. f.

b. Borrowings with Deviations Explainable in Sogdian Language

''m'kp'š – *Amoghapāśa* (MK, L, P) 2. n. HL

''m'wk – *Amogha(vajra?)* (L) 3. b. HL

''s'nk(y) – *asaṃkhyeya* (Sims-Williams and Hamilton 2015, III:40–41, R) 2. f.

''tny'tkwtyn – *Ājñātakauṇḍinya* (L, P) 2. b., 2. c. 2. f., 3. b.

'knšk – *Kaniṣka* (L) 3. b. HL

'kwšty, Brāhmi *kuṣṭ(h)* – *kuṣṭha* (G, Sims-Williams 1996, 310) 3. a.

'ncn(δst) – *añjali* (G) 2. f.

'pr'tyk' pwt – *pratyekabuddha* (R) 3. b. HL

'rny'm – *Araṇemi* (L, P) 2. f., 2. m. IL

'stwp- – *stūpa* (MK) 2. p, 3. b, n. 30.

'wp's'y – *upāsaka* (SW, MK) 2.a., 3. b.

βr'yšmn – *Vaiśramaṇa* (L, P) 3. e.

βykn βyn'ywkh – *vighnavināyaka* (MK) 2. j, 3.a. HL

βyr'wr'y – *Virūḍhaka* (L, P) 2. a, 2. c., 3. h. IL

c'wtyšk' – *Jyotiṣka* (MK, L, P) 2. f. 2. n HL

cntrβrwcn – *candravairocana* (L) 2. m. HL

cntrsyn – *Citrasena* (R) 3. a. HL

cytβnt – *Jetavana* (P) 3. a, 3. b. HL

cyttr'n – *Cittanavarāṇa* (? L) 3. b. HL

kr'ytkwt – *Gṛdhrakūṭa* or *Gṛddhakūṭa* (P) 2. f. HL

kršny'n – *Kṛṣṇājinā* (L) 2. b, 3. a, 3. i.IL

kwm'ršyr – *kumāraśri* (L) 2. j, 3. a. HL

kwrt(t)y, kwtty – *koṭi* (MK, R) 2. c., n. 13.

kycrwmyl – *kṛcchronmīla* (Reck and Wilkens 2015, 440) 2. b, 3. b. HL

mnc'wšyry – *Mañjuśrī* (MK, L, P) 2. e., 2. j., 3. a.

mntr'yh – *Madrī* (L) 3. a, 3. i. IL

mwtkr''y'n – *Maudgalyāyana* (L, P). 2. f., 2. n.

n'r'y'n – *Nārāyaṇa* (MK, P, L) 3. a.

nysrky[– *niḥsargika* (R) 2. h HL

p'n nyrβ'n parinirvāṇa (R) 2. f., 3. g.

p'štsyn – *Bhaiṣajyasena* (L) 2. b., 2. f., 2. m, 3. b. HL

pr'', pr'kh, Pl. *pr'tt'* – *paṭāka* (MK) 2. a, 2. c., 3. b.

prm''cky – *pramocaka* (R)? n. 29.

prytpkwpt – *pratyekabuddha* (P2, MK). 3. b. HL

psm'r, 'psm'r – *apasmāra* (G) 2. i, 3. b.

pwδystβ, pwδysβt – *Bodhisattva* (Yoshida 2008, 347–48) 3. b, n. 48.

pwtkšy'tr / pwt(')kš(')ytr – *Buddhakṣetra* (R) 2. m. HL

pwtystβ, pwtsβ, – *Bodhisattva* (Yoshida 2008) 3. b, n. 48.

pyš'ckwr – *Bhaiṣajyagūru* (L) 2. m. HL

r'zβwrt / r'cβrt – *Rājyavardhana* (L, P) 2. b, 3. i. IL

rš''k – *ṛṣaya* (MK) 2. g., 2. l., 2. s, 3. b.

rwkδyšβ'r – *(Aryāva)lokiteṣvara* (L) 3. b. HL

s'n'pt'y – *senapate* (R, Invocation) 2. m. HL

sm'nptr, var. *sm'nt pwtr, sm'ntpttr* – *Samantabhadra* (L) 3. b. All three HL

snk'swtr – *Saṃghāṭasūtra* (Yakubovich and Yoshida 2005; R; see 3a). 2. c., 3. a.

snks'r – *saṃsāra* (MK) 2. h, 3. a.

swryβrwcwn – *Suryavairocana* (L) 3. b.

swttrsyn – *Sūtrasena* (L) 3. a. HL

sym'βntt, sym βynt'y – *sīmābandha* (R, No. 823) 3 a, n. 19.

š'r'βst – *Śravastī* (MK) 2 s., 3. a. HL

šγwswδ's – *Siṃhasaudāsa* (MK, L) 2. d. HL

šyr''βsth – *Śrāvastī* (P) 2. j., 2. s, 3. a. IL

trytr'št – *Dhṛtarāṣṭra* (L) 2. f., 2. l, 3. b. HL

twškr–duṣkṛta (R) 2. d., 2. l. HL

c. Borrowings from Middle Indic Languages; with Mediation of Other Languages, with so far Unexplained Features in Transmission

''mryt' – *Amitābha* (R) 3 n. 58 HL

''myt' – *Amitābha* (L, P) 3. g, n. 5.

'n'wγt'r' s'm myγ s'm pwδ'y – *anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi* (MK) 2. a, 3. g.

'wβ's'k – *upāsaka* (SW, MK) 2.a. 2. e., 2. k, 3. b. HL

'wβ's'nc – *upāsikā* (SW, MK, P) 2. e. HL

(')wpδy – *utpala* (MK) 2. d.

'wt'nwr – *Uttaravati* (P) 3. g. HL

ʾykrʾšn - ekarājan (L) 2. b, 2. m. 2. u., 3. a, 3. i. HL

ʾyšcyntyt, ʾyšcʾtyk – *icchantika* (R) 2. i., 2. j, 3.a, 3. e.

βrxʾr – *vihāra* (G) 2. f. 3. b. 4. d., 5

βympxʾr – *Vimalaprabhāsa* (L) 2. f., 2. g, 3. i. HL

βymyrkrʾyt – *Vimalakīrti* (MK, L, P) 2. i., 2. j. IL

cwδʾykʾ – *Jyotiṣka* (MK, L, P) 2. f., 2. n., 3. g. HL

cympwδʾy – *Jambudvipa* (P) 3. g. HL

δʾpʾt – *dānapati* (MK) 2. d.

kʾrʾynt – *Kalandaka* (R) 2. i. HL

kʾrtʾk – *gṛhastha* (SW) 3. e.

kʾwyʾny, kwyʾnʾ – *Godānīya* (P) 2. d., 3. g., n. 56

kncnsr – *Kāñcanasāra* (L) 2. b, 2. i, 3. f. IL

krʾẓʾk (nγʾwδn) – *kāṣāya* (Bailey 1949, 130) 2. f., 3. e., n. 22, n. 25

kyδyʾ – *Jetavana* (P) 3. g. HL

kyn(n)tr – *Kiṃnara* (P) 3. a, 3. b.

mwtklyn – *Maudgalyāyana* (L, P). 2. f., 2. n.

mxʾwr – *Mahoraga?* (L, P.) 3. i., n. 64. IL

nkwly – *nakula* Toch B. *nakūle* "ichneumon, mongoose" (Reck and Wilkens 2015, R2) n. 33 HL

nyʾncynt – *Jñānacinta* (L) 2. b, 3. f. HL

pʾtsyn – *Bhaiṣajyasena* (L) 2. f., 2. g., 2. m, 3. b, 3. i. HL

pʾytyk – *pāyattika, pātayantika* (R) 2. f, 3. e, 3. f. IL

pkʾβʾm – *bhagavant* (MK) 3. g, n. 35, n. 60.

pkcʾn – **upagacchana*, Tocharian B *pakaccāṃ*, A *pākäccāṃ* (Yoshida 2008, 340) 3. f. HL

prβrʾc – *Prabhārāja* (L) 2. e., 2.i. HL

prsnʾycy – *Prasenajit* (L, P) 2. i., 3. b.

pwrpδʾyš – **Purvadeśa* (P) 2. f., 2. n. 23, n. 56 HL

pwrsnk – *bhikṣusaṃgha* (MK, Bailey 1967, 242) 2. e. Khot. *bilsaṃgga*, Uygh. *pursang*, 2. 3., 3. e.

pwšpʾδʾy – *Pūrvavideha* (P) 3. g., n. 57 HL

pymsʾr – *Bimbi/asāra* (L, P) 2. e, 3. g, 3. i.

rnpyh – *ḍomba* (MK) 2. e. 2. n., n. 30 IL

rzʾy – *r̥ṣi* (Yakubovich and Yoshida 2005, No. 2, 2, 4) 2. g, 2. l., 2. s. IL

sʾδynpʾyʾ – *sālambha* (Yoshida 2010, 92). 2. e, 2. i. HL

sʾmʾʾr – *samādhi* (MK, R) 2. d.

smrk – *saṃrāga* (Kudara, Sundermann, and Yutaka 1997, 17:1159) 2. h. HL

srpʾšwr – *Sarvaśūra* (L) 2. f, 3. i. IL.

swδʾšn – *Sudaṃṣṭra* (? Provasi 2009), Indo-Parthian *Sudāšn* (SW) 3. i. IL

syntʾʾp – *saindhava* (Yoshida 2008, 339) 2. f., 3. f., n. 23 HL

sypwδy – *Subhūti* (MK, L, P) 2. s., 3. g. HL

sywpwδʾy – *Subhūti* (MK, L, P) 2. k., 3. g.

šʾymnkr – *Kṣemaṃkara* (L) 2. g., 2. h., 3. i. HL

šntʾwδn – *Śuddhodana* (L, P) 2. d., 2. k, 3. b. HL

tnʾpt, tnpt – *dānapati* (Yoshida 2008, 338, R) 2. i; 3. f.

twrʾw(n)[wtn – *Droṇodana?* (R) 3b, 3g HL

twẓʾyt βγγstʾn – *Tuṣita-* Heaven (R) 2. g. HL

trywr – tripuṭā, Khotanese *ttrola* (Maue and Nicholas 1991, 491, n. 38) 3. e. HL

d. Loans with Unidentified Source

pr'wxy (L) 3. i. HL
c'wš'r (L) 3. i. HL
k'wšr't (L) 3. i. HL
šwr't (L) 3. i. HL

e. Words that Appear in Sogdian in both Buddhist and Non-Buddhist Texts (Only the Forms Referred to in the Paper are Included)

''k'c(y) – ākāśa (SW, MK, R) 3. d, n. 25, n. 48; also Chr. Man. Parth.
βws'ntk , βs'nt' – (upa)vasatha (SW, MK) n. 17, n. 41, also Man.
βz'yr- vaj(i)ra (SW, MK) n. 12 also Man. *(')βjyr*
cxš'pt – śikṣapada (SW) 3. d, n. 9, n. 25, n. 48. IL, also Man.
δwk' – loka (MK) 2. f., 2 q., also Man.
δyβr'c – Devarājā (Yoshida 2013, 211) 3. e. Man.?
kr'x, kr'nx – grāha (? Schwartz, 1982, 86 ff). n. 41, also Chr.
kwn'k'r – kūṭāgāra (MK, SW) 2. c. Also Man.
lyšp – śleṣman (SW), WMIr *lyšp* and Tocharian B *leṣp* n. 48.
m'ytr – maitrī, maitrā (MK) 2. s. HL, also Man. *mytr*
mytr, mytr'k – Maitreya (SW, MK, L) 3. b., n. 48, n. 22 also Man., Parth.
n'k', pl. *n'kt – nāga* (SW) 2. q. also Man.
pwty – Buddha 2. p., 3. d., 5 also Man.
pwrny'n, pwny'n – puṇya (MK) n. 14, n. 34 also Man.
pykš'k – bhikṣu (SW,) 2. t. HL Man. *pykšy*
r''t – rājā (Yoshida 1994, 19, 23) 3. e; n. 48. Man.
rtn- – ratṇa(SW) 2. p. also Man. Chr.
rx'nt – arhat (SW) 2. g., 2. v. also Man. *rhnd.*
sm'yr – Sumeru (SW) n. 48, also Man., Parth. *smyr*
sm'ytyh symtyh – samādhi? n. 17., also Man. *sm'tyh*
smwtr- – samudra (SW) 2. p., also Man., Chr.
snptsr – sāṃvatsara (SW), n. 23; also Man., Chr.
š'kmwn – Śākyamuni (SW, L) 3. b. also Man. *š'kmnw, pwwtš'kmwn*
šmn-, šmny – śramana (SW) 2. p., n. 20, n. 48, also Man., Parth.
*trypr, Brāhmi *tṛphāl – triphala* (Maue and Nicholas 1991, 491) 3. e., also Man. **trypl*
ykš- – yakṣa 2. p., also Man., Chr.

References

Abaev, Vasilij Ivanovich. 1989. *Istoriko-étimologicheskij slovar' osetinskogo jazyka [Historical-etymological dictionary of Ossetic]*. Tom IV. Leningrad: Nauka.

Afshār, Īraj. 1968. *Masālik wa Mamālik, Anonumous Persian Translation from V/VI Century A. H. by Abū Isḥaḳ Ibrāhīm Isṭakhrī*. Tehrān: Scientific and Cultural Publications Company.

Ambarcumjan, A. A. 2009. *Ajadgar-i Zareran ("Skazanie o Zarere") – drevneiranskij épicheskij pamjatnik [Ayadgar i Zareran ("Memoir of Zarer") – the old Iranian epic monument]*. St. Peterburg: Fakul'tet filologii i iskusstv.

Azbelev, P. P. 2010. *Kudyrginskij sjuzhet [The subject of Qudyrghe]*. St. Petersburg: Gosudarstvennyj Érmitazh.

Bailey, H. W. 1949. "Irano-Indica II." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 13 (1): 121–39.

———. 1967. *Prolexis to the Book of Zambasta*. Khotanese Texts, VI. Cambridge: University Press.

———. 1979. *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*. Cambridge: University Press.

Barthold, W. 1928. *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*. 2nd ed. Gibb Memorial Series. London: Luzac and Co.

Beal, Samuel. 1911. *The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang by the Shaman Hwui Li*. London: Paul and Trubner.

Begmatov, Alisher. 2017. "カフィル・カラ遺跡出土封泥に見られる神々と人物の図像 [Kafiru kara iseki shutsudo deihū ni mirareru kamigami to jinbutsu no zuzō; Divine and Human Figures on the Sealings Unearthed from Kafir-kala]." ヘレニズム イスラーム考古学研究 *[Japan Society for Hellenistic-Islam Archaeological Studies]* 24: 203–12.

Benveniste, Émile. 1940. *Textes Sogdiens. Édités, traduits et commentés*. Mission Pelliot, Série In-Quatro III. Paris: Paul Geuthner.

Berdimuradov, A. É., G. I. Bogomolov, Uno Takao, and A. Begmatov. 2016. "Bully s buddijskim sjuzhetom s gorodishha Kafirkala [Bullae with Buddhist subject from the site of Kafir Kala]." *O'zbekiston arxeologiyasi [Archaeology of Uzbekistan]* 2 (13): 51–60.

Blažek, V., and I. Hegedűs. 2012. "On the Position of Nuristani Within Indo-Iranian." *LINCOM Studies in Indo-European Linguistics*, no. 41: 40–66.

Boboyorov, Ghaybulla. 2020. "Kofirqalʻadan topilgan 'Xotun' unvonli muhr [The seal with the title Khatun from Kafir-Qalʻa]." In *Imom Buxoriy saboqlari [Lessons of Imām al-Bukhārī]*, 47–49.

Bogomolov, Gennadiy. 2019. "Buddizm na territorii Uzbekistana [Buddhism on the territory of Uzbekistan]." In *Buddizm*, edited by Dmitry Voyakin, Bakyt Amanbaeva, Farda Asadov, Shakir Pidaev, and Aysulu Iskandarova, 240–350. Religii Central'noj Azii i Azerbajdzhana, III. Samarkand: Mezhdunarodnyj institut central'noaziatskikh issledovanij.

Bogomolov, G., and A. Musakaeva. 2020. "Klad metallicheskikh izdelij i drugie unikal'nye nakhodki s gorodishha Kanka [A hoard of metal items and other unique finds from the site of Kanka]." *Istorija i arkheologija Turana [History and archaeology of Turan]* 5: 288–96.

Bol'shakov, O. G. 1973. "Gorod v konce VIII – nachale XIII v [The city in the late eigth to early thirteenth century]." In *Srednevekovyj gorod Srednej Azii [Medieval City of Middle Asia]*, edited by A. M. Belenickij, I. B. Bentovich, and O. G. Bol'shakov, 135–352. Leningrad: Nauka.

Brough, John. 1982. "Amitabha and Avalokitesvara in an Inscribed Gandharan Sculpture." *Indologica Taurinensia* 10: 65–70.

Bulliet, Richard. 1976. "Naw Bahār and the Survival of Iranian Buddhism." *IRAN Journal of the British Institute for Persian Studies* 14: 140–45.

Chavannes, Edouard. 1903. *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turks) Occidentaux*. St. Petersburg: Academie Impèriale des Sciences.

Colditz, Iris. 2018. *Iranische Personennamen in manichäischer Überlieferung (Iranisches Personennamenbuch II, Fasc. 1)*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Compareti, Matteo. 2008. *Traces of Buddhist Art in Sogdiana*. Sino-Platonic Papers 181.

Davids, R., and W. Stede. 1921–1925. *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary*. Chipstead: Pali Text Society.

De la Vaissière, Étienne. 2010. "De Bactres à Balkh, par le Nowbahār." *Journal Asiatique* 298 (2): 517–33.

Dodge, Bayard. 1970. "Abū'l-Faraj Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq al-Nadīm." In *The Fihrist, a 10th century AD Survey of Islamic Culture*, edited and translated by Bayard Dodge. New York: Columbia University Press.

Durkin-Meisterenst, Desmond. 2014. *Grammatik des Westmitteliranischen (Parthisch und Mittelpersisch)*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Edgerton, Franklin. 1953. *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*. Vol. II. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Filimonova, T. G. 2019. "Buddizm na territorii Tadzhikistana [Buddhism on the territory of Tajikistan]." In *Buddizm*, edited by Dmitriy Voyakin, Bakyt Amanbaeca, Farda Asadov, Shakir Pidaev, and Aysulu Iskandarova, III:164–239. Religii Central'noj Azii i Azerbajdzhana. Samarkand: Mezhdunarodnyj institut central'noaziatskikh issledovanij.

Frye, R. N. 2000. "Bukhara I. In Pre-Islamic Times." In *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, IV, Fasc. 5:511–13.

Gauthiot, Robert. 1911. "Quelques termes techniques bouddhiques et manicheéns." *Journal Asiatique*, 2, 18: 49–68.

Gauthiot, Robert, and Paul Pelliot. 1926. *Le sûtra des Causes et Effets du bien et du mal, édité, traduit d'apres les textes sogdien, chinois et tibétains*. Vol. 2. Paris: Paul Geuthner.

Gershevitch, Ilya. 1954. *A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

———. 1969 (1970). "Iranian Nouns and Names in Elamite Garb." *Transactions of the Philological Society* 68 (1): 167–200.

Gharib, Badr az-Zaman. 1995. *Sogdian Dictionary. Sogdian – Persian – English*. Tehran: Farhangan.

Goeje, M. J. de. 1906. *Descriptio imperii moslemici auctore al-Mukaddasi (Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum III)*. Editio Secunda. Lugdini Batavorum: Brill.

Grenet, France, and Guangda Zhang. 1998. "The Last Refuge of the Sogdian Religion: Dunhuang in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries." *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 10: 175–86.

Henning, Walter B. 1945. "Sogdian Tales." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 11 (3): 465–87.

———. 1946. "The Sogdian Texts of Paris." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 11 (4): 713–40.

Huber, Moritz. 2020. *Lives of Sogdians in Medieval China*. Asiatische Forschungen 120. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Ḥasandūst, Muhammad. 1393. *Farhang-i rīsha-shinākhtī-i zabān-i fārsī [Etymological dictionary of Persian Language]*. Vol. 1. Tihrān: Āthār.

Jakubov, J. J., and D. Dovudi. 2012. "Arkheologicheskie raskopki na gorodishhe Zoli Zard Farkhorskogo rajona v 2009 godu [Archaeological excavations on the site Zoli Zard in Farkhar region in 2009]." *Arkheologicheskie raboty v Tadzhikistane [Archaeological works in Tajikistan]* 35: 118–69.

Julien, Stanislas. 1857. *Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales, traduits du sanscrit en chinois, en l'an 648 par Hiouen-Thsang.* Paris: Imprimerie Impèriale.

Karashima, Seishi. 2006. "Underlying Languages of Early Chinese Translations of Buddhist Scriptures." In *Studies in Chinese Language and Culture: Festschrift in Honour of Christoph Harbsmeier on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday*, edited by C. Anderl and H. Eifring, 355–66. Oslo: Hermes Academic Publishing.

———. 2007. "Who Were the Icchantikas?" In *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University for the Academic Year 2006*, 67–80. Tokyo: Soka University.

Kasai, Yukiyo. 2015. "Sanskrit Word Form Written in Brāhmī Script in the Old Turkish Buddhist Texts." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 38: 401–22.

Kramers, J. H. 1939. *Opus Geographicum auctore Ibn Ḥauḳal.* Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum 1.2. Lugdini Batavorum: Brill.

Kudara, Kōgi, Werner Sundermann, and Yoshida Yutaka. 1997. イラン語断片集成大谷探検隊収集 *[Iran-go dampen shūsei Ōtani tanken tai shūshū; Iranian Fragments from the Ôtani Collection].* Vol. 17. 龍谷大学所蔵 中央アジア出土イラン語資料 [Ryūkoku daigaku shozō Chūō Ajia shudo Irango shiryō; Facsimile Series of the Rare Texts in the Library of Ryūkoku University. Kyoto.

Kurbanov, Sh. F., and Pavel B. Lurje [Lur'e]. 2017. "Reznaja derevjannaja panel' s buddijskoj scenoj poklonenija iz Pendzhikenta [The carved wooden panel with Buddhist veneration scene from Panjakent]." *Istorija i arkheologija Turana [History and Archaeology of Turan]* 3: 268–77.

Livshits, V. A. 2008. *Sogdijskaja épigrafika Srednej Azii i Semirechja [Sogdian epigraphy of Central Asia and Semirechie].* St. Petersburg: Filologicheskij fakul'tet.

Lurje, Pavel B. 2010. "Personal Names in Sogdian Texts." In *Iranisches Personennamenbuch.* Vols. II, Fz. 8. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

———. 2020. "The Semitic Lord of Heaven and the Buddhist Guardian of the North: Another Contamination in Iranian Syncretism?" In *Armenia Between Byzantium and the Orient: Celebrating the Memory of Karen Yuzbashyan (1927-2009)*, edited by B. Outtier, C. B. Horn, B. Lourié, and A. Otrovsky, 457–67. Leiden: Brill.

Lurje [Lur'e], Pavel B. 2013. "O sledakh manikheizma v Srednej Azii [On the traces of Manichaeism in Middle Asia]." In *Sogdijcy. Ikh predhsestvenniki, sovremenniki i naslediki. [Sogdians. Their precursors, contemporaries and heirs]*, edited by Pavel B. Lurje [Lur'e] and A. I. Torgoev, 219–51; 486–88. Trudy Gosudarstennogo Érmitaza, LXII. St. Petersburg: State Hermitage Museum.

MacKenzie, D. Neil. 1970. *The Sutra of the Causes and Effects of Action in Sogdian.* London: Oxford University Press.

———. 1972. "Buddhist Terminology in Sogdian: A Glossary." *Asia Major*, New Series, 17 (2): 28–89.

———. 1976. *The Buddhist Sogdian Texts of the British Library.* Acta Iranica 10. Tehran: Bibliothèque Pahlavi.

Maue, Dieter, and Sims-Williams Nicholas. 1991. "Eine Sanskrit-Sogdische Bilingue in Brāhmī." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 54 (3): 486–95.

Meisterernst, Barbara, and Durkin-Meisterernst Desmond. 2009. "The Buddhist Sogdian P7 and Its Chinese Source." In *Exegisti Monumenta. Festschrift in Honour of Nicholas Sims-*

Willams, edited by W. Sundermann, A. Hintze, and F. Blois, 313–24. Iranica 17. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Mkrtychev, T. K. 2002. *Buddijskoe iskusstvo Srednej Azii (I – X vv) [Buddhist Art of Middle Asia, first to tenth century].* Moscow: Akademkniga.

Nattier, Jan. 2006. "The names of Amitābha/Amitāyus in Early Chinese Buddhist Tradition (1)." In *Annual Report of the International Research Insitute of Advanced Buddhology at Soka University for the year 2005,* 183–200. Tokyo: Soka University.

———. 2007. "The names of Amitābha/Amitāyus in Early Chinese Buddhist Tradition (2)." In *Annual Report of the International Research Insitute of Advanced Buddhology at Soka University for the year 2005,* 359–94. Tokyo: Soka University.

Ogihara, Hirotoshi 荻原裕敏. 2018. "Roshia Shozō Tokarago Bunken Ni Kansuru Oboe Gaki ロシア所蔵トカラ語文献に関する覚え書き [Remarks on the Tocharian Manuscript Remains Housed in the Russian Collection]." *Tōkyō Daigaku Gengogaku Ronshū* 東京大学言語学論集 *Tokyo University Linguistic Papers* 40: e1–e41.

Provasi, Elio. 2009. "The Names of the Prince." In *Literarische Stoffe Und Ihre Gestaltung in Mitteliranischer Zeit (Beiträge Zur Iranistik, 31),* edited by D. Durkin-Meisterernst, Chr. Reck, and D. Weber, 31:80–89. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

———. 2013. "Sanskrit and Chinese in Sogdian Garb: The Transcription of Indic Proper Names in the Sogdian Buddhist Texts." In *Buddhism Among the Iranian Peoples of Central Asia,* edited by Matteo De Chiara, Mauro Maggi, and Giuliana Martini, 191–308. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Pulleyblank, Edwin. 1991. *Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese and Early Mandarin.* Vancouver: UBC press.

Reck, Christiane. 2013. "The Commentaries on the Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā among the Sogdian fragments of the Berlin Turfan Collection." In *Buddhism among the Iranian Peoples of Central Asia,* edited by Matteo Chiara, Mauro Maggi, and Giuliana Martini, 181–90. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

———. 2016. *Mitteliranische Handschriften Teil 2. Berliner Turfanfragmente Buddhistischen Inhalts in Soghdischer Schrift.* Vols. XVIII, 2. Verzeichnis Der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.

Reck, Christiane, and Jens Wilkens. 2015. "Soghdische Versionen von Vāgbhaṭas Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā." In *Kutadgu Nom Bitig. Festschrift für Jens Peter Laut zum 60. Geburtstag,* edited by E. Ragagnin, J. Wilkens, and G. Şilfeler, 87:431–52. Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Rosenberg, Frederic. 1920. "Deux Fragments Sogdien-Buddhiques Du Ts'ien-Fo-Tong de Touen-Houang (Mission S. d'Oldenburg 1914-1915). II. Fragment D'un Sūtra." *Izvestija Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk [Newsletter of Russian Academy of Sciences],* 399–420; 455–74.

Rowland, B. 1961. "The Bejewelled Buddha in Afghanistan." *Artibus Asiae* 24 (1): 20–24.

Salomon, R. 2002. "Gāndhārī and the Other Indo-Aryan Languages in the Light of Newly-Discovered Kharoṣṭhī Manuscripts." In *Indo-Iranian Languages and Peoples,* edited by N. Sims-Williams, 119–34. Proceedings of the British Academy 116. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Schwartz, Martin. 1982. "Studies in the Texts of Sogdian Christians." PhD Dissertation. Revised edition.

Scott, David Alan. 1990. "The Iranian Face of Buddhism." *East and West* 40 (1/4): 43–77.

Shagalov, V. D., and A. V. Kuznetsov. 2006. *Catalogue of Coins of Chach III–VIII A. D.* Tashkent: Fan.

Sher, Ja. A. 1963. "Ob Odnom Drevnetjurkskom Izvajanii Iz Chujaskoj Doliny [on an Old Turkic Statue from the Chu Valley]." *Sovetskaja Arkheologija [Soviet Archaeology]* 2: 239–43.

Sims-Williams, Nicholas. 1983. "Indian Elements in Parthian and Sogdian." In *Sprachen Des Buddhismus in Zentralasien*, edited by K. Röhrborn and W. Veenker, 16:132–41. Veröffentlichungen Der Societas Uralo-Altaica. Wiesbaden: Reicher.

———. 1985. *The Christian Sogdian Manuscript C2*. Berliner Turfantexte 12. Berlin: Akademie.

———. 1992. *Sogdian and Other Iranian Inscriptions of the Upper Indus*. Vol. 2. Corpus Iscriptionum Iranicarum, Pt. 2, III. London: School of Oriental and African Studies.

———. 1996. "The Sogdian manuscripts in Brāhmī script as evidence for Sogdian phonology." In *Turfan, Khotan und Dunhuang: Vorträge der Tagung "Annemarie von Gabain und die Turfanforschung," Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berichte und Abhandlungen*, edited by R. Emmerick, W. Sundermann, I. Warnke, and P. Zieme, Sonderband I:307–15. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.

———. 2007. *Bactrian Documents from Northern Afganistan*. Vol. II: Letters and Buddhist Texts. Studies in the Khalili Collection, Vol. III; Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicum, Pt. II, Vol. VI. Oxford: Nour Foundation.

———. 2008. "The Bactrian Inscription of Rabatak: A New Reading." *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 18 (2004 (2008)): 53–68.

———. 2021. "A Buddhist Technical Term in Christian Sogdian." *Pis'mennye Pamyatniki Vostoka (Written Monuments of the Orient)* 18 (3): 32–36.

Sims-Williams, Nicholas, and Bo Bi. 2020. "The Epitaph of a Buddhist Lady: A Newly Discovered Chinese-Sogdian Bilingual." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 140 (4): 803–20.

Sims-Williams, Nicholas, and James Hamilton. 2015. *Turko-Sogdian Documents from 9th – 10th Dunhuang*. Vol. III. Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, II. London: School of Oriental and African Studies.

Sims-Williams, Nicholas, and Elizabeth Tucker. 2005. "Avestan Huuōišta- and Its Cognates." In *Indogermanica. Festschrift Gert Klingenschmitt*, edited by G. Schweiger, 587–604. Taimering: Schweiger VWT-Verlag.

Skjærvø, P. Oktor. 2008. "A Triplet of Manichean Middle Iranian Studies." *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 18 (2004): 147–66.

Soothill, E. W., and L. Hodous. 1937. *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*. London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.

Sundermann, Werner. 1991. "Manichaean Traditions on the Date of Historical Buddha." In *The Dating of Historical Buddha*, edited by H. Bechert, I:426–38. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

———. 2001. *Manichaica Iranica. Ausgewählte Schriften*. Edited by C. Reck, D. Weber, C. Leurini, and A. Panaino. Vol. 1. Serie Orientale Roma, LXXXIX. Rome: Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente.

———. 2006. "A Fragment of the Buddhist Kāñcanasāra Legend in Sogdian and Its Manuscript." In *Proceedings of the 5th Conference of the Societas Iranologica Europœa, Held in Ravenna, 6-11 October 2003*, edited by A. Panaino and A. Piras, I:715–24. Ancient & Middle Iranian Studies. Milan: Mimesis.

———. 2010. "A Sogdian Mahāyānamahāparinirvāṇasūtra Manuscript." In *The Way of Buddha 2003": The 100th Anniversary of the Otani Mission and the 50th of the Research Society for Central Asian Cultures*, edited by T. Irisawa, 75–83. Cultures of the Silk Road and Modern Science 1. Kyoto: Ryukoku University.

Van Tongerloo, Aloïs. 2005. "The Buddha's First Encounter in a Manichaean Old Turkic Text." In *Quinto Congresso Internazionale Di Studi Sul Manicheismo. Atti. Il Manicheismo: Nuove Prospettive Della Ricerca*, edited by Aloïs Van Tongerloo, Luigi Cirillo, and Luigi Cirillo, 385–96. Manichean Studies V. Lovanii-Neapoli.

Voyakin, Dmitriy, Bakyt Amanbaeva, Farda Asadov, Shakir Pidaev, and Aysulu Iskandarova. 2019. *Buddizm [Buddhism]*. Religii Central'noj Azii I Azerbajdzhana, III. Samarkand: Mezhdunarodnyj institut central'noaziatskikh issledovanij.

Wang Ding [王丁]. 2019. "胡名盘陀考 [Hu ming Pan-tuo kao; Study of Hu-names pantuo]." In 姜伯勤教授八秩华诞颂寿史学论文集 *[Jiang Boqin jiaoshou ba zhi huadan song shoushi xue lunwen ji; Collective papers on history on 80th anniversary of Prof. Jiang Boqin]*, 179–206. Guangzhou: Sun Yatsen University.

Wilkens, J. 2021. *Handwörterbuch des Altuigurischen. Altuigurisch – Deutsch – Türkisch*. Göttingen: Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Wolff, F. 1935. *Glossar zu Firdosis Schahname*. Berlin: Reichsdruckerei.

Yakubovich, Ilya [Jakubovich I. S]. 2013. *Novoe v sogdijskoj étimologii [New research in Sogdian etymology]*. Moscow: Jazyki slavjanskoj kul'tury.

Yakubovich, Ilya, and Yutaka Yoshida. 2005. "The Sogdian Fragments of Saṃghāṭasūtra in the German Turfan Collection." In *Languages of Iran: Past and Present. Iranian Studies in Memoriam David Neil MacKenzie*, 239–68. Iranic 8. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Yang, Han-sung, Hyecho, Jan Yun-Hua, and Iida Shotaro. 1984. *The Hye Ch'O Diary: Memoir of the Pilgrimage to the Five Regions of India*. Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press.

Yatsenko, Sergey A. 2013. "Some Observations on Early Turkic Costume." *The Silk Road Journal (Seattle)*, no. 11: 70–81.

Yoshida, Yutaka. 1994. "無常を説くマニ教ソグド語文書 [Mujō-wo toku mani-kyō sogudo-go monjo; On a Manichaean Sogdian Fragment Expounding Vanity of Earthly Life, Text Preceding Henning's 'Job Story']." オリエント *[Oriento]* 37 (2): 16–32.

———. 2000. "粟特文考释 [Sutewen kaoshi; Edition of Sogdian texts]." In 吐鲁番新出摩尼教文献研究 *[Tulufan xinchu Moni jiao wenxian yanjiu; Studies in the new Manichean texts recovered from Turfan]*, edited by Liu Hongliang, 289–95. Beijing.

———. 2008. "Die buddhistischen sogdischen Texte in der Berliner Turfansammlung und die Herkunft des buddhistischen sogdischen Wortes für Bodhisattva." *Acta Orientalia Academia Scientiarum Hungaricae* 61 (3): 325–58.

———. 2009. "Buddhist Literature in Sogdian." In *The Literature of Pre-Islamic Iran*, edited by R. E. Emmerick and M. Macuch, XVII:288–329. A History of Persian Literature. London/New York: I.B. Tauris.

———. 2010. "On the Sogdian version of the Muryōjukyō 無量壽經 or Larger Sukhāvativyūha." In *The Way of the Buddha" 2003: The 100th Anniversary of the Otani Mission and the 50th of the Research Society for Central Asian Cultures*, edited by T. Irisawa, 1:85–94. Cultures of the Silk Road and Modern Science. Kyoto: Ryukoku University.

———. 2012. "New Turko-Sogdian Documents and Their Socio-Linguistic Background." In *The History Behind Languages. Essays of Turfan Forum on Old Languages of the Silk Road*, edited by Academia Turfanica, 48–60. Shanghai: Guji.

———. 2013. "Buddhist Texts Produced by the Sogdians in China." In *Buddhism Among the Iranian Peoples of Central Asia*, edited by Matteo De Chiara, Mauro Maggi, and Giuliana Martini, 155–79; plate I. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

———. 2015. "Local Literatures: Sogdian." In *Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism. Volume One – Literature and Languages*, edited by Jonathan Silk, 837–43. Leiden: Brill.

———. 2017. "ソグド語譯 '楞伽帥貸記' と關連する問題について [Sogudogo yaku 'Ryōga suitai ki' to kanren suru mondai ni tsuite; On the Sogdian Version of the leng-ch'ieh Shi-tzu-chi and related problems; in Japanese with English summary]." 東方学 *[Tōhōgaku]* 133: 30–52.

———. 2019a. "On the Sogdian Prātihārya-Sūtra and the Related Problems." *Acta Asiatica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 72 (2): 141–63.

The Complexity of Religious Traditions in Quanzhou 泉州 under Mongol Rule: An Inscription from Chunyang 純陽 Cave in Mt. Qingyuan 清源, Quanzhou

Masaki Mukai

Faculty of Global and Regional Studies, Doshisha University, Japan

ABSTRACT   This paper discusses the complexity of the religious traditions in Quanzhou (Fujian, China), the largest international trade port under Mongol rule. The contribution of presumed Persian Muslim Pu Shougeng 蒲壽庚 to the reconstruction of a Taoist-Buddhist shrine was taken as the case study. The external conditions surrounding his composite religious act (beyond private beliefs) were also observed in terms of individual goals, backgrounds, and social networks. For this purpose, the author presents the Chinese stone inscription from Quanzhou (in Fujian, China) titled "Zhong jian Qingyuan Chunyang dong ji 重建清源純陽洞記 (Record of Reconstruction of the Chunyang Cave in Qingyuan Mountain)," dated to the fourth year of Hou-Zhiyuan 後至元 (1338) during the Yuan period.

KEYWORDS   Religious Tolerance, Mongol Empire, China, Islam, Taoism, Buddhism, religious inscriptions, Fujian

Introduction

The subject of this paper is the interchange of Islamic, Taoist, and Buddhist religious traditions in Fujian 福建 Province under Mongol rule. In particular, it analyzes the religious activities and social networks of the Pu Shougeng 蒲壽庚, descendants of the Persians of Quanzhou 泉州, based on Chinese inscriptions commemorating the construction of Taoist and Buddhist temples. [1]

The Mongol period (thirteenth to fourteenth centuries) is characterized by the intertwining of a variety of religious traditions. Fujian province, on the southeast coast of mainland China, during the Mongol period is an interesting case in which intense intercourse among various cultural traditions and high degrees of cultural tolerance were present. Actually, the Fujian province of that period is known for historical sources referring to the influence of various foreign religions as well as a range of religious relics, especially from Quanzhou City, including [2]

those from Islamic, Manichaean, Christian, Buddhist, and Hindu traditions (see Wu 1957; Clark 2006).[1]

In Fujian, Manichaeism, which originated in Sasanian Persia and was introduced to [3]
China via Central Asia, continues to exert a long-term influence. Previous research on
Manichaeism provides an important insight into the coexistence of foreign religions in China.
The Manichaean shrine on Huabiao 華表 Hill in Jinjiang 晋江, southwest of Quanzhou, is one
testimony to the 'religious diversity' under Mongol rule.[2] The shrine was called *cao'an* 草庵
("a thatched nunnery") in historical sources, and the statue of Mani as the Buddha of Light
on the rear wall of the temple, carved in 1339, has clear Manichaean features, such as the
design of *segumenta* (squares) on both breasts of his robe. This feature was first noted in J.
Ebert's study on Manichaean paintings in Turfan (Ebert 2004). Recently, eight Manichaean
silk paintings, including Rokudōzu 六道圖 (six paths painting), produced around Ningbo 寧波
during the Mongol period and imported to Japan (where they are now), have attracted much
attention. These Manichaean paintings depict Mani and Christ in the style of Chinese Bud-
dhist paintings, and at first glance, it appears as if Manichaeism was accepted into Chinese
society in a way that merged with the local religious culture.[3] At the same time, it should be
noted that caution is in order in assigning syncretism to the religious pluralism of this era, as
Yoshida Yutaka says:

> Mani believed that his message should be translated into all the languages of the   [4]
> world. Ideally, the translation should be adapted to the culture of the target lan-
> guage. This aspect gives the impression that Manichaeism is more of a mixed reli-
> gion than it really is. It is not only natural that the Manichaean Buddhist scriptures
> translated into Chinese should look like Buddhist scriptures, but also that this was
> the missionary strategy of Manichaeism. (Yoshida and Furukawa 2015, 26–27)

Inspired by these studies of Manichaean inscriptions and paintings as they relate to the [5]
complexity of religion in Mongol-period China, this paper will present another inscription
from Fujian in the same period. This inscription commemorates the construction of a Taoist-
Buddhist shrine in *Chunyang* 純陽 cave in *Qingyuan* 清源 Mountain, Quanzhou, by the Pu
Shougeng and his elder brother, who are believed to be descendants of Persians. This paper
focuses on the external factors behind the construction of the temple, such as the diplomatic
mission of Pu and the social network of the Pu brothers, and analyzes the structure of religious
coexistence in Quanzhou.

The following chapters first review the influx of Persian speakers and the introduction [6]

---

1   Unlike other regions in China, Confucianism never had a hegemonic position in Fujian, where Shamanism,
     Taoism, and Buddhism had a longer tradition and the status of each religion was more equal (Xu 2006,
     1:229–243). As for previous studies on the history of the introduction of foreign religions into China in
     general, the case of Buddhism (Zurcher 2007), Manichaeism (Lieu 1998), and Christianity (Gernet 1991;
     Gardner, Lieu, and Parry 2005; Niu 2008; Deeg 2018) in China was studied, while no such comprehensive
     research was done on the relationships between Islam, Confucianism, and Taoism, which is the major focus
     of this paper.
2   This *cao'an* was known to have existed there since the Mongol period and Samuel N. C. Lieu recently
     introduced a document on the foundation of this shrine dedicated to Mani in 1148 (Lieu et al. 2012, 74).
     The present *cao'an*, a typical Minnan 閩南 (South Fujian) style building, was renovated in the early part of
     the last century (between 1923 and 1932), and there is no trace of the original building "when it was used
     by the Manichaeans in the hey day of the sect in the fourteenth century" (Gardner, Lieu, and Parry 2005,
     205; Lieu et al. 2012, 80).
3   Many scholars discussed this topic almost at the same time. An extensive bibliography list of research
     literature before March 2014 was prepared by Gábor Kósa and published in the article by Yoshida Yutaka
     (2015, 82–86).

of Islam into Fujian before and during the Mongol rule. Then, the contribution reviews the religious traditions in the Fujian region under Mongol rule, paying special attention to their openness or seclusion, adding some data based on the studies in recent years. To conclude, the author proposes a hypothesis on the structure of religious coexistence related to the periodical fluctuation of the influx of Persian speakers in Fujian. Finally, we will focus on the case of the Chinese inscription in *Chunyang* cave on *Qingyuan* Mountain during the Mongol-Yuan 元 period.

The fact that Pu Shougeng undertook the construction of a Taoist-Buddhist temple with his elder brother is not necessarily a clue about their faith on its own. Although it is impossible to know the exact beliefs of Pu Shougeng himself, it is likely that the Persians of this period were basically Muslims, and there are several indications of the Pu family in Quanzhou practicing the Islamic tradition. For example, *zhenwu* 鎮撫 (judge, a junior officer in the Ming troops) Pu Heli 蒲和日, considered the Pu lineage of Quanzhou, erected a stone monument near the tomb of a Muslim saint in the *Linshan* 靈山 Islamic Cemetery in an eastern suburb of Quanzhou, which commemorated Muslim admiral Zheng He's 鄭和 visit. He had burned incense here in 1417 on his way to the "Western Ocean" (Kawagoe 1977; Lin [1988] 2004, 162–63). [7]

Historical Background of the Persian Immigrants to Fujian in China

The influx of Persians as well as other foreign populations to the coastal region of China, including Fujian province, was closely related to the long-distance trade and political situation both on the Central Eurasian landmass and in the Southern Maritime region.[4] This article categorizes Islamic immigrants including Persians into the following four types according to historical background and cultural features. [8]

- Category (a): Old immigrants via sea routes: Persian sea traders during the Song 宋 period [9]
- Category (b): Localized Persian immigrants: Pu 蒲 family from the Southern Song to the Yuan period
- Category (c): Newcomers via inland routes: Muslim elites from Central Asia and Iran during the Yuan period
- Category (d): Newcomers via sea routes: Muslim merchants and various migrants during the Yuan period.

In the following sections, the background history of each migration category will be discussed. [10]

---

4 Fujita Toyohachi 藤田豊八 (1917) and Kuwabara Jitsuzo 桑原隲蔵 (1989) published pioneering studies on the early history of maritime trade and foreigners in China. Maejima Shinji 前嶋信次 pointed out that the biggest portion of Islamic immigrants in this region were Persians (1952). Comprehensive studies on Islam in China in general were published by Tazaka Kodo 田坂興道 (1964), Donald Leslie (1986, 1998), and Morris Rossabi (1981, 1989) . Many other important works compiled by Quanzhou haiwai jiaotongshi bowuguan 泉州海外交通史博物館 (1983) and Quanzhoushi Quanzhou lishi yanjiuhui 泉州市泉州歷史研究會 [The Museum of the History of Overseas Contacts at Quanzhou, Quanzhou History Research Association] (1983).

(a) Influx of Persian Speakers from Seaborne Trade Routes

By the Tang 唐 period (618–907), important port cities such as Guangzhou 廣州 and Yangzhou [11]
揚州 prospered and played major roles as commercial centers. A wide array of migrants,
including Persians, were present in Guangzhou and Yangzhou.

Middle Eastern merchants were already traveling to East Asia by the first century (Wade [12]
2010, 181). Antonino Forte pointed to the period between 148 and 845 as the period of
greatest Iranian influence in China (1999). However, Iranians in the Tang Dynasty were more
closely associated with Buddhism, Christianity, Manichaeism, and Zoroastrianism than Islam.
Meanwhile, Ralph Kauz, citing an article by Rafael Israeli, emphasized the beginnings of Mus-
lim immigration, which came mainly to southern China, and wrote that since the seventh
century, Muslims have made up the majority immigrant group to China. These Muslim immi-
grants, mainly Arabs and Persians, first came to China by sea (Fan Ke 2001, 309–10; Israeli
2000).

In the ninth and tenth centuries, the Persian origin of the Liu 劉 clan of the Southern Han [13]
(*Nan Han* 南漢) in Guangdong 廣東 was noted, and the tombs of the Min 閩 Kingdoms of
Southern Han and Fujian Persian pottery were excavated. Liu is considered a transliteration
of ʿAlī, also translated as Li 李 (Schottenhammer 2015, 3–4). "The 10th–12th centuries were
to see quite intense interaction between the ports along the Maritime Silk Road, including
those of Southeast Asia, and Chinese entrepôts along the coast of southern China" (Wade
2010, 181). During the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1276), the status of the most important
port city on the coast of southern China shifted from Guangzhou and Yangzhou to Quanzhou
in southern Fujian and continued until 1368, that is, the end of the Mongol Yuan dynasty
(Fan Ke 2001, 312–14).

Since the early Northern Song (960–1127) period, sea traders surnamed Li and Pu were [14]
especially prominent in Chinese documents.[5] Recently, Geoff Wade suggested that these "sur-
names" may refer to a specific group of Muslims, such as the Shi'ites (2010). In any case, it
probably refers to the Persian-speaking people who made up the majority of Muslims travel-
ing to and from the Indian Ocean at the time. They form category (a) for the purposes of this
paper.

A large portion of the influx of Persian speakers to the Fujian area started during the South- [15]
ern Song period, which consisted of seaborne trade route travelers. They started to settle in
Quanzhou during the late Southern Song period and will form category (b) in the follow-
ing section. The tide of incoming foreigners continued through the thirteenth and fourteenth
centuries, which will form category (d).

(b) Localized Persian Immigrants

During the Southern Song period, the immigrant population became settled and localized and [16]
they will form the second category, category (b). However, it would be simplistic to interpret
them as having been completely sinicized. As an example of the category, we can discuss a
figure of the late Southern Song, Pu Shougeng who controlled maritime trade at Quanzhou
port in Fujian.

---

5   The surname Pu was considered to be derived from *kunya* (an element of an Arabic personal name) *Abū*,
     which means "father" in Arabic, while others regarded the Pu family as of *Cham* origin. Pu corresponded
     to the title of a nobleman in Malay-Polynesian languages, that is, *Pu* or *Mpu* (Ferrand 1922; Fei 2002, 82).
     Sugimoto Naojiro 杉本直治郎 compared the two theories and disregarded the theory of the *Cham* origin
     (1952).

The author supports precedent studies to regard Pu Shougeng as a descendant of Persian merchants because Persian features in Islamic tombstones from Quanzhou suggest that a large part of the immigrants were Persians (Maejima 1952). Added to this, the contemporary epigraphic text of the early Yuan period written by Wang Pan 王磐 reports that Pu Shougeng was a merchant traveling along sea routes for business and was originally a *Xiyu ren* 西域人 ("people from the west"). Another epigraphic text by Wang Pan tells that Pu Shougeng was originally a *Huihe ren* 回紇人.[6] *Huihe* originally meant Uighur, Turkish-speaking people from Turfan and other places in Central Asia. However, it also meant 'Muslim' during the Yuan period.[7] Accordingly, the author infers that the Pu family, at least in Quanzhou, was most likely Muslim of Persian origin.[8] Pu Shougeng gained economic and political influence at Quanzhou through his fleet and manpower for maritime trade from the late Southern Song to the early Yuan period. He was granted the title of *zhaofushi* 招撫使 (commander of the local militia) and *shibo tiju* 市舶提舉 (the head of *shibosi* 市舶司, maritime trade supervisorate) during the last years of the Southern Song period. Recent studies in China attested that Pu Shougeng actually bore the title *zhigan* 制幹, which is a substitute for *yuanhai zhizhi shi* 沿海制置使, the commander of the Southern Song's Navy in the coastal provinces. Soon after his surrender to the Yuan, Pu Shougeng was appointed to be *canzhi zhengshi* 參知政事 (Assistant Administrator) of the Mobile Secretariat at Jiangxi 江西 in 1277 (remote appointment) and finally promoted to *pingzhang zhengshi* 平章政事 (governor) of the Mobile Secretariat (*xingsheng* 行省) at Quanzhou (see Liu 2015; Song [1369] 1978, Ch. 9:191, Ch. 10:204; Wu 1988).[^9]

[18] The Pu family's local influence seems to have lasted until the Yuan period. The old street names in Quanzhou City, which are still preserved today, are said to be related to the lost residence of Pu Shougeng, as is shown in figure 1. The fact that the Pu Shougeng's residence was adjacent to the mosque *Qingjingsi* 清淨寺 ("pure and clean" temple) and occupied a large part of the foreigner's settlement strongly suggests that taken together, the Pu family and Pu Shougeng himself were Persian Muslims.

(c) Newcomers Via Inland Routes: Muslim Elites from Central Asia and Iran

[19] During the Yuan period, the population of the South China coastal region added what I categorize as (c): Newcomers via inland routes: Persian (and Turkish) elites from Central Asia and Iran. The strategy of the Mongol empire to rule Chinese society was behind the influx of category (c).

[20] Soon after the Mongols conquered the Jin 金 dynasty (1115–1234), they had to build a governance and tax collecting system in *Zhongyuan* 中原 (the Central Plain of China). Since the size of the Mongol ruling class was too small compared to the huge population of subordi-

---

6   These epigraphic sources written by early Yuan literati, Wang Pan, and titled "Gaocheng ling Dong Wenbing yi'aibei" 藁城令董文炳遺愛碑 [Memorial Stone Tablet for District Governor of Gaocheng, Dong Wenbing]" (in Li [1534] 1968, Ch. 8) and "Zhaoguo Zhongxian gong shendaobei 趙國忠獻公神道碑 [Inscription on the Avenue to the Grave of Lord Zhongxian in Zhao country]" (in Li [1534] 1968, Ch. 9) survived in *Gaocheng xian zhi* 藁城縣志 [Local Gazetteer of Gaocheng district] published in 1534, and Chen Gaohua 陳高華 introduced them (Chen 1987).

7   In Chinese official historiography, such as *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書, written during the Song period, *Huihe* originally meant Uighur and the majority of them were not Muslims but Buddhists and Christians during the Yuan period. For honorific biographical works, Wang Pan probably preferred to use the more classic and elegant word *Huihe* instead of *Huihui* 回回, which meant Muslim during the Yuan period. In *Yuan shi* 元史, Ch. 205 (Song [1369] 1978, 4558), Muslim financial minister Ahema 阿合馬 (Ahmad) of Khubilai's reign was also written to be a *Huihe*. On the problem of the designation *Huihui*, see Moriyasu (1997).

8   One of the indications of the Pu family in Quanzhou adhering to the Islamic tradition, as mentioned above in this paper is the stone stele built by Pu Heri beside the tomb of Muslim sages in the *Linshan* Muslim

Figure 1 Map of Quanzhou city and *Quannan* 泉南 during the late Song period. Source: Fujian sheng Quanzhou shi diming lu (1982) and Zhunag (1988).[9]

nate *Han* 漢 Chinese, they mobilized every possible human resource in their realm and fully utilized their knowledge for the governance of agrarian society and their skill of financial management. Among them, there was a considerable number of Muslim elites from Central Asia and Iran. Their ancestors had surrendered to (and cooperated with) the Mongols during the war against the Qara Khitai Khanate and the Khwārazm Empire and they financially supported the Mongols and immigrated to China under Mongol rule (Rossabi 1981). Families from category (c) were incorporated into the Mongol ruling class through the recruiting system and continued to produce officials in Yuan China. These facts can be confirmed by Chinese and Persian historical sources and by the list of the names of Yuan officials in the Local Gazetteers of Zhenjiang 鎮江, Jinling 金陵 (present-day Nanjing) and the Fujian region (Yang 2003, 163–287; Mukai 2009).

(d) Newcomers via Seaborne Trade Routes

During the Yuan period, Quanzhou continued to be the most important port and prospered from maritime trade. Thus, there were maritime traders, *ʿUlamāʾs* (Arab "scholar"), and religious persons including *Sūfīs* who migrated to Quanzhou via sea routes. They form category (d) of this paper. As seen below, the Islamic institutions for Muslims were developed based on the contribution of this newcomer Muslim elite cluster via sea routes.   [21]

According to the itinerary of a Muslim traveler from Morocco, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1304–1369), Quanzhou as well as other cities in China reserved an area for Muslims (which should be *Quannan*, though it was not perfectly exclusive for Muslims), who had their own religious leader, called *Shaikh al-Islām*, and an Islamic judge for the Muslims, called *qāḍī*. During his stay at Quanzhou around 1345, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa received visits from the *qāḍī*, Tāj al-Dīn of Ardabīl, *Shaikh* al-Islām Kamāl al-Dīn Abdullāh of Iṣfahān, and merchants Sharaf al-Dīn of Tabrīz, all of whom seemingly came from the cities in Iran (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa 1994, 4:894–95).   [22]

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa also mentioned an eminent *Shaikh* at Quanzhou, Burhān al-Dīn al-Kāzerūnī (of Kāzerūn), who was a representative of a *Sūfī* order, Kāzerūniyya established at Kāzerūn in Iran. He had a *hānäqāh* (hospice) outside the town to whom the merchants make the oblations made to the originator of the *Sūfī* order, *Shaikh* al-Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Shahtiyār al-Kāzerūnī (963–1033). According to Ralph Kauz, with Wittek's addition to Köprülüzāde's article, "the *nisba* al-Kāzerūnī means not only a person from or with relations to the said city but rather an adherent of the *Sūfī* order." Kauz also says that the Kāzerūniyya extended a network of *ḥānäqāh*s in Anatolia, Iran, and the cities along the shores of the Indian Ocean such as Calicut and Quilon and never lost contact with their motherhouse in Kāzerūn (Kauz 2010, 61, 67). They give the meeting and living places of dervishes and offered accommodation and food for three days free of charge. The *ḥānäqāh* in Quanzhou was established after Burhān al-Dīn moved to Quanzhou on the tributary ship to the Yuan court during the *Huangqing* 皇慶 years (1312–1314) (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa 1994, 4:895; Huai et al. [1763] 2000, Ch. 75: 39v–40r).[10] The introduction of the *ḥānäqāh* would have involved the increase in the Muslim immigrant population of Quanzhou through the mid–fourteenth century, as discussed below.   [23]

Cemetery in Eastern Quanzhou, which commemorated admiral Zheng He's visit in 1417 on his way to the "Western Ocean."

