The Epitaph of a Buddhist Lady: A Newly Discovered Chinese-Sogdian Bilingual

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The inscription edited in this paper is the third bilingual Chinese-Sogdian epitaph to be made known, following that of Wirkakk (Shijun) and Wiyusi and that of Nanai-vande and Kekan, published in 2005 and 2017 respectively. The new epitaph is that of a Sogdian lady who died in 736 CE. Apart from its linguistic interest, it is important as attesting the conversion of a Sogdian lady to the "heretical" Buddhist *Sanjie* or "Three levels" movement, which remained popular despite being officially suppressed under the Tang.

INTRODUCTION

In this paper we present our reading and translation of a bilingual Chinese-Sogdian epitaph preserved in the Ancient Steles Art Museum in Yulin. In recent years the tombs of several Sogdians who were settled in China have been excavated in northern China. Many of these are elaborately decorated with carved or painted panels in Central Asian style; some tombs also contain epitaphs, usually in Chinese, but in a few cases also in Sogdian. This is in fact the third bilingual Chinese-Sogdian epitaph to be discovered. The first was that of the *sabao* 薩保 Wirkakk or Shijun 史君 "Mr. Shi" and his wife Wiyusi, excavated in the northern suburbs of Xi'an in 2003 and published in 2005 in the volume *Les sogdiens en Chine*, where the Chinese text was edited by Sun Fuxi and the Sogdian text by Yutaka Yoshida.[1] Prof. Yoshida has since made some minor revisions to his earlier reading and translation.[2] Unfortunately his latest results have been published only in Japanese, so that most Chinese and Western scholars continue to rely on the articles published in 2005.

The second such epitaph is that of the merchant Nanai-vande and his wife Kekan, now preserved in the Wangye Museum in Shenzhen, but evidently originating from Ye in northern China. This was published in 2017 by us in cooperation with Mr. Yan Yan, the director of the Wangye Museum.[3]

In passing, it is worth mentioning the Chinese-Middle Persian bilingual epitaph from Xi'an, which has been known for much longer, having been discovered in 1955 and pub-

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1. Sun 2005; Yoshida 2005.
2. Yoshida 2016.
3. Bi, Sims-Williams, and Yan 2017. See also Bi 2020.

lished several times, most recently by Hassan Reza Baghbidi and by Yutaka Yoshida.[4] It is a memorial for a Persian lady who died in 874 CE.

The two previously known Chinese-Sogdian bilingual epitaphs both date from the Northern Zhou period (557–581 CE). Although they come from quite different areas, they also have several other features in common. In particular, each commemorates a husband and wife, who were buried together in the same tomb. The new inscription dates from a much later period (739 CE) and commemorates only one person, a woman, who was buried by her husband and sons in a special place chosen by herself in line with her personal religious beliefs. In the previously known bilingual epitaphs (including that in Chinese and Middle Persian) the two versions differ considerably in their content and phraseology. The two versions of the new text correspond to one another much more closely, as Yutaka Yoshida points out, though here too each version includes some phrases that have no equivalent in the other.

The stone on which the new inscription is carved is 51.5 cm in length, 42.5 cm in height, and 8.5–9.0 cm thick. It has lost one corner, including parts of the first two lines of the Sogdian text. It is otherwise complete, but was apparently exposed to the elements over a long period, resulting in surface damage that makes many parts extremely hard to read. The two previously known bilinguals are much better preserved. The difficulties of interpretation that the latter present are largely due to errors made by the engravers, while the new inscription seems to be more accurately carved. In terms of its grammar, the new Sogdian text not surprisingly shows a later stage of development. In particular, it has lost the distinction between the masculine and feminine forms of the 3rd person singular intransitive preterite, which is still preserved in both of the bilinguals from the Northern Zhou period.[5] Other characteristics of the later language include the use of *xypδ* '(one's) own' as equivalent to a genitive marker (line 1 and passim), *mʾtyh