Buddhist Indian Loanwords in Sogdian and the Development of Sogdian Buddhism

Pavel B. Lurje
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]

---

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).

The historical records often confirm the absence of Buddhism in Sogdiana but sometimes   [2]
they do not. Xuanzang 玄奘 (around 630) mentions two *vihāras* 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).

After more than 100 years of investigation, all the Buddhist Sogdian texts from Dunhuang   [3]
in the collections of Paris, London, St. Petersburg and Kyōto have been published. The publi-
cation of the Berlin collection, which comprises materials from Turfan, usually in very frag-
mented condition, is constantly increasing. The catalogue of the collection, prepared by Chris-
tiane 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 in-
dexes. At present, scholars can effectively access the overall picture of the surviving Sogdian
Buddhist literature through the available publications without significant lacks.[2]

Sogdian Buddhist literature has been revisited several times during this century. The most   [4]
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]

The subject of the first two chapters of the present paper, the Buddhist Indian loans in   [5]
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 could be pronounced as /k/ or /g/): *knkmwny – Kanakamuni*; *kntrβ – gandharva*; *'m(')wkp'š – Amoghapāśa*. [13]

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

In a few cases we see that Indian suffixal *k* is recorded as *(')y*, which interchanges with 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). [15]

One should notice explicitly the single occurrence of writing back stops as *x* or *γ* so far in the 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.). [16]

b. Palatal consonants: *c, ch, j, jh, ñ*. Usually *c* and *j* are rendered as *c*: *cynt''mny – cintāmaṇi*; *''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] [17]

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

ñ is rendered as *n*: *kncnsr – Kāñcanasāra* and sometimes as *ny*: *''tny'tkwtyn – Ājñā-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). [19]

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

c. Retroflex *ṭ ṭh ḍ ḍh* are rendered through *t* and *r*: For *ṭ*, the variant *t* seems to prevail: *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 – Cūḍāpanthaka* 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 recorded 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] [21]

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 *kwŕ́ty* 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-tɛj/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* (*ŗ*) 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 *purvvaṣät**.

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.
Bhagavāṅ; *'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 [51] 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.

m. Initially *e* is attested once and rendered as *'y*: *'ykr'šn* – *ekarājan*. In medial position, *e* [52] 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*.

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

n. Initially, *o* is once rendered as *'w*: *'wm* – *oṃ*. In medial position, *o* and *au* are usually [54] *'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]

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 [56] 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/*.

The Indian loans that follow, with some reservations, the 'light' stem pattern are *pwty* – [57] *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.

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

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* – *kuṣṭha rasa* monosyllabic *rs* might indicate the foreign word.

in the majority of cases: *'ʾn'nt* – *Ānanda*;[31] *'ʾkš'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* – *Ratnacūda*; *swβrncwty* – *Suvarnacūda*; *swttršny* – *Sudarśaṇa*; *pwrn'y* – *Pūraṇa*.[33] The final Sogdian *h*, which can be purely graphical marker or convey *-ă̆* 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*; *'ʾš'h* – *Āśā*; *'wrpyrβ' k'š'yp'* – *Urbilvā Kāśyapa*; *k'y'' k'š'yp'* – *Gayā Kāśyapa*; *βc'* – *vacā 'Acorus calamus'*. This writing might indicate a final */-ă̆/*. 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: *'ʾβcy, 'ʾβycy, 'ʾβyc* – *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* – *ṛṣi*, BHS *ṛṣaya* it alternates with *'ʾk* 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): *'ʾn'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 *'ʾn'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); *ßyr'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, l̤, δ*
y	*y, Ø*
ya	*y', 'y*
v	*ß*
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	*’w, -’w-, -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 *mntr’yh 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*: *kwm’ršyr – Kumāraśri*; *šyr’ ’ßsth – Śrāvastī*; *mnc’wšyry – Mañjuśrī.*[38] In this, an association with S *šyr* "good, nice" probably played a role. A doublet form of *šyr’ ’ßsth*: *š’r’ßst* might be affected by Western Middle Iranian word *šahr* "town, province," note *š’ryst’n* 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. snks’r – saṃsāra* and maybe *snk’swtr Saṃghāṭasūtra* might be influenced by *snk’ saṃgha* (differently N. Sims-Williams, see under 2. h). See also discussions on *kršny’n – Kṛṣṇājinā* styled as Sogdian personal name "Boon of Krishna"; *’ykr’šn – *Ēkarājan* below.

[69]

In the word *ßykn ßyn’ywk’ – vighna vināyaka* one can explain *w* at the end as contamination with S *ywk* (*ywk’* in the Sūtra of Causes and Effects 59) "teaching." Sogdian *sym’ßntt, sym ßynt’y,* if from *sīmābandha* might be affected by Sogdian *ßnt* "bundle," *ßynt-* "to bind" with *symh* "fear" in the beginning. *Nārāyaṇa* is constantly (in four different texts) rendered in S with aleph in the final syllable, *n’r’y’n* and not **n’r’yn,* as if in contamination with Sogdian names in *y’n* "boon." Compare also *cytßnt, kyn(n)tr* under 3.b; *’yšcyntyt, ’yšc’tyk – icchantika* could be influenced by Sogdian *’šcy’n’k* "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 *twr’w(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) *r’δwh mntr ’xw* a "palace, shrine" (Skt., Pāli *mandira*) is intended.

