

ソグド語の密教経典とセミレチエ仏教

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要旨

本稿では、ソグド人の仏教信仰とソグド語に翻訳された仏典の概要について説明した後、その中の密教経典に注目し8世紀の中央アジア（タリム盆地）における仏教の潮流との関連について考察する。8世紀の後半の中央アジアでは、現世利益を説くいわゆる雑密系の仏典が流行していたことを示すいくつかの証拠が見つかる。それらを紹介した上で、アクベシム遺蹟周辺で出土している仏教関連の遺物が、この種の雑密系の仏教信仰と関連する可能性について論じる。玄奘がこの地域を通過したときには仏教は存在していなかったものであり、ここに仏教が移入されたのは碎葉鎮に大雲寺が設置された7世紀の終わりであったと見られる。ここにはソグド人の仏教徒のための仏教寺院の遺蹟も見つかっているが、それらが建設されたのはその後のことであり、8世紀に入ってからのことであろう。従ってセミレチエにいたソグド人仏教徒たちは、隣接するタリム盆地で8世紀に流行していた仏教の影響を受けていた可能性が考えられ、アクベシム周辺でみつかると密教関連のものがあることを、そのことと結びつけるという仮説が成り立つ。近年コータンで発見されたソグド語の手紙から、セミレチエ地域がソグド商人の重要な拠点になっていたことが示唆されることも想起される。翻って、アクベシムにはキリスト教の教会の遺蹟が見つかっており、そこは東方教会の総司教であった Timothy I (780-823) の時代に設置された大司教区の大司教がいた教会であった可能性が高

い。信者はソグド人やトルコ人であったはずである。またソグド人の本来の宗教であるソグド・ゾロアスター教（祆教）も信仰されていた。そのこととソグド語訳された『聖ゲオルギウスの殉教』に見られる偶像の訳語に、密教と祆教の尊像が使われることの関連についても論じる。

Some problems surrounding Sogdian esoteric texts and the Buddhism of Semirech'e

Yutaka YOSHIDA

0. Introduction

In this paper I should like to discuss several problems surrounding the esoteric texts in Sogdian. The number of identified Buddhist Sogdian texts is not many; the list comprises some fifty items so far published or reported. This seems to me to be still true even if those still unpublished texts belonging to the German Turfan collection are considered, largely because they are all small fragments. Their photographs are easily accessible at the website of the Turfanforschung and one can be guided by Ch. Reck's comprehensive and well organized catalogue (Ch. Reck, *Mitteliranische Handschriften, Teli 2. Berliner Turfanfragmente buddhistischen Inhalts in soghdischer Schrift*, Stuttgart 2016). However, concerning their importance for the Buddhist studies in general, I regret to say that they have no independent

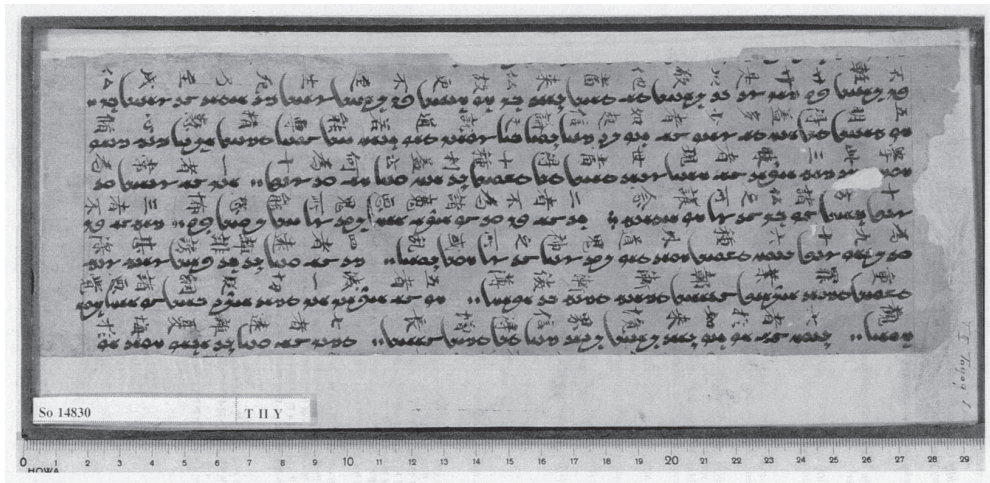


Fig.1 So 14830 (Turfan) : Buddhist Chinese text phonetically transcribed in Sogdian script.

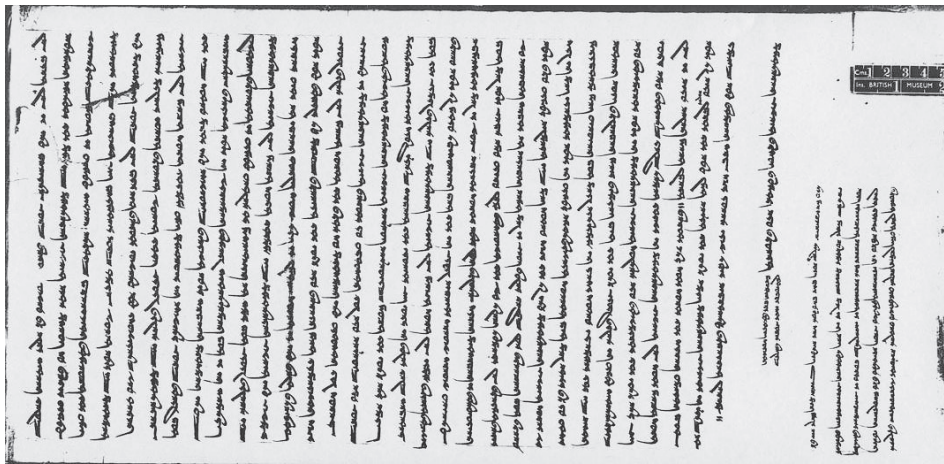


Fig.2 Or. 8212 (191) (Dunhuang) : End part of the “Sutra of the condemnation of intoxicating drink”
After MacKenzie, D.N. *The Buddhist Sogdian Texts of the British Library*, Acta Iranica 10, Téhéran/Liège, 1976, plate 7.

