SINO-PLATONIC PAPERS

Number 174 November, 2006

Sogdians and Buddhism

by
Mariko Namba Walter

Victor H. Mair, editor
Sino-Platonic Papers
Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, PA 19104-6305 USA
vmair@sas.upenn.edu
www.sino-platonic.org

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1.1 Who were the Sogdians?

In 1907, Sir Aurel Stein, a British explorer, was pleasantly astonished to receive some old manuscripts on paper, written in a kind of Aramaic script, which were brought to him by one of his local foremen. These manuscripts turned out to be five complete ancient letters and some fragments of letters, which were found in the ruins of an early Chinese watchtower at a guard-post to the west of Tun-huang, together with some 700 Chinese documents written on wood.[1] The script was later deciphered as Sogdian, and a German scholar, Hans Reichelt, published these letters in 1932.[2] Nicholas Sims-Williams suggests that they were part of the contents of a postbag lost in transit from China to the West and János Harmatta assumes that they might have been letters confiscated by the Chinese military officials at that time for security reasons, as one of the letters describes terrible incidents in a war between the Huns (Chi. Hsiung-nu: "xwn" in Sogdian) and the Chinese.[3] According to the letters, the Chinese emperor had fled from the capital because of a famine and the total destruction of Lo-yang by the Huns.

[1]Frantz Grenet and Nicholas Sims-Williams, "The Historical Context of the Sogdian Ancient Letters," in *Transition Periods in Iranian History, Actes du Symposium de Fribourg-en-Brisgau (22-24 Mai 1985)* (Leuven: E. Peeters, 1987), 101-122.

[2]Hans Reichelt, *Die soghdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen museums*. I. Teil: Die buddhistischen Texte (Heidelberg: Carl Winter´s Universitatsbuchhandlung, 1928) and Volume II in 1931.

[3]János Harmatta, "The Archaeological Evidence for the Date of the Sogdian 'Ancient Letters,'" in *Studies in the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979), 75-90.

These letters were written by the Sogdian people who lived in their colonies in the northwestern parts of China, such as Tun-huang (∂rw'n) 敦煌, Ku-tsang 姑臧, and perhaps Chin Ch'eng (kmzyn) 金城.[4] The dating of these letters varies according to scholar – from the second to the fifth century C.E., depending on which political instability the researchers believe these letters were referring to in Chinese history.

Three of the five complete letters were commercial documents, but the other two were written by a Sogdian woman called Miwnay. The letters provide information not only about her severe personal circumstances as an abandoned Sogdian wife, but also about the larger social contexts of these Sogdian colonies in Tun-huang. According to the letters, her husband, Nanai-dhat, came to Tun-huang with his wife Miwnay and left her and her daughter, Shayn, there for three years. He was a merchant and traveled with his caravan but somehow never returned to Tun-huang. Miwnay wished to go back to the West to be united with her husband or her mother, but she could not find the right person to take her and her daughter back there, nor could she afford to pay the cost of the trip. Nobody in the Sogdian community in Tun-huang could help her with a loan, so they remained "without clothing, without money" and depended on charity from the temple priest (most likely a Zoroastrian priest). In her letter Miwnay's anger is quite evident:

> "I obeyed your command and came to Tun-huang and I did not observe (my) mother's bidding nor (my) brothers'. Surely(?) the gods were angry with me on the day when I did your bidding! I would rather be a dog's or a pig's wife than yours!"[5]

Her letters never reached her addressee in Sogdiana or elsewhere between Tun-huang and Samarqand, as they were buried inside the wall for over 1,500 years. Her letters show us that there was intensive human traffic in the western regions besides the Sogdian merchants who were carrying silk, silver goods, and other luxury items in caravans along the Silk Road.

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[4] Nicholas Sims-Williams, "Towards a New Edition of the Sogdian Ancient Letters," in *Proceedings of the Sogdians in China Conference (Les Sogdiens en Chine)* 粟特人在中国, April 23-25 (Peking 2004), 97.

[5] Sims-Williams 2004, 107.

The other letters do not indicate their destination, but they seem to have been directed to Lou-lan, another Sogdian colony in the region, according to their content. There were many Sogdian colonies in the northern part of China, and the Sogdians were successful merchants at that time, mediating and organizing the trade between Sogdiana and China along the Silk Road. According to a Chinese population survey, these Sogdians in China and Inner Mongolia were predominantly merchants, but others could have been farmers, local bureaucrats, herdsmen, or even Buddhist monks. Sogdians were not only the carriers of goods but also the cultural transmitters of many religions such as Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism, Nestorian Christianity, and Buddhism, which we examine later in this chapter. Sogdians played a major role in world history and in the transmission of world religions, although the language and the people died out in medieval times. Who exactly were the Sogdians? Where did the Sogdians originally live? In order to answer these questions, we must turn our eyes to the land of Sogdiana and its kings, and then to their colonies to the east.

1.2 History of Sogdiana

Sogdiana proper is situated in the Transoxiana region between the Syr-Darya and Amu-Darya rivers, mostly in present-day Uzbekistan, from which these merchants originated. There is no clear historical evidence to prove that Sogdiana existed before the sixth century B.C.E., although some local legends and Russian archaeological evidence suggest that Samarqand (Afrasiyab) existed for over 2,500 years. The oldest known references to the region of Sogdiana appear in Old Persian inscriptions and in the Younger Avesta, one of the Zoroastrian sacred texts. According to the Inscription of the Darius (c. 522-486 B.C.E.) in Old Persian, Sogdiana (Sug^{u}da) was one of the satrapies of the Achaemenid empire, along with Bactria and Khwarazmia.[6] The inscription also tells us that Sogdiana produced lapis lazuli and carnelion, which were used for the construction of the palace of the Achaemenids at Susa. The Avesta refers to Sogdiana as Suγδa, the region between Marga/Marv and Khwarazm. Thus, in these early years, Sogdiana broadly refers to the Zarafshan Region in the Transoxiana between the two

[6] Mark Dresden, "Sogdian Language and Literature," in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 3 (2) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1216.

rivers. During early Islamic times, beginning in the eighth century, Sogdiana was more narrowly defined as the area centered around two major cities: Samarqand and Bukhāra, including part of the Farghāna valley. Later on, Sogdiana contracted even further, to a smaller region on the periphery of Samarqand (Yagnobi).

The history of Sogdiana is a history of continuous subjugation by dominant neighboring empires, one after another, from the time of the Achaemenid Persians to the Arab invasion, which caused the critical demise of the Sogdian language and culture in the eighth century. In the sixth century B.C.E. the Greeks called Sogdiana Σογδιανοί (or Σόγδοι) and Herodotus described Sogdiana as one of the conquered regions in Central Asia by Kyrus II (559-530 B.C.E.) of the Achaemenid Persian Empire.[7] Herodotus reported that the Sogdian army was part of the military expedition organized by the Achaemenid king, Xerxes, who invaded Greece in 480 B.C.E. The name of Samarqand, as a vibrant mercantile city-state, first appeared in the chronicles of the events surrounding military campaigns by Alexander the Great, who had to spend over two years in conquering Samarqand (Maracanda), and finally managed to subdue the city in 329 B.C.E.

After the death of Alexander the Great, his Central Asian Greek empire broke up into several small kingdoms including the Seleucid Empire (323-60 B.C.E.), which dominated Sogdiana. Then the Bactrian kingdom, which was founded by one of the generals of the Seleucid Empire in the mid-third century B.C.E., took control of Sogdiana. Under the two hundred years of their occupation of the region, the Greeks left an enormous legacy in Central Asian history. Cities flourished and Greek cultural influences are apparent in many aspects of life in Sogdiana, Bactria, and Parthia, including city planning, architecture, and arts. Sogdiana became a part of the Sasanian Empire from 260 to 360 C.E., and the inscription of Shāpūr I (239-270) states that Sogdiana bordered on the Kushan Empire on its northeastern frontier.[8] The Sasanian influence is also apparent, as numismatic studies show its stylistic impact on Sogdian coins as well as similarities in the design of metal goods such as silverware found in Sogdiana.

[7] Dresden 1216.

[8] Dresden 1217.

The Chinese called Sogdiana various names, depending on different sources at different times. The *Hou Han-shu*, which was compiled in the first half of the fifth century, mentions Sogdiana as Su-i 粟弋,[9] and later in the sixth century the *Wei-shu* (554 C.E.) refers to the country as Su-t'e kuo 粟特國.[10] As I will discuss later in this paper, most Sogdian monks with the surname K'ang who came to China from the second century onward were said to originate from K'ang-chü, according to the Chinese sources. Yet many historians were puzzled by the exact location and nature of the state of K'ang-chü. The *Shih-chi*, the oldest Chinese source which refers to K'ang-chü, describes it as existing two thousand *li*[11] northwest of Ferghāna (Ta-yüan 大宛).[12] According to this source, K'ang-chü was a nomadic state (*hang-kuo* 行國) like the neighboring Yüeh-chih, presumably Indo-Iranian nomads, who were active in the region around the first and second century. The ethnicity of the K'ang-chü people is thought to be Turkic by Shiratori Kurakichi, based on textual studies, although other scholars tend to consider them Iranian or even Tokharian (possibly Indo-European).[13] Thus the K'ang-chü was a nomadic people of Central Asia, who lived in the north of the Amu-Darya (in present-day Kirghizia), and who dominated sedentary Sogdiana from the second century B.C.E.[14] Considering the literacy level of the nomadic peoples in general at that time, these K'ang

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[9] *Hou han-shu* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1965), 2922.

[10] *Wei-shu* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1957, rpt. 1975), 2270.

[11] A *li* is equal to roughly a third of a mile.

[12] *Shih-chi* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1959, rpt. 1975), 3161.
Soviet archaeologists such as Aleksandr N. Bernštam believe K'ang-chü to be a region around the Talas and Chu river valleys in Kirghizistan. See Richard N. Frye, "Ṭarχūn ~Türχün and Central Asian History," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 14 (1951): 125.

[13] Shiratori Kurakichi, *Shiratori Kurakichi Zenshū* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1970), 48. This was originally published in *Tōyō Gakuhō* 14, no. 2 (1925).

[14] *Hou Han-shu* 2922. Some Western historians interpret the *Hou Han-shu* slightly differently and assume that the Ta yüeh-chih 大月氏 was the overlord of Sogdiana and that the K'ang-chü was also subjugated by the Ta yüeh-chih at that time. Yet another different opinion would be the Ta yüeh-chih occupied Sogdiana after they abandoned on Sogdiana and moved onto Bactria.

monks who arrived in China were not from the nomadic Turkic Kirghizia, but from Sogdiana under K'ang-chü domination, where ancient civilizations flourished in neighboring regions. The *Han-shu* also describes five lesser kings of K'ang-chü, which match with some major Sogdian and neighboring city kingdoms, according to the *T'ang shu*'s editor, who thus interpreted the record of the *Han-shu*.[15] These five kingdoms are Čač (Tashkent), Bocāra (Bukhara), Kešš (Šahr-i-Sabz), Kušāniya (west of Samarqand), and Khwārizm (Khiva). Around the time of the Northern Wei dynasty (384-540) the name K'ang-chü continued to appear, but K'ang kuo (K'ang country) was increasingly often used in later Chinese sources. Thus K'ang-chü, as a nomadic state, included Sogdiana, and K'ang kuo referred to Sogdiana, or more specifically the city kingdom of Samarqand, where Buddhism must have been flourishing at that time, enough to send missionary monks to China. Influenced by neighboring countries closer to India, such as Bactria and the Kushan kingdom, Sogdiana must have already had a well-developed form of Buddhism in the second century, if we assume that all the Buddhist monks with the K'ang surname in the Chinese sources were from Sogdiana.

Buddhism was probably introduced to Sogdiana during the period when the region was under the domination of the Kushan Empire, from the first century B.C.E. to the fifth century C.E. The Kushans originated from the Wakhan valley in the upper Amu-Darya region and extended their empire to eastern Iran and north India, where Buddhism was flourishing. The extent of the spread of Buddhism in Kushania is evident in many Buddhist legends, according to which Kanishka, the third ruler of the Kushan Empire, was an earnest promoter of Buddhism. Buddhism was, however, not the only religion that the Kushans promoted. Occupying the vast area of Central Asia with many different ethnic groups, the Kushans were very international in their cultural outlook, and they patronized Buddhism as well as Hinduism and other ancient Iranian religions. Thus the Kushans inherited from Greek, Iran, and Indian cultures, including Buddhism. Under the Kushan political and cultural sphere, Sogdiana appropriated most of these cultural elements on top of their indigenous Central Asian Iranian culture.

[15] *Han-shu* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1962, rpt. 1975), 3894; *Hsin T'ang-shu* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1975), 6244-6247.

The Kushan Empire was eventually defeated by the Hephthalites, another Iranian nomadic people of the fifth century, although they were soon replaced by the Turks (Western T'u-chüeh) in 567 C.E. as the center of the power in the region. The *qaγan* of the western T'u-chüeh, Silziboulas (Istämi qaγan), attacked the Hephthalites and took Sogdiana, Ferghana, and Tokharistan (Bactria) under their rule. At this time Sogdian merchants flourished under the protection of the powerful Turkic nomads, and some Sogdians worked as high-ranking officials in the Turkic nomadic empire. The ruler of the T'u-chüeh, T'ung-yeh-hu 統葉護 qaγan, who was known for his solidification of the Turkic rule in the region, gave the title *iltäbär* to the kings of Central Asian city-states, including Sogdiana. The qaγan also sent *tudun* (those with colonial administrative rank), to each kingdom in order to administer colonial Turkic rule and collect taxes. Sogdians introduced Manichaeism and Buddhism to the Turks, and later worked also as political advisors to the Turkic nomads, as described in Chinese sources and Turkic inscriptions.

The final blow came when the Arabs looted and destroyed Samarqand with 20,000 men in 712 C.E. Some Russian and local historians claim that the severity of Islamic destruction of the cities and their subsequent rule of religious intolerance wiped out Buddhism and other religions in the region. This might be the case, yet it is hard to blame solely Islam for the disappearance of Buddhism since there is no clear evidence that Buddhism flourished in the region, except for the Chinese sources regarding the K'ang monks or the reports of traveling monks such as Hsüan-tsang. Due to this lack of clear textual or archaeological evidence, it is difficult to pinpoint the onset and extent of the spread of Buddhism in the region historically. Yet for the following 500 years, Islam flourished and the Turkification of the region progressed, until the Mongol period in the thirteenth century.

Chingiz Khān's total destruction of Samarqand in the thirteenth century was another devastating event for the city-kingdom: The destruction was so extensive that the Sogdians moved the city to the location of present-day Samarqand – a few kilometers north from its original site, Afrasiyab. Perhaps it is also unfair to point a finger at the Mongols for the extinction of the Sogdian people and their culture, since by the time of the Mongols, the Sogdian tradition had already been assimilated, before the thirteenth century, into the more common Central Asian Islamic and Turkic culture and identity.

Western Iranian languages such as Farsi and Dari began to replace Sogdian and other Eastern Iranian languages (e.g., Haravi in the Herat region) by the beginning of the eighth century.[16] Krippes suggests that Sogdian language and culture died out in the second half of the eleventh century, as the final process of the Turkification of the Sogdians took place. In present-day Central Asia, a dialect of Sogdian language survives only among the mountain people in the valley of the Yagnobi river, north of the Pamir Mountains.

1.3 Sogdian city-states in Sogdiana proper

In the seventh century, during the T'ang dynasty, China extended its hegemony to western Central Asia including Sogdiana and set up the Western Protectorates (An-hsi tu-hu-fu 安西都護府) as colonial military posts at Kucha, Khotan, Kashgar, and Suyab in 679 in order to colonize Western Turkestan.[17] At that time, as the *Sui-shu* reported, there were many small kingdoms in Sogdiana, including Bukhāra (安国: An-kuo), Kashāna (= Kesh or Kish 史国 Shih-kuo), Kushānia (何國 Ho-kuo), Kapūtana or Kabūdhān (曹國 Ts'ao-kuo), Maimarg (米國 Mi-kuo), and others.[18] All of the rulers of these countries had the same surname, *chao-wu* 昭武 (Karlgren: tśi̯áu mi̯u), hence they were called the "nine surname chao-wu" (Chiu-hsing chao-wu 九姓昭武) by the Chinese,[19] although it is not clear whether these rulers came from the same family, called "chao-wu" originally. Wilhelm Tomaschek suggested that *chao-wu* refers to *Siyāwūš*, a mythical god hero, who

[16] Gauthiot mentions seven kinds of Persian languages: Four obsolete ones are Haravi, Sagzi (Sogdiana), Zavuli, and Sughdi, and three extant ones are Farsi, Dari, and Pehlevi. See Karl Krippes, "Socio-linguistic Notes on the Turcification of the Sogdians," *Central Asiatic Journal* 35 (1991), 68. Robert Gauthiot and E. Benveniste, *Essai de grammaire Sogdienne* (Paris: Mission Pelliot en Asiecentrale; t.1.3, 1914-1929).

[17] The cities designated as the Western Protectorates (usually four prominent cities in Turkestan) differed slightly according to the progress of Chinese colonization in the region.

[18] The other minor kingdoms are: 小安國 (Hsiao-an k'uo); 那色波國 (Na-se-po k'uo); 烏那曷國 (Wu-na-ho kuo); 穆国 (Mu-k'uo). See *Sui-shu* 1974, 1848, chapter 83, on the western region; Edwin G. Pulleyblank, "A Sogdian Colony in Inner Mongolia," *T'oung Pao* 41 (1952): 320.

[19] *Hsin T'ang-shu*, vol. 221. (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1975), 6243. See the section on K'ang in the chapter on the western region.

personifies the death of nature and its resurrection.[20] A scene in which this god-hero is mourned is depicted on the wall of a shrine in Panjikent, and Sogdian rulers worshipped Siyāwūš as their protective ancestral god.