9   All maps and graphs in this article were created by the author.

10   According to Ralph Kauz, Burhān al-Dīn's arrival at Quanzhou was in the year 1312 (Kauz 2010, 68).

Investigating the Reality of the Entanglement of Religions in Fujian

Periodical Changes in the Muslim Community in Fujian during the Yuan Period

As seen in the former section, in Fujian during the Yuan period, both Chinese and Arabic historical sources testify to the existence of a Muslim population. Persian speakers made up a significant portion of the various types of migrants to the region corresponding to categories (a) to (d). However, there was not enough mapping and data about the spread of Islam in each region of China and about the number and periodical distribution of the migrants during this period. Accordingly, the author tried to gather some data. [24]

Firstly, the author considered the sites of old mosques in China which, according to local tradition, originated during the Mongol period. The following map (figure 2) was created by the author based on the complete list of mosques in China by Wu Jianwei 吳建偉 (1995). We can see that the southeast coast, including Fujian, was one of the places of intensive Muslim population since early times. [25]

Secondly, the prevalence of Muslim officials in Fujian province seems to have been higher than in other provinces, though there was a decreasing tendency toward the end of the Mongol period (Mukai 2010, 440, 2009, 83–84). Figure 3 shows the fluctuation of the number of officials with Islamic names (histogram).[11] Although not all these officials with Islamic names were necessarily Muslims, it shows that a significant number of Islamic officials had been appointed in Fujian province. [26]

Simultaneously, maritime merchants and the descendants of Persians from overseas were part of a local, hereditary elite stratum. Arabic tombstones with some Persian and Turkish elements were excavated in the Fujian region, namely in Quanzhou, showing that the Yuan period was the peak of an influx of the Muslim population. Many entombed people are considered to have been Persian and Turkish speakers who were from an elite cluster in the Khwārazm empire. However, as mentioned in the former section, there were also some maritime traders, ʿUlamāʾs, and Sūfīs who had migrated to China via sea routes, category (d). The periodical distribution of the Arabic tombstones is shown in figure 3 (line graph) (see also Mukai 2002, 98). There were several fluctuations in the number of tombstones. [27]

To conclude, seen from the three different kinds of spatial and periodical data on the spread of Islam and migrants in and into China, there was a long-term tendency of an influx of Persian speakers into Fujian, which corresponds to this article's categories (c) and (d). Certainly, there were still examples from category (b) during this period.[12] Meanwhile, the process of the influx of Persian speakers into Fujian province during the Song and Yuan periods was not a simple, linear process; there were both short and long-term fluctuations from time to time. The fluctuation of the migration into the region, not only between the two dynastic periods but also between the reign of each of the emperors of the Yuan period, brought different patterns or different degrees of assimilation, which lead to functional differentiation among foreigners. [28]

---

11   The length of each term is uneven because the data is only available for the reigns of emperors. Fuzhou lacks records from officials after 1333.

12   An example of (b) is the Sino-Persian merchant at Quanzhou Pu Shougeng, as well as his son Pu Shiwen 蒲師文, who was appointed to be the governor (*pingzhang zhengshi*) of the mobile secretariat of Fujian in the early Yuan period.
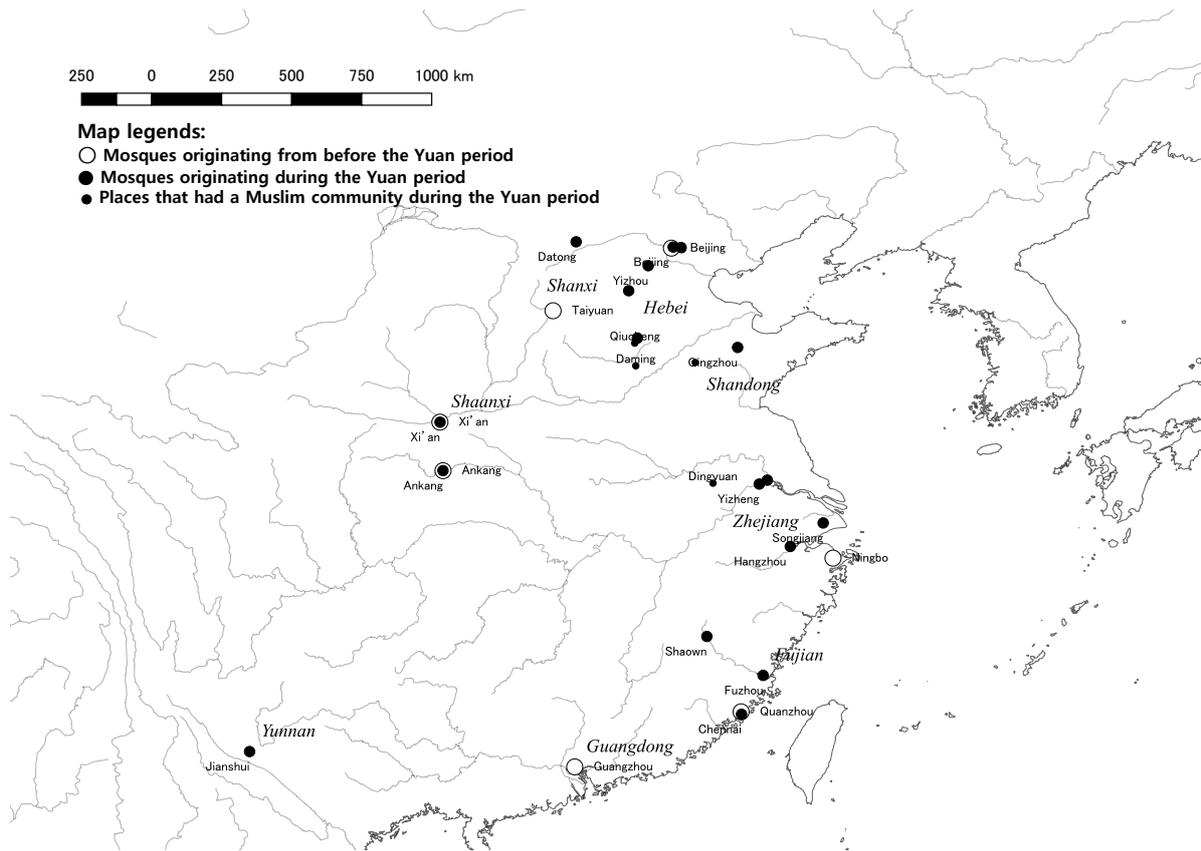
Figure 2   Locations of old mosques in mainland China, according to local tradition. Source: Wu (1995).
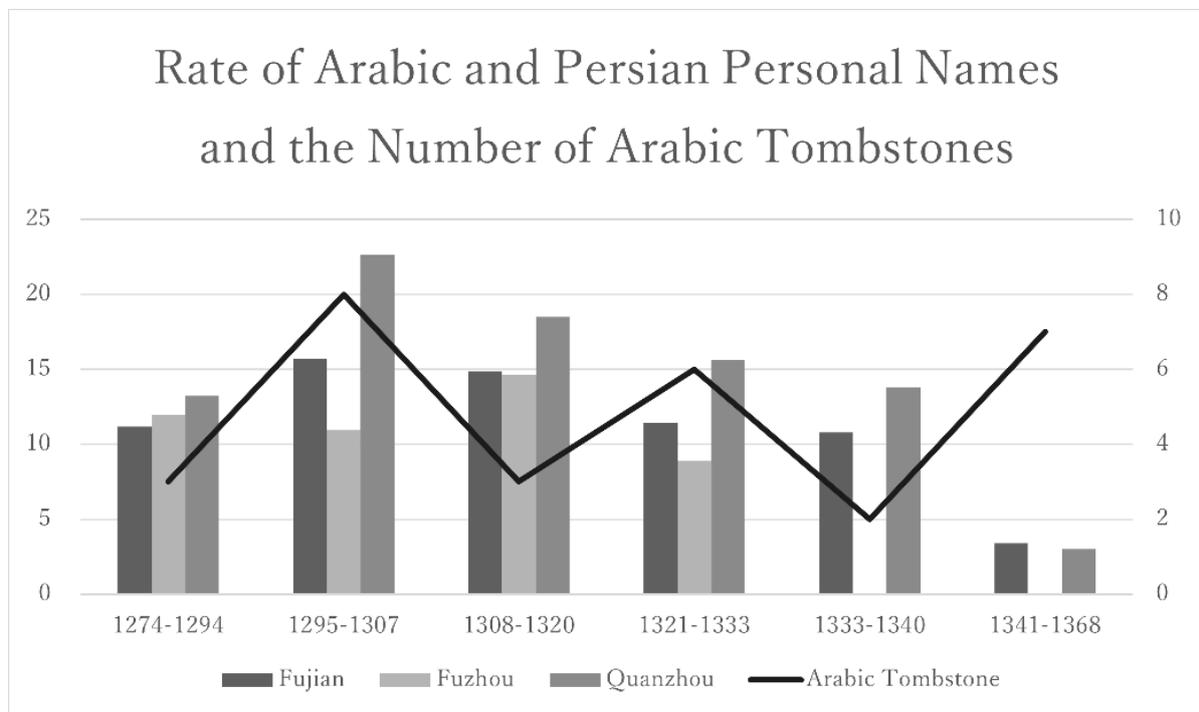
Figure 3   Occurrence of Arabic and Persian personal names of officials (histogram: the scale is on the left side) and the number of Arabic tombstones from Quanzhou (line graph: the scale is on the right side) for six terms of Yuan period. Sources: Huang ([1489] 1989) and Chen Dasheng and Kalus (1991).

Geographical Analyses of the Entanglement of Religions in Quanzhou

During the Song and Yuan period, the quarter for foreigners in the southern quarter of [29]
Quanzhou, called *Quannan* (see figure 1), was where the foreign visitors and a part of the
settled foreigners of categories (b) and (d) lived. Nevertheless, the intermingling of Chinese
and foreigners was not forbidden.[13] For example, a Local Gazetteer, *Qianlong Quanzhou fuzhi*
乾隆泉州府志 (edited in 1763), reveals that the aforementioned *Shaikh* at Quanzhou, Burhān
al-Dīn, resided along the Shop Street (*paipu jie* 排舖街) in the quarter for foreigners called
Quannan (Huai [1763] 2000, Ch. 75, 39v–40r.).

The mosque Qingjingsi was built in 1131 (or in 1009–1010) on the border of the quarter [30]
for foreigners (Z in figure 1) and the main block of the city (Y including X in figure 1); in
other words, it was at the place of contact between the Muslims and Chinese. This explains
why the Chinese stone stele, *Chongli Qingjingsi bei ji* 重立清浄寺碑記 (Stone Record of the
Reconstruction of the Clear and Pure Temple), was composed by Wu Jian 呉鑑 in 1350 to
commemorate the restoration of the mosque in the late Yuan period and was installed in that
mosque.[14] Wu introduces Islam, their country, and the culture of Muslims in a favorable tone,
and it seems to have been written for Han Chinese to explain how Islam and Muslim people
lived together harmoniously in Quanzhou.

To sum up, in Quanzhou city during the Mongol period, cross-cultural contact between [31]
Muslims and other peoples was not avoided. Rather, from the viewpoint of institutional and
geographical settings, there were ample opportunities for contact between them. Actually,
the old Muslim representative of category (b), the Pu family, had a connection with the Han
Chinese local elite cluster, which is mentioned in previous studies (So 1991, 20–21, 2000,
108–10). As is shown on the map (figure 1), based on local tradition, Pu Shougeng's residence
occupied a large part of the foreigners' quarter in *Quannan* and was also adjacent to the
central part of the city where many Han Chinese lived (Mukai 2007, 96). It is clear from
these geographical settings that his family definitely occupied a representative position among
foreigners in Quanzhou and could have played a role as a mediator between foreigners and
Han Chinese.

Furthermore, during the Yuan period, the government was served by many *semuren* 色目 [32]
人 ("various kinds of people," mainly Non-Han Chinese), and in Quanzhou Muslims were pre-
dominant among *semuren*.[15] Officials, including Mongols, *semuren*, or the people of category
(c), generally worked in the center of the city (X in figure 1). Accordingly, the people in cat-
egories (b) and (c) had some channels to link the host society with the Muslim community,
including category (a) newcomers, who were not isolated islands in Quanzhou city.

The author believes that the people in category (b) were in a situation where their religious [33]
traditions were compromised as a result of long-term cultural contacts. Meanwhile, categories
(c) and (d) immigrants had solid relations with their religious traditions. In the following
section of this article, the relationship between the different levels of assimilation and the
culture of tolerance will be analyzed.

---

13   During the Song and Yuan period, Quanzhou did not have a foreign settlement (officially allotted exclusive
      quarter for foreigners) such as the *fanfang* 蕃坊 of the Tang period in China (Hong 1983).

14   For the text of the inscription, see Chen Dasheng 陳達生 (1984), for the translation into English, see Vermeer
      (1991, 121–27).

15   The classical Chinese term *semu* 色目 means "various categories." The *semuren* were one of the legally-
      defined social groupings unique to Mongol China. They were generally Central Asians and Westerners and
      ranked just below the Mongols (Buell 2003, 240).

Solid Religious Tradition: Islamic Inscriptions from China's Coastal Region

Arabic Tombstones of "Exile Martyr" from Lingshan

It should be noted that the first example of the word "exile martyr" can be found on the [34]
tombstone of Muḥammad Shāh b. Khwārazm Shāh (Khwārazm Shāh's son, Muḥammad Shāh),
excavated at the old Muslim cemetery in the *Linshan* Islamic Cemetery in the Eastern suburb of
Quanzhou, where the legendary Islamic evangelists were buried and worshiped (Chen 1991,
193–94, no. 114). It is said to be the word of the prophet Muḥammad. Two variants, "He
who dies an exile dies a martyr," as well as its shortened form, "The death of the exile is
martyrdom," are frequently seen in the Arabic inscriptions on graves found in Quanzhou. And
Arabic tombstones excavated near China's coastal region provide data as to the place of origin
of the deceased and their date of death (primarily during the Yuan period), which tells us that
a significant part of immigrants came from the former Khwārazm Empire in China's coastal
region. These facts suggest that immigrants from the former Khwārazm Empire preserved a
'solid identity' as foreign Muslims. Additionally, the exclusive usage of the Arabic language
on their tombstones connects their identity to their homeland's Islamic tradition.

Chinese Inscription of the Old Mosque Qingjingsi in Quanzhou

Another example can be observed in a Chinese inscription preserved in an old mosque [35]
(*Qingjingsi*) in Quanzhou. The stone stele was erected in 1345 to commemorate the restoration
of the mosque and a member of the local elite, Wu Jian, wrote the monumental inscription for
it. The inscription recorded the history of Muslim immigrants in Quanzhou, with a detailed
introduction of Islam and its culture:

> For more than 800 years until now, the Arabs have strictly adhered to this faith. [36]
> Though living in a foreign country, they passed it on to their children and grand-
> children, extending through the generations they did not dare to change it. … I
> have heard the following words of the elders: when Arabia (*T'ieh-chih-shih* 帖直氏)
> first entered into the official picture, its local customs and doctrines were quite
> different from other countries. On the basis of the Western Envoys and Records
> of the Barbarian Islands and such records, I attach more belief to those words. On
> that basis, it is said: 'It is Heaven's wish to give equal shares to the entire world,'
> but it has not become so in just one day. (Vermeer 1991, 124)

In my opinion, the Muslim population experienced fluctuations throughout the Mongol [37]
period. Some of the Muslim population assimilated into Chinese culture after the decline in
the number of Muslim newcomers. However, according to this stone inscription, Muslims in
Quanzhou adhered to the Islamic tradition and preserved their own culture until as late as
the 1350s in the late Yuan period.

Complex Religious Tradition: A Taoist Shrine and Pu Shougeng

Fujian province had a long tradition of coexistence with foreign religions from overseas. This [38]
point also concerns the cosmopolitan nature of the port cities that were open to the outside

world. This cosmopolitan culture also reflects an important feature of maritime trade, that is, it was not conducted based on a single cultural tradition or a single religion but by various coexisting groups and cultural traditions, and together they supported the prosperity of the entire trade network. A Chinese stone inscription relating to the 'localized' Persian merchant Pu Shougeng from the late Southern Song to the early Yuan period refers to this complex situation.

In 1274, after Yuan troops captured the capital and occupied the coastal region of Southern [39] Song, Chinese port cities opened to overseas countries. Khubilai dispatched sea traders to overseas countries to establish trade relations with them (later, envoys were sent to other countries under the direct initiative of the Yuan court). As Pu Shougeng had controlled the "ships of foreign trade" (*fanbo* 番舶) at Quanzhou in the late Southern Song period, many former subordinates of Pu Shougeng were dispatched to overseas countries. At times, a Pu and Mongolian colleague, Suodu 唆都, would dispatch trade ships without the permission of the Yuan court. Apparently, Pu Shougeng was motivated by the profits he earned through extending his own trade relations and he exploited the overseas missions to this end. A Chinese stone inscription, located at the Taoist site of the "pure and sunny" cave (*Chunyang dong* 純陽洞) on the "clean source" mountain (*Qingyuan shan* 清源山), tells us that Pu Shougeng and his elder brother Pu Shoucheng 蒲壽宬 assisted in building a Taoist-Buddhist temple complex in 1281. This is the period when Pu Shougeng was engaging in vigorous trade under the guise of official overseas missions (Mukai 2008, 135–39).

Basic Data and Previous Studies on the Inscription

The Chinese stone inscription is titled "Zhong jian *Qingyuan Chunyang dong* ji" 重建清源純 [40] 陽洞記 (Record of Reconstruction of the *Chunyang* Cave in *Qingyuan* Mountain) and dated to the fourth year of *Hou-Zhiyuan* 後至元 (1338) during the Yuan period. The inscription is carved into the inclined plane of a steep slope behind the Taoist and Buddhist temple complex at *Chunyang*cave on *Qingyuan* mountain located in the northeast suburb of the old city of Quanzhou (see figure 4).[16]

The year 1281 is suggestive because Pu Shougeng dispatched his fleet to overseas countries [41] to expand trade relations under the order of Mongol emperor Khubilai. As mentioned above, Pu Shougeng and Pu Shoucheng are considered to have been Sino-Persian. However, it would have been reasonable for him to do a religious deed for his subordinates, who were mostly Chinese, seemingly practicing Taoism, Buddhism, and worshiping a variety of local deities.

At a first glance, it can be seen as evidence of the intermingling of Taoism and Buddhism [42] in Fujian, and it is well known, however, that there is more to it than that. The origin of worshiping at the *Chunyang* cave was related to the emergence of new cult religion in that urban area. It was initiated by a charismatic person during the *Shaoxing* 紹興 years (1131–1162) of the Song period, though the cult was merged into traditional religions such as Taoism and Buddhism after his death. So, in a sense, the inscription depicted a process of religious integration. As far as I know, this is the first attempt to translate the whole text into English. It

---

16 The text of the inscription is, in large part, not visible and hard to decipher now but it was recorded in Chen Qiren 陳棨仁 (1836–1903), *Minzhong jinshi lü* 閩中金石略, Ch. 12, n.d. and Fujian tongzhi zu 福建通志組 ed.*Fujian jinshi zhi* 福建金石志, Ch. 13 in 1922 (both reprinted in Guojia 2003, vols. 1-3, vol. 3). By depending on these records only, we can read the whole text. The inscription was cited by Wu Yongxiong 吳幼雄 as one of the epigraphic sources in determining the periodical changes of the Mobile Secretariat in Fujian during the Yuan period (1988). Now the whole text has been published in print (Ding 2003, 1:53–54).

Figure 4   The condition of the record of the reconstruction of the *Chunyang* cave in *Qingyuan* mountain. Taken by the author on January 6, 2008.

is worthy of further research because of its historical value as evidence of religious coexistence and its peculiarity, as mentioned above.

Summary of the Text

First, this section summarizes the contents of the inscription with paragraph numbers 1)-10) attached by the author (see Appendix for the full translation): [43]

1. "Every beautiful and quiet site such as mountains, rivers, rocks, and caves under heaven is the residence of immortal wizards and Buddhist saints. The former exist relying on the latter and the latter manifest depending on the former. They are collaborating with each other in making a mysterious landscape." [44]

2. During the period of *Shaoxing* of the Southern Song, an exile practitioner with the surname Pei 裴 came from Jiangdong 江東 (around present-day Nanjing 南京) and lived in a cave in *Qingyuan* Mountain. He walked around the market every day, wearing a flower made of rice paper pith in his hair and singing a song. Suddenly, he disappeared for several months and nobody knew where he was and later his skeleton was found in the cave. Local people built a shrine to worship him with other deities and hang a tablet saying "*chunyang* (pure and sunny)." [45]

3. Local people distorted his original teaching and gave wine and food as an offering. They also gathered there to play music and were noisy. Places of lascivious entertainment and bars were even built there. Intellectuals discussed how to stop these practices and decided to build a shrine to *Putuo dashi* 普陀大士 (Great Master of Potalaka, i.e., *Avalokiteśvara* Bodhisattva) beside the original one to break the evil customs. Following the *Shengshan* Chan Buddhist temple (*Shengshan chan si* 昇山禪寺) in Fuzhou 福州, the shrine became the site of *Zhenqun's* 眞君 (a Taoist deity's) ascension to heaven. [46]

4. The shrines in *Qingyuan* Mountain totally burned down during the last years of Southern Song period. In the eighteenth year of *Zhiyuan* 至元 (1281), a Buddhist monk from Sisong 四松, Fa Tan 法曇, visited the site, swore to restore it, and started the project. Xinquan Pugong 心泉蒲公 (PuShoucheng) and Haiyun *pingzhang* 海雲平章 (Pu Shougeng)[17] provided funds for it and architectural plans were drawn up for a bigger shrine complex than the original one. [47]

5. Twenty-one years later, Tan ordered his leading disciple, Yicong 一聰, to take his place and complete the restoration of the shrine. Stone signboards were erected at thirty points. Several tens of thousands of cedars and pine trees were planted. [48]

6. The restoration project was completed. This could happen because Myriarch Sun Xinzhai (孫信齋) and a grandson of Pu Shoucheng, Pu Yiqing (蒲一卿), had risen in society and got involved in the project. [49]

7. Yicong from Yaolin 瑤林 in Jin *yi* 晋邑 (Jinjiang 晋江 district) had learned sutras at Sisong and titled himself as Shimen 石門 ("stone gate"). In the fifth month, in the summer of [50]

---

17 Pu Shoucheng had a courtesy name Xinquan 心泉, as his anthology was titled *Xinquan xue shi gao* 心泉学詩稿, 6 vols. Pu Shougeng had a coutesy name Haiyun 海雲. As mentioned above, he bore the title *pinzhang* because he was appointed *pingzhang zhengshi* (governor) of the Mobile Secretariat (*xingsheng*) at Quanzhou (see Wu 1988).

1333 (the fourth year of *Zhishun* 至順), Yicong passed away and his whole body was buried at the side of the mountain. When the year 1334 (the second year of *Yuantong* 元統) passed, the roofs of the Buddhist and Taoist shrines had not been repaired for a long time. Accordingly, it has finally been repaired and the gatehouse was also renewed because it deteriorated and had rain leakage.

8. Lord Sun, who had been preached to by Yicong, possessed an old weir in the *Jinjiang* [51] district and had it repaired. He spent 220 *ding* 錠 by *Zhongtong chao* 中統鈔 (paper money) and built a granary to stock the harvest. He also donated clothes and property for preaching far and wide and bought land and reclaimed it to create new rice fields. He said his good deeds were done following Yicong's teaching so the credit should go to Yicong. Accordingly, Song required the author Ping Zhitai 平智泰 to compose a full account of the circumstances.

9. Ping Zhitai firmly refused Sun's request but Sun had never given up and pleaded with [52] Ping again and again. So finally Ping relented.

10. In the tenth month of the fourth year of (*Hou-*) *Zhiyuan* (後) 至元 (1338), *Wan'an* Chan [53] Buddhist temple (*Wan'an chan si* 萬安禪寺) asked Ping Zhitai to compose this article, and Sun Yanfang 孫彥方 and Sun Chang'an 孫長安 to write (the title of the inscription) in seal script.

The Social Network of Pu Shougeng

The fact that Pu Shougeng undertook the construction of a Taoist-Buddhist temple with his [54] brother is an indirect clue to infer their faith. If it was their religious motivation that led them to renovate that temple, it is not impossible that it could manifest a plurality of religious beliefs. However, that is extremely difficult to prove. In addition, external factors must also be considered. One possibility is to win the popularity of the Han Chinese crew (of the diplomatic mission ships sent by Pu) and the local people. Additionally, in the context of the inscription, one suspects that the Pu brothers' social relations with the local elite cluster may be partly related to their religious activities. In other words, such acts may be required as a part of the duties expected of members of the local elite cluster in Quanzhou. To verify this, it will be necessary to delve into the social network of the Pu brothers behind the construction of the temple.

In these remarks, this inscription is worthy of attention because we can see personal names [55] relating to the reconstruction. Thus, the inscription would be a precious source not only for the analysis of Pu Shougeng's religious situation but also for the social network of the Pu family and elites in the region.

The text of this inscription mentions and suggests the contribution of members of the Sun [56] family three times. The first one is Myriarch Sun Xinzhai 孫信齋, who helped with the reconstruction of the temple with the Pu brothers in 1281, supposedly providing manpower because he controlled the army. This person may be identified to be the son of a subordinate of Pu Shougeng named Sun Shengfu 孫勝夫, who fought against Southern Song royalists in Quanzhou around 1276 and surrendered to the Yuan dynasty together with Pu. Later, he conducted a diplomatic mission to overseas countries with Pu's fleet under Pu's order.[18] The fact

---

18   See "Wu xu [Preface written by Wu (Jian)]" of Wang Dayuan, *Daoyizhilue* ([1350] 1981, 5) and Song Lian, *Yuan shi*, Ch. 11 ([1369] 1978, 235).

that he also bore the title Myriarch in 1279 and 1281 supports this hypothesis of identification (see Song [1369] 1978, Ch. 12, 244, 4660).

There is another recorded person surnamed Sun 孫 who directed the Myriarch around Quanzhou during the Yuan period other than Sun Shengfu and Sun Xinzhai. This is Sun Tian 孫天 (or Sun Tianyou 孫天有), who was appointed as *Daruγachi* (*Daluhuachi* 達魯花赤) of Huzhou *wanhufu* 湖州萬戶府 (Miriarch), stationed around Quanzhou during the *Dade* 大德 years (1297–1307).[19] The relationship between this person and the others are unknown. However, since the Yuan dynasty generally appointed Myriarchs by succession, and Myriarch is a high-ranking title so that the number of families bearing this title was extremely small, the possibility of the succession of this military title by the same Sun lineage is high enough.

[57]

The second appearance of the Sun family in this inscription is about the person who asked the composer of the inscription, Ping Zhitai, to write an article to praise the achievement of master Yicong because he had once been preached to by him. The name of this person from the Sun family is unknown but in the last part of the inscription, there appears the lord of *Zhuangmin* 壯敏侯, Sun Yanfang, and Sun Chang'an, who wrote the title of the inscription in seal script.

[58]

There is not enough evidence to prove that all of these persons surnamed Sun are from the same lineage. However, the particular intention of this inscription, which was ordered by a member of the Sun family and mentions not only Pu Shougeng but also Sun Xinzhai (probably the son of Sun Shengfu), may indicate a successive commitment by the Sun lineage to the reconstruction of the temples at *Chunyang* cave. So, the author tentatively concludes, the same Sun lineage consistently contributed to the project of reconstructions recorded in this inscription. The relationships between the people mentioned in this inscription are tentatively reconstructed in the following figure 5.

[59]

An Analysis of the Complexity of Religions

According to the inscription, the cave in *Qingyuan* Mountain, where practitioner Pei's skeleton was found, was named *Chunyang* (Paragraph 2). This shows the Taoist feature of the site for *Chunyang* was apparently associated with the title *Chunyangzi* (master *Chunyang*) of legendary hermit, Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓 (796–1016) of the Tang period. He is one of Eight Immortals worshiped by Taoists. At the same time, the site was also devoted to Buddhism as the shrine for *Avalokiteśvara* Bodhisattva (*Putuo dashi*) was built (Paragraph 3). These facts exemplify the complex feature of this site.

[60]

The inscription claims a situation of coexisting religions and regularizes it in a philosophical way. The following words in the first part of the inscription as well as in the sixth and ninth paragraphs (omitted in the summary above) summarize the theory:

[61]

- "The former (immortal wizards) exists relying on the latter (Buddhist saints) and the latter manifests depending on the former. They are collaborating with each other and make a mysterious landscape" (Paragraph 1)
- "Taoism increasingly manifests power depending on the aid of Buddhism" (Paragraph 6)

[62]

---

19   See Huang Zhongzhao 黃仲昭, *Ba Min tongzhi* 八閩通志, Ch. 32 ([1489] 1989, 686). According to the note, Sun Tian was modified to be Sun Tianyou 孫天有 in Huai Yinbu 懷蔭布 et al., *Qianlong Quanzhou fuzhi* 乾隆泉州府志 ([1489] 1989, 689).
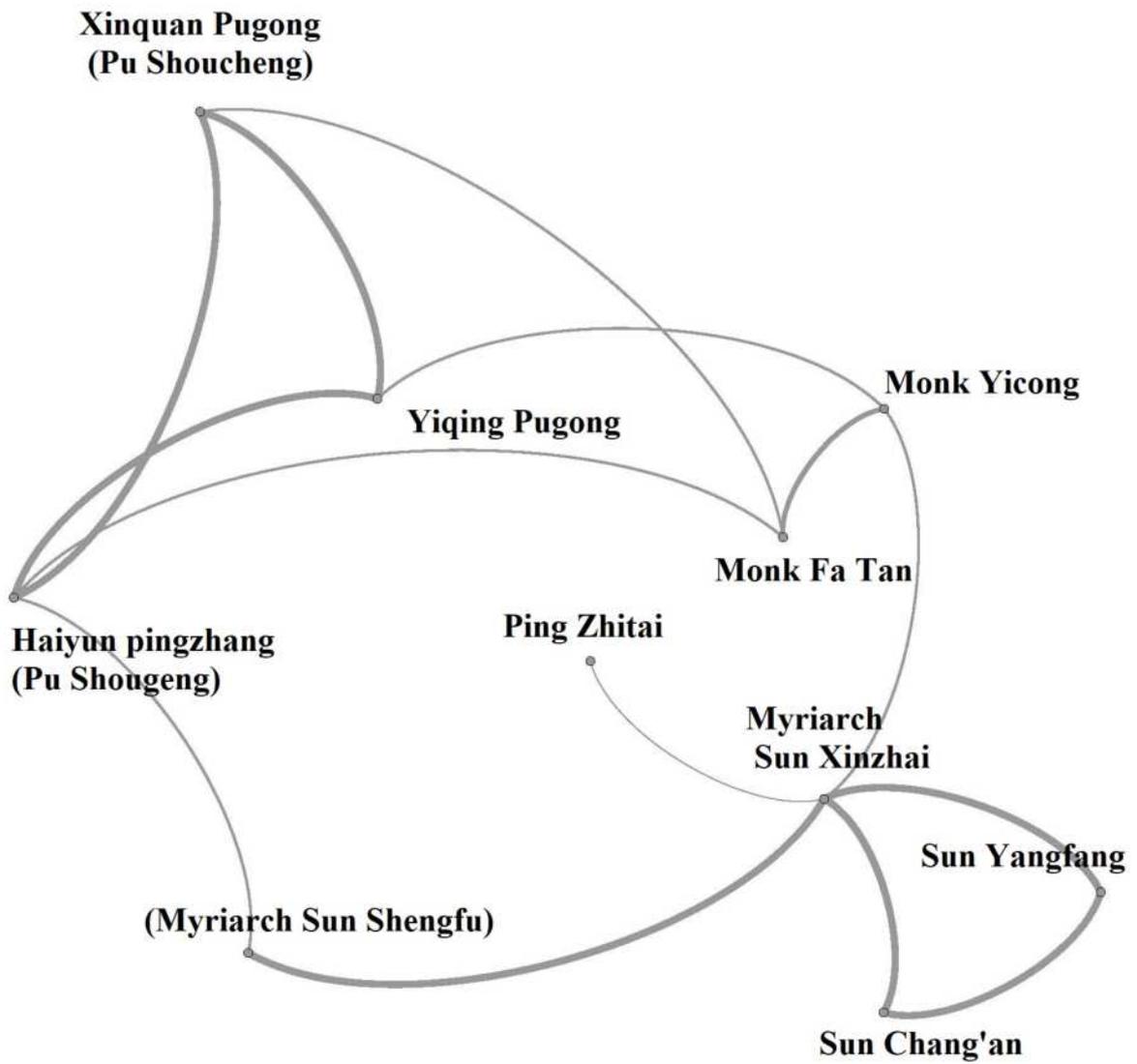
Figure 5   Social networks relating to the reconstruction of the temples at *Chunyang* Cave in *Qingyuan* Mountain. Source: Ding and Zheng (2003), 53-54. Software: Gephi.

- "Taoism and Buddhism are the branches stretched from the same stem" (Paragraph 9) Actually, this inscription vividly tells the story of the beginning of the coexistence (to the present time) of a Taoist shrine and Buddhist temple on one site.

Additionally, this inscription attests to the existence of the continuing relationship between Buddhist monks, a Han local elite family, and a Sino-Persian Muslim family in Quanzhou during the Yuan period. These prove the culture of tolerance was highly developed in the Fujian region during the Yuan period. Then what circumstances supported this situation of tolerance among religions shown in this inscription? Is this a very rare situation that occurred only in Fujian? Was this a common phenomenon during the Yuan period? [63]

In the last part of this paper, we will consider these questions as well as how to approach the religious complexity of the period and how to evaluate various 'external' conditions. We will consider the following external conditions: Aims and background of the individuals and the social environment of the region. [64]

Aims and Background of the Individuals

As for the personal aims and background behind one's religious activities and attitudes toward religion, we can imagine the following: (i) to pray for the safety of a voyage, to win peoples' trust (ensure the religion which is popular among subordinates, crew members, and the local population), and (ii) to be a responsible local governor or member of the elite class. [65]

As mentioned above, Pu Shougeng's maritime trade under Khubilai's order is related to the restoration of the Taoist-Buddhist temple complex at *Chunyang* cave in *Qingyuan* mountain and it relates to aim (i). In conducting this enterprise, Pu Shougeng utilized his network in a local elite cluster in Quanzhou, in which Han elite Sun Shengfu and his family were included. As shown in the inscription, the relationship between the Sun family and the Pu family lasted for the next two generations. The Sino-Persian Pu family's commitment to the restoration of the temple complex at *Chunyang* cave relates to aim (ii) and continued for generations. [66]

The Social Environment of the Region

The second point concerns the cosmopolitan nature of the port cities that were open to the outer world. Actually, in the inscription, as mentioned in the former section, the harmonious coexistence was repeatedly expressed. It is unusual if we consider the keen confrontation between Buddhism and Taoism during the early Yuan period. [67]

Here, let us consider an example of the above-mentioned stone tablet from the mosque at Quanzhou during the late Yuan period. In 1353, on a stone tablet, *Chongli Qingjingsi bei ji* (Stone Record of the Reconstruction of the Clear and Pure Temple), Wu Jian inscribed the details of the reconstruction of the mosque known as the *Qingjingsi*, the "clear and pure" temple in Quanzhou. Wu translated the concept of Islam using Confucian terminology. God was interpreted as 'Heaven' and the prophet Muḥammad was identified by a Western saint appearing in the Confucian text Zhuangzi 莊子 and in Buddhist sutras (Vermeer 1991, 124). Relating to this, it is worth noticing that the term *qingjing* 清浄 ("clear and pure") was adopted by Muslims in Quanzhou as the name of their mosque. As mentioned in the inscription discussed above in this paper, "Zhong jian *Qingyuan Chunyang dong ji* (Record of Reconstruction of the *Chunyang* Cave in *Qingyuan* Mountain), Buddhist monk Yicong (Shimen 石門) shared the concept, *qingjing*, as the essence of his teaching (Paragraph 9). Needless to say, both *wuwei* ("what is so of itself") and *qingjing* were the core concepts of Taoism. [68]

These examples show us that the long tradition of coexistence developed by people in Fujian [69] fully functioned to cooperate with traditional cultures from overseas.

Conclusion

This paper has examined the exchange of Islamic, Taoist, and Buddhist religious traditions [70] in Fujian Province, as well as the religious activities and social networks of localized Persian descendants in Quanzhou, Pu Shougeng. The discussion in this paper reveals how people from different religious backgrounds coexisted in South China under Mongol rule and were even involved in the support of the religious community to which they did not belong.

This paper also attempts to show that the degree of contrasting religious coherence can [71] be related to the length of coexistence time of the adherents of these religions in the Fujian region. The results also argued that it is appropriate to distinguish two major types of Islamic belief situations, based on the complex structure of religious harmony in the Quanzhou area under Mongol rule.

- Firm religious traditions: those Muslims who adhere firmly to an apparently pure Islamic [72] faith, as exemplified by the Arabic-language Islamic inscriptions in coastal China. This is observed in the New Islamic Migration from Central and West Asia. Categories (c) and (d)
- Complex religious traditions: Muslims who are apparently mixed with other religions, as seen in the Pu family, are descendants of Persian immigrants in Quanzhou. This is observed in maritime/early syncretic migration/Arab-Persian descendants. Category (b)

A geographical analysis of the restored extent of Pu Shougeng's residence suggests that he [73] served as an intermediary between the local Han Chinese elite class and Muslim foreigners, mainly Persians.

Based on the above assumptions, we have intensively examined the Yuan-period *Qingyuan* [74] Mountain *Chunyang* Cave restoration inscriptions as an example of the religious situation in Category (b). The inscriptions record the contributions of Pu Shougeng and his elder brother in the reconstruction projects undertaken in the early Yuan dynasty and the social network of the Pu family.

The analysis reveals that the relationship between the Pu family, the monks, and the Sun [75] family of Han Chinese who worshiped at this temple continued during the early to mid-Yuan dynasty. This tells us that the Pu clan had strong ties with the local Han Chinese elite class. It was a prerequisite for the Pu family in (b) to serve as an intermediary between foreign Muslims and Han Chinese.

Appendix

Full Translation of "Zhong jian *Qingyuan Chunyang dong* ji (The Record of Reconstruction of the *Chunyang* Cave in *Qingyuan* Mountain, written in the fourth year of *Hou-Zhiyuan* 後至元 [1338] during the Yuan period)

1. Every beautiful and quiet site, such as mountains, rivers, rocks, and caves, under heaven is the residence of immortal wizards and Buddhist saints. The former exists relying on the latter and the latter manifests depending on the former. They are collaborating with each other to make a mysterious landscape. [76]

2. During the *Shaoxing* 紹興 years (1131–1162), a practitioner Pei 裴 who came from Jiangdong 江東 province (around Nanjing 南京) stayed in a cave in *Qingyuan* 清源 Mountain. Every day, he wore a flower made of *tongcao* 通草 (rice paper pith. The scientific name is tetrapanax. It is still used to make artificial flowers in Taiwan today) in his hair and walked around the market while singing a song "Drink three small cups of delicious wine and wear a pretty flower in your hair. Think about things in the past and present (and you know that) to live in peace and joy is better." Suddenly, Pei disappeared for several months and nobody knew where he was and later a woodcutter found his skeleton in the cave in *Qingyuan* Mountain. Local people made a statue from his skeleton and established a shrine, hung a tablet saying "*Chunyang* 純陽 (pure and sunny)," and worshiped it with other deities. [77]

3. People misunderstood Pei's real intention and gave wine and food as offering, played flute (*xiao* 簫) and five-string lute (*zhu* 筑) and made loud sounds. Intellectuals sighed and said, "even the seasons and fortune of the mountains and rivers have not yet cycled (i.e. it is not yet time to celebrate and make offerings to the gods of mountains and rivers); they drove the holy ghost to the interior by pressure. How can these acts like building fleshpots (*huaguang* 花館) and bars (*jiutai* 酒臺) on the cliff match the teaching of practitioner Pei who emphasized on 'purity and cleanness (*qingjing* 清净)' and the principle of 'inaction and nature (*wuwei* 無爲)'?" Intellectuals discussed how to stop these practices and decided to build a shrine to worship *Putuo dashi* 普陀大士 (Great Master of Potalaka, i.e., *Avalokiteśvara* Bodhisattva) beside the original shrine to break the evil customs. Following the *Shengshan* 昇山 *chan* 禪 Buddhist temple in Fuzhou 福州, the shrine became the site of *Zhenqun's* 眞君 (a Taoist deity's) ascension to heaven. [78]

4. The *Qingyuan* Mountain totally burned during the last years of Southern Song period and became a habitat of wild monkeys. In the eighteenth year of *Zhiyuan* 至元 (1281), a Buddhist monk from Sisong 四松 (unknown place name), Fa Tan 法曇, visited the site, swore to restore it. Xinquan Pu gong 心泉蒲公 (Pu Shoucheng 蒲壽宬) and Haiyun *pingzhang* 海雲平章 (Pu Shougeng 蒲壽庚) provided funds for it and architectural plan was enlarged to ten or hundred times the original one. [79]

5. Twenty-one years later, Tan ordered his leading disciple Yicong 一聰 to succeed his master's position and complete the restoration of the shrine. Soon after the restoration project started, a typhoon came and timber supply dried up. However, Cong encouraged himself to carry out the task of his master's wish. He stayed diligent to the will and was never indolent. Therefore, some years later, very quickly, the building was completely [80]

renovated. To house four devas (*sidabu* 四大部), they have got a pavilion (*ge* 閣). To contain…(blank)…, it has got a hall (*tang* 堂). Subsequently, *Yingzhen* 應眞 ("respond the truth") pavilion and *Guangkong* 觀空 ("see the śūnya") skyscraper (*lou* 樓) were built. Stone signboards (*shiji* 石記) were erected at thirty points. Several tens of thousands of cedars (*shan* 杉) and pine trees (*song* 松) were planted and a surrounding stone wall (*shiyong* 石墉) of two thousand *zhang* 丈 (6,144m) was built to prevent a forest fire. Further, he reclaimed more than twenty columns (*duan* 段) of new rice field and performed a ritual of agriculture in spring (*zhengchang* 蒸嘗, ancient Chinese ceremony to pray for the good crop). Total (area?) of rice field for lent within the area circled by the stone signboards does not differ from those of other temples.

6. One day, when light clouds were in the sky, I wandered on the balcony along the handrail, reciting a poem and expressing emotion and when I swept the landscape a thousand miles from there, I could see the mountains lying on top of one another and looking like big and small banners. Fogs were curling up and floating like a man bowing and creeping. Rivers joined together and flowed into the sea and brought a high tide looking like a blue gem (*tiqingbao* 帝青寶, Indranilamuktā) or a glass (*liuli* 琉璃). Vessels and seagulls appeared and disappeared in the wide ocean and in the empty sky. Likewise, distant view and foreground, high view and low view all mingled to create thousands of different sceneries. Men like Wang Mojie 王摩詰 (Wang Wei 王維, Tang period poet) and Guo Xi 郭熙 (Song period painter) had had emotional strain and shoulder dislocation from their busy writings and paintings though they are edited and compiled but not rewarded. Seeing fine monasteries clustered in this mountain, their clean, bright, and magnificent sight was never inferior to that of the Imperial capital (*jing* 京). Oh, did not what Cong 聰 (Yicong) accomplished add much to that of his master? It mostly depends on the cycle of fortune being favorable to him. Because the timing was ideal at that time, Taoism manifested more and more power depending on the aid of Buddhism. In addition, this could happen because Xinzhai *wanhu* (Myriarch) Sun gong 信齋萬戶孫公 (SunXinzhai 孫信齋) and a grandson of Pu Shoucheng, Yiqing Pu gong 一卿蒲公 (Pu Yiqing 蒲一卿), had risen in society and got involved in the project.

[81]

7. Cong (Yicong) was from Yaolin 瑤林 ("limestone cave") in Jin *yi* 晋邑 (probably Jinjiang 晋江 district, Quanzhou). He had learned sutras at Sisong and titled himself as *Shimen* 石門 ("stone gate"). He had lived in the mountain for more than thirty years and knew his limit and was content with it. He practiced asceticism and did a good deed and the people of the day regard him as an enlightened. In the year of *gengwu* 庚午 (1330, the third year of *Tianli* 天曆), Cong told his adherent Qi Yin to manage the cave. On the fifth month, in the summer of the year of *guiyou* 癸酉 (1333, the fourth year of *Zhishun* 至順), Cong passed away and his whole body was buried in the side of the mountain. When the year of *jiaxu* 甲戌 (1334, the second year of *Yuantong* 元統) passed, the roofs of Buddhist and Taoist shrine had not been repaired for a long time. Accordingly, it was finally repaired, and the gate house was also renewed because it had deteriorated and had rain leakage.

[82]

8. There was Sun *fu* 孫府 (lord Sun) who had been preached to by Cong (Yicong). He possessed an old weir (*dai* 埭) at Dongshan 東山 ("east hill") *du* 渡 (ferry) in the thirtieth *du* 都 (ward) of *Jinjiang* 晋江 *xian* 縣 district and he repaired it and was provided twenty *dan* 石 (1,898 *l*) of seed. He spent 220 *ding* 錠 (a unit of money originated from a unit

[83]

of weight, corresponding to about 2 kg [of silver]) by *Zhongtong chao* 中統鈔 (paper money) and built a granary to stock the harvest. He also donated clothes and property for preaching in all directions and bought more than 450 *mu* 畝 (2,548 a) of land in the thirty ninth, forty first, and forty second *du* (ward), which were reclaimed to be new rice fields. The good deeds were done following Cong's teaching, so the credit should go to Cong. Accordingly, Sun required me (Ping Zhitai 平智泰) to compose a full account of the circumstances.

9. I firmly refused Sun's request and said, "Sir Fu (Fu *gong* 傅公), teacher Youxiang (Youxi-ang *xiansheng* 有鄉先生), previously wrote the account of the meritorious deed of master Tang 曇 (Tang *shi* 曇師, i.e. Fatang 法曇). Now you asked me instead of the famed writer of the day to write about the achievement of your master. How can I demonstrate my writing skills and make people believe in my qualifications for this task?" Nevertheless, Sun had never relented and pleaded with me again and again. So that finally I told him, "This mountain of rocks and caves is the home of wizards and it is a calm and scenic place. I would not mention every detail because local people know that this is the top of scenic sites in the city of Quanzhou. If one would live a carefree life out of this world, declining offers from royalty, being mingled with birds and beasts, and farming for enjoying self-sufficiency, this is the ideal place for retirement at leisure. We have originally taken this as the ultimate law? Proclaiming new land is to clarify the profound truth of ancestors. Planting pine trees is to shine master Shimen's deep intention: that is, awakening the theory of "*qingjing* (purity and cleanness)," "*wuwei* (what is so of itself)" and understanding that Taoism and Buddhism are the branches stretched from the same stem. If I correctly got your master's thought, it can be said that every single bamboo tree, wood, hand of water, stone, all these eternal things of nature are need not be inscribed. This is why I omit superficial, shallow words, and let them be handed down to the future forever. [84]

10. In the tenth month in autumn of the year of *wuyan* 戊寅, the fourth year of (*Hou-*)*Zhiyuan* (後) 至元 of *Dayuan* 大元 dynasty (1338), *Wan'an* Chan temple (*Wan'an chan si* 萬安禪寺) used the article composed by Ping Zhitai, the lord of *Zhuangmin* (*Zhuangmin hou* 壯敏侯), Sun Yanfang 孫彥方 and Sun Chang'an 孫長安 wrote (the title) in seal script. [85]

References

Buell, Paul D. 2003. *Historical Dictionary of the Mongol World Empire*. Lanham: The Scarecrow Press.

Chen Dasheng, and Ludvik Kalus. 1991. *Corpus d'Inscriptions Arabes et Persanes en Chine 1 Province de Fu-jian (Quan-zhou, Fu-zhou, Xia-men)* [Corpus of the Arabic and Persian Inscriptions in China 1 Fujian Province (Quanzhou, Fuzhou, Xiamen)]. Genève: Foundation Max van Berchem.

Chen Dasheng 陳達生. 1984. *Quanzhou yisilanjiao shike* 泉州伊斯蘭教石刻 [Quanzhou Islamic Inscriptions]. Edited by Fujiansheng Quanzhou haiwai jiaotongshi bowuguan 福建省泉州海外交通史博物館. Translated by Chen Enming 陳恩明. Fuzhou 福州: Fujian Renmin Chubanshe 福建人民出版社 [Fujian People's Publishing House].

Chen Gaohua 陳高華. 1987. "Pu Shougeng shiji 蒲壽庚事跡 [An Evidence on Pu Shougeng]." *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 中国史研究 [Journal of Chinese historical studies] 1978 (1).

Clark, Hugh. 2006. "The Religious Culture of Southern Fujian, 750–1450: Preliminary Reflections on Contacts Across a Maritime Frontier." *Asia Major (Third Series)* 19 (1/2): 211–40.

Deeg, Max. 2018. *Die Stiele von Xi'an* [The Radiant Religion: the Stele from Xi'an]. Wien: Lit.

Ding Hesheng 丁荷生 (Kenneth Dean), and Zheng Zhenman 鄭振滿, eds. 2003. *Fujian zongjiao beaming huibian, quanzhoufu fence* 福建宗教碑銘彙編, 泉州府分冊 [Epigraphical Materials on the History of Religion in Fujian: Quanzhou Region]. Vol. 1. Fuzhou 福州: Fujian Renmin Chubanshe 福建人民出版社 [Fujian People's Publishing House].

Ebert, J. 2004. "Segmentum and Clavus in Manichaean Garments of the Turfan Oasis." In *Turfan Revisited*, edited by D. Durkin-Meisterernst, Simone Ch. Raschmann, and Jens Wilkins, 21:72–83. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.

Fan Ke. 2001. "Maritime Muslims and Hui Identity: A South Fujian Case." *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 21 (2): 309–32.

Fei lang 費琅 (Gabriel Ferrand). 2002. *Kunlun ji nanhai gudai hangxing kao; Sumendala guguo kao* 崑崙暨南海古代航行考; 蘇門答剌古國考 [Le K'ouen-Louen et les Anciennes Navigations Interoceaniques dans les Mers du Sud; L'empire Sumatranais de Çrīvijaya]. Translated by Feng Chengjun 馮承鈞. Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局 [Zhonghua Book Company].

Ferrand, Gabriel. 1922. "L'empire Sumatranais de Çrīvijaya." *Journal Asiatique (IIe Série)* 20: 1–85, 61–246.

Forte, Antonino. 1999. "Iranians in China: Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, and Bureaus of Commerce." *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 11: 277–90.

Fujian sheng Quanzhou shi diming bangongshi 福建省泉州市地名辦公室 [Place Name Office in Quanzhou City, Fujian Province], ed. 1982. *Fujian sheng Quanzhou shi diming lu* 福建省泉州市地名錄 [Record of Place Names in Quanzhou City, Fujian Province]. Quanzhou 泉州.

Fujita, Toyohachi 藤田豊八. 1917. "Sōdai no shihakushi oyobi shihaku jōrei 宋代の市舶司及び市舶條例 *[Customs Offices (Shibosi) and Maritime Trade Regulation during the Song period]*." *The Toyo Gakuho* 東洋学報 7 (2): 150–246.

Gardner, Iain, Samuel Lieu, and Ken Parry. 2005. *From Palmyra to Zayton: Epigraphy and Iconography*. Turnhout: Brepols.

Gernet, Jacques. 1991. *Chine et Christianisme: La première confrontation [China and Christianism: The First Confrontation]*. Édition revue et corrigée. Paris: Gallimard.

Guojia Tushuguan Shanben Jinshi Zu 國家圖書館善本金石組 [Manuscripts and Inscriptions Division, National Library of China], ed. 2003. *Liao, Jin, Yuan shike wenxian quanbian* 遼金元石刻文獻全編 [Collection of Inscriptions of Liao, Jin, Yuan Periods]. Vols. 1-3. Beijing: Beijing Tushuguan Chubanshe 北京圖書館出版社 [National Library of China Publishing House].

Hong Shaolu 洪少禄. 1983. "Quanzhou shi fou you 'fanfang' 泉州是否有 '蕃坊' [Did Quanzhou have 'fanfang (foreign settlement) or not]." In *Quanzhou haiwai jiaotong shiliao huibian* 泉州海外交通史料滙編 [Collection of Historical Sources on Overseas Contacts at Quanzhou], edited by Zhongguo haiwai jiaotongshi yanjiuhui, Fujian sheng Quanzhou haiwai jiaotong shi bowuguan 中國海外交通史研究會, 福建省泉州海外交通史博物館 [The Museum of the History of Overseas Contacts at Quanzhou], 6:239–42. Quanzhou 泉州: Jinjiang Diqu Yinshua Chang 晋江地區印刷廠 [Jinjiang Region Printing Factory].

Huai Yinbu 懷蔭布, Huang Ren 黃任, and Guo Gengwu 郭賡武, eds. (1763) 2000. *Qianlong Quanzhou fuzhi* 乾隆泉州府志 [Local Gazetteer of Quanzhou Province]. 76 vols.

Quanzhouzhi: Quanzhouzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui bangongshi 泉州志編纂委員会辦公室. Reprint. Shanghai: Shanghai Shudian Chubanshe 上海書店出版社 [Shanghai Bookstore Publishing House].

Huang Zhongzhao 黄仲昭, ed. (1489) 1989. *Ba Min tongzhi* 八閩通志 [Local Gazetteer of Ba Min (Fujian)]. Fuzhou: Fujian Renmin Chubanshe 福建人民出版社 [People's Publishing House].

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. 1994. *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa A.D.1325–1354*. Translated by H. A. R. Gibb and C. F. Beckingham. Vol. 4. London: The Hakluyt Society.

Israeli, Raphael. 2000. "Medieval Muslim Travelers to China." *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 20 (2): 314–21.