value from the stand point of Buddhology, mainly because most of Buddhist Sogdian texts are more or less faithful translations of the Chinese prototypes already known. Nevertheless, in view of the Sogdians’ role as transmitters of material as well as spiritual cultures between East and West across the Silk Roads, Buddhist Sogdian texts may well be investigated from view point of the history of the Silk Road culture, in particular the cultural intercourse between East and West.

I. Sogdian Buddhism²⁾

As Xuanzang (602-664) witnessed around 630 CE in Samarqand, the Sogdians were Zoroastrians and did not believe in Buddhism (Watters 1904-05: 94). This observation combined with very few Buddhist remains

excavated from the archaeological sites like Penjikent or Samarqand belonging to Pre-Islamic Sogdiana leads one to assume that Buddhism did not spread to Sogdiana (Compareti 2008). Thus, discovery of many Buddhist Sogdian texts from Dunhuang and Turfan indicates that the Sogdians adopted the religion only after they immigrated to the area where Buddhism was flourishing. This situation was rightly described by Tremblay (2007: 95-97) as “a colonial phenomenon,” which most clearly manifests itself in the fact that bulk of the Sogdian texts are based on the Chinese prototypes including apocryphal texts produced in China, among which are some texts of Chan Buddhism like the *Lengqieshiziji* 楞伽師資記 (Yoshida 2017). Their dependence on Chinese texts may also be betrayed by the Chinese texts phonetically transcribed in Sogdian script. [fig. 1] So

far such Mahāyāna sūtras as *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra*, *Vajracchedikā-sūtra*, *Mahāyānamahāparinirvāṇa mahā-sūtra*, *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra*, *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*, ³⁾ *Saṅghāta-sūtra*, etc. have been identified.

Only one text generally known as “The Sūtra of condemnation of intoxicating drink” discovered in Dunhuang bears the date of 728 CE, when it was translated in Luoyang. [fig. 2] While nothing linguistic or paleographic indicates that most of the others are significantly younger or older than it, the latest stage is represented by those which show Uighur elements in the colophons. In view of the fact that the Uighurs settled in the Turfan Basin in the latter half of the 9th century, these texts are likely to be dated to the 10th century.

As I said above, most of the Buddhist Sogdian texts are more or less faithful translations based on Chinese originals, while only a few others seem to have been based on prototypes in either Sanskrit or Tocharian, although it has not been possible to trace their direct originals. Some Turfan texts betray the influence of the so-called Tocharian Buddhism based on Karashahr and Kucha, where the teachings of Sarvāstivādin or Mūlasarvāstivādin school constituted the mainstream. One such case is the Sogdian version of the *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā*. [fig. 3] The colophon of the Uighur version indicates that it was translated from Tocharian A text, which in turn was based on the Tocharian B version. Since we have a parallel passage in the Sogdian and the Uighur version, which differ

considerably from each other, we can safely assume that the two versions are not interdependent, that is to say, one cannot be the translation of the other. Thus, the two are independent translations from the same original, possibly in Tocharian A, Tocharian B, or Sanskrit. W. Sundermann (2006), who edited the Sogdian version, prefers the Tocharian version as the original of the Sogdian text, because the Sanskrit name of a king Kāncanasāra appears *kncns'r* in Sogdian, which differs from the former in the quantity of the first vowel. However, his argument remains to be hypothetical because the Uighur counterpart *kancanasare* shows the ending *-e* characteristic of the Tocharian form, while the Sogdian form lacks it. In this connection, I should like to report on my recent discovery of the Sogdian version of the *Pratihārya-sūtra* or the 12th chapter of the *Divyāvadāna*, the so-called Miracle Sutra, among the St. Petersburg collection. This text, discovered most likely in Turfan, must also be based on either Sanskrit or Tocharian version now lost.

Buddhist Sogdian texts are unique among those in other Central Asian languages like Tocharian, Khotanese, Uighur, and Tangut not to mention Tibetan and Mongolian in that Buddhism never attained the status of a state religion among the Sogdians. This means that there were no state organized saṃghas among Sogdian monks, and that Sogdian Buddhists were not able to enjoy financial and other supports from the state for translating and copying texts.