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

Droṇodana), although prothesis or loss of the initial short vowel—in accord with native Sogdian development—is documented: *ʾknšk – Kaniṣka*; *ʾstʾwp- – stūpa*; *ʾpsmʾr, psmʾr – apasamara*; *ʾprʾtykʾ pwt, prtʾykpwt – pratyekabuddha*; *ʾkwšty*, Brāhmi *kuṣṭ(h) – kuṣṭha*.

In respect of consonant clusters, *ṇ* and *y* are lost in *ʾʾtnyʾtkwtyn – Ājñātakauṇḍinya* (note Gāndhārī *A(ṃ)ñadako(ṃ)ḍi(ṃ)ña*, Pāli *Aññātakoṇḍañña*), the syllables *na* and *va* probably fall in *cyttrʾn – Cittanavarāṇa* (?), *n* in *kycrwmyl = kṛcchronmīla*, subsequent simplifications we attest in *pʾštsyn, pʾtsyn – Bhaiṣajyasena*, *r* is lost in *trytrʾšt – Dhṛtarāṣṭra*, *t* falls in *smʾnptr*, var. *smʾnt pwtr, smʾntpttr – 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 *smʾnt 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*; *prsnʾycy – Prasenajit* (see 2. i); *prytpkwpt – pratyekabuddha*. Abbreviation probably occurred in *ʾʾmʾwk – Amogha(vajra?)* and *rwkδyšβʾr – (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] *šntʾwδn – Śuddhodana*.[41] Most often discussed in this context is *βrxʾr – 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, *krʾẓʾkh – 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: *ʾwpʾsʾy, ʾwβʾsʾk – upāsaka*; *prʾʾ, prʾkh*, Pl. *prʾtt – paṭāka* (see 2. a); one can explain the spellings *ršʾʾk* and *mytrʾk, mytrʾy* either as non-standard loans or as Sogdian attempts at pseudo historic spelling. The *aleph* written after *k* in the borrowings like *snkʾ – 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 *βwsʾntk, βsʾntʾ – (upa)-vasatha* (Sims-Williams 1983, 137, n. 43), and *krʾx, krʾnx*, 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 *bwtʹ* 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
        ṣamaṇa (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 *k̂* (Old Indian *ś*, 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 geminated.[46]

Werner Sundermann (1991, 427–30, 2001 437–40) 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 *'yščyntyt*, *'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 *Baʿl 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-dεj*; 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-dεj*), *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' dεj 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 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-liə̆ʰ-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.*   [96]

We have to bear in mind however that many names and technical terms of Chinese Buddhist 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* 煩惱, "vexation – annoyance" (Yoshida 2015, 838) and bodhisattva *'k'c ptc'n* "concealer of empty space" stands for Chinese *Xukongzang,* 虚空藏, "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).   [97]

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 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.   [98]

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

---

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 *pwδ'y – 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 borrowings in question are present in a limited number of cases, and each one received special attention above. [100]

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

These borrowings cannot come from a 'regular' Prākrit (or Pāli) since they do not show 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 fricativization of non-initial stops. [102]

Tocharian A or B cannot be the source of these borrowings because of the absence of vowel 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. [103]

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

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

However, there are three features that are notable exceptions from a straightforward rendering: 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'γ*, Khotanese *värūlei, vīrrulai*, Chinese *Piliule*, 毗留勒 EMCh *bji-luw^h-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 phonetic 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. [106]

It is evident of course that the words in question were borrowed from the recorded literary 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 [107]

---

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.

Name based on Buddha[67]	Meaning	Name based on Nanaia or other deity	Meaning
*pwtyβntk	slave of Buddha	*nnyβntk*	slave of Nanaia
*pwty	(of) Buddha (short name)	*nny*	(of) Nanaia (short name)
pwtyprn[68]	glory of Buddha	*nnyprn*	glory of Nanaia
*pwtyβyrt	obtained through Buddha	*nny'βy'rt*	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]	boon of Buddha	*m'xy'n*	boon of Moon-god
pwtyδβ'r[72]	gift of Buddha	*nnyδβ'r*	gift of Nanaia
pwttδ's	slave of Buddha (Indic form)	*δyβδ's*	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 "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.   [127]

The proof that *vihāra* is reflected in the *Nawbahār* of the names of gates of Samarkand and 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):   [128]

Among the gates of Isfījāb city on the Arys river (Sayram in modern southern Kazakhstan) 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]   [129]

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

Of course, the etymology of *Farxār /* modern Parxor in the north-east of historical Bactria (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]   [131]

5. Some Conclusions

The analysis above has outlined the conventions that Sogdian Buddhists used to render Buddhist 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).   [132]

Although, as it is well known, the major part of Sogdian Buddhist literature was translated 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   [133]