Kauz, Ralph. 2010. "A Kāzarūnī Network?" In *Aspects of the Maritime Silk Road: From the Persian Gulf to the East China Sea*, edited by Ralph Kauz, 61–69. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Kawagoe, Yasuhiro. 1977. "Iwayuru Teiwa gyōkahi nit suite 所謂鄭和行香碑について [On the 'Zheng He Burning Incense Inscription']." In *Nakayama Hachirō kyōju shōju kinen Min Shin shi ronsō* 中山八郎教授頌壽記念明清史論叢 [The Collected Papers on Ming–Qing History in Commemoration of the Longevity Celebration of Professor Nakayama Hachirō], edited by Shigeo Sakuma 佐久間重男 and Yukio Yamane 山根幸夫. Tokyo: Ryōgen shoten 燎原書店.

Kuwabara, Jitsuzo 桑原隲蔵. 1989. *Hojukō no jiseki* 蒲壽庚の事蹟 [On Pu Shougeng]. Tokyo: Heibonsha 平凡社.

Leslie, Donald Daniel. 1986. *Islam in Traditional China: A Short History to 1800*. Canberra: Canberra College of Advanced Education.

———. 1998. *The Integration of Religious Minorities in China: The Case of Chinese Muslims*. George Ernest Morrison Lecture in Ethnology 59. Canberra.

Lieu, Samuel N. C. 1998. *Manichaeism in Central Asia and China*. Brill.

Lieu, Samuel N. C., Lance Eccle, Majella Franzmann, Iain Gardner, and Ken Parry. 2012. *Medieval Christian and Manichaean Remains from Quanzhou (Zayton)*. Corpus Fontinum Manichaeorum: Series Archaeologica et Iconographica 2. Turnhout: Brepols.

Lin Song. (1988) 2004. "Lun Zheng He de Yisilanjiao Xinyang: Qian ping Zheng shi 'feng fo', 'chong dao' shuo 論鄭和的伊斯蘭教信仰: 淺評鄭氏 '奉佛' '崇道' 説 [Arguments on Zheng He's Belief in Islam: With Estimation of Zheng Family's Belief in Buddhism and Taoism]." In Zheng He yanjiu bainian lunwen xuan 鄭和研究百年論文選 *[Selected Articles of 100 Years Zheng He Studies]*, edited by Wang Tianyou and Wan Ming. Beijing: Daxue Chubanshe 北京大学出版社 [Peking University Press].

Liu Yingsheng 劉迎勝. 2015. "Youguan Songmo Quanzhou Pushi shiliao de ji ge yidian 有關宋末泉州蒲氏史料的幾個疑点 [Questions on the Sources of the Quanzhou's Pu Family in the Late Song Period]." In *Yuanshi ji minzu yu bianjiang yanjiu jigan* 元史暨民族辺疆研究集刊 [Studies on the Mongol-Yuan and China's Bordering Area], edited by Liu Yingsheng 劉迎勝 et al. Vol. 30. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe 上海古籍出版社 [Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House].

Li Zhengru 李正儒, ed. (1534) 1968. *Gaocheng xian zhi* 藁城縣志 [Local Gazetteer of Gaocheng district]. Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe 成文出版社.

Maejima, Shinji 前嶋信次. 1952. "Senshū no Hashi-jin to Hojukō 泉州の波斯人と蒲壽庚 [The Persians in Ch'uan-chou and P'ushou-K'ang]." *Shigaku* 史學 25 (3): 1–66.

Moriyasu, Takao 森安孝夫. 1997. "Uiguru moji shinkō: Kaikai meishō mondai kaiketsu heno ichi soseki ウイグル文字新考: 回回名称問題解決への一礎石 [A New Study of the Uighur

Script : A Foundation for Solving the Problem of the Designation Hui-hui].” In *Tōhō-gakkai sōritsu gojū shū nen kinen, Tōhōgaku ronshū* 東方学会創立五十周年記念東方学論集 [“Eastern Studies” Fiftieth Anniversary Volume], 1238–26 (reverse page). Tokyo: Tōhō-gakkai 東方学会 [The Toho Gakkai].

Mukai, Masaki 向正樹. 2002. “Mongoru jidai senshū no seijōji shūchiku ni tsuite モンゴル時代泉州の清浄寺修築について [The Restorations of the Qingjingsi Mosque in Quanzhou during the Mongol period].” *Kansai Arabu Isuramu Kenkyu* 関西アラブ・イスラム研究 [Kansai Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies] 2: 89–105.

———. 2007. “Hojukō gunji shūdan to Mongoru kaijō seiryoku no taitō 蒲壽庚軍事集団とモンゴル海上勢力の抬頭 *[The Role of Pu Shogeng’s Private Militia in the Emergence of Mongol Sea Power]*.” *The Toyo Gakuho* 東洋學報 89 (3): 327–56.

———. 2008. “Kubirai-Chō Shoki Nankai Shōyu No Jitsuzō: Senshū Ni Okeru Gunji-Kōeki Shūdan to Konekushon クビライ朝初期南海招論の實像: 泉州における軍事・交易集団とコネクション [Another Aspect of the Legation to the Southern Seas During the Early Part of Khubilai’s Reign: Military and Trade Groups and Their Connections].” *Tohogaku* 東方學 116: 127–45.

———. 2009. “Mongoru chika Fukken enkaibu no Musurimu kanjin-sō モンゴル治下福建沿海部のムスリム官人層 [Muslim Officials in Fujian Coastal Region during the Yuan Period].” *Arabu-isuramu kenkyu* アラブ・イスラム研究 [Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies] 7: 79–94.

———. 2010. “The Interests of the Rulers, Agents and Merchants behind the Southward Expansion of the Yuan Dynasty.” Edited by Academia Turfanica. *Journal of the Turfan Studies: Essays on the third International Conference on Turfan Studies the Origins and Migrations of Eurasian Nomadic Peoples,* 428–45.

Niu Ruji 牛汝極. 2008. *Shizi lianhua: Zhongguo Yuandai Xuliya wen beaming wenxian yanjiu* * 十字蓮華: 中国元代叙利亜文景教碑銘文献研究 *[The Cross-lotus: A Study on Nestorian Inscriptions and Documents from Yuan Dynasty in China]**. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe 上海古籍出版社 [Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House].

Quanzhou haiwai jiaotongshi bowuguan, Quanzhoushi Quanzhou lishi yanjiuhui 泉州海外交通史博物館, 泉州歷史研究會 [The Museum of the History of Overseas Contacts at Quanzhou, Quanzhou History Research Association]. 1983. *Quanzhou Yisilan yanjiu lunwenxuan* 泉州伊斯蘭研究論文選 [Selected Articles on Islam in Quanzhou]. Fuzhou: Fujian Renmin Chubanshe 福建人民出版社 [Fujian People’s Publishing House].

Rossabi, Morris. 1981. “The Muslims in the Early Yüan Dynasty.” In *China Under Mongol Rule*, edited by John D. Langlois, Jr, Reprint, 257–95. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

———. 1989. “Islam in China.” In *Encyclopedia of Religion*, edited by Mircea Eliade, 223–49. New York: Macmillan.

Schottenhammer, Angela. 2015. “China’s Gate to the South: Iranian and Arab Merchant Networks in Guangzhou During the Tang-Song Transition (C. 750–1050), Part II: 900–C. 1050.” *AAS Working Papers in Social Anthropology* 29: 1–28.

So, Billy K. L. 2000. *Prosperity, Region, and Institutions in Maritime China: The South Fukien Pattern, 946–1368*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

So, Keelong 蘇基朗 (Billy So K. L.). 1991. “Lun Pu Shougeng jiang Yuan yu Quanzhou difang shili de guanxi 論蒲壽庚降元與泉州地方勢力的關係 [The Arguments on the Relation between Pu Shougeng’s Surrender to the Yuan and Local Powers in Quanzhou].” In *Tang Song shidai Minnan Quanzhou shidi lungao* 唐宋時代閩南泉州史地論稿 [The Historical

and Geographical Studies on Minnan Region and Quanzhou during the Tang and Song period], edited by Keelong So, 1–35. Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu Yinshuguan 臺灣商務印書館 [Taiwan Shangwu Yinshuguan Press].

Song Lian 宋濂. (1369) 1978. *Yuan shi* 元史 [The Official History of the Yuan]. 15 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局 [Zhonghua Book Company].

Sugimoto Naojirō 杉本直治郎. 1952. "Hojukō no kokuseki mondai 蒲壽庚の國籍問題 [On the Nationality of P'u-shou-kêng]." *Toyoshi kenkyu* 東洋史研究 [The Journal of Oriental Researches] 11 (5-6): 476.

Tazaka, Kodo 田坂興道. 1964. *Chūgoku ni okeru kaikyō no denrai to sono kōtsū* 中國における回教の傳來とその弘通 [Islam in China its introduction and development]. 2 vols. Tokyo: Toyo Bunko 東洋文庫.

Vermeer, Eduard B. 1991. *Chinese Local History: Stone Inscriptions from Fukien in the Sung to Ch'ing Periods*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Wade, Geoff. 2010. "The Li (李) and Pu (蒲) 'Surnames' in East Asia-Middle East Maritime Silkroad Interactions during the 10th–12th Centuries." In *Aspects of the Maritime Silk Road: From the Persian Gulf to the East China Sea*, edited by Ralph Kauz, 181–93. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Wang Dayuan 汪大淵. (1350) 1981. *Daoyi zhilüe jiaoshi* 島夷誌略校釋 [Edited and Noted Text of Daoyi zhilüe]. Edited by Su Jiqing 蘇繼廎. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局 [Zhonghua Book Company].

Wu Jianwei 吳建偉, ed. 1995. *Zhongguo qingjingsi zonglan* 中國清眞寺綜覽 [Complete List of Mosques in China]. Yinchuan: Ningxia Renmin Chubanshe 寧夏人民出版社 [Ningxia People's Publishing House].

Wu Wenliang 吳文良. 1957. *Quanzhou zongjiao shike* 泉州宗教石刻 [Quanzhou Religious Inscriptions]. Beijing: Kexue Chubanshe 科學出版社 [Science Press].

Wu Youxiong 吳幼雄. 1988. "Yuandai Quanzhou ba ci she xing yu Pu Shougeng ren Quanzhou xingsheng pingzhangzhengshi kao 元代泉州八次設省與蒲壽庚任泉州行省平章政事考 [Examination of the Fact of Eight-times Reestablishments of Mobile Secretariat at Quanzhou and Pu Shougeng's Appointment as Governor]." *Fujian luntan (wen-, shi-, zhe-ban)* 福建論壇 (文・史・哲版) [Fujian Tribune (The Humanities & Social Sciences] 1988.2 (gen. no. 45): 43–46.

Xu Xiaowang 徐曉望. 2006. *Fujian tongshi* 福建通史 [The History of Fujian]. 5 vols. Fuzhou: Fujian Renmin Chubanshe 福建人民出版社 [Fujian People's Publishing House].

Yang Zhijiu 楊志玖. 2003. *Yuandai Huizu shi gao* 元代回族史稿 [A Study of the Hui Nationality in the Yuan Dynasty: Its Formation and Humanics]. Tianjin 天津: Naikai Daxue Chubanshe 南開大学出版社 [Nankai University Press].

Yoshida Yutaka 吉田豊, and Furukawa Shoichi 古川攝. 2015. *Chūgoku Kōnan Mani-Kyō Kaiga Kenkyū* 中国江南マニ教絵画研究 [Studies of the Chinese Manichaean Paintings of South Chinese Origin Preserved in Japan]. Kyoto: Rinsen shoten.

Zhuang Jinghui 莊景輝. 1988. "Quanzhou Luocheng-Zhi Kaobian 泉州羅城址考辯 *[Consideration on the Site of the Outer Wall of Quanzhou]*." *Haijiaoshi Yanjiu* 海交史研究 [Research in the History of Sea Communication] 1988.2 (gen. no. 14): 118, 119–26.

Zurcher, Erik. 2007. *The Buddhist Conquest of China. The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China*. Leiden: Brill.

The Sogdians and Their Religions in Turfan: Evidence in the Catalogue of the Middle Iranian Fragments in Sogdian Script of the Berlin Turfan Collection

CHRISTIANE RECK [iD]
Göttingen Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Germany

ABSTRACT   We are able to verify the variety of the religions of the Sogdians by the text fragments found in the Turfan oasis (East Turkistan, today's Xinjiang Autonomous Region of China). They are housed in several libraries and museums in Europe, Japan, and China. The Berlin Turfan collection contains a large part of them. The catalogue of the Sogdian text fragments in the indigenous Sogdian script of that collection was completed in 2018. The fragments represent parts of the literature of Christian, Manichaean and Buddhist communities in Turfan from the eighth to eleventh century CE. The best represented religion in the homeland of the Sogdians is a type of the Zoroastrian religion, as evidenced by archaeological findings and wall paintings. However, there are only very few texts found in Turfan and other locations in Central Asia which could be interpreted as Zoroastrian. The discussion about the religious affiliation of those texts is going on. The religious background of some other text fragments from Turfan is difficult to identify as well. Two of these examples will be published here. A remarkable feature of the religious communities in Turfan is the multilingual character of their literature, reflecting the development and path of the believers and the multi-ethnical structure of the community.

KEYWORDS   Sogdian, Manichaeism, Buddhism, Christianity, Zoroastrianism, manuscripts

Introduction

This article gives a short survey of the religions of the Sogdians, a population which lived in Central Asia, speaking an Indo-European language known as Sogdian, which has come to our knowledge by several coins and numerous text materials from Central Asia as described below. The Sogdians were already known in Antiquity, as attested by Old Persian inscriptions, because of their gifts to the Achaemenid rulers, and by Chinese historiographers. [1]

There is a difference between evidence for religions attested in the homeland of the Sog- [2]

dians, so-called Sogdiana, and in the textual remains found along the Silk Road to China, mainly Turfan and Dunhuang 敦煌 and some graves in Ningxia 宁夏. Several European and Japanese expeditions excavated these materials at the beginning of the twentieth century. Afterwards, Chinese archaeological campaigns continued the archaeological work. This article is based mainly on the textual evidence found in the Turfan region by the four German expeditions undertaken between 1902 and 1914, and brought to Berlin. These materials are housed now in the so-called Berlin Turfan collection in the Museum of Asiatic art and in the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences, curated by the Berlin State Library. The materials found in Dunhuang by French and British scholars like Paul Pelliot and Sir Aurel Stein are stored in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris and in the British Library in London. Important collections from Turfan and Dunhuang are preserved in the Oriental Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, in Ryukoku University in Kyoto and in several Chinese libraries.

Because of the fact that Sogdian played a role as lingua franca in the first millennium CE [3] along the Silk Road, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the textual evidence produced by Sogdians themselves and those written by other people, mainly by Uyghurs. Eventually, Sogdian ceased to be widely spoken, and a form of New Persian replaced it throughout Sogdiana. The followers of the pre-Islamic religions had to migrate to regions further east and found refuge in the Central Asian oases. Most of the textual evidence originates from that time and offers a look into the religions of the Sogdians under conditions of adaptation and migration in the diaspora. Two manuscripts are edited at the end of the article to show the problems of identification of fragmentary texts. I thank Lilla Russell-Smith (Berlin) and Adam Benkato (Berkeley) for checking the English in my article. For all remaining mistakes I am responsible for myself.

Sogdians, Their Settlements, and Their Sources

Sogdiana

Sogdians are known from the middle of the first millennium BCE until the end of the first [4] millennium CE. They lived in so-called Sogdiana, a clutch of cities in the area of what is today's Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, along the Zarafshan and Kashka-darya rivers. The best known cities were Samarkand (archaeological area of Afrasiab), Bukhara, Paikend, and Penjikent. The Sogdians travelled as merchants through Central Asia to China and to the Upper Indus valleys in the first millennium CE. They settled in Taschkent (*Čāč*), Semirechie in Mongolia, the Turfan area and up to Xiʾan 西安 (Changan 長安). The archaeological findings in the Sogdiana area, documents from Mt. Mugh, text fragments from the Turfan and Dunhuang areas, and grave inscriptions from tombs in today's Ningxia region up to Xiʾan give some insights into the history of the Sogdians and into their religions. The religion of the Sogdians in their homeland is described as a kind of "polis religion" similar to the situation in the Classical Greece (Shenkar 2017). Most characteristics of this religion can be deduced from paintings and other artistic artifacts (Mode 2003; Grenet 2015b), but the textual base is very thin. But theophoric components of the Sogdian names show a strong familiarity with Zoroastrian deities. The ossuaries and reliefs of grave chambers in China depict Zoroastrian rituals. They indicate that the native religion of the Sogdians in their homeland was a kind of Zoroastrianism which was also maintained in the diaspora, with possible interdependencies with

Buddhism and Manichaeism. Some details in the reliefs allow different interpretations, and several elements are still under discussion (Gulácsi and BeDuhn 2012; opposed to De la Vaissière 2019). There are also traces of Christianity, Manichaeism, and Buddhism to be found in reports and a few archaeological findings (for example: Ashurov 2019). An-Nadīm (tenth century CE) reported on the Manichaean community in Samarkand, its history, the schism of the community, the teachings, and the rituals of the Manichaeans in his *Kitāb al-fihrist* (Dodge 1970, 773–805). This testimony is mostly reliable and that is why it is also useful for the research of the history of this religion. In particular, an-Nadīm reported on the schism of the community in Transoxania, which "denied the authority of the *archegos* (the Supreme Head of the Manichaean church) in Seleucia-Ctesiphon, Babylonia, and declared their religious independence" (Colditz 1994, 229), referring to this schismatic community as the *Dīnāwarīya*. The best-known head of the *Dīnāwarīya* was Šād Ohrmezd, d. 600-1 CE (Colditz 1992, 322–8, 1994; Lieu 1992, 220–30). The schism ended between 710 and 715, when the *Dīnāwarīya* recognised again the authority of Mihr, the *archegos* in Seleucia-Ctesiphon. Under the reign of al-Muqtadir (908–932 CE), approximately 500 Manichaeans fled again from Mesopotamia to Samarkand, as mentioned by An-Nadīm (Dodge 1970, 802; Reeves 2011, 228; Yoshida 2017a, 119–20). Thereafter the head of the Manicheans, their *archegos*, lived in Samarkand before the seat moved on to Turfan.

Turfan and Dunhuang

The text fragments found in Dunhuang and in the Turfan oasis (East Turkistan, today's Xinjiang Autonomous Region of China) show a variety of religions among the Sogdians. As can be seen in the text fragments edited in several publications (Benveniste 1940; MacKenzie 1976; Ragoza 1980, with many additions and corrections by N. Sims-Williams and Y. Yoshida and others) and described in the catalogues, the three religions Buddhism, Christianity, and Manichaeism are all represented in the findings from Central Asia. It is thought that Sogdian merchants brought these religions to Central Asia. These texts were discovered at the beginning of the twentieth century and transferred to several libraries and museums in Europe, Japan, and China, with the Berlin Turfan collection containing the largest part. Research on these materials and the edition of it began in 1902, when the first materials of the excavations in Turfan were brought to Berlin, and has been continued up to the present time in the Turfan Research group of the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities and by other scholars from all over the world. Coincidentally during the last decades, the work of cataloguing the Sogdian fragments went on, carried out by the staff of the project Union Catalogue of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Göttingen Academy of Sciences and Humanities, and two other scholars. The catalogue of the Sogdian text fragments in the indigenous Sogdian script was completed in 2018 in three volumes (Reck 2006, 2016, 2018b). The catalogue of the Christian Sogdian fragments in Syriac script in the Berlin Turfan collection was published in 2012 by Nicholas Sims-Williams (2012). Enrico Morano is working on a publication about the Manichaean Sogdian fragments in Manichaean script as listed in the Catalogue of the Iranian Manichaean manuscripts in Manichaean script by Mary Boyce (Boyce 1960; Morano 2007). The completion of the cataloguing work on the Sogdian fragments in the Berlin Turfan Collection was the occasion to present this contribution. The catalogues are divided into several parts in accordance with their religious affiliation. The Sogdian texts from the Turfan region are written in three different scripts, first the indigenous Sogdian one, second in Manichaean script, used by the founder of the Manichaean religions himself in the third cen-

[5]

tury for Manichaean literature and from that point for Manichaean texts in several languages, and third in East Syriac script (Sims-Williams 1989, 175–78; Gharib 1995, 29 (Persian); Reck 2014). The usage of Manichaean and the East Syriac script was exclusively connected with the religious affiliation of the texts. The indigenous Sogdian script was used for writing all kinds of religious texts and for letters and documents as well. Some of the texts are bilingual respectively composite manuscripts. Often Uyghur names, headlines and colophons in the manuscripts show the close relationship between the Sogdian and Uyghur members of the communities. On the one hand, Sogdian merchants contributed to circulating religions like Manichaeism and Christianity. On the other, Uyghur communities used Sogdian sources besides the church literature in other languages. Manichaeism, for example, was the state religion in the East Uyghur Khanat and in the West Uyghur kingdom of Kočo as well. The Uyghur court protected the Manichaean communities in the time of the eighth to tenth centuries.

A recently published new interpretation of the Judeo-Persian letters from Khotan by Yutaka Yoshida explains the existence of Sogdian words in this New Persian text with a Jewish merchant, speaking Sogdian and New Persian, who wrote these letters at the beginning of the Persianization of Sogdiana (Yoshida 2019b, 392). Nevertheless, there is no more evidence of Jewish texts in that area. [6]

Because of the fragmentary state of the literature on the different religions and the pieces of text fragments itself, it is difficult to make definitive conclusions about the role of these religions among the Sogdians in the diaspora. There are preserved Sogdian texts of several religions, which means that religion could not serve as the only feature of identification. Even though there are differences between vocabulary, features of grammar, and orthography, one cannot deduce a kind of religious language typically only for one or the other religion. Nevertheless, there are at least two Christian dialects represented in the texts from Bulayık, a Western one, connected with the Sogdiana, and an Eastern one, connected with the Christian community of Semirech'e (Yoshida 1980, 2017a). [7]

Table of religious texts from Central Asia in Sogdian language and/or Sogdian script.

Languages	Manichaean script	Sogdian script	East Syriac script	Brāhmī script
Sogdian	Manichaean texts	Buddhist, Christian, Manichaean, and Zoroastrian(?) texts	Christian texts	Buddhist, medical texts
Middle Persian	Manichaean texts	Transcription of Manichaean texts, mostly hymns		
Parthian	Manichaean texts	Transcription of Manichaean texts, mostly hymns		
Uyghur	Headlines, Bilinguals	Bilinguals, parts of texts, colophones, words, names		
Chinese		Transcription of Buddhist texts		

Languages	Manichaean script	Sogdian script	East Syriac script	Brāhmī script
Syriac		Sogdian texts with Syriac rubrics	Bilingual, beginnings, Syriac texts with Sogdian rubrics, Sogdian texts, with Syriac rubrics	

Of course, the Manichaean, Buddhist, and Christian texts are written in other languages and scripts as well. A small amount of very fragmentary texts is written in Brāhmī script. Only a few of them have been identified as yet.   [8]

Sogdians and Their Religions Seen in Sogdian Sources

Buddhism

Although it is understood that Iranians ("Yuezhi," i.e. Kuṣāṇa, maybe with the help of Sogdi- [9]
ans, Tremblay 2007, 93–94) transferred Buddhist texts to Central Asia and China, where they
were translated into Chinese, most of the texts found in Central Asia are later translations ei-
ther from an unknown language or Tocharian, but mostly from Chinese versions. Therefore,
one can conclude that in this case the Sogdian merchants came into contact with Buddhism
in China and possibly used it to strengthen their commercial contacts. Yutaka Yoshida con-
firms Xavier Tremblay's description of Sogdian Buddhism as a "colonial" one (Tremblay 2007,
95; apud Yoshida 2013a, 155). A recent representative overview about the Buddhist litera-
ture of the Sogdians is given by Yoshida (2009, 2015). At the same time and up to now
he has published several important articles discussing single items of the Buddhist Sogdian
texts and editing matching fragments. He is studying the representation of the different Bud-
dhist schools which appear in the Buddhist Sogdian texts. Scholars initially assumed that the
Sogdians followed the Mahāyāna school because the first texts analysed were translations of
Chinese Mahāyāna texts. The school of Mahāyāna, which means "large vehicle," teaches that
all people can reach the Buddhahood, in contrast to the early Buddhist school of Theravāda,
which teaches that only a very strict monastic life can lead to the arhatship of single monks.
Yoshida found evidence of Vinaya texts of the Theravāda school and, most recently, parts of
texts which "seem to have been produced in the cultural context of the (Mūla)sarvāstivādin
school" (2019a, 159). These texts are not translated from Chinese texts but relate to Tochar-
ian and Uyghur versions. The bulk of the extant texts are nevertheless parts of various kinds
of Mahāyāna texts related to several directions of thought like Madhyamaka, Amitābha, Chan
(known today as Zen Buddhism) and some kinds of esoteric Buddhism (Yoshida 2018, 2020b,
196–200). It would go too far to explain these different Buddhist schools here in detail. Im-
portant is the fact that these few Buddhist Sogdian text fragments preserved in the Turfan
area represent a wide range of the Buddhist communities of the area and time among the
Sogdians as well as they come down to us via the Buddhist texts in Chinese, Sanskrit, Tochar-
ian, Saka, Uyghur, and other languages. Recent excavations brought to light some evidence
for Buddhism among Sogdians also in Semirech'e, Kyrgyzstan, in the archaeological site of

Ak-Beshim, which should be established later than Xuanzang's visit there in 630 AD. It is not clear what the nature of this Buddhism is, possibly a kind of mixed esoteric Buddhism of Indian origin, as suggested by a statue of Avalokiteśvara (Yoshida 2020b, 201).

Christianity

Traces of the Christian Syriac "Church of the East," in former times also known as "Nestorian church," were found in several places in Central Asia as grave inscriptions, wall paintings, and text fragments. The bulk of the Christian Sogdian texts was found on the second Turfan expedition at a place called Bulayık in the north of Turfan; a small number were found in the Dunhuang area (Ashurov 2015, 4). The fragments from the Turfan area in many cases are labelled by so-called finding signatures/sigles. They use T for Turfan, followed by the number of the German expedition mentioned above: I – IV. Afterwards the location or ruin is mentioned, in this case B for Bulayık. Often, the number of the package in which the fragment was sent to Berlin is also mentioned. So the Christian fragments mostly are signed with the finding sigle T II B, some of them T III T.V.B., which means that they were found during the third expedition at "Turfaner Vorberge" (the hills near Turfan), another description of the same place. A few fragments were excavated in several other places of the Turfan oasis as well and represent evidence of other and presumably earlier Christian communities, as that of Bulayık (Yoshida 2017a, 156–58; Zieme 2015, 14–15). The Christian community from Bulayık kept and produced texts in Syriac, Sogdian, Uyghur, and in New Persian as well. Most of these texts are written in Syriac script, but some are in Sogdo-Uyghur script as well. From the Old Testament only parts of the psalms are preserved. They are also transcribed into Sogdian script in two manuscripts. One of these manuscripts contains not only psalms but the creed and another hymn in service often used as well (Sims-Williams 2014, 32:7–53, with Martin Schwartz). The other manuscript is characterised by Greek quotations of the beginnings of each psalm in the upper margin (Sims-Williams 2004, 2011). Parts of Sogdian translations of the New Testament are preserved. They are based on the Syriac Peshitta version (Sims-Williams 2009, 275–76). The other Sogdian texts in Syriac script are mostly lectionaries, hagiographical literature, texts referring to monastic life, and some anti-Manichaica (Sims-Williams 2009, 279–83). Although the Manichaeans are not mentioned directly, the contents make clear that it is about Manichaeism because of the discussion about dualism (two eternal beings) and the mention of the two classes of adherents, Electi and Hearers. Another anti-Manichaean text fragment refers to the doctrine of transmigration. A third very defective passage mentions praying to idols (Sims-Williams 2009, 283–87, 2019 145–54).

[10]

In addition to the catalogues of the Sogdian Christian fragments mentioned above, the catalogue of the Syriac fragments and the most recent edition of a Syriac Service-Book is an important milestone of the research on this part of the Christian texts from Central Asia (Hunter and Dickens 2015; Hunter and Coakley 2017). Syriac was the ecclesiastical language of the Christian church in the Turfan area, whereas the community was Sogdian or Uyghur speaking. The Old Uyghur Christian texts from Turfan have been published and partly re-edited by Peter Zieme. They are preserved in Syriac and in Uyghur script as well (Zieme 2015). There is a close relation between the Sogdian and Uyghur Christians in Turfan (Sims-Williams 1992).

[11]

Manichaeism

The most important findings in Central Asia are the Manichaean manuscripts, unearthed in the [12]
Turfan oasis by Russian, German, and Japanese expeditions. These were the first original remnants of this extinct religion, which spread in the first millennium CE from the Roman Empire up to Central Asia, to have been discovered. Recent evidence has also been found in China in the province Fujian 福建. Manichaeism was brought to China by the Sogdian merchants at the end of the seventh century (Lieu 1992, 230). There had already been small communities along the Silk Road, like Argi, mentioned in an extensive colophon to the hymn-book *Mahrnāmag,* which has been initiated there in the year 762 AD (Lieu 1992, 229; Müller 1913, 15–16; Henning 1937a, 566 [594] with Fn. 1). The Manichaean religion itself was predestinated for ruling circles and merchants because of its rejection of agricultural work and other crafts, which are held to torture the light soul imprisoned in living beings like plants and animals (Lieu 1992, 98; Durkin-Meisterernst 2015, 252–53). The pre-existing Sogdian network of merchants was surely used by monks for the Manichaean mission, and the merchants themselves played an active role in the diffusion of Manicheism (Sundermann 1995). Possibly they also assimilated as necessary to the situation they found in the locations along their routes. In the East Uyghur Khanate, and afterwards in the West Uyghur Kingdom in the Turfan area, Manichaeism was the state religion and enjoyed the protection of the Uyghur court. In this way the Turfan area became one of the 12 regions where a "Teacher" (*mōžak*) resided, this being the second highest rank among the Manichaean communities in the world after the "Archegos" (MP *pašaγrīw*) (Leurini 2004). Mani, the founder of this religion, who lived in the third century CE in Mesopotamia and in the Sasanian Empire, had himself implemented the hierarchical structure of his church. It is basically divided in clerical "Electi" and lay "Hearers," as mentioned above. Most of the Electi served in the church as monks of minor orders. They were headed by 360 administrators (*mānsārārān*), who themselves were instructed by 72 bishops (*aftādān*). The Manichaean church was departmentalized into 12 regions worldwide, each directed by a "Teacher" (*mōžak*), who was mentioned in the Manichaean literature in the Turfan area. It may emphasize the high importance of the Manichaean community in the Turfan area. Most of the fragments of Manichaean literature, often decorated with fine miniatures, was found in temples of Qočo (Gaochang, near Turfan), where one of the capitals in the West Uyghur Kingdom was located (Moriyasu 2004, 155). In the early tenth century CE many Manichaeans left Mesopotamia for Samarkand because of the persecutions by al-Muqtadir. As established recently by Yutaka Yoshida, the center of the Manichaean community was situated in Turfan at that time. Now the "Archegos," the person of the highest rank in the Manichaean community, resided in Turfan (Yoshida 2017b, 124). The Sogdian letters found in Turfan, published by Werner Sundermann and Yutaka Yoshida, attest to this fact (Sundermann 2007; Yoshida 2017b, 125, 2019c, 43–45). The Manichaean literature of the Turfan area is written in several languages, Middle Persian and Parthian as church languages, Sogdian and Old Uyghur as languages of the communities, and some in New Persian and Tocharian. The Sogdian language played an important role because of the relationship between the Manichaean communities in Samarkand and in the Turfan area, the activities of the Sogdian merchants as distributors of the religion, and the usage of Sogdian as literary language of the Old Uyghurs before they used the Sogdian script for their own texts. Manichaean Sogdian texts were written in Manichaean and Sogdian script as well. The fragments from Turfan preserve translations of Mani's own scripts, hagiographical texts, didactical texts, homilies and sermons, parables, confessional texts, hymns, magical texts, letters, and a few documents. Many of them were parts of miscel-

lanies, collecting texts of different genres respectively texts in different languages. The parts of Mani's writings are translations of course. Some others like the confessional "*Xwāstwānīft*" are translations from Parthian, like the Parthian title "*Xwāstwānīft*" (confession) shows, or from Middle Persian. Some of the didactical texts or tales can be products of the Sogdian communities. There are only very few Sogdian poetical products (Provasi 2009, 347–8; Morano 2017). Mostly, Parthian and Middle Persian hymns were transcribed into Sogdian script to be legible for people who were not able to read the Manichaean script (Reck 2010).

Among the findings from Dunhuang, only very few texts could be identified as Manichaean.   [13]
The most important findings were the Chinese Manichaean texts, housed in London and Paris: the Manichaean hymn scroll, Compendium, and the Traité (Tremblay 2001, 239–40). These texts are important for the Manichaeology because of their volume, good state of preservation, and many details they refer to. They help in the completion of the fragmentary texts in the Middle Iranian fragments, including the Sogdian ones and for comparison of details in the transmission. There are also some Sogdian Manichaean texts from Turfan and Dunhuang in Chinese libraries in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, in the Ōtani collection in Kyōtō, in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris, and in the British Library of London (for example, Sims-Williams 1976, 48–51; Yoshida 2019c, 179–80). There are many articles by Nicholas Sims-Williams, Yutaka Yoshida, Elio Provasi and others about the fragments in the several collections.

The Question Regarding Zoroastrianism

Contrary to the clear evidence for a special kind of Zoroastrianism in the Sogdiana, the find-   [14]
ings in Dunhuang, Turfan are not clearly identifiable (Grenet and Azarnouche 2007; Shenkar 2017; Yoshida 2020a). There were some graves unearthed in China which brought to light well-preserved couches with reliefs which show interesting details of the daily life of the Sogdians. Among them scenes of fire altars are visible (Jiang 2000; Grenet, Riboud, and Junkai 2004). Therefore, Zoroastrianism could be identified also in the diaspora. But as it has been shown, the written sources excavated in the Turfan area demonstrate the presence of other religions. That is why it is under discussion whether Manichaean elements could be discovered in these funerary couch reliefs as well. Zsuzsanna Gulácsi and Jason BeDuhn disproved the first Manichaean identifications, and stress the clear Zoroastrian (in a broader sense) character of the representations of death and afterlife in the reliefs (Gulácsi and BeDuhn 2012). Étienne de la Vaissière identified, in a more recent article, topics like Mani as Maitreya stopping hunting, the lifting of the deceased out of the tossing sea, the three gifts and the judgment scene. He interprets this as a "testimony of a Zoroastrianism of an earlier period, while reflecting the florescence of Manichaeism in sixth century Sogdiana" (De la Vaissière 2005, 2015, 2019, 75). The burial practice of stone couches in China fulfilled the Zoroastrian precept that did not permit bringing corpses into earth, water and fire; neither was it possible to present the corpses in towers of silence. The bilingual epitaphs found at several places in China also give a hint at that solution. They mention the passage *k*ʾ*w s*ʾ*cy wy*ʾʾ*k(kh)* "in a suitable place" for the corpses (Yoshida 2005, 32, l. 32; Bi, Sims-Williams, and Yan 2017, 312, l. 15). This is to be interpreted that the corpses are buried in accordance with the Zoroastrian instructions.

But what about the Sogdian texts from Turfan and Dunhuang? Zarathuštra was held to be   [15]
one of the prophet predecessors of Mani in the Manichaean doctrine. A description of his life was found in some fragments published by Werner Sundermann (1986). Zoroastrian vocabulary and nomenclature are used in the Manichaean myth propagated in the Sasanian Empire

and spread through Central Asia (Hutter 2015). So another Manichaean text, the so-called Zarathuštra fragment, published by Walter B. Henning, uses the person of Zarathuštra as a representative apostle in the dialogue with his soul to explain the myth (Henning 1934, 27 [872]). But these are no Zoroastrian materials, but Manichaean ones. There are some other Sogdian texts which are more closely connected with Zoroastrianism itself. The best known is the fragment from Dunhuang, housed in the British Library, Or. 8212/84 (Ch. 00289) and including the Old Sogdian version of the central Zoroastrian prayer *Ašǝm vohū* (Sims-Williams 1976, 46–48 (Frag. 4) with the Appendix by I. Gershevitch, 75–82). This prayer is very important in Zoroastrianism as it contains the praise of Truth. It concludes many longer prayers like a meditation formula. In this fragment it is continued by the so-called Fragment Japan 1, published by Yutaka Yoshida in 1979 as a Manichaean fragment for philological reasons (1979, 187). In contrast, Frantz Grenet and Samra Azarnouche counted the texts together with the often discussed text P3 closely connected with the sacred scriptures of the Zoroastrians (Benveniste 1940, 3:59–73; Grenet and Azarnouche 2007, 170–73). Also Nicholas Sims-Williams described the fragment of the British Library as a "rare example of Zoroastrian literature in Sogdian" (Sims-Williams apud Whitfield and Sims-Williams 2004, 118). Another fragment of the British Library, Or. 8212/81 (Ch. 00349), written in the same distinctive handwriting, contains an episode about Rustam, one of the most important heroes of the *Šāhnāma*, the "Book of the Kings." Although the episode itself does not occur in the *Šāhnāma*, the Persian words in this text let us assume that the text was translated or adapted from a Middle Persian or New Persian original now lost (Sims-Williams 1976, 54–61, Frag. 13; Sims-Williams apud Whitfield and Sims-Williams 2004, 119; Grenet 2015a, 423). Yutaka Yoshida edited a fragment of the Lushun 旅順-collection, LM20: 1480/22(02) (Yoshida 2013b). This collection is a section of the findings of the Otani expeditions, housed in Lushun Museum in China. This fragment contains Sogdian text with almost complete lines which mentions a lot of names of heroes of the *Šāhnāma* and shows that the Sogdians did not know only Rustam but also other stories of the *Šāhnāma*. This is also proved by the Sogdian names taken from Iranian folklore for figures in the Manichaean Book of Giants, like Narīmān and Sāhm (Colditz 2018, 402 # 378; Lurje 2010, 342 # 1068). The currently unresolved question is whether these manuscripts were literary products, or remnants of a Zoroastrian literature, or parts of the Manichaean literature using Zoroastrian or pagan literary passages. We should not underestimate the oral transfer of Zoroastrian rituals and texts. In addition, one cannot expect a closed, strongly codified Zoroastrianism in the diaspora, as already described above. Finally, among the Turfan manuscripts there is also a fragment with a list of grammatical forms of Middle Persian verbs in heterographic writing in Pahlavi script (Geldner 1904; Barr 1936). It is only a single fragment and must not be overestimated. But it shows that supporting material for the reading of Zoroastrian Pahlavi literature also existed in Turfan, which was not 'normal' travel reading for merchants, but may have been teaching material for scribes (Barr 1936, 396).

Manuscripts of Uncertain Affiliation

There are also some manuscripts in the Berlin Turfan collection which contain text which could not be identified with certainty as Manichaean, Buddhist, or Christian, described in the third part of the catalogue (Reck 2018b, 18 (3):71–139). The problem has already been discussed in several places (Reck 2018a, and Reck forthcoming). Although it would be most likely that they belong to one of the well-known groups of religious fragments, a small prob-

[16]

Figure 1 Photograph of So 16102(2) recto/verso (Photo: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz).

ability remains that they could represent parts of Zoroastrian literature. Unfortunately, most of these uncertain fragments are very small and lack relevant names or items which would allow ascertaining the religious affiliation. Neither do they show formal peculiarities, which can be observed as characteristics for the literature of the several religious groups. That is the reason why such fragments will usually not be published in any way. But they are part of a limited corpus of texts, where every attestation of words is significant for further research and should be discussed. This is the first publication of these small fragments So 16102(2) and So 16146. Both are written in a distinctive kind of the cursive Sogdian script from the same hand. It is not possible to join the fragments to get a more complete text. They contain passages which can be interpreted in several directions. That is why the religious affiliation of these text fragments is not clear. In this way they point out the difficulty of determining a religion of the Sogdians in the Turfan area.

The fragment So 16102(2), T III Š 23/501 (Reck 2018b, 18 (3):93, nr. 1048) has a size of 11.1 x 11.5 cm. On the recto side there are six incomplete lines, on the verso side the end of one line in another script (Fig. 1). [17]

r/1/	](w)yspw mrtxmʾyt ʾ(.)[	] all men [
/2/	](m) ZY wmʾrẓ-ʾntkʾm ʾnʾkw[	] and they will destroy, that [
/3/	n](y)δcw šyrʾkw šmʾrn(t) rty	] they do not think anything good. And [
/4/	](h) ptrʾy-t šyrʾ(y)[	] the fathers good[
/5/	](n) δβtʾyky sʾn βnt(k)[ʾm	] another enemy [will] be bound[
/6/	w/c](ʾ)nʾkw ZK šyrʾy ZY (.)[	]as the good and [
v/1/	](.)n/zm ywγt[y]m	]… I have learned

The fragment So 16146, T III Š 25 (Reck 2018b, 18 (3):95, nr. 1050) has a size of 7.7 x 11.8 cm. On the recto side there are the ends of seven lines (Fig. 2), the verso side is blank. [18]

r/1/	](k)rtr	]cunning/large mass
/2/	](.)w ʾʾtr	]… fire
/3/	]ywn	]…

Figure 2   Photograph of So 16146 (Photo: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz).

/4/	](p/k)t w(.)[3–4](w)	]…
/5/	](.) ptkʾwn	] upside down/heretic
/6/	](.)ʾyt ZY βẓʾykt	]… and evil
/7/	](.)t ZY	] … and

There is no context, nor special terms or names, which could allow a distinction of the   [19]
religious affiliation of these texts. The words on the verso side of So 16102(2) reminds one of
the colophons of Manichaean books, edited and explained by Yutaka Yoshida: ʿyny pwstk/ywkh
ʾz-w … ywγtym, ky Lʾ pyrʾt … sʾr psδ/tʾ "This book/teaching I, […], have learned, who would
not believe it, ask […]" (Yoshida 2000, 83–85; Benkato 2017, 107–11). If there were a relation
between the text on the recto side and the colophon on the verso side, the text on the recto
could be Manichaean. But there are some Buddhist fragments written in the same hand which
contain remnants of this colophon as well (So 10100u, So 10650(21) and So 18285, see Reck
2016, 18 (2):43, nr. 474, 95, nr. 552, and So 18285, nr. 822). Because of that and of the
fact that most of the texts found in Šorcuq during the third expedition (finding sigle T III
Š) are Buddhist, these fragments could be Buddhist as well. The mentioning of ʾʾtr "fire,"
šyrʾy/šyrʾkw "good," and βẓʾykt "evil" could be interpreted as Zoroastrian as well. But the
word ptrʾy-t "fathers" would not be used in Zoroastrian for a higher ranking person, like
a teacher (xwyšt(ʾ)k) (personal information by Kianoosh Rezania). So we cannot propose a
Zoroastrian background for these fragments either. Neither was it possible to clarify whether
they could be Buddhist or Manichaean. We are looking for other texts to compare for better
interpretation, which is necessary for each single text fragment of this corpus.

Multilingualism

The Sogdian religious literature from Turfan and Dunhuang was marked by a multilingual-   [20]
ism which is based on the offspring of the religions represented in it and in the diversity of
the population. The church languages of the Eastern expansion of Manichaeans were Middle
Persian and Parthian, the languages of the missionary activities. Mani's Aramaic works had
been translated mostly into Middle Persian, others by the missionaries, like Mār Ammō, into
Parthian. Only one Syriac Manichaean fragment (M 260/r/6–12) with ends of lines, com-
pleted by means of transcriptions in the Chinese Hymns Scroll by Yutaka Yoshida (Yoshida
1983; see Pedersen and Larsen 2013, 1:3, 125 fn. 79, 126), is preserved in the Berlin Tur-

fan collection (Durkin-Meistererrnst 2006). There are preserved parts of translations of Mani's works among the Turfan fragments, like the "Living Gospel" (translated into MP and bilingual into Sogdian as well, see Müller 1904, 25–27, 100–104; MacKenzie 1994; Shokri-Foumeshi 2015), the "Book of Giants" (translated into MP, Sogdian and Parthian, see Henning and B. 1943; Sundermann 2001; Morano 2016; there are some fragments of translations into Old Uyghur, see Wilkens 2000, 173–77, nr. 164–168), the "Psalms" (translated into MP, Sogdian and Parthian, see Durkin-Meistererrnst and Morano 2010; Iain Gardner detected the accordance of a Greek prayer with quotations of the daily prayers in the *Fihrist* by An-Nadīm and in the Middle Iranian psalms; see Gardner 2011), and part of the so-called "Letter of the Seal" (translated into MP and Sogdian, see Henning 1937b; Reck 2009). Possibly the Middle Persian cycle "The Speech of the Living Soul" was composed by Mani as well. Some fragments also preserve Sogdian translations of this cycle. Most of the Parthian sermons were translated into Sogdian and Old Uyghur as well. It shows the importance of these works for the didactic purposes among the Sogdian and Uyghur communities. The hymns are mostly Parthian. They have not been translated into Sogdian but transcribed into the Sogdian script, so that people who were not able to read the Manichaean script anymore, could nevertheless read the hymns. Therefore, we have some Sogdian literary products in Manichaean and in Sogdian script as well (Henning and B. 1945, 465–69). Preserved fragments of bifolios or folios written in one hand belong mostly to miscellanies collecting parts of various works or hymns in various languages. Often the language of the headlines or liturgical advices differs from the following text. These liturgical advices are often Sogdian, which traces back to the Manichaean church in the Sogdiana preserved in the Uyghur community in Turfan as well. The material shows a close relationship to the Old Uyghur literature of that area. Further research would require a closer cooperation of specialists in the fields of Middle Iranian and Old Uyghur studies. The Christian material is multilingual as well: Syriac by origin, translated into Sogdian and Old Uyghur for liturgical and didactic purposes. The community in Turfan seemed to be dominantly Uyghur, as seen by the names and the documents.

The Buddhist texts are written only in the Sogdian language and Sogdian script. But the colophons mostly list Old Uyghur names or Sogdian and Uyghur names side by side. So the question of who wrote these texts, Uyghurs or Sogdians, cannot be answered with certainty. Linguistic arguments lead Yutaka Yoshida, in accordance with Nicholas Sims-Williams, to conclude that Turkicised Sogdophones wrote the Sogdian Turfan materials rather than Sogdianised Turcophones (2012, 57–58). [21]

Conclusion

The article shows the different religions followed by Sogdians in their homeland and in the diaspora as well. Sogdian merchants brought Manichaeism along the Silk Road from Samarkand to Central Asia. In Turfan these religions flourished among the Uyghurs who used the Sogdian language and script. So the written sources show an amalgamation of Sogdian and Old Uyghur. The same happened with the small Christian communities. The texts attest a strong influence by the Sogdians and a continuation by the Uyghurs. [22]

In contrast, the Sogdians came into contact with Buddhism in China only and traded it eastwards in Turfan and Dunhuang. The text fragments do not belong to a special Buddhist school but represent a considerable variety. [23]

The special kind of Zoroastrianism in the Sogdiana cannot be seen in the same way in [24]

the diaspora. But there are traces of Zoroastrianism and Old Iranian culture to be observed in archaeological and literary remnants. In the diaspora one can assume several forms of mutual interference. The details are still in discussion.

Thus at the end one cannot establish a single religion as identifying factor for Sogdians. [25] Sogdians were inspired by several religious communities and practices they came into contact with and carried it along their commercial routes. Eventually, Sogdians merged with other social and religious communities and ceased to appear in historical sources.

Image Rights

Images courtesy of "Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften [26] in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz Orientabteilung."

References

Ashurov, Barakatullo. 2015. "Sogdian Christian Texts: The Manifestation of 'Sogdian Christianity'." *Manuscripta Orientalia* 21 (1): 3–17.

———. 2019. " 'Sogdian Christianity': Evidence from Architecture and Material Culture." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 29: 127–68.

Barr, Kaj. 1936. "Remarks on the Pahlavi Ligatures …." *BSOS*, Indian and Iranian Studies, presented to George Abraham Grierson on his Eighty-Fifth Birthday, 8 (2-3): 391–403.

Benkato, Adam. 2017. *Āzandnāmē: An Edition and Literary-Critical Study of the Manichaean-Sogdian Parable-Book*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.

Benveniste, Emile. 1940. *Codices Sogdiani: Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale (Mission Pelliot). Reproduits en fac-similé avec un introduction par E. Benveniste*. Vol. 3. Monumenta Linguarum Asiæ Maioris. Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard.

Bi, Bo, Nicholas Sims-Williams, and Yan Yan. 2017. "Another Sogdian-Chinese Bilingual Epitaph." *BSOAS* 89 (2): 305–18.

Boyce, Mary. 1960. *Catalogue of the Iranian Manuscripts in Manichean Script in the German Turfan Collection*. Veröffentlichung Des Instituts Für Orientforschung Der Deutschen Akademie Der Wissenschaften Zu Berlin 45. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.

Colditz, Iris. 1992. "Hymnen an Šād-Ohrmezd: Ein Beitrag zur frühen Geschichte der Dīnāwarīya in Transoxanien." *Altorientalische Forschungen* 19 (2): 322–41.

———. 1994. "Shād Ohrmezd and the Early History of the Manichaean Dīnāwarīya-Community." In *Bamberger Zentralasienstudien: Konferenzakten ESCAS IV, Bamberg, 8.–12. Oktober 1991*, edited by Ingeborg Baldauf and Michael Friederich, IV, Bamberg, 8:229–34. Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag.

———. 2018. "Namen in manichäischer Überlieferung." In *Mitteliranische Namen*. Vols. 2, Fasc. 1. Iranisches Personennamenbuch. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie Wissenschaften.

De la Vaissière, Étienne. 2005. "Mani En Chine Au VIe Siècle." *Journal Asiatique* 293: 357–78.

———. 2015. "Wirkak: Manichaean, Zoroastrian, Khurrami?" *Studies on the Inner Asian Languages*, 95–112.

———. 2019. "The Faith of Wirkak the Dēnāwar, or Manichaeism as Seen from a Zoroastrian Point of View." *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 29: 69–78.

Dodge, Bayard. 1970. *The Fihrist of Al-Nadīm: A Tenth-Century Survey of Muslim Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Durkin-Meisterernst, Desmond. 2006. "Aramaic in the Manichaean Turfan Texts." In *Iranian Languages and Texts from Iran and Turan: Ronald E. Emmerick Memorial Volume*, edited by Maria Macuch, Mauro Maggi, and Werner Sundermann, 59–74. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

———. 2015. "Was Manichaeism A Merchant Religion?" In *Journal of Turfan Studies: Essays on Ancient Coins and Silk: Selected Papers of the Fourth International Conference on Turfan Studies, edited by Academia Turfanica and Turfan Museum*, edited by Academia Turfanica and Turfan Museum, 245–56. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji chubanshe.

Durkin-Meisterernst, Desmond, and Enrico Morano. 2010. *Mani's Psalms: Middle Persian, Parthian and Sogdian Texts in the Turfan Collection*. Vol. 27. Berliner Turfantexte. Turnhout: Brepols.

Gardner, Iain. 2011. " 'With a Pure Heart and a Truthful Tongue': The Recovery of the Text of the Manichean Daily Prayers." *Journal of Late Antiquity* 4 (1): 79–99.

Geldner, Karl Friedrich. 1904. "Bruchstück eines Pehlevi-Glossars aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkestan." *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1136–7.

Gharib, Badri. 1995. *Sogdian dictionary: Sogdian-Persian-English*. Tehran: Farhangan Publications.

Grenet, Frantz. 2015a. "Between Written Texts, Oral Performances and Mural Paintings: Illustrated Scrolls in Pre-Islamic Central Asia." In *Orality and Textuality in the Iranian World: Patterns of Interaction Across the Centuries*, edited by Julia Rubanovich, 422–45. Leiden-Boston: Brill.

———. 2015b. "The Sogdian Pantheon." In *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Zoroastrianism*, edited by Michael Stausberg, Yuhan Sohrab-Dinshaw Vevaina, and Anna Tessmann, 129–46. Wiley Blackwell.

Grenet, Frantz, and Samra Azarnouche. 2007. "Where Are the Sogdian Magi?" *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 21: 159–77.

Grenet, Frantz, Pénélope Riboud, and Yang Junkai. 2004. "Zoroastrian Scenes on a Newly Discovered Sogdian Tomb in Xi'an, Northern China." *Studia Iranica* 33 (2): 273–84.

Gulácsi, Zsuzsanna, and Jason BeDuhn. 2012. "The Religion of Wirkak and Wiyusi: The Zoroastrian Iconographic Program on a Sogdian Sarcophagus from Sixth-Century Xi'an." *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 26: 1–32.

Henning, Walter. 1934. "Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan III." Edited by Phil-hist Kl SbPAW. *SbPAW* Phil.-hist. Kl.: 846–912.

———. 1937a. "Argi and the Tocharians." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 9: 545–71.

———. 1937b. "Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch." *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1: 417–557.

Henning, Walter, and B. 1943. "The Book of the Giants." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 11 (1): 52–74.

———. 1945. "Sogdian Tales." *BSOS* 11 (3): 465–87.

Hunter, Erica, and John F. Coakley. 2017. *A Syriac Service-Book from Turfan: Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin MS MIK III 45*. Vol. 39. Berliner Turfantexte. Turnhout: Brepols.

Hunter, Erica, and Mark Dickens. 2015. *Syrische Handschriften, Teil 2: Texte der Berliner Turfansammlung. Syriac Texts from the Berlin Turfan Collection.* Vols. 5, 2. Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Hutter, Manfred. 2015. "Manichaeism in Iran." In *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Zoroastrianism,* edited by Michael Stausberg, Yuhan Sohrab-Dinshaw Vevaina, and Anna Tessmann, 477–89. Wiley Blackwell.

Jiang, Boqin. 2000. "The Zoroastrian Art of the Sogdians in China." Edited by Bruce Doar and Bruce Doar. *China Archaeology and Art Digest,* Zoroastrianism in China, 4 (1): 35–71.

Leurini, Claudia. 2004. "Pasāgrīw – 'Thronfolger' Manis." In *Turfan Revisited: The First Century of Research into the Arts and Cultures of the Silk Road,* edited by Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, Simone-Christiane Raschmann, Jens Wilkens, Marianne Yaldiz, and Peter Zieme, 159–62. Berlin: Dietrich-Reimer-Verlag.

Lieu, Samuel N. C. 1992. *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China.* 2nd ed. Tübingen: Mohr.

Lurje, Pavel. 2010. "Personal Names in Sogdian Texts." In *Mitteliranische Personennamen,* Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Vols. 2, Fasc. 8. Iranisches Personennamenbuch. Wien.

MacKenzie, David N. 1976. *The Buddhist Sogdian Texts of the British Library.* Edited by David N. MacKenzie. Vol. 10. Acta Iranica. Leiden/Teheran: Brill.

———. 1994. "'I Mani …'." In *Gnosisforschung Und Religionsgeschichte. Festschrift Für Kurt Rudolph Zum 65. Geburtstag,* edited by Holger Preissler, 183–98. Marburg: Diagonal-Verlag.

Mode, Markus. 2003. "Die Religion der Sogder im Spiegel ihrer Kunst." In *Die vorislamischen Religionen Mittelasiens,* edited by Karl Jettmar and Ellen Kattner, 141–218. Die Religionen der Menschheit, 4 (3). Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer.