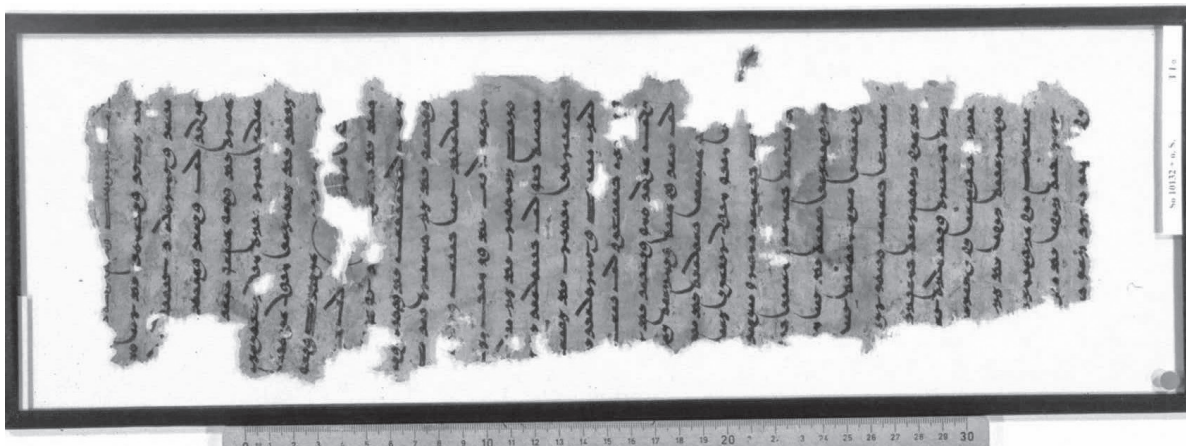


Fig.3 T I α + So 10132 (Turfan): Sogdian version of the story about King Kāncanasāra

II. Problem 1: Prototypes of the esoteric texts discovered in Dunhuang

I hope that you now get some general idea about Sogdian Buddhism and Buddhist Sogdian texts which we now possess. Sogdian Buddhists were dependent on both Chinese Mahāyāna Buddhism and Tocharian Hīnayāna tradition. In this respect, the Sogdian Buddhists were clearly predecessors of the Uighurs; early Buddhist Uighur texts are known to have been translated either from Chinese or Tocharian, only in later times they became more and more dependent on Chinese Buddhist tradition with some late Tibetan Tantric influence. Therefore, it is strange to note that no Buddhist Uighur text directly translated from Sogdian has so far been discovered. As I just said about the two versions of the Kāncanasāra story, even when we have a Sogdian text translated from the same sūtra as an Uighur version, the Uighur version is not translated from Sogdian.

While very few esoteric texts have hitherto been found among those unearthed from Turfan, there are five or six

such texts among the Dunhuang texts. I cite them from the handlist published by me (Yoshida 2015)⁵⁾:

- (21) *Padmacintāmaṇihārāṇī-sūtra* 觀世音菩薩祕密藏如意輪陀羅尼神呪經 (TT 1082). D: BSTBL: 12-17 (TT vol. 20, 199b12-200a2). Two passages are cited from the same sūtra (199c15-23, 199c24-200a4) in another Dunhuang text P14, 15, 30, on which see below. Cf. Henning 1945: 465, n. 2.
- (22) *Guanzaiapusaruyilunniansongyigui* 觀自在菩薩如意輪念誦儀軌 (TT 1085). D: The text of P14, P15, P30 cites a short passage (TT vol. 20, 204a21-b3) from this work by Amoghvajra. An illustration of the *mudrā* called “samādhi of a group of Buddhas” accompanies the description, cf. BLS: 295-6. The entire work seems to prescribe the rituals for worshipping the bodhisattva named Cakravartīcintāmaṇi.
- (23) *Amoghapāśahṛdaya-sūtra* 不空羂索神呪心經 (TT 092, 1093, 1094, 1095, 1099). D: P7. The Sogdian version is an abbreviated paraphrase of the original.

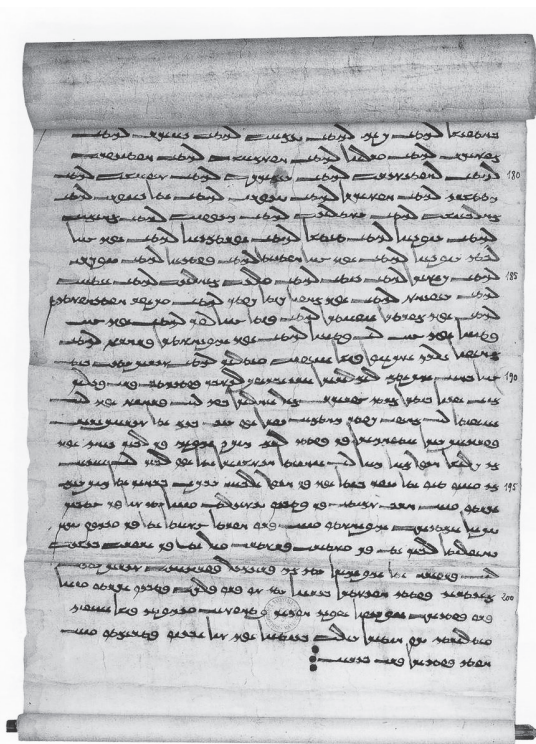


Fig.4 Pelliot sogdien 8 (Dunhuang): Colophon of the *Avalokiteśvarasāraṇī-sūtra* (?) After *Sirukurodo daibijutsuten (Grand Exhibition of Silkroad Buddhist Art)*, Tokyo 1996, p. 46



Fig.5 Or. 8212(175) = Ch. 0092: *Nilakanṭha-dhāraṇī* in Brahmi script and Sogdian script. After de la Vallée Poussin and Gauthiot, R. “Fragment final de la Nilakantha-dharani,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1912, p. 628.