We also know from the *Sui-shu* that the relatives or the family members of the kings of Samarqand ruled these minor kingdoms.[21] Sogdiana, however, is not a centralized state, and each city-state was a more or less independent political unit, although these states were allied with each other loosely in order to protect themselves from the threat of the nomads to the north. Among them, the allies centered around Samarqand were the largest, and those of Bukhra and Kish followed after that in size. Most of these city-states were rather small according to European or Chinese standards; the land size of the largest city-state, Samarqand, was only two square kilometers, and the population of a smaller city-state was less than 5,000 at that time.[22] During the seventh century, Samarqand was the center of power in Sogdiana, and that is why some of the kings, such as βrγwm'n (Vacšuman) and Dīvāštīč hold the titles of both ruler (governor) of Samarqand and king of Sogdiana.[23] Dīvāštīč, for example, had the title "sγwδyk MLK' sm'rkndyč MR'Y," meaning King of Sogdiana and the ruler of Samarqand.[24] The ideogram MLK' (*icšīn* in Arabic) indicates the king of Sogdiana as a whole, and MR'Y (*afšīn* in Arabic) refers to the ruler of these provincial cities, including Samarqand.

Sogdian, Chinese, and Islamic sources describe various names for the kingship in these city-states in Sogdiana. As mentioned above, a Sogdian king was referred to as

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[20] Wilhelm Tomaschek, "Sogdiana," *Zentralasiatische Studien* 1 (1877): 136-137. Other scholars suggested that *chao-wu* is the Iranian word *šao* (king).

[21] *Sui-shu* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1973), 1848-1849.

[22] Yamada Nobuo, *Perusha to Tō* [Persia and T'ang China], in the series Tōzai bunmei no kōryū 2 (Tokyo: Heibon-sha, 1971), 327.

[23] Shiratori considered Samarqand to be the capital of Sogdiana from the late third century onward; see Shratori 119. There are other scholars who believe that Kish was the most prominent city in Sogdiana at one time, based on the evidence in *Hsin T'ang-shu*. As for the Sogdian kings' names, see the list on p. 16 for details.

[24] Frye 106.

iχšīn/iχšīd in Arabic sources, χšēwan in Buddhist Sogdian texts, and χšēd in Manichaean Sogdian texts.[25] These kings belong to the class of *dihqān* (chiefs), which originally meant the lowest rank of nobility in the Sasanian social hierarchy, but somehow dihqān were elevated to a higher status in Central Asia. Similar to European medieval kings and knights, these Sogdian lords kept feudal vassals, yet unlike in medieval Europe, these lords and aristocrats were not so different from rich merchants in their social status and privileges, as Sogdian wealthy merchants owned vast lands and lived in palace-like houses. The Sogdian kings also kept armies of palace guards (shākir/chākir), who were recruited from the children of dihqāns or other aristocratic families.[26]

The social structure of Sogdian society is apparent from the documents found in the mountain fortress of Mt. Mugh, 120 kilometers east of Samarqand on the bank of the Zeravshan River. These Sogdian documents belonged to a Sogdian king, Dīvāštīč, who sought refuge in Mt. Mugh in order to fight the invading Arabs in Central Asia around the eighth century. The documents include letters to the king, contracts, and the financial correspondence of Dīvāštīč. These documents were written on paper, skins, and wood. It is interesting to note that the Arabs used skins in Central Asia while the Sogdians used parchment or Chinese paper in the eighth century before the general dispersion of paper.[27] Following their discovery in 1933, the Soviet scholar A. A. Freiman and others published the Mt. Mugh documents in the 1960's.[28]

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[25] Frye 126.

[26] Vasiliĭ Vladinorovich Barthold, *Turkestan: Down to the Mongol Invasion*, tr. from Russian by H. A. R. Gibb (London: Luzac and Co. Ltd., 1958), 180-181.

[27] Frye 113.

[28] For example, Aleksandr Arnoldovich Freiman, *Opisaniya, Publikatzii i Issledovaniye Dokumentov s Gory Mug I* [Records from Mount Mugh I] (Moskva: Izd-vo vostochnoĭ lit-ry, 1962); M. N. Bogolyubov, V. A. Livshits, and O. I. Smirnova, under the direction of I. A. Orbeli, "Sogdian: [1] Dokumentï s gorï Mug (Documents from Mt. Mugh)" in I. A. Orbeli, ed., *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum: Dokumenty s Gory Mug* (Part II: Seleucid and Parthian inscriptions of Eastern Iran and Central Asia; text in Russian and English) (London, published on behalf of Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, 1963).

According to these documents, it seems that the aristocrats were regarded as the highest in the Sogdian social order, followed by the merchants, laborers, farmers, artisans, and the slaves in order.[29] "Aristocrats" include aristocratic landholders, rich merchants, and religious specialists such as Zoroastrian and Manichean priests as well as priests for shrines of indigenous gods and deities. Sogdian merchants owned lands inside and outside their own city-states, and their trade activities extended beyond Sogdiana – the steppe to the north, Iran, the Roman Empire – all while taking advantage of the geographic centrality of Sogdiana. Sogdian merchants were well-known for their shrewdness, which *T'ang hui-yao* 唐会要 describes as follows;-

> Sogdian children get rock sugar in their mouth at birth so that when they grow up they can talk sweet (in their business). Glues are pasted in their palms so that money received would never leave their hands.[30]

The Chinese record is full of descriptions like this regarding Sogdian merchants and advisors to the Turks – most of them are rather critical or cynical toward the former.

Sogdian class structure can be compared to that of the Sasanians, in which the religious specialists are at the top of the social hierarchy, followed by warrior-aristocrats, bureaucrats, scribes, farmers, and merchants in that order. The Sasanian Empire seems to have been much more hierarchical than the Sogdian society, largely due to the scale of the Sasanian state structure and its ancient history. The power of merchants in Sogdiana did not undermine the aristocratic warrior class; as we see, most of the images in murals found in Panjikent were of warriors. Nevertheless, Sogdian city-states often had to rely on the military power of Turkic nomads or even the Chinese (to fight against the Arabs, for example), and the image we have of Sogdian warriors is rather shadowy in comparison with that of Sogdian merchants, who enjoyed wealth and high status internationally.

Chinese historical sources such as the *Sui-shu* and *T'ang-shu* provide names of Sogdian kings, but there have been no systematic studies carried out to provide a

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[29] Mori Masao, "Shiruku rōdo to sogudojin" [The Silk Road and the Sogdians], *Tōyō gakujutsu kenkyū* 18 (1979): 29.

[30] Mori 1979, 30.

complete chronology of the Sogdian kings, except the extensive numismatic studies done by a Russian scholar, Ol'ga Smirnova, on Sogdian coins. Since 1936, she was engaged in classifying Sogdian coins found in Tali-barz (6 km southeast of Samarqand), the old castle site in Panjikent, Ak-bešim, and the numismatic collections of the Samarqand museum and Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg. Smirnova studied two kinds of Sogdian coins, a Chinese type of coin with a square hole in the middle and another type with the head of a ruler on one side of the coin. The Chinese type has a Sogdian king's name on one side and royal symbols on the other. These coins of the Chinese type were found only in Samarqand and Kish, from which many Sogdian merchants originated, and the extensive cultural and trade contacts between the Chinese and the Sogidan merchants were usually limited to the urban regions.

Based on her numismatic study, Smirnova came up with a tentative chronology of Sogdian kings from the early seventh to mid-eighth century C.E.[31] Two Chinese names/positions were included at the end of the chart since these Sogdians ruled Sogdiana during the Chinese colonization of the region from 755 C.E. Barthold[32] noted that there were at least thirteen Sogdian kings in Samarqand from the seventh to mid-eighth century, after the Arab invasions. The following list of 12 kings should provide some outline for the chronology of the Sogdian kings.

[31] Ol'ga I. Smirnova, *Katalog monet sgorodishcha Panjikent; materialy 1949-1956* (Moskva: Izd-vo vostochnoĭ, 1963); *Svodnyĭ katalog sogdiĭskikh monet: bronza,* (Moskva: Izd-vo "Nauka," Glav. red. vostochnoĭ lit-ry, 1981).

[32] Barthold 84.

Table 1: Kings of Samarqand in the seventh and eighth centuries
(modified/reconstructed mainly from Smirnova 1981[33]; Frye 1951[34]; Okamoto 1985[35])

King's name in Sogdian	Possible transliteration	Years of rule (estimated)	Chinese	Chinese transcription (Karlgren)
		c. 267	那鼻 (*Wei-shu* & *Chin-shu*)	ʿnâʾ-bʿjiʾ
šyšpyr		- 605/617 C.E.	世失畢[36]	śi̯äi-śi̯ĕt-pi̯ĕt
		605/617-637	屈朮支	kʾi̯uət-dźʾi̯uĕt-ˌtśię
βrγwmʾn	Vacšuman	c. 658	佛呼縵	pʾi̯uət-ˌcuo-ˌmuân
mʾstn	Mustan	680-700		
twkʾspʾδk	Tukaspadak	696-698	篤婆鉢堤	tuok-ˌsâ-pʾjie-ˌdʾiei
nnyšyš/ nnyšyrč	Ninišyše/ Nnyšyrč[37]	698-705/707	泥涅師師	ˌniei-niet-ˌṣi-ˌṣi
trγwn	Ṭarcūn[38]	707-718	突昏	tʾuət-cuən
ʿwγrk	Ghūrak, Gurek, Ugurak, Ugrak	719-739	鳥勒伽	ʿuo-lək-ˌgʾi̯a
δywʾštyč	Dīvāštīč	721-722		
twrγʾar	Turγaγ	744-754	咄曷	tśʾiuət-γât
		755	康国副王 (Vice-king of K'ang Country)	
		758	康忠義 (康国長史) (Colonial Administrator of K'ang Country)	

[33] Smirnova 423-431.

[34] Frye 128.

[35] Okamoto Takashi, "Sogudo-ō tōkō" [Considering the lineage of the Sogdian kings], *Tōyō gakuhō* 65 (1985): 79, 90.

[36] See Okamoto 246, for his arguments on the variety of Chinese characters used in Chinese sources for King Šyšpyr.

[37] Nnyšyrč means "those who are close to Goddess Nana." See S. G. Kljastornyj and V. A. Livshits, "Sogdijskaja nadpis' iz Buguta," *Strany i narody Vostoka*, vyp. X, (Moskva: Izd-vo vostochnoĭ lit-ry, 1971): 238, n. 270.

[38] The name Ṭarχūn (Sog. trγwn) derived from a Turkish title, Tarχan /Tarqan, which refers to princes subordinate to the qaγan; the Turkish overlords. See Frye 117. Under the direct rule of the Western T'u-chüeh, some Sogdians adopted Turkish names such as Irkin, Tudun, Tigin, Baγatur, Tarqan, and Ozmiš. Most of these names originated from military or administrative titles of the empire.

Matching the Sogdian kings' names with their Chinese equivalents is crucial in order to find the exact date of the reign of the kings, as the dates are available only in Chinese sources. Nevertheless, Chinese phonetics has changed over many hundred of years, and the reconstruction of the Sogdian kings' names according to Karlgren's system has been a complicated task. Despite these difficulties, Smirnova provided a path-breaking work that permits us at last to understand the history of Sogdiana and its cities, Samarqand, Bukhara, Kish, and others, based on numismatic evidence from the over 1,000 coins that are available.

These kings, around the beginning of the eighth century, had to face a serious challenge from the expansion of Arabic power in the region. According to the Chinese source (*T'ang-shu*), King Ugurak sought help from T'ang China after he was defeated by the Arabs in 719 C.E. From the Chinese emperor he was also granted various titles for his sons, such as "king of Ts'ao 曹王" for the eldest son T'u-ho 咄曷, who eventually succeeded him as ruler of Samarqand after his death.[39]

As mentioned previously, King Dīvāštīč surrendered to the Arabs after several years in the mountain fortress. Having negotiated with the Arabs, he became the ruler of Panjikent, a much smaller city than Samarqand, for the next twelve years. Unfortunately Arabic sources indicate that Dīvāštīč was killed in 722 C.E. by the Arabs, and his head was sent to the governor of Iraq, who was said to be displeased by the execution. The governor consequently removed the local Arab official who was responsible for the killing of Dīvāštīč.[40] Islam was accepted by only a minority in Central Asia, until the Islamization of Sogdiana was accomplished by the Caliph al-Mu'taṣim in the mid-ninth century. Persian had been used as an official administrative language since the scribes were magi, although Arabic became compulsory for the local government of Khorasan in 742 C.E.[41] The rest of Sogdiana followed suit shortly after this.

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[39] *T'ang-shu*, 6244.

[40] Ṭabarī II, 1448, 4-10; Frye 1951, 112-113.

[41] Frye 113.

1.4 Sogdian colonies

Sogdians were the most ubiquitous people in the history of Central Asia. Their colonies appeared all over Central Asia, China, and Mongolia. There were at least two different kinds of Sogdian colonies. One type was the colony under the protection of the nomadic Turkic empire, such as those in the Semirechie region – along the Ili River, the Chu River, and the Talas River, north of Issyk Kul. The colonies in Mongolia and Siberia[42] also fall into this first category, since they were created under the protection of a Turko-Mongol nomadic people. The second type was the colony within China proper and in greater China along the northern trade route of the Silk Road, such as Lop Nor,[43] Tun-hung, Hami,[44] Liang chou, and Ch'ang-an. These colonies were not necessarily within the Chinese political arena, but they were under strong Chinese cultural influence.

Partially Turkicized Sogdians, as Pulleyblank describes them, formed a colony on the northern Chinese frontier and engaged in herding animals.[45] The relationship between the Sogdians and the nomads goes back even to the time of the Hsiung-nu in the first century. According to the *Hou Han-shu*, the delegates of the Hsiung-nu in the Altai region came together with Sogdians to China with some gifts of horses and asked to meet the Han emperor to consult about the opening of a trade relationship.[46] With the help of the Sogdian merchants, the Hsiung-nu engaged in trade between China and Manchuria,

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[42] The Russian archaeologist Aleksei P. Okladnikov excavated a site on the lower stream of the Angara River, which runs off from Lake Baikal in Siberia. Sogdian coins and other artifacts found there indicate this site was a Sogdian colony dating from the ninth to tenth centuries. See Yamada 333. Okladnikov's report on the above, published in 1966, cannot be located in Hollis or Library of Congress on-line search, though his account of a petroglyphic finding in the region in 1966 appears.

[43] Paul Pelliot, "Le 'Choichou tan tan fou tou king' et le colonie sogdienne de la region du Lob Nor," *Journal Asiatique*, Jan-Feb. (1916): 118-123.

[44] Haneda Tōru, *Haneda hakushi shigaku ronbunshū - rekishi hen* [The collection of historical articles by Dr. Haneda – History] (Kyoto: Kyoto-toyōshi kenkyū-kai, 1957), 60-62; Pulleyblank 347-351.

[45] Pulleyblank 331.

[46] *Hou Han-shu,* 2946.

Siberia, and western countries, although we are not sure about the existence of Sogdian colonies at such an early time in the first century, in as much as most of the sources regarding Sogdian colonies refer to historical events during or after the sixth century.

According to the *T'ang shu*, many Sogdian colonies existed within the Turkic empire of the Ashina (552-744 C.E.). The Chinese called them *hu-pu* 胡部, and these Sogdian colonies were official administrative units of the nomadic empire. In 630, when Ashina Turks surrendered to T'ang China and migrated to the Ordos region under orders from the government, there were many Sogdians among them. These Sogdians were later called the six-province *hu* [liu-chou-hu 六州胡] of the Ho-ch'ü 河曲 region by the Chinese.[47] The *altï čub soγdaq* in Kül Tegin's inscription refers to these Sogdian colonies, which were conquered by Bilge qaγan, the ruler of the Ashina Turkic Empire, in 701.[48] These Sogdian colonies also revolted against T'ang China, and they were dispersed by the Chinese army in 722.[49]

The *Hsin T'ang-shu* informs us that Sogdians from different city-states formed various colonies, each of which was ruled by a chieftain, who held the title "eltäbär (i-li-fa 意利發). For example, Eltäbär An Niao-huan 安鳥喚 (the"An" surname indicates he was originally from Bukhara) ruled several colonies, whose settlers were mainly from Bukhara. The title *eltäbär* was also used for Sogdian rulers in Sogdiana proper under the domination of the Western T'u-chüeh in the sixth century.[50] The *Hsin T'ang-shu* reported that Turkic qaγans tended to trust these Sogdians more than their own Turkic people. On the basis of such trust, however, the Sogdian advisers and generals

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[47] *Hsin T'ang-shu,* 974-975. These provinces were Lu 魯 Chou, Li 麗 Chou, Han 含 Chou, Sai 塞 Chou, I 依 Chou, and Ch'i 契 Chou. They were established in 679 in the southern part of the Ordos region. Pulleyblank 326.

[48] S. G. Klyaštornyj, "Sur les colonies sogdiennes de la Haute Asie," *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* XXXIV (1961): 95-97. *Hsin T'ang- shu,* 6038.

[49] *Ch'ien T'ang-shu,* 184.