Morano, Enrico. 2007. "A Working Catalogue of the Berlin Sogdian Fragments in Manichaean Script." Edited by Maria Macuch and Mauro Maggi. *Iranian Languages and Texts from Iran and Turan: Ronald E. Emmerick Memorial Volume,* Iranica, 13: 23–70.

———. 2016. "Some New Sogdian Fragments Related to Mani's Book of Giants and the Problem of the Influence of Jewish Enochic Literature." In *Ancient Tales of Giants from Qumran and Turfan Contexts, Traditions, and Influences,* edited by Matthew Goff, Loren T. Stuckenbruck, and Enrico Morano, 187–98. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck.

———. 2017. "Some New Sogdian Fragments Related to Mani's Book of Giants and the Problem of the Influence of Jewish Enochic Literature." In *Manichaeism East and West,* edited by Samuel N. C. Lieu, Erica Hunter, Enrico Morano, and Nils Arne Pedersen. Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum: Analecta Manichaica 1. Tunhout: Brepols.

Moriyasu, Takao. 2004. *Die Geschichte des uigurischen Manichäismus an der Seidenstraße: Forschungen zu manichäischen Quellen und ihrem geschichtlichen Hintergrund.* Translated by Christian Steineck. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Müller, Friedrich W. 1904. *Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkistan: II. Teil.* APAW. Berlin.

———. 1913. *Ein Doppelblatt aus einem Manichäischen Hymnenbuch (Maḥrnāmag).* APAW. Berlin.

Pedersen, Nils Arne, and John Møller Larsen. 2013. *Manichaean Texts in Syriac: First Editions, New Editions, and Studies, Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum.* Vol. 1. Series Syriaca. Turnhout: Brepols.

Provasi, Elio. 2009. "Versification in Sogdian." In *Exegisti monumenta: Festschrift in Honour of Nicholas Sims-Williams*, edited by Almut Hintze, Werner Sundermann, and François de Blois, 347–68. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Ragoza, A. N. 1980. *Sogdijskie Fragmenty: Central'no Aziatskogo Sobranija Instituta Vostokovedenija: Faksimile. Izdanie Tekstov, čtenie, Perevod, Predislovie, Primečanija I Glossarij.* Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Nauka.

Reck, Christiane. 2006. *Mitteliranische Handschriften, Teil 1: Berliner Turfanfragmente manichäischen Inhalts in soghdischer Schrift.* Vol. 18 (1). VOHD. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

———. 2009. "A Sogdian Version of Mani's Letter of the Seal." In *New Light on Manichaeism: Papers from the Sixth International Congress on Manichaeism*, edited by Jason D. BeDuhn, 225–39. Leiden/Boston: Brill.

———. 2010. "Some Remarks on the Manichaean Fragments in Sogdian Script in the Berlin Turfan Collection." In *The Way of Buddha 2003: The 100th Anniversary of the Otani Mission and the 50th of the Research Society for Central Asian Cultures*, edited by T. Irisawa, 69–74. Cultures of the Silk Road and Modern Science 1. Kyoto: Ryukoku University.

———. 2014. "The Middle Iranian Manuscripts from the Berlin Turfan Collection: Diverstiy, Origin and Reuse." In *Lecteurs et Copistes Dans Les Traditions Manuscrits Iraniennes, Indiennes et Centrasiatiques- Scribes and Readers in Iranian, Indian and Central Asian Manuscript Traditions*, edited by Nalini Balbir and Maria Szuppe, 541–53, XXI–XXIII. Eurasian Studies 14. Rome/Halle-Wittenberg: Istituto per l'Oriente/ Orientalisches Institut der Martin-Luther-Universität.

———. 2016. *Mitteliranische Handschriften, Teil 2: Berliner Turfanfragmente Buddhistischen Inhalts in Soghdischer Schrift.* Vol. 18 (2). VOHD. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

———. 2018a. "Manichäisch Oder Christlich? Detektivische Arbeit an Einem Soghdischen Turfanfragment." In *Der östliche Manichäismus Im Spiegel Seiner Buch- Und Schriftkultur*, edited by Zekinie Özertural and Gökhan Şilfeler, 97–104. Berlin: De Gruyter.

———. 2018b. *Mitteliranische Handschriften, Teil 3: Berliner Turfanfragmente Christlichen Inhalts Und Varia in Soghdischer Schrift.* Vol. 18 (3). VOHD. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Reeves, John C. 2011. *Prolegomena to a History of Islamicate Manichaeism.* Sheffield/Oakville: Equinox Publishing.

Shenkar, Michael. 2017. "The Religion and the Pantheon of the Sogdians (5th-8th Centuries CE) in Light of Their Sociopolitical Structures." *Journal Asiatique* 305 (2): 191–209.

Shokri-Foumeshi, Mohammad. 2015. *Mani's Living Gospel and the Ewangelyōnīg Hymns.* Qom: The University of Religions and Denominations Press.

Sims-Williams, Nicholas. 1976. "The Sogdian Fragments of the British Library." *Indo-Iranian Journal* 18: 43–82.

———. 1989. "Sogdian." In *Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum*, edited by Rüdiger Schmitt, 173–92. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.

———. 1992. "Sogdian and Turkish Christians in the Turfan and Tun-Huang Manuscripts." In *Turfan and Tun-Huang. The Texts. Encounter of Civilizations on the Silk Route*, edited by Alfredo Cadonna, 43–61. Firenze: Olschki.

———. 2004. "A Greek-Sogdian Bilingual from Bulayïq." In *La Persia E Bisanzio. Convegno Internazionale, Roma, 14-18 Ottobre 2002*, 623–31. Rome: Accademia nazionale dei lincei.

———. 2009. "Christian Literature in Middle Iranian Languages." In *The Literature of Pre-Islamic Iran*, edited by Ronald E. Emmerick and Maria Macuch, 1:266–87. A History of Persian Literature 17. London: Tauris.

———. 2011. "A New Fragment of the Book of Psalms in Sogdian." In *Bibel, Byzanz Und Christlicher Orient: Festschrift Für Stephen Gerö Zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by Dmitrij Bumazhnov, Emmanouela Grypeou, Timothy B. Sailors, and Alexander Toepel, 461–65. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 187. Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters.

———. 2012. *Mitteliranische Handschriften, Teil 4: Iranian Manuscripts in Syriac Script in the Berlin Turfan Collection*. VOHD, 18 (4). Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

———, ed. 2014. *Biblical and Other Christian Sogdian Texts from the Turfan Collection*. Vol. 32. Berliner Turfantexte. Turnhout: Brepols.

———, ed. 2019. *From Liturgy to Pharmacology: Christian Sogdian Texts from the Turfan*. Vol. 45. Berliner Turfantexte. Turnhout: Brepols.

Sundermann, Werner. 1986. "Bruchstücke einer manichäischen Zarathustralegende." In *Studia Grammatica Iranica. Festschrift für Helmut Humbach*, edited by Rüdiger Schmitt and Prods O. Skjærvø, 461–82. München: Röll.

———. 1995. "Die Parabel von den schätzesammelnden Kaufleuten." In *Au carrefour des religions mélanges offerts à Philippe Gignoux, publié par le Groupe pour l'Étude de la Civilisation du Moyen-Orient*, 285–96. Bures-sur-Yvette: Groupe pour l'Étude de la Civilisation du Moyen-Orient.

———. 2001. "The Book of Giants." In *Encyclopædia Iranica*, edited by Ehsan Yarshater, 10:592–94. New York: Encyclopædia Iranica Foundation.

———. 2007. "Eine Re-Edition zweier manichäisch-soghdischer Briefe." In *In Iranian languages and texts from Iran and Turan. Ronald E. Emmerick memorial volume*, edited by Maria Macuch, Mauro Maggi, and Werner Sundermann, 403–21. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Tremblay, Xavier. 2001. *Pour une histoire de la Sérinde*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

———. 2007. "The Spread of Buddhism in Serindia: Buddhism Among Iranians, Tocharians and Turks Before the 13th Century." In *The Spread of Buddhism*, edited by Ann Heirman and Stephan Peter Bumbacher, 75–129. Handbook of Oriental Studies 8: Central Asia 16. Leiden: Brill.

Whitfield, Susan, and Ursula Sims-Williams, eds. 2004. *The Silk Road: Trade, Travel, War and Faith*. London: British Library.

Wilkens, Jens. 2000. *Alttürkische Handschriften, Teil 8: Manichäisch-türkische Texte der Berliner Turfansammlung*. VOHD, 18 (3). Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Yoshida, Yutaka. 1979. "On the Sogdian Infinitives." *Ajia Afurika Gengo Bunka Kenkyū (Journal of Asian and African Studies)* 18: 181–95.

———. 1980. "On the Dialectology of Christian Sogdian." *Bulletin of the Society for Near Eastern Studies in Japan* 23: 83–93.

———. 1983. "Manichaean Aramaic in the Chinese Hymnscroll." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 46: 326–31.

———. 2000. "First Fruits of Ryūkoku-Berlin Joint Project on the Turfan Iranian Manuscripts." *Acta Asiatica: Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture* 78: 71–85.

———. 2005. "Excavation of Shi's Tomb of the Northern Zhou Dynasty at Sabao Near Xi'an." *WenWu (Cultural Relics)* 3: 4–33.

———. 2009. "Buddhist Literature in Sogdian." In *The Literature of Pre-Islamic Iran*, edited by Ronald E. Emmerick and Maria Macuch, 1:288–329. A History of Persian Literature 17. London: Tauris.

———. 2012. "New Turco-Sogdian Documents and Their Socio-Linguistic Backgrounds." In *Yu Yan Bei Hou de Li Shi: Xi Yu Gu Dian Yu Yan Xue Gao Feng Lun Tan Lun Wen Ji [the History Behind the Languages: Essays of Turfan Forum on Old Languages of the Silk Road]*, edited by Xinjiang Tulufanxue Yanjie yuan [Academia Turfanica], 48–59. Shanghai: Shanghai Gusi Chubanshe.

———. 2013a. "Buddhist Texts Produced by the Sogdians in China." In *Buddhism Among the Iranian Peoples of Central Asia*, edited by Matteo Chiara, Mauro Maggi, and Giuliana Martini, 1:155–79. Multilingualism and History of Knowledge. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Wissenschaften.

———. 2013b. "Heroes of the Shahnama in a Turfan Sogdian Text: A Sogdian Fragment Found in the Lushun Otani Collection." In *Sogdijcy, Ix Predšestvenniki, Sofremenniki I Nasledniki [Sogdians, Their Precursors, Contemporaries and Heirs]*, 201–18. St. Petersburg.

———. 2015. "A Handlist of Buddhist Sogdian Texts." *Kyōto Daigaku Bungakubu Kenkyū Kiyō [Memoirs of the Faculty of Letters, Kyoto University]* 54: 167–80.

———. 2017a. "Chūgoku Torufan Oyobi Sogudiana No Sogudo Jin Keikyōto Ōtani Tankentai Shōrai Saiiki Bunka Shiryō 2497 Go Teiki Suru Mondai [Christian Sogdians in China, Turfan, and Sogdiana: Problems Raised by a Christian Sogdian Text Ōtani 2497]." In *Ōtani Tankentai Shūshū Saiki Kogo Bunken Ronshū Bukkyō, Manikyō, Keikyō [Essays on the Manuscripts Written in Central Asian Languages in the Otani Collection: Buddhism, Manichaeism, and Christianity]*, edited by Takashi Irisawa and Koichi Kitsudo, 155–80. Kyoto: Research Institute for Buddhist Culture, Ryukoku University and Research Center for World Buddhist Cultures, Ryukoku University.

———. 2017b. "Relationship Between Sogdiana and Turfan During the 10th-11th Centuries as Reflected in Manichaean Sogdian Texts." *Journal of the International Silk Roads Studies* 1: 113–25.

———. 2018. "On the Sogdian Version of the Lengqie Shiziji and Related Problems." *Asian Research Trends New Series* 13: 1–30.

———. 2019a. "On the Sogdian Prātihārya-Sūtra and the Related Problems: One Aspect of the Buddhist Sogdian Texts from Turfan." *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hung* 72 (2): 141–63.

———. 2019b. "Some New Interpretations of the Two Judeo-Persian Letters from Khotan." In *A Thousand Judgements: Festschrift for Maria Macuch*, edited by Almut Hintze, Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, and Claudius Naumann, 385–94. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

———. 2019c. *Three Manichaean Sogdian Letters Unearthed in Bäzäklik, Turfan*. Kyoto: Rinsen Book Co.

———. 2020a. "Introduction." Edited by Yutaka Yoshida. *Acta Asiatica 119: Sogdians in Sogdiana, China, and Turfan During the Sixth Century*, iii–ix.

———. 2020b. "Sogudogo No Mikkyō Kyōten to Semirechie Bukkyō [Some Problems Surrounding Sogdian Esoteric Texts and the Buddhism of Semirechi'e]." In *Teikyō Daigaku Bunka Zaiken Kenkyū Hōkokushodai*, 19:193–203.

Zieme, Peter. 2015. *Altuigurische Texte Der Kirche Des Ostens Aus Zentralasien [Old Uigur Texts of the Church of the East from Central Asia]*. Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies 41. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press.

The "Brilliant Teaching"

Iranian Christians in Tang China and Their Identity

MAX DEEG [iD]

School of History, Archaeology and Religion, Cardiff University

ABSTRACT The last three decades or so have seen an increasing interest in the early history of Christianity in China, particularly in Christian communities in the Tang period. One of the pertinent questions asked—particularly by theologians—is whether the "Brilliant Teaching" (Jingjiao), as the religion called itself in Chinese, had a substantial number of Chinese converts, i.e. whether it was a proselytizing religion or rather an Iranian diaspora religion. While recent documents and new interpretations of existing sources has made it probable that we are indeed dealing with an "expat" religious community, the question of the cultural and religious identity of this community has not really been addressed: they were using Syriac as their liturgical and communal language, but were Persian, Sogdian and maybe even Bactrian in terms of origin and culture. This paper will summarize the data we can get from Chinese sources and discuss them in the light of religious and cultural identity.

KEYWORDS Identity, Chinese Christianity, Tang, Iranian, Persian, Jingjiao

Introduction

In the year 1625, workers discovered a monumental, inscribed stone slab in the city of Xi'an 西安, the former capital of the Tang Empire Chang'an 長安. The text, dated to the year 781, traces the history of the Christian community, which labelled itself as adhering to and believing in the "Brilliant Teaching" (Jingjiao 景教) from the advent of a Christian priest Aluoben 阿羅本 in the Tang capital in the year 638 to its erection more than one hundred and fifty years later, in 781. Although the main part of the inscription is written in elegant classical Chinese, at the bottom and on its side it has passages and short blocks in the Estrangelo script and in the Syriac language, which immediately identifies the community referred to in the inscription as believers of the "(Apostolic) Church of the East," often misnamed "Nestorians." The inscription, although it referred to its origin in a region called Daqin 大秦, also has clear references to Bosi 波斯, i.e. Persia.

[1]

The document, with the full title Jingjiao-liuxing-zhongguo-bei 景教流行中國碑, "Stele In [2]
scription of the Brilliant Teaching's Spread to the Middle Kingdom," has not only lured Sinologists and not-so-much Sinologists into either delivering a translation of or commenting
on the whole text or certain aspects of it.[1] The source also raises certain questions about
the nature of the earliest Christian communities in China of the Tang 唐 dynasty (618–907).
One of the ubiquitous questions scholars have pondered about—particularly those who came
from a Christian theological background—was whether there were Chinese converts in the
Christian communities in Tang China. While it is intriguingly difficult to answer this question
with final certainty—I myself am rather inclined to suggest that there were no such converts,
or if so, only very few—it is clear from the inscription and other sources about Christianity
under the Tang that the main body of Christians were Iranians,[2] and that the Tang Christian
church was predominantly a diaspora community of soldiers, merchants and administrators.
This paper will address and discuss some aspects of how this community—while I am using
this term in the singular, I am fully aware of the complex historical reality of a multi-cultural
minority group in a centralized state like that of the Tang—attempted to cope with its specific
socio-political situation and how this was expressed through a carefully defined self-identity
which is reflected partly in the few sources of and about this community which have survived.

How "Persian" are the Christian Documents of the Tang Period?

Since its discovery in the early seventeenth century, the stele inscription of Xi'an, as it was [3]
called, was the only document to testify to the existence of Christian communities belonging
to the Church of the East, with its centre in Ctesiphon-Seleukia in the Sasanian heartland
and, later, in the first Islamic Caliphates. These Christians called their religion Jingjiao 景教,
"Brilliant Teaching," in Chinese and had, if we believe only part of the quite propagandistic
and self-eulogizing content of the inscription, a continuous place in the religious landscape
of the Tang Empire and, at times, quite a close relationship with the imperial court. More information came to light at the beginning of the twentieth century, when Chinese manuscripts
of obviously Christian content were discovered in the famous library cave of Dunhuang 敦
煌 and in Chinese private manuscript collections.[3] These texts, rather more compendia of
Christian teachings than translations or historiographical works, do not really contribute to
our understanding of the Tang church's constitution and self-identity other than by the fact
that most of the texts have the toponym Daqin 大秦 in the title, which I will discuss here in
more detail. Some additional information was also recently provided by an inscribed octagonal *dhāraṇī* pillar, discovered in the year 2006 in the former Eastern capital of Luoyang 洛
陽, which contains, apart from quoting one of the texts known from the extant manuscripts,
information about the Jingjiao community in the eastern capital of Luoyang 洛陽 (see Tang
and Winkler 2009).

Nevertheless, the Xi'an stele delivers the bulk of data for reconstructing, if not necessarily [4]
the full history, at least the self-perception of the Church of the East in China of the Tang. Erica

---

1   On the history of the stele after its re-discovery, see Keevak (2008).
2   On the image of the Iranians under the Tang, see Abramson (2008).
3   For an overview of these texts, see Riboud (2001), and Deeg (2015b). I should point out that I have only
    included secondary literature relevant to my argument and have not made full use of the many Chinese
    publications on Jingjiao, its history and sources, particularly those by Lin Wushu, Rong Xinjiang, and
    others; nor will I discuss the problematic translations and interpretations of Peter Yoshirō Saeki here. For
    a full bibliographical overview, see Nicolini-Zani (2006).

Hunter has analysed "the Persian contribution to Christianity in China" in the stele inscription and found "affirmation of the fundamentally 'Persian' character of the church which was directly linked with the patriarchate in Seleucia-Ctesiphon" (Hunter 2009, 71). Other scholars, like Samuel Lieu in his article with the slightly provoking title "The 'Romanitas' of the Xi'an Inscription," have, indirectly at least, questioned the 'Persian-ness' of the Christian communities in Tang China (Lieu 2013).[4]

Some Thoughts on "Identity" in the Context of the Christian Documents from the Tang

The observations that the family of the 'author' of the stele inscription, Jingjing 景淨, or Adam, hailed from Balkh—for which the Chinese part of the stele provides the name "City of Royal Residence" (*wangshe zhi cheng* 王舍之城) (Deeg 2015a)—in Bactria or Tokharistan, and that the community referred to in the so-called Luoyang *dhāraṇī* pillar inscription were, concluding from their names, predominantly Sogdians, raises the question of identity: they all were Christians and probably spoke Iranian languages like Persian, Sogdian or Bactrian—but to what extent did they share a cultural Iranian (?) identity—for instance in the sense of a real or, after the fall of the Sasanian Empire, an imagined Ērānšahr? In order to address this question—or rather: set of questions—I would like to apply the concept of multiple identities and identity markers.[5] By the latter, I understand any semiotically discernible feature expressing linguistic, ethnic, religious or other forms of cultural identity or belonging. This goes together with modern conceptualizations of identity as being rather an ongoing act than an unchangeable character of an individual or a community or social group.[6] It may also be appropriate to differentiate, in this context, between ascribed identity (German "zugeschriebene Identität") and self-conscious (or self-constructed) identity (German "Eigenidentität"), as both need not necessarily be identical and may even change in specific contexts.[7]

[5]

We have to be careful not to confound these emic forms of identity too easily with linguistically and mostly constructed etic meta-identities such as "Iranian" (or, in other contexts, Germanic, Slavonic, Celtic, etc.; see Pohl, Gantner, and Payne 2012). From this observation, then, provocative questions like the following may arise: Was there something that allowed different social groups or individuals, particularly in a diaspora situation such as the one Persians—in the wider sense of the word—found themselves in Tang China, to have a common feeling of identity? Was this common identity due to the fact that they came from the same historically and culturally shaped imperial region, the Sasanian empire and its spheres

[6]

---

4   This tradition, mainly based on the identification of Daqin (see below) as referring to Syria and / or Rome, goes back to Hirth. The equation Daqin = Fulin 拂菻 (Rome) is first found in the Jiu-Tangshu 舊唐書 (Hirth 1885, 51).

5   "… because identification makes no sense outside relationships, whether between individuals or groups, there are hierarchies of scales of preference …" (Jenkins 2008, 6).

6   "It is a process—*identification*—not a 'thing'. It is not something one can *have*, or not; it is something that one *does*" (Jenkins 2008, 5).

7   I am using a twofold scheme of identity. The mediaevalist Walter Pohl has, with full justification, used a threefold one for identification: "1) a personal act of expressing allegiance to a social group; 2) the collective self-representation of a group through its speakers or as a collective; and 3) the classification of social groups by outsiders" (Pohl 2013, 3). In my particular context here, I would argue that Pohl's 1) is hardly traceable in the sources available, while 2) and 3) are represented quite considerably.

of influence,[8] and spoke (Iranian) languages which may (or may not) have been intercomprehensible? Or was it not rather a situational identity which played out in cases where we have references to such one? Do we have to conceptualize the different Christian communities in the different regions in Tang China as being separated according to their ethnic, linguistic and / or cultural belonging or did they have a common "religious" identity as Christians? Did, for instance, Sogdian Christians in the Eastern capital of Luoyang have the same Christian identity as the Persian Christian soldiers or administrators in the Western capital of Chang'an? Did they go to the same services but then go different social and cultural ways?

I certainly will not, and will not be able to, even attempt answering all these questions, but   [7]
I think that it is useful to keep them in mind when dealing with such a complex historical situation as the one of the Christian community / communities in Tang China, observable over a period of almost two centuries from the first half of the seventh to the beginning of the ninth century.

Multiple Identity in the Xi'an Stele and Other Christian Documents?

The Xi'an stele expresses the 'multiple identity' referred to earlier quite visually, being Chinese   [8]
in the major epigraphic part, and Christian through the symbol of the cross and the Syriac script. Visually, at least, there is no Persian or Iranian cultural element. But the list of non-Chinese names at the end of the stele, written in Estrangelo, which was analysed by Jean Dauvillier (in Pelliot 1984), Erica Hunter (2009) and others, shows a mix of Syriac-Christian and traditional Iranian elements. Without putting too much weight on onomastic evidence, such a pattern of names clearly reflects the embeddedness of the Christian community in Iranian or Persian culture, which was prevalent, as Richard Payne (2015) has observed, at least during the Sasanian period. Of seventy-odd names in the list, the majority of which are, of course, of Christian-Biblical origin, five are completely Iranian (Mahdadgūšnasp, Abay / Ābōy (?), Izadspās, Pūsay, Gīgōy / Gūgay (?)) and three are (hybrid) Syro-Iranian (Mšīḥā-dad, Īšō-dad 2x). And even though the 'author' or initiator of the stele inscription, Jingjing, has an *ur*-Christian name, Adam, his father's name, Yisi 伊斯, is thoroughly Iranian: Yazbōzīd.[9]

If we turn now to another epigraphic document, the newly discovered Christian *dhāraṇī*   [9]
pillar from Luoyang, discovered in 2006, the community reflected in it obviously has a different linguistic-ethnic basis. The ethnonymic "family" names (An 安 = Bukhara, Mi 米 = Māymurgh-Panjikent, Kang 康 = Samarkand) given in the historical part of this documents reveal that their bearers were Central Asian Sogdians.[10] From the evidence gained so far, one could conclude that the community members in Luoyang were Sogdians[11] and the ones in Chang'an were from Persia proper and from Bactria. There is, however, evidence that Sogdi-

---

8   On imperial identity in Rome, Sasanian Iran and China, see Canepa (2010). As will become clear from what follows, I do not agree with what I consider an over-emphasis on imperial ideology and agenda in relation to the Jingjiao community promoted by Godwin (2018).

9   On Yisi, see Deeg (2013).

10   尉亡妣**安國**氏太夫人神道及亡師伯和。。。尉亡妣**安國**氏太夫人神道及亡師伯和。。。大秦寺寺主法和玄應俗姓**米**，威儀大德玄慶俗姓**米**，九階大德志通俗姓**康**。。。 (toponyms set in bold by me). See also Nicolini-Zani (2013, 150–53), Ge (2013, 170–73), Chen (2009, 206). The most detailed study of the Sogdians is De la Vaissière (2005). On the use of the regional "surnames" in Chinese, see Skaff (2003, 478–81), and on Sogdian names, Yoshida (2003).

11   See the analysis of the foreign names in Luoyang between the seventh and the tenth century in Zhang (2013, 194).

ans were members of the Chang'an community, too: an epitaph of the high-ranking Sogdian Mi Jifen 米繼芬 (†805) mentions the deceased younger son who was a monk (*seng* 僧) named Siyuan 思圓 in the Daqin-monastery.[12] Even if this name is not found in the list of names on the stele's inscription, it shows that the community in Chang'an indeed consisted of members from different Iranian groups.

So, what was the identity of the Christian communities other than Christian? In order to begin answering this question, we will have to go back to the beginning of Christianity during the reign of emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 626–649) in the version of the Jingjiao community of Chang'an. The legendary first Christian priest arriving in the Tang capital of Chang'an in the year 635, Chin. Aluoben 阿羅本 (Early Middle Chinese *ʔa-la-pən[13]), carries a Persian name— if my reconstruction is correct and this is a Chinese phonetic rendering of the Persian name Ardabān (see Deeg 2007, 416–17, 2009, 147–48). The stele describes his advent as follows: [10]

> The 'Cultivated' emperor *Taizong* (635–649) [made the realm] shine and prosper, made accessible the course of things [and] approached people as a brilliant and wise [ruler]. [At that time] there was a venerable one called *Aluoben* in the kingdom of *Daqin*. [After he] had interpreted the azure clouds and had loaded up the 'True *Sūtras*', had observed the 'Tunes of the Wind'[14] [and] thereby penetrated beyond the adversities [of the journey] he arrived in Chang'an in the ninth year of [the era] *Zhenguan* (635) nach *Chang'an*.[15] [11]

The Problem of Daqin and Bosi

The quoted text clearly states that Aluoben hailed from Daqin 大秦, and this toponym has created a *crux* for interpreters. Usually, Daqin is taken to refer either to Palestine / Syria or to Byzantium.[16] It has to be acknowledged, however, that the toponyms in texts such as the Tang Christian ones cannot be localized in absolute terms: while the stele clearly states that Jesus Christ was born in Daqin (see below), another Christian text, the Xuting-Mishihe-suo-jing 序聽迷詩所經, the so-called "Sūtra of the Messiah," states that he was born in the city of Jerusalem in Fulin 拂林 / EMC *pʰut-lim, which normally refers to Rom / Byzantium.[17] Daqin, in a Tang-Christian context, seems to mean a wider and non-specified region which includes Persia: Aluoben very likely came from the heartland of his Church in Sasanian Mesopotamia, [12]

---

12 公有二男，長曰國進，任右神威軍散將，寧遠將軍，守京兆府崇仁府折沖都尉同正。幼曰僧思圓，住大秦寺。 ("The lord had two sons, the eldest being called Guojin [who] holds the position of a Nominal General of the Powerful Army to the Right, general of Ningyuan, protecting the capital prefecture, equal to a commander repulsing the enemy of the Chongren prefecture. The younger [son] is called Monk Siyuan [and] lives in the Daqin-Monastery," see Ge and Nicolini-Zani 2004, 183–86).

13 I am using Pulleyblank's reconstruction of Early Middle Chinese (EMC) (Pulleyblank 1991).

14 The passage alludes to a report about a (fictive) mission of the Central Asian Yuezhi 月支 to the court of Han Wudi 漢武帝 in Dong Fangshuo's 東方朔 (154–93 BCE) Hainei-shizhou-ji 海內十洲記, *"Report on the Ten Islands in the Ocean"* (Deeg 2018, 111–114n90).

15 太宗文皇帝，光華啟運，明聖臨人，大秦國有上德，曰阿羅本，占青雲而載真經，望風律以馳艱險。貞觀九祀，至於長安。All translations from Chinese are my own unless indicated otherwise. For more details about the stele and its interpretation, see Deeg (2018).

16 See e.g. Leslie and Gardner (1982, 298) and Leslie and Gardiner (1996); Yu (2013); Lieu (2013). I disagree with the positivist approach of these authors, who take into account neither historical changes in the view and concept of Daqin nor the highly legendary and topical nature of it (although Lieu calls the reports on Daqin "utopistic").

17 This Fulin is different from the one mentioned in the epitaph of the Persian Tang official Aluohan a 阿羅憾 and discussed in Forte (1996a) and Abramson (2008, 185–86). Hirth (1913, 199), in a fanciful interpretation of the name, even suggested it to be a transliteration of Bethlehem.

with its patriarch sitting in Seleucia-Ctesiphon, and not from the Levant. This can further be substantiated by the description of Daqin in the stele inserted between the edict of Taizong discussed later and a very positive description of the rule of the Tang under Taizong and his son and successor Gaozong 高宗 (628–683; r. 649–683):

> According to the 'Illustrated Records of the Western Regions' and the historical   [13]
> books of the Han and the Wei the kingdom of the Great Qin rules over the coral
> sea in the South, reaches as far as the jewel mountains in the North, looks at the
> regions of the immortals in the West and at the forest of flowers, [and] touches the
> 'strong winds' and the 'weak water' in the East. Its ground produces fire-washed
> cloth, incense [that] brings back the souls, bright lunar pearls and jewels shining
> in the night. Its customs are not felonious, [and] people [there] are happy. Only
> what is luminous can be followed as a law; only he can be in power who has virtue.
> The realm is vast, [and] the savants [there] are splendid.[18]

As far as the self-constructed identity of the Christian community (or communities) in the   [14]
Empire is concerned, the importance of this passage, already highlighted by its position be-
tween the ruling periods of the first two Tang emperors, who allegedly supported Christianity,
has been, as far as I can see, overlooked so far. It is not clear which "Illustrated Records of
the Western Regions" (Xiyu-tu-ji 西域圖記), of the few we know to have existed, is meant, nor
why the "Abridged [History] of the Wei", Weilüe 魏略, compiled by Yu Huan 魚豢 between
239 and 265, is quoted. But a comparison of this passage with the description of Daqin in the
Hou-Hanshu 後漢書 (compiled by Fan Ye 范曄 in the fifth century), which contains the first
account of Daqin and consists of a lot of topical elements, is interesting. The passage contains
traditional elements of Chinese ethno-geography linked to Daqin, but also clearly shows el-
ements that suit Persia or a wider sphere of Iran better than the Syro-Palestinian region or
Byzantium. In the schematic description of the borders of Daqin in the four cardinal direc-
tions, for instance, the "Coral Sea" as the southern border seems to refer to the Red Sea and/or
the Arabian Sea, and the "Jewel Mountains" are situated in the North and are rather related
to Persia than to Syria-Palestine or Byzantium. And while strange and miraculous goods like
"the fire-washed cloth, incense [that] brings back the souls, bright lunar pearls and jewels
shining in the night"[19] are indeed taken from the Hou-Hanshu (and repeated in later histori-

---

18   案西域圖記及漢魏史策，大秦國，南統珊瑚之海，北極眾寶之山；西望仙境花林，東接長風弱水。其土出火浣
        布，返魂香，明月珠，夜光璧。俗無寇盜，人有樂康。法非景不行，主非德不立；土宇廣闊，文物昌明。This
        passage is discussed, amongst others, by Lieu (2016) and Lieu (2015, 8). On the details of this passage
        see Deeg (2018, 128n116). On the meaning "savants" of the term *wenwu* 文物 see Deeg (2018, 137n127);
        I am aware of recent scholarly discussions of Persian / Iranian influence on Tang China in areas such as
        astronomy, medicine and administration, but it is difficult to specify the impact of this on the self-identity
        of the Jingjiao community in the sources other than in the case of Yisi, which I have discussed in Deeg
        (2013).

19   The products listed in the Hou-Hanshu are more various: 土多金銀奇寶，有夜光璧、明月珠、駭雞犀、珊
        瑚、虎魄、琉璃、琅玕、朱丹、青碧。刺金繡繡，織成金縷罽、雜色綾。作黃金塗、火浣布。又有細布，或言
        水羊毳，野蠶繭所作也。合會諸香，煎其汁以為蘇合。("The land produces gold, silver [and other] precious
        items; there are 'jewels shining in the night', 'bright lunar pearls,' *haijixi* (lit.: 'cock-frightening rhinozeros'),
        corals, amber, crystals, pearl stones, vermillion, emerald; [they] split gold into threads [for] embroidery
        [which they] weave into gold-threaded cloth and into multi-coloured damask silk; [they make] a paste
        from gold and 'fire-washed cloth'. There is also a fine cloth which some say is made of water sheep hair
        or wild silkworm cocoons. [They] mix all kinds of incense, [and when] its essence is simmered it becomes
        suhe[-incense]," see also Leslie and Gardiner 1996, 49–50.) It is clear that the borders of the kingdom in
        the stele text are partially constructed/extracted from this report: the oral Sea and the Jewel Mountain.
        The 'incense bringing back the souls' (*fanhun-xiang* 返魂香) is already referred to in the "Record of the

ographies), the first item, the "fire-washed cloth," referring to asbestos, was linked to Persia at the time of the Tang (Schafer 1963, 199–200; Laufer 1919, 498–501).[20]

It is obvious that the stele text uses the information from the Hou-Hanshu to construe Daqin's confines in a more schematic way, which allows including Persian / Iranian territory in the realm of Daqin by inverting the position of the 'weak water,' placed at the extreme West of Daqin in the Hou-Hanshu, to the eastern border of Daqin.[21] The extended expression "strong winds and weak water" and earlier references to "weak water" being positioned between China and the Persian Empire leaves no doubt of such an intended reconceptualization of Daqin in the stele inscription.

[15]

The wider extension of Persia and some other points are also echoed in an entry in Huilin's 慧琳 (737–820) Buddhist dictionary Yiqiejing-yinyi 一切經音義 ("Sounds and Meanings of All Sūtras") on the name of the kingdom in the Abhidharmakośa(-śāstra) / Apidamo-jushe-lun 阿毘達磨俱舍論, which obviously locates the western border of Persia on the Mediterranean (*xihai* 西海, "Western Ocean"):

[16]

> Bolasi: [*la* has] the *fan[qie] lan + ge*; also called Bosi or called Bosi;[22] this is the name of a kingdom; it is adjacent to the 'Western Ocean'; it has plenty of rare jewels; the merchants of all kingdoms [come to] take [and] sell them because from the past [these jewels] were praised because of [their] supernatural, special power.[23]

[17]

Persian Identity (Almost) Concealed

That there was a shift from a more Persian, i.e. Sasanian, identity to a more general and broader concept of origin from the early time of Christianity in the Tang Empire and the late eighth century becomes clear when we compare, based on Antonino Forte's excellent analysis (Forte 1996a), the version of emperor Taizong's edict regarding the treatment of Aluoben and the new religion on the stele with the one found in chapter 49 of the Tang-huiyao 唐會要 ("Collected Essential [Documents] of the Tang") In the inscription the edict reads as follows:

[18]

> The *bhadanta* (*dade* 大德) *Aluoben* from the kingdom of *Daqin* brought *sūtra*s and statues from afar in order to present them in the Supreme Capital. [After] the essence of the teaching has been clarified [we acknowledged that it] is mysterious and subtle, reposed in itself. [After we] beheld their ancestor [we recognized that he] has yielded the means for the repulsion [of evil forces]. [As for] the words there are no superfluous explanations, [and] the principles contain the 'Oblivion of

[19]

Ten Islands" (Shizhou-ji 十洲記) of the proto-Daoist 東方朔 (first century BCE?) and is called a "reviving mixture" (*suhe* 蘇合: storax) here and in later sources (see Laufer 1919, 456–60).

20   The gold-woven brocade mentioned before asbestos is also rather linked to Persia than to Syria-Palestine (Laufer 1919, 488).

21   或云其國西有弱水、流沙，近西王母所居處，幾於日所入也。("Some say that to the West of this kingdom there is the 'weak water' and the 'flowing sands' [which] are close to the place where the Queen-Mother of the West (Xiwang-mu 西王母) resides, almost at the place where the sun sets.")

22   *bolasi* 波剌私 / **pa-lat-si*, is Xuanzang's version of the name; *bosi* 波斯 / **pa-si*. The second Bosi, identical in the text, originally was probably written as a phonetic variant 波私 / **pa-si*, as found in T.1552.894a.12f., the *Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdaya-śāstra* / Za-apitan-xin-lun 雜阿毘曇心論 by Dharmatrāta / Fajiu 法救 and translated by Saṅghavarman (fl. 433-442)?

23   T.2128.766c.2f. 波剌私：闌葛反，亦言波斯，或云波斯，國名也。臨近西海，最饒奇寶，諸國賈人皆取其貨，斯以龍威殊力古者推焉耳。

the Weir'[24]. [This teaching] salvages the living beings [and] benefits the people—it is appropriate to spread [it] in the realm. The respective institutions [are] to construct a Daqin-monastery in the Yining-district of the capital, [and] twenty-one monks are to be ordained.[25]

In the Tang-huiyao, which, according to Forte, preserved most of the original wording of the original edict, relevant passages consequently replace Bosi 波斯, "Persia," with Daqin,[26] so that there is only a single but significant passage mentioning Bosi on the entire stele, which I will discuss below.

[20]

The renaming of the "Persian teaching" and its institutional representation had clear advantages for the Christian communities in China as a name originally derived from Parthia (Persis), Bosi / EMC *pa-si*, referring to the Sasanian Empire before its fall. This is clearly expressed, as Forte emphasizes, in another edict from the year 745 found in the Tang-huiyao:

[21]

> The text and teaching of Persia originated in Daqin, came after being transmitted and practiced [in Persia], and have long since circulated in China. Thus, it was when first the monasteries were built [in China], that they were accordingly named [Monasteries of Persia]. Wishing to show men that it is necessary to learn their origin, for the Monasteries of Persia in the two capital it is proper that their [name] is changed into Monasteries of Daqin. As for those established in the superior prefectures and commanderies of the Empire, they too should conform to this.[27]

[22]

As mentioned before, there is only one interesting occurrence of Bosi in the stele text. It is found in the very short description of the birth of Jesus:

[23]

> Thereupon the divided body of our trinity, the luminous venerated Mishihe (Messiah), unfolding his true power, became like human [and] appeared in the world. Divine beings announced the joyful news [that] an unwed maiden in [the land] of Daqin had born a Saint. A brilliant star displayed the auspicious signs, and Persia, having seen the radiance, came to present [her] bounties.[28]

[24]

It clearly was important to the 'author' of the stele to make a link between the place of birth of the Messiah in Daqin and Persia / Bosi: Christ was born in Daqin, but the message of his birth arrived in Persia, which sent its (semi-official?) envoys to venerate the saviour of the world—while the Christian textual tradition about the visit of the three *magi* (Matthew 2.1ff.) only gives a vague direction "from the East."

[25]

The only explanation for such an internal "inconsistency"—otherwise having deleted all references to Bosi and using Daqin instead—is that there was a strong feeling of identity on part of the community that the place of their home Church in former Sasanian Persia had

[26]

---

24   *wangquan* 忘筌: This refers to the famous statement in the Zhuangzi 莊子 that one should abandon the tool as soon as one has achieved one's goal, in this case the Dao (see Deeg 2018, 119–120n101).

25   大秦國大德阿羅本，遠將經像，來獻上京。詳其教旨，玄妙無為；觀其元宗，生成立要。詞無繁說，理有忘筌；濟物利人，宜行天下。所司即於京義寧坊，造大秦寺一所，度僧廿一人。

26   波斯僧阿羅本，遠將經教，來獻上京。詳其教旨，元妙無為；生成立要，濟物利人，宜行天下所司，即於義寧坊建寺一所，度僧廿一人。

27   波斯經教出自大秦，傳習而來，久行中國。爰初建寺，因以為名。將欲示人，必修其本。其兩京波斯寺宜改為大秦寺，天下諸府郡置者亦準此。(translation by Forte 1996b, 354)

28   久迷休復，於是 我三一分身，景尊彌施訶，戢隱真威，同人出代；神天宣慶，室女誕聖於大秦，景宿告祥，波斯伺耀以來貢。(see Deeg 2018, 88n49)

played a significant role in the soteriological story from the very beginning; the episode of Persia presenting gifts to the newborn saviour could not be left out, even though other major parts of the narrative were,[29] but there was also no way to call this region Daqin. In light of this self-perception, the parallelistic structure of the inscription seems to reflect this importance: as the star in the birth narrative of the Messiah attracted the Persian envoys to the place of birth, the ominous signs of the wind attracted the first Christian propagator Aluoben to China.[30] In this context, the underlying identity of the community comes to the fore: they were culturally Iranian (Persian), more or less integrated in their Chinese environment, and religiously Christian (Daqin)—like a medieval person may have been Franc (Carolingian Empire) culturally and linguistically but Christian (Rome, Jerusalem) religiously, or a Chinese Buddhist would be Chinese culturally but 'Indian' religiously.

After the fall of the Sasanian empire, it did not really make sense any more to refer to a   [27] polity (Bosi) that had already ceased to exist by the time the stele was erected. To replace it with the more inclusive and, in the Chinese context, connotationally preloaded toponym Daqin had some advantages: it reflected a coherent community of Christians, disregarding their linguistic, regional or cultural origin or affiliation such as Persian, Sogdian, Bactrian, etc., clearly demarcated Christianity from the Manichaeans. Daqin also enabled Christians to distance themselves from the pejorative notions that were connected to the name Bosi as reflected in Buddhist and historiographical sources; these notions included Persians to be violent, materialistic and without etiquette (*li* 禮) as well as to be committed to deviant practices such as abandoning the bodies of their dead and engaging in incestuous marriage (see Silk 2008, 2009, 82ff.; Deeg forthcoming).[31]

Conclusion

The change of the identity of provenance from Bosi to Daqin probably was based on political   [28]

---

29   The Mishihe-suo-jing mentions the star but has no reference to Persia, the presents or the envoys: 天尊在 於天上，普著天地，當產移鼠‧迷師訶。所在世間居，見明果在於天地，辛星居知在於天上，星大如車輪，明 淨所天尊處。一爾前後生於拂林國，烏梨師劍城中，當生彌師訶。("The Heavenly Worthy is residing up in Heaven, [and in order] to appear in Heaven and on earth [he] will generate Yishu (Jesus), the Mishihe (Messiah). [Through his] existence in the world as a result there was brightness in Heaven and on earth; the star was as big as a wagon wheel and brightly shone where the Heavenly Worthy resided. When thus it was the [appropriate] time [the Heavenly Worthy] caused Mishihe to be born in the kingdom of Fulin (Rome), in the city of Wulishilian (Jerusalem)."); my translation differs from Tang (2001, 154). Here Fulin obviously refers to the Levant as part of the East Roman Empire—a usage which is indirectly supported by a list of plant names in Duan Chengshi's 段成式 Youyang-zazu 酉陽雜組 (ca. 860), where the Syriac names are given in the "language of Fulin" (Takahashi, n.d., 8–9; see also already Laufer 1919, 435). The use of Fulin may point to the text's origin before the issuing of the imperial edict changing Bosi to Daqin. In the Daqin-jingjiao-xuan-yuanzhiben-jing 大秦景教宣元至本經, "Sūtra of Propagating the Origin of Origin of the Jingjiao from Daqin," the text also found on the Luoyang stele, the nomenclature fixed by the edict is kept: 時景通法王在大秦國那薩羅城。("At that time the king of the Law Jingtong ('Penetrating Radiance') dwelled in the city of Nasaluo (Nazareth) in the kingdom of Daqin").

30   This mediatory situation of Persia being situated between Daqin and China is also reflected in another Chinese Christian text, the Yishen-lun 一神論, "Treatise of One God," where the omnipresence of God is compared with the fact that there is no real spatial or temporal boundary between these three realms: 喻 如從此至波斯，亦如從波斯至拂林，無接界時節。("… to be compared [with the situation that] from here (i.e. China) to Persia and also like from Persia to Fulin there are no [real] common boundaries [and no] time distance."); see also Lieu 2015). This statement is interesting insofar as it seems to emphasize the soteriological links between the three realms, China—Persia—Rome / Byzantium.

31   Note also that this negative Chinese view may also have concerned the Sogdians: they are described very negatively by the famous traveller monk Xuanzang 玄奘 in his Datang-Xiyu-ji 大唐西域記, "Record of the Western Regions of the Great Tang" (submitted to the throne in the year 646).

calculation: at a time when the Persian (Sasanian) empire had ceased to exist, and with the increasingly sceptical attitude towards Iranians in Tang-China after the disastrous An Lushan 安禄山 rebellion (755–763),[32] such a shift to a more neutral but at the same time more positive self-identity combined of different elements (culture, religion, language, ethnicity) may have proved potentially helpful to claim a partial Chinese identity. Very likely, most Chinese *literati* were aware of the parallel drawn between the Daqin in the West and China—China's first emperor's dynasty bore this name, and it was still used as the title for imperial Tang princes: Qin-wang was the princely title of emperor Taizong. Such a parallel between China and Daqin, presented almost like an identification, is encountered first in the Hou-Hanshu, and then repeated in most of the later historiographical sources: "The people of [Daqin] are tall and [grown] straight and even and are of the same kind as [the people] of the Middle Kingdom, and this is why [the country] is called Daqin."[33]

Adopting the identity marker Daqin not only allowed a higher degree of "sinification" for Iranian Christians in the Tang empire, but at the same time also allowed them to claim an origin from the wider region in which, according to their own tradition, their Messiah was born. In the context of the contemporary realm of the Abbasid caliphate, where the centre of their mother Church in Seleukia-Ctesiphon was located, this notion of a "wider" Daqin, comprising the former Sasanian empire and the Levant, even made sense politically, although this certainly was not of any concern for the Chinese authorities but rather for the Church herself. In China, the ambiguity and almost mythical vagueness of the topographical term Daqin allowed for both an integrated and at the same time more individual identity of a religious diaspora community than a claimed Persian (Bosi) origin would have been able to deliver.

[29]

References

Abramson, Marc S. 2008. *Ethnic Identity in Tang China*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Canepa, Matthew. 2010. "Distant Displays of Power: Understanding Cross-Cultural Interaction Among the Elites of Rome, Sasanian Iran, and Sui-Tang China." *Ars Orientalis* 38: 121–54.

Chen, Huaiyu. 2009. "The Encounter of Nestorian Christianity with Tantric Buddhism in Medieval China." In *Hidden Treasures and Intercultural Encounters*, edited by Li Tang and W. Winkler, 195–213. Wien, Münster: LIT Verlag.

Deeg, Max. 2007. "Gareki no yama kara kami wo horu—Keikyō-bunken to kenkyū no ideology" 『瓦礫の山から神を堀る — 景教文獻と研究のイデオロギー』" [Digging out God from the Rubbish Heap—The Chinese Nestorian Documents and the Ideology of Research]. Edited by Kyōto-daigaku-jinbun-kagaku-kenkyūjo 京都大學人文科學研究所編. *Chūgoku-shūkyō-bunken-kenkyū* 中國宗教文獻研究, 411–26.

———. 2009. "Ways to Go and Not to Go in the Contextualization of the Jingjiao Documents of the Tang Period." In *Hidden Treasures and Intercultural Encounters*, edited by Li Tang and W. Winkler, 135–52. Wien, Münster: LIT Verlag.

---

32   On the An Lushan rebellion and its impact, see Pulleyblank ([1976] 2018), and Forte (1999).
33   其人民皆長大平正，有類中國，故謂之大秦。

———. 2013. "A Belligerent Priest–Yisi and His Political Context." In *From the Oxus River to the Chinese Shores. Studies on East Syriac Christianity in China and Central Asia,* edited by Li Tang and W. Winkler, 107–21. Wien, Berlin: LIT Verlag.

———. 2015a. "A Note on the Place Name 'City of Royal Residence' (Wangshe-Zhi-Cheng 王舍之城) in the Xi'an Stele." In *Lin Wushu Xiansheng Yu Zhonggu Sanyijiao Yanjiu* 林悟殊先生与中古三夷教研究, edited by Xiaogui Zhang 张小贵 and Li Qingbo 李清波, 338–58. Lanzhou: Lanzhou Daxue.

———. 2015b. "La literature chrétienne orientale sous les Tang: un bref aperçu." In *Le christianisme syriaque en Asie central et en Chine,* edited by Pier Giorgio Borbone and Pierre Marsone, 199–214. Paris: Geuthner.

———. 2018. *Die Strahlende Lehre—Die Stele von Xi'an (Übersetzung und Kommentar)*. Wien: LIT Verlag.

———. forthcoming. "An Uncivilized Empire: Xuanzang on Persia." To be published in FS Samuel Lieu.

De la Vaissière, Étienne. 2005. *The Sogdian Traders: A History*. Leiden: Brill.

Forte, Antonino. 1996a. "On the so-Called Abraham from Persia: A Case of Mistaken Identity." In *L'inscription Nestorienne de Si-Ngan-Fou,* edited by Paul Pelliot and Antonino Forte, 375–414. Paris: Collège de France, Institut des Hautes Etudes Chinoises.

———. 1996b. "The Edict of 638 Allowing the Diffusion of Christianity in China." In *L'inscription Nestorienne de Si-Ngan-Fou,* edited by Paul Pelliot and Antonino Forte, 349–73. Paris: Collège de France, Institut des Hautes Etudes Chinoises.

———. 1999. "Iranians in China: Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, and the Bureaus of Commerce." *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 11: 277–90.

Ge, Chengyong. 2013. "A Comparative Study of Two Nestorian Inscriptions Unearthed in the Two Capital Cities of the Tang Dynasty: Xi'an and Luoyang." In *From the Oxus River to the Chinese Shores. Studies on East Syriac Christianity in China and Central Asia,* edited by Li Tang and W. Winkler, 161–75. Wien, Berlin: LIT Verlag.

Ge, Chengyong, and Matteo Nicolini-Zani. 2004. "The Christian Faith of a Sogdian Family in Chang'an During the Tang Dynasty." *Annali* 64: 181–96.

Godwin, Todd R. 2018. *Persian Christians at the Chinese Court: The Xi'an Stele and the Early Medieval Church of the East*. London: I.B.Tauris.

Hirth, Friedrich. 1885. *China and the Roman Orient: Researches in Their Ancient and Medieval Relations as Represented in Old Chinese Records*. Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh.

———. 1913. "The Mystery of Fulin (II)." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 33 (1): 193–208.

Hunter, Erica. 2009. "The Persian Contribution to Christianity in China: Reflections in the Xi'an Fu Syriac Inscriptions." In *Hidden Treasures and Intercultural Encounters,* edited by Li Tang and W. Winkler, 71–85. Wien, Münster: LIT Verlag.

Jenkins, Richard. 2008. *Social Identity*. 3rd ed. New York: Routledge.

Keevak, Michael. 2008. *The Story of a Stele. China's Monument and Its Reception in the West, 1625–1916*. Hongkong: Hongkong University Press.

Laufer, Bertold. 1919. *Sino-Iranica. Chinese Contributions to the History of Civilization in Ancient Iran*. Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History.

Leslie, D. D., and K. H. J. Gardiner. 1982. "Chinese Knowledge of Western Asia During the Han." *T'oung-Pao* 68 (4-5): 254–308.

———. 1996. *The Roman Empire in Chinese Sources*. Roma: Bardi Editore.

Lieu, Samuel N. C. 2013. "The 'Romanitas' of the Xi'an Inscription." In *From the Oxus River to the Chinese Shores. Studies on East Syriac Christianity in China and Central Asia*, edited by Li Tang and W. Winkler, 123–40. Wien, Berlin: LIT Verlag.

———. 2016. "Daqin 大秦 and Fulin 拂林: The Chinese Names for Rome." In *Between Rome and China—History, Religions and Material Culture of the Silk Road*, edited by Samuel N. C. Lieu and Gunnar B. Mikkelsen, 123–45. Turnhout: Brepols.

———. 2015. "From Rome (Daqin 大秦) to China (Zhongguo)—the Xi'an 西安 (Nestorian) Monument as a Bilingual and Transcultural Document." Keynote address at the Hongkong Jingjiao Conference, June 18.

Nicolini-Zani, Matteo. 2006. "Past and Current Research on Tang Jingjiao Documents." In *Jingjiao: The Church of the East in China and Central Asia*, edited by Roman Malek and Peter Hofrichter, 23–44. Sankt Augustin: Monumenta Serica.

———. 2013. "Luminous Ministers of the Da Qin Monastery: A Study of the Christian Clergy Mentioned in the Jingjiao Pillar from Luoyang." In *From the Oxus River to the Chinese Shores. Studies on East Syriac Christianity in China and Central Asia*, edited by Li Tang and W. Winkler, 141–60. Wien, Berlin: LIT Verlag.

Payne, Richard. 2015. *A State of Mixture: Christians, Zoroastrians, and Iranian Political Culture in Late Antiquity*. Oakland: University of California Press.

Pelliot, Paul. 1984. *Recherches sur les chrétiens d'Asie Centrale et d'Extrême-Orient, tôme II, 1 La stèle de Si-ngan-fou*. Paris.

Pohl, Walter. 2013. "Introduction–Strategy of Identifications." In *Strategies of Identification: Ethnicity and Religion in Early Medieval Europe*, edited by Walter Pohl and Gerda Heydemann, 1–64. Turnhout: Brepols.

Pohl, Walter, Clemens Gantner, and Richard Payne, eds. 2012. *Visions of Community in the Post-Roman World: The West, Byzantium and the Islamic World, 300-1100*. Farnham, Burlington: Ashgate.

Pulleyblank, Edwin G. 1991. *Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Mandarin*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

———. (1976) 2018. "The an Lu-Shan Rebellion and the Origins of Chronic Militarism in Late T'ang China." In *Critical Readings on Tang China, Volume 1*, edited by Paul W. Kroll, 518–41. Leiden: Brill.

Riboud, Pénélope. 2001. "Tang." In *Handbook of Christianity in China, Volume One: 635–1800*, edited by Nicolas Standaert, 1–43. Leiden, Boston: Brill.

Schafer, E. H. 1963. *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand. A Study of T'ang Exotics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Silk, Jonathan. 2008. "Putative Persian Perversities: Indian Buddhist Condemnations of Zoroastrian Close-Kin Marriage in Context." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 71 (3): 433–64.

———. 2009. *Riven by Lust: Incest and Schism in Indian Buddhist Legend and Historiography*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Skaff, Jonathan Karam. 2003. "The Sogdian Trade Diaspora in East Turkestan During the Seventh and Eighth Centuries." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 46 (4): 475–524.

Takahashi, Hidemi. n.d. "Representation of the Syriac Language in Jing Jiao Documents." Unpublished manuscript.

Tang, Li. 2001. *A Study of the History of Nestorian Christianity in China and Its Literature in Chinese*. Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang.