The immediate source, not necessarily Chinese, of the Sogdian text is not known. On this problem see also Meisterernst/Durkin-Meisterernst 2009. Yoshida 1991: 98-100 prefers to assume a prototype in Sanskrit.

- (25) *Nīlakaṇṭha-dhāraṇī* 千手千眼觀自在菩薩廣大圓滿無礙大悲心陀羅尼呪本 / 青頸觀自在菩薩心陀羅尼經 (TT 1061, 1111). D: de la Vallée Poussin/Gauthiot and Lévi. The dhāraṇī written in Brāhmī is accompanied by its transcription in Sogdian script. (Similarly, Sanskrit *vidyās* followed by comments in Sogdian are known in Turfan texts, see Reck apud Wille 2004: 72-78.)
- (26) *Dicangpusatuoluonijing* 地藏菩薩陀羅尼經 (TT 1159B). D: P18. The dhāraṇī of the sūtra (TT vol. 20, 659b) is transcribed in Sogdian script.
- (53) *Avalokiteśvarasya nāmāṣṭasatakatotra(?)*. D: P8 and P8bis, cf. also BLS: 294. Other fragments belonging to P8bis see Sims-Williams 1976: 51-53 and Yoshida 1998: 118-119. The Sanskrit title was invented by Benveniste on the Sogdian version, cf. Benveniste 1940: 105. On the Udānavarga verses cited in the text see Yoshida 1990: 106 and idem 2011: 91-92. For its long colophon, which states that it was translated in Dunhuang, see Henning 1946: 735-38.

Apart from the items (21) *Padmacintāmaṇidhāraṇī-sūtra* and (22) *Guanzizaipusa ruyilunniansongyigui*, of which the direct Chinese original are identified, the immediate sources of the others are not known. However, there are some indications that (23) *Amoghapāśahṛdaya-sūtra* 不空羂索神呪心經 and (53) *Avalokiteśvarasya nāmāṣṭasatakatotra(?)* are not based on Chinese but Sanskrit. As for (23), it was Benveniste (1940) who supposed that among the five Chinese renderings of the text, the Sogdian is closest to Bodhiruci's version (TT1095) and is likely to have been translated from it. However, as he himself admits, the Sogdian text is much abbreviated and the resemblance is limited. Moreover, I adduced three pieces of evidence that point to its Sanskrit original. One of them is *βyr'wkt'yn* corresponding to *shengguan* 勝觀 *vilokita*. In the Nepal Sanskrit text as edited by Meisezahl, it corresponds to *vilokitāyām* and

this locative form must have been transcribed in Sogdian script.

One Chinese esoteric text (TT, no. 1054: 聖觀自在菩薩一百八名經) bearing a title very similar to item (53) is known, but it is totally different from the Sogdian text, which is a collection of short *dhāraṇīs* and Sanskrit verses followed by the description of merits gained by reciting the *dhāraṇīs* or magic words in Sanskrit. The Sogdian text itself begins with a long list of the names of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, to whom *namo* "homage" is paid. Among the Sanskrit phrases one finds at least three *ślokas* from the *Udānavarga*. Its colophon begins as follows: [fig. 4]

Year [blank], in Dunhuang of China (*βyp'wr-stn*: lit. "land of the Son of Heaven") on the 15th day of the 6th month in the year of the tiger. Thus Churakk of the Kang clan, son of Nāfīr, with a mind pure through devotion and faith, ordered this scripture to be translated ...

The fact that the year is referred to only by the twelve animal cycle, and that the name of the Chinese *nianhao* or regnal era could not be given in spite of the explicit reference to "Dunhuang in the land of the Son of Heaven (= China)" is probably related to the fact that the Tibetans had advanced into the Hexi Corridor and the *nianhao*, or the name of the regnal era in China proper, had not reached Dunhuang. Thus, this text is most likely to date back to the second half of the eighth century. Therefore, the text appears to have been translated not from Chinese but from Sanskrit or other sources during the difficult period, when the Sogdian inhabitants of Dunhuang had no access to those esoteric texts that were in fashion in mainland China.

A similar background may be presumed for item (25) *Nīlakaṇṭha-dhāraṇī*, which itself is a manuscript in Sanskrit or *dhāraṇī* written in Brahmi script accompanied by its phonetic transcription in Sogdian script. [fig. 5] The arrangement of the two texts does suggest that the Sogdian interlinear gloss was entered after the Sanskrit text was written.

Thus, in contrast with the other Buddhist Sogdian texts, some early esoteric, or mixed esoteric (雜密) texts from