[50] Mori Masao, "Higashi tokketsu kokka ni okeru sogudo-jin" [The Sogdians in the eastern Turkic state] in *Kodai toruko minzokushi kenkyū* - I [Research on the history of the ancient Turkic peoples] (Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppan, 1967), 86.

sometimes took advantage of their powerful positions within the Turkic empire for their own benefit. One of the best-known cases of this was that An Sui-chia 安遂迦, who lived at the court of Tu-lan qaγan (r. 588-599), had an affair with the qaγan's Chinese wife (Ta-i kung-chu 大義公主), whose family and country, Northern Chou, were destroyed by the Sui dynasty at the end of the sixth century. An Sui-chia and Ta-i kung-chu, as well as a refugee from China, Yang-ch'in 楊欽, united to rebel against Sui China in order to avenge the destruction of the Northern Chou. In order to circumvent direct military confrontation, the Chinese secretly exposed their illicit relationship to the qaγan, who then killed his Chinese wife and this Sogdian official.[51] The Chinese officials were in general always cautious about Sogdian advisors for the Turkish rulers, calling them cunning and greedy. This episode exposes not only the political complications in nomadic court life but also the extent of the power of Sogdian officers in the Turkic empire.

Hsüan-tsang also reported in his *Buddhist Records of the Western Kingdoms* that there were many Sogdian colonies of various sizes in Semirechie (the region of Bishkek, Almaty, and Taldykorgan in present-day Kirghizstan and south Kazakhstan) in the seventh century under the western Turks.[52] He noted that there were many merchants in Suyab [Su-yeh-shui ch'eng 素葉水城／Sui-yeh ch'eng 碎葉城] and Talas from various countries including Sogdiana. Not all Sogdians, as he observed, were traders, as about half of them engaged in trade and the other half in farming. Like the above Chinese imperial advisors, Hsüan-tsang had rather negative things to say regarding the Sogdians: he described Sogdians as timid despite their large bodies, and their culture as rather shallow.[53] He also added that the Sogdians often deceived people, and even fathers and sons argued with each other over money, due to their greed.[54] Hsüan-tsang was a

[51] Pulleyblank 318. *Sui-shu,* 1332-1333.

[52] Mizutani Shinjō, tr. *Daitō seiikiki* [Buddhist Records of the Western Kingdoms] (Tokyo: Heibon-sha, 1971), 20.

[53] Mizutani 20.

[54] Mizutani 20.

Buddhist monk and did not have high regard for merchants in general, but his record is indispensable, as there are no other written accounts regarding the Sogdian colonies in the Issyk Kul region. Hsüan-tsang's prejudice also might have reflected the Chinese attitude toward Sogdian merchants, who were in competition with Chinese merchants. Mizutani points out that the Persian account of Hudūd al-ʿ Ālam describes the Sogdian people as pleasant, friendly, and courteous in their treatment of guests. The author also says that Sogdians were gentle and religious.[55]

In 1936–41, the Soviet archaeologist A. N. Bernshtam excavated many sites of old Sogdian colonies near the banks of the Talas River, the Ch'u River, and the Ili River, dated from the fifth to eighth century C.E.[56] About eighteen major colonies were discovered near the Ch'u River alone, and many smaller colonies were identified as Sogdian by Bernshtam. He noted that the major colonies were even larger than some of the city-states in Sogdiana. Among them, the largest Sogdian colony, Suyab, mentioned by Hsüan-tsang, was excavated in the region of Ak-Bešim (in present-day Kirghizistan) by Russian archaeologists. Sogdian and Turgesh coins of the eighth century as well as Roman coins of Herakleios (611-641) and Constantinus (641-668) were discovered at the site, showing the geographical extent of Sogdian trade from west to east.[57] Hsüan-tsang relates that a diverse ethnic mixture inhabited the city, and the international nature of the city is also supported by archeological evidence that two Buddhist temples, Zoroastrian graves, and Assyrian Christian churches and graves, were discovered in the city sites.[58]

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[55] Mizutani 21. V. Minorsky (tr.), *Hudūd al-ʿ Ālam* "The Regions of the World": A Persian Geography, 372 A. H. – 982 A. D. (London: Luzac & Co., 1937), 113.

[56] A. N. Bernshtam, *Materialy i Issledevaniya po Arkheologii SSSR* [Materials of and research into the archaeology of the USSR] 26 Ocherki Tsentr. Tyan-shana i pamiro-Alaya, 1944-49 [A fundamental report including Kirgiziya, Fergana, SE Kazakhstan, etc.] (Moskva: Izd-vo Akademii nauk SSR, 1952).

[57] In the sixth century, three different kinds of coins were widely spread in the Ho-hsi region: Sasanian silver coins, Roman gold coins, and western Asian coins, including Sogdian ones. See Ikeda On, "8 seiki ni okeru tonkō no sogudo-jin shūraku" [Sogdian colonies in Tun-huang in the eighth century], *Yūrashia bunka kenkū* 1 (1965): 81.

[58] Mori 1979, 41.

One of the earliest records regarding Sogdians in China is the *Wei-shu,* which describes many Sogdian merchants in Liang-chou among the 30,000 households, who were captured and taken to Ta-t'ung, the capital of the Northern Wei, by the Chinese army in 439. These merchants were eventually ransomed back by the Sogdian king in 452.[59] This evidence indicates that early Sogdian colonies already existed in Liang-chou, the largest trading post in the Ho-hsi region, connecting the east and the west. The scale of Sogdian trade can be known from a record in the *Chou-shu*: Shi Ning, a Sogdian governor of Liang-chou, confiscated an illegal caravan, which consisted of 240 merchants, 600 camels, and 10,000 rolls of silk.[60]

A Stein document regarding the geography of the Tun-huang and Hami regions - *Sha-chou I-chou ti-chih ts'an-chüan* 沙州伊州地志残巻, also describes a colony near the ancient kingdom of Lop Nor. This colony was called Shih-ch'eng-chen 石城鎮 (another name for this colony was Tien-ho-ch'eng 典合城), founded by K'ang Yen-tien 康艷典 in the seventh century.[61] K'ang Yen-tien lead his people to this location and eventually the colony became quite large, by adding new settlers from Samarqand. He also revived and rebuilt three more colonies – Hsien-ch'eng 新城 [New Castle], P'u-t'ao-ch'eng 蒲桃城 [Grape Castle],[62] Sa-t'ien-pi-ch'eng 薩田比城 [meaning unknown Castle] – in the nearby region. There probably was a castle at the center of each Sogdian colony, and each was named after its castle. The P'u-t'ao-ch'eng colony was reported to have grapevines within the castle, and in 691 it had a ruler called K'ang fu-to-yen 康拂多延 in 691, which signifies a Manichean priest in Sogdian (Furštadān).[63]

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[59] *Wei-shu* 102, 2270,

[60] *Chou-shu* (Peking: Chung-hua shu chä, 1971, 1974 printing), 913.

[61] Yamada 330.

[62] This can mean "grape and peach" or "rose apple/Malabar plum" castle.

[63] Yamada 331. Haneda Tōru, "Baku-hoku no chi to kankoku-jin" in *Haneda hakushi shigaku ronbunshū* (Kyoto: Tōyōshi kenkyū-kai, 1957) originally published in *Shinagaku*, vol. 3, no. 5, (1924): 402.

North of Tun-huang there was another Sogdian colony. In 630 a Sogdian from Tashkent, Shih Wan-nien 石萬年, moved to a new colony in Hami, leading many people from seven different colonies.[64] In this colony, there were many wealthy merchants, who were highly respected by the inhabitants, according to the Chinese sources. Judging from this kind of migratory movement from one colony to another, these Sogdian colonies were not necessarily permanent settlements, and some capable rulers like Shih Wan-nien could lead the people to a new colony or even unite several colonies together, when they saw potential benefits for their trade and commercial activities, by moving to a new location. Individual Sogdians also had the freedom to move about, but this relatively large-scale migration of about 1,500 people of Shih Wan-nien's colony, for example, is a rather unusual and interesting phenomenon in the history of Central Asia, as Sogdians were known to be a sedentary people, not nomadic, unlike Turkic peoples. The underlying motivation of Sogdian migration and colonization seems to have been the profitability of their caravan trade, but the actual means of support of those living in the colonies varied from agriculture to pastoral farming.

Regarding Sogdian colonies in China, Ikeda gives an extensive account of a particular Sogdian colony called An-ch'eng 安城 near the Tun-huang castle, which was founded around the seventh century.[65] Ikeda found that the colony had Sogdians with nine different surnames; K'ang 康, An 安, Shih 石, Ts'ao 曹, Ho 何, Mi 米, Shih 史, Ho 賀, and Lo 羅, which represented different city-states in Sogdiana, as previously discussed.[66] This An-ch'eng colony had a population of about 300 households with 1,400 inhabitants in total. The number of the settlers from these different Sogdian cities is proportional to the size of these cities: the three largest cities, Samarqand, Bukhara, and Tashkent had many more settlers than the other smaller city-states in Sogdiana. This proportional distribution of the number of settlers according to size of over nine city-states suggests that this colony was not randomly or spontaneously created, but was a

[64] Pulleyblank 351.

[65] Ikeda 49-92.

[66] These Sogdian surnames attached to the different regions started appearing in the Chinese literature around the sixth century (Pulleyblank 320).

kind of planned settlement according to Chinese foreign policy at that time.[67] Even the official name of the colony, T'sung-hua hsiang 從化鄉, can be translated as a "colony of assimilation to Chinese culture and rules," the kind of name that modern communist China would use for the settlements in minority regions. In any case, these Sogdian settlers received protection and rights as free citizens in China as long as they paid tax and performed military duties and corvée labor like any Chinese citizen. The settlers were given lands to cultivate according to the number in their households even though many of them were merchants or engaged in trade-oriented occupations. Ikeda notes that the practical role of the Sogdian colonies in China was to help facilitate and smooth the trade activities between China and the West. This is evident, for example, in the presence of several high-ranking officials among the Sogdian settlers who dealt with the day-to-day trade affairs of the passing caravans. This significant commercial function of the Sogdian colonies was a thread common to all the Sogdian colonies, not only in Chinese territories but also in those under Turkic domination. By the mid-eighth century, the population of this assimilation colony in Tun-huang had declined, and it eventually disappeared by the end of the ninth century, due to political and economic instability both in Sogdiana and China. At this time Sogdiana was under constant threat from the invading Arabs, and T'ang China was considerably weakened by various rebellions, such as An Lu-shan's in 759. The most crucial incident which affected the decline of Sogdian colonies, however, was the offensive act of General Kao Hsien-chih 高仙芝, who killed the surrendering ruler of Shāsh (Tashkent).[68] He also committed a massacre of the innocent subjects, young and old, and stole their treasures (precious stones, gold, good horses) as booty.[69] Outraged by this act, Sogdian city-states sought military help from the Arabs – the Abbāsids, who confronted the Chinese at the bank of the Talas River in 751. There, in the middle of the fierce battle, the army of the Karluk Turks turned against

[67] Emperor Yang of the Sui dynasty had a very ambitious policy of inviting (welcoming) foreign nationals to China (外族招來), and Ikeda noted that the above-mentioned Sogdian colony might have been created according to this policy (Ikeda 82).

[68] General Kao Hsien-chih was a Korean in service to Emperor Hsüan-tsang.

[69] *Hsin T'ang Shu,* 6246.

the Chinese, who consequently lost 30,000 soldiers with only a few thousand surviving. The Arabs completely defeated the Chinese, who conclusively lost the chance to extend their empire to the westernmost regions. The defeat of the Chinese army marked a decisive historical turning point for Sogdiana, which eventually lost its ethnic and cultural identity under the Pan-Islamic expansion initiated by the Arabs. By the time of the penetration of Islam into the region in the ninth century, Sogdiana's Buddhist past had been completely obliterated.

2. Sogdian Buddhism

Although information is not abundant, there are various ways to study Sogdian Buddhism. The sources used here are the biographies of monks, reports of traveling monks, and Sogdian Buddhist texts, written mostly in the Tun-huang and Turfan regions. The periods covered by these historical records are from the second to eighth century for the bibliographic records, and around the seventh to the tenth century for the Sogdian Buddhist texts.

2.1 Sogdian Buddhist monks originally from K'ang-chü

Sogdian Buddhist monks with the surname K'ang, which indicates they originated from the country called K'ang-chü, appear in the early Chinese sources dated from the second through the seventh century. These biographical sources are mainly *Ch'u san-tsang chi-chi* 出三蔵記集 [Collected notes on the making of the Tripiṭaka], compiled in 510 C.E. and *Kao-seng chuan* 高僧伝 [Biographies of eminent monks], 519 C.E. Not all monks surnamed K'ang were actually from K'ang-chü. Many of them were descendants of Sogdian émigrés or expatriates who lived in China, India, or Southeast Asia. In the Chinese sources, Sogdian émigrés in China are relatively well documented, but we do not know much about Sogdian expatriates in India or Southeast Asia, except for brief accounts of the family background of several K'ang monks in the Buddhist biographies. Among early Sogdian monks who came directly from Sogdiana and eventually settled in China were K'ang Chü 康巨 (187-199), K'ang Meng-hsiang 康孟詳 (190-220), K'ang Seng-k'ai 康僧鎧 (Saṃghavarman; arrived at Lo-yang in 252), and Chi 基 (Tz'u-en ta-shih 慈恩大師, 632-682), who were active in Lo-yang, Ch'ang-an, or other Chinese

major cities at that time, propagating Buddhism. Those Sogdian monks originating from expatriate families in China were K'ang Seng-hui 康僧會 (222-280), K'ang Seng-yüan 康僧淵 (267-330), K'ang Fa-lang 康法朗 (310-420), (Shih 釋) Chih-i 智嶷 (c. 380), and (Shih 釋) Hui-ming 慧明 (427- 497). These ethnic Sogdians in China were no doubt fluent in Chinese, and their outlook on Buddhism was heavily influenced by their Chinese classical learning. At least a couple of Sogdian monks came from India, Pao-i 寶意 (Ratnamati; 420-502) and Fa-tsang 法藏 (643-712). Since the Sogdian monks originated from various countries, their contributions of Buddhist practice and the transmission of the sūtras and commentaries to China were not necessarily related to Buddhism as practiced in Sogdiana. In the following sections, some detailed biographies of K'ang monks are provided in order to convey the role of Sogdian monks in the development of early Chinese Buddhism, especially in the south of China.

2.2 K'ang Seng-hui 康僧會 (222-280)[70]

According to the bibliographic sources, K'ang Seng-hui, along with Pai-fa-tsu 白法祖 and T'an-k'o-chia-lo 曇珂迦羅, was one of the pioneer Buddhist monks, who promoted Buddhism in the south of China during the Wu 吳 dynasty. South China provided rich cultural ground for active foreign Buddhist monks to translate and propagate the Buddhist texts, as southern China was more peaceful than the northern dynasties, where different kingdoms constantly battled against each other.[71] The foundation of southern Buddhism in China was prepared by Chih-ch'ien 支謙 and Seng-hui. Their work in translation and commentary in south China led them to the beginning of Buddhism being understood as a faith based on philosophy, not just on impressive temples and pagodas.

Seng-hui was born in Chiao-chou 交州 (present-day Hanoi, Vietnam), where his parents, originally from K'ang-chü, had settled. His father was engaged in trade and

[70] *Ch'u san-tsang chi-chi,* vol. 13 – Taishō vol. 55, no. 2145, 96b, 96c, 97a *Kao-seng chuan,* vol. 1 – Taishō vol. 50, no. 2059, 325, 326 a, 326b.

[71] Kamata Shigeo, *Chūgoku Bukkyō shi,* 6 vols. (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1982), 1: 199.

lived in India prior to moving to Chiao-chou. When he was ten years old, Seng-hui lost both parents, and this sad event led him to join the Buddhist order. In 247 C.E. he came to Chien-yeh 建鄴 the capital of the southern Wu dynasty, and received patronage and devotion from the ruler, Sun Ch'üan 孫權 (222-252). According to the *Li-tai san-pao chi* 歷代三寶記, Seng-hui translated 14 different sūtras in 29 volumes, but closer examination shows that these short sūtras were different chapters of the *Liu-tu chi ching* 六度集經.[72] There are relatively lengthy records of Seng-hui in the bibliographies, but they tend to reflect legendary stories about him, rather than historical facts. Even so, these legends tell us much about the early situation of Chinese Buddhism around the time of Seng-hui in the third century.

2.2.1 The legend of K'ang Seng-hui and the relics (*śarīra*) and the first temple in south China.

When Seng-hui arrived in the south of China in 247 C.E., Emperor Sun Ch'üan of the Wu dynasty quickly showed interest in this foreign monk and in Buddhism. Seng-hui told the emperor Sun Ch'üan about King Aśoka's vow to build eighty-four thousand stūpas and encouraged him to emulate this merciful act in order to gain glory and the supernatural power of relics of the Buddha. Impressed by this story, the emperor promised to build a pagoda if K'ang could obtain some relics by a miraculous means. He added that Seng-hui would be punished if he could not gain any of them. In order to gain the relics through meditation, Seng-hui purified his body and went into a quiet room, where a copper bottle was placed on top of the desk to receive relics. Yet after two weeks' prayer and meditation, he could not gain them. Seng-hui despaired but continued to meditate. Finally after twenty-one days, he heard some noise and saw the shining relics appear in the bottle. Seeing the relics, which were unbreakably hard and emitted lights of five different colors, the emperor was extremely impressed and built the first Buddhist temple in southern China, Chien-ch'u ssu 建初寺, appropriately named the "First-built Temple." This miracle story of obtaining relics stresses the early transmission of the stūpa/pagoda worship in China and the fact that magical power was

[72] *Li-tai san-pao chim,* vol. 5 – Taishō vol. 49, no. 2034, 58c-59a.
Liu-tu chi ching – Taishō vol. 3, no. 152, 49b, 49c.

regarded as a quite important quality of the Buddhist monks. Kamata has pointed out that this episode misleadingly suggests that K'ang was the first monk to reach south China, whereas at least Chih-ch'ien was already quite active in the capital of the Wu kingdom, Chien-yeh, ten years before Seng-hui's arrival there in 222 C.E.