---

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, Isfījāb 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.
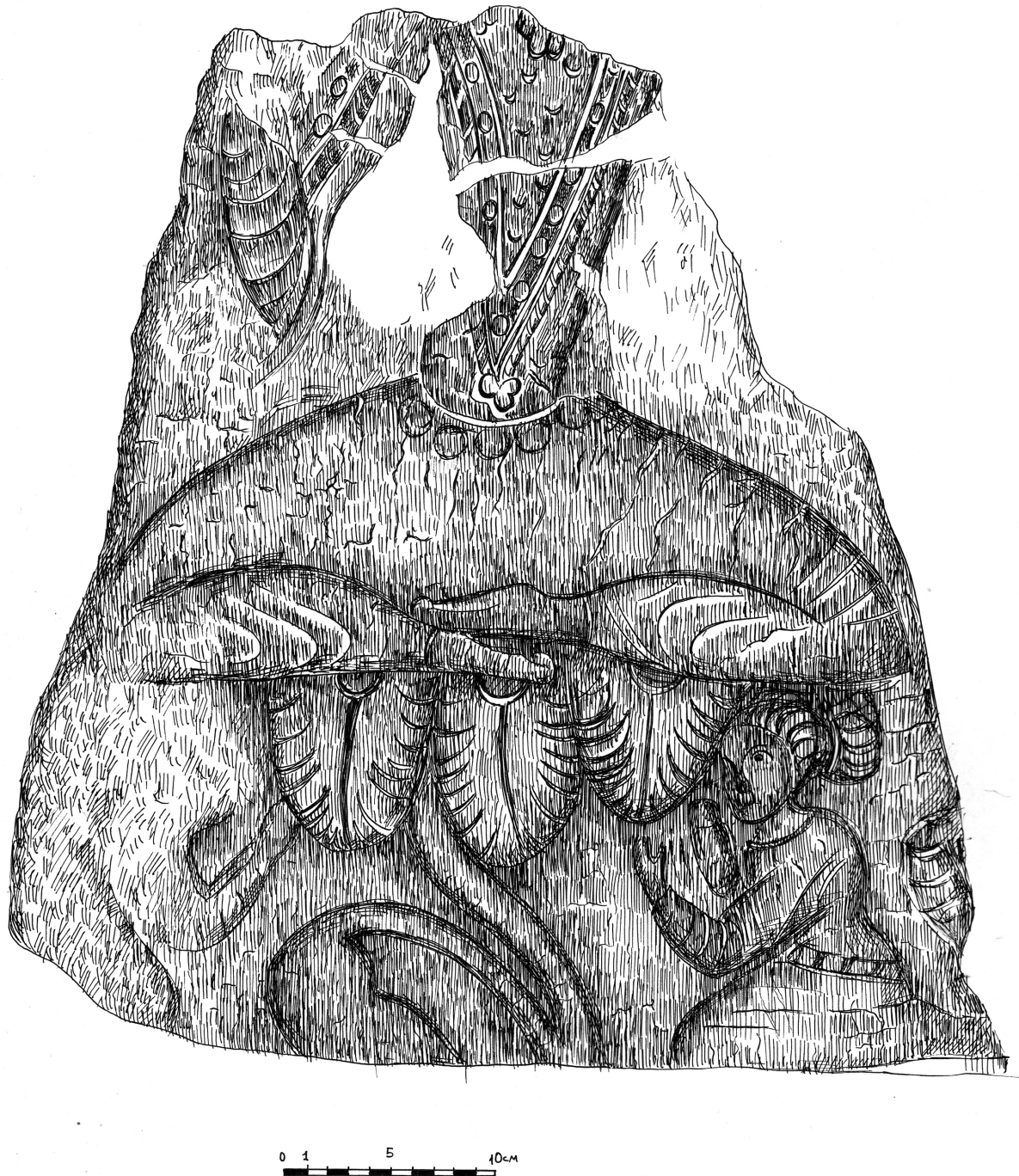
Figure 1 Burned carved wooden plaque with depiction of Buddha. Ancient Panjakent, Area XXVI, room 63, excavations of 2016. Drawing of Maria Gervais.

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 following: [138]

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

a. Standard Borrowings

’’βcy, ’’βycy, ’’βyc – *avīci* (MK, R) 2. j, 2. s.
’’c’r(’)y – *ācārya* (B, G, R) 2. b. 2. f.
’’k̤š’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 – *Āśā* (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’ k’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

rtncwty – *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

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

swpwδy – *Subhūti* (R) 2. s. HL

swpwty – *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 – Gr̥dhrakūṭa or *Gr̥ddhakūṭa* (P) 2. f. HL

kršny'n – Kr̥ṣṇājinā (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 – kr̥cchronmīla (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 – r̥ṣaya (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 – Dhr̥tarāṣṭra (L) 2. f., 2. l, 3. b. HL

twškr–duṣkr̥ta (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 – ṛṣi (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 *ṭṛphāl – 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. "Kofirqal'adan topilgan 'Xotun' unvonli muhr [The seal with the title Khatun from Kafir-Qal'a]." 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 Personen-namenbuch 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 naslednjki. [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.