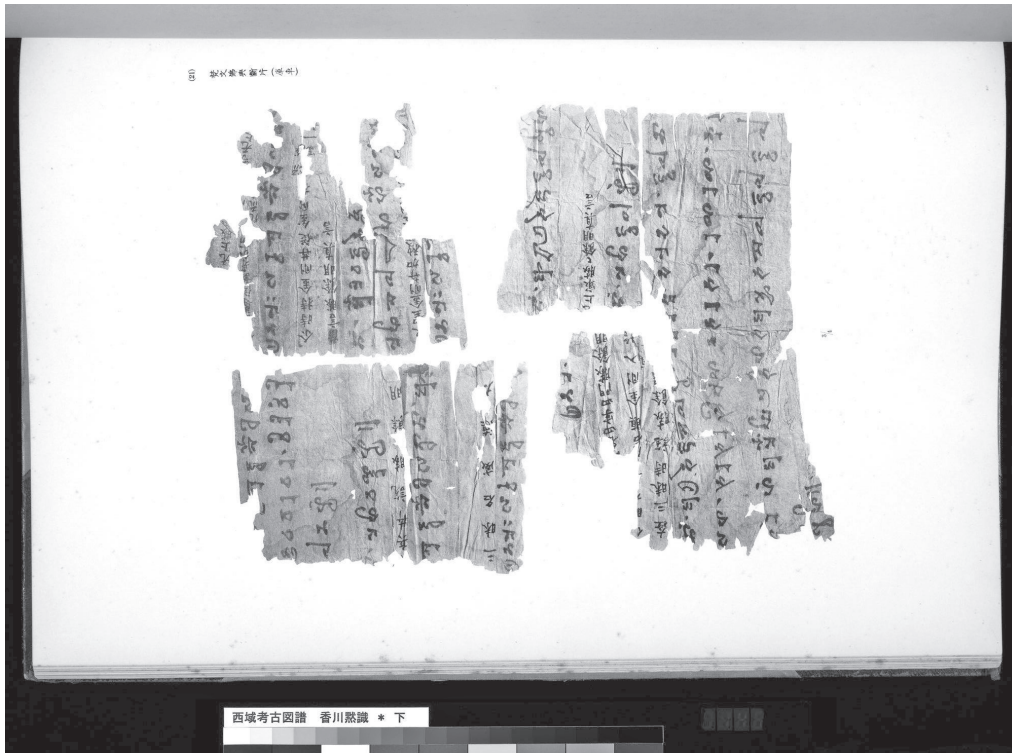


Fig.6 Fragment of Chinese Buddhist text with *dhāraṇīs* in Brajmi script of Khotan from the Otani collection discovered in Kucha:
After M. Kagawa, *Seiki Kōkozufu* [Illustrated catalogue of Central Asian antiquities], 2nd vol. Tokyo 1915 plate 21.



Map.1 Map showing Semirech'e and the surrounding area
After E. de la Vaissière (tr. by J. Ward), *Sogdian traders. A history*, Leiden / Boston, 2005, map. 7

Dunhuang do not seem to have been based on Chinese prototype but on Sanskrit texts, which were still available in Dunhuang after the connection with mainland China had been severed by the Tibetans in the latter half of the eighth century. The ultimate origin of the Sanskrit texts in these days is likely to be India, in particular Kashmir, whence they first reached Khotan, unique centre of Mahāyāna and esoteric Buddhism in Chinese Turkestan in those days.

In fact during this period, some other such mixed esoteric texts were popular and prevalent in Central Asia, and their Chinese versions were produced in Central Asia but were not able to reach mainland China. At least one such text has been discovered in Dunhuang. It is entitled *Jingangtan guangdaqingjing tuoluoni jing* 金剛壇廣大清淨陀羅尼經 first noticed by D. Ueyama and later taken up by T. Moriyasu in connection with the Uighurs' siege of Turfan in 792 CE (Moriyasu 2015: 259-264). According to its colophon, the text was popular in Khotan and was translated into Chinese in Anxi 安西, possibly in Kucha in 752 CE. It was brought to Turfan and was made into inscription but remained there; when Turfan was besieged and the text became inaccessible, one monk who memorized the text appeared in Dunhuang and the text was copied from his memory.

A similar but very unique case is one text discovered

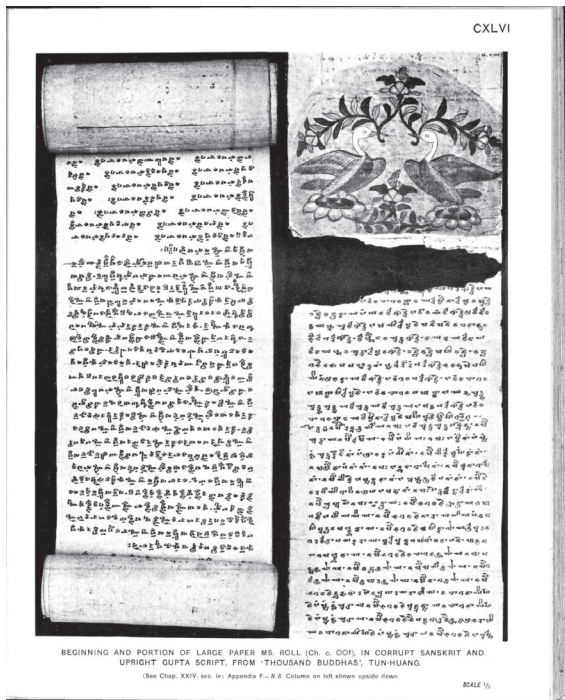


Fig.7 Ch. c 001: 10th century Dunhuang Sanskrit/ Khotanese text containing several esoteric texts After A. Stein, *Serindia*, vol. IV, Oxford 1921, plate CXLVI.