2.2.2 The legend of K'ang Seng-hui and the contamination of the Buddha statue

There is another story regarding the supernatural power of Buddhism described in the bibliography. The emperor had a grandson called Sun Hao 孫皓, who was known to be violent and outrageous. Buddhism did not make any sense to Sun Hao, and he tried to burn the Chien-ch'u ssu, the temple that his grandfather had built. One day he found a golden Buddha underground and dug it up. Then he placed the Buddha statue in front of the toilet and enjoyed contaminating the statue on the Buddha's birthday instead of purifying the statue with pure water. As a result of these deeds, Sun Hao's genitals swelled up, and he suffered from enormous pain. Realizing this was a punishment for his bad deeds, he cleaned up the statue with perfumed hot water and confessed his sin with the act of burning incense in front of the statue. Seng-hui gave Sun Hao the Five Precepts and his sickness was eventually cured. As a sign of appreciation for his cure Sun Hao renamed Chien-ch'u ssu temple as T'ien-tzu ssu (天子寺 Temple of the Son of Heaven) and encouraged his ministers and subjects to practice Buddhism. The compiler of this bibliography noted that Sun Hao did not comprehend Buddhism by listening but understood what it is by his experience of the law of cause and effect regarding his sickness. In other words, Seng-hui opened Sun Hao's mind to Buddhism through his own bad actions with the sickness as the effect. Kamata argues that this is not historically accurate since Sun Hao never received the Five Precepts. Yet this story provides some information regarding the understanding of Buddhism among Chinese people in the south. Buddhism was still considered a new religion for the majority of the people in the south, and people in general regarded Buddhism as a kind of foreign religion with supernatural power.

2.2.3 K'ang Seng-hui's contributions to Southern Chinese Buddhism

One of Seng-hui's areas of expertise was the singing of Buddhist songs in Sanskrit, called *fan-pai* 梵唄 (Skt. *bhāṣa*). Chih-ch'ien was probably the first monk to introduce

these Buddhist songs, but the songs he brought from India, Fan-pai san-ch'i 梵唄三契, have been lost. Yet Seng-hui's songs were still extant in the sixth century.[73] A monk from Kushana, Chih t'an-yüeh 支曇籥, who was well known for his beautiful voice, spread Seng-hui's Sanskrit-Chinese songs to later generations.

Among his more scholarly notes, Seng-hui wrote an introduction to *An-pan shou-i ching* 安般守意經 and Fa-ching ching 法鏡經, in which he explained clearly the way of quieting the mind, or An-pan hsing 安般行, as a basic meditation method. Due to Seng-hui's teaching, his method of counting breaths became popular in southern China. In those days in southern China, Buddhist practitioners like Chih-ch'ien practiced Ch'an meditation in the quietude of nature. Still, their meditation was not so rigorous as that of later Ch'an (Zen) practitioners, who meditated in the caves of remote mountains in total isolation, as described in the meditation chapter of the *Kao-seng chuan*.[74] Buddhist meditation at around the third century was not as fully developed as later Ch'an practice of several hundreds years later. As a pioneer monk Seng-hui introduced and promoted Buddhist meditation in nature before the widespread practice of the rigorous Ch'an (Zen) meditation in China.

2.3 K'ang Seng-yüan 康僧淵 (267-330)[75]

K'ang Seng-yüan was born in Ch'ang-an but his ancestors were from K'ang-chü. His facial features were Western (Caucasian), and his appearance was graceful, according to the *Kao-seng chuan*. His Chinese was fluent, and he read and recited the *Fang-kuang po-je ching* 放光般若經 and the *Tao-hang po-je ching* 道行般若經, among other sūtras. According to *Shih-shuo hsin-yü* 世説新語, a collection of accounts of well-known people, he went to south China around 330 C.E. with K'ang Fa-ch'ang and others and

[73] Kamata Shigeo, *Chūgoku Bukkyō shi,* 6 vols. (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1983), 2: 95. *Kao-seng chuan* vol. 13 – Taishō vol. 50, no. 2059, 415b, 415c.

[74] Kamata 1983, 136.

[75] *Kao-seng chuan,* vol. 4 – Taishō vol. 50, no. 2059, 346c, 347a.

mixed with ruling aristocrats and Buddhist monks alike.[76] When Seng-yüan first arrived, he begged to survive while wandering in the market area. One day Seng-yüan visited a local aristocrat, Yin Yüan-yüan 殷淵源, and he managed to impress many guests in the *ch'ing-t'an* 清談, an intellectual exchange among the aristocrats, expressing the core of Buddhist principles without hesitation. As *ch'ing-t'an* is an extension of the Taoistic tradition,[77] often accompanied by harp music and wine, these aristocrats enjoyed talking about literature, arts, religion, and philosophy, rather than about politics. Later on, he built a temple in a bamboo wood near the Mt. Yü-chang 予章山, on a spot where he enjoyed a beautiful view of the mountain slope and streams. There were many visitors to his hut, including experts on *ch'ing-t'an* and monks, and their discussions about the deep philosophy of emptiness, for example, went on endlessly. Seng-yüan became a central figure promoting the *ch'ing-t'an* Buddhism at that time in south China.

According to the *Kao-seng chuan*, a local Chinese aristocrat made fun of Seng-yüan's deep eyes and high nose, but he replied by saying, "A nose is a mountain and eyes are the pools of a face. The high mountain has spiritual energy and the deep pools contain pure water."[78] His answer referred to nature, which was the common practice in *ch'ing-t'an* at that time. In another episode, an aristocratic friend visited his humble hut in the mountains and declared that he too wished to practice Buddhism in the wild environment. But, after having tried it for some time, he returned to his town, as he could not bear the wildness and inconvenience of the place.[79]

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[76] *Shih-shuo hsin-yü* 世說新語, literature (wu-hsüeh 文學) section 4. See Kamata,1983, 97. *Shih-shuo hsin-yü* was compiled in the mid-fifth century by Liu I-ch'ing 劉義慶 (403-444), who compiled episodes from the lives of the well-known intellectuals during the Late Han dynasty to the end of the Eastern Chin dynasty. Thirty-six sections include praise and critical comments on various people.

[77] Kamata 1983, 86.

[78] *Shih-shuo hsin-yü*, P'ai-t'iao p'ien 排調篇. See Kamata 1983, vol. 2, 25 *Kao-seng chuan,* vol. 4 – Taishō vol. 50, no. 2059, 347a.

[79] *Shih-shuo hsin-yü,* Ch'i-i p'ien 棲逸篇.

As noted previously, enjoying the practice of Buddhism in natural beauty was popular among the aristocrats and Buddhist monks in southern Buddhism, especially during the Eastern Chin period. For these conversational exchanges of Buddhist *ch'ing-t'an*, beautiful places with a view of mountains and pure water were chosen as settings for the high-class intellectual entertainment. Seng-yüan, a promoter of such Taoistic Buddhism in the south, was one of central figures of the Southern Chinese intellectual scene.

2.4 K'ang Fa-lang 康法朗[80]

According to the *Kao-seng chuan*, K'ang Fa-lang was born in Chung-shan 中山 and joined the Buddhist order when he was young. When Fa-lang read about the Buddha's first preaching in Mṛgadāva (the Deer Garden in Sarnath) and his *parinirvāna*, he wished to go to the sacred land (India). He left China with four other student monks, as he desired to see the birthplace of the Buddha, Kapilavastu, and other Buddhist sites in India. After they had departed from Kansu and wandered in the Taklamakan desert for three days, they suddenly saw a ruined temple overgrown with grass, where they heard chanting from a monk on one side of a humble building. On the other side, there was a very sick monk lying is his own excrement, emitting a strong smell. Fa-lang and his friends decided to stay in this temple for six days to clean and take care of the sick monk. On the seventh day, the shelter of the sick monk became full of wonderful fragrances, and Fa-lang realized that the sick monk was in fact a divine person (*shen-jen* 神人). The other monk was also a learned Buddhist practitioner, who sincerely praised the four monks, including Fa-lang, who had washed away the feces of the afflicted monk. The divine person said that three of the monks had already entered the path of the Buddha and only Fa-lang should continue to travel to the sacred land in order to be the teacher of the Dharma. As the monk advised, Fa-lang studied many sūtras and commentaries in different countries and eventually returned to Chung-shan. There he went on to educate

[80]*Kao-seng chuan,* vol. 4 –Taishō vol. 50, no. 2059, 347a, 347b.

several hundred disciples. Nothing is recorded about the circumstances of his death, but Sun-ch'o 孫綽 later composed posthumous verses of praise for Fa-lang's works.[81]

Fa-lang strongly sought for the dharma. After receiving the prophecy from the divine monk, he tried to visit India, but he ended up instead wandering in Central Asia. Born in China, he was thoroughly familiar with Chinese classics, and he pursued his scholarly passion in the study of Buddhism. He used a method of explaining Buddhism according to the Chinese intellectual traditions called *ko-i* (格義).[82] For a brief period, *ko-i* was an acceptable method in the South for some Chinese scholars and aristocrats, to understand Buddhism using indigenous concepts arranged in numerical lists.

In sum, Sogdian monks, whether they were originally from Sogdiana or were descendants of Sogdian emigrants in China, played a major role in the formation of early Chinese Buddhism, especially in the South. What they brought to Chinese Buddhism was extremely rich in content, from Buddhist songs in Sanskrit to meditation techniques, as well as the translation of Mahāyāna, vinaya, and Hinayāna texts.[83] Sogdian monks, despite their Caucasian features, were respected as learned persons in the Chinese intellectual communities as Buddhism was often understood in terms of the philosophical traditions of Taoism. A popular style of intellectual exchange among the Chinese aristocrats, *ch'ing-t'an* was a major tradition of southern Buddhism at that time. In that very Chinese intellectual style, Sogdian and other foreign monks became the central figures.

Sogdian contributors to Chinese Buddhism continued to the seventh and eighth centuries. For example, Chi 基 (Tz'u-en ta-shih 慈恩大師), a descendant of Sogdian ancestry (through his grandfather) from Samarqand and a disciple of Hsüan-tsang,

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[81] Kamata 1983, 156.

[82] Kamata 1983, 152. Victor H. Mair has recently written a detailed critique of this badly misinterpreted term. See his "What is *geyi*, after all?" (forthcoming).

[83] Here Hinayāna refers to texts, not a sect. Theravāda, Nikāya etc. would not be appropriate in this instance, since the reference is to a classification in Chinese Buddhist literture.

became the first patriarch of the Hua-yen school of Buddhism.[84] Moreover, the third patriarch of the same school, Fa-tsang 法蔵 (643-712), also had a Sogdian mother and Indian father.[85] Fa-tsang is a well-known Buddhist philosopher in China and wrote a commentary on Ta-sheng ch'i-hsin lun 大乗起信論, *The Mahāyāna Wakening of Faith*. Last but not least, Pu-k'ung 不空 (705-774), Amoghavajra, who contributed greatly to the introduction of Tantric Buddhism to China, also had a Sogdian mother and an Indian father. He came to Ch'ang-an when he was thirteen with his uncle. Later he went to India and brought back over 500 tantric sūtras including *Vajraśekhara-sūtra* (Chin-kang-ting ching 金剛頂経), which he translated. Pu-k'ung received imperial patronage from three different emperors of the T'ang dynasty and established tantric Buddhism as a protective religion for the Chinese empire. After Pu-k'ung, by the end of the eighth century, the bibliographic records do not indicate any more Sogdian- or K'ang-related monks as Buddhism kept developing internally and extensively among the Chinese people. More and more Chinese monks began to take important roles in the transmission and spread of Buddhism, which contributed to the development and eventual flowering of Chinese Buddhism during the T'ang dynasty. As a whole the most active time for Sogdian monks was the third and fourth centuries especially during the Eastern Jin 晋 and 呉 Wu dynasties, when Buddhism was spreading with the support of aristocratic and imperial families in China.

2.5 Nature of the transmitted Buddhist texts and the demise of Buddhism in Sogdiana

As previously mentioned above, at least three monks, K'ang Chü (187-199), K'ang Meng-hsiang (190-220), and K'ang Seng-yüan (c. 253), who transmitted the Buddhist texts to China in the second and third century, came directly from Sogdiana, if not Samarqand. Let us examine the items of sūtras they brought and translated in China in order to find the nature of Sogdian Buddhism in the early centuries.

<u>K'ang Chü 康巨 (187-199 in China),</u>

[84] Kamata Shigeo, *Chūgoku bukkyō-shi*, 6 vols. (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1999), 6: 639.

[85] Kamata 1999, 664; *Sung Kao-seng chuan* – Taishō vol. 50, no. 2061, 732a.

Wen ti-yü ching 問地獄事經[86]

K'ang Meng-hsiang 康孟詳 (190-220 in China),[87]

Fan-wang ching 梵網經[88]
T'ai-tsu pen-ch'i jui-ying ching 太子本起瑞応經
Ssu-ti ching (Cung a-han) 四諦經 (中阿含), *Pao-fu ching* 報福經
She-li-fu ma-ho mu-chien-lien yu ssu ch'ü ching
舍利弗摩訶目牛建連遊四衢經 (Tseng-i a-han 增一阿含)
Hsing ch'i-hsing ching 興起行經
Hsiu-hsing-pen ching 修行本經,[89] *Chung-pen-ch'i ching* 中本起經[90]

K'ang Seng-yüan 康僧鎧 Samghavarman (c. 253)[91]

Yu-ch'ieh chang-ch'e so-men ching 郁伽長者所問經 (pai-chi pu 寶積部)[92]
Wu-liang-shao ching 無量壽經 (*Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha*)[93]

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[86] *Kao-seng chuan,* vol. 1, Taishō vol. 50, no. 2059, 324c.

[87] Mostly from Hadani Ryotei, *Seiiki no Bukkyō* [Buddhism in the western region] (Kyoto: Hōrin-kan 1913), 225.

[88] *Fan-wang ching* is usually attributed to Kumārajīva (350-409), but it was probably composed around 431-481 C.E. Taishō vol. 24, no. 1484, 997-1009. See Ishida Mizumaro, *Bonmōkyo* (Tokyo: Daizō shuppan, 1971) and Jan Jakob Maria de Groot, *Le Code du Mahāyāna en Chine*, Brahmajāla-sūtra (New York: Garland Publishers, 1980).

[89] *Kao-seng chuan,* vol. 1 – Taishō vol. 50, no. 2059, 324c attributes to K'ang Meng-hsing the translation of the *Hsiu-hsing-pen ching*, but Kamata (1983) believes this sūtra which includes the story of bodily sacrifice to a hungry tiger, can be dated much later to a different unknown author. See Kamata 1983, 72.

[90] *Kao-seng chuan,* vol. 1 – Taishō vol. 50, no. 2059, 324c

[91] Hadani 225-6. Most of K'ang Seng-yüan's translation records were considered not true by the scholars, and some wonder if K'angSeng-yüan is an actual historical person. See Kamata 1982, 183-184.

[92] *Li-tai san-pao chi* – Taishō vol. 49, no. 2034, 56b. Yet *K'ai-yüan shih-chiao lu* vol. 11 開元釈教録, Taishō vol. 55, no. 2154, 585a, denies his authorship.

[93] *Li-tai san-pao chi* – Taishō vol. 49, no. 2034, 56b. There are several possible translators for the *Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha* and K'ang Seng-yüan is one of them. There is no consensus yet among scholars about who was/were the actual translator(s) for the sūtra. Kamata 1982, 183.

Ssu-fen tsa-chieh-mo 四部雜羯磨[94]

K'ang Seng-hui 康僧會 (222-280- born in China)[95]

Liu-tu chi ching 六度集經,[96] *Wu ching* 吳經[97]

The nature of the sūtras transmitted from the early Sogdian monks from Sogdiana indicates that Mahāyāna sūtras belong mainly to the Fang-teng-pu 方等部[98] and Hīnayāna texts belong to the A-han pu 阿含部 (the Āgama section) that existed in Sogdiana.[99] Others include texts belonging to the Māhayāna *Prajñāpāramītā* group and the vinayas of the Dharmaguptaka (T'an-wu-te pu 曇無德部). This combination of the types of Buddhist sūtras is comparable to those of Buddhist sūtras spread in Kushana (Ta Yüeh-chih) and Parthia (An-hsi). There must have been extensive religious and cultural interactions between Sogdiana, Bactria, Parthia, and Kushana at that time, under the influence of Northwestern India.

No other historical circumstances of Sogdian Buddhism are available, but we know that one of the major blows to Sogdian Buddhism was the invasion of the Hephthalites in the mid-fifth century. As mentioned before, the Hephthalites were another Central Asian, possibly Iranian, nomadic people, who conquered Bactria and northwestern India, establishing their capital in Khiva (in present-day Uzbekistan) until they were defeated by

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[94] *K'ai-yüan shih-chiao lu*, Taishō 55, no. 2154, 486c-487a.

[95] Kamata 1982, 220-223. K'ang Seng-hui was born in China so his translated texts might not necessarily reflect Buddhist texts transmitted from Sogdiana. *Ch'u san-tsang chi chi* credited about six texts to K'ang Seng-huibut mostly later additions or parts of *Liu-to-chi ching.*

[96] Taishō vol. 3, no. 152, 1-52.

[97] This text is not extant but *Li-tai san-pao chi* describes that *Wu ching* corresponds to 小本般若 *Hsiao-pen po-je* ching [*Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramītā sūtra*-Perfection of Wisdom sūtra in 8000 lines].

[98] The Fang-teng pu [Skt. Vaipulya] section of the Tripitaka contains certain Mahāyāna sūtras other than the *Prajñāpāramītā sūtra*, *Lotus Sūtra*, and the *Parinirvāṇa sūtra* based on Chih-i′s classification.