Tang, Li, and W. Winkler, eds. 2009. *Hidden Treasures and Intercultural Encounters*. Wien, Münster: LIT Verlag.

Yoshida, Yutaka. 2003. "On the Origin of the Sogdian Surname Zhaowu and Related Problems." *Journal Asiatique* 291 (1-2): 35–67.

Yu, Taishan. 2013. "China and the Ancient Mediterranean World: A Survey of Ancient Chinese Sources." *Sino-Platonic Papers* 242.

Zhang, Naizhu. 2013. "The Luoyang Nestorian Pillar and the Gande Township: A Settlement of Foreigners in the Luoyang Area During the Tang Dynasty." In *From the Oxus River to the Chinese Shores. Studies on East Syriac Christianity in China and Central Asia*, edited by Li Tang and W. Winkler, 177–202. Wien, Berlin: LIT Verlag.

Buddhist and Indian Elements in the Onomastics of the Iranian Manichaean Texts

IRIS COLDITZ

ABSTRACT   The use of names and terms of Indian origin bears witness to encounters of Iranian-speaking Manichaeans with Indian religious traditions and cultures, but the importance of an impact of Indian religions on Manichaeism is still subject of scholarly discussions. This paper focuses on Buddhist and Indian elements in Manichaean onomastics. Recent research in the context of the project *Iranisches Personennamenbuch* has provided, for the first time, a complete collection of proper names in the Iranian Manichaean texts from the Turfan region. The transmitted Iranian, hybrid, and non-Iranian names of Manichaean and non-Manichaean historical persons, literary, and mythological figures reflect the ethnic, religious, and multilingual diversity of the peoples along the Silk Roads. The results of this study enable us to analyse the various influences in Manichaean onomastics. Here this refers to proper names of Indian origin, loan-translations, Buddha and Bodhisattva names, names from the Buddhist tradition, and the like. This paper shall show which Indian names occur in Iranian Manichaean texts and how they have been adapted to the Manichaean context.

KEYWORDS   Central Asia, Turfan region, Iranian Manichaean texts, Iranian onomastics, Manichaeism, Buddhism, Jainism

Introduction

Manichaeism, named after its founder, the prophet Mani (216–276/7 C.E.), was once one of the great world religions. Today it has disappeared but it still speaks to us through the extant Manichaean writings[1] in Greek (Gr.), Coptic (Copt.), Middle Persian (MP.), Parthian (Parth.), Sogdian (Sogd.), Bactrian (Bactr.), New Persian (NP.), Old Uyghur (OUygh.), and Chinese (Chin.) as well as through artistic artefacts such as book miniatures and wall paintings. Manichaeism played an important role within the religious history of the Near East and Central Asia and even of Europe. It existed from the third to the fourteenth century, isolated remains even until the seventeenth century, and spread from Spain to China, from the

[1]

---

1   Letters after the abbreviations of languages designate in the following the script in which the quoted records are written: M (Manichaean), S (Sogdian, also used for the Uyghur script), I (inscriptional, for Middle Persian and Parthian).

Balkans to North Africa. In his teachings, Mani absorbed influences from various religious and intellectual movements, mostly from Gnosticism and Christianity, but also from Zoroastrianism, Neo-Platonism, Stoa, and Buddhism.[2] In Central Asia, the impact of eastern religions played an important role in the further development of Manichaeism. The cities along the Silk Roads can be understood as multi-cultural centres where Iranians, Turks, Chinese, Tocharians, and others lived together as followers of various religions. Thus, the literature (mostly translations) and artefacts of eastern Manichaeism reflect the historical, religious, and cultural interrelations between the peoples of Central Asia.

The impact of Indian religions on Manichaeism has long been a subject of learned discussions.[3] Scholars have mainly focused on Buddhism as a source of borrowed terms and concepts, since Mani considered Buddha as one of the prophets preceding him, and, moreover, was called Buddha himself. Recent studies have also argued in favour of Jainism as a suitable pattern for some Indian elements in early Manichaeism (Gardner 2005; Deeg and Gardner 2009). But opinions differ as regards the dimension and importance of such influences. Some scholars consider the impact of Indian ideas and concepts on Manichaeism as not fundamental and only effective to a limited extent (Lieu 1988, 53–54, 57; Sundermann 1986, 1991, 1997; Bryder 2005), while others characterize Buddhism (or Jainism) as decisive for the formation of the Manichaean religion and practice (Tardieu 1988; Gardner 2005; Deeg and Gardner 2009; Hutter 2017). Furthermore, it has been supposed that Manichaeism has exerted reverse impact on Buddhism in some points, especially on the Mahāyāna school (Skjaervø 1994; Emmerick 1989; Sundermann 1997, 649–50; Hutter 2002; on a possible influence of Gnosticism on Buddhism and vice versa, see Conze 1967). We cannot go into the details of these discussions here. But it becomes obvious—although the chronology of events is far from clear—that Manichaeism was impacted by Buddhism, or more generally Indian ideas, in various ways. Mani could first have received very limited information on India from Bardaiṣan's report on an Indian delegation to the court of the Roman emperor Heliogabalus (at the beginning of the third century) as well as from the apocryphal *Acts of Thomas* as the apostle of India, both of which may have inspired his own journey.[4] It has also been assumed that there may have existed communities of Baptists (a Gnostic sect in which Mani grew up) in trading centres at harbour cities in the diaspora as far as western India (Sundermann 1986, 13a). During his travels in northwestern India (about 240–242 C.E.), Mani converted the Buddhist king of Tūrān (northeastern Baluchestan), a vassal state of the Sasanian realm.[5] Back in

[2]

---

2   For recent general studies on Manichaeism, see Durkin-Meisterernst and Kreyenbroek (2006), Sundermann (2009b), Hutter (2010), Reck (2013).
3   On the question of an influence of Buddhism or other Indian religions on Manichaeism, see van Tongerloo (1984), van Tongerloo (2008), Sundermann (1986), Sundermann (1991), Sundermann (1997), Tardieu (1988); Emmerick (1989), Lieu (1988, 53–58, 208–13), Skjaervø (1994), Hutter (2002), Hutter (2017), Reck (2003), Yoshida (2003), Yoshida (2008), Bryder (2005), Gardner (2005), Deeg and Gardner (2009).
4   Evidence for Mani's journey to India is provided by various Manichaean sources: Gr. *Cologne Mani Codex* (Henrichs and Koenen 1982, 3–5, 36–38), Copt. *Berlin Kephalaia* "The Chapters of the Teacher" (Polotsky and Böhlig 1940, 15.24–31, 184.23–185.15), Copt. *Synaxeis of the Living Gospel* (Funk 2009, 120–22), Iranian hagiographical texts (Sundermann 1986).
5   For the conversion of the Tūrān-šāh, see Sundermann (1981, 19–24, text 2.2); Gardner, BeDuhn, and Dilley (2018, 26–37). BeDuhn (2015, 56–66) and Gardner (2020b, 43–48, 58) have argued on the basis of *Dublin Kephalaia* 353.28 [c]ⲁⲡⲱⲣⲏⲥ ⲡ[p̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟ]ⲅⲣⲁⲛ /[S]apōrēs p-[erro en-to]uran/ "[Š]ābuhr the [king of T]ūrān" that this king was Šābuhr, son of the Sasanian king of kings Šābuhr I (240–272 C.E.), who is mentioned in the inscription of the latter at the Kaʿbe-ye Zardošt at Naqš-e Rostam (ca. 260–262 C.E.) as "king of the Mesene" (ŠKZ § 34: MP., Parth. *mēšān-šah*, Gr. Μησανηνῶν βασιλέως, ed. Huyse 1999, I:47). The scholars assume that Manichaean narratives about his conversion may have later been mixed up with those about Mani's audiences with his father, the Sasanian ruler. Although such a restoration of the name in the *Kephalaia* suggests itself there remains some uncertainty. The same inscription mentions next

Iran, he sent the missionaries Pattēg and Hannī to India and also wrote a letter to India.[6] But we have no further information about Indian Manichaeans, and there is reason to assume that Mani's attempt to make India a permanent part of his network of Manichaean communities failed.

At the Sasanian court, Mani had a conversation with a Buddhist sage called *Gundēš* (an [3] Indian or Iranian?) and two other wise men from the East (*s.* below). The existence of followers of Indian religions in the Sasanian Empire in the third century is proved by the reference to them as MP. *šmny /šaman/* "ṣamaṇas, i.e. Buddhists" and *blmny /brāhman/* "brāhmaṇas, i.e. Hindus" in the inscription of the Zoroastrian priest Kerdīr (ed. Back 1978, 414–15, 509n264). The knowledge on Buddhism was brought to a new level when Manichaean missionaries (especially Mani and Ammō) came into contact with Iranian Buddhists in northeastern Iran at the border to the Kushan empire, where Buddhism flourished (besides other religions such as Hinduism and Jainism).[7] This milieu and the dispute between Manichaeism and Zoroastrianism as well as Buddhism (or Jainism) is also reflected in the Manichaean Coptic text *Dublin Kephalaia* "The Chapters of the Wisdom of MyLord Mani" (partly ed. Tardieu 1988; Gardner 2005; Deeg and Gardner 2009; Gardner, BeDuhn, and Dilley 2018). A revitalisation of Buddhist influence happened when Manichaeism established itself in Central Asia (eighth to eleventh century), where the communities lived side by side with Buddhist ones. Finally, from the eleventh century onwards, Buddhism superseded Manichaeism in this area.

Indian influence on Iranian languages[8] took place by intercultural and interreligious en- [4] counter with Buddhism and possibly Jainism and Hinduism, especially in border regions in eastern Iran. From the Kushan kingdom, Buddhism also spread into neighbouring countries, among them the Arsacid Empire, as early as the second century.[9] Parthians and Sogdians even acted as Buddhist missionaries in China and as translators of Buddhist texts into Chinese (Sundermann 1982, 99–100; Tardieu 1988, 175–76). Thus Parthian was affected by Buddhist terminology and transmitted it into other languages as well. Indian loanwords in Parthian can be traced back mainly to northwestern Gāndhārī Prakrit (Pkt.) forms and only rarely to "learned" Sanskrit (Skt.) forms. The earliest records of such terms are manifest in the Manichaean Parthian literature that originates in the mission in northeastern Iran. Middle Persian (of the Sasanian inscriptions and Manichaean texts) transmits Indian loanwords only to a much lesser extent. The Sogdians came into contact with Indian terms and concepts

---

Narseh, another son of Šābuhr I and later king of kings Narseh I (293–302 C.E.), as "king of Hind(estān), Sagestān, and Tūrān to the coast of the sea" at that time (ŠKZ § 34: MP. *šāh Hind, Sagestān ud Tūrestān tā drayā damb*, Parth. *šāh Hind, Sagestān ud Turɣestān yad ō zrēh zamb*, Gr. βασιλέως Ἰνδίας Σεγιστηνῆς Τουρηνῆς ἔως χείλους θαλάσσης, ed. Huyse 1999, I:47). But a certain Šābuhr, son of Hormezd II (302–309 C.E.), brother of Šābuhr II (309–379 C.E.) and great-grandson of Šābuhr I, appears with the same royal title in his own inscription at Persepolis (ŠPs-I, ed. Back 1978, 492, 518–9n360– 2), according to which he travelled from Pārs to Sagestān in the second year of Šābuhr II (i.e. 311 C.E.). Maybe this later king of Tūrān has been taken for the earlier one in the transmission of the narrative which may have received its final version from the end of the third to the beginning of the fourth century.

6   For the delegation of Pattēg and Hannī to India, see Sundermann (1981, 56–57, texts 4a.1, ll. 654–659). For Mani's "Great Epistle to the Indians," see an-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 336.20 (ed. Dodge 1970, II:799).

7   An extant single leaf from a book in Bactrian written in the Manichaean script (M 1224, ed. Sims-Williams 2009) witnesses the activity of missionaries in that area. However, its content shows influences from a Buddhist milieu.

8   For studies on Indian loanwords and names in Iranian languages, see Müller (1912, 33), Asmussen (1965, 135–36), Sundermann (1982), Sundermann (1994, 261), Sims-Williams (1983), van Tongerloo (1984), Skjaervø (1994), Colditz (2018, 68–69). For Buddhist texts in Sogdian and Saka cf. Hinüber (1995, 659–61), Maggi (2009b), Yoshida (2009), Reck (2016), Reck (2018).

9   But there is no Buddhist influence apparent in the Arsacid court language (Sims-Williams 1983, 132). Schmitt (2016) also does not indicate any proper name of Indian origin in the Parthian epigraphical sources.

through trading along the routes of the Silk Roads. It was this Central Asian milieu where a number of them converted to Buddhism, while in the Sogdian homeland Buddhism did not gain a foothold (on a Buddhist minority in the Sogdiana, see Lurje 2019). The earliest Indian loanwords, probably from Prakrit, appear in the Sogdian *Ancient Letters* (at the beginning of the fourth century, ed. Reichelt 1928–1931, vol. 1; cf. Sims-Williams 1985). The Manichaean Sogdian literature developed in Central Asia and was influenced by the terminology of Buddhist texts in Sogdian. This milieu may also have caused a re-use of Parthian elements with a Buddhist background.

In this paper the focus is on Indian elements that were adopted in Manichaean onomastics. Recent onomastic research in the context of the project *Iranisches Personennamenbuch* (Colditz 2018) has provided, for the first time, a complete collection of proper names in the Iranian Manichaean texts from the Turfan region. The results of this study enable us to analyse the various influences in Manichaean onomastics in greater detail. The transmitted names reflect the ethnic and religious diversity of the peoples along the Silk Roads, their intercultural and interreligious contacts, and also the syncretistic character of the Manichaean teachings. The name-bearers are Manichaean and non-Manichaean historical persons as well as literary and mythological figures. The *Personennamenbuch* fascicle of the Iranian Manichaean texts contains 766 lemmata of names of up to 887 persons. They may now be complemented by four names of Elect written cryptographically (Leurini 2017, 22–24; Colditz forthcoming). Thus the full number of known or supposed names is 770, belonging to about 891 individuals. All in all, only about 605 names can be determined linguistically, but for a relevant additional number of names the language of origin may at least be supposed. But these given figures of names and individuals can only be preliminary since the context is often missing in the fragmentary texts. Moreover, many names cannot be assigned to persons with certainty. In the following we shall give, first, an overview of the linguistic origins of the names in the Iranian Manichaean corpus (see figure 1): [5]

- names of Iranian origin: unspecified Western Middle Iranian (WMIran.), Middle Persian, Parthian, Sogdian [6]
- hybrid names with elements of different Iranian languages
- hybrid names with Iranian and non-Iranian elements
- names of non-Iranian origin: Aramaic / Hebrew / Semitic, Old Uyghur, Chinese, Indian, Greek, Latin
- hybrid names with elements of different non-Iranian languages

The ratio of these different categories of names can be described as follows: [7]

- a little more than half of the names are of Iranian origin [8]
- the largest parts within this group have Middle Persian and Sogdian names
- the largest groups within the non-Iranian names are those of Old Uyghur and Semitic origin

Names and name elements of non-Iranian origin may have been borrowed directly from another language but also via a third or even fourth language, i.e. they went through several stages of borrowings. In the *Personennamenbuch* fascicle we have given the figure of twelve names of Indian origin, and up to eleven more that may be supposed as Indian names. Of course, these figures cannot be taken for absolute since there is a certain margin of discretion in the decision on the linguistic origin for the reasons described above. There are also names [9]
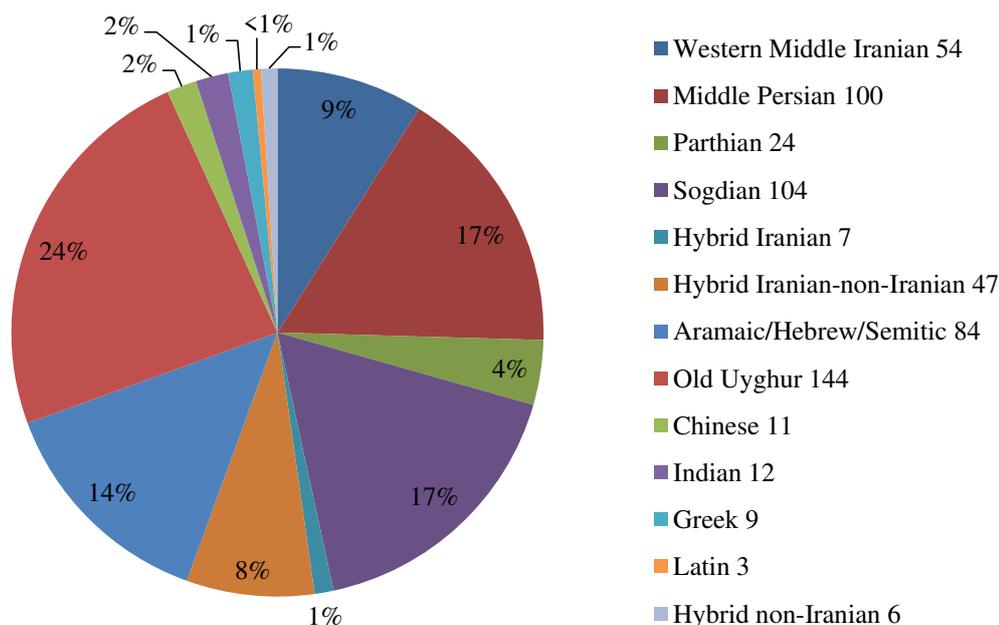
Figure 1 Linguistic origins of the names in the Iranian Manichaean corpus (languages arranged clock-wise in the diagram; percentage rounded; right side: total number of names)

that are loan-translations or calques of Indian names but these cannot always be clearly de-fined since other interpretations are also possible. It becomes obvious that such names make up only a small part of the total number of names in the Iranian Manichaean corpus.[10] This group of names consists of

[10]

- Buddhist terms, like Buddha and Bodhisattva names (with the option of a Jain alternative)
- names of other figures of the Buddhist tradition
- literary figures from the Indian tradition
- proper names of Indian origin, with Indian elements or translations and calques of Indian names

Buddha and Bodhisattva names

Buddha Śākyamuni

Although these terms are rather epithets and titles, they have been included in the *Personen-namenbuch* since they are also used to designate historical persons and as name elements. The term Skt. *Buddha* "the awakened / enlightened one" found its way into Iranian languages very early, probably first into Bactrian in the Kushan period (approx. first to third century), from there into Parthian, and from Parthian into Middle Persian and Sogdian. Manichaeans might have played a significant role in the transmission of the name Buddha into late antique

[11]

---

10   In contrast to the Manichaean literature, the Sogdian Buddhist texts from Central Asia (mostly from Dun-huang) unsurprisingly contain a large number of Indian and especially Buddhist names and terms. These texts have been translated mostly from Chinese, some of them probably from Tocharian or Sanskrit. For an onomastic analysis of Indian names in Sogdian Buddhist texts cf. Provasi (2013). For lists of names cf. Lurje (2010, 523–24), Reck (2016, 415–24).

intellectual discourse, especially in Greek and Byzantine sources (see Pettipiece 2009). In the Manichaean corpus it already appears in Mani's writings *Šābuhragān* (this passage is only transmitted in al-Bīrūnī's *Chronology* as Arab. *ʾlbwd /al-Bud(d)/*, see Sundermann 1991, 429) and *Book of Giants* and in early Parthian texts, but also in Sogdian and in the single Bactrian text. The spellings MP.M *bwt*, Parth.M *bwt, bwt̠*, Parth.S *pwt,* Sogd.M *bwt-, bwt̠-, pwt-, pwt̠-,* Sogd.S *pwt-, pwtt-*, Bactr.M *bwt* suggest a reading */But(t)/* with *-t(t) < -dd,* although the earliest word form introduced by Mani may have been *Bud(d)* with *–dd* (see its Arabic spelling above) and also Copt. ⲃⲟⲩⲇⲇⲁⲥ */Bouddas/* (Sundermann 1991, 428–29; Sundermann et al. 2001, 450; cf. Lurje 2010, no. 964; Colditz 2018, no. 170). The term is used here in several contexts (for overviews, see Sundermann 1991, 437–38; van Tongerloo 1984, 243–46; Hutter 2017).

   a) The historical Buddha: "Buddha" designates the historical Buddha Śākyamuni (in MP., [12] Parth., Sogd., Bactr.). By including Buddha (and of course also Zarathustra) in a chain of the true prophets preceding him, Mani took the decisive step beyond his Christian and Gnostic roots towards the foundation of a world religion (Sundermann 1986, 18a, 1997, 653). At the beginning of his mission (after his return from India), Mani had only poor knowledge of his predecessor and put Buddha's date before that of Zarathustra. Due to contact with Buddhism during the Manichaean mission in eastern Iran, Mani later corrected that chronology and gave Buddha his appropriate position after Zarathustra (Sundermann 1991, 430–37; Hutter 2017, 222–23). Furthermore, the texts make allusions to Buddha's wisdom and compassionate behaviour but with a Manichaean reinterpretation (Sundermann 1991, 438). Buddha Śākyamuni thus became a "Manichaeus ante Manichaeos" (1991, 437). Some texts mention the historical Buddha more completely as "Buddha Śākyamuni." The spellings Parth.M *šʾqmn bwt /Šāk(i)man but(t)/*, Sogd.M *pwwt̠šʾkmn /But(t)-šāk(i)man/*, Sogd.S *šʾkmnw pwt- /Šāk(i)mun(?) but(t)/* point to a pronunciation */Šāk(i)man / Šāk(i)mun/* borrowed from northwestern Gāndhārī Pkt. *Śakamuṇi* (Sims-Williams 1983, 134, 137; see Lurje 2010, no. 1148; Colditz 2018, no. 501). The Skt. form *Śākyamuni* could be possibly reconstructed in Sogd.S *šʾkymwn pwt- /Šākyamun but(t)/* (MS. *(š)[ʾ](k)[y]mwn pwt-*). In the Manichaean Coptic *Dublin Kephalaia* the name is probably rendered, however, as ⲃⲟⲩⲇⲇⲁⲥ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ */bouddas an p-makarios/* "Bouddas the blessed", ⲃⲟⲩⲇⲇⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ */bouddas en-makarios/* "the blessed Bouddas" and the like (Gardner 2005, 130 with n. 20; for records in the *Kephalaia* see Gardner, BeDuhn, and Dilley 2018, 212).

   b) Mani as Buddha: It is only consistent that "Buddha" is also used as an epithet of Mani [13] himself in hagiographic texts (especially in the report on the conversion of the Turān-šāh) and in hymns in Parthian and Sogdian (Henning 1937, 41n1; van Tongerloo 1984, 243–46; BeDuhn 2015, 72–73; Hutter 2017, 223–24). Furthermore, he is identified with the eschatological Buddha Maitreya (s. below). That Mani has been characterized and presented in a "Buddhist" way has been seen "as an indication of the missionary technique employed by himself amongst the Buddhists already in the course of his journey to India" (Sundermann 1986, 13b). Later in eastern Manichaeism, Mani's vita was assimilated to that of Buddha Śākyamuni, as it becomes obvious in the Manichaean *Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teaching of Mani, the Buddha of Light* in Chinese (about eighth to tenth century; ed. Haloun and Henning 1953; transl. Schmidt-Glintzer 1987; see also Lieu 1988, 210–11).

   c) The apostles as Buddhas: Consequently, "Buddha" is used in the plural MP., Parth. [14] *But(t)ān*, Sogd. *But(t)išt* to characterize the five apostles in Manichaeism: Adam / Seth, Zarathustra, Buddha, Jesus, Mani (Hutter 2017, 224). In a Parthian and a Sogdian parable,

they are compared to five brothers (ed. Reck 2009). In an Old Uyghur hymn to the Light Nous, an emanation of Jesus who brings the redeeming knowledge of Gnosis, the "five Buddhas" (*beš burhan*) are related to the five elements of Light, the sons of the god Primal Man (Wilkens 1999–2000, 222–28; on the Manichaean pantheon, see Sundermann 2002). The apostles are related to the Nous and as such to Jesus, see MP. *[bw](t)[ʾn](ʾ)wd frystgʾnrwšnʾn* "the [Bu]ddh[as] and Light apostles" (Sundermann 1981, 134, text 24.2, l. 2244). In the Chinese Manichaica 五明佛 *wu ming fo* "the five Buddhas of Light" (Klimkeit 1989, 192n1; Mikkelsen 2006, 72) appear who may have been coined after a Buddhist pattern. One may think of the five Adibuddhas or celestial Buddhas (Dhyānibuddhas) in Mahāyāna Buddhism: Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Ratnasaṃbhava, Amitābha, and Amoghasiddhi (Soothilll and Hodous 1937, 120a, see 五智如來; Lieu 1988, 208–9) or of the first five Buddhas of the present Bhadrakalpa: Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni, Kāśyapa, Buddha Śākyamuni, Maitreya, succeeded by 995 others. See also Khotanese *paṃjyau jsa* "five Buddhas" in the *Book of Zambasta* (ed. Maggi 2009a, 164–65).

We may also refer here to Sogd. *pšʾbwt /paš-But(t)/*, pl. *pšʾbwtyṯ, pšʾpwtyṯ /paš-But(t)it/* [15] "after-Buddhas, those who come after Buddha" (Gershevitch 1954, § 1143) who are mentioned after the "great Buddhas" (Henning 1945b, 154; Yoshida 2001, 113). They may designate the apostles or Elect in exalted position. Thus Sogd. *šytyl pšʾbwtyy* "after-Buddha of Seth" may be taken as an epithet of Mani (Morano 2017b, 175–76), but the title *mwcq* "teacher" and the epithet *xwrʾsʾnʾ sʾrβγ* "tower of Khorasan" in the same text may also point to a Manichaean teacher in Central Asia.

d) Manichaean gods as Buddhas: Moreover, in some Manichaean texts the plural "Buddhas" [16] serves as a general term for all gods or a group of gods (for example for the sun- and moon-god, or Jesus, the Light Maiden and the Nous, or the divine tetrad God-Light-Power-Wisdom), see Sogd. *bwtyšṯṯ ʾxšywnytyh* "Buddha-kings" probably for *ʾxšywnʾkt βγyšt* "sovereign gods", see OUygh. *ellig täŋrilär* "idem" (Provasi 2013, 388–89). It is not clear whether they are identical with the "five Buddhas" (s. above).

e) Manichaean church leaders as Buddhas: The epithet "Buddha" was later actually trans- [17] mitted to leaders of the Manichaean church in Central Asia in a Buddhist environment. This is true for *ʾryʾmʾn pwxr /Aryāmān-puhr/*, Teacher of the East in Qočo (beginning of eleventh century) in the Sogdian letters A (ll. 18–9, *132) and B (ll. 13, 76–77) from Bezeklik (ed. Yoshida 2002, 234–35, 2019, 74–75, 88–89, 100, 158–59, 166–67; cf. Lurje 2010, no. 683; Colditz 2018, no. 61) and for an anonymous teacher in a Middle Persian installation hymn (ed. Leurini 2017, 97, l. 716).

The use of several other records of the term "Buddha" in Parthian and Sogdian Manichaean [18] texts with fragmentary context remains unclear. Besides the plural forms of "Buddha" and the "after-Buddhas," there are also other derivations from the word with Iranian phonetic complements in Sogdian: adj. *pwtʾny /butāne/* "Buddha- (in compounds), Buddha-like", abstr. *pwt(t)yʾkh /but(t)yāk/* "Buddhahood".

Buddha Maitreya

Especially in hymns, Mani is identified with the coming saviour figure Buddha Maitreya, [19] who played an important role in Mahāyāna Buddhism in Central Asia (on Mani as Maitreya, see Hutter 2002, 2017; van Tongerloo 2008; for the records, see Lurje 2010, no. 737, s. *mytrʾk*; Livšic 2010, nos. 391–93; Colditz 2018, nos. 362–64). This identification may go back to Mani himself as part of his missionary technique during his journey across northwestern

India (Sundermann 1986, 13b), although Mahāyāna is not expected to have dominated in this area at that time. On the one hand, Mani thus met the eschatological expectations of Buddhists as a target group of the Manichaean mission. On the other hand, it seems that the Manichaean believers actually awaited Mani's physical return (Hutter 2002, 115–16). This becomes obvious in phrases such as Parth. *mytrg bwṯ ᵓgdᵓ mrymᵓny fryštg* "Maitreya Buddha has come, Lord Mani, the apostle" (Henning 1937, 20–21, ll. 90–91). Hutter (Hutter 2017, 226–27) even assumes an integration of Buddha Maitreya as a separate eschatological god besides Jesus the Judge in Central Asian Manichaeism. Parth.M *mytrg, mytrq,* Parth.S *mytrkw /Maitrag / Mētrag/* is a borrowing from northwestern Prakrit (Gāndhārī), where the Indian (Ind.) *-y-* was "hyper-correctly" replaced by *-g-*, also Toch. *Metrak, Maitrak,* Bactr. μητραγο */Mētrag/* (Asmussen 1965, 136; Sims-Williams 1983, 134; thus against the interpretation as Parth. adj.suff. *-ag*, see Colditz 2018, no. 362, sub D). Another word form (also used for Mani) is Parth.M *mytr /Maitr / Mētr/*, maybe an adaptation of the spelling to that of the theonym *Mihr*, see MP.I, Parth.I *mtry*, Phl. *mtrʾ*? It appears also as *mytr cytr, mytr cyṯr /Maitr / Mētr Čaitr / Čētr / Čitr(?)/* (also for Mani) with an unclear second element, maybe a magical modification of the name (Henning 1937, 19n1) or another Indian loanword, see Skt. *citrá* "conspicuous, excellent, distinguished; bright, clear; manifold" (Monier-Williams 1899, 396–97). Parth.M *mytrᵓgr /Maitrāgar / Mētrāgar/* as a designation of Mani is also related to this spelling, possibly formed in analogy to his other epithets, such as *rōšnāgar* "illuminator," *bōžāgar* "saviour" etc. (with agentive suffix *-gar*?, see Durkin-Meisterernst 2004, 236). The Sogdian spelling of "Maitreya" is Sogd.S *mytrᵓy /Maitrē / Mētrē/* instead with preserved *-y*.

Vairocana(?)

Parth. *lwšyn* in a very fragmentary hymn may represent */Lušen/*, i.e. the Chin. *Lushena* 盧舍那 Buddha as an incomplete phonetic transcription of Skt. *Vairocana* (Durkin-Meisterernst 2013, 95, 2014, 219n302; see Colditz 2018, no. 301a). In Chinese Manichaeism, his name is used to designate the Column of Glory (Mikkelsen 2006, 100), which is called *bāmistūn* "Column of Splendour" and *mard ispurrīg* "Perfect Man" in Parthian (Sundermann 1979, 100, 122, n. 105, 109). In Mahāyāna Buddhism, the all-wise, cosmic Vairocana is one of the five Adibuddhas. In their Manichaean adaptation they have been taken as symbols of the Light Cross and Jesus patibilis, i.e. of the Light particles which are fettered in Matter (Lieu 1988, 209–10). But the identification of Parth. *lwšyn* with *Lushena* raises the question whether the Parthian text is independent of or influenced by a Chinese one. Maybe one should take into account that the extant text is a later copy of the original one, and the scribe may have replaced a Parthian term by one he was more familiar with from his Central Asian Buddhist environment. Alternatively, Durkin-Meisterernst proposes an explanation as a variant spelling of *rwšn /rōšn/* "light." [20]

Tathāgata

Tathāgata "(the one) thus come / gone," Chin. 如来 *rulai*, in Mahāyāna Buddhism one of the ten titles of Buddha Śākyamuni and also a designation of the five transcendent Adibuddhas, appears in Manichaean Sogdian texts as a literal translation *myδ ᵓᵓγty, myδᵓγty /Mēδ-āγatē/* "thus-come." This term is used in a text on the apostles as an epithet of Jesus who is identified with the "New Day" (*nwy myδ*) (Reck 2006, no. 32, 2009, 248–59; cf. Colditz 2018, no. 352) like in MP. (*rwc ʿyg nwg*) (Andreas and Henning 1933, 314; Boyce 1975, 124, text bt; on Jesus as the New Day, see also Franzmann 2003, 31, 46). The plural *myδᵓγtyyṯ /mēδ-āγātēt/* [21]

may probably also serve as translation of WMIran. *ʾrdʾwʾn /ardāwān/* "the righteous ones" (MS. *[ʾrdʾwʾ]n*) as a synonym for the Elect in an abecedarian Middle Persian-Sogdian glossary (ed. Henning 1940, 27, text d, l. 16). As Henning points out, "it is quite in conformity to Manichæan ideas that every *electus* is assured of the redemption and freed from the bonds of metempsychosis: he is, indeed, a *tathāgata*" [(1940), 28, n. on l. 16].

Bodhisattva

With Mahāyāna Buddhism, the cult of Bodhisattva rose to prominence, as it is shown in Gand- [22]
harian and Kushano-Bactrian art (Emmerick 1989, 493–394). The term was adopted very
early in eastern Iran and in Manichaeism. In Parthian hymns *bwd(y)sdf /bōdisadf/*, which
reflects Skt. *Bodhisattva* (Sims-Williams 1983, 133; see Colditz 2018, no. 168), is used as an
epithet of Mani, often together with *mytrg* "Maitreya." The identification of the Manichaean
apostle of Light with this transcendent Bodhisattva characterizes him as someone on the path
towards Buddhahood who has generated *bodhicitta* "enlightment-mind" for the benefit of all
sentient beings. In the Manichaean view, this refers to Mani as possessor (and preacher) of
Gnosis and saviour of the Light Soul (Hutter 2002). From Parthian, the word may have been
transmitted into Sogdian (but with records only in Buddhist texts in various different spellings,
also with metathesis *-tβ > -βt*) and from there into Old Uyghur and New Persian, on the one
hand, and into Middle Persian, Arabic, etc., on the other. There it underwent further pho-
netic developments which are not subject of this paper (see Sundermann 1982, 100–108; but
for revision of his arguments, see Sundermann et al. 2001, I:180–181; Sims-Williams 2004,
544–45). But Yoshida (2008) sees no proof for the assumption of a borrowing from Parthian
into Sogdian and for an argument on the influence of Parthian Buddhism on the Sogdian one
with regard to the statistic distribution of the various spellings in Sogdian and Old Uyghur.
He explains them by changes in the pronunciation (simplifications of the final consonant clus-
ter), misspellings, or Sankritized forms (possibly via Tocharian). In Chinese, the Skt. term is,
however, phonetically transcribed as 菩薩 *Pusa* (LMChin. *pʰuě-sat*, EMChin. *bɔ-sat*). Further-
more, the term "Bodhisattva" is recorded in the Manichaean context as a designation of the
historical Buddha in a New Persian version of the story *Bilawhar wa Būḏāsaf* (ed. Henning
1962, 94–95, text A, l. 10), later known in its Christianized version as *Barlaam and Josaphat*,
which originates in a legend on Buddha's life as described in the Jātakas (on the story and
its transmission, see Woodward and Mattingly 1914; Lang 1957; de Blois 2009; Volk 2006,
2009; van Tongerloo 2009; Pettipiece 2009, 140–41). The spelling NP.M *bwdysf /Būdisaf /
Bōdisaf /* is still close to the Parthian and some Buddhist Sogdian forms with a simplification
-df > -f. During the further transmission of the story *Būdisaf / Bōdisaf* was corrupted into
Georg. *Yodasapʿ*, Gr. * Ἰωδάσαφ > Ἰωάσαφ, Lat. *Josaphat*. The common explanation of the
corruption as a wrong diacritical punctuation of the initial *b-* as *y-* in the Arabic manuscript
tradition looks problematic with regard to the much earlier record Copt. *Iōdasphēs* (ïⲱⲁⲁⲥⲫⲏⲥ)
as epithet of a historical (or literary?) person, a sage from the East, who appears in ch. 338
of the *Dublin Kephalaia* (ca. 400 C.E.) as dialogue partner of Mani besides Goundēš (ⲅⲟⲩⲛⲁⲏϣ,
s. below) and a certain Masoukeos (ⲙⲁⲥⲟⲩⲕⲉⲟⲥ) (Gardner 2015, 81–88).

Arhat

With the increasing importance of the Bodhisattva in Mahāyāna Buddhism, the Arhat "saint" [23]

was demoted to a lower rank (Emmerick 1989, 494).[11] In the Manichaean context, the term has been (mis)understood as the proper name of a prophet and disciple of the historical Buddha (Schaeder 1936, 95n1; Sundermann 1986, 18a). He appears as MP. ʾhryndws /Ahrendus/ in invocation hymns to guardian spirits and angels of the ecclesiastical province East. However, Sogd.M rhnd, Sogd.S rxʾnt /rahand/ (Gershevitch 1954, § 63; Sims-Williams and Durkin-Meisterernst 2012, 167) is used to designate the apostles or high-ranking Elect, see for example pl. pwtʾyšty ZY rxʾntty "Buddhas and Arhats," i.e. "(hend.) apostles" (Henning 1944, 138, 141 with n. 2, l. 40). The term has been borrowed from Pkt. arahaṃta- (Sims-Williams 1983, 137). MP. Ahrendus is a Graecised form of *Ahrend, with metathesis hr < rh, probably via Bactr. *αυρεντο /ahrent/, where υ stands for /h/ like in Copt. ⲁⲩⲣⲉⲛⲧⲏⲥ /Aurentēs/, cf. also OUygh.M ʾhrynt̠ws /Ahrintus/ (Sundermann 1991, 430n28; Sims-Williams 2000; but see Tardieu 1988, 172: Aurentēs as transcription of pl. Skt. arhantas), while Sogd. rahand and OUygh.S ʾʾrxʾnt, ʾʾrxnt /arxant/ (Zieme 1996, 27, 34–36) are close to the Indian word (see also Leurini 2013, 56–58; Colditz 2018, no. 28).

Figures from the Buddhist Tradition

Mani's adoption of Buddha to the chain of prophets drew the attention of Manichaean authors to other figures of the Buddhist tradition. A Sogdian homily lists calumniators of the original true teachings of Mani's predecessors and mentions Upagupta, Aśoka, and Devadatta as enemies of Buddha Śākyamuni (Henning 1944, 138, 141, ll. 29–33; see Lurje 2010, nos. 462, 1179, 1332; Colditz 2018, no. 206 (?), 509, 562, 601). Aśoka, the king of the Indian Maurya dynasty (268–232 B.C.), appears as Sogd. šwkʾ /Šōka/ with elision of the initial ʾ- (Henning 1944, 141n4). His alleged hostility towards the historical Buddha is chronologically wrong, but fits the hagiographical stylization that famous promoters of the faith (here Buddhism) must have been its fierce opponents before. Thus the same text calls Jamāspa the slanderer of Zarathustra. Sogd. *wpkʾtt may be read as /Upgatt(?)/ (MS. ⁺wprʾtt with misreading of k as r in a *Vorlage* in Sogdian script, cf. Henning 1944, 141n3) borrowed from Pkt. Upagutta, Skt. Upagupta, who is counted as fifth (Zen tradition: fourth) Buddhist patriarch during the time of Aśoka. He is not known for any hostile actions against the faith. Since he features prominently in the Buddhist Avadāna literature, the Manichaeans may have integrated him just as another famous figure in the history of Buddhism. The case is different with Devadatta, a relative of the historical Buddha, whom Buddhist tradition considers as one of Buddha's most persistent enemies and who caused the first schism in the saṅgha. He appears in the text as Sogd. tyβδʾtty /Dēvdatt/ from Skt. Devadatta, and probably also in the well-known Parthian dialogue between the boy (i.e. the soul) and a saviour figure (Jesus?) as dybt (ed. Andreas and Henning 1934, 878–81, here 880, l. 60; cf. Colditz 2018, no. 206). Skjærvø (1994, 242–43) explains the word as *Dēvat(t) < Deb(d)at / Deba(d)t / Dēva(d)t(?) < Skt. Devadatta (against Henning: *Dibat < Dilbat "Venus," thus also Livšic 2010, no. 190, Wilkens [personal communication]: *Dēvat(ā) < Skt. Devatā- "deity").

[24]

---

11 Gardner (2005; see also Deeg and Gardner 2009, 14–20) argues that "Buddha" and "Arhat" have also been used in Jainism as epithets as well as classes of enlightened persons. He points to Copt. ⲃⲟⲩⲇⲇⲁⲥ /Bouddas/, ⲁⲩⲣⲉⲛⲧⲏⲥ /Aurentēs/, ⲕⲏⲃⲏⲗⲗⲟⲥ /Kēbēllos/ (*Dublin Kephalaia* 423.1–11, ed. Gardner, BeDuhn, and Dilley 2018, 166–67) and proposes an explanation as "Buddha" (for Mahāvīra?), arhats, kevala/kevalajñānin as terms for the 24 tīrthāṅkaras "fordmakers", i.e. teachers(?) and thus as a reflexion of a Jain model.

Literary Figures from the Indian Tradition

Manichaean literature was inspired by tales and parables of other cultures and religions. In [25]
Central Asia, but probably also in eastern Iran, the Manichaeans adopted Buddhist—or more
generally Indian—literary genres and topoi (Asmussen 1975, 39–42; Sundermann 1997, 654–
55, 2009a, 230, 234–35, 238; Gardner 2020b, 43–45, 2020a). Thus Avadāna and Jātaka sto-
ries served as patterns for Manichaean parable collections such as the Sogdian *Parable Book*
(ed. Sundermann 1985; Benkato 2017). The stories in this book have a stylistic and terminolog-
ical Buddhist appearance but their thematic core traces back to the earliest Manichaean tradi-
tion and even to scriptures of Mani himself (Colditz 2015). Manichaean story-tellers transmit-
ted literary motives and figures between east and west. A collection of Sogdian short tales con-
tains a story about three fishes, called ʿyw šmʾrʾyy /Ēw-šmārē/ "One-Thought," C šmʾryy /Sat-
šmārē/ "Hundred-Thoughts," and zʾr šmʾrynyy /Zār-šmārĕnē/ "Thousand-Thoughts" (ed. Hen-
ning 1945a, 471, text C; Morano 2009, 176–7). It is an adaptation of a story from the *Pañ-
catantra* (fifth book, sixth story, in which the first figure is a frog, not a fish). The Sogdian
names are loan-translations or calques, respectively, of Skt. *ekabuddhi, śatabuddhi, sahasrabud-
dhi* (Henning 1945a, 471; see Lurje 2010, nos. 262, 1552, 1571; Colditz 2018, nos. 133, 686,
697). The Sogdian story of the Kar fish (ed. Henning 1945a, 482–84, text J; Sundermann 1998,
174–75) may have also an Indian *Vorlage*, but its Manichaean affiliation is not sure. For the
name of prince *kwl / kwlʾ / kwln(?) /Kul / Kulā / Kulan(?)/*, who is swallowed by the Kar
fish, Henning (1945a, 484n2; see Lurje 2010, no. 577; Colditz 2018, no. 269) compares with
Indian names such as *Kula, Gul, Gula, Kūlā, Kōlā, Kulan*, but also with Chin. 拘浪挐 *Julangna*
(LMChin. *kyǒ-laŋ-nraː*, EMChin. *kuě-laŋ-nraɨ/nɛ:*, K *kịu-lâng-nja*) as Xuangzang's transcription
of Skt. *Kuṇāla*, a son of Aśoka. The "rʾβʾn lord" (rʾβʾn xwβw), father of the prince in the Kar
fish story, may also have an Indian background, but it is unclear whether this term (*Rǎvǎn?*)
means "king of rʾβʾn (a country)", "king of the rʾβs (ethnonym)" or "king rʾβʾn (proper name),"
see Skt. *Rāvaṇa*? (Henning 1945a, 483; cf. Lurje 2010, no. 997; Colditz 2018, no. 436). An-
other example is the title of a parable, Parth. *wyspwh(r ʾd) cndʾ(..) zʾdg* "The prince with
the Čandā[ ]-son" in a Sogdian liturgical text (ed. Henning 1937, 47, text d, ll. 8–9; Morano
2017a, 445–46). Henning reads *cndʾ(ty)* and refers to Skt. *Chandaka*, Pāli *Channa*, Buddha's
charioteer and disciple, but this figure has no son. Alternatively, Henning proposes a reading
as *cnd(ʾl) /čandǎl/* , i.e. a son of an "outcast" (Skt. *caṇḍāla*). He also supposes that this parable
may belong to a Manichaean version of the *Barlaam and Josaphat* story (Henning 1945a, 487).
According to Klimkeit (1989, 193n3) there are parallels to the *Mūgapakkha-Jātaka* "Story of
the dumb prince", of which a Sogdian version is also known (Sims-Williams 1981, 238, 1990;
Yoshida 2001, 106–7; Reck 2006, no. 74). But the Caṇḍālas shall kill the king's son therein.
Maybe *cndʾ(..)* refers to the mother of the prince in the *Mūgapakkha-Jātaka,* who is called *Can-
dādevī*, by abbreviation, *Candā* in the Pāli version (Lurje 2010, no. 376, s. *cntn*; Livšic 2010,
168; Colditz 2018, 184).

Proper Names of Indian Origin or with Indian Elements

A small number of historical persons mentioned in the Iranian Manichaean corpus bear names [26]
of Indian origin or with Indian elements. It is difficult to decide whether these persons have
an Indian or even Buddhist background, whether their names are borrowed, calqued after
Buddhist pattern, or are even new formations on the basis of a Manichaean reinterpretation

of Buddhist terms. The persons in question are Elect, donors[12], Hearers, or just names in lists. Most of them may belong to the Central Asian Manichaean community.

Names with "Buddha"[13] (for the Manichaean interpretation see above): the donor WMIran. *bwtʾn zʾdg* /But(t)ān-zādag/ "son of the Buddhas" (Livšic 2010, no. 151; Colditz 2018, no. 171); the Hearer and notability in Čīnānčkanθ (Qočo) in the colophon of the hymn-book *Mahrnāmag* (the beginning of the ninth century) Sogd. *pwtyʾn* /But(t)i-yān/ "gift of the Buddha" or "having Buddha's grace," corresponding to Skt. *Buddhadatta* (Weber 1972, 201, no. 31; Hinüber 1995, 661; see Lurje 2010, no. 966 [with records in Buddhist Sogdian texts]; Colditz 2018, no. 428).   [27]

Names with Parth. *radn* "jewel" < Skt. *ratna*: The term was borrowed into Parthian very early on (Asmussen 1965, 136; Sims-Williams 1983, 140). In Manichaeism, *radn* is used as epithet of divine beings: the Father of Greatness, the Living Soul, the five sons of the First Man and the gods "Call" and "Answer" (Sundermann 1973, 99n1). The term appears in the names of two Elect depicted in a miniature, Parth. *rdn frzynd* /Radn-frazend/ "son of / like a jewel" (Sundermann 1994, 253, 256, 262–63; Colditz 2013, 121, 2018, no. 444) and *rdn xwrxšyd* /Radn-xwarxšēd/ "sun jewel," "jewel like the sun," or "(dedicated to) the jewel and the sun" (Sundermann 1994, 253, 255; Colditz 2013, 124, 2018, no. 445); another Elect in a list hybrid MP.-Parth. *ʾryʾmʾn rdn* /Aryāmān-radn/ "jewel of the friend (= Jesus)" or "friend like a jewel" (Colditz 2013, 124, 2018, no. 62); also a female Hearer in the colophon of the *Mahrnāmag* hybrid Ind.-OUygh. *rṭnk ymʾr xʾṯwn* /Ratnak Y(a)mar Qatun/ "Lady Dear to / like a jewel" (Zieme 2006, 122; Colditz 2018, no. 447).   [28]

Names with Parth. *darm* "law" < Skt. *dharma*: the donor and scribe Parth. *drmpwhr* /Darm-puhr/ "son of the law," possibly a calque of Skt. *Dharmaputra* (Sundermann 1994, 253, 261–62, 265; Livšic 2010, no. 170; Colditz 2013, 121, 2018, no. 197). The term itself is not recorded in Manichaean Parthian texts, but only in Manichaean Sogdian as adj. *δrmyk, δrmyq* /δarmīk/ "relating to the religious law" with Sogdian suffix (Sims-Williams and Durkin-Meisterernst 2012, 73).   [29]

Names with *mahā* < Skt. *mahā-* "great": a Hearer in the colophon of the *Mahrnāmag* MP. *mhʾyʾn* /Mahā-yān/, maybe from Skt. *mahāyāna-* "great vehicle," or hybrid Skt.-Sogd. "having great favour" (Colditz 2018, no. 327); a female name in a list Sogd. *mxʾmʾyh* /Maxāmāy/ "great pleasure" from Skt. *Mahāmāyā* (Colditz 2018, no. 351).   [30]

Indian origin has been assumed for the name of the Buddhist sage Gundēš (Parth. *gwndyš*, Copt. ⲅⲟⲩⲛⲇⲏ︤ⲱ︥ /Goundēš/) at the court of king Šābuhr I, from Ind. *Govindeṣa* or *Guṇādhaṣa* (Sundermann 1981, 87n3). But an interpretation as hypocorism of a MP. name containing *gund-* < **vinda-* "having received" or *gund* "army, troop, group, gathering" also seems possible (Sundermann 1992b, 308n19; cf. Colditz 2018, no. 229). For similar hypocorisms, see *Gundǎ* (*gwndʾ*) on a Sasanian seal (Yamauchi 1993, 17) and *Windōē* (Justi 1895, 370). Alternatively, BeDuhn (2015, 71–72) relates this name with that of a water channel Gr. Γόνδεισος < Parth. **Gund-dēz* "troop-fort," later rebuilt by Šābuhr I as Gundēšāpūr, i.e. Bēṯ Lapaṭ. But the ending in *-ēš* in Parthian and Coptic remains problematic for this explanation considering Parth., MP. *diz* "fort, fortress," Bactr. λιζα, λιζο, OP. *didā-*, Av. °*-daēza-* (Schmitt 2014, 169). If the assumption of an Iranian origin of the name is correct, Gundēš was probably a Buddhist native   [31]

---

12   Names at the end of text passages and hymns are supposed to be those of donors who paid for the copying of texts to achieve religious merit (Sundermann 1992a, 73–74). But some of the names may also represent the memory of the deceased in the context of funeral ceremonies (Colditz 2017).

13   According to Yoshida (2009, 292), Sogdian proper names with *but(t)i* appear in Chinese documents only after the second half of the seventh century.

from eastern Iran. But one cannot exclude that he was indeed a sage from "India" (or rather regions west from it, such as Kushan) at the royal court.[14]

Some other elements in names may be of Indian origin and often appear together with Old Uyghur ones: *qwmʾr /kumār/* < Skt. *kumārá-* "child, boy, son" in Parth. *]yšk qwmʾr /]išk-kumār/* (Colditz 2018, no. 752); *mwndʾ /munda/* < Skt. *muṇḍa* "shaved, bold; hornless" in OUygh. or hybrid Ind.-OUygh./MP.(?) *mwndʾ ṭwr /Munda Tur / Tūr(?)/*, a Hearer in a colophon (Colditz 2018, no. 346); *sbhl /subahl/* < Skt. *subhadra-* "happy" in hybrid WMIran.-Ind. *nyw sbhl /Nēw-subahl/*, two(?) Elect (Colditz 2018, no. 403); *synʾ /sēnā/* < Skt. *sénā* "army" in hybrid OUygh.-Ind.(?) *ʿysygṭrxʾn synʾʾmγʾ /Isig-tarqan *Sēna-amγa / Sēnamγa(?)/*, a Hearer in the colophon of the *Mahrnāmag* (Colditz 2018, no. 129). But we cannot elaborate here on all those names in the Iranian Manichaean corpus for which Indian origins or elements have been supposed.

[32]

Conclusion

The use of names and terms of Indian origin bears witness to encounters of Iranian-speaking Manichaeans with Indian religious traditions and cultures, mainly with Buddhism and/or Jainism. Although one may assume a more or less continuous impact over time, there are two main areas and periods of terminological transfer: the northeastern Iranian border region in the time of early Manichaeism (third/fourth century) and Central Asia during Manichaeanism's heyday (eighth to eleventh century). Additionally, the intellectual exchange between sages from various regions, among them probably also from "the East," at the royal Sasanian court may have provided further Indian cultural impact. But as measured by the small number of Indian names in the Iranian Manichaean corpus, one could get the impression that the Manichaean tradition was not essentially affected by Buddhism (or Jainism). Since Mani's religion was based on divine revelation, it should have remained stable in the face of the influence of foreign creeds. But the adoption of Buddha as Mani's predecessor and of Buddha and Bodhisattva names are signs of a certain dogmatic flexibility. The early church was thereby able to make new missionary areas accessible and to stabilise its own position therein. Moreover, these borrowings have a dogmatic dimension beyond mere terminological adaptation. Based on the claim to preach a universal religion, Mani looked for a core of the true faith in foreign creeds. Manichaeism thus experienced a re-contextualization in the face of non-Manichaean traditions. With the integration of "Buddha," "Bodhisattva," "Maitreya," etc. into the Manichaean system, these terms were reinterpreted and, as it were, "Manichaeanised." Mani may have encountered followers of early schools (probably Sāmmītiya) of Nikāya Buddhism during his journey through Tūrān and Sind, so-called "Hīnayāna" (BeDuhn 2015, 65–66). But the Iranian Manichaean texts underwent several redactions while being transmitted from Iran to Central Asia, during which the original texts were obviously re-shaped by the encounter with Mahāyāna Buddhism in the Turfan region.

[33]

Indian influence, moreover, manifests itself in the transmission of literary figures and motives and the adoption of literary genres in Manichaean literature, whether from Buddhist

[34]

---

14   On Gundēš, see Sundermann (1981, 86–89, texts 4b.1, 4b.2, 1986, 14b; Sundermann et al. 2001, I:215; *Dublin Kephalaia* ch. 327–39, ed. Gardner, BeDuhn, and Dilley 2018, 48–147). The Gundēš story was probably an independent hagiographic narrative and was later incorporated into the *Kephalaia* with chronological and redactional anomalies (BeDuhn 2015, 66–72).

tradition or from Indian narratives like the *Pañcatantra*. Here, the interpretation of the stories also became a Manichaean one.

As regards Indian elements in proper names—in spite of those of literary figures—they seem to appear particularly among Manichaeans of the Central Asian community, with several records among the Hearers alone listed in the colophon of the *Mahrnāmag* (beginning of the ninth century). It is difficult to make conclusions on the general fashion of Manichaean naming. Nevertheless, onomastics cannot be separated from the religious beliefs of their respective times, especially in ancient societies. One may think of influences from Buddhism among Sogdians, Uyghurs, the Chinese, and Tocharians, with whom the Manichaeans were in contact. Although some of these names (or their Indian *templates*) have their own phraseological and metaphorical meaning in the Buddhist (or Jain, Hindu?) context, we may assume that this was not decisive for bestowing of church names or institutional names, respectively, among the Manichaean clergy. The Elect's names prefer Indian elements that were transmitted into Parthian very early on or recall "learned" Sanskrit forms. But these elements can easily be interpreted in a way that fits Manichaean teachings. We should also take into account that names of the Elect were formed freely from already existing name elements. In names of Hearers, Indian elements are mixed mostly with Old Uyghur ones, which speaks in favour of a certain Indian influence among the Uyghurs, whether by Buddhism and other religions or even by Indian traders, as an inspiration for name-giving in the Manichaean community. But Indian elements in Old Uyghur onomastics are rare as well, since Buddhist name elements were often taken from Chinese or were calqued in Old Uyghur (Hinüber 1995, 661; for rare examples of Indian elements, see Zieme 2006, 117, 122).[15] Iranian elements in Old Uyghur names are more common. The number of names formed after the Buddhist pattern in the onomastics of the Iranian Manichaean corpus could possibly be increased if we consider Sogdian names with certain elements that may have been translated from Indian ones. See, for example, Sogd. *farn* "glory, fortune; splendour" ~ Skt. *śrī, yān* "boon" ~ Skt. *datta, vantak* "servant, slave" ~ Skt. *dāsa*, f. *δāy* "maid-servant, slave-girl" ~ Skt. *dāsī́* (cf. Hinüber 1995, 661; Lurje 2010, nos. 647, 790, 967; for lists of Sogdian names with *-farn* and *–yān*, see Weber 1972). But these kinds of partial translations of Indian names are not always easily recognizable. To summarise: While the adoption of Buddhist and/or Jain elements seems to have affected some parts of Manichaean teachings, the interaction of the Manichaean tradition with these foreign creeds left its mark in the onomastics of the Iranian Manichaean texts to only a very limited extent.