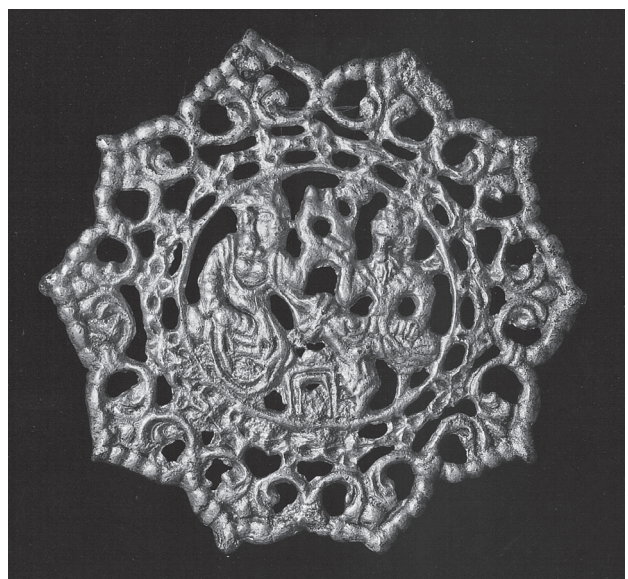


Fig.8 and 9 Plaques discovered in Ak-Beshim After A. Y. Isiraliyeva, *Šedevry drevnogo iskusstva Kyrgyzstana is kolekcij GIM KR*, Bishkek, 2014, pp. 25-26.



Fig.10 Statue of Avalokiteśvara discovered in the Chu valley
Through the courtesy of Professor V. Kol'chenko

by the Otani expedition in Kucha. It comprises a few fragments of one and the same manuscript and contains Chinese texts interspersed by *dhāraṇīs* written in cursive Brahmi of Khotanese type or South Turkestan Brahmi, formerly called Upright Gupta (Kagawa 1915, vol. 2, plate 21). [fig. 6] As far as I can see the Chinese text has not been found among the Chinese texts so far known, in any case it is not found in the *Taishō Tripitaka*.

The first problem concerning Sogdian esoteric texts is not in fact a problem. I should like to draw your attention to what seems to be the popularity or fashion of some mixed and vulgar esoteric texts in Central Asia since the latter half of the 8th century and during the Tibetan and Uighur occupation from the late 8th century to the 9th century. This popularity may also be reflected in such a 10th century Dunhuang Sanskrit/Khotanese text as Ch. c 001. It is a very long scroll comprising 1109 lines and contains such popular esoteric texts as *Buddhoṣṇīṣavijaya-dhāraṇī* (Skt.), *Sitātapatra-dhāraṇī*

(Skt.), *Bhadrakalpika-sūtra*, and *Sumukha-sūtra* (Khot.). [fig. 7] Possibly, against this context is to be understood the Khotanese king's tribute to the Chinese court in the late 10th century. According to a Chinese record, the king sent a Buddhist text *Dashengzhoucangjing* 大乘呪藏經 "Sutra of the collection of Mahayana spells" written in Khotanese Brahmi, but the text was destroyed because it looked unauthentic (Hatani 1914: 344-345).

III. Problem 2: Sogdian Buddhism in Semirech'e [map 1]

As stated above, no substantial Buddhist remains have been discovered in Sogdiana proper. On his way to India Xuanzang visited Samarqand and reported that there were only two Buddhist temples but no more monks. However, remains of several Buddhist temples have been excavated in archaeological sites of Ak Beshim, Krasnayarechka, and a few other sites in Semirech'e, Kyrgyzstan (Kato 1997: 121-184). Xuanzang's description of Sogdiana starts with Ak Beshim, which he calls *Suye* 素葉, or

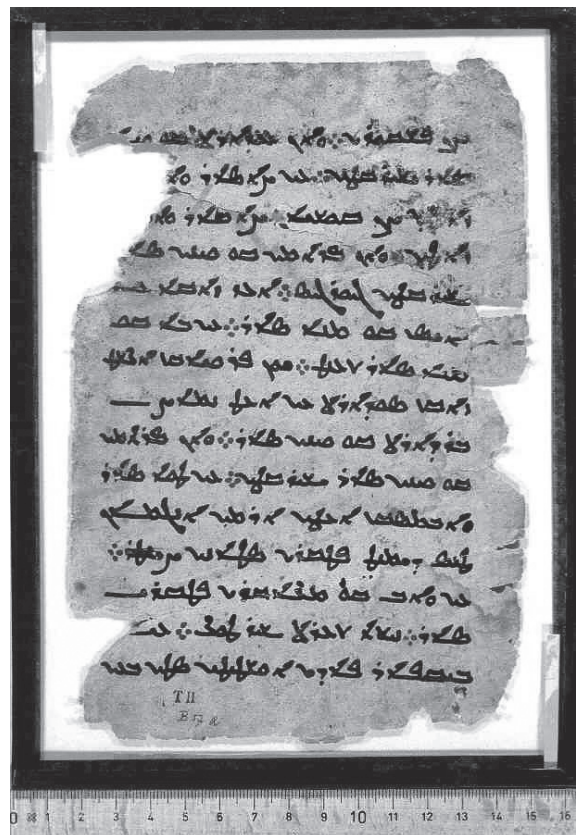


Fig.11 Page from a Christian Sogdian manuscript E23 (Martyrdom of St. George), Turfan

Suyab. Accordingly, Sogdian speaking people were living in this area along the left bank of the Chu River. Since Xuanzang, who visited Ak Beshim in 630 before arriving in Samarqand, did not report on any Buddhist temples there, these temples must have been founded after his visit. In fact it is well known that one Chinese state temple named Dayunsi 大雲寺 was founded there in 690, on which A. Forte (1992) wrote a very detailed article. Possibly, it was at that time that a Buddhist temple was first built there. Since we now find remains of more than one Buddhist temple, more than one temple must have been founded by local Sogdian people. One plaque discovered there depicts local Sogdian deities or donators, male (right) and female (left), holding a dish upon which is placed a Bactrian camel (Kato 1997: 140, no. 7). [figs. 8 and 9]