[99] Hadani 228.

the T'u-chüeh and Sasanian army in 567. Yet Buddhism did not die out under the Hephthalites in Sogdiana or Bactria since the *Wei-shu* [100] states that there were many golden temples and pagodas shining in the capital of Bactria.[101] In Sogdiana, the people built ancestral chapels in June and offered books of foreign writing (*hu-shu* 胡書 – presumably Sanskrit texts) to the Buddha, according to the *Wei-shu*.[102] Both the *Sui-shu* and the *Ch'ien T'ang-shu* also provide brief notes on the existence of Buddhism in K'ang country.[103] Yet most historical sources tend to stress Zoroastrianism among the Sogdians.

According to the *T'ang-shu,*[104] the people in K'ang kuo respected the dharma of the Buddha but also enshrined Zoroastrian gods. There is some evidence to support the spread of Zoroastrianism in *Tu shih T'ung-tien* 杜氏通典[105] regarding the funeral practice of exposure of the dead. During the funeral and memorial services, the mourners tore their clothes and cried loudly, and the bones of the dead were left in the field for seven days. In another description of Zoroastrian funerals, dogs, which were reared for this purpose, consumed the corpse, after which the remaining bones were retrieved by the relatives for burial. The *Ta tz'u-en ssu san-tsang fa-shih chuan* 大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 vol. 2 [The Life of Hsüan-tsang], ca. 650 also states that the king and the people of Samarqand did not believe in Buddhism but practiced Zoroastrianism.[106] According to this biography, there were two Buddhist temples in Samarqand but the local inhabitants, presumably of Zoroastrian faith, burned the monks who came to the temples. By this

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[100] *Wei-shu,* 2278-9.

[101] Hadani 229.

[102] *Wei-shu,* 2281.

[103] *Sui-shu,* 1849, and *Ch'ien T'ang-shu,* 5310.

[104] *T'ang-shu,* 6244.

[105] *T'ung-tien,* vol. 193; Hadani 230.

[106] Taishō vol. 50, no. 2053, 227c.

time, in the seventh century, Zoroastrianism dominated in Sogdiana, and the early Sogdian Buddhism had almost died out by the time of Hsüan-tsang's visit.

According to the *Hsi-yü chi* (Records of Western Regions), Hsüan-tsang managed to convert the king and many people of different classes in Samarqand to Buddhism. He held a great dharma ceremony and arranged to establish the resident monks in the temple.[107] Nevertheless, Hsüan-tsang's attempt to revive Buddhism there was short-lived, and Buddhism disappeared soon after he left. By the beginning of the eighth century, Hui-ch'ao 慧超 reported that the people in Sogdian kingdoms practiced Zoroastrianism and did not know Buddhism at all.[108] Yet he found one Buddhist temple in K'ang kuo (Samarqand), where one monk resided. This temple might have been the remnant of Hsüan-tsang's propagation efforts.

2.6 Sogdian Buddhist texts

A considerable number of Sogdian texts were discovered in East Turkestan, although only a few of them are complete, as many of them are in fragmentary condition. These Sogdian texts vary in content and include religious documents such as Buddhist, Manichean, and Assyrian Christian texts, as well as secular documents, e.g. trade notes and contracts, as previously mentioned. Sogdian Buddhist texts were discovered mainly in Turfan and Tun-huang on the northern trade route around the Tarim Basin. Most of the Sogdian manuscripts found in Tun-huang and one-third of the Sogdian Turfan fragments are Buddhist. The rest are Manichean and Christian texts.[109] Accordingly, over all, Buddhist materials occupy a major part of the extant Sogdian manuscripts. Small quantities of Sogdian Buddhist texts were also found in Kucha, Khotan, and Shorchuk, where Sogdian colonies existed. It is notable that there were no Sogdian

[107] Kamata 1994, 5: 275; Taishō vol. 50, no.2053, 227c.

[108] *Wang wu T'ien-chu kuo chuan* 往五天竺国傳. Taishō vol. 51, no. 2089-1, 978b.

[109] Yoshida Yutaka, "Sogodo-go butten kaisetsu," *Nairiku ajia gengo no kenkyū* VII (1991): 95.

Buddhist texts found in Sogdiana proper despite the fact that Hsüan-tsang mentioned some Buddhist temples in Samarqand and Semirechie during the seventh century.

No dating is available for these Sogdian texts except one, the *Sūtra of the Condemnation of Intoxicating Drink*, which is dated Kai-yüan 16 – the 16th year of the Chinese dynastic period Kai-yüan (728 C.E.).[110] Some Chinese prototypes of the Sogdian texts, especially Tantric *dhāraṇī* texts, were written in or after the latter half of the eighth century,[111] thus these texts must have been translated into Sogdian somewhat later than that date. A Sogdian text regarding the 108 names of the Kuan-yin bodhisattva,[112] for example, can be dated after the tenth century since the Chinese texts of similar titles were translated into Chinese from Indian texts during the time of the Northern Sung dynasty (960-1100 C.E.). According to Sundermann some of the paper used for the Sogdian texts can be dated to the seventh to eighth centuries, but the recycled papers, e.g., Sogdian texts written on the back of Chinese texts, can be dated as late as the ninth to the tenth century, although no systematic studies have been done on dating papers.[113] Another key for dating is that of the Tibetan writing mixed with Sogdian texts, such as the *Śuka sūtra,* which can be dated to around the time of the Tibetan occupation of Tun-huang, some time between 781 and 848 C.E. Thus most of the evidence, including the type of orthography of the Sogdian script, indicates that the peak period of the Sogdian Buddhist literature was from the latter half of the seventh to the first half of

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[110] Reichelt 1932, 70. This manuscript is numbered as Stein Or. 8212 (191) 1. 34.

[111] E.g., *Amoghapāśamantrahṛdaya sūtra* [tr. into Chinese by Pu-k'ung (Amogavajra), 746-771 in China]. As mentioned before, Pu-k'ung's mother was Sogdian, father Indian.

[112] Several similar titles exist in the Chinese tripitaka, e.g., *Kuan tzu-tsai p'u-sa pai-pa ming ching* 觀自在菩薩百八名經 (Taishō vol. 20, no. 1054), which was translated into Chinese from an Indian prototype in 985 C. E. by T'ien Hsi-tsai. Another similar title, *Kuan tzu-tsai p'u-sa fan-tsan* 觀自在菩薩梵讚 (Taishō vol. 20, no. 1055) was also translated by Fa-hsien 法顯 (probably Fa-t'ien 法天) in 990. See Lewis Lancaster, *The Korean Buddhist Canon* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 399.

[113] Yoshida 1991, 102.

the eighth century.[114] Some Buddhist texts, especially Tantric and *dhāraṇī* texts, continued to be translated into Sogdian through the ninth and tenth centuries in Tun-huang. This period between the seventh and the tenth century coincides with the height of Sogdian trade activities and the spread of Sogdian colonies in China.

The Sogdian script used for the Buddhist texts is called "sūtra style" or "Samarqand type," which was created based on the Aramaic alphabet. Mark Dresden notes that Sogdian script was generally used by the fourth century and fully developed by the eighth century.[115] The Uighurs, nomadic Turks originating from Mongolia, adopted and used this Sogdian script in a modified form for Buddhist texts as well as trade contracts and other secular documents from the eighth to the fourteenth century. The most recent Uighur Buddhist text written in the script is dated to the thirteenth century. The Mongols also adopted this Sogdian script from the Uighurs and continued to use it until modern times before their adoption of Cyrillic script.

At the end of the nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century, European explorers, namely Paul Pelliot, Aurel Stein, and Sergei F. Oldenburg, obtained many Buddhist Sogdian manuscripts near the oasis of Tun-huang.[116] In the Turfan region, German explorers Albert Grünwedel and Albert von Le Coq also found Sogdian Buddhist texts.[117] These manuscripts were sent to Europe and studied by many scholars as soon as they arrived in the respective academic institutions. Among the Pelliot collections, Robert Gauthiot, a pioneer of Sogdian studies, translated and published regarding two complete texts: The *Dīrghanakha sūtra* [Sūtra of the questions of the religious long-

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[114] David A. Utz, *A Survey of Buddhist Sogdian Studies*, Bibliographia Philologica Buddhica Series Minor III (Tokyo: The Reiyukai Library, 1978), 8.

[115] Dresden 1218. According to Dresden, Manichean Sogdians used a variety of the Semitic Palmyrene script, which was originally adopted by Mani, and the Syriac Estangelo script was used for the Sogdian Christian texts.

[116] Utz 1978, 1.

[117] Albert Grünwedel, *Bericht über archäologische Arbeiten in Idikutschari und Umgebung im Winter 1902-03* (Munich: Abhandlungen der königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1906); Albert von LeCoq, *Auf Hellas Spuren in Ost-turkistan* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1926, rpt. Graz, 1974).

nailed ones] in 1911 and *Vessantara jātaka* [The rebirth story of the Buddha as Prince Sudāśan] – the longest text known in Sogdian – in 1912.[118] Gauthiot's translation of the *Sūtra of the Causes and Effects of Good and Evil (Actions),* one of the larger texts, in which the Buddha expounds on karmic retributions (explaining future existence according to past deeds) was also posthumously published in 1920-28 after the death of Gauthiot during the First World War. These early translations had significant value in facilitating the studies of Sogdian Buddhist texts, but subsequent reviews were needed as the knowledge of the Sogdian language advanced in academia. In 1940, E. Benveniste, continuing Gauthiot's grammatical studies, re-edited the *Dīrghanakha sūtra* and the *Vessantara jātaka*, and later completed the publication of all of the Sogdian materials in the Pelliot Collection.[119] Benveniste's translations of the *Vessantara jātaka* and the *Sūtra of the Causes and Effects* were reviewed and re-edited again later by David N. MacKenzie, Ilya Gershevitch, Werner Sundermann, and others.[120] The Stein and Oldenburg collections were also studied and translated by many European scholars such as Friedrich W. K. Müller, F. Rosenberg, and Hans Reichelt from the beginning of the twentieth century.[121] The texts studied were the *Vessantara jātaka*, and fragments of the

[118] The Pali name of Prince Sudāśan is Vessantara, who is renounced for his generosity. Robert Gauthiot, "Une version sogdiennne du Vessantara Jātaka." *Journal Asiatique* 19: (1912).

[119] Utz 1978, 2.

[120] David N. MacKenzie, The *Sūtra of the Causes and Effects of Actions* in Sogdian," London Oriental Series, 22 (London: Oxford University Press, 1970); Ilya Gershevitch, "On the Sogdian Vessantara Jātaka," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (1942): 97-101; Werner Sundermann, "Review of The *Sūtra of the Causes and Effects of Actions* in Sogdian," by David N. MacKenzie," *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 69 (1974, 11/12): 581-585.

[121] Friedrich W. K. Müller, "Reste einer soghdischen Übersetzung des Padmacintāmaṇidhāraṇī-sūtra," *Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, phil.-hist. K1. (1926); F. Rosenberg, "Deux fragments sogdiens bouddhisques du Ts'ien-fo-tong de Touen-houang," *Izvestiia AN* (1918): 817-42, (1920): 399-422, 455-74; Reichelt 1928 and 1931.

Nīlakaṇṭha dhāraṇī, Padmacintāmaṇi dhāraṇī, and others.[122] Further reviews and new translations continued to be published by Rosenberg, Benveniste, and much later by Mackenzie.[123] Sims-Williams published most of the unpublished Sogdian texts in the Stein collection. Sogdian texts discovered in the Turfan region by German explorers were commended to the Oriental Commission, which was a part of Königlich Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften in 1912. German Sogdian Buddhist materials were studied by Müller, Benveniste, O. Hansen, and others.[124] Utz also identified a considerable quantity of the *Mahāparinirvāna sūtra* (78 lines in total) among the unpublished German Turfan texts.[125]

[122] La Vallée Poussin-Gauthiot, "Fragment final de la *Nīlakaṇṭhadhāraṇī* en Brāhmī et en transcription sogdienne," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (1912): 629-45. This *dhāraṇī* was written in Brāhmī script with Sogdian transcription between lines. As for Padmacintāmaṇi dhāraṇī, see Müller 1926 (footnote 9).

[123] See Utz 1978, 4-6; F. Rosenberg, "Review of *Die soghdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen museums*, I. Teil: *Die buddhistischen Texte*, by Hans Reichelt," *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* (1929), 3: 194-201; Émile Benvenisté, "Notes on Manuscript Remains in Sogdian," in *Innermost Asia*, vol. 2, Appendix H, p. 1031, by Sir Aurel Stein (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928); Émile Benvenisté, "Notes sogdiennes," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies* 9 (1938): 495-519; David N. Mackenzie, *The Buddhist Sogdian Texts of the British Library*, Acta Iranica 10 (Téhéran-Liège: Édition Bibliothèque Pahlavi, 1976).

[124] Friedrich W. K. Müller and W. Lentz, "Sogdische Texte II," *Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, phil.-hist. K1. (1934): 504-607; Émile Benvenisté, "Notes parthes et sogdiennes," *Journal Asiatique* 228: 193-239; O. Hansen, "Die buddhistische und christliche literatur," in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, I. Abt., IV. Bd., 2. Abschn., Lfg. 1: *Iranistik: Literatur*, pp. 77-99, edited by B. Spuler (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968).

[125] Utz 1978, 6.

Table 2: Sogdian Buddhist texts[126]

(T = Taishō no.; Tun-huang/Turfan – place of discovery)

A. Jātaka and Avadāna

Vessantara jātaka (Jinaputrārthasiddasūtra)	*T'ai-tzu hsü-ta-na ching* 太子須大拏經	Tun-huang	T171
Daśakarmapatha-avadānamāla [Garland of avadāna regarding the ten actions]		Turfan	
An unidentified avadāna regarding two brothers of good and evil qualities (Kalyāṇaṃkara and Pāpaṃkara)		Turfan	

B. Mahāyāna texts and the related commentaries

Vajracchedikāprajñāpāramitā sūtra	*Chin-kang po-je ching* 金剛般若經	Tun-huang & Turfan	T235
Vajracchedikāprajñā śāstra (Sog. βžyrn'y pr'tny' wyδβ'γ)	Ching-kang po-je ching lun 金剛般若經論	Turfan	T236
Pañcaviṁśatisāhasrikāprajñāpāramītā sūtra	*Mo-ho po-je po-lo-mi ching* 摩訶般若波羅密經	Turfan	T223
Suvarnaprabhāsottama sūtra	*Ching-kuang-ming tsui-sheng-wang ching* 金光明最勝王經	Turfan	T665
Saṅghāṭīsūtradharmaparyāya sūtra	*Seng-ch'ieh-cha ching* **僧伽吒經**	Turfan	T423
Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra	*Ta-pan nieh-p'an ching* 大般涅槃經	Turfan	T374
Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa	*Wei-mo ching* 維摩經	Tun-huang & Turfan	T475
Avataṃsaka sūtra	*Hua-yen ching* 華嚴經	Turfan	T279
Laṅkāvatāra sūtra[127]	*Leng-ch'ieh a-pa-to-lo pao ching* 楞伽阿跋多羅宝經	Tun-huang	T670

[126] Adopted and modified from Yoshida 1991, 104-115, and Utz 1978, 9-11.

[127] This is a part of the lengthy text on dietary restrictions regarding alcohol, garlic, and onions.

Buddhadhyānasamādhisāgara sūtra	*Kuan-fo san-mei-hai ching* 観仏三昧海經	Tun-huang	T643
Brahmaviśeṣacintīparipṛcchā sūtra	*Ssu-i fan-t'ien so-wen ching* 思益梵天所問經	Shorchuk	T586

C. Tantric texts and dhāraṇī

Amoghapāśamantrahṛdaya sūtra	*Pu-k'ung chüan-so shen-chou hsin-ching* 不空絹索神呪心經	Tun-huang	T1094
Padmacintāmaṇī sūtra	*Kuan-shih-yin p'u-sa ju-i lun t'o-lo-ni shen-chou ching* 観世音菩薩秘密蔵如意論陀羅尼神呪經	Tun-huang	T1082
	Kuan-tzu-tsai p'u-sa ju-i lun nien-sung i-kuei 観自在菩薩如意論念誦儀軌	Tun-huang	T1085
Sūtra of the 108 names of Āryāvalokiteśvara	*Kuan-tzu-tsai p'u-sa pai-pa-ming tsan* 観自在菩薩百八名讃(擬)	Tun-huang	
Nīlakaṇṭha*dhāraṇī* (or Nīlakaṇṭha-avalokiteśvara *dhāraṇī* = T1111)	Ch'ien-shou ch'ien-yen kuan-tsu-tsai p'u-sa kuang-ta yüan-man wu-ai ta-pei-hsin t'o-lo-ni pen 千手千眼観自在菩薩広大円満無礙大悲心陀羅尼本	Tun-huang	T1061
	Fo-shuo ti-tsang p'u-sa t'o-lo-ni ching 佛説地蔵菩薩陀羅尼經	Tun-huang	T1159

D. Other Mahāyāna texts

Dīrghanakhaparivrājakaparipṛcchā sūtra	*Ch'ang-chao fan-chih ch'ing-wen ching* 長爪梵志請問經	Tun-huang	T584
Bhaiṣajyaguru vaiḍūryaprabhāsa pūrvpra ṇidhāna viśeṣavistara sūtra	*Yao-shih liu-li-kuang ju-lai pen-yüan kung-te ching* 藥師流璃光如来本願功徳經	Tun-huang	T450
Aṅgulimālīya sūtra	*Yang-chüeh mo-lo ching* 央掘魔羅經	Tun-huang	T120
	Fo-shuo tsui-pao ch'ing-chung ching 佛説犯戒罪報軽重經	Turfan	T1467

	Fo-shuo shih-fei-shih ching 佛説時非時經	Turfan	T794
Śuka sūtra	*Ying-wu ching* 鸚鵡經	Tun-huang	T79
	Fo-shuo kuan-ting ch'i-wan erh-ch'ien shen-wang-hu pi-ch'iu chou-ching 佛説灌頂七万二千神王護比丘呪經	Turfan	T1331

E. Apocryphal Texts

Sūtra of the causes and effects of good and evil (actions)	*Fo-shuo shan-o yin-kuo ching* 佛説善悪因果經	Tun-huang	T2881
Dhūta sūtra [Purification (of sin) sūtra]	a last portion of the extant text *Fo wei hsin wang p'u-sa shuo t'ou-t'o ching* 佛為心王菩薩説投陀經	Tun-huang	T2886
	Fa-wang ching 法王經	Tun-huang & Turfan	T2883
	Chiu-ching ta-pei ching 究竟大悲經	Tun-huang	T2880
	Ta-fang-kuang hua-yen shih-o ching 大方広華厳十悪經	Tun-huang	T2875
	Shou-pa chai-chieh i 受八斎戒儀	Tun-huang	
Unidentified text regarding emptiness		Tun-huang	

F. Other unidentified texts

Prasenajit fragment[128]		Turfan	
Fighting between Upaka ('wp'k' = Upakamaṇḍīkaputta) and the Buddha (close to Aṅguttara nikāya IV 188)			
Sūtra of the condemnation of intoxicating drink (Sogdian title = mstk'r'k cš'nt prxwn pwstk 'uw prw'rt)		Tun-huang	
Sūtra of the condemnation of meat		Tun-huang	

[128] This fragment contains conversations of the Buddha with King Prasenajit. concerning *cakravartin*.