References

Andreas, Friedrich C., and Walter B. Henning. 1933. "Mitteliranische Manichaica II, aus dem Nachlaß herausgegeben von W. B. Henning." In *Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1933*, 292–363. Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften.

———. 1934. "Mitteliranische Manichaica III, aus dem Nachlaß herausgegeben von W. B. Henning." In *Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1934*, 848–912. Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften.

---

15   Cf. for example OUygh. *Taišingdu* from Chin. 大乘 *dacheng*, i.e. Skt. *mahāyāna*, and *du* as abbreviation of the title Chin. 都督 *dudu*, OUygh. *totoq* (Zieme 1978, 83); OUygh. *Burxan Qulı Tutuŋ* "Buddha-slave", i.e. Skt. *Buddhadāsa*, and title *tutuŋ* (Zieme 1987, 274).

Asmussen, Jes Peter. 1965. *Xuāstvānīft. Studies in Manichaeism*. Acta Theologica Danica 7. Copenhagen: Munksgaard.

———. 1975. *Manichaean Literature. Representative Texts Chiefly from Middle Persian and Parthian Writings*. Persian Heritage Series 22. Delmar, NY: Scholar's Fascimiles & Reprints.

Back, Michael. 1978. *Die sassanidischen Staatsinschriften. Studien zur Orthographie und Phonologie des Mittelpersischen der Inschriften zusammen mit einem etymologischen Index des mittelpersischen Wortgutes und einem Textcorpus der behandelten Inschriften*. Acta Iranica 18. Trois. sér. Textes et Mémoires 8. Leiden: Brill.

BeDuhn, Jason D. 2015. "Parallels Between Coptic and Iranian Kephalaia: Goundesh and the King of Touran." In *Mani at the Court of the Persian Kings. Studies on the Chester Beatty Kephalaia Codex*, edited by Iain Gardner, Jason D. BeDuhn, and Paul Dilley, 52–74. Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 87. Leiden: Brill.

Benkato, Adam. 2017. *Āzandnāmē. An Edition and Literary-Critical Study of the Manichaean-Sogdian Parable-Book*. Beiträge zur Iranistik 42. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.

Blois, François de. 2009. "On the sources of the Barlaam Romance, or: How the Buddha became a Christian saint." In *Literarische Stoffe und ihre Gestaltung in mitteliranischer Zeit. Kolloquium anläßlich des 70. Geburtstages von Werner Sundermann*, edited by Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, Christiane Reck, and Dieter Weber, 7–26. Beiträge zur Iranistik 31. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.

Boyce, Mary. 1975. *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. Acta Iranica 9. Leiden: Brill.

Bryder, Peter. 2005. "Manicheism iv. Buddhist Elements." In *Encyclopædia Iranica*, Online. https://iranicaonline.org/articles/manicheism-iii-buddhist-elements-in.

Colditz, Iris. 2013. "Die parthischen Personennamen in den iranisch-manichäischen Texten." In *Commentationes Iranicae. Sbornik statej k 90-letiju Vladimira Aronoviča Livšica / Vladimiro f. Aaron Livschits nonagenario donum natalicium [Collected Papers to the 90th Birthday of Vladimir Aronovič Livšic]*, edited by Sergej R. Tochtas'ev and Pavel B. Lur'e, 118–42. Sankt Petersburg: Nestor-Historia.

———. 2015. "Two Snake-Brothers on Their Way – Mani's Scriptures as a Source of Manichaean Central Asian Parables?" In *Studies on the Iranian World: Before Islam*, edited by Anna Krasnowolska and Renata Rusek-Kowalska, 91–103. Krakau: Jagiellonian University Press.

———. 2017. "On the Names of 'Donors' in Middle Iranian Manichaean Texts." In *Manichaeism East and West*, edited by Samuel N. C. Lieu, Nils A. Pedersen, Enrico Morano, and Erica Hunter, 56–67. Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum. Analecta Manichaica 1. Turnhout: Brepols.

———. 2018. *Iranische Personennamen in manichäischer Überlieferung*. Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 889. Iranische Onomastik 16. Iranisches Personennamenbuch 2: Mitteliranische Namen, fascicle 1. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

———. forthcoming. "Some Iranian Names of Manichaeans from Non-Iranian Sources." In *Proceedings of the 9th International Conference of the International Association of Manichaean Studies (IAMS), 11.–15. September 2017, Turin*.

Conze, Edward. 1967. "Buddhism and Gnosis." In *Le Origini Dello Gnosticismo. The Origins of Gnosticism. Colloquium of Messina, 13–18 April 1966*, edited by Ugo Bianchi, 651–67. Studies in the History of Religion 12. Leiden: Brill.

Deeg, Max, and Iain Gardner. 2009. "Indian Influence on Mani Reconsidered. The Case of Jainism." *International Journal of Jaina Studies (Online)* 5 (2): 1–30.

Dodge, Bayard. 1970. *The Fihrist of Al Nadīm. A Tenth Century Survey of Muslim Culture*. Records of Civilization 83. New York: Columbia Univ. Press.

Durkin-Meisterernst, Desmond. 2004. *Dictionary of Manichaean Texts III: Texts from Central Asia and China. Part 1: Dictionary of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. Turnhout: Brepols.

———. 2013. "*l* in Manichaean Parthian Words." In *Commentationes Iranicae. Sbornik Statej K 90-Letiju Vladimira Aronoviča Livšica / Vladimiro F. Aaron Livschits Nonagenario Donum Natalicium [Collected Papers to the 90th Birthday of Vladimir Aronovič Livšic]*, edited by Sergej R. Tochtas'ev and Pavel B. Lur'e, 92–101. Sankt Peterburg: Nestor-Historia.

———. 2014. *Miscellaneous Hymns. Middle Persian and Parthian Hymns in the Turfan Collection*. Berliner Turfantexte 31. Turnhout: Brepols.

Durkin-Meisterernst, Desmond, and Philip G. Kreyenbroek. 2006. "Iran ix. Religions in Iran (1.2) Manicheism." *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 13 (4): 439–42.

Emmerick, Ronald E. 1989. "Buddhism Among Iranian Peoples in Pre-Islamic Times." *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 4 (5): 492–6.

Franzmann, Majella. 2003. *Jesus in the Manichaean Writings*. London: Clark.

Funk, Wolf-Peter. 2009. "Mani's Account of Other Religions According to the Coptic Synaxeis Codex." In *New Light on Manichaeism. Papers from the Sixth International Congress on Manichaeism*, edited by Jason BeDuhn, 115–27. Leiden: Brill.

Gardner, Iain. 2005. "Some Comments on Mani and Indian Religions According to the Coptic Kephalaia." In *Il Manicheismo: Nuove prospettive della richerca. Atti del Quinto congresso internazionale di studi sul Manicheismo*, edited by Alois van Tongerloo and Luigi Cirillo, 123–35. Manichaean Studies 5. Turnhout: Brepols.

———. 2015. "The Final Ten Chapters." In *Mani at the Court of the Persian Kings. Studies on the Chester Beatty Kephalaia Codex*, edited by Iain Gardner, Jason BeDuhn, and Paul Dilley, 75–97. Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 87. Leiden: Brill.

———. 2020a. "Backgammon and Cosmology at the Sasanian Court." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 83 (2): 249–57.

———. 2020b. *The Founder of Manichaeism. Rethinking the Life of Mani. The Jordan Lectures in Comparative Religion. School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 30 May–2 June 2016*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gardner, Iain, Jason D. BeDuhn, and Paul Dilley, eds. 2018. *The Chapters of the Wisdom of My Lord Mani. Part III: Pages 343–442 (Chapters 321–347)*. Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 92. Leiden, Boston: Brill.

Gershevitch, Ilya. 1954. *A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian*. Publications of the Philological Society 16. Oxford: Blackwell.

Haloun, Gustav, and Walter B. Henning. 1953. "The Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teaching of Mani, the Buddha of Light." *Asia Major, N.S* 3 (2): 184–212.

Henning, Walter B. 1937. *Ein manichäisches Bet-und Beichtbuch*. Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1936 [1937] 10. Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften.

———. 1940. *Sogdica*. James Forlong Fund 21. London: Royal Asiatic Society.

———. 1944. "The Murder of the Magi." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 76 (3–4): 133–44.

———. 1945a. "Sogdian Tales." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 11 (1943-1946): 465–87.

———. 1945b. "The Manichaean Fasts." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 77 (3–4): 146–64.

———. 1962. "Persian Poetical Manuscripts from the Time of Rūdakī." In *A Locust's Leg: Studies in Honour of S. H. Taqizadeh*, edited by Walter B. Henning and Ehsan Yarshater, 2:89–104. London: Percy Lund, Humphries & Co. Ltd.

Henrichs, Albert, and Ludwig Koenen, eds. 1982. "Der Kölner Mani Kodex (P. Colon. inv. nr. 4780). Περὶ τῆς γέννης τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ. Edition der Seiten 121–192." *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 48: 1–59.

Hinüber, Oskar von. 1995. "Indische Namen in Zentralasien bis 1000 n. Chr." In *Namenforschung. Name Studies. Les noms propres. Ein internationales Handbuch zur Onomastik. An International Handbook of Onomastics*, edited by Ernst Eichler, Gerold Hilty, Heinrich Löffler, Hugo Steger, and Ladislav Zgusta, 657–65. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Hutter, Manfred. 2002. "Mani als Maitreya." In *Religionsbegegnung und Kulturaustausch in Asien, Studien zum Gedenken an Hans-Joachim Klimkeit*, edited by Wolfgang Gantke, Karl Hoheisel, and Wassilios Klein, 111–9. Studies in Oriental Religions 49. Harrassowitz.

———. 2010. "Manichäismus." In *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, 24:6–47.

———. 2017. "Buddha in Iranian Manichaean Writings." In *Zur lichten Heimat. Studien zu Manichäismus, Iranistik und Zentralasienkunde im Gedenken an Werner Sundermann*, edited by Team "Turfan-Forschung", 221–9. Iranica 25. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz.

Huyse, Philip. 1999. *Die dreisprachige Inschrift Šābuhrs I. an der Kaʻba i Zardušt (ŠKZ)*. 2 vols. Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum III/I/I. London.

Justi, Ferdinand. 1895. *Iranisches Namenbuch*. Marburg: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung.

Klimkeit, Hans-Joachim. 1989. *Hymnen und Gebete der Religion des Lichts. Iranische und türkische liturgische Texte der Manichäer Zentralasiens. Eingeleitet und aus dem Mittelpersischen, Parthischen, Sogdischen und Uigurischen (Alttürkischen), übersetzt von Hans-Joachim Klimkeit*. Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 79. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.

Lang, David M. 1957. *The Wisdom of Balahvar, Christian Legend of the Buddha. Translated from the Old Georgian Version by D. M. Lang*. Ethical and Religious Classics of East and West 20. London: Allen & Unwin.

Leurini, Claudia. 2013. *The Manichaean Church. An Essay Mainly Based on the Texts from Central Asia*. Serie Orientale Roma N.S. 1. Roma: Scienze e lettere.

———. 2017. *Hymns in Honour of the Hierarchy and Community, Installation Hymns and Hymns in Honour of Church Leaders and Patrons*. Berliner Turfantexte 40. Turnhout: Brepols.

Lieu, Samuel N. C. 1988. *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China. A Historical Survey, with a Foreword by Mary Boyce*. Manchester: University Press.

Livšic, Vladimir A. 2010. *Parfjanskaja Onomastika*. Sankt-Peterburg: Peterburgskoe Lingvističeskoe Obšč.

Lurje, Pavel B. 2010. *Personal Names in Sogdian Texts*. Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 808. Iranische Onomastik 8. Iranisches Personennamenbuch 2: Mitteliranische Namen, fascicle 8. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

———. 2019. "Buddhist Indian Loan-Words in Sogdian and the Development of Sogdian Buddhism." Paper read at the international workshop "Dynamics, Stability & Tradition: The Role of the Religions of Iranian Speakers in Central and Eastern Asia" at the Centre for Religious Studies (CERES), Ruhr-Universität Bochum, March 14–15.

Maggi, Mauro. 2009a. "Annotations on the *Book of Zambasta*. I." In *Literarische Stoffe und ihre Gestaltung in mitteliranischer Zeit. Kolloquium anläßlich des 70. Geburtstages von Werner Sundermann*, edited by Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, Christiane Reck, and Dieter Weber, 153–71. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.

———. 2009b. "Khotanese Literature." In *The Literature of Pre-Islamic Iran. A Companion Volume I to a History of Persian Literature*, edited by Ronald E. Emmerick and Maria Macuch, 330–417. London: I.B.Tauris.

Mikkelsen, Gunner B. 2006. *Dictionary of Manichaean Texts III: Texts from Central Asia and China. Part 4: Dictionary of Manichaean Texts in Chinese*. Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum. Subsidia. Dictionary of Manichaean Texts, 3 (4). Turnhout: Brepols.

Monier-Williams, Monier. 1899. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Etymologically and Philologically Arranged with Special Reference to Cognate Indo-European Languages*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Morano, Enrico. 2009. "Sogdian Tales in Manichaean Script." In *Literarische Stoffe und ihre Gestaltung in mitteliranischer Zeit. Kolloquium anläßlich des 70. Geburtstages von Werner Sundermann*, edited by Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, Christiane Reck, and Dieter Weber, 173–200. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.

———. 2017a. "An Antiphonal Body and Soul Hymn in Middle Persian, Parthian and Sogdian." In *Zur lichten Heimat. Studien zu Manichäismus, Iranistik und Zentralasienkunde im Gedenken an Werner Sundermann*, edited by Team Turfanforschung, 445–52. Wiesbaden: Harassowitz.

———. 2017b. "Manichaean Sogdian Poems." In *Manichaeism East and West*, edited by Samuel N. C. Lieu, Nils A. Pedersen, Enrico Morano, and Erica Hunter, 171–84. Turnhout: Brepols.

Müller, Friedrich W. K. 1912. *Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch (Mahrnāmag)*. Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1912, no. 5. Berlin: Verlag der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Pettipiece, Timothy. 2009. "The Buddha in Early Christian Literature." *Millenium* 6: 133–43.

Polotsky, Hans Jakob, and Alexander Böhlig. 1940. *Kephalaia I. 1. Hälfte (Lfg. 1–10)*. Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen Berlin 1. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.

Provasi, Elio. 2013. "The Diamond Earth. A Manichaean Eulogy." In *Commentationes Iranicae. Sbornik Statej K 90-Letiju Vladimira Aronoviča Livšica / Vladimiro F. Aaron Livschits Nonagenario Donum Natalicium [Collected Papers to the 90th Birthday of Vladimir Aronovič Livšic]*, edited by Sergej R. Tochtas'ev and Pavel B. Lur'e, 378–93. Sankt Peterburg: Nestor-Historia.

Reck, Christiane. 2003. "Die Beschreibung der Daēnā in einem soghdischen manichäischen Text." In *Religious themes and texts of pre-Islamic Iran and Central Asia. Studies in honour of Professor Gherardo Gnoli on the occasion of his 65th birthday on 6th December 2002*, edited by Carlo G. Cereti, Mauro Maggi, and Elio Provasi, 323–38. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.

———. 2006. *Berliner Turfanfragmente manichäischen Inhalts in soghdischer Schrift.* Mitteliranische Handschriften, part 1. Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, 18 (1). Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.

———. 2009. "Snatches of the Middle Iranian 'Tale of the Five Brothers'." In *New Light on Manichaeism. Papers from the Sixth International Congress on Manichaeism,* edited by Jason BeDuhn, 241–57. Leiden: Brill.

———. 2013. "Der Manichäismus als iranische Religion." In *Handbuch der Iranistik,* edited by Ludwig Paul, 171–84. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag.

———. 2016. *Berliner Turfanfragmente buddhistischen Inhalts in soghdischer Schrift.* Mitteliranische Handschriften, part 2. Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, 18 (2). Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.

———. 2018. "Short Survey on Sogdian Manuscriptology." *Written Monuments of the Orient* 18 (2): 51–66.

Reichelt, Hans. 1928–1931. *Die sogdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums Vol. 1: Die buddhistischen Texte. Vol. 2: Die nicht-buddhistischen Texte.* Heidelberg: Winter.

Schaeder, Hans H. 1936. "Der Manichäismus nach neuen Funden und Forschungen." *Orientalische Stimmen zum Erlösungsgedanken. Morgenland* 28: 80–109.

Schmidt-Glintzer, Helwig. 1987. *Chinesische Manichaica, mit textkritischen Anmerkungen und einem Glossar.* Studies in Oriental Religions 14. Wiesbaden: Harassowitz.

Schmitt, Rüdiger. 2014. *Wörterbuch der altpersischen Königsinschriften.* Wiesbaden: Reichert.

———. 2016. *Personennamen in parthischen epigraphischen Quellen.* Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 881. Iranische Onomastik 15. Iranisches Personennamenbuch 2: Mitteliranische Namen, fascicle 5. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Sims-Williams, Nicholas. 1981. "The Sogdian Fragments of Leningrad." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 44: 231–40.

———. 1983. "Indian Elements in Parthian and Sogdian." In *Sprachen des Buddhismus in Zentralasien. Vorträge des Hamburger Symposions vom 2. Juli bis 5. Juli 1981,* edited by Klaus Röhrborn and Wolfgang Veenker, 132–41. Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica 16. Wiesbaden: Harassowitz.

———. 1985. "Ancient Letters." *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 2: 7–9.

———. 1990. "The Sogdian Fragments of Leningrad II: Mani at the Court of the Shahanshah." *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 4: 281–8.

———. 2000. "Aurentēs." In *Studia Manichaica: IV. Internationaler Kongreß zum Manichäismus, Berlin, 14.–18. Juli 1997,* edited by Ronald E. Emmerick, Werner Sundermann, and Peter Zieme, 560–3. Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berichte und Abhandlungen, special volume 4. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.

———. 2004. "The Parthian Abstract Suffix *-yft.*" In *Indo-European Perspectives. Studies in Honour of Anna Morpurgo Davies,* edited by John H. W. Penney, 539–47. Oxford: University Press.

———. 2009. "The Bactrian fragment in Manichaean script (M 1224)." In *Literarische Stoffe und ihre Gestaltung in mitteliranischer Zeit. Kolloquium anläßlich des 70. Geburtstages von Werner Sundermann,* edited by Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, Christiane Reck, and Dieter Weber, 245–68. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.

Sims-Williams, Nicholas, and Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst. 2012. *Dictionary of Manichaean Texts III: Texts from Central Asia and China. Part 2: Texts in Sogdian and Bactrian*. Turnhout: Brepols.

Skjaervø, Prods O. 1994. "Venus and the Buddha." In *Iranian and Indo-European Studies. Memorial Volume of Otakar Klíma*, edited by Petr Vavroušek, 239–54. Praha: Enigma Corp.

Soothilll, William E., and Lewis Hodous. 1937. *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.

Sundermann, Werner. 1973. *Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer, mit einigen Bemerkungen zu Motiven der Parabeltexte von Friedmar Geissler*. Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients 8. Berliner Turfantexte 4. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.

———. 1979. "Namen von Göttern, Dämonen und Menschen in iranischen Versionen des manichäischen Mythos." *Altorientalische Forschungen* 6: 95–133.

———. 1981. *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts, mit einem Appendix von Nicholas Sims-Williams*. Berliner Turfantexte 11. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.

———. 1982. "Die Bedeutung des Parthischen für die Verbreitung buddhistischer Wörter indischer Herkunft." *Altorientalische Forschungen* 9: 99–113.

———. 1985. *Ein manichäisch-soghdisches Parabelbuch, mit einem Anhang von Friedmar Geissler über Erzählmotive in der Geschichte von den zwei Schlangen*. Berliner Turfantexte 15. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.

———. 1986. "Mani, India, and the Manichaean Religion." *South Asian Studies* 2: 11–19.

———. 1991. "Manichaean Traditions on the Date of the Historical Buddha." In *The Dating of the Historical Buddha*, edited by Heinz Bechert, 1:426–38. Göttingen: Vandenhock & Ruprecht.

———. 1992a. "Iranian Manichaean Turfan Texts Concerning the Turfan Region." In *Turfan and Tun-Huang. The Texts. Encounter of Civilizations on the Silk Route. Proceedings of the International Conference Promoted and Organized by the Istituto "Venezia e l'Oriente" of the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, The Istituto Oriente/ IsMEO, the Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici of the Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli. With the Collaboration of UNESCO; Venice, 15–16 January 1990*, edited by Alfredo Cadonna, 4:63–84. Firenze: Olschki.

———. 1992b. "Iranische Kephalaiatexte?" In *Studia Manichaica, II. Internationaler Kongress zum Manichäismus, 6–10 August, 1989, St. Augustin / Bonn*, edited by Gernot Wießner and Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, 305–18. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

———. 1994. "Iranische Personennamen der Manichäer." *Die Sprache* 35 (2): 244–70.

———. 1997. "Manichaeism Meets Buddhism. The Problem of Buddhist Influence on Manichaeism." In *Bauddhavidyāsudhākara. Studies in Honour of Heinz Bechert on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, edited by Petra Kieffer-Pülz and Jens-Uwe Hartmann, 647–56. Indica et Tibetica 30. Swisttal-Odendorf: Indica-et-Tibetica-Verlag.

———. 1998. "Soghdisch *ršt'wc'r* 'Trost, Ermahnung' (mit einem Anhang: Das Ende der soghdischen Erzählung vom Kar-Fisch)." In *Religion und Wahrheit: Religionsgeschichtliche Studien. Festschrift für Gernot Wießner zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by Bärbel Köhler, 167–78. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

———. 2002. "Manicheism ii. The Manichean Pantheon." *Encyclopædia Iranica*. https://iranicaonline.org/articles/manicheism-ii-the-manichean-pantheon.

———. 2009a. "Manichaean Literature in Iranian Languages." In *The Literature of Pre-Islamic Iran. A Companion Volume I to a History of Persian Literature*, edited by Ronald E. Emmerick and Maria Macuch, 197–265. History of Persian Literature 17. London: I.B.Tauris.

———. 2009b. "Manicheism i. General survey." In *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, Online. https://iranicaonline.org/articles/manicheism-1-general-survey.

Sundermann, Werner, Christiane Reck, Dieter Weber, Claudia Leurini, and Antonio Panaino, eds. 2001. *Manichaica Iranica. Ausgewählte Schriften von Werner Sundermann.* 2 vols. Serie Orientale Roma 89. Roma: Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente.

Tardieu, Michel. 1988. "La diffusion du bouddhisme dans l'empire Kouchan, l'Iran et la Chine, d'après un Kephalaion manichéen inédit." *Studia Iranica* 17 (2): 153–82.

Tongerloo, Alois van. 1984. "Buddhist Indian Terminology in the Manichaean Uygur and Middle Iranian Texts." In *Middle Iranian Studies. Proceedings of the International Symposium Organized by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven from the 17th to the 20th of May 1982*, edited by Wojciech Skalmowski and Alois van Tongerloo, 243–52. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 16. Leuven: Peeters.

———. 2008. "The Apocalyptic Manichaean Text TM180." In *Aspects of Research into Central Asian Buddhism, in Memoriam Kōgi Kudara*, edited by Peter Zieme, 389–405. Silk Road Studies 16. Turnhout: Brepols.

———. 2009. "A Nobleman in Trouble, or the Consequences of Drunkenness." In *Literarische Stoffe und ihre Gestaltung in mitteliranischer Zeit. Kolloquium anläßlich des 70. Geburtstages von Werner Sundermann*, edited by Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, Christiane Reck, and Dieter Weber, 287–305. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.

Volk, Robert, ed. 2006. *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. Vol. 6 (2): Historia animae utilis de Barlaam et Ioasaph (spuria). Text und zehn Appendices*. Patristische Texte und Studien 60. Berlin: De Gruyter.

———, ed. 2009. *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. Vol. 6 (1): Historia animae utilis de Barlaam et Ioasaph (spuria). Einführung*. Patristische Texte und Studien 60. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Weber, Dieter. 1972. "Zur soghdischen Personennamengebung." *Indogermanische Forschungen* 77: 191–208.

Wilkens, Jens. 1999–2000. "Ein manichäisch-türkischer Hymnus auf den Licht-Nous." *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher [N.F.]* 16: 217–31.

Woodward, George R., and Harold Mattingly, eds. 1914. *St. John Damascene: Barlaam and Ioasaph.* Loeb Classical Library 34. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Yamauchi, Kazuya. 1993. *The Vocabulary of Sasanian Seals*. Studia Culturae Islamicae 46. Iranian Studies 5. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa.

Yoshida, Yutaka. 2001. "On the Sogdian Fragments of the St. Petersburg Collection." *Contribution to the Studies of Eurasian Languages Series, Series 3. Issues in Eurasian Languages* 1: 105–17.

———. 2002. "Manichaean Sogdian Letters Discovered in Bäzäklik." *Annuaire de L'École Pratique Des Hautes études (EPHE). Section Des Sciences Religieuses* 109: 233–6.

———. 2003. "Buddhist Influence on Bema Festival?" In *Religious Themes and Texts of Pre-Islamic Iran and Central Asia. Studies in Honour of Professor Gherardo Gnoli on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday on 6th December 2002*, edited by Carlo G. Cereti, Mauro Maggi, and Elio Provasi, 453–8. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.

———. 2008. "Die Buddhistischen Sogdischen Texte in der Berliner Turfansammlung und die Herkunft des Buddhistischen Sogdischen Wortes für Bodhisattva. Zum Gedenken an Prof. Kōgi Kudaras Arbeiten an den Sogdischen Texten." *Acta Orientalia Academiae scientiarum Hungaricae* 61: 325–58.

———. 2009. "Buddhist Literature in Sogdian." In *The Literature of Pre-Islamic Iran. A Companion Volume I to a History of Persian Literature*, edited by R. E. Emmerick and Maria Macuch, 288–329. London: I.B.Tauris.

———. 2019. *Three Manichaean Sogdian Letters Unearthed in Bäzäklik, Turfan. / Bezekuliku Senbutsudō Shutsudo No Manikyō Sogudogo Tegamibun Kenkyū*. Kyoto: Rinsen Book Co.

Zieme, Peter. 1978. "Materialien zum uigurischen Onomasticon I." *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı – Belleten* 1977: 71–84.

———. 1987. "Materialien zum uigurischen Onomasticon III." *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı – Belleten* 1984–1987: 267–83.

———. 1996. "Alexander According to an Old Turkish Legend." In *Convegno internazionale sul tema: La Persia e l'Asie Centrale da Alessandro al X secolo in collaborazione con l'Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (Roma, 9–12 novembre 1994)*, edited by Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 25–37. Atti dei Convegni Lincei 127. Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei.

———. 2006. "Hybrid Names as a Special Device of Central Asian Naming." In *Turcic-Iranian Contact Areas. Historical and Linguistic Aspects*, edited by Lars Johanson and Christiane Bulut, 114–27. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Turfan

Connecting with Seleucia-Ctesiphon

ERICA C. D. HUNTER 🆔
University of London School of Oriental and African Studies, Great Britain

ABSTRACT   Despite its linguistic and physical distance from the Mesopotamian heartland, the Church of the East maintained its spiritual and theological heritage amongst its Iranian-speaking communities at Turfan. Psalters written in a wide variety of languages and bilingual lectionaries attest the efforts that were made to 'reach out' to the local communities, but it was through the Syriac liturgy that the intrinsic connection with Seleucia-Ctesiphon was maintained. Using MIK III 45, the most complete liturgical text from Turfan, consisting of 61 folios with a C14 dating (771–884 CE), the paper explores the role of liturgy as a tool of community memory. Of prime significance was the commemoration of Mart Shir, the Sassanid queen who eschewed her royal connections to become the evangelist of Marv. Here, the liturgy offers a very different perspective to the ninth-century Arabic *Chronicle of Se'ert*, in which she was subordinated to Baršabbā, the alleged first bishop of Marv. The prayer of Bar Sauma, bishop of Nisibis, recited *plene* during the rite for the consecration of a new church (altar), also recalled the close association that had been forged with the Sassanid realms.

KEYWORDS   Central Asia, Turfan region, Syriac liturgical texts, Church of the East, Seleucia-Ctesiphon

The Church of the East Monastery at Turfan

Between 1904 and 1907, the second and third seasons conducted by the *German Turfan Expedition* unearthed approximately 1,100 paper fragments, written in Syriac script,[1] at the   [1]

---

1   The author extends her thanks to the *Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussicher Kulturbesitz* for access to and permission to reproduce images of the relevant fragments. All images are copyright *Depositum der Berlin Brandenburgischer Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung*. Low resolution images of the Syr HT signature numbers are available on the International Dunhuang Project website (http:id.bl.uk/; enter the signature number in the search box).

Figure 1   The monastery site at Shuïpang near Bulayïq, Turfan (photo by Erica D. Hunter).

monastery site of Shuïpang near Bulayïq in Turfan[2] (figure 1). These covered three major languages: Syriac, Sogdian and Old Uighur; additionally, several fragments in New Persian and a Middle Persian (Pahlavi) Psalter, likewise written in Syriac script, were also found. Theodor Bartus, who was the assistant of Albert von Le Coq, the co-director (with Albert Grünwedel) of the *German Turfan Expeditions*, excavated the trove in one day from a single spot at the monastery. In his book *Auf Hellas Spuren in Ostturken*, von Le Coq, who was not present when the fragments were found, wrote that "he excavated […] in the extremely ruined walls an amazing Christian manuscript"[3] (1926, 88). Regrettably he supplied no further information about the discovery of the fragments or the monastery, where mud-brick walls still stand to the height of approximately 1.5 metres today. The remarkable discoveries have not shed light on the question of the monastery's foundation or its lifespan, although the fragments suggest that it may have been operational until the mid-thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries.

The monastic complex possibly provided a stopping point for travelers, since the northern route of the Silk Road, skirting the Tarim basin, passed through Turfan. It undoubtedly also served the needs of the Christian communities distributed throughout the Turfan oasis, as evidenced by smaller quantities of Christian texts in Syriac, Sogdian, Uighur and Persian that were discovered by the *German Turfan Expedition* at other sites in the Turfan oasis (Astana, Qocho, Qurutqa and Toyoq). A unique fresco depicting a 'Western' priest and three female figures that was found at the church in Qocho, and is now housed in the Museum für Asiatische Kunst in Berlin, gives a graphic indication of the diversity of Christian communities at Turfan,

[2]

---

2   See Barbati (2015, 96) for the geographical co-ordinates of the site. Haiying and Jicai (2018, 111) have published a contour topographical plan of buildings on the site as well as a description, in Chinese, of the buildings. An abstract in English on p. 116 states: "The Xipang Nestorianism site lied (*sic*) on the hill of the Flaming Mountains in Turfan region is seriously damaged under the action of nature and man. So it's urgently needed to rescue and protect the Xipang nestorianism site." David Tam (in personal correspondence) informed me that the Chinese authorities have erected a stone tablet marking the monastery as a provincial heritage protection site. The author thanks David Tam for this information and the publication by Haiying and Jicai.

3   Translation by the author. The German original reads: "er hat … in dem schauerlich zerstörten Gemäuer eine fabelhafte Ausbeute christlicher Handschriften ausbegraben."

Figure 2 Sign in Chinese and Uighur declaring the site as culturally protected (photo by David Tam).

who were mainly drawn from the local Sogdian and Uighur populations but may also have included the Chinese (figure 3). The tall, black-haired priest may have come from the 'West,' i.e., Mesopotamia, part of the outreach programme implemented by the Church of the East, as described by Thomas bishop of Margâ in his *Historia Monastica* (Budge 1893). Alternatively his origins may have been in Central Asia, where the metropolitanates of Marv and Samarkand would have had the facilities to train young men. It is also probable that some of the clergy would have been drawn from the local population at Turfan.

Were it not for the discoveries made by the German Turfan Expedition, the monastery would have remained unknown. Synod reports, patriarchal correspondence and other primary sources from Church of the East make no mention of Turfan, possibly because its status was minor; it was not a metropolitanate. Indeed, Turfan possibly fell under the jurisdiction of either Marv or Samarkand, both of which were major centres in their own right. Marv was listed as a bishopric in the 410 CE 'Synod of Isaac,' and according to the 'Synod of Aba' in 544 CE the city had become a metropolitanate. Samarkand had achieved the status of a metropolitanate by the mid-ninth century (Colless 1986, 52; Hunter 1996, 135–36; Dickens and Zieme 2014, 586). It is also possible that Turfan was under the jurisdiction of Kashgar, a city that was strategically located on the southern rim of the Tarim basin, at the point where the Silk Road to China bifurcated. Two consecutive appointments (John and Sabarisho) made by Patriarch Elias III (1176–1190 CE) confirm that Kashgar still was a metropolitanate in the twelfth century (Gismondi 1896–1899, 64). The medieval listings of 'Amr ibn Mattai and Selibha ibn Yuhannan cite Kashgar as a joint metropolitanate with Nawakath, the latter being identified as the Sogdian city near lake Issy-Köl in modern Kazakhstan (Hunter 1996, 137 *sqq*

[3]

Figure 3 Palm-Sunday, Qocho, church 683–770 CE, wall-painting.

and n.56).[4] This combination suggests that Kashgar's jurisdiction covered the vast expanse of the Tarim basin and as such might have included Turfan with its considerable Sogdian population.

[4] The Syriac fragments found at Turfan encompass liturgical texts, saints' lives, lectionaries and biblical texts, prayer-amulets and Psalters, imparting multi-faceted insights into both public and private aspects of faith. Redressing the lack of information from official sources of the Church of the East, they form an exceptional collection, not only due to their quantity but also their range of genres. Regrettably, none of the fragments are complete; the colophons that would have imparted valuable information regarding the dating and place of their writing have been lost. The majority of fragments can probably be dated between the ninth and the thirteenth centuries,[5] with one manuscript, MIK III 45, C14 dated to 771–884 CE, making it not only the oldest Syriac manuscript written on paper but possibly also the earliest extant Ḥudhrā (Hunter and Coakley 2017, 81–82). Ranging in size from bifolia to scraps the size of postage stamps, each fragment has an individual, intrinsic value; collectively they supply unsurpassed, first-hand insight into how the Church of the East implanted its mission amongst the Sogdian and Uighur communities amongst whom it had proselytized for several centuries.

[5] In particular, the significant quantities of liturgical fragments (numbering several hundred) written in Syriac give important insight into how worship was conducted. A small number of fragments include rubric Sogdian instructions to the priest (figure 4). An East Syriac baptismal rite (Syr HT 88), which has been dated "to about the ninth or tenth centuries" (Brock and Sims-

---

4   See also Dauvillier (1948, 287–88) for the listings, with an extended discussion of the identity of Navekath in Dauvillier (1948, 288–90); see Pelliot (1973, 7) for the identification of Navekath.

5   Dating issues regarding the Turfan fragments are still being determined; however, this period corresponds to the Uighur kingdom of Qocho, where the majority are assumed to have been produced.

Williams 2011, 81), has short instructions in Sogdian. These act as prompts ("the deacon says" and "the priest says"), but some are longer, e.g: "When they finish the priest shall go to the font with the censor and the fans and the […] and the cross." These instructions reveal that some of the clergy were drawn from the local Sogdian-speaking community and were not fluent in Syriac, the language of the liturgy. The liturgical fragments stand in contrast to the Psalter fragments, which are written in a variety of Iranian languages[6] to address the needs of the different ethno-linguistic groups amongst which the Church of the East ministered (Dickens 2009, 24). It may be assumed that the local Iranian and Uighur-speaking laity undoubtedly had little command of Syriac, but they participated in the liturgy in the same way that peasants in medieval Europe partook of the Latin mass. Although they may not have 'understood' the Syriac liturgy in the literal sense, it performed the vital function of conveying the memory of the 'mother-church,' with Seleucia-Ctesiphon being the seat of the Patriarch and the Sassanid monarchy.

Many of the liturgical texts are from the Ḥudhrā, the principal liturgical book of the Church [6] of the East that contained "the variable chants of the choir for the divine office and the Mass for the entire cycle of the liturgical year" (Macomber 1970, 120). These show that the cycle was upheld, in some form, at Turfan.[7] At least 21 individual Ḥudhrās (approximately 190 fragments) have been identified on the basis of palæographic and textual criteria, but none is more important than MIK III 45. Consisting of 61 folios, the manuscript lacks both its title page and a colophon;[8] it originally was possibly as large as 200 folios.[9] In its complete form, MIK III 45 would have offered the full cycle of daily offices and Eucharist for the entire ecclesiastical year of the Church of the East and might be described as some type of 'liturgical miscellany' or a 'Service book.' The extant contents of MIK III 45 comprise:

Offices for the year (including the saints) [fol. 1?-21a]   [7]

1. **fols. 1r-7r** = Offices for the Rogation, consisting of six Fridays

2. **fols. 7r-21r** = Offices for saints: week-long observances for

   1. Mart Shir and her companions Mar Baršabbā and Zarvandukt (7r-13r)

   2. Mar Sargis and Mar Bakos (13r-19r);

   3. one-day cycle of offices for 'all the saints together' (19r-21r).

3. **fols. 21a-27b** = Rite for the consecration of a new church

4. **fols. 27b-33a** = *Onyata* (anthems) for ordinary days

---

6   See Sims-Williams (1992, 43–61) for a comprehensive survey of materials that included numerous bilingual psalters and lectionaries in Sogdian-Syriac, a Sogdian lectionary with Syriac rubrics, a Middle Persian (Pahlavi) Psalter, comprising 12 folios, and a New Persian Psalter consisting of two folios. A unique set of nine folios in Uighur, but written in Syriac script, has been published by Dickens and Zieme (2014, 291–328).

7   The fragments from Turfan have the potential to throw much light on question of the transmission history of the Ḥudhrā prior to the fifteenth century, but this area still requires research.

8   MIK III/45 is complemented by 26 individual fragments, identified as coming from the same manuscript. MIK III/45 folios 20v-21r were edited by Eduard Sachau in 1905 as B26. See Sachau (1905, 970–73). See Saeki (1937, ch. 15) for an English translation.

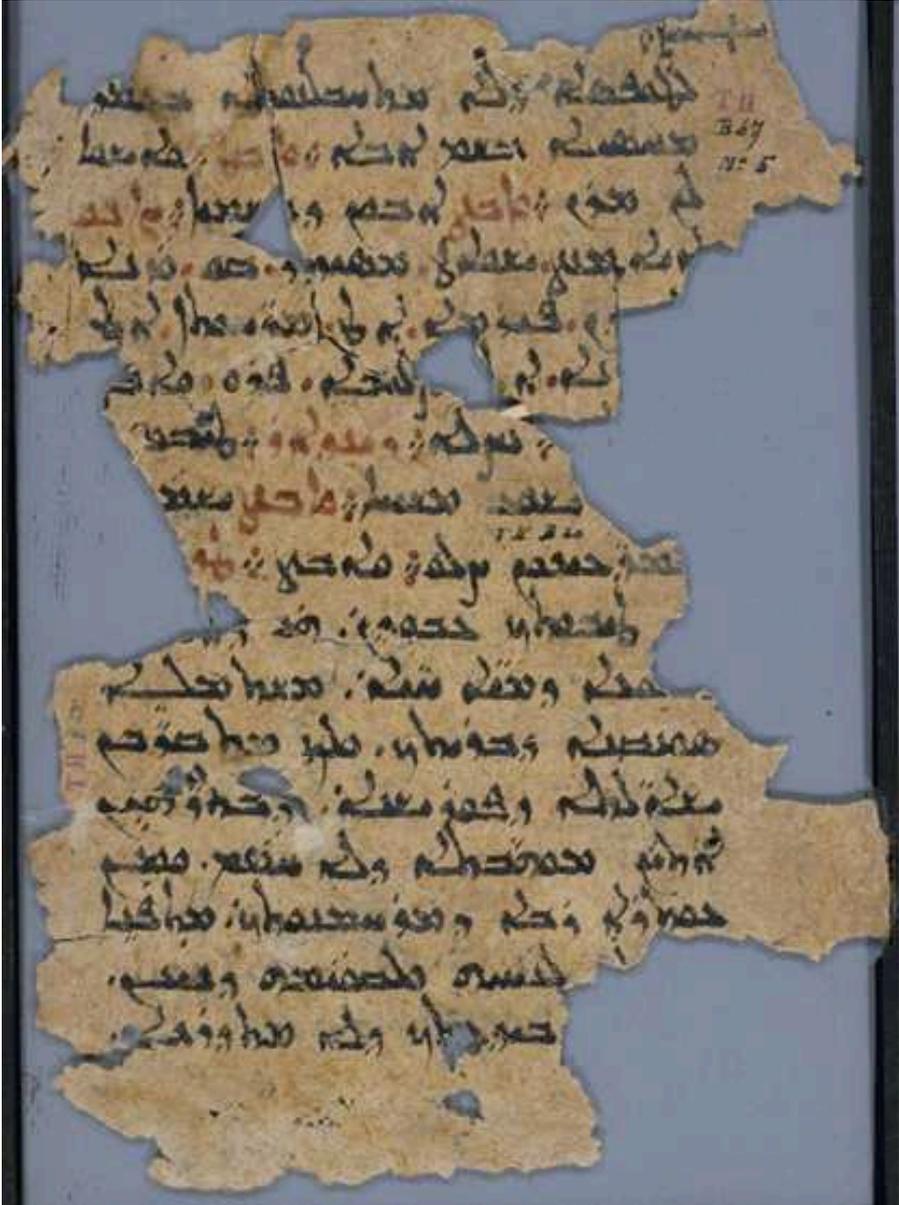9   Based on the study of the quiring by Coakley (2014).

Figure 4 SyrHT 66 side (b) with rubric Sogdian instructions.

5. **fols. 33a-53b** = Burial services for all orders (priests & deacons (33a-40b); *bnay qeiama* (40b-41b)[10] and lay people (41b-43b) *memre* (recited couplets)[11] (43v-51v) and prayers (52v).

6. **fols. 54b-61b** = *Onyata* (anthems) for various occasions including drought, earthquake, Consecration of the Church, Finding of the Cross, Annunciation, Nativity, Mart Maryam, and Epiphany.

Commissioning the Faith: A Trio of 'Persian' Saints

The listing of 'Offices for saints' on fol. 7r commences with the rubric heading, "First in the week of Mart Shir, the evangelist" (MIK III 45 fol. 7v l.14) (figure 5). In doing so, it places the erstwhile Sassanid queen in the place of prominence. By naming her as "the evangelist," the *lemma* of this week-long commemoration explicitly gives her the accolade of bringing Christianity to Marv. Mar Baršabbā, allegedly the first bishop of Marv,[12] and Zarvandokht (daughter of Zarvan), an unknown figure who may have been a lady in waiting to the queen (Hunter and Coakley 2017, 36), are introduced only later in the evening office. The refrain "Two doves and one eagle flew and came <from> Seleucia and Qtesiphon; they made a nest in the branches of the cross. The chicks grew, and flew, sing the praises of the Lord" (MIK III 45 fol. 11v l. 26-fol. 12r l.1) uses ornithological imagery to endorse the integral connection of the three 'Persian' saints Baršabbā (the eagle), Mart Shir and Zarvandokht (the doves) with the Sassanid capital.[13] In contrast to the absence of biographical details for Baršabbā and Zarvandokht, Mart Shir's royal connections are eulogized on several occasions: "Blessed Queen Shir went out from the palace and left her diadem and her honoured state. And she loved the heavenly king" (MIK III 45 fol. 13r ll. 11-13)[14] and "How glorious the diadem and beautiful the crown that the Holy Spirit has plaited and puts on the head of Queen Shir. And how much her noble soul rejoices in the band of apostles and priests and martyrs and confessors. In place of the bed of kings that she has forsaken, she sits on a glorious throne in the kingdom at the right hand of the bridegroom of high heaven, at that feast that does not pass away" (MIK III 45 fol. 12r ll. 11-17).[15] The emphasis on Mart Shir's repudiation of her exalted status paradoxically reinforces the connection with the Sassanid monarchy.

[8]

MIK III 45 honours Mart Shir as the evangelist, but ornithological imagery is used to show how all three saints were involved in 'spreading the word': "In the power of Jesus they went out and came. The three of them, they gave His gospel to Marv. The eagle Baršabbā, and Shir and Zarvandokht the doves. The nest the church in Marv. The chicks, the baptized who sing" (MIK III 45 fol. 12r ll. 3-6).[16] The success of their mission is highlighted by the refrain: "who were victorious in the contest […] who laboured in the gospel and turned nations from error

[9]

---

10   The *bnay qeiama* (sons of the covenant) were men and women living in the secular world according to an ascetic rule. See Burkitt (1904, 130) and Vööbus (1961).
11   See Hunter and Coakley (2017, 23) for discussion of *memre*, or 'metrical homilies,' in MIK III 45 as isosyllabic lines (i.e. couplets) which were recited or chanted.
12   See http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/barsabba-legendary-bishop, where Sims-Williams opines that it is doubtful whether there is any historical basis to the legend, it being a pious fiction (last accessed January 4, 2021). See also Brock (1995, 190–201).
13   Hunter and Coakley (2017, 86 (Syriac text), 196 (English translation)).
14   Hunter and Coakley (2017, 89 (Syriac text), 198 (English translation)).
15   Hunter and Coakley (2017, 86 (Syriac text), 196 (English translation)).
16   Hunter and Coakley (2017, 86 (Syriac text), 196 (English translation)).

Figure 5   MIK III 45 fol. 7 verso l.14. Rubric heading naming Mart Shir as the 'evangelist' of Marv.

to the truth of their faith – let their prayer be a wall to us and guard us from the Evil one and his hosts" (MIK III 45 fol. 12r ll.24-7).[17] The premier position of Mart Shir in the "Orders of service observed on weeks of the feasts of the saints" preceding the commemoration of Mar Sergius and Mar Bacchus, the internationally famous Roman military martyrs (Hunter 2016, 97–100; Key-Fowden 1999), created a specific link with Seleucia-Ctesiphon and the Sassanid royal house. It also forged an intrinsic connection with Marv and Central Asia. Such a localized focus may have resonated amongst the Iranian-speaking communities of Turfan.

Discussing Mart Shir, Erica C.D. Hunter and James Coakley have already noted how MIK III 45 presents a "livelier memory of the woman evangelist than the literary tradition in which the glory of the evangelistic work belonged chiefly to the founding bishop of the city" (2017, 32). Here, the liturgy stands in direct contrast to the tenth-century anonymous Arabic historiography, *The Chronicle of Se'ert,*[18] where Mart Shir is subordinated to Baršabbā, the cardinal character in the narrative that details his conversion of the queen, his organization of the church and his miraculous resurrection. A Greek speaker,[19] Baršabbā was taken captive during the campaign of Shapur II (309–379 CE) in Syria and was deported to Mesopotamia, where he learnt Syriac and Pahlavi (Scher 1908, 253–54). At the Sassanid capital, he purportedly cured one of the monarch's concubines, thus gaining royal favour. Baršabbā also healed the king's sister-wife, Širarân (Mart Shir) (Scher 1908, 254), and, in shades reminiscent of Daniel II, where Daniel was able to interpret Nebuchadnezzar's dream whereas the magicians, exorcists, astrologers and diviners had failed to do so (Hunter 2013), released her of her demon. When she was baptized, Baršabbā incurred the royal wrath. Outraged by her conversion, Sha-

[10]

---

17   Hunter and Coakley (2017, 86 (Syriac text), 196 (English translation)).
18   See Baum and Winkler (2000, 70) for further details. The term 'Se'ert' indicates its place of discovery in 1914, not its place of writing. See also Wood (2013).
19   Scher (1908, 55) mentions this in connection with the fact that the inhabitants of Marv were descendants of Alexander's settlement and presumably still spoke Greek.

pur II married his sister-wife to the *marzban* (governor) of Marv, effectively exiling her to the very extremity of the Sassanid empire. Baršabbā, on the other hand, seems to have remained in the Sassanid capital, for Shapur II, overjoyed at the news of Mart Shir giving birth to a son, later sent him "in grand ceremony" ("*en grande pompe*") to Marv (Scher 1908, 256).

The commemoration in MIK III 45 is coloured by its eulogy of Mart Shir, but the *Chronicle of Se'ert* informs about her activities that laid the foundation for Christianity at Marv. Prior to her exile, Mart Shir ordered the priests to elevate Baršabbā as a bishop, as there had been none *in situ* since the martyrdom of Barba'šmin, bishop of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, by Shapur II in 346 C.E.[20] Arriving at Marv, she proselytized unceasingly and drew up plans for a church that was constructed and named after the royal palace in Ctesiphon. As a royal woman, Mart Shir would have had the means and presumably the authority to endow the building of a church, but her administrative activities were curtailed by her status and gender. Instead Baršabbā had the task of implementing the mechanics of the faith. The *Chronicle of Se'ert* informs that he took with him priests and deacons, liturgical books and ornaments, these being the prerequisites to found a new community. At Marv, he consecrated an altar (presumably in the church commissioned by Mart Shir), engaged in baptism (including a large number of Zoroastrians) and cured the ill. His disciples spread the faith, building churches and baptizing (Scher 1908, 256).[21]

[11]

The legacy of Mart Shir forms the focus of the final part of the *Chronicle of Se'ert*, recalling how her memory engendered positive relations between the Christians and the Zoroastrians. In what almost reads as a codicil to the story of Baršabbā, the *Chronicle of Se'ert* relates how, when the Aspahid (army-chief) of Khurasan died, Shapur II[22] endowed the position to his nephew, Khošken, and ordered him to marry Zarndoukht, who was the daughter of Širarân (Mart Shir). Khošken and his sister-wife were Zoroastrian but were benevolent to Christians.[23] The translation of the *Chronicle of Se'ert* states:

[12]

> Khošken was benevolent towards the Christians. His mother, on the point of death, charged him to take care of the churches, protect the Christians and reduce the taxes which had been levied upon them. She recommended these also to the benevolence of her daughter. Both zealously strove to obey and followed their mother's orders all their life. As to the daughter, Zarndoukht, she confessed the religion of the Magi, which was that of her father […] she had the interest of the churches and the Christians at heart. (Scher 1908, 258)[24]

[13]

It is noteworthy that, as part of the package of protection, the extra taxes Christians were obliged to pay for the privilege of their faith were reduced. This was a significant move as

[14]

---

20 See Scher (1908, 221–24) for the account of Barba'šmin's martyrdom.

21 The fragments of the Sogdian hagiography give many informative details that are absent in the Syriac counterpart. For the text and translation of the Sogdian hagiography, see Müller and Lentz (Müller and Lentz 1934, 524–25) (fol. 2R ll. 26-36).

22 Daryaee (2009): see https://iranicaonline.org/articles/shapur-ii (last accessed January 5, 2021).

23 Scher (1908, 258).

24 Translated by the author from original French translation: "Khošken était bienveillant envers les chrétiens. Sa mere, sur le point d'expirer, lui avait recommandé de prendre soin des églises, de protéger les chrétiens et de diminuer les impôts qui pesaient sur eux. Elles les recommenda aussi à la bienveillance de sa fille. Tous deux luttèrent de zèle pour obéir, et cela durant toute leure vie, aux orders de leur mere. Quant à sa fille Zarndoukht, elle confessait la religion des mages, qui était celle de son père […] elle avait à coeur l'intérêt des églises et des chrétiens."

the poll tax was often a vexation for the Christians under Sassanid rule.[25] When Simeon bar Sabbae (Van Rompay 2011, 373–74), the bishop of Seleucia-Ctesiphon (329–341/4), refused to collect double taxes from his flock, Shapur II imprisoned and executed him.[26] The benevolence extended towards Christians by Khošken and Zarndoukht under their jurisdiction was prompted by the memory of their pious mother, conferring real benefits as areas of real friction still existed with Zoroastrianism (Herman 2019, 136–40).

In this context it is tempting to identify Zarndoukht (زرندوخت), who appears in the *Chronicle of Se'ert* with Zarvandokht, commemorated in MIK III 45. However, such an association would be awkward since as Hunter and Coakley have pointed out: "[i]t is difficult, however, to believe that this notice of Zar(v)andukt, presumably a native of Merv and not even a Christian, could develop into a tradition according to which she was one of the three Christian evangelists who came to Merv from Seleucia-Ktesipon" (2017, 36).[27] Mart Shir, despite her marriage to the Zoroastrian *marzban* (governor) of Marv, was remembered as an evangelist. It would be extremely unlikely that her daughter, who retained her Zoroastrian faith, would be included in the very public performance of the sung offices of the Evening office, which commemorates Zarvandokht as one of the three saints. Sporting a Middle Persian name, "daughter of Zarvan," that points to a Zoroastrian background,[28] she may instead have been one of the handmaids who converted along with the Queen Shir. A Syriac fragment of Baršabbā's hagiography (SyrHT 45-46) that was found at Turfan (figure 6) states: "The Queen Shir and three of her handmaids became Christian and repudiated the religion of the Magi" (Polotsky 1934, 562)[29]. Regrettably, SyrHT 45-46 gives no further biographical details, but one could suppose that a dutiful handmaid might have stayed with her mistress, in the same way that Theodoret of Cyrrhus noted how, in fourth-century Syria, maidservants accompanied aristocratic Christian women pursuing the ascetic life (Price 1985, § XXIX).

[15]

Discussing the hagiography of Baršabbā in the *Chronicle of Se'ert*, Philip Wood has opined that "if these aristocratic hagiographies celebrate the Christian histories of specific regions, and the connection of aristocratic dynasties to these regions […] then their inclusion in a universal history also subverts this regional emphasis and makes it part of the wider history of the Church of the East" (2013, 171). The linking of the ruling house at Seleucia-Ctesiphon and the Christians at Marv in the *Chronicle of Se'ert*, prompted by the memory of Mart Shir, had important implications for Christian relations within the dominant Zoroastrian religious land-

[16]

---

25   Dandamayev and Gyselen (1999, 639–46) note that Christians were obliged to pay a double personal tax in certain periods until this was abolished by Shapur II. The collection of personal taxes was traditionally the remit of the heads of the Jewish and Christian communities who were accountable to the king.

26   Payne (2015, 40–42) discusses the poll-tax that Shapur II levied on Christians, arguing that the execution was not motivated by religious intolerance, but because Simeon bar Sabbae did not uphold his legal obligations. Brock (1982, 8) states that the refusal of the Christians to pay the double tax requested by Shapur II cast aspersions on their loyalty.