Here the problem is the nature of their Buddhism in Semirech'e: 'Is it Mahāyāna or Hīnayāna?', 'Where did it originate from?'. Unfortunately, what has so far been unearthed is not very informative in this respect, in particular because almost no manuscript remains have survived mainly due to natural conditions. One exception is a fragment of what seems to be a Brahmi manuscript, which however is almost impossible to read, at least as far as I can see from the photograph unpublished so far. Nevertheless, such a statue as representing a

bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (preserved in the cabinet of the national museum) seems to indicate some elements of the mixed esoteric Buddhism. [fig. 10] I wonder if the esoteric elements were due to the influence from the Buddhist movement of the contemporary Central Asia just discussed above. Possibly, one may also assume that the Buddhism of Semirech'e ultimately originated from India, in particular Kashmir. Of course, the influence of Chinese Buddhism during the late 7th to early 8th centuries must also be considered.

IV. Problem 3: Mahākāla attested in a Christian Sogdian text

The last problem to be discussed in this paper is Mahākāla appearing in a Christian Sogdian text.

The Christian Sogdian text found in the manuscript C1 (E23) was first published in 1941 by O. Hansen in his *Berliner soghdische Texte I*, and his edition was later extensively reviewed by I. Gershevitch (1946) and E. Benveniste (1947). It comprises the story about St. George translated more or less faithfully from a Syriac original. [fig. 11] In one place St. George ordered the boy whom he cured from physical disabilities to enter an idol temple and to tell the idol to come out. The English translation of the Syriac version edited by E. W. Brooks

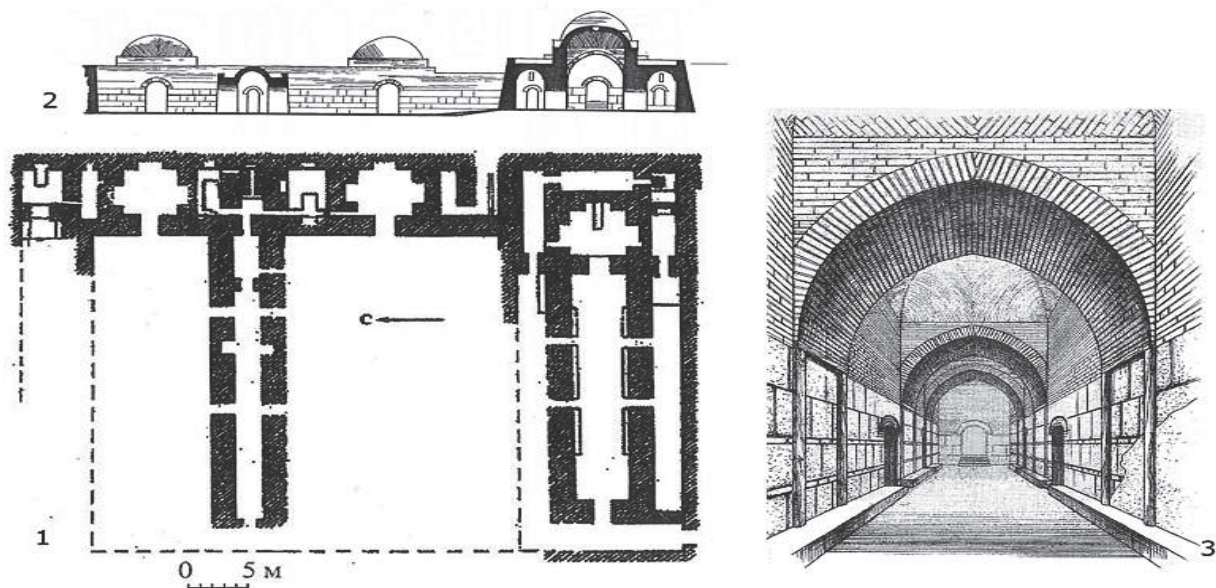


Fig.12 Christian church of Ak-Beshim (plan and reconstruction)
After Gosudarstvennyj Ermitaz (Roccija) / Instituta Istorii NAN Kyrgyzstana, *Sujab Ak-Besim*,
St. Petersburg, 2002, pp. 100, 106.

reads as follows: To you I say, boy, go into this temple and say to Apollo: “Come out at once for the bondman of our Lord Jesus Christ is standing outside and waiting for you” (Brooks 1925: 110). The following is the corresponding Sogdian version: *tw' s' r w' bmsq 'y ty ' rmy 'ngm' n tys dymnt ptqry-st' ny cyntz ZY w' b qw mx' qry ptqry s' r nyž' žyrt šyr twx ZY byqp' r p' dy' wštyty sty bgy [xyp](θ) bnty ZY žyrtsq t' f'* (235-241). Apollo of the Syriac version is rendered as *mx' qr* in Sogdian. *mx' q()r* is a loanword from Sanskrit *Mahākāla*, who represents, according to F. Grenet of College de France, “aspect destructeur de Śiva, devenu dieu protecteur du dharma dans le bouddhisme Vajrayāna du Tibet”⁸⁾. Concerning the reason why Apollo was equated with *Mahākāla*, Lüders (*apud Hansen, op. cit.*, 28) suggests that the Greek word *Apollōn* was here mistaken for *Apolluōn* “the Destroyer”. Nevertheless, since the name is not spelled **mx' q' l* but *mx' q()r* in the text, and because *mx' k' r* also appears in Pelliot sogdien 3, this deity and his name seem to have been naturalized in Sogdian. In other words, the selection of this name in translating Apollo is likely to indicate that the name *mx' q()r* and his statue were popular enough in the society where the translation was produced. I venture to suppose that the translator deliberately substituted Apollo and his statue found in the Syriac original for the deity and his statue most popular among the pagan people around him.