P 9, 10, 11 – Texts concerning "no difference between good and evil"		Tun-huang	
P 14, 15, 30 – A collection of texts regarding Avalokiteśvara with a talismatic wheel		Tun-huang	
P 20 – A text regarding medicine for body and mind		Tun-huang	
P 21 (3 fragments) regarding eating meat and drinking... receiving the precepts (śīla) from Ānanda		Tun-huang	
P 22 – A tantric text regarding astronomy and bad signs indicated by the planets		Tun-huang	
T i a - A collection of short sūtras – translated from Kuchean: Sunderman (1989, 16) translated the title as Saṃjñādharmāḥ-yoga		Tun-huang	

2.6.1 The prototype of the Sogdian Buddhist texts?

Extant Sogdian Buddhist texts represent several major Mahāyāna sūtras and tantric *dhāraṇī* texts. They also include a few jātaka and avadāna, some short Mahāyāna texts, and apocryphal texts. Some of the titles reflect the popular Chinese Buddhist genre of Pien-wen found amoung Tun-huang manuscripts. Judging from the content of the extant texts, the Sogdian Buddhist literature does not represent major philosophical doctrine but more the daily practice aspects of Buddhism, e.g., prohibition of drinking or certain food, chanting of dhāraṇī, and the workings of karma for determining the fate of all living beings. From the above list, it seems evident that most of the Sogdian Buddhist texts are translations from Chinese texts.[129] Some Sogdian texts match exactly with the corresponding Chinese parts word for word, or at least they are similar in content.[130] Utz noted that this kind of rigorously faithful translation from Chinese occasionally brought

[129] Utz 1978, 7.

[130] MacKenzie 1976, 13-27.

disastrous results.[131] Some translation is so faithful that the Sogdian texts sometimes reflect the word usage and styles peculiar to Chinese language and texts. Dresden maintains that this is often typical in the translation literature of religious texts: i.e., a translator's efforts to be faithful to the original religious texts "force him to strain and twist the natural expressive potential of the Sogdian language, ... made him stay too close to the idiom of the original, and finally it has led him to misunderstanding or misinterpretation."[132] For example, the Vimalakīrti sūtra in Sogdian is a very exact translation of the Chinese version, and MacKenzie found that the Sogdian texts were almost unintelligible without referring to the Chinese text.[133] Sundermann also pointed out that *Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra* in Sogdian contains some parts that have been translated from Chinese characters too literally without referring to the Buddhist technical meaning of the word. For example, *ti* 地 refers to "stage" (bhūmi) in Buddhist terminology, but a Sogdian translator put it literally as z'yh "earth."[134] Moreover, he claimed that the Sogdians did not usually recognize the underlying Chinese Buddhist technical terms. For instance, *tsung-ch'ih* 総持 (literally, all-embracing) means technically *dhāraṇī* in Chinese Buddhism, but the Sogdians translated it into 'nw'štkw δ'r'y, "all-hold."[135] When Sogdians understood the Chinese technical terms, they tended to translate the terms into Indian technical terms or into Sogdian words. Thus Sundermann summed up Sogdian understanding of Chinese Buddhist texts as "the Sogdian translation is often not very exact but hardly ever totally wrong." [136]

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[131] David Utz, "India and Sogdiana," in Peter Gaeffke and David Utz ed. *The Countries of South Asia: Boundaries, Extensions, and Interrelations* (Philadelphia: Dept. of South Asia Regional Studies, University of Pennsylvania, 1988), 32.

[132] Dresden 1221.

[133] MacKenzie 1976, 18-31.

[134] Werner Sundermann, "A Sogdian Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvaṇa Sūtra Manuscript," presented in the conference titled "Buddhism Across Boundaries: The Sources of Chinese Buddhism," Jan 3-6, 1993, Hsi Lai University.

[135] Utz 1988, 32.

[136] Sunderman 1993, 8.

Are Sogdian Buddhist texts translated from Chinese in their entirety? In order to see the similarities and differences, I compared the S*ūtra of Causes and Effects* with the Chinese version (Taishō vol. 85, no. 2881), word for word. In this comparison I noted at least 45 differences between Sogdian and Chinese texts – in the usages of words, the content and order of sentences, and the style of the sūtra. For example, unlike the Chinese sūtra, both the Sogdian and Uighur versions of the sūtra start and end with an homage to the *triratna* (three jewels) – "namo Buddha, namo dharma, namo saṅgha."

Table 3: Some Sogdian Buddhist technical terms in *Sūtra of Causes and Effects*

Sanskrit (English)	Tokharian B	Sogdian	Chinese	Parthian
ratna (jewel/treasure)		rtny	*pao* 寶	rdn
vihāra (temple)		βrγ'(')r	*ssu* 寺	
dānapati (donar)		δ'p't	*t'an-yüeh* 壇越	
saṃghārāma (monastery)		snkr'my	*seng-lan* 僧藍	
śramaṇa (monk)	ṣamāne	šmn'n'	*seng* 僧	šmn
Maitreya		mytr'k	Mi-le 弥勒	mytry
kalpa		kδp'	*chieh* 劫	
preta	prete	pr'yt	*o-kuei* 餓鬼	
bodhisattva	bodhisatve	pwtystβ	*p'u-sa* 菩薩	bwdysdf
Dhyāna		δy'ny	*ch'an* 禅	
Jaṃbudvīpa		čáṃbuδīβ fčaṃbaδ	(prakrit: jaṃbudīva-)	

The above examples of Sogdian Buddhist words clearly show that Sogdians had their own Buddhist technical terms and proper nouns, which were derived from an Indic language (Sanskrit/Prakrit) or Parthian. In addition to these loan words, we know that Sogdian translators knew some Sanskrit, as they transcribed *dhāraṇī* texts with rhymes in Sogdian script (e.g., *Kuan-tzu-tsai p'u-sa i-pai-pa-ming tsan* and *Amoghapāśamantrahṛdaya sūtra).*[137] As Utz noted, almost all of the Buddhist Sanskrit textual materials known to the Sogdian Buddhists were Sanskrit invocations, mantras, and *dhāraṇī* themselves, or the texts related to them.[138] These Sanskrit words were

[137] Yoshida 1991, 98.

[138] Utz 1988, 30.

chanted and memorized, thus it does not mean that the Sogdian Buddhist knew Sanskrit well. There are some exceptions to the above. Gauthiot noted two passages of the Sogdian recension of the Avalokiteśvarasyanāmaṣṭaśataka stotra as the Sanskrit redactions of two verses from the Pāli Dharmapada as well as in the Central Asian Sanskrit text of the Udānavarga.[139] There are some other hints that Sogdians were at ease with Sanskrit. *The Sūtra for the Condemnation of Intoxicating Drink* has a colophon at the end of the text, stating that the sūtra was translated from an Indian language. Yet MacKenzie suggests that it was most likely to have been translated from Chinese, and he assumes the colophon mentions the Indian prototype in order to increase its authenticity as a Buddhist text.[140] One of MacKenzie's arguments for the Chinese prototype is based on the text's inclusion of the Sogdian word for kleśa- (carnal desire), wtxy sryβt'm. Nevertheless Yoshida argues that the meaning of the Sogdian words is not known and that it does not seem to be a transcription or translation of the Chinese word *fan-nau* 煩悩.[141] Accordingly Yoshida claims that MacKenzie's argument is not well-founded and that the sūtra, indeed, might have been translated from an Indic text.

Another Sogdian text, which Yoshida suspects is Indic in origin, is the *Amoghapāśamantrahṛdaya sūtra*. Yoshida believes that no Chinese versions found in the Taishō Tripitaka match exactly with the Sogdian version although the closest is *Pu-k'ung lo-so chou hsin ching* 不空羅索呪心經 (Taishō vol. 20, no. 1095), which was translated by Bodhiruci [P'u-ti-liu-chih 菩提流志]. Moreover, some parts of the Sogdian text match best with the Sanskrit version and *Pu-k'ung lo-so chou ching* 不空羅索呪経 (Taishō vol. 20, no. 1093). Thus there is no single Chinese text which corresponds exactly with the Sogdian text, and the closeness to the Sanskrit version suggests that it could have been translated from a Sanskrit text. We know Sogdians were good at Chinese, but we are scarcely convinced that they were familiar with Sanskrit as well. At

[139] Robert Gauthiot, "De l'alphabet sogdien," *Journal asiatique* 17 (1911): 93-95; Utz 1988, 31.

[140] MacKenzie 1976, 7.

[141] Yoshida 1991, 113.

least, as Yoshida notes, the Sogdian translator of the text must have been looking at the Sanskrit original for the Sogdian transcription of the word βyr'wkt'yn (Skt. vilokitāyāmṃ) in the 26th line of the text and the part of dhāraṇī: rkš' p'βtw kry'n 'sy' pykšw [Skt: rakṣā bhavatu kalyāṇasya bhikṣoḥ].[142]

Furthermore, there are at least two Sogdian sūtras which might have been translated from Tokharian B (Kuchean) texts. One of them is the text numbered as T i a, an unidentified collection of short sūtras with a colophon which states that it was translated from Kuchean.[143] The other one is *Daśakarmapatha-avad˝nam˝la* [Garland of *avad˝na* regarding the ten actions], which is very likely to have been translated from Tokharian B, as the Uighur version of the same text indicates its Tokharian origin in the colophon.[144] Yoshida assumes that these texts indicate that Sogdian Buddhists were in touch with Tokharian Buddhists in Kucha. This is also supported by the fact that some Sogdian graffiti were discovered in the Kizil caves (Cave 220 and Cave 7 in Kumtura).[145] Sogdians inhabited the Tokharian region, at Kucha and the sites of Douldour aqour and Tumshuq near Kucha, according to Etsuko Kageyama's study.[146] She mentions that two fragmentary Sogdian texts were discovered in Douldour-aqour[147] and that some Sogdian

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[142] Yoshida 1991, 99-100.

[143] Walter B. Henning, *Sogdica* (London: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1940), 59-62.

[144] Walter B. Henning, "The Name of the Tokharian Language," *Asia Major* 1 (1949), 160 n2; Yoshida 1991, 98.

[145] Yoshida Yutaka, "Shinkyō uiguru jichi-ku shinshutsu sogudo-go shiryō," [Newly discovered Sogdian texts in Hsin-chiang (Xinjiang)] *Nairiku Ajia gengo no kenkyū* VI (1990, 1991): 68-73. From his subsequent findings on Turkicized Sogdian graffiti in the cave of Kumtara near Kucha, Yoshida suspected that they might have been written by Uighurs, who used Sogdian language.

[146] Kageyama Etsuko, "Sogdians in Kucha, A Study from Archaeological and Iconographical Material," in the *Proceedings of the Sogdians in China Conference (Les Sogdiens en Chine)* 粟特人在中国, April 23-25 (Peking 2004), 208-218.

[147] Pelliot Sogdian 271 and Pelliot chinois D.A. 220 are two Sogdian texts.

names were cited in the Chinese texts found in the same region.[148] There is other archaeological evidence to show the close contact between the Tokharians and Sogdians. For example, Pelliot discovered a Sogdian urn in a building near the Buddhist temple in Tumshuq, and a Sogdian ossuary was also excavated in 1958 in Kucha.[149] Furthermore, Kageyama notes that Sogdian merchants were depicted in the jātaka scenes in a Kizil cave with distinctive white cap and clothes. These pieces of evidence suggest that Sogdians were inhabiting the region of Buddhist Tokharian speakers and that they might have been exposed to and learned Tokharian Buddhism, which was based mainly on Hīnayāna texts, as Hsüan-tsang mentions in his book.

2.7 Relationship between Buddhist and Manichean texts

Manichaeism is a religion whose beliefs and practices derive from Gnostic religions (such as Mandeanism), the ancient Iranian religion of Zoroastrianism, Nestorian Christianity, and Buddhism. Mani (215-274) and his church leaders deliberately incorporated various elements from these different religions, which Mani encountered. Examples of such borrowings include the dualism of light and darkness from Zoroastrianism, Jesus as a savior from Christianity, Mani as a Buddha, and so on. This syncretic approach does not mean Mani, the founder, did not have ideas of his own, but he did not hesitate to use the terms, concepts, and parables existing in these religions didactically in order to propagate his teaching. Mani lived in the land of Sasanian Iran, where Zoroastrianism flourished, but Nestorian Christianity was also spreading from the west and Buddhism from the east in the third century C.E. Mani actually undertook a missionary journey to India and propagated his teaching in the northwestern part of India. In Baluchistan (in present-day Pakistan), he met a local ruler of Tūrān and managed to convert him and his nobility through preaching and performing the miracle of appearing in the air. This king of Tūrān was very impressed by Mani, saying "Of all these things

[148] Rong Xinjiang, "Study on the Colonies of Sogdian Immigrants in Chinese Turkestan" (in Chinese) in his *Chung-ku Chung-kuo yü wai-lai wen-ming* [Medieval China and foreign civilization] (Peking: Hsin-chih-shih san-lien shu-tien, 2001), 32-34.

[149] Kageyama 221-222; *Toumchouq*, Mission Paul Pelliot archéologiques, (Paris: Lib. Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1964), 62, 331, pl. 111, fig. 302.

you are the greatest and brightest for, in truth, you are yourself the Buddha."[150] Thus Mani was considered as a Buddha or even superior to the Buddha in his wisdom and power.

The early cultural interactions between Buddhism and Manichaeism occurred mostly in the eastern part of the Parthian state, bordering the Kushan empire, where Buddhism flourished. As a part of his extensive missionary activities, Mani appointed Mar Ammo as his apostle to the East. Mar Ammo actively spread Manichaeism and successfully converted "numerous kings, rulers, noblemen, queens, court ladies, princes and princesses..." in India and the East according to the *Missionary History*.[151] One of the places he successfully proselytized was Merv in present-day Turkmenistan, which became one of the main centers of the Manichean church in the east. Merv is also known as the westernmost city to which Buddhism was spread, according to the archaeological findings of a Buddha's head and a Buddhist stūpa; at the same time the city was the stronghold of both Manichaeism and Nestorian Christianity. Mar Ammo's missionary activities resulted in the rise of an eastern Manichean sect called "Dinawariyya," meaning "giver of religion" in Middle Persian.[152] This eastern Manichean group, in contrast with the western church, extensively absorbed and utilized Buddhist concepts and terms. It was in the east, where Manichean monasteries (mānistāns) were first built, possibly due to the influence from Buddhist monasteries. Western Manicheans later adopted this monastic system. An Old Turkic text of the tenth century describes a list of the daily provisions for the elects in a Manichean monastery – such as 30 melons.[153] Melons along

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[150] Werner Sundermann, *Mittleliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts* (Berliner Turfantexte XI) (Berlin:Akademie-Verlag, 1981), 21.

[151] Walter B. Henning, "Materialien zur Geschichte des Manichäismus," in *Selected Papers* (Téhéran: Bibliothèque Pahlavi; Leiden: Diffusion Brill, 1977), 285.

[152] Henning 1977, 202, footnote 1; Sundermann 1974, 12-128, 131.

[153] Peter Zieme, "Ein uigurischer Text über die Wirtschaft manichäischer Klöster im uigurischen Reich," in Louis Ligeti, ed., *Researches in Altaic Languages: Papers Read at the 14th Meeting of the PIAC Held in Szeged, August 22-28, 1971* (Budapest: 1975), 332, 334, 336.

with cucumber were the main diet of the Manicheans, in order to release the "light" particles by eating them.

2.7.1 Buddhist terms in Manichean Sogdian

As noted above, from the third to the eighth century, both Manichaeism and Buddhism existed side by side in Merv and the Parthian capital of Balkha.[154] Buddhist terms began to be used in Parthian Manichean texts as early as the third century, according to Sims-Williams.[155] There are about ten Indian words such as *krm* (karma), *mrn* (death), *nrẖ* (naraka: hell), and *rdn* (ratona: jewel), which appeared in the early Manichean Parthian texts of the third century.[156] Therefore, some of the Sogdian Indian words in Manichean texts derived from a Parthian origin. There are some differences in spelling between Manichean Sogdian and Buddhist Sogdian Indian terms for the same word (see the chart below). This is due to the fact that some Indian words in Sogdian Manichean texts had older roots than Buddhist Sogdian words. Sims-Williams noted that Sogdian Manichean texts from Turfan, which are dated much later, to around the eighth century, include Indian loan words both from early Parthian Manichean texts and from later Buddhist Sogdian texts.[157] These older Indian loan words reflect northwestern Prakrit forms (via Parthian), namely Gāndhārī, but the more recent Indian vocabulary in Sogdian texts shows more of the Buddhist Sanskrit forms.[158] This intriguing study illustrates that Parthian Manichean texts, which include some Indian vocabulary, were

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[154] Ronald E. Emmerick, "Buddhism among Iranian People" in Eshan Yarsharter, ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 960.

[155] Nicholas Sims-Williams, "Indian Elements in Parthian and Sogdian" in *Sprachen des Buddhismus in Zentralasien,* 1983, 132. According to Sims-Williams, "Parthian is a Western Iranian language and the official language of Arsacid empire (247 B.C.E. – 226 C.E.)" and "it became the principal liturgical language of the Manichean church in Central Asia" (Sims-Williams 134).

[156] Sims-Williams 1983, 133.

[157] Sims-Williams 1983, 135.

[158] Sims-Williams 1983, 135.

transmitted to Sogdiana at first. And then, by the sixth century, as the Sogdians started to use their own language to translate the religious texts, some Indian terms soon became a part of everyday Parthian and Sogdian vocabulary, which began to be used in non-religious texts.

Table 4: Indian Buddhist terms in Manichean Sogdian[159]

Manichean Sogdian	Buddhist Sogdain	Sanskrit	English
Bwt-, pwt-	pwt	Buddha	Buddha
ʃiyr, 'ʃiyr	ʃz'yr	vajra	diamond
cxš'pδ, cxš'pt[160]	škš'pt	śikṣāpada-	moral precept
δrm	δrm	dharma	law
fcmbδ, 'fcmbδ	(')βc(')ndδ	jambudvīpa-	world
n'k	n'k	nāga-	dragon
rhnd	rx'nt	arhat	awakened one
s'nk	snk	saṅgha	community

Buddhist vocabulary was found in both Sogdian Manichean and Buddhist texts, although it is not certain why Sogdian Manicheans in Turfan around the eighth century used many Sogdian Buddhist words in their Manichean texts. We can assume Buddhism was flourishing in the Tun-huang and Turfan region before and during the spread of Manichaeism among the Sogdians. Over 500 years, the interaction between the Buddhist community and the Manicheans was not limited only to loan words, but extended to the renderings of Buddhist concepts, motifs, and terms.

2.7.2 Manichean borrowing of the names of Buddhas and Bodhisattivas

In Manichean Sogdian literature, Mani is often referred as "God Buddha" [βγyy bwt] or the future Buddha as Maitreya. Hans-J. Klimkeit noted that the Buddhas were treated as equal with the apostles and messengers of light, as the apostleship is understood in terms

[159] This is a selection from Appendix III in Sims-Williams 1983, 140-141.

[160] This is a Sogdian borrowing from the Manichean Parthian word cxš'byd. Cxš'pt had penetrated into the Sogdian language in Sogdiana certainly by the early centuries of the first millennium C.E. See Nicholas Sims-Williams, "A Parthian Sound-change," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies* 42 (1979): 135.

of Buddhahood.[161] According to a Chinese Manichean text, the Buddha Mani has the name "Brilliant Buddha Mo-mo-nia"; he came from Su-lien and is also a Buddha, who has the name "Envoy of the Great Light."[162] In reality, Mani was persecuted by the Zoroastrians in Sasanian Persia, thrown into a jail, and eventually killed. In the Manichean festival of Bema (literally "the Throne"), Mani's imprisonment and death by crucifixion was marked during one month in spring. An empty throne was placed with Mani's portrait on an altar and a hymn was sung by the community: "Buddha Maitreya has come, Mār Mani, the Apostle: he brought victory from God, the Just."[163] This hymn reflects the Manicheans' hope for the messianic resurrection of Mani, like the Maitreya's future appearance on earth in Buddhism and Jesus's resurrection for salvation at the end of days.

Not only Mani but also Manichean deities were called Buddhas. An unpublished Sogdian text describes the Manichean primary deities, "five sons of primal man" as the five Buddhas of the three times."[164] The five sons were held captive by the forces of darkness, to be liberated in the Manichean cosmic battle. The "five classes of Light Buddhas" in a Chinese Manichean text refers to the Manichean concept of soul. Sogdians identified the concept of the Buddha nature with the Manichean idea of soul, which consists of five "limbs" (Pth. Handāna). This soul of five limbs also represents the five sons of Primal Man, which were imprisoned in matter.[165] These "Five Buddhas of Light" are called the "Buddha family" [Skt. Buddha gotra; Sog. pwt'ny kwt'r] in the

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[161] Hans-J. Klimkeit, "Jesus' entry into parinirvāna: Manichean identity in Buddhist Central Asia," *Numen* 33 (1986): 231.

[162] Peter Bryder, *The Chinese Transformation of Manichaeism* (Löberöd: Bokförlaget plus Ultra, 1985), 12-13.

[163] Walter B. Henning, *Ein manichäisches Bet-und Beichtbuch,* phil-hist. K1. Nr 10 (Berlin: Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1936).

[164] Quoted in Walter B. Henning, "Sogdische Miszellen," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies* 8 (1935-37): 586. Klimkeit 1986, 232.

[165] Klimkeit 1986, 232.

Sogdian text of Xuāstvānift,[166] reflecting the divine light bound in matter as "the family of primal man." In addition to the Buddha and Maitreya, Vairocana, the Buddhist sun god, is also identified with the "Column of Glory," a Manichean deity of the Third Creation, who signifies Jesus, as the Cross of Light.[167] Thus the Manichean cosmological war between light and darkness is full of the names of Buddhist deities as well as that of Jesus. Despite these names borrowed from Buddhism and Christianity, the texts mostly contain clear Manichean messages of dualism and the cosmic battles.

2.7.3 The concept of *parinirvāṇa*

Manichean worship consisted of prayers, the singing of hymns, and preparations for the feast of the remission of sins.[168] For the Bema festival, a whole set of liturgical texts called "*parinirvāṇa*-hymns" (*parniβbrānig bāšāhān*) were sung to commemorate Mani's entry into the Realm of Light. *Parinirvāṇa* means a complete nirvāṇa at the point of the Buddha's death, and hence the hymns were sung to signify Mani's death by crucifixion, which was considered Mani's entry into Parinirvāṇa.[169] Parthian Manichean fragment M104 from Turfan describes this:

> "Awake, brethren, chosen ones, on this day of spiritual salvation, the 14th [day] of the month of Mihr, when Jesus, the son of God, entered into parinirvāṇa.[170]

In the above the Parthian verb *parinibrad* "went into parinirvāṇa" was used for Jesus' entry into the Realm of Light.[171] Presumably only Mani and Jesus could attain

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[166] Henning 1940, 64-66 - Sogdian Xuāstvānift, line 13. There is also an Old Uighur version of this text.

[167] Samuel Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire & Medieval China- A Historical Survey* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), 209.

[168] Boris A. Litvinsky, "Manichaeism," in *History of Civilization of Central Asia*, (Paris: Unesco, 1992), 48.

[169] Klimkeit 1986, 226.

[170] "Crucifixion-hymns" (*dārūβaδagīftīg bāšāhān*) in Mary Boyce, *A Reader in Manichean Persian and Parthian*, Acta Iranica 9 (Leiden, 1975), 127 (text bx).

parinirvāṇa, but laymen were subject to the cycle of rebirth much like saṃsāra in Buddhism. In Manichaeism, a layman ("hearer") can become an "elect" (similar to fully enlightened monks in Buddhism), after a cycle of reincarnation and attainment of salvation, by devoting his life to the service of the elect.[172] Paradise is open only to the elect, and the impious go to hell.

2.7.4 The metaphor of the Great Ocean

Sundermann mentioned that the idea of the "World Ocean" (*samudra*) in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra* was used as a metaphor in a Manichean Sogdian parable book.[173] It describes the merits and virtues of Manichean religion as being like the World Ocean, as vast and limitless. Although the *Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra* was one of the rather lengthy Mahāyāna sūtras, it was popular enough to influence the content of the Manichean parable book. Yet the great ocean, *samudra*, is also used for as a much more negative metaphor for the body and the world in Manichean literature. According to an Old Uighur Manichean text, the body has many forces and senses, but they "are like the great ocean, samudra, where there is much turmoil and confusion."[174] Similarly the world is said to be like an ocean of distress, which has to be crossed and left behind, in order to enter the transcendent abode of the divine spirit, World of Light, or nirvaṇa. The world is controlled by demonic power, which is to be defeated by "Living Spirit," with the power of knowledge, or gnosis.[175] Both Buddhists and Manicheans consider the body impure

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[171] Klimkeit 1986, 225

[172] Litvinsky 415; A. von Le Coq, *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho* III (Berlin: Akademie der Wissenschaften 1912), 9.

[173] Werner Sundermann, "Eine buddhistische Allegorien manichäischer Überlieferung," in Ronald E. Emmerick and Dieter Weber, eds., *Corolla Iranica, Papers in Honour of Prof. David N. McKenzie on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday on April 8th, 1991* (Frankfurt am Main, New York: P. Lang, 1991), 198-206. Sundermann believes that a whole corpus of *Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra* literature in Sogdian language existed, as different parts of the sūtra were identified in European and Japanese collections.

[174] Klimkeit 1986, 226.

[175] Klimkeit 1986, 228.

and the world a place of suffering. In addition to the metaphor of the Great Ocean, another Buddhist cosmological element, Mt. Sumeru, also appears in Manichean texts. In a Sogdian fragment of the "Book of Giants," Mt. Sumeru, the central mountain of Indian cosmology, where Indian gods reside, is mentioned. In the text, the offspring of the fallen angels live in thirty-two cities, like the thirty-two layers of the god's residence in Indian cosmology, instead of thirty-six cities, as mentioned in the Enochi literature of the Old Testament.[176] These Buddhist and Christian elements are typically intermingled in Manichean myths.

2.7.5 Manichean transformation of the Indian stories

Manicheans assimilated not only mythical elements and concepts from Buddhism but also whole narratives of Indian and Buddhist stories. The Buddha's birth stories, jātakas, and *pancatantra* were incorporated into Manichean literature.[177] Among them, the story of Bilauhar and Būdāsaf (Bodhisattva), which describes the Buddha's life, exists in three Middle Persian fragments. This biography of Buddha was transmitted to Byzantine Rome and translated into Greek by a monk called John of Damascus. He named the story "Barlaam and Josaphat" and changed the content into a completely Christian story of the Josaphat (Bodhisattva), who gave up his courtly life to pursue religious life under the sage Balaam. This story was translated from Greek to Latin, and by the fourteenth century it was so well known in Europe that Balaam and Josaphat were canonized and worshipped as the saints of November 27 in Catholicism.[178] The Manichean text played a major role in mediating the Buddha's story for Europe.

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[176] Walter B. Henning, "The Book of the Giants," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies* 11 (1943-46):72f.; Klimkeit 1986, 234.

[177] Hans-J. Klimkeit, "Das Pferd Kaṇṭhaka – symbol buddhistischer Erzähl – und Kunstelemente im zentralasiatischen manichäismus," in Jakob Ozols and Volker Thewalt, ed., *Aus dem Osten des Alexanderreiches Festschrift für Klaus Fischer* (Köln: DuMont, 1984), 91-97.

[178] "Barlaam and Josaphat" *Catholic Encyclopedia* on-line: http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/02297a.htm

Manichean comprehensive borrowings from other religions did not cause an identity-crisis for Manichaeism as a distinct religion. Manicheans gave allegorical interpretations of their own to the borrowed concepts, terms, and stories. The borrowed materials were used pedagogically, and Manichaeism's own interpretation was given based on its own teachings or *nomos* (Sgd. – nwm; Old Turkic – nom).[179] Thus, Manichean literature incorporated religious teachings from Buddhism and other religions, but it has never become a school of Buddhism or Christianity, as the Manichean teachings remained centered around the two principles of Good and Evil, and the separation or mixture of these two elements.

2.8 Sogdian colonies and Buddhism

There is interesting art historical evidence to indicate interactions between Sogdian and Chinese cultures in Sogdian colonies, especially regarding religions. Recently many Sogdian tombs were discovered in China, most of which have been dated to the sixth to the tenth century – the peak of Sogdian activities in China.[180] The most recent one found is the house-shaped stone coffin of Lord Shih in Hsi-an dated 580 C.E., which was excavated in 2003. Lord Shih was given the title of "sabao" (Sog. s'rtp'w, Chi. Sapao 薩保, safu 薩甫, sapao 薩寶)[181] by the Chinese government of the Northern Chou dynasty in the sixth century. There is an engraved inscription both in Chinese and Sogdian on one of the panels of the coffin, which describes his background:

> A man of the nation of Shih (Kashāna or Kish), originally from the Western Regions and moved to Chang'an, ... accepted the position of sabao of Liang-chou... . He passed away at home during the first year

[179] Klimkeit 1986, 236.

[180] Jung Hsin-chiang 榮新江 and Chang Chih-ch'ing 張志清, ed., Ts'ung sa-ma erh-kan tao Ch'ang-an 従撒馬爾干到長安 [From *Samarqand to Chang'an: Cultural Traces of the Sogdians in China*] (Peking: Peking Library Press, 2004). See also Judith A. Lerner, *Aspects of Assimilation: The Funerary Practices and Furnishings of Central Asians in China*, Sino-Platonic Papers 168 (Philadelphia, PA: Dept of East Asian Languages and Civilizations, University of Pennsylvania, 2005).

[181] Sabao originally meant a caravan leader but later became a chief or ruler for Sogdian districts or colonies in general; Jung and Chang 4.

> of Elephant (579) at the age of 86. His wife's surname was K'ang and she was buried alongside him.[182]

His wife died a year after his death, and they were buried together in the same coffin. As the surnames indicate, Lord Shih was from Kish and his wife from Samarqand. The walls of the coffin were covered with vivid relief carvings of life events of the couple: birth, hunting, banquets, traveling on horseback, as well as religious motifs of Zoroastrian and Buddhist origin.[183] Zoroastrian themes include two winged half-man, half-bird figures wearing masks and carrying torches next to the fire altars on the north wall of the coffin. These human figures with the legs of a bird symbolize East Iranian deities or priests, which were unfamilliar to the Zoroastrians in western Iran. An arched bridge on the eastern panel with two priests at one side and two dogs on the other is very likely to be Cinvat Bridge, the place of the judgment after death in Zoroastrianism. The sinner would fall from a bridge thin as a hair to the dark river underneath, according to the Zoroastrian teaching. Fortunately, the couple seem to have ascended to heaven, riding winged horses while two apsaras and winged musicians welcome them in the air, as depicted in the next panel to the east.

A bearded Buddha is also depicted here, on the west panel, on a lotus throne with a large halo behind him. He forms his hands in the preaching mudra (his right arm is bent and raised up). The couple and others are kneeling below and listening to his preaching. The depiction of apsaras in air and lotuses in the water also suggest typical Buddhist or Eastern motifs. On the south panel, two almost identical protector gods are stepping on a demon under their feet, and they have four arms each, one of which is holding a trident. They wear jeweled hats and have a stern expression on their faces, which are the attributes for the *lokapalas*, the Buddhist protector gods of four directions.

Another Sogdian tomb discovered near Hsi-an is the tomb of An Ch'ieh, who died in 579. According to Chinese scholars, some Buddhist influence is also apparent in the

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[182] Yang Chün-k'ai, "Carvings on the Stone Coffin in Lord Shih of the Northern Zhou," in *Proceedings of the Sogdians in China Conference (Les Sogdiens en Chine)* 粟特人在中国 (Peking, 2004), 19. I have slightly modified Yang's translation.

[183] Jung and Chang 59-65.

tomb of An Ch'ieh, which was excavated in 2000.[184] The bones of this Sogdian official were placed in a tomb with a gateway of a Buddhist style. The walls of the tomb were decorated with the murals of typical Iranian themes such as banquets, hunting, and horse-riding as well as a fire altar with two half-human deities with the legs of a bird. The body of this Sogdian *sabao* from Bukhara was cremated inside the crypt before it was closed, this being known from marks of fire and smoke inside. Only Buddhists practiced cremation in China, and this tomb of An Ch'ieh shows both Zoroastrian and Buddhist influences on Sogdian burial practice in China. Thus these Sogdian coffins and tombs provide a rich source of information on Sogdian life and beliefs, showing a blend of East Iranian, Zoroastrian, Buddhist, and Chinese themes and styles of decoration of coffins and tombs as well as burial practices.

The above two cases, the coffin of Lord Shih and the tomb of An Ch'ieh, are the oldest art historical evidence indicating Buddhist elements within the Sogdian culture of the sixth century. The reliefs of Lord Shih's coffin especially show clear appropriation of both Zoroastrian and Buddhist symbolism. Did Sogdians in China practice both Zoroastrianism and Buddhism at the same time? At least we can say that the Sogdians in China had inclusive attitudes toward different religions in their artistic expression. As for Zoroastrianism, it seems evident that it had a central religious function among the Sogdians, since there were many Zoroastrian fire temples built in these settlements during the heyday of the Sogdian colonies, reflecting their Iranian heritage. What is not clear is the role of Buddhism in these colonies, although there is enough evidence to support the existence of Buddhism among the settlers.

One piece of indirect evidence for Sogdian Buddhism is Ikeda's aforementioned study of the Sogdian colony in Tun-huang, regarding the descendants of the sinicized Sogdian colonists over time. In the registers of Chinese Buddhist temples in Tun-huang (such as Lung-hsing ssu 竜興寺, K'ai-yün ssu 開雲寺, Chin kuang-ming ssu 金光明寺, Hsing-shan ssu 興善寺, Yün-hsiu ssu 雲修寺, and Ta-sheng-ssu 大乗寺), Ikeda found several names of the remaining Sogdians, who worked as minor temple employees at the

[184] Jung and Chang 66-67.

end of the ninth century.[185] He assumes that the rest of Sogdians had gone back to Sogdiana or totally assimilated into Chinese society over a period of a hundred years. The Sogdian colonies gradually lost their significance as the caravan trade was almost halted, due to the Tibetan occupation of Tun-huang, the weakening of the T'ang dynasty due to internal power struggles, and the Arab invasion of Central Asia, according to Ikeda.[186] Yet it is interesting to note that some of the descendants of the Sogdian merchants ended up in the Buddhist temples as workers.[187] These temple workers were considered to be lowly paid, even for relatively poor people at that time in China. Why did these Sogdians seek help from Buddhist temples in their poverty? It must have been due to the fact that some Sogdians in these colonies were Buddhists and familiar with the affairs of the Buddhist temple. Otherwise they could not or would not work in Chinese Buddhist temples even in economic desperation.

Several other names of Buddhist Sogdians show up in Chinese sources. One of them is that of a Sogdian monk from Tashkent, Shih P'an-t'o 石槃陀, who came to worship the Buddha in a temple in Kua-chou 爪州 near Tun-huang and received the five precepts from Hsüan-tsang, in the seventh century.[188] Another is Lo Fa-kuang 羅法光, who lived in an assimilated colony in Tun-huang. He proudly tells of having bought government bonds (*tu-t'ieh* 度牒) that were issued in order to improve the financial crisis of the T'ang dynasty, which bottomed out after the An Lu-shan rebellion in 759.[189]

Although Ikeda suggests that the Sogdian colonies in Tun-huang had more or less disappeared by the mid-ninth century, Cheng Ping-lin (Zheng Binglin) claims that many Sogdians continued to exist in Tun-huang through the tenth century, according to several

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[185] Ikeda 89.

[186] Ikeda 87.

[187] Ikeda 89.

[188] *Ta-t'ang ta-tz'u-en ssu san-tsang fa-shih chuan*, Taishō vol. 50, no. 2053, 223b.

[189] Ikeda 89

Tun-huang documents.[190] Persons having Sogdian names, for example, appear befor a military officer and in the lists of *she* (societies) 社 founded by Buddhists in Tun-huang.[191] In some cases an entire village, all of whom cultivate the land belonging to a Buddhist temple, were Sogdians. Thus these Chinese documents show that Sogdians participated in many different aspects of life in the Tun-huang region.

Furthermore, Tun-huang Document X2162 also illustrates the level of Sogdian integration into Tun-huang communities. This document is a circular for a Sogdian society, which was run by the Sogdians originally from Bukhara, as their surname "An" indicates.[192] The circular instructed the members of the society to give funerary gifts of one *tou* (a decaliter) of millet, thirty cakes, and two bolts of brown cloth each to Ho tzu-sheng, whose daughter had recently died. "Ho" is also a Sogdian surname, and the society was organized for mutual support at times of misfortunes such as the death of a family member. The Sogdians in this society were Buddhists, since the circular also instructs the members to leave vegetarian foods and goods in front of the door of the Lien-t'ai temple (蓮台寺 The Lotus-Seat temple). Document X01433[193] also describes a Sogdian society called An Lien-lien Society 安連連社, which was run by Sogdians originally from Bukhara.[194] This document mentions their annual meeting to discuss the society's budget but it has no reference to religion.

Moreover, Buddhist temples in Tun-huang owned lands that were rented to villagers to be cultivated. The income from the rents, e.g., a percentage of the harvested grains, comprised a substantial annual income for the Buddhist temple, depending on the size of the rentable landholdings of the temple. Stein documents S1600 (dated 961 C.E.) and

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[190] Cheng Ping-lin, "Non-Han Ethnic Groups and their Settlements in Dunhuang during the Late Tang and Five Dynasties" in the *Proceedings of the Sogdians in China Conference (Les Sogdiens en Chine)* 粟特人在中国, April 23-25 (Peking, 2004), 190.

[191] Cheng 188.

[192] Cheng 202. X2162 "Keng-tzu nien pa-yüeh shih-ssu jih she-ssu chuan-t'ieh" 庚子年八月十四日社司轉帖.

[193] Cheng 203. X01433 "Ssu-miao shou-ju chang-tan" 寺廟収入帳単.

[194] Cheng 184.

S6981 describe this land "tax" collected by the Ling-hsiu monastery 靈修寺 from a Sogdian village called Shih-chia chuang 史家庄.[195] The ancestors of the villagers must have been from Kushāna or Kish in Sogdiana. Cheng noted that there were also 17 Sogdian weavers among 84 listed in the region, according to P3236.[196]

In Tun-huang document P2040, Cheng also noted a generous Sogdian Buddhist devotee, K'ang Hsiu-hua, who was originally from Samarqand.[197] According to the document regarding Ching-t'u ssu (浄土寺 Pure Land Temple), K'ang Hsiu-hua donated about 600 *tou* of wheat, silverware, millet, etc., to a temple in order to have a copy of the *Prajñāpāramītā* sūtra copied during the Tibetan occupation in Tun-huang.[198] He also paid four *tou* each of wheat and millet and eight *chi* of Chinese cloth for recitations, the singing of sūtras for a woman.[199] It is notable that he held the office of *tu-seng-t'ung* 都僧統, a high-ranking administrator for the Buddhist saṅgha in Tun-huang. His name also appears on the wall of Cave 44 of the Mogao caves as noted by Cheng. He made an offering to a mural with Kuan-yin image in the cave temple and engraved a donor inscription saying "I, an official administrator, K'ang Hsiu-hua, do sincerely make an offering to the Bodhisattva Kuan-yin."[200]

Thus Sogdians continued to live in the Tun-huang region through the period of the Tibetan occupation to the tenth century, as these Tun-huang documents indicate. The

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[195] Cheng 201. S1600 "Hsin-yu nien Liang-hsiu ssu chu-se hu-tou ju-li" 辛酉年靈修寺諸色斛斗入歷 S6981 "Hsin-yu nien chih kuei-hai nien ling-hsiu ssu chu-se hu-tou ju-p'o li" 辛酉年至発亥年靈修寺辛酉年靈修寺諸色斛斗入破歷.

[196] Cheng 202. P3236 "Jen-shen nien san-yüeh shih-chiu jih Tun-huang hsiang-kuan pu-chi" 壬申年三月十九日敦煌鄉官布籍.

[197] Document P2040 "Hou-chin shih-ch'i Ching-t'u ssu chu-se ju-p'o li suan-hui kao" 后普時期浄土寺諸色入破歷算会稿.

[198] Cheng 205.

[199] Cheng 200.

[200] *Tun-huang mo-kao k'u kung-yang jen t'i-chi* 敦煌莫高窟供養人題記 [The record of devotees who made offerings in the Mogao Caves of Dunhuang] (Peking: Wen-wu ch'u-pan she, 1986), 65; Cheng 205.

official "assimilation" colonies, created by the Chinese government, however, died out by the end of the ninth century. Nevertheless some Sogdian villages like Shih-chia chuang continued to exist and some Sogdian individuals kept on living in Chinese villages, towns, and cities. Zoroastrian temples, called An-ch'eng ta-hsien 安城大祆 (Great Ormazd of An City), were the religious and social centers for many Sogdians, yet Buddhist Sogdians were also active in various aspects of Buddhist life during the ninth to tenth centuries. These Chinese texts thus depict some features of Sogdian Buddhists in Tun-huang as indicating to some extent the existence of a community.

2.9 Summary and conclusion

Like the Tokharian people, the identity and culture of the Sogdians disappeared during the history of Central Asia over a thousand years ago. Yet, unlike the Tokharians, Sogdians did not just stay in their own land, Sogdiana, but also settled in various colonies in China, India, and Southeast Asia, as they were known to be the traders who mediated international trade in Eurasia. The existence of Sogdiana's Buddhist past is under dispute by historians and archaeologists, as the data on Sogdian history is scarce and often inconsistent. In this paper I have tried to delineate the features of Sogdian Buddhism in its historical context from many different perspectives, using Chinese, Sogdian, and other sources. Many monks from K'ang-chü and K'ang kuo are recorded in the Chinese Buddhist biographies. If Sogdiana was not the home or ancestral home of these monks with the K'ang surname, then where do they come from? I believe the K'ang monks were all originally from Sogdiana, if not Samarqand. These were not just a few monks; even in my preliminary study, I noted about twenty monks who had originated in K'ang, in Chinese Buddhist biographies and other records (see Appendix 1). These early Sogdian monks brought and translated Mahāyāna, Vinaya, and some Hinayāna texts to China, although these texts did not necessarily exist in Sogdiana but possibly were obtained in various regions in Central Asia or India. Taking advantage of their fluency in Chinese, ethnic Sogdian monks in China were also active in promoting Taoistic Buddhism in southern China. These K'ang monks were active during the second to eighth centuries and contributed to the development and formation of Chinese Buddhism in many aspects.

During the early period of the K'ang monks' activities, the main textual languages used by Sogdian Buddhists were very likely to be Indic languages such as Sanskrit or Prakrit, and only around the seventh century did Sogdians start to write Buddhist texts in their own language and script. Sogdian Buddhist texts were found not in Sogdiana proper but mainly in the Turfan and Tun-huang regions. Thus the study of Buddhist texts in Sogdian language provided information about the Buddhism which developed in Sogdian colonies from the seventh century onward, but not in Sogdiana proper. There was a variety of Buddhist texts found in the region, jātaka, avadāna, Mahāyāna texts, and tantric and *dhāraṇī* texts, which can be dated to around the seventh to the tenth centuries, when the Sogdians were very active in their commercial trade along the Silk Road. The genre of these Buddhist texts reflects the popular Buddhism spreading in Tun-huang at that time, but it does not seem to reflect the early trend of the sūtras that were transmitted and translated from K'ang-chü, or Sogdiana. Sogdian Buddhist literature seems to represent more the daily practice of Buddhism, e.g., dietary restrictions and *dhāraṇī*, rather than philosophical doctrine. Reflecting the late stage of the transmission of Buddhism, Tantric texts compose the majority of the extant Sogdian writings. It is clear that most of the Sogdian Buddhist texts are translations from Chinese, although some texts, especially those related to dhāraṇī, seem to suggest that the Sogdian monks might have based their translations on Sanskrit texts.

In the Sogdian colonies, especially in Tun-huang, there were interesting cultural interactions among the different ethnic groups. In Sogdian religious culture, Manichaeism, Zoroastrianism, and Buddhism played major roles. There were centuries of interactions and borrowings of religious ideas and concepts between Manichaeism and Buddhism, which were expressed in their respective religious literatures. Among Manicheans, the eastern branch sect, "Dinawariyya," extensively borrowed Buddhist concepts and terms as both Manichaeism and Buddhism existed side by side in Parthia, Sogdiana, and Bactria. For example, Mani is referred to as a Buddha, and the apostleship of Mani was understood in terms of Buddhahood as an Envoy of the Great Light. The concept of *parinirvāṇa* was also applied to the death of Mani, but ordinary people could not escape the cycle of rebirth, or saṃsāra in Buddhism, according to the Manichean teaching regarding death and rebirth. For half a millennium, since the time of the

founder, Mani, there were intensive interactions between the Buddhist and Manichean religious cultures at all different levels in Sogdiana, its neighboring regions, and in Sogdian colonies.

Among the Central Asian peoples who contributed to the formation of Chinese Buddhism, the Sogdians' role was much more extensive than I expected at the onset of my study, despite the far western location of Sogdiana proper in relation to the spread of Buddhism. As merchants supported Śākyamuni Buddha and his saṇgha in early Indian society through generous donations based on their faith in Buddhism, the merchant traders *par excellence* on the Silk Road, the Sogdians, taking advantage of their mobility and skills in the Indian or Chinese language, had a significant function in transmitting and developing Buddhism in south China. Despite our limited knowledge about its history, it is apparent that the complex religious culture of the Sogdians enriched the development of Central Asian and Chinese Buddhism in their religious vocabularies and cultural syncretism. It is to be greatly hoped that future archeological findings, such as studies being done by the French and Uzbek teams in Samarqand, will provide a material basis for findings regarding Sogdian Buddhism explored in this paper.

Appendix

Sogdian monks in Chinese Buddhist bibliographies

Sogdian monk in Chinese (Date mentioned in the source)	Place of birth or residence	Translated texts (selective) and other notable characteristics	Source (Taishō pages)
K'ang Chü 康巨 (187-199 C.E.)	K'ang-chü 康居 to Lo-yang	*Wen ti-yü shih chin* 問地獄事經	LKSC (324c)
K'ang Meng-hsiang 康孟詳(190-220) (Northern Wei)	K'ang-chü	*Chung-pen-ch'i chin*g 中本起經 *T'ai-tsu pen-ch'i jui-ying ching* 太子本起瑞応經 Hsiu-hsing-pen ching 修行本經	CSTC; KYS; LKSC (324c)
K'ang Seng-hui 康僧會 (222-280) (Northern Wei)	Born in Chiao-chou 交州, went to India	*Liu-tu chi-ching* 六度集經	LS; KYS; CSTC; LKSC (325a-326b; 324a, 415b)
(Shih) T'an-ti (釋)曇諦 (220-280)		*Seng-chih lü* 僧祇律 *Ssu-fen lü* 四分律 [Dharmaguptaka Vinaya] Transmitted the ordination ritual	LKSC (370a); KHM
K'ang Seng-k'ai 康僧鎧 (c. 253) Saṃghavarman	From K'ang-chü to Lo-an	*Yu-ch'ieh chang-ch'e so-wen ching* 郁伽長者所問經, *Wu-liang-shou ching* 無量壽經 [Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha]	LKSC (325a)
K'ang Seng-yüan 康僧淵 (267-330)		Recited *Fang-kuang po-je ching* & *Tao-hang po-je ching* Deep eyes and high nose, but his mother was Chinese. Mixed with aristocrats of the Eastern Chin (265-420)	CSTC; LKSC (346c-347a)
K'ang Fa-ch'ang 康法暢 (267-330)			LKSC (348b)

K'ang Fa-lang 康法朗 (310-420) (Eastern Chin)	Born in Chung-shan 中山 in Ho-pei sheng 河北省.	Went to the Western Region and attended (took care of) a sick monk in the ruins of a Buddhist temple.	LKSC (347a)
K'ang hui-ch'ih 康慧持	Stayed in Lo-yang	Had supernatural (靈驗) power	LKSC (389b)
K'an-hsin 康**昕**			LKSC (348b)
K'ang-hung 康泓			LKSC (387b)
K'ang Fa-chih 康法識			LKSC (348b)
K'ang Fa-sui 康法邃 (c. 327-342) (Eastern Chin)		*P'i-yü ching* 譬喻經 *Cheng p'i-yü ching* 正譬喻經	KHM (263c)
K'ang Tao-ho 康道和 c.396		*Ssu-i ching* 思益經	KHM (263c)
(Shih) Fa-p'ing (釋)法平 (373-396) (Eastern Chin)	Active in Chien-k'ang 健康	Lived in Pai-ma ssu 白馬寺, a temple famous for training masters of sūtra singing (Ching-pai-shih 經唄師). He was known for his wonderful voice.	LKSC (413a)
(Shih) chi-i (釋)智嶷 (c. 380?)		His surname was K'ang 康. His ancestors were from a royal family in Sogdiana. Due to political problems, he settled in China (Wei); he was appointed as an official with feuds by the emperor.	LKSC (676b); FHCC Vol. 5
Pao-i 寶意 (420-502) Ratnamati?		His surname was K'ang 康, and he was from India. (He is probably from a Sogdian merchant family who settled in India.) No translation activity. Excellent in supernatural powers and divination of dice. Known as a *dhyāna* and *vinaya* master	LKSC; KHM Vol. 23
(Shih) Hui-ming (釋)慧明 (427-497)		His surname was K'ang 康. Emigrated to Eastern Wu 東吳 at the time of his grandfather. Stayed in An-tung-ssu 安東寺 and taught Wu-hsuan wang (king) 文宣王 of the Ch'i dynasty (479-501).	LKSC (400b)

Tao-hsien 道仙			HKSC (651a)
Ming-ta 明達			HKSC (691b)
Chi 基 (632-682)	Samarqand/ Ch'ang-an	His ancestor came to China during the late Wei dynasty from Samarqand. He is also known as Tz'u-en ta-shih 慈恩大師 - a disciple of Hsüan-tsang. The first patriarch of the Fa-hsiang school 法相宗. *Ch'eng-wei-shih lun* 成唯識論 *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi-śāstra* *Ch'i-hsin-lun i-chi* 起信論義記, a commentary of *Ta-sheng ch'i-hsin lun* 大乘起信論	SKSC
Fa-tsang 法藏 (643-712)		He was surnamed K'ang; the third patriarch of the Hua-yin school in China. His mother was from Samarqand, his father from northern India.	SKSC (732a)
Pu-k'ung 不空 (705-774) Amoghavajira	Lo-yang & Ch'ang-an From Northern India	His mother was from Samarqand, his father from northern India. *Chin-kang-ting ching* 金剛頂經 *Li-ch'ü ching* 理趣經	SKSC (714a)

Abbreviations for the primary sources for Appendix

Li-tai san-pao chi	歷代三寶記	LS
K'ai-yüan shih-chiao lu	開元釋教録	KYS
Liang Kao-seng chuan	梁高僧傳	LKSC
Sung Kao-seng chuan	宋高僧傳	SKSC
Hsü Kao-seng chuan	続高僧傳	HKSC
Ch'u san-tsang chi chi	出三蔵記集	CSTC
Kuang-hung-ming chi	廣弘明集	KHM
Fa-hua ching chuan-chi	法華經傳記	FHCC

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