27   Hunter and Coakley (2017, n. 144) note that another Zarvandukt (in Armenian, Zruanduvt) is known from the Epic histories of P'awstos Buzand. Here (6.1) she is the sister of Shapur III, given by him to the Arsacid Armenian king Kosrow III for a wife at about the time of the partition of Armenia in 387 (Garsoïan 1989, 265, 434). As the wife of a Christian king she may have become a Christian; but there is nothing to connect her with Merv.

28   Justi (1895, 383–84) lists names of Zarvan. Although Zarvan was a quintessentially Zoroastrian name, it does seem to have entered the Christian repertoire as Justi's listing includes Zrovandat, bishop of Gołthn, *Geographie von Altarmenien* (215, 31). See Justi (1895, 492–93) for listings of *Dukht* "daughter," a component commonly found in composite Middle Iranian names. For Christians with Middle Persian/Zoroastrian names, see Hunter (2009, 80–81).

29   Translation by the author. German original: "Die Königinnen Schīr und drei von ihnen Dienerinnen sind Christinnen geworden und haben die Magierreligion geschmäht."

Figure 6   SyrHT 45-46, side b, ll.9-10. Mart Shir repudiates the Zoroastrian religion.

scape of the Sassanid realms, ensuring not the least stability and support for the community. Of course, Turfan never fell under Sassanid dominion, but a Sogdian counterpart (E24/7-11) to Syr HT45-46 that was found amongst the fragments at the monastery attests the narrative's popularity, as do fragments from a Sogdian lectionary commemorating Baršabbā.[30] The Sogdian hagiography, a literal translation of the Syriac original, includes significant information about the localities wherein Baršabbā's proselytism took root—details that the *Chronicle of Se'ert* also supplies. The hagiographies had a circulation that was restricted *per se,* essentially being read by the monks. In contrast, both clergy and laity participated in the veneration of Mart Shir that was sung in the liturgy. Here, MIK III 45 offers a rare insight into the female dynamic of evangelism at Marv; the role and process became subordinated by the male historiographic perspective. By commemorating Mart Shir as "the evangelist", MIK III 45 recalled the mission of Church of the East, where the connection with the Mesopotamian 'homeland' was bolstered through the erstwhile Sassanid queen and her companions.

Maintaining the Mesopotamian Heritage: Remembering Bar Sauma

The *Chronicle of Se'ert* informs that when Baršabbā arrived in Marv, he consecrated a church.   [17]
In doing so, he may have followed an order of service similar to that found in MIK III 45: "Next, orders of service and canons for the consecration of a new church" (MIK III fol. 21r ll.16-17) (Hunter and Coakley 2017, 44).[31] The text, that has a series of rubricated instructions revealing the procedure to consecrate the altar, commences:

---

30   Müller and Lentz (1934, 523) note that the Sogdian text was a literal translation from the Syriac text. See Blatt 1, ll. 1-10. For details of the Sogdian lectionary fragments, see Sims-Williams (2012, 41–42, [E5/127 a-c] and 75-7 for the Baršabbā hagiography [E24/7-11]).

31   Despite using "church" in the title, the rite was the consecration of an altar.

Let a church be consecrated on Sunday, they having made ready the church be-
forehand with all its ornaments apart from the veils, which do not hang on the
door of the sanctuary. And they wash the altar with aromatic water if it is old, but
not if it is a new one. And they make (it) ready with a new < white > cloth; and
they set it on the qestroma. And when they have entered for the evening office,
if the *bnay qyama* are many, the bishop enters and the priests and deacons and
they stand in the sanctuary, and the rest of the lesser folk in the nave. (MIK III 45
fol. 21r ll.16-16)[32]

[18]

The participation of the entire community, comprising all ranks of clergy and also laity,
who stood in different parts (the sanctuary and the nave, respectively), continued throughout
the night until:

[19]

[…] after two hours of daylight they hang the new veils on the door of the sanctu-
ary and prepare the altar in all its ornament. And all the vessels of the service of
the altar they put in a box or in a basket. And a herald summons, and the people
gather, and the bishop comes with all the clergy. And a deacon draws aside the
veil, and the bishop enters, and the priests and deacons, and they stand in the sanc-
tuary, and the rest of the laity stand in the nave. A series of Psalms are chanted as
is the Gloria and then a prayer. (MIK III 45 fol. 22v ll.26-23r l.5)[33]

[20]

Clearly some type of procession took place, for the deacons carried lights and censors, whilst
the priests carried in the altar that was to be installed in the church. In so doing, they "lift[ed]
it as high as their belts" (MIK III fol. 23r ll.11-12).[34]

[21]

No actual description is given of the altar, but the specific statement that Psalm 89.1-38
should be chanted in a special chant "if however it is an old altar and come[s] from somewhere
else" (MIK III fol. 23r ll.15-16)[35] indicates that recycling must have been relatively common.
Accompanied by a series of *onyata* (Psalm versicles and responses) (Hunter and Coakley 2017,
19–21) the altar was set in its place, and fixed so that it would not move, with the location
being specified as "next to the eastern wall within the sanctuary" (MIK III 45 fol. 25v ll.8-
10).[36] After the recitation of more prayers, the archdeacon placed the Gospel and the cross as
well as consecrated fans and flasks of plain oil on the altar. Two deacons took the fans whilst
the bishop approached to sanctify the oil, and knelt before the altar, reciting the prayer of
Mar Barsauma, bishop of Nisibis (MIK III 45 fol. 25v l.28-fol. 26r l.26).[37] Then various parts
of the sanctuary, including the doorposts, were anointed with consecrated oil and finally the
top of the altar was anointed with the left-over oil. At the conclusion of the ceremony, various
onyata (anthems) were sung, the veils of the sanctuary were tied back and the clergy processed
from the sanctuary to the bēma, the platform in the centre of the nave from which scripture
lections were read,[38] where the Gospel was placed on the altar of the bēma.

[22]

The prayer of Bar Sauma of Nisibis occurs at a critical point in the rite for the consecration
of the altar in MIK III 45, its recitation being just prior to the anointing of the sanctuary

[23]

---

32   Hunter and Coakley (2017, 105 (Syriac text), 209 (English translation)).
33   Hunter and Coakley (2017, 108–9 (Syriac text), 212 (English translation)).
34   Hunter and Coakley (2017, 109 (Syriac text), 212 (English translation)).
35   Hunter and Coakley (2017, 109 (Syriac text), 212 (English translation)).
36   Hunter and Coakley (2017, 112 (Syriac text), 214 (English translation)).
37   Hunter and Coakley (2017, 113 (Syriac text), 215-216 (English translation)).
38   Khoury (2019, Fig. 28.41c) for the Church of El- Ḥira XI where a bema was excavated. For excavation
      reports, see Talbot-Rice (1932) and Talbot-Rice (1934).

and the altar. With a rubric heading: "And bowing before the altar (the president) repeats quietly this prayer composed by Mar Barsauma, bishop of Nisibis"[39] (figure 7), the prayer is reproduced *plene*:

O heavenly treasure providing riches to the needy, to you | we extend the thoughts (*fol. 26r*) of our mind and the thinking of our intellect, the gaze of our eyesbeing inclined downward and our hands spread out to you.   [24]

And we ask, and supplicate, and beseech that by your grace, Lord, by which from generation to generation you have fulfilled and accomplished all those things useful for the help of humankind –   [25]

To those of former times by means of the symbol of oil you gave validity to a temporal kingdom and a transitory service of priesthood.   [26]

And you conferred on the holy apostles power and strength, girding them with the healing that they gave to the sick and with the building up of the minds of the faithful to life and to the strengthening and encouragement of all human-kind.   [27]

And in their teaching they promised us that we will depart from earthly buildings to the city not made with hands, whose Lord and maker is God.   [28]

We too, Lord, ask and supplicate and request, <having> no confidence before you but in the mercies of your Only-begotten, that as you, Lord, gave power to your servants who built this temple to the glory of your holy name, your presence will dwell in it, as you caused (it) to dwell in the tent that Moses your servant made. And set it apart, and sanctify it by your mercy that it may be a refreshment for the distressed and a resort for the needy. And bless with your grace this oil and sanctify it, that by it this altar may be signed and sanctified for the service of your life-giving mysteries, and this temple for the praise of your holy name forever.   [29]

And make all of us worthy by your mercy to serve before you purely and virtuously and holily.   [30]

The recitation of this prayer was an overt act of remembrance, connecting the newly consecrated altar with the artery of Diophysite theology and, *ab extensio*, with the Sassanid monarchy.   [31]

As metropolitan of Nisibis, Bar Sauma was instrumental in setting up the School of Nisibis, which became the renowned centre of Diophysite learning after the forcible closure of the School of Edessa, following the decree of Emperor Zeno in 489 CE.[40] Established initially in a caravanserai, the School of Nisibis imported the legacy of Diophysite theology into the Sassanid realms. Its first director, Narsai (d. 502/3), was one of the great figures of Diophysite learning, piety and asceticism. His reputation, particularly for his poetic works, earned him the *sobriquet* "Harp of the Holy Spirit" amongst his supporters; by contrast, the Miaphysites despised him, calling him "the Leper" (Gillman and Klimkeit 1999, 117). His *Homilies* (which still survive), interpreting the great themes of the Bible, championed the theology of Theodore of Mopsuestia (Hainthaler 2019, 383). Known as "the Interpreter," he was the foremost authority of Diophysite theology; his works became a major part of the *curriculum* and "the   [32]

---

39   Hunter and Coakley (Hunter and Coakley 2017, 215) interpolate <the president>. Elsewhere in the consecration of the altar, MIK III 45 uses the Syriac term "the priest," but as n.3 points out "the bishop must be meant."

40   For translation of Syriac texts discussing the "School of Nisibis," see Becker (2008).

Figure 7   MIK III 45 fol. 25 verso ll. 27-30. Rubric naming Barsauma, bishop of Nisibis.

standard for East Syrian orthodoxy" (Baumer 2006, 82; citing Klein 2004, 116, 119). The systematic training of clergy through a fixed program devoted to theological study (Gillman and Klimkeit 1999, 118)[41] meant that the School of Nisibis quickly established itself as the élite institution where "the leadership of the Church of Persia was educated" and from which Diophysite theology was disseminated throughout the vast dominions of the Church of the East by means of a vigorous outreach programme (Jullien 2019, 99).

Much of the success of the School of Nisibis can be ascribed to the efforts of Bar Sauma.   [33]
Described as "an ecclesiastical politician of the first rank," the bishop of Nisibis had cultivated good relations with Peroz (459–484) in direct contrast to the stance of his superior, Babowai, Catholicos of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, whom the Sassanid monarch executed in 484 CE for his purported pro-Roman sympathy (Gillman and Klimkeit 1999, 118; citing Vööbus 1965, 109).[42] That Babowai was a Zoroastrianism apostate may also have contributed his fate, as the edict of Yazdegird I prohibited conversion from Zoroastrianism to Christianity, particularly amongst the nobility. Bar Sauma never held the title of Catholicos but, with imperial connections, became the most powerful ecclesiastic in the Sassanid Empire, organising the Synod of Beth Lapat (Jundishapur) in 484 CE.[43] It is noteworthy that the synod was identified by its location and not by the name of the Catholicos, as was custom, possibly due to the fact that the position was vacant as a result of Babowai's execution, although it is unclear whether he had actually died before the synod was convened (Moffet 1998, 196, n.30). At Jundishapur, deep within Persian territory, Bar Sauma had expected to be appointed as Catholicos, but his hopes

---

41   For the Statutes of the School of Nisibis, see Vööbus (1961).
42   Moffet (1998, 196) quotes the letter Babowai purportedly sent to Emperor Zeno that sealed his fate.
43   Baum and Winkler (2000, 28) point out that this synod was not included in the official records of the Church of the East. They provide a summation of the handful of sources that mention the acts of the Synod of Beth Lapat, in the absence of any records. The fact that the synod was not accepted within the Church of the East points to its schismatic status.

were dashed when Peroz was killed in battle against the Hephthalite Huns. The incoming Sassanid monarch, Balash (484–488 CE), chose a less controversial man, Acacius (484–496 CE), to whom Bar Sauma pledged his loyalty in 485 CE. He also acknowledged the illegality of the synod that he had organized, even though it was at this synod that "the Church of the East is reputed to have accepted the Nestorian faith" (Baum and Winkler 2000, 28).[44] The support for Theodore of Mesopotamia's theology culminated in the espousal of the Diophysite stance of the Church of the East at the synod of Seleucia-Ctesiphon (Aqaq) that was held in 486 CE. This, coupled with upholding of the Diophysite teaching of the School of Nisibis, had, as Touraj Daryaee notes, "important consequences for Christianity in the Sasanian Empire" (2019, 38).

Concluding Comments

The fragments from the monastery at Bulayïq provide our only knowledge of this distant outpost of the Church of the East that operated for several centuries—possibly as late as the fourteenth century—amongst the largely Sogdian and Uighur inhabitants of Turfan. Otherwise unmentioned both in official sources as well as by East Syrian writers, the monastery must have been representative of many now unknown institutions within the Sassanid Empire and beyond its boundaries. The fragments allow unparalleled first-hand insight into how the Church of the East functioned in its linguistically diverse territories. Sogdian lectionaries and the translation of the Psalter into New Persian and Middle Persian (Pahlavi) as well as Sogdian attest the energetic responses that were made to meet the requirements of the diverse peoples amongst whom missionaries proselytised. This linguistic flexibility ensured the embedding of the faith within the Iranian and Uighur-speaking communities. It was counterpointed by the liturgy that was exclusively in Syriac, functioning to maintain robust connections, both theologically and spiritually, with the Church of the East in the Mesopotamian 'homeland.'

[34]

The recitation of the prayer of Bar Sauma in MIK III 45 during the ceremony for the consecration of the altar graphically upholds this heritage. Written *plene*, the prayer does not express any overt theological concepts, yet the specific mention of Bar Sauma created a direct link back to the School of Nisibis and Theodore of Mopsuestia, whose theology was espoused by the Church of the East. Bar Sauma's life was surrounded by many controversies, but his name became traditionally aligned with the triumph of Diophysite theology in the Sassanid dominions. Furthermore, the association that he forged with Peroz cemented the position of the Church of the East with the Sassanid monarchs, who, as Geoffrey Herman points out, "did offer support to the church through donations and the sponsorship of synods" (2019, 139). Connections with the Sassanid monarchy likewise emerge in the public commemoration of Mart Shir in MIK III 45. The eulogistic passages, recalling the origins of three saints with Seleucia-Ctesiphon, eloquently extol the royal status of Mar Shir and her eschewal of the Sassanid court. Her veneration celebrated a saint who founded one of the major metropolitanates of the Church of the East, but also created an aristocratic trajectory with the royal family.

[35]

The commemoration of Mart Shir and the recitation of Bar Sauma's prayer in the liturgy were clearly devotional, serving in the capacity of *aide memoire*, and in doing so preserved memories of the relationship that had been forged between a distant outpost and the capital,

[36]

---

44   Baum and Winkler (2000) query whether the synod did actually do so. See Brock (Brock 1995, 126) for a discussion of the theological response of the Synod of Seleucia-Ctesiphon to the Synod of Beth Lapat in 486 CE.

Marv and Seleucia Ctesiphon, perhaps in the same way that the Xian Fu inscription laboured to demonstrate the filial loyalty of the Church of the East to the T'ang imperial court at Xian (Deeg 2018). Of course, Turfan was not part of the Sassanid dominions, unlike Marv, the suggested place of MIK III 45's writing.[45] Questions surrounding the circumstances as to how and when MIK III 45 was brought to Turfan remain to be answered; it may have been for the consecration of a church or another important celebration. The *raison d'etre* has been obfuscated, but the monks and laity at Turfan who sung the commemoration of Mart Shir in the "Offices for Saints" remembered a great "Iranian royal lady" by whose efforts Christianity had been implanted at Marv, from whence it went further east. The recitation of Bar Sauma's prayer as part of the rite for the consecration of the altar affirmed the Diophysite legacy of the Church of the East, together with its connections with Seleucia-Ctesiphon and the Sassanid monarchy.

References

Barbati, Chiara. 2015. "La documentation sogdienne chrétienne et la monastère de Bulayïq." In *Le christianisme syriaque en Asie centrale et Chine*, edited by Pier Gorgio Borbone and Pierre Marsone, 89–97. Paris: Geuthner.

Baum, Wilhelm, and Dietmar Winkler. 2000. *The Church of the East, a Concise History*. London: Routledge.

Baumer, Christoph. 2006. *The Church of the East. An Illustrated History of Assyrian Christianity*. London: IB Tauris.

Becker, Adam H. 2008. *Sources for the Study of the School of Nisibis*. Translated Texts for Historians 50. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Brock, Sebastian. 1995. "Bar Shabba/Mar Shabbay, First Bishop of Merv." In *Syrisches Christentum Weltweit: Studien Zur Syrischen Kirchengeschichte : Festschrift Prof. Hage*, edited by Martin Tamcke, Wolfgang Schwaigert, and Egbert Schlarb, 190–201. Münster: LIT.

Brock, Sebastian P. 1982. "Christians in the Sasanian Empire: A Case of Divided Loyalties." *Studies in Church History* 18: 1–19.

Brock, Sebastian P., and Nicholas Sims-Williams. 2011. "An Early Fragment from the East Syriac Baptismal Service from Turfan." *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 77 (1): 81–92.

Budge, Ernest Alfred Wallis. 1893. *The Book of the Governors: The Historia Monastica of Thomas Bishop of Margâ*. 2 vols. London: Kegan Paul.

Burkitt, Francis Crawford. 1904. *Early Eastern Christianity*. London.

Coakley, James F. 2014. "Manuscript MIK III 45: Introduction and Questions." In. Berlin.

Colless, Brian. 1986. "The Nestorian Province of Samarqand." *Abr Nahrain* xxiv: 51–57.

Dandamayev, Mohammed A., and Rika Gyselen. 1999. "Fiscal System I. Achaemenid, Ii. Sasanian." In *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 639–46. IX/6.

Daryaee, Touraj. 2009. "ŠĀPUR II." In *Encyclopedia Iranica*. Online Edition. https://iranicaonline.org/articles/shapur-ii.

———. 2019. "The Sasanian Empire." In *The Syriac World*, edited by Daniel King. London: Routledge.

Dauvillier, Jean. 1948. "Les Provinces Chaldéennes 'de l'Extérieur' au Moyen Age." In *Mélanges offerst au R.P. Ferdinand Cavallera, doyen de la Faculté de Théologie de Toulouse,*

---

45 For discussion about MIK III 45's place of writing, see Hunter and Coakley (2017, 14–16).

à l'occasion de la quarantième année de son professorat à l'Institut catholique. Toulouse: Bibliothèques de l'institut catholique.

Deeg, Max. 2018. *Die Strahlende Lehre. Die Stele von Xi'an*. Vienna: LIT.

Dickens, Mark. 2009. "Multi-Lingual Fragments from Turfan." *Journal of the Canadian Society for Syriac Studies* 9: 22–42.

Dickens, Mark, and Peter Zieme. 2014. "Syro-Uigurica I: A Syriac Psalter in Uyghur Script from Turfan"." In *Scripts Beyond Borders. A Survey of Allographic Traditions in the Euro-Mediterranean World*, edited by Johannes den Heijer, Andrea Barbara Schmidt, and Tamara Pataridze, 291–328. Leuven: Peeters.

Garsoïan, Nina. 1989. *The Epic Histories Attributed to P'awstos Buzand (Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk')*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Gillman, Ian, and Hans-Joachim Klimkeit. 1999. *Christians in Asia Before 1500*. London: Curzon.

Gismondi, Enrico, ed. 1896–1899. *Maris Amri et Slibae. De Patriarchis Nestorianorum. Commentaria, Pars Altera (Amri et Slibae)*. Rome: Excudebat C. de Luigi.

Hainthaler, Theresia. 2019. "Theological Doctrines and Debates Within Syriac Christianity." In *The Syriac World*, edited by Daniel King, 377–90. London: Routledge.

Haiying, Zhao, and Lu Jicai. 2018. "Engineering Properties of Soil of the Xipang Nestorianism Site in Turfan." 吐鲁番学研究 2018 (1): 111–6.

Herman, Geoffrey. 2019. "The Syriac World in the Persian Empire." In *The Syriac World*, edited by Daniel King, 134–45. London: Routledge.

Hunter, Erica C. D. 1996. "The Church of the East in Central Asia"." *Bulletin John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 78: 129–42.

———. 2009. "The Persian Contribution to Christianity in China. Reflections in the Xian Fu Syriac Inscriptions." In *Hidden Treasures and Intercultural Encounters: Studies on East Syriac Christianity in Central Asia and China*, edited by Dietmar Winkler and Li Tang, 71–86. Orientalia-Patristica-Oecumenica 1. Wien: Lit. Verlag.

———. 2013. "Nebuchadnezzar's Dream in Daniel 2." In *Leshon Limmudim. Essays on the Language and Literature of the Hebrew Bible in Honour of A.A. Macintosh*, edited by David A. Baer and Robert P. Gordon, 227–35. London: Bloomsbury.

———. 2016. "Commemorating the Saints at Turfan." In *Winds of Jingjiao. Studies in Syriac Christianity in China and Central Asia*, edited by Li Tang and Dietmar Winkler, 89–104. Vienna: Lit. Verlag.

Hunter, Erica C. D., and James F. Coakley. 2017. *A Syriac Service-Book from Turfan. Museum Für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin, MS MIK III 45*. Turnhout: Brepols.

Jullien, Florence. 2019. "Religious Life and Syriac Monasticism." In *The Syriac World*, edited by Daniel King, 88–104. London: Routledge.

Justi, Ferdinand. 1895. *Iranisches Namenbuch*. Marburg: N.G. Elwert.

Key-Fowden, Elizabeth. 1999. *The Barbarian Plain: Between Rome and Persia*. Berkeley: University of California.

Khoury, Widad. 2019. "Church in Syriac Space. Architectural and Liturgical Context and Development." In *The Syriac World*, edited by Daniel King, 476–538. London: Routledge.

Klein, Wassilios. 2004. *Syrische Kirchväter*. Stuttgart: Kolhammer.

Le Coq, Albert von. 1926. *Auf Hellas Spuren in Ostturkistan*. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs.

Macomber, William. 1970. "A List of the Known Manuscripts of the Chaldean Ḥudra." *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* XXXVI (1): 120–34.

Moffet, Samuel. 1998. "A History of Christianity in Asia. Vol. 1. The Beginnings to 1500." In, 2nd rev. ed. Maryknoll, N.Y: Orbis.

Müller, Friedrich Wilhelm Karl, and Wolfgang Lentz. 1934. *Soghdische Texte II*. Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Payne, Richard A. 2015. *A State of Mixture. Christians, Zoroastrians and Iranian Political Culture in Late Antiquity*. California: University of California.

Pelliot, Paul. 1973. *Recherches Sur Les Chrétiens d'Asie Central et d'Extrême-Orient*. Paris: Imprimerie nationale.

Polotsky, Hans. 1934. "Barschābba Fragmente." In *"Soghdische Texte II", Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, by Friedrich Wilhelm Karl Müller and Wolfgang Lentz, 255–8, 559–64.

Price, Richard M. 1985. *History of the Monks of Syria by Theodoret of Cyrrhus*. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications.

Sachau, Eduard. 1905. "Literatur-Bruchstücke aus Chinesisch-Turkistan." *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Sitzungder philosophisch-historischen Classe von 23. November)* XLVII: 964–73.

Saeki, P. Yoshio. 1937. *The Nestorian Documents and Relics in China*. Tokyo: Maruzen.

Scher, Addaï. 1908. "Histoire Nestorienne (Chronique de Séert) première partie (II)." In *Patrologia Orientalis V*. Paris: Firmin-Didot et cie.

Sims-Williams, Nicholas. 1992. "Sogdian and Turkish Christians in the Turfan and Tun-Huang Manuscripts." In *Turfan and Tun-Huang. The Texts. Encounter of Civilizations on the Silk Route*, edited by A. Cadonna, 43–61. Venice: Fondazione Giorgio Cini. Instituto Venezua e l'Oriente.

———. 2012. *Mitteliranische Handschriften. Iranian Manuscripts in Syriac Script in the Berlin Turfan Collection*. Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag.

Talbot-Rice, David. 1932. "The Oxford Excavations at Hira"." *Antiquity* 6.

———. 1934. "The Oxford Excavations at Hira"." *Ars Islamica* 1.

Van Rompay, Lucas. 2011. "Shemʿon Bar Ṣabbaʿe." In *The Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage*, edited by Sebastian P. Brock, Aaron Michael Butts, George Anton Kiraz, and Lucas Van Rompay, 373–4. Piscataway, New Jersey: Gorgias Press.

Vööbus, Arthur. 1961. "The Institution of the Benai Qeiama and Benat Qeiama in the Ancient Syrian Church." *Church History* 30: 14–27.

———. 1965. *A History of the School of Nisibis*. Louvain: Peeters.

Wood, Philip. 2013. *Chronicle of Se'ert. Christian Historical Imagination in Late Antique Iraq*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

Lurching Towards a Canon

Mahāyāna Sūtras in Khotanese Garb

RUIXUAN CHEN
Heidelberg University, Germany

ABSTRACT The concept of canon centers around authority. Assertions about canonicity both reflect and reshape the structure and the source of authority. In a Buddhist context, processes of canonization are highly fluid and complex, shedding light on the socio-religious landscapes of different Buddhist cultures. The present essay explores the complexities of canonization by focusing on a specific Buddhist culture on the ancient Silk Routes, where Mahāyāna sūtras, a collection of Buddhist literature of disputed authenticity in India, were accepted as scriptural and canonized in a remarkable manner. Through the lens of an indigenous Buddhist poem, the author argues that the reception and canonization of Mahāyāna sūtras give illuminating clues about a pivotal transition in the history of this Buddhist kingdom named Khotan, where both the removal and the bestowal of authority took place.

KEYWORDS authority, canon, canonization, Central Asia, Mahāyāna Buddhism, tradent

Introduction

Buddhists, as is the case with adherents of many other religions, establish and stabilize their collective identity among other things through the (re)production of a particular body of literature deemed authoritative. Across the Buddhist world, this body of literature is variously designated as "The Pāli canon," "the Chinese canon (*dazang jing* 大藏經)," "the Tibetan canon (i.e., Kanjur and Tanjur)," etc. Carsten Colpe advanced the proposition[1] that the Buddhist 'Three Baskets' (Sanskrit *tripiṭaka*, Pāli *tipiṭaka*) and the Hebrew Bible (acronym *tanakh*) represented the two independent forms of canonization in human history which became a model for all other processes of canon formation, bringing forth the Christian Bible, the Daoist canon, the Islamic Qur'an, etc. To what extent this claim does justice to the historical complexities of the 'Three Baskets'[2] must remain open to discussion. But it alludes to the significance of the issue of canonicity that persists throughout the history of Buddhism and has great implications

[1]

---

1   See Colpe (1987, 84); accepted by Assmann (2011, 78).
2   The origin of this designation is obscure; see Collins (1990, 92–93).

for a diversity of Buddhists in different cultural spheres.[3] The present essay is a preliminary attempt to tackle the complexities through a case study, i.e., the reception of Mahāyāna sūtras in fourth- and fifth-century Central Asia.

Before delving into the case study, a few remarks on the concept of 'canon' are in order. [2] Scholars of Religious Studies have long been working with the theoretical twofold typology[4] of an "open canon," i.e., a collection of authoritative texts in the general sense which does not exclude other texts from canonicity, and to which other texts of equal importance may be added at any time; and a "closed canon," i.e., an exclusive collection of authoritative texts, to which only scriptural authority is assigned (and no others!). The borderline between the two kinds of canon is not ironclad and stable, but is porous and dynamic. An open canon can be 'closed' in some sense by separating the canonical texts from the apocryphal and by calling a halt to the addition of new texts into the collection. The act of closure, which forms "[t]he most important step toward canonization" (Assmann 2011, 78), does not, as it were, draw a line in the sand because its binding force is not permanent and its consequences are not irreversible. On the other hand, even if no new texts may be added to the body of literature, this does not necessarily imply the closure of the canon on the interpretative level, insofar as innovation *de facto* continues by dint of interpretative text production (e.g. translations, commentaries, etc.; Silk 2015, 6). The further the process of interpretation advances, the more difficult it becomes to standardize or harmonize the texts thereby produced.

Therefore, the utility of canonization as a "contra-present"[5] bulwark against the tide of [3] innovation should not be taken literally. Viewing the history of Buddhism in the *longue durée*, we observe that an open canon is the norm, while a closed canon merely occurs at one or two times and places, contingent on specific historical and socio-religious circumstances of a given milieu which make its closure desirable.[6] On the surface of it, there seems to be an asymmetrical relation between these two kinds of canon: The vast majority of Buddhist canons exhibit a greater or lesser degree of openness, whereas closed canons *stricto sensu* are few and far between. This asymmetry, however, does not mean that the gravitation towards the closure of a canon is incapable of acting as a counterweight to its opening up. On the contrary, a closed canon remains an attractive option even in a Buddhist milieu whose canon is by and large open, and where attempts are made to seal off the body of authoritative literature in some sense. This is all the more the case when the very milieu is in a transitional phase of its history which entails redistribution of religious authority, as will be explained in detail below.

Khotanese Shift to the Mahāyāna

The emergence of a group of authoritative texts designated *ex post facto* as 'Mahāyāna sū- [4]

---

3   For attempts at an overview of the formation of canon(s) and its various aspects in the history of Buddhism, see Lévi (1908), McDermott (1984), Norman (1997, 131–48), and Silk (2015). See also Deeg, Freiberger and Kleine (2011), especially the contributions by Salomon, Freiberger, Kleine, Deeg, Wilkens, and Kollmar-Paulenz.

4   See Sheppard (1987, 64–66). This typology is significantly different from a similar twofold typology of "canon" proposed by Folkert (1989, 173), which consists in the distinction between a 'vectored' (i.e., carried) canon, whose authoritative status is derived from its use by the faith community, and a 'vectoring'

tras' around the turn of the Common Era[7] is a historical phenomenon which still evades any conclusive explanation. Despite their heterogeneity that renders any attempt at monothetic definition futile,[8] Mahāyāna sūtras, especially those belonging to the earlier strata of this body of literature, are more likely to be subjected to skeptical scrutiny as regards their canonical status compared to the sūtras transmitted by the Mainstream[9] schools. Disputations about their authenticity were initiated early on by the followers of the Mainstream tradition,[10] to whom the texts were unheard of in the Dharma that had come down to them. For this reason and others, the historical argument serving as the basis for the criterion of authenticity or canonicity was not in favor of Mahāyāna sūtras of later historical provenance, and was thus utterly rejected by Mahāyāna scholastics such as Vasubandhu (fl. fourth century CE) (Cabezón 1992, 228). The early advocates of these sūtras were, in all likelihood, educated monks, or rather communities of such monks, who constituted "a number of differentially marginalized minority groups" (Schopen 2000, 24) struggling for recognition. Their struggle, to our knowledge, did not succeed in Middle-Period India to any significant extent.[11]

The marginalized status of the Mahāyāna in a highly competitive environment might have been one of the motivations for an overland exodus from India.[12] It indeed happened. In the late second century, a number of Mahāyāna sūtras surfaced in Central China in the person of an Indo-Scythian missionary.[13] This earliest known instance of cross-cultural transfer of Mahāyāna sūtras is probably the result of "long-distance transmission" rather than "contact expansion," as Erik Zürcher plausibly argued (Zürcher 1990, 158–82). In other words, their mode of diffusion is not reliant on residential monasteries established near prosperous regions or supported by high-level patronage, but consists in incidental and intermittent nodes of com-

[5]

---

canon, which is prestigious due to the divinely revealed source and itself functions as a carrier of religious activity.

5   For "contra-present" as opposed to "foundational," see Assmann (2011, 62–66).

6   A case in point is the Pāli canon, whose closure was conditioned by a strategy of legitimation by a specific sect of Mainstream Buddhism in Sri Lanka in the early centuries CE; see Collins (1990, 89–126).

7   For useful surveys of the long history of scholarship on the origin(s) of Mahāyāna Buddhism, see Shimoda (2009) and Drewes (2010). For the discovery of the so far oldest Mahāyāna texts in Gāndhārī (first to fourth centuries CE), whose significance for the study of early Mahāyāna Buddhism cannot be overestimated, see Allon and Salomon (2010, 1–22), Strauch (2018, 207–42), and most recently Hartmann (2019, 13–22).

8   That is to say, defining a class of objects by means of a set of features or characteristics shared by *every* member of the class. For a thorough critique of the instances of monothetic classification in the received definitions of Mahāyāna Buddhism, see Silk (2002, 355–405), who proposes the alternative method of polythetic classification that operates on the basis of a variable set of features or characteristics possessed by a large number of members, but not by *every* member of the class.

9   "Mainstream Buddhism" is proposed by Harrison (1995, 56) as a designation of non-Mahāyāna Buddhism, which was institutionally constituted by the dominant, established monastic orders in early Middle-Period India.

10 Schopen (2000, 20): "The opponents of the [*Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*] are, then, monks who have entered 'the well-taught Dharma and Vinaya,' monks, presumably, of the established monastic orders among which the Mahāyāna apparently wants desperately to gain a foothold." For passages against those opponents in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, on which Schopen's observation is based, see Mitra (1888, 59, 226, 429, etc.).

11 For the marginal status of the Mahāyāna in Middle-Period India, see Schopen (1979, 1–19) and (2000, 12–19), whose arguments are mainly buttressed by epigraphic evidence. An exceptional case is Nepal, where there are fifth- and sixth-century inscriptions that indicate high-level patronage of the Mahāyāna; see Acharya (2010, 23–75). For a different interpretation of the absence of epigraphic evidence pointed out by Schopen in light of the newly found Gāndhārī texts, see Allon and Salomon (2010, 17–18).

12 For the hypothesis of the migration of the Mahāyāna, see Schopen (2000, 24).

13 The Indo-Scythian missionary named Lokakṣema (fl. 168–186) was likely a walking encyclopedia that recited numerous texts from memory, although it is possible that he and his collaborators also utilized manuscripts in the form of birch-bark scrolls similar to the Gāndhārī *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* from the split collection (Falk and Karashima 2012, 2013). On the corpus of Mahāyāna sūtras translated by Lokakṣema, see Harrison (1993). For the life and work of Lokakṣema, see most recently Harrison (2018, 700–706).

munication which are connected through the agency of itinerant monks via transit zones over great distances. In the case of the earliest Mahāyāna sūtras in China, the Tarim Basin seems to have served as such a transit zone, which was not yet capable of affording monastic Buddhism in the late second or early third century.[14] The absence of established monasticism also implies that there was no institutional establishment of any Mainstream school. This vacuum created unprecedentedly favorable circumstances under which Mahāyāna sūtras could take root among recent converts to Buddhism in local society and jockey with their Mainstream counterparts for canonical authority—a privilege they had never enjoyed in India.

It is in this historical-geographical setting that Khotan, an oasis kingdom situated on the southern rim of the Tarim Basin (Fig. 1), comes into focus. The Iranian ruling élite of the kingdom was so eagerly in pursuit of Indian identity that the kings adopted an Indic honorary epithet (Sanskrit *Vijaya,* Khotanese *Viśa'*),[15] and that the legendary foundation of the kingdom was anchored in the legend of the Mauryan king Aśoka (Yamazaki 1990, 55–80; Mayer 1990, 37–65). Although multifarious ties with India for long-distance trade and cultural exchanges should render the introduction of Buddhism a matter of course, we know next to nothing as to how Buddhism began in Khotan. As a matter of fact, no archeological evidence for the presence of residential monasteries in Khotan before the late third century has so far come to light.[16] To be sure, absence of evidence is not evidence of absence; but one may at least infer from the evidential vacuum that monastic orders affiliated with Mainstream schools, even if founded in Khotan at that point, did not gain any great social prestige or visibility.[17] This inference, on the other hand, implies that Mahāyāna monks were provided with a golden opportunity to make forays into the religiously virgin soil of Khotan, where the authenticity of Mahāyāna sūtras, however, may not have gone uncontested. [6]

Zhu Shixing 朱仕行 (203–282),[18] a Chinese monk aspiring to the Mahāyāna, travelled westward in search of Mahāyāna sūtras. Around 260, he procured at Khotan an Indic manuscript of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā,* one of the most influential Mahāyāna sūtras of all time. As he was about to have the manuscript sent back to China, he met great opposition from local monks who were adherents of Mainstream Buddhism. The dispute over the fate of [7]

---

14 Zürcher (1990, 176–81) attributed the relatively late emergence of residential monasteries in the Tarim Basin in part to the demographic upsurge and the development of agricultural techniques under Chinese influence. Although his observations (1990, 172–76) are based on archeological findings up to the 1980s, they still hold true today in overall terms. Neelis (2011, 7) rightly warns against the potential dangers of an overdrawn version of Zürcher's notion of "long-distance transmission," which does not fully account for regional and local transformations of Buddhism.

15 For the identification of the word as an honorary epithet adopted by kings after their enthronement rather than a royal surname as Chinese historians took for granted, see Wen (2016, 78–84).

16 See Neelis (2011, 297). Ruins of a temple in the shape of two concentric squares, which was originally made of a circumambulation path around a central shrine, were excavated in 2011 at a site in southern Domoko, which is nicknamed "the stump of a poplar tree" by Chinese archeologists. This site is radiocarbon dated to the end of the third century CE, and forms the earliest piece of evidence for Buddhist architecture in Khotan so far (see Wu 2013, 5). Whether the temple was part of a residential monastery remains unclear, and the issue of its original function is further complicated by the enigmatic mural paintings of nude celestial figures, which are yet to be identified and interpreted by art historians.

17 This is significantly different from the situation of Indian Buddhism in the Middle Period (first to fifth century CE), during which time the Mainstream monastic orders were most frequently the "recipients of gifts of land, monasteries, endowments of money, slaves, villages, deposits of relics and images" (Schopen 2000, 12–13), while Mahāyāna monks were "located within the larger, dominant, established monastic orders as a marginal element struggling for recognition and acceptance" (Schopen 2000, 20).

18 See Zürcher (2007, 61–63) for more details.
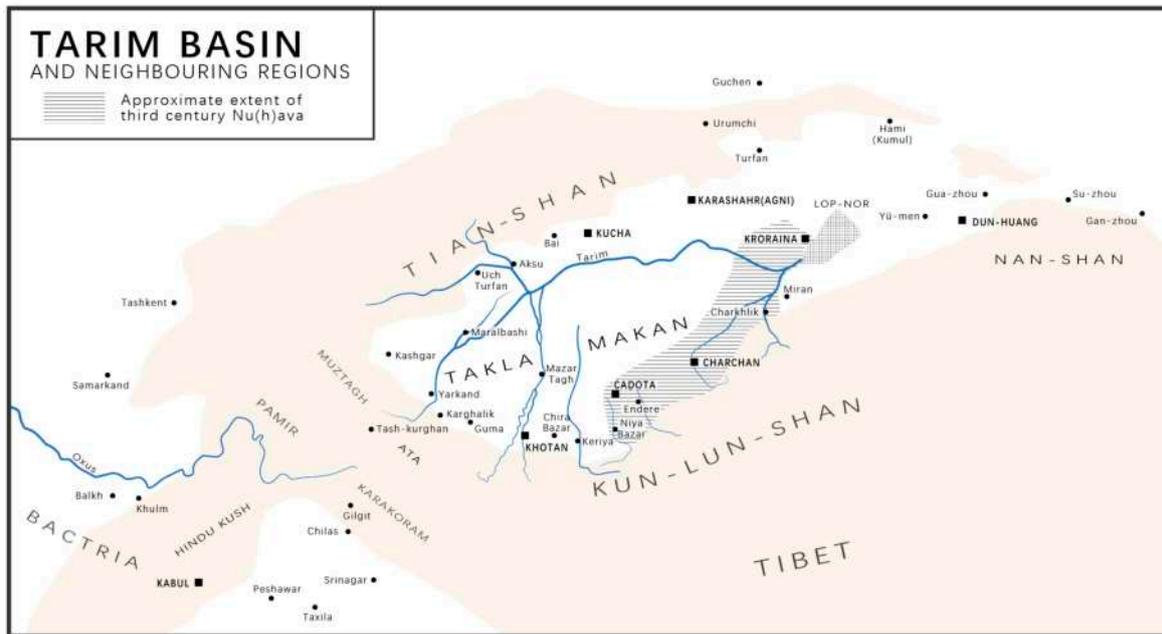
Figure 1   Tarim Basin and Neighbouring Regions (3rd cent. AD). Modified after Brough (1965) by Yang Miao.

the manuscript was resolved in a highly dramatic fashion, according to the *Mingxiang ji* 冥祥記 'Signs from the Unseen Realm' by Wang Yan 王琰 (late fifth century):[19]

> Most of the monks and laymen of the Western Regions practiced the Lesser Vehicle,   [8]
> and when they heard that Shixing sought the Mahāyāna sūtras, they all thought
> it strange and did not give him the texts. They said, "You do not know the correct
> Dharma, and these will lead you astray." Shixing responded, "The sūtras say that
> after a thousand years the Dharma will spread eastward. If you doubt that this was
> the Buddha's saying, then let us test it with the utmost sincerity." With that he set
> afire a pile of wood and poured oil over it. When the smoke and flames were
> at their peak, Shixing picked up the sūtras and, weeping and bowing his head,
> uttered the vow: "If these sūtras emerged from the golden mouth (i.e., spoken by
> the Buddha), they should be disseminated and spread across the land of Han (i.e.,
> China). Let all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas bear witness!" With that he threw
> them onto the fire, causing it to flare up brightly. When the smoke had cleared,
> it became evident that the words of the texts were all intact, and the birch-bark
> leaves were as before. The entire nation reacted with joy and reverence. So he
> stayed behind to become a worthy recipient of offerings. (Campany 2012, 75–76,
> with modifications)

This episode is intriguing in many respects. It is perhaps for the first time in the history   [9]
of Buddhism that the ordeal by fire had the final say on the issue of a text's controversial
authenticity.[20] More remarkably, the disputation allegedly occurred in a sphere of patrons

---

19   This work is not extant in its entirety, but the passage in question is quoted in the *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 'Pearl Grove in the Dharma Garden,' a seventh-century encyclopedia of Chinese Buddhism; see T.2122, 53.491a21–28.

20   The ordeal by fire was foreign to the early Chinese world, where the oath and butting animals were used to resolve doubtful lawsuits and detect perjury; see MacCormack (1995, 71–93). But it was nothing unusual

or faith community, which showed no favor to any specific strand of Buddhism, whether Mahāyāna or Mainstream. This appears to be in tune with the aforementioned inference drawn from archeological data. It remains unclear how much weight should be attached to this episode, the historicity of which was already questioned by Zürcher (Zürcher 2007, 63). The possibility that it was related, in China, with exaggerated unction and thus contains fictitious elements cannot be excluded, insofar as Mahāyāna polemic against Mainstream opponents was a beloved literary trope in early Medieval Chinese Buddhism which often has no basis in historical fact.[21]

Be that as it may, there is circumstantial evidence suggesting that the episode is based on some source of greater antiquity.[22] Even if we are dealing with an example of the Chinese *imaginaire*,[23] not everything of the *imaginaire* is a figment of collective imagination: At least the conviction that Mahāyāna sūtras had not yet caught on and the fact that their authenticity was still subject to doubt in Khotan by the late third century may not be entirely unfounded in reality. This stands, however, in stark contrast to what Faxian 法顯 (d. ca. 420),[24] one of the most renowned Chinese pilgrim-monks, claimed to have witnessed in Khotan at the very beginning of the fifth century:[25]

[10]

> This country (i.e., Khotan) is prosperous and happy; its people are well-to-do […] The [monks] number several tens of thousands, most of them belonging to the Mahāyāna. They all obtain their food from a public fund […] The ruler of the country lodged Faxian and his companions comfortably in a monastery, called Gomatī, which belonged to the Mahāyāna. At the sound of a gong, three thousand priests assemble to eat […] The monks of the Gomatī monastery belong to the Mahāyāna, which is deeply venerated by the king; and they take the first place in the procession of images. (Giles 1923, 4–5, with modifications and omissions)

[11]

The monastery of Gomatī (aka. Gomatīra),[26] consisting exclusively of Mahāyāna monks,

[12]

---

in ancient Iran, given the ritual efficacy ascribed to fire as the agent of Mithra in Zoroastrianism; see Boyce (1975, 69–76). For the story of the ordeal by fire that Ādurbād ī Mahrspandān, high priest of the Sassanian king Šabuhr II (r. 309–379), took on in order to prove the validity of Zoroastrian doctrine; see Tafażżolī (1983, 477). In this connection, it might also be of interest to note the late antique practice of book-burning as purification (Sarefield 2006; Herrin 2009), which only makes sense on the presumption that 'pure' scriptures survive the bonfire.

21 See Deeg (2006, 110) with special reference to this episode.

22 At the end of this passage from the *Mingxiang ji*, there is a brief remark to the effect that 'Master Shi' (*shigong* 釋公) reported this episode in detail (Campany 2012, 76) . This 'Master Shi' must be identified with the famous monk-scholar Dao'an (312–385), who was the first Chinese monk adopting the clerical ordination name Shi (i.e., Śākya). A register of miscellaneous sūtras with anonymous translators, attributed to Dao'an, makes reference to a work entitled 'A Thorough Account of [Zhu] Shixing Sending the Larger [*Prajñāpāramitā*] (i.e., the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*), in one fascicle' (*Shixing song* Dapin *benmo yi juan* 仕行送大品本末一卷; T.2145, 55.18b25). This work, which had been accessible to Dao'an but was already lost in the early sixth century (Hayashiya 1941, 628), may have been the ultimate source of the narrative quoted above; see Z. Chen (2018, 105).

23 The concept of *imaginaire* that does not have the same connotations as 'imaginary' goes back to the School of Annales; see *inter alia* Duby (1975, 111–23), who defined it as the structural, ideational images that societies create. In the present context, I adopt *imaginaire* as a heuristic device to describe a stable and coherent assemblage of images and imaginations in relation to reality that are entrenched in a given society or socio-religious community sharing the same historical framework.

24 For the chronological problems of Faxian's life, see Deeg (2005, 22–30).

25 For the Chinese text of the passage, see T.2085, 51.857b3–17 (ed. Zhang 1985, 13–14). See also the German translation by Deeg (2005, 511–12).

represents a new order of Khotanese Buddhism, as distinguished from Indian monasteries affiliated with the Mainstream schools. The foundation of this monastery cannot be historicized with certitude,[27] but its continued presence in Khotan as the foremost monastery under royal patronage up to the end of the tenth century is borne out by Khotanese documents from Dunhuang.[28] In such a kingdom as depicted in Faxian's eyewitness account, it would be utterly unacceptable to subject any Mahāyāna sūtra to a fire-ordeal. Furthermore, it is conceivable that knowledge about Mahāyāna sūtras, and *a fortiori* manuscripts of Mahāyāna sūtras, must have become valued cultural capital such that most Buddhists in that kingdom were eager to avail themselves of. The rigid demand for Mahāyāna sūtras naturally triggered the proliferation of their translations in the local language, as will be shown below. On balance, there seems to have been a historic transition between the late third century and the fifth century, in which the kingdom of Khotan, especially its ruling élite, shifted to the Mahāyāna.

Beginning and End

A not altogether speculative theory on the religio-historical landscape conducive to the   [13]
Khotanese shift to the Mahāyāna is beyond our reach,[29] since we are relatively ill-informed about the time period in question, which is, for the most part, shrouded in darkness. In the course of the fourth century, Khotan receded almost entirely from the vision of Chinese historiographers, since little is known apart from sporadic records of tributary envoys dispatched by the Khotanese kings.[30] The kingdom, it seems, remained a vassal state pledging its allegiance to various rulers, Chinese and Proto-Tibetan alike, who in turn wielded hegemony over the Hexi corridor and governed the Tarim Basin on a loose reign. The southward relocation of the kingdom of Nu(h)ava[31] in the late fourth through the fifth centuries, probably due to an advancement of the desert, marked "a dividing point in Central Asian history" (Brough 1965, 611). This resulted in the desertion of the major towns of Caḍota and Kroraina and the breakdown of the southern Silk Route, which, though not entirely going out of use, never recovered its former vitality and was superseded from the fifth century onward by the northern route (Vaissière 2005, 123). In other words, the kingdom of Khotan lost its eastern boundary as well as a long-standing shortcut to Dunhuang and northern China. What consequences the changing geopolitical circumstances had in the socio-religious domain remains to be plumbed.

It may not be simply fortuitous that the kingdom of Khotan began developing a local liter-   [14]

---

26   See Khotanese *Gūmattīra*, Tibetan *'Gum tir*; see Thomas (1935, 19, n.3), Bailey (1951, 26), and Kumamoto (1982, 289). The second component of the monastery's name *-ttīra* might be a lexeme of Khotanese origin which means 'district'; see Thomas (1925, 262).

27   The *Li yul lung bstan pa* 'Prophecy of the Li Country (i.e., Khotan)' contains a legend according to which the monastery of Gomattīra was founded by a legendary Khotanese king Vijaya Vīrya whose reign, however, cannot be pinpointed in any historical source; see Emmerick (1967, 28–29).

28   For the occurrences of the monastery's name in Dunhuang documents, see Kumamoto (1982, 289, n. 52). Those documents bear witness to the involvement of monks from this monastery in diplomatic missions during the late tenth century, as well as to their special ties with their royal patrons; see Zhang and Rong (1993, 284).

29   Martini (2013, 25) postulates "an 'official' introduction of Mahāyāna Buddhist institutions to Khotan," which is not impossible. But it remains unclear what 'official' exactly means in this context. It is also questionable whether the institutions were introduced (from India?) or rather established in Khotan by way of local transformation.

30   For instance, Khotan, among a number of Chinese vassal states in the Tarim Basin, paid tribute in 335 to the Former Liang regime (320–376) as a token of surrender and allegiance; see (Loewe 1969, 96).

31   On the original name of the kingdom otherwise known in Chinese as *shanshan* 鄯善 vel sim., see Loukota (2020, 102–5).

acy along with the rise of the Mahāyāna at about the same time as the kingdom of Nu(h)ava
was in decline, where a different type of Buddhism had been prevalent. Some documents writ-
ten in a Gāndhārī-based chancellery language, which fell into disuse in the aftermath of the
kingdom's leaving the Tarim Basin, convey a noteworthy image: Buddhists in third- and fourth-
century Caḍota "worshipped stūpas and bathed Buddha images but recorded few, if any, texts"
(Hansen 2004, 306), and local clerics "lived at home with their wives and children, owned
property, and donned Buddhist vestments only for occasional ceremonies" (Hansen 2004,
279).[32] Although two Nu(h)avan dignitaries had claimed to have "set out in the Mahāyāna"
(*mahāyānasamprasthita*),[33] they hardly seem to have done anything beyond paying plain lip
service to their Mahāyāna devotion. As Faxian, the aforementioned pilgrim, sojourned at Kro-
raina in 399, he saw the end of a debased form of the Śrāvakayāna, which stood in stark
contrast to the state of affairs in coeval Khotan:[34]

> The king of this country (i.e., Nu[h]ava) has received the Dharma, and there may   [15]
> be some four thousand and more [monks], all belonging to the Lesser Vehicle.
> The common people of these countries as well as the clergy practice the Dharma
> of India, but to a greater or lesser degree. (Giles 1923, 2–3, with modifications)

There was no Mahāyāna institution whatsoever, at least not that Faxian was aware of.[35]   [16]
The Buddhist cult entrenched in Nu(h)ava was in many respects different from the Mahāyāna
in Khotan, but one of the most salient distinctions between the two Buddhist cultures was
highlighted by text-centeredness, namely, the significance of texts in the midst of the faith
community.[36] In Nu(h)ava, religious authority did not hinge on expertise in authoritative
texts, but was rooted in the clergy's ordained roles in rituals and cultic activities: For the
failure to attend communal ceremonies or to put on proper vestments on such occasions,
fines (in bolts of silk) were stipulated;[37] but there was virtually no trace of any normative
statement as to the literary learning of a monk-priest, whose life as a householder made it
rather difficult, if not impossible, to cultivate textual expertise. In Khotan, however, it was the
other way around: According to Faxian quoted above, Mahāyāna monks in this "ideal *civitas
buddhica*" (Deeg 2005, 86) enjoyed high-level patronage since no later than the early fifth

---

32   For the Buddhist community in Caḍota and Kroraina during the given time period, see also Atwood (1991,
      173–75) and Hansen (2012, 51–55).

33   This epithet applies to a *cozbo* (i.e., an official title apparently of Saka origin; see Tumshuqese *cazba*,
      Tocharian A *cospā*) named Ṣamasena, who was probably active in the late third century (Burrow 1940, 79,
      §390; Hansen 2004, 305); and to a king who is probably to be identified with Aṃgoka, also ruling in the
      third century, as is evinced in a Kharoṣṭhī inscription from Endere (Salomon 1999, 10–12). This epithet
      also glorifies the Kushan king Huviṣka (r. ca. 153/4–191) in some fourth-century Sanskrit fragments of a
      Buddhist narrative (*avadāna*), preserved in the Schøyen collection (Salomon 2002, 255–67). Despite the fact
      that the construction of Buddhist monasteries underwent a boom during the long reign of Huviṣka, there is
      no historical evidence for his conversion to the Mahāyāna. His family cult, in all likelihood, was Mazdeism,
      although he, like his father Kaniṣka, adopted a somewhat catholic attitude towards other religions; see
      Tremblay (2007, 84–88). For the occurrences of this term in early Mahāyāna sūtras, its semantics and
      nuances, see Harrison (1987, 76–77) and Nattier (2003, 209–10, n. 22).

34   For the Chinese text of the passage, see T.2085, 51.857a21–22 (ed. Zhang 1985, 8) . For an alternate
      translation of the passage, see Hansen (2012, 55) . See also the German translation by Deeg (2005, 508).

35   The co-existence of the two sects (i.e., the Mahāyāna and the Mainstream) in the Nu(h)avan kingdom
      without conflict is unlikely, for there is no evidence of the existence of any Mahāyāna monks, let alone a
      Mahāyāna "sect"; *pace* Atwood (1991, 174).

36   For the notion of text-centeredness and its defining features, see Halbertal (1997, 6–7). Since Halbertal's
      theoretical framework is mainly devised for the Jewish tradition, the term 'text-centered' is adopted here
      as a heuristic means to describe similar phenomena in the Buddhist world with necessary adjustments.

37   See Burrow (1940, 95, §489); see also Atwood (1991, 174), and Hansen (2012, 51).

century. Hence there are good reasons to believe that they, under the auspices of "a public fund," had the time and leisure to seriously engage in textual study and scholastic discussions, which were as important as, if not more so than, their ritual obligations.

The text-centeredness of the Mahāyāna community in Khotan is otherwise corroborated by [17] chance-finds of manuscripts written in a local variety of the Brāhmī script, probably dating back to the fifth and sixth centuries (i.e., Early Turkestan Brāhmī; after Sander 2005, 137–38). Many of these manuscripts are copies of Mahāyāna sūtras in Sanskrit,[38] bearing witness to the wide range of knowledge on Mahāyāna literature which was accessible to educated monks at home in Sanskrit. A heptad of Mahāyāna sūtras appears to have been particularly well-received, as is evinced in fragments of their Khotanese translations which can be ascribed to the same time period on paleographic grounds (Skjærvø 2012, 118–19): the *Anantamukhanirhāradhāraṇī* (Loukota 2014, 13–27, 57–59), the *Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra*, the *Ratnakūṭa* (aka. *Kāśyapaparivarta*; Skjærvø (2003), 409–420; Maggi (2015), 101–143), the *Saṅghāṭasūtra*,[39] the *Śūraṃgamasamādhisūtra* (Emmerick 1970), the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*,[40] and the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (Skjærvø 1986, 229–60). Six out of the seven Khotanese texts were translated from Sanskrit *Vorlagen*, with the sole exception of the *Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra*, the sūtra of the Healing Buddha, which is proven to have a certain affinity to the fifth-century Chinese version (T.1331)[41] and thus is probably of non-Indian provenance (Loukota 2019, 67–90). Apparently, the Khotanese reception of Mahāyāna literature, especially at its incipient stage, was by no means a one-way street, and India was not the only source of authority.

That being said, the lion's share of Mahāyāna sūtras circulating in fifth- and sixth-century [18] Khotan was Sanskrit (or Middle Indic) in origin. There was thus a gap between the language of the authoritative texts and that of the faith community, which was eastern Middle Iranian in speech. As long as members of the community were aware of the gap, the regulatory mechanisms controlling the translation of those texts became essential. This raises the question, above all, of whether the Buddha's Word, in its ideal form, should be translated at all. Oskar von Hinüber (2014, 147–48) has pointed out an intriguing phenomenon that some Mahāyāna sūtras of the utmost importance, e.g. the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* (viz. the Lotus Sūtra), seem to have never been translated into Khotanese. While this curiosity still remains to be fully accounted for in religio-historical perspective, it points to a defining feature of a conservative stratum of the local Buddhist community, namely, the overarching emphasis on 'looking after the words' (*Textpflege*) as the foremost "custodian of the tradition,"[42] which takes priority over 'looking after the meaning' (*Sinnpflege*). In a Khotanese context, the priority of the former finds expression in the reluctance, if not deliberate refusal, to translate a text so as to maintain its original form in Sanskrit, a language that was incomprehensible to everybody in Khotan except educated monks.

The institution of looking after the words marks the first step towards canonization, accord- [19]

---

38   For a comprehensive list of Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna texts discovered in Khotan, see Wille (2014, 226–29). More than a dozen texts registered in this list are testified to by fragments written in Early Turkestan Brāhmī.

39   See Canevascini (1993), especially p. xiii on the date of manuscripts.

40   See Skjærvø (2004), especially pp. lxii–lxiv on manuscripts written in Old Khotanese (fifth to sixth centuries).

41   On the Chinese version and its apocryphal character, see Strickmann (1990, 75–118). Fang (2014) goes so far as to hypothesize that the extant Sanskrit versions of this text from Gilgit etc. are in fact reverse translations from the Chinese. The new discovery by Loukota (2019) logically lends support to this bold hypothesis.

42   For the three "custodians of the tradition" ("Wächter der Tradition"), i.e., the institutions of censorship, of looking after the words, and of looking after the meaning, see A. and J. Assmann (1987, 11).

ing to Aleida and Jan Assmann ([1987](#)). Texts, which become fixed in wording, are thereby not only made taboo and ritualized,[43] but also displaced and increasingly distanced from everyday life. The words are consecrated at the expense of the meaning. This process is thus to be complemented by expertise in the exegetic and applicative interpretations, lest the decay of the meaning (*Sinnverfall*) be inevitable. That is the reason for the rise of the expert-interpreter, the specialist in looking after the meaning (Assmann and Assmann [1987](#), 12–13). The Assmanns' theory holds *mutatis mutandis* for the Khotanese institution of looking after the words by way of non-translation: The Buddha's Word, in its Indic form, was foreign to many Khotanese Buddhists,[44] who were speaking in tongues in the ritualized recitation. This was deemed a problem as well as an opportunity by a man of letters, whose *chef-d'œuvre* is hailed as a milestone in the history of Khotanese literature.

A Book to Remember

That milestone is the so-called *Book of Zambasta*. It is a voluminous, metrical compendium on various aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism, consisting of twenty-four cantos in total. The vast majority of this book has come down to us in an almost complete main manuscript (St. Petersburg, SI P 6) which can be dated to the seventh or eighth century on paleographic grounds. The original title of this book is unfortunately lost to history, while Zambasta is but the name of a magistrate (*pharṣavata*)[45] in the kingdom of Khotan, who, together with his son and family, commissioned the book. The *floruit* of the magistrate named Zambasta is unknown, but the *Book of Zambasta* must have circulated in the Tarim Basin at least two centuries before the production of the main manuscript, as a fragment (Berlin, T III Š 16) written in Early Turkestan Brāhmī (fifth/sixth century) has been identified as part of this book.[46] The *Book of Zambasta*, therefore, was probably in the making during the fourth and fifth centuries, i.e., the aforesaid 'Dark Ages' of Khotanese history. [20]

As for the man[47] who brought the *Book of Zambasta* into being, no biography is forthcoming. The poet was probably well-read in Mahāyāna literature, since some cantos of the book are adapted from Mahāyāna sūtras, such as the *Bhadramāyākaravyākaraṇa* (canto 2; Régamey [1938](#), 5–6), the **Maitrībhāvanāprakaraṇa* (canto 3; Duan [2007](#), 39–58), and the **Tathāgatapratibimbapratiṣṭhānuśaṃsā* (canto 23),[48] while sourced quotations from other [21]

---

43   The manuscript of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* studied by von Hinüber ([2014](#)) turns out to be a pious gift donated by a well-off Khotanese family. It is not impossible that the group donation was made in a ritualized manner.

44   To be sure, not every Buddhist in India understood Sanskrit, which was no one's mother tongue. But the linguistic affinity between Sanskrit and other Indo-Aryan languages is significantly stronger than that between Sanskrit and Khotanese, a language belonging to the Middle Iranian family. On the other hand, the sense of foreignness is a psychological one related to self-identity. Native speakers of Khotanese were likely to be more distinctly aware than those of an Indo-Aryan language that the Buddha had spoken a different language from their own.

45   For the Khotanese official title which is otherwise known from Chinese and Tibetan sources, see Emmerick ([1997](#), 102–3), Filippone ([2007](#), 75–86), Wen ([2008](#), 139–43).

46   See Maggi ([2004](#)). It is all the more interesting that this fragment was not discovered in Khotan proper, but at the site of Shorchuk in the Tocharian-speaking kingdom of Agni (aka Yanqi, Karashahr), which housed a monastic order of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins. This bears witness to the book's wide sphere of influence.

47   On the gender of the *Zambasta* poet, see R. Chen and Loukota ([2018](#), 132, n. 2). Internal evidence suggests that the book was the work of a single person rather than an anthology which was compiled piecemeal; see Maggi ([2004](#), 185–88).

48   The identification of this textual parallel is credited to Inokuchi ([1961](#), 357–88).

Mahāyāna sūtras are found throughout the book.[49] He was also familiar with certain established clusters of Mahāyāna sūtras, such as the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* and the *Mahāsaṃnipāta*, which seem to have gained currency in Khotan at that time (Emmerick 1968, 187). Despite his erudition, the poet seems to have had a somewhat different idea of what he was doing. By modern standards, this book was an indigenous Khotanese composition; but nowhere did the man speak of his own contribution as authorial. Instead, he used such verbs as 'to translate,' 'to recite,' and 'to extract' wherever reference is made to the activity he performed.[50]

However the verbs are to be construed, on no account would the poet have put in a claim to authorship, which would have been tantamount to taking the credit due to Buddhas. He rather considered himself something of a messenger conveying the Buddha's Word to his fellow countrymen, whose mindset towards authoritative texts he trenchantly critiqued: [22]

> The Khotanese do not value the Dharma at all in Khotanese. They understand it badly in the Indian language. In Khotanese it does not seem to them to be the Dharma. For the Chinese the Dharma is in Chinese – in the Kashmirian language [the Dharma] is such [as] the Kashmirian sweetened wine[51] – but they so learn it (i.e., in Chinese) that they also understand the meaning of it. To the Khotanese that seems to be the Dharma whose meaning they do not understand at all. When they hear it together with the meaning, it seems to them thus a different Dharma. (verses 23.4–6; Emmerick 1968, 343, 345, with modifications) [23]

This oft-quoted passage is no doubt by far the most celebrated part of the *Book of Zambasta*. It has long been disputed what language "Kashmirian" was and whether the differentiation between "Indian" and "Kashmirian" was historical.[52] But the purport of this passage has not been sufficiently explicated in its own right, and becomes clearer only if one takes into account the immediately following verses, which are often omitted from quotations: [24]

> Even an ordinary being would not utter a speech which has no meaning. How much less would the all-knowing Buddha be likely to utter meaningless words! In words the essential thing is the meaning. The meaning is indeed so much the essential thing that you should look on it in such a way that the Dharma is preached with that meaning. […] The meaning being unperceived, no one would escape from woes in *saṃsāra*. (verses 23.7–8, 11; Emmerick 1968, 345) [25]

Apparently, the main point is that the Buddha did not utter meaningless words, and that a proper understanding of the Dharma's meaning is prerequisite for its soteriological efficacy. The poet thus addressed not so much an issue of church language[53] as of the priority of looking [26]

---

49 See Martini (2011) on the quotations from the *Ratnakūṭa* (aka. the *Kāśyapaparivarta*), Martini (2014a) from the *Samantamukhaparivarta* and the *Daśadharmaka*, and Martini (2013, 32–41, 46–50) from the *Vinayaviniścaya-Upālipariprcchā* and the *Aniyatāvatāramudrā*, respectively.

50 On the occurrences of these verbs, see R. Chen and Loukota (2018, 132, n. 1).

51 This enigmatic sentence is interpreted anew after the author's unpublished draft. For various received renditions, see Leumann (1933–1936, 290): "… (und) kaschmirisch [indisch] so-sehr wie auch persisch (?); das Kaschmirische aber so lernen sie …"; Konow (1939, 29): "… in Kaśmīrī (is) so as a sherbet (?); the Kaśmirians [sic] indeed learn it so …"; Bailey (1967, 44–45): "… the Kaśmīrī *dharma* in Kaśmīrī is so pleasant, delightful indeed, they so learn it …"; and Emmerick (1968, 343): "In Kashmirian it is very agreeable, but they so learn it in Kashmirian [sic] …".

52 See Konow (1939, 30), Nattier (1990, 210–11, 219, n. 41), Panaino (2015, 98–99). Most scholars regard the so-called Kashmirian language either as Gāndhārī or a variety of Buddhist Sanskrit.

53 Nattier (1990, 211) regards the Khotanese passage as a testimony to the "vernacular revolution" taking place around the sixth century in the Tarim Basin under the influence of the Chinese precedent. This

after the words, which is part and parcel of a seminal mindset traceable to a possibly pre-fourth-century Buddhist milieu in Khotan. In that milieu, attempts were made to canonize and perpetuate authoritative texts of Indian origin primarily by precluding Khotanese Buddhists from translating the texts into their own language. By that means, religious authority was monopolized by itinerant monks who brought along Indic texts and by ritual specialists who gained exclusive access to this sacrosanct body of literature.

The Buddha never spoke Khotanese, to be sure. But it is one thing to cherish Indian texts as valued sources of Buddhist teachings, and quite another to isolate the Buddha's Word from the rest of the Khotanese-speaking world, illiterate in the Indian language. This conservative mindset, as is argued above, would naturally result in the decay of the meaning and, what is worse, a lingering loss of vitality in the roles played by those texts in the everyday life of ordinary Buddhists. These repercussions loom especially large in such a milieu as fourth- and fifth-century Khotan, where the rise of residential monasteries prepared the ground for a more durable locus of the interactions between clergy and laity. The poet of the *Book of Zambasta* thus responded, as it were, to the call of the *Zeitgeist* with alacrity. By restoring the centrality of the institution of looking after the meaning, he vindicated his decision to preach the Dharma in Khotanese not as expedient means, but as the sole approach that holds out the prospects of reenacting the Dharma's soteriological efficacy in such a 'borderland' as Khotan, which was overshadowed by the perfection of the Indian ideal.[54] This extraordinary man thus took on the herculean task of making Buddhas speak to his fellow countrymen, and his ambitious undertaking, as is evinced in the long-lasting impacts[55] of the *Book of Zambasta*, was crowned with great success.

Tradent: Words and Deeds[56]

As is mentioned above, nowhere did the poet himself claim to be the 'author' of the *Book of Zambasta*, some cantos of which he allegedly 'translated,' 'recited,' or 'extracted' from scriptural sources. All the three verbs should be taken *cum grano salis*. For instance, canto 2, which

[27]

[28]

---

theory, for one thing, has to be reappraised due to the fact that the composition of the *Book of Zambasta* is now known to predate, in all likelihood, the sixth-century "revolution." In addition, the way the Chinese precedent is adduced in this passage can be interpreted in a different light, for the emergence of a vernacular Buddhist literature in Khotan by no means undermined the use of Sanskrit, which was never abandoned by Khotanese monks, unlike in China. Hence it is hardly possible to make a strong case for a "shift" to vernacular language, not to mention a "revolution." The mention of the Chinese case is not intended as a desirable model for Khotanese Buddhists to emulate, since their life was affected by completely different cultural and social-linguistic factors. In any case, it is slightly off the mark to read this passage under the presumption of a bitter dispute over the unique "church language."

54   The idea of a "borderland complex" was first conceived by Antonino Forte (1985, 125–26) to describe a sense of uneasiness and a state of dilemma from which monks of the Sinosphere in East Asia suffered. See most recently J. Chen (2017, 65–106). The previous scholarship is mostly centered on East Asian Buddhism, but Khotanese Buddhism also exhibits some defining characteristics that point to a "borderland complex" and multifarious attempts to overcome it. This topic merits a thorough study in its own right. It is noteworthy that the concept of 'borderland' was probably understood in early Khotanese Buddhism in terms of the reduced potential for donors to accrue merits; see *Saṃghātasūtra* 34.4. *pratyantimeṣu janapadeṣu nopapatsyate* 'he will not be reborn in borderlands' rendered into Khotanese as *ne ttävo' kṣīruvo' ysaṃthu ne n[āste] ku ne dakṣi[ṇya ne hämāre]* "he will not take birth in those countries where there are no venerable ones" (tr. Canevascini 1993, 15).

55   Sections from the *Book of Zambasta* (parts of cantos 5, 8, 9, 10, 23) are appropriated by the composer(s) of an indigenous Khotanese metrical treatise, which is extant in a late-tenth-century manuscript from Dunhuang; see Emmerick (1968, 437–53).

56   This section consists of a reiteration of and an elaboration on part of the prolegomenon of my dissertation; see R. Chen (2018, 12–15).

he claimed to have 'translated,' is, by modern standards, no translation at all but a recasting, if not a recomposition from scratch (Régamey 1938, 5–6). Hence each of the three concepts (i.e., 'translator,' 'bard,' and 'epitomist') at best captures one of the multiple and intertwined dimensions of what it meant for him to produce this *magnum opus*, but none of them do full justice to his self-identity. Admittedly, any attempt at encapsulating the poet's multifaceted activity in a single term is nothing short of curtailing him on a Procrustean bed. Despite its potential risks, such an attempt can be made on an *ad hoc* basis, as long as it identifies an apt substitute for 'author' such that offers an increased potential for comparative analysis. To my mind, a candidate for the term of that character is 'tradent.'

The term 'tradent' has long been used in the study of Jewish rabbinic literature to highlight the ways in which rabbinic sages themselves understand their role in the making of this body of materials. As the *de facto* creators of rabbinic literature, they deny any creative role (and any innovative intent) in their own efforts, but only take responsibility for "preserving the integrity of the received version as received from an authoritative teacher" (Jaffee 2007, 22). In other words, the tradent, while producing the text, claims not to accomplish any work of originality but merely to pass on ancient teachings. Robert Mayer (2015), to the best of my knowledge, makes the first attempt at adopting this term into the field of Buddhist Studies.[57] His intention is to shed new light on the idiosyncratic role played by Treasure revealers (*gter ston*) in the formation of Tibetan Treasure literature (*gter ma*). The Tibetan tradents share such conservative concerns of rabbinic sages as "they safely co[rral] individualistic flourishes within the safe bounds of the stock repertoire of established and accepted ritual modules" (Mayer 2015, 233). Although the genre of literature discussed by Mayer differs from the *Book of Zambasta* in significant aspects, they have at least one characteristic in common, namely that their genesis cannot be adequately accounted for through the assumption of an author of originality.

[29]

Sten Konow was struck by an ostensible lack of originality in the *Book of Zambasta*, which he attributed to "a learned collector [but] not an original poet" (Konow 1939, 32). A principal factor in this impression is the poet's reluctance to claim any authorial credit for himself, as is mentioned above. He sought to be seen as a conservative tradent faithful to the tradition, and as such he gave voice to his apprehensions about possible mistakes that he could have committed in performing his duties as a tradent:

[30]

> Since I have translated this teaching, however extremely small [and] poor my knowledge, I seek pardon from all the divine Buddhas, for whatever meaning I have spoiled here. (verse 1.189; Emmerick 1968, 9; modified after Maggi 2009a, 157)

[31]

> Whatever there may be here which the Buddha has not spoken in a sūtra one should not accept. That is all my fault. (verse 8.48; Emmerick 1968, 141)

[32]

First-person statements of this kind, at first glance, appear to resemble the usual disclaimers in scholarly publications. It is customary for scholars to include, in acknowledgments of their publications, statements to the effect that all remaining mistakes are their own. If the parallelism could be taken for granted, it would follow that the poet of the *Book of Zambasta*, like every scholar, made every effort to steer clear of mistakes, and that despite his best efforts,

[33]

57　　His cue has been followed by R. Chen and Loukota (2018, 132, n. 1).

he was aware of the existence of possible, undetected mistakes which could be pointed out by a learned reading public.[58] It remains to be examined whether this is the case.

The mistakes, as is quoted above, are basically twofold: subtraction and addition. The former consists of misrepresentations of Buddhist teachings whose meaning is thereby (partially) lost in 'translation,' while the latter results in the contamination of scriptural sources with non-scriptural ones. Both concern meaning rather than the words, in accord with the aforementioned emphasis on the primacy of looking after the meaning, which the poet vehemently championed. The statements thus presuppose the semantic integrity of a closed canon of the Mahāyāna, from which nothing should be taken away and to which nothing should be added. This presupposition is reminiscent of the famous canon formula (e.g. in *Deuteronomy* 13.1: "The entire word that I command you shall you take care to perform; you must neither add to it nor take away from it!"), which is deeply rooted in the Biblical and Greek traditions.[59] But in the Buddhist world, there is no precedent for the statements in the *Book of Zambasta*, while a closed and fixed Buddhist canon was not entrenched elsewhere than in Sri Lanka before the fifth century CE (Collins 1990, 89–126). [34]

It is not clear whether the Khotanese poet penned the lines by way of off-the-cuff remarks or drew inspiration from a trope that originated in other traditions. Nor is there any definitive evidence for a Khotanese canon of Mahāyāna sūtras, whether closed or not, before the emergence of the *Book of Zambasta*. The idea of the totality of Mahāyāna sūtras as valued objects of cultic reverence seems to have been gaining ground in *Cugopa(n),[60] a petty kingdom to the west of Khotan (present-day Karghalik), no later than the second half of the sixth century.[61] It seems conceivable that the aspiration towards the demarcation, if not the closure, of a Mahāyāna canon, something which never occurred in India, had been in gestation for some time at the southwestern corner of the Tarim Basin, as the Khotanese poem saw the light of day. It may thus come as no surprise that the poet in Khotan conceived a similar idea.[62] The contours of a Mahāyāna canon may be discernible in canto 6 of the *Book of Zambasta*, which, according to its introit (verse 6.1; Emmerick 1968, 117), contains fifty-nine verses, each from a different sūtra. If so, this canto would be a florilegium of Mahāyāna sūtras, which, as Mauro Maggi argues, constituted a Mahāyāna "canon of fifty-nine texts as recognized in Khotan" at that time (2009b, 347). [35]

The claim in the introit is partially borne out by the recent identification of the sources of twenty-odd verses in this canto (R. Chen and Loukota 2018). Although a good half of the canto still remains unsourced, so far nothing speaks against the assumption that the poet did live up to his words by making precisely a verse out of each sūtra. If the fifty-nine Mahāyāna sūtras add up to something of a canon, they provide an advantageous lens through which to appraise the extent to which the poet delivered on his purported commitments as a tradent. Due to the limited space of this essay, we will content ourselves here with looking into a single verse, [36]

---

58   I leave aside, for the time being, the logical incompatibility inherent in such statements, i.e., the paradox of the preface (Makinson 1965, 205–7), for it is not quite relevant to the present context.

59   See van Unnik (1949), Schäublin (1974), and Assmann (2011, 87–90). For recent discussions on the hypothetical Near Eastern origins of the canon formula, see Levinson (2009) and Oeming (2013).

60   For the form of the kingdom's name, see Gāndhārī *Cugopa*; and Tibetan *(b)Cu gon pan* (Thomas 1924, 184–85). On its various Chinese transcriptions, see Pelliot (1963, 880–84). See also Deeg (2005, 97).

61   The Gandhāran monk Jinagupta (528–605) told of a cache of Mahāyāna sūtras in twelve divisions, probably after the model of the Mainstream scriptures in twelve divisions (*dvādaśāṅga-pravacana*), installed in a sacred cave situated southeast of the *Cugopanese capital; see Chavannes (1905, 353–54).

62   Chronologically, it is not impossible to hypothesize that *Cugopanese devotees of the Mahāyāna were actually influenced by the *Book of Zambasta*, which was likely of pan-Tarim-Basin repute – judging from the aforementioned fragment (T III Š 16) discovered in Shorchuk on the northern rim of the Tarim Basin.

i.e. verse 6.12, being a quotation from the *Tathāgataguhya(ka)*, a Mahāyāna sūtra which was first translated into Chinese in the late third century. The verse in question appears to be an abridgement of a lesser-known simile, in which Jīvaka, the king of physicians, is mentioned:[63]

> With herbs has Jīvaka prepared and adorned a girl, [thereby he] removes the diseases [of the world]. Just so does the Buddha through the body of *dharma*s [remove] all afflictions (*kleśa*) without effort. (R. Chen and Loukota 2018, 161)

[37]

A Sanskrit version of the same simile was quoted in its entirety by the seventh-/eighth-century Buddhist scholastic Śāntideva in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, an anthology containing numerous quotations from a variety of Mahāyāna sūtras. In that context, the simile, taught by Vajrapāṇi to Śāntamati, reads as follows:[64]

[38]

> Just as, Śāntamati, when the king of physicians Jīvaka collected all medicine, he made the form of a girl (composed of) a collection of medicinal herbs, which is agreeable, good-looking, well-made, well-completed, and well-prepared. She was going to and fro, standing, sitting down, and sleeping, without thinking or imagination. Thither came sick dignitaries: kings, vicegerents, guild-leaders, bankers, courtiers, and petty rulers. Jīvaka let them unite with the medicine-girl. Immediately after the union that they consummated, all their diseases were appeased, and they became free from illness, sound, and unimpaired. […] Just so, Śāntamati, is the Bodhisattva (i.e., the Buddha) essentially characterized by the body of *dharma*s. Whatever sentient beings – women, men, boys, girls – distressed by passion, hatred, and delusion, touch his body, all their afflictions (*kleśa*) are soothed as soon as they touch it, and they feel (their) body free from distress. (R. Chen and Loukota 2018, 162–63, with modifications)

[39]

Compared with the Sanskrit version, the Khotanese verse is so laconic that one can hardly make sense of it without looking up the original narrative context. It lays bare the unsettling fact that the tradent did take things away. That is to say, he condensed a meandering narrative into a verse of four lines, and, in doing so, reduced the source information to its skeleton. In consequence, the meaning was often veiled, if not entirely spoiled.

[40]

On the other hand, things are added to the simile, as is evinced by the phrase 'without effort' (*anābhoga*), which finds no counterpart in any other version of this sūtra. This phrase is probably an innovation by the tradent, who interpreted the Buddha's salvific use of his body of *dharma*s as 'effortless.' This interpretation is in line with a seminal idea that all activities of the Buddha or a spiritually advanced Bodhisattva are carried out spontaneously, without volitional effort, for any practitioner from the eighth stage of the Bodhisattva path onwards abides in an impassive state devoid of superficial appearances.[65] Judging from this example,

[41]

---

63   For obsolete translations of this obscure verse by previous scholars, see Leumann (1933–1936, 93) and Emmerick (1968, 119).

64   For the Sanskrit text, see Bendall (1897–1912, 159). Compare also the recent English translation by Goodman (2016, 156).

65   This idea is expounded in the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* VIII.C; see Rahder (1926, 64) and Kondō (1936, 135). Compare the *locus classicus* of the nautical simile in VIII.K (Rahder 1926, 67; Kondō 1936, 138). See also Edgerton (1953, 22–23), s.v. *anābhoga*: "[…] a boat, before it reaches the open sea, is […] traveling with (human) effort; when it reaches the open sea it is […] traveling without effort, borne along by a tornado, and goes in a single day farther than it could go in a hundred years by all effortful traveling (i.e., by rowing etc.)." A further development of this idea is attested in a number of scholastic works belong-

it seems suspect whether the tradent ever made efforts to refrain from 'subtraction' and 'addition,' as one may suppose; and even if he did, his efforts did not bear fruit to any significant degree. *Nolens volens* he made tremendous contributions to the diversity of the textual tradition of the Mahāyāna, keeping an eye not only on metrical constraints, but also on the latest scholastic trends. He seems to have had no guilty conscience at all about weaving together ideas of different provenances.

These observations invite us to reconsider the aforesaid statements in rhetorical and pragmatic terms. A word-for-word rendition of the original was apparently not what the tradent actually aspired to. He owned up to his "faults" and pleaded with Buddha for leniency; but there is no indication whatsoever that he strove to steer clear of such "faults," which occur on nearly every page of the *Book of Zambasta*. Therefore, to read those statements simply as a plea of *mea culpa* is to miss the point. The tradent was different from the scholar who adds the usual disclaimers to a publication before it goes to the learned reader, insofar as the target audience of the *Book of Zambasta* consisted of Khotanese believers who understood the Dharma "badly in the Indian language" (verse 23.4; Emmerick 1968, 343). They were not quite capable of reading Indic Buddhist texts, much less comparing the Khotanese poem with its (mostly unspecified) Indian sources. In this regard, the supposed concern about the ambiguity of responsibility for potential mistakes seems to have been at least excessive, and thus is unlikely to have motivated the tradent to add those statements. [42]

The quest for the function of those statements entails a better understanding of the tradent's role in the transmission process. By dint of those statements, the tradent was not primarily aimed at confessing his own "faults," or admonishing others against such "faults." His objective was, to my mind, rather to inculcate a sense of reverence and awe for Mahāyāna sūtras in Khotanese believers by underscoring the sacredness and integrity of this body of literature as the Buddha's Word, which must therefore remain intact. It is beyond the shadow of a doubt that the tradent ran rings around his countrymen in terms of textual expertise. Both the sermon, to which the *Book of Zambasta* was probably tailored,[66] and the authority derived from this missionary role were precisely based on the tradent's power to control the process of conveying the meaning of the Buddha's Word to the Khotanese. Hence it is also plausible to read those statements as an emphatic asseveration of his mastery over this body of literature rather than a token of his ostensible concern about mistranslation etc.[67] A special role was accorded to the tradent in his capacity as expert-interpreter, who was thus entitled to change, update, and harmonize the sūtras according to certain criteria. On a par with those sūtras, his exegesis was canonized. [43]

Concluding Remarks

History is more complex than what chance finds reveal. Khotanese Buddhists were not the *homines unius libri* ('men of one book'), and neither was the *Book of Zambasta* their bible. [44]

---

ing to the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda school; see *Bodhisattvabhūmi* III.3 (Wogihara 1930–1936, 367), *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* IX.18–19 and XX-XXI (Lévi 1907, 37, 178), *Madhyāntavibhāga-Ṭīkā* II (Yamaguchi 1934, 105), etc.

66 The sermonic orientation of the *Book of Zambasta* is reflected in the poet's use of the verb 'to recite' in reference to his own activity as well as in the recurrent imperative form 'Listen!' addressed to the target audience. On the oral and aural features in canto 5, which, to some extent, can be generalized to the entire book, see Martini (2014b) .

67 For this idea I am indebted to Giuseppe Veltri's interpretation of the rabbinic tradent's role in the transmission of the Torah (2002, 20–22).

It would be a methodological hazard to plumb the ethos of a particular era through a sole book, however informative it could be. Hence one must bear in mind the sampling nature of the present research, which at best represents a limited view of what actually happened in Khotan during the fourth and fifth centuries CE. Incomplete as it may be, the limited view does spotlight a deep-seated transformation of the structure and the source of authority in the local Buddhist milieu, which was caught in a transition from a ritual-oriented priesthood based on long-distance transmission to a text-centered monasticism under the supremacy of the Mahāyāna. If the *Book of Zambasta* is anything to go by, an essential aspect of this transformation was the canonization of Mahāyāna sūtras with special emphasis on the principle of looking after the meaning rather than the words, despite the high esteem in which the latter had been held theretofore. The closure of a Mahāyāna canon is likely to have taken place at least on the ideological level, setting in motion a paradoxical process: While exclusive sacredness was awarded to the sūtras, the focus was shifted to their interpretation, and authority was removed from the text-bearer and bestowed on the expert-interpreter, i.e., the tradent, whose exegesis was accorded quasi-canonical status and carried weight with Khotanese believers. Authority was thus redistributed.

The historical factors that triggered this transformation remain nebulous for the most part. [45] The influence of the Chinese model is not impossible, but its likelihood is not to be overestimated either, inasmuch as Khotanese monks were confronted with different problems from their brethren in China. In addition, it merits special note that the kingdom of Khotan was forced to cut loose from its suzerain in northern China during the period in question, partly due to the aforementioned desertion of Caḍota and Kroraina. By the mid-fifth century, Chinese military power was no longer in a position to effectively shelter vassal states on the Silk Routes from external assaults[68] at a moment when the territorial expansion of the Avars (aka. Rouran, Ruanruan)[69] and the Hephthalites ushered in a reshuffle of regional power.[70] In the aftermath of the warfare against the Hephthalites (484–534), Hans Bakker observed "the dissolution of the Gupta empire and the rise of autonomous, regional states in northern India" (2017, 24). It is thus not unlikely that the disintegration of the Sino-centric tributary system in the Tarim Basin a few decades earlier would have compelled oasis states overshadowed by the Avars and later also by the Hephthalites, such as Khotan and *Cugopa(n), to seek autonomy while their diplomats were tactfully mediating between the powers to maintain a fragile independence (Rong 2018, 74–75). Against this historical background, it is possible to hypothesize that the ruling élite in Khotan or *Cugopa(n) readily shifted to the Mahāyāna and ardently endorsed the clerical pursuit of canon and authority in order to unite the people of the country, particularly at a time of political upheaval, under a localized identity of Mahāyāna Buddhism, a religion which distinguished themselves from not merely their near neighbors in the Tarim Basin (e.g. Kucha) but also their nomadic rivals. Admittedly, this hy-

---

68   Chinese historical sources keep record of a letter submitted by a Khotanese envoy who appealed to the imperial court of the Northern Wei (386–534) for military aid in order to fend off the invasion by the Avars during the years 466–468. Though sympathetic, the child emperor or the empress dowager behind him turned a deaf ear to the envoy's entreaties under the pretext that Khotan was too far away. See Rong (2018, 75) .

69   For the identification of the Avars with the Rouran etc., see Golden (2013). A recent note by Étienne de la Vaissière (2020) identifies the Avars or Rouran with *māṃkuya* (probably pronounced **monguya*) in verse 15.9 of the *Book of Zambasta*; see Emmerick (1968, 228).

70   See Sinor (1990, 290–94) and Grenet (2002, 203–24). For a possible reference to the Hephthalites (*huna*) in verse 15.9 of the *Book of Zambasta*, see Emmerick (1968, 228).

pothesis is speculative; but it might not be useless here to present a working hypothesis that will be tested and refined in case further evidence comes to light.

References

Acharya, Diwakar. 2010. "Evidence for Mahāyāna Buddhism and Sukhāvatī Cult in India in the Middle Period: Early Fifth to Late Sixth Century Nepalese Inscriptions." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 31 (1–2): 23–75.

Allon, Mark, and Richard Salomon. 2010. "New Evidence for Mahāyāna in Early Gandhāra." *The Eastern Buddhist* 41 (1): 1–22.

Assmann, Aleida, and Jan Assmann. 1987. "Kanon und Zensur." In *Kanon und Zensur*, edited by A. Assmann and J. Assmann, 7–27. Munich: Fink.

Assmann, Jan. 2011. *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Atwood, Christopher. 1991. "Life in Third–Fourth Century Cadh'ota: A Survey of Information Gathered from the Prakrit Documents Found North of Minfeng (Niya)." *Central Asiatic Journal* 35: 161–99.

Bailey, Harold W. 1951. "The Staël-Holstein Miscellany." *Asia Major, New Series* 2 (1): 1–45.

———. 1967. *Prolexis to the Book of Zambasta: Khotanese Texts VI*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bakker, Hans. 2017. *Monuments of Hope, Gloom, and Glory: In the Age of the Hunnic Wars, 50 Years That Changed India (484–534)*. Amsterdam: Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Bendall, Cecil. 1897–1912. *Çikshāsamuccaya: A Compendium of Buddhistic Teaching Compied by Çāntideva Chiefly from Earlier Mahāyāna-Sūtras*. St. Petersburg: Académie Impériale des Sciences.

Boyce, Mary. 1975. *A History of Zoroastrianism. Volume One: The Early Period*. Leiden: Brill.

Brough, John. 1965. "Comments on Third-Century Shan-Shan and the History of Buddhism." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 28 (3): 582–612.

Burrow, Thomas. 1940. *A Translation of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan*. London: The Royal Asiatic Society.

Cabezón, José I. 1992. "Vasubandhu's Vyākhyāyukti on the Authenticity of the Mahāyāna Sūtras." In *Texts in Context: Traditional Hermeneutics in South Asia*, edited by J. R. Timm, 221–43. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Campany, Robert F. 2012. *Signs from the Unseen Realm: Buddhist Miracle Tales from Early Medieval China*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Canevascini, Giotto. 1993. *The Khotanese Saṅghāṭasūtra*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.

Chavannes, Édouard. 1905. "Jinagupta (528–605 après J.-C.)." *T'oung Pao, Second Series* 6 (3): 332–56.

Chen, Jinhua. 2017. "The Borderland Complex and the Construction of Sacred Sites and Lineages in East Asian Buddhism." In *Buddhist Transformations and Interactions: Essays in Honor of Antonino Forte*, edited by V. H. Mair, 65–106. Amherst: Cambria.

Chen, Ruixuan. 2018. "The Nandimitrāvadāna: A Living Text from the Buddhist Tradition." PhD Dissertation, Leiden University.

Chen, Ruixuan, and Diego Loukota. 2018. "Mahāyāna Sūtras in Khotan: Quotations in Chapter 6 of the Book of Zambasta (I)." *Indo-Iranian Journal* 61 (2): 131–75.

Chen, Zhiyuan. 2018. "Banre jing zaoqi chuanbo shishi bianzheng." *Sui Tang Liao Song Jin Yuan shi luncong* 8: 99–116.

Collins, Steven. 1990. "On the Very Idea of the Pali Canon." *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 15: 89–126.

Colpe, Carsten. 1987. "Sakralisierung von Texten und Filiationen von Kanons." In *Kanon und Zensur*, edited by A. Assmann and J. Assmann, 80–92. Munich: Fink.

Deeg, Max. 2005. *Das Gaoseng-Faxian-Zhuan als religionsgeschichtliche Quelle: Der älteste Bericht eines chinesischen buddhistischen Pilgermönchs über seine Reise nach Indien mit Übersetzung des Textes*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

———. 2006. "Unwirkliche Gegner: Chinesische Polemik gegen den Hīnayāna-Buddhismus." In *Jaina-Itihāsa-Ratna: Festschrift für Gustav Roth zum 90. Geburtstag*, edited by U. Hüsken, Petra Kieffer-Pülz, and Anne Peters, 103–25. Marburg: Indica et Tibetica.

Deeg, Max, Oliver Freiberger, and Christoph Kleine. 2011. *Kanonisierung und Kanonbildung in der asiatischen Religionsgeschichte*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Drewes, David. 2010. "Early Indian Mahāyāna Buddhism I: Recent Scholarship, II: New Perspectives." *Religion Compass* 4 (2): 55–65, 66–74.

Duan, Qing. 2007. "The Maitrī-Bhāvanā-Prakaraṇa: A Chinese Parallel to the Third Chapter of the Book of Zambasta." In *Iranian Languages and Texts from Iran and Turan: Ronald E. Emmerick Memorial Volume*, edited by M. Macuch, Mauro Maggi, and Werner Sundermann, 44–58. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Duby, Georges. 1975. "Histoire-société-imaginaire." *Dialectiques* 10/11: 111–23.

Edgerton, Franklin. 1953. *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Emmerick, Ronald E. 1967. *Tibetan Texts Concerning Khotan*. London: Oxford University Press.

———. 1968. *The Book of Zambasta: A Khotanese Poem on Buddhism*. London: Oxford University Press.

———. 1970. *The Khotanese Śūraṅgamasamādhisūtra*. London: Oxford University Press.

———. 1997. *Studies in the Vocabulary of Khotanese III*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Falk, Harry, and Seishi Karashima. 2012. "A First-Century Prajñāpāramitā Manuscript from Gandhāra: Parivarta 1." *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University* 15: 19–61.

———. 2013. "A First-Century Prajñāpāramitā Manuscript from Gandhāra: Parivarta 5." *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University* 16: 97–169.

Fang, Guangchang. 2014. "Yaoshifo tanyuan: Dui Yaoshifo hanyi fodian de wenxianxue kaocha." *Zongjiaoxue yanjiu* 4: 90–100.

Filippone, Ela. 2007. "Is the Judge a Questioning Man? Notes in the Margin of Khotanese Pharṣavata-." In *Iranian Languages and Texts from Iran and Turan: Ronald E. Emmerick Memorial Volume*, edited by M. Macuch, Mauro Maggi, and Werner Sundermann, 75–86. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Folkert, Kendall W. 1989. "The 'Canons' of 'Scripture'." In *Rethinking Scripture: Essays from a Comparative Perspective*, edited by M. Levering, 170–79. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Forte, Antonino. 1985. "Hui-chih (fl. 676–703 A.D.), A Brahmin Born in China." *Estratto da Annali dell'Instituto Universitario Orientale* 45: 106–34.

Giles, Herbert Allen. 1923. *The Travels of Fa-Hsien (399–414 A.D.), or Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Golden, Peter. 2013. "Some Notes on the Avars and Rouran." In *The Steppe Lands and the World Beyond Them: Studies in Honor of Victor Spinei on His 70th Birthday*, edited by F. Curta and B.-P. Maleon, 43–66. Jassy: Editura Universitatii "Alexandru Ioan Cuza".

Goodman, Charles. 2016. *The Training Anthology of Śāntideva: A Translation of the Śikṣā-Samuccaya*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Grenet, Franz. 2002. "Regional Interaction in Central Asia and Northwestern India in the Kidarite and Hephthalite Periods." In *Indo-Iranian Languages and Peoples*, edited by N. Sims-Williams, 203–24. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Halbertal, Moshe. 1997. *People of the Book: Canon, Meaning, and Authority*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Hansen, Valerie. 2004. "Religious Life in a Silk Road Community: Niya During the Third and Fourth Centuries." In *Religion and Chinese Society. Volume One: Ancient and Medieval China*, edited by John Lagerwey, 279–315. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press.

———. 2012. *The Silk Road: A New History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Harrison, Paul. 1987. "Who Gets to Ride in the Great Vehicle? Self-Image and Identity Among the Followers of the Early Mahāyāna." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 10 (1): 67–89.

———. 1993. "The Earliest Chinese Translations of Mahāyāna Buddhist Sūtras: Some Notes on the Works of Lokakṣema." *Buddhist Studies Review* 10 (2): 135–77.

———. 1995. "Searching for the Origins of the Mahāyāna: What Are We Looking for?" *The Eastern Buddhist* 28 (1): 48–69.

———. 2018. "Lokakṣema." In *Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism. Volume Two: Lives*, edited by J. A. Silk, Vincent Eltschinger, Richard Bowring, and Micheal Radich, 700–706. Leiden: Brill.

Hartmann, Jens-Uwe. 2019. "The Earliest 'Mahāyāna' Sūtra Manuscripts and What They Tell Us." *Hōrin* 20: 13–22.

Hayashiya, Tomojirō. 1941. *Kyōroku kenkyū: zenpen*. Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten.

Herrin, Judith. 2009. "Book Burning as Purification." In *Transformations of Late Antiquity: Essays for Peter Brown*, edited by P. Rousseau and M. Papoytsakis, 205–22. Farnham: Ashgate.

Hinüber, Oskar von. 2014. "A Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra Manuscript from Khotan: The Gift of a Pious Khotanese Family." *Journal of Oriental Studies* 24: 134–56.

Inokuchi, Taijun. 1961. "Tokara go oyobi Uten go no butten." In *Seiiki bunka kenkyū. Daishi: Chūō Ajia kodai go bunken*, edited by Seiiki bunka kenkyūkai, 317–288. Monumenta Serindica 4. Kyoto: Hōzōkan.

Jaffee, Martin S. 2007. "Rabbinic Authorship as a Collective Enterprise." In *The Cambridge Companion to the Talmud and Rabbinic Literature*, edited by C. E. Fonrobert and M. S. Jaffee, 17–37. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kondō, Ryūkō. 1936. *Daśabhūmīśvara nāma Mahāyānasūtraṃ*. Tōkyō: Daijō bukkyo kenyōkai.

Konow, Sten. 1939. "The Late Professor Leumann's Edition of a New Saka Text II." *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* 11: 5–84.

Kumamoto, Hiroshi. 1982. "Khotanese Official Documents in the 10th Century A.D." PhD Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.

Leumann, Ernst. 1933–1936. *Das nordarische (sakische) Lehrgedicht des Buddhismus: Text und Übersetzung.* Leipzig: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft.

Levinson, Bernard M. 2009. "The Neo-Assyrian Origins of the Canon Formula in Deuteronomy 13:1." In *Scriptural Exegesis: The Shapes of Culture and the Religious Imagination. Essays in Honour of Michael Fishbane,* edited by D. A. Green and L. S. Lieber, 25–45. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lévi, Sylvain. 1907. *Mahāyāna-Sūtrālaṃkāra: Exposé de la doctrine du Grand Véhicule selon le système Yogācāra.* Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion.

———. 1908. "Les saintes écritures du Bouddhisme: Comment s'est constitué le canon sacré." *Annales du Musée Guimet: Bibliothèque du vulgarisation* 31 (September): 105–29.

Loewe, Michael. 1969. "Chinese Relations with Central Asia, 260–90." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 32 (1): 91–103.

Loukota, Diego. 2014. "The Anantamukhanirhāradhāraṇī: A Critical Evaluation of New Textual Material." MA Thesis, Peking University.

———. 2019. "Made in China? Sourcing the Old Khotanese Bhaiṣajyaguruvaiḍūryaprabhasūtra." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 139 (1): 67–90.

———. 2020. "A New Kharoṣṭhī Document from Kucha in the Hetian County Museum Collection." In *Non-Han Literature Along the Silk Road,* edited by X. Li, 91–113. Singapore: Springer.

MacCormack, Geoffrey. 1995. "Was the Ordeal Known in Ancient China?" *Revue Internationale Des Droits de L'antiquité* 42: 71–93.

Maggi, Mauro. 2004. "The Manuscript T III Š 16: Its Importance for the History of Khotanese Literature." In *Turfan Revisited: The First Century of Research into the Arts and Cultures of the Silk Road,* edited by D. Durkin-Meisterernst, Simone-Christiane Raschmann, Jens Wilkens, Marianne Yaldiz, and Peter Zieme, 184–90. Berlin: Reimer.

———. 2009a. "Annotations on the Book of Zambasta, I." In *Literarische Stoffe und ihre Gestaltung in mitteliranischer Zeit: Kolloquium anlässlich des 70. Geburtstages von Werner Sundermann,* edited by D. Durkin-Meisterernst, 153–71. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.

———. 2009b. "Khotanese Literature." In *The Literature of Pre-Islamic Iran,* edited by R. E. Emmerick and M. Macuch, 330–417. New York: Tauris.

———. 2015. "A Folio of the Ratnakūṭa (Kāśyapaparivarta) in Khotanese." *Dharma Drum Journal of Buddhist Studies* 17: 101–43.

Makinson, D. C. 1965. "The Paradox of the Preface." *Analysis* 25 (6): 205–7.

Martini, Giuliana. 2011. "A Large Question in a Small Place: The Transmission of the Ratnakūṭa (Kāśyapaparivarta) in Khotan." *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University* 14: 135–83.

———. 2013. "Bodhisattva Texts, Ideologies and Rituals in Khotan in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries." In *Buddhism Among the Iranian Peoples of Central Asia,* edited by M. Maggi, Matteo De Chiara, and Giuliana Martini, 13–69. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

———. 2014a. "'Mahāratnakūṭa' Scriptures in Khotan: A Quotation from the Samantamukha-parivarta in the Book of Zambasta." *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University* 17: 337–47.

———. 2014b. "Transmission of the Dharma and Reception of the Text: Oral and Aural Features of the Fifth Chapter of the Book of Zambasta." In *Buddhism Across Asia: Networks of Material, Intellectual and Cultural Exchange*, edited by T. Sen, 131–69. Manohar: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies Singapore.

Mayer, Alexander Leonhard. 1990. "Die Gründungslegende Khotans." In *Buddhistische Erzähl-literatur und Hagiographie in türkischer Überlieferung*, edited by J. P. Laut and K. Röhrborn, 37–65. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Mayer, Robert. 2015. "gTer Ston and Tradent: Innovation and Conservation in Tibetan Treasure Literature." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 36/37 (1-2): 227–42.

McDermott, James P. 1984. "Scripture as the Word of the Buddha." *Numen-International Review for the History of Religions* 31 (1): 22–39.

Mitra, Rajendralal. 1888. *Ashṭasáhasriká: A Collection of Discourses on the Metaphysics of the Mahâyâna School of the Buddhists*. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press.

Nattier, Jan. 1990. "Church Language and Vernacular Language in Central Asian Buddhism." *Numen-International Review for the History of Religions* 37: 195–217.

———. 2003. *A Few Good Men: The Bodhisattva Path According to the Inquiry of Ugra (Ugra-paripṛcchā)*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Neelis, Jason. 2011. *Early Buddhist Transmission and Trade Networks: Mobility and Exchange Within and Beyond the Northwestern Borderlands of South Asia*. Leiden: Brill.

Norman, K. R. 1997. *A Philological Approach to Buddhism: The Bukkyō Dendō Kyōkai Lectures 1994*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

Oeming, Manfred. 2013. "'Du sollst nichts hinzufügen und nichts wegnehmen' (Dtn 13,1): Altorientalische Ursprünge und biblische Funktionen der sogenannten Kanonformel." In *Verstehen und Glauben: Exegetische Bausteine zu einer Theologie des Alten Testaments*, 121–37. Vienna: Philo.

Panaino, Antonio. 2015. "Ομόγλωττοι παρὰ μικρόν?" *Electrum* 22: 87–106.

Pelliot, Paul. 1963. *Notes on Marco Polo II*. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve.

Rahder, Johannes. 1926. *Daśabhūmikasūtra et Bodhisattvabhūmi, Chapitres Vihāra et Bhūmi*. Paris: Paul Geuthner.

Régamey, Konstanty. 1938. *The Bhadramāyākāravyākaraṇa: Introduction, Tibetan Text, Translation and Notes*. Warsaw: Nakładem Towarzystwa Naukowego Warszawskiego.

Rong, Xinjiang. 2018. "The Rouran Qaghanate and the Western Regions During the Second Half of the Fifth Century Based on a Chinese Document Newly Found in Turfan." In *Great Journeys Across the Pamir Mountains: A Festschrift in Honor of Zhang Guangda on His Eighty-Fifth Birthday*, edited by H. Chen and X. Rong, 59–82. Leiden: Brill.

Salomon, Richard. 1999. "A Stone Inscription in Central Asian Gāndhārī from Endere (Xinjiang)." *Bulletin of the Asia Institute, New Series* 13: 1–13.

———. 2002. "A Sanskrit Fragment Mentioning King Huviṣka as a Follower of the Mahāyāna." In *Buddhist Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection II*, edited by J. E. Braarvig, 255–67. Oslo: Hermes.

Sander, Lore. 2005. "Remarks on the Formal Brāhmī Script from the Southern Silk Route." *Bulletin of the Asia Institute, New Series* 19: 133–44.

Sarefield, Daniel C. 2006. "Book-Burning in the Christian Roman Empire: Transforming a Pagan Rite of Purification." In *Violence in Late Antiquity: Perceptions and Practices*, edited by H. A. Drake, 287–96. Farnham: Ashgate.

Schäublin, Christoph. 1974. "Μήτε προσθεῖναι μήτ' ἀφελεῖν." *Museum Helveticum* 31 (3): 144–49.

Schopen, Gregory. 1979. "Mahāyāna in Indian Inscriptions." *Indo-Iranian Journal* 21: 1–19.

———. 2000. "The Mahāyāna and the Middle Period in Indian Buddhism: Through a Chinese Looking-Glass." *The Eastern Buddhist* 32 (2): 1–25.

Sheppard, G. T. 1987. "Canon." In *The Encyclopedia of Religion. Volume Three*, edited by M. Eliade, 62–69. New York: MacMillan.

Shimoda, Masahiro. 2009. "The State of Research on Mahāyāna Buddhism: The Mahāyāna as Seen in Developments in the Study of Mahāyāna Sūtras." *Acta Asiatica: Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture* 96: 1–23.

Silk, Jonathan A. 2002. "What, If Anything, Is Mahāyāna Buddhism? Problems of Definitions and Classifications." *Numen-International Review for the History of Religions* 49 (4): 355–405.

———. 2015. "Canonicity." In *Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism. Volume One: Literature and Languages*, edited by J. A. Silk, Oskar von Hinüber, and Vincent Eltschinger, 5–37. Leiden: Brill.

Sinor, Denis. 1990. "The Establishment and Dissolution of the Türk Empire." In *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*, edited by D. Sinor, 285–316. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Skjærvø, Prods Oktor. 1986. "Khotanese Fragments of the Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra." In *Kalyāṇamitrārāgaṇam: Essays in Honour of Nils Simonsson*, edited by E. Kahrs, 229–60. Oslo: Norwegian University Press.

———. 2003. "Fragments of the Ratnakūṭa-Sūtra (Kāśyapaparivarta) in Khotanese." In *Religious Themes and Texts of Pre-Islamic Iran and Central Asia: Studies in Honour of Professor Gherardo Gnoli on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, edited by Carlo G. Cereti, Mauro Maggi, and Elio Provasi, 409–20. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.

———. 2004. *This Most Excellent Shine of Gold, King of Kings of Sutras: The Khotanese Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*. Cambridge MA: The Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University.

———. 2012. "Khotan: An Early Center of Buddhism in Chinese Turkestan." In *Buddhism Across Boundaries: The Interplay of Indian, Chinese, and Central Asian Source Materials*, edited by J. R. McRae and J. Nattier, 106–41. Sino-Platonic Papers 222. Philadelphia: The Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations, University of Pennsylvania.

Strauch, Ingo. 2018. "Early Mahāyāna in Gandhāra: New Evidence from the Bajaur Mahāyāna Sūtra." In *Setting Out on the Great Way: Essays on Early Mahāyāna Buddhism*, edited by Paul Harrison, 207–42. Sheffield: Equinox.

Strickmann, Michel. 1990. "The Consecration Sūtra: A Buddhist Book of Spells." In *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*, edited by R. E. Buswell, 75–118. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Tafażżolī, Ahmed. 1983. "Ādurbād ī Mahrspandān." *Encyclopædia Iranica* 1 (5): 477. http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/adurbad-i-mahrspandan.

Thomas, F. W. 1924. "Notes Relating to Sir M.A. Stein's Ancient Khotan." *Zeitschrift Für Buddhismus* 6: 184–87.

———. 1925. "The Language of Ancient Khotan." *Asia Major* 2: 215–71.

———. 1935. *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan. Part One: Literary Texts*. London: The Royal Asiatic Society.

Tremblay, Xavier. 2007. "The Spread of Buddhism in Serindia: Buddhism Among Iranians, Tocharians, and Turks Before the 13th Century." In *The Spread of Buddhism*, edited by A. Heirman and S. P. Bumbacher, 75–129. Leiden: Brill.

Unnik, W. C. van. 1949. "De la règle μήτε προσθεῖναι μήτε ἀφελεῖν dans l'histoire du canon." *Vigiliae Christianae* 3: 1–36.

Vaissière, Étienne de la. 2005. *Sogdian Traders: A History*. Leiden: Brill.

———. 2020. "The Origin of the Name Mongol." In. https://www.academia.edu/s/c525d3e a12?%3Fsource＝news.

Veltri, Giuseppe. 2002. "Tradent und Traditum im antiken Judentum: Zu einer sog. Kanon-formel." In *Gegenwart der Tradition: Studien zur jüdischen Literatur und Kulturgeschichte*, edited by Giuseppe Veltri, 3–22. Leiden: Brill.

Wen, Xin. 2008. "Yutian guo guanhao kao." *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 11: 121–46.

———. 2016. "What's in a Surname? Central Asian Participation in the Culture of Naming of Medieval China." *Tang Studies* 34 (1): 73–98.

Wille, Klaus. 2014. "Survey of the Identified Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Hoernle, Stein, and Skrine Collections of the British Library (London)." In *From Birch Bark to Digital Data: Recent Advances in Buddhist Manuscript Research*, edited by P. Harrison and J.-U. Hartmann, 223–47. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Wogihara, Unrai. 1930–1936. *Bodhisattvabhūmi: A Statement of Whole Course of the Bodhisattva (Being Fifteenth Section of Yogācārabhūmi)*. Tōkyō: Sankibō.

Wu, Xinhua. 2013. "Archaeological Discoveries in Domoko." *IDP News* 41: 5.

Yamaguchi, Susumu. 1934. *Madhyāntavibhāgaṭīkā: Exposition systèmatique du Yogācāravijñap-tivāda*. Nagoya: Librairie Hajinkaku.

Yamazaki, Gen'ichi. 1990. "The Legend of the Foundation of Khotan." *The Memoirs of the Tōyō Bunko* 48: 55–80.

Zhang, Guangda, and Xinjiang Rong. 1993. *Yutian shi congkao*. Shanghai: Shanghai shudian.

Zhang, Xun. 1985. *Faxian zhuan jiaozhu*. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe.

Zürcher, Erik. 1990. "Han Buddhism and the Western Region." In *Thought and Law in Qin and Han China: Studies Dedicated to Anthony Hulsewé on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday*, edited by W. L. Idema and E. Zürcher, 158–82. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

———. 2007. *The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China*. 3rd ed. Leiden: Brill.