This observation is supported by yet another similar case so far unnoticed. Let us see the text lines 277-284: *c' nw [xwycq] m' t wyny r' n' swd' rt [šyrqty pt] qry-st' ny cyntz ZY [wy] twy' d' rt xwny ptqry qy xšywny nm' c brysq w' m' t ZY swd' rt qw r' m(c) [.] ty s' r ZY pcyrd' rt [pr br] zy wxr w' n fr' my pryž tyw mwrtz ptqr'* “while his belt was unfastened, the saint ran into the idol-temple and melted down the idol whom the king was bringing homage. He ran to Rām[c.]tē and cried with a loud voice and ordered thus: ‘Run away, dead idol.’” In this case, the Syriac counterpart is considerably different from the Sogdian: And he ran and went into the temple and overthrew the idols of Zeus and of Heracles; and he cried with a loud voice and said: “Away with you, dead idols.”⁹⁾ In the Athenian Greek text, George broke the statue of Heracles with his belt and told the remaining statues to disappear (Brooks, art. cit, 110-111).

As for *r' mc[.] ty*, Benveniste translated it as “pāiens”, obviously connecting it with *rmq' n(y)* “heathen, pagan” and taking the final *-ty* for the plural ending. However, what St. George said in the Sogdian version certainly leads one to presume a singular object and Benveniste’s translation is not supported by the context. In view of the Greek version, one may identify *r' mc[.] ty* with the Sogdian counterpart of Heracles, but the above mentioned equation of Apollo with *mx' q' r* makes it likely that here again a deity popular enough among the people for whom the translation was prepared was selected by the translator. If this assumption is correct, it is almost certain to restore the word in question as *r' mc[y] ty* “the spirit Ram”, of which the form in Sogdian script *r' mcytk* is encountered in a legend of Bucharan coins. Its Bactrian cognate *ramosēto* is also well attested.¹⁰⁾ That a temple dedicated to God Ram was popular among Sogdians is also inferred from a Chinese geographical text of the late ninth century discovered in Dunhuang. According to the text there was a fire-temple or *xianmiao* 祆廟 dedicated to *alan* 阿覽 (**â lâm*) near the oasis of Hami located to the east of Turfan (cf. Yoshida, *BSOAS* 57/2, 1994, 392). I once showed that the Chinese phonetic transcription *alan* most likely stand for Ram, the first *a* 阿 being a prothetic vowel preceding the initial *r-*, which is foreign to Chinese.

Recently, M. Dickens (2010: 117-139) discussed the problems surrounding the Metropolitan of the Turks established during the reign of Patriarch Timothy (780-823). He argues, in my opinion correctly, that the Turks in question are to be identified with Qarluqs, whose heartland was Semirech'e. He also draws attention to the fact that two churches were excavated in Ak-Beshim, which are likely to be dated to the 8th century. [fig. 12] Thus, it is not impossible that the translation of the St. George text into Sogdian was made in a head church in Ak-Beshim, where both esoteric Buddhism and local Sogdians’ Zoroastrianism existed side by side with the so-called Nestorian Christianity, and that it was because of the popularity of the two religions in the area that the translator selected *r' mcyty* and *Mahākāla* as the translations of Heracles and Apollo.

V. Conclusion

Here in this paper I discussed the relationship between the Sogdians of the 8th to 9th centuries and (mixed) Esoteric Buddhism, which seems to me to be one of the mainstreams of the Central Asian Buddhism of those days.

註

- 1) 本稿は、2018年6月ドイツのRuhr-Universität Bochum, Center for Religious Studiesにおいて行った学術講演をもとにしている。(日本学術振興会科学研究費基盤(C)による研究成果である。)
- 2) On the Sogdian Buddhism and Buddhist Sogdian texts in general see Yoshida 2009.
- 3) For the bibliographical details concerning the editions and studies see Yoshida (2015), which is available at the following web-site: https://repository.kulib.kyoto-u.ac.jp/dspace/bitstream/2433/197456/1/lit54_167-180.pdf
- 4) My studies of the fragments preserved in St. Petersburg (L35a, 35b, 40, 49, 50, 52, 81, and 89 as well as Kr IV/879) has been published in *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hung.* 72/2, 2019, pp. 141-163.
- 5) For the sake of convenience, I keep the original numberings of Yoshida 2015. On the bibliography see footnote 2 above.
- 6) Cited from the text revised by Sims-Williams and available at: <http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/iran/miran/sogd/sogdswc/sogdn.htm> (accessed on 28th February 2016).
- 7) In line 243 it is spelled *mx'q'r* and the same word (spelled *mx'k'r* in Sogdian script) is attested in Pelliot sogdien 3, line 220, cf. S. Azarnouche et F. Grenet, “Thaumaturgie sogdienne: Nouvelle édition et commentaire du texte P. 3”, *Studia Iranica* 39, 2010, 27-77.
- 8) Azarnouche et Grenet, art. cit., 69.
- 9) Cf. Brooks, art. cit, pp. 110-111.
- 10) For *r'mcytk* and the corresponding Bactrian form see Sims-Williams 2007: 259b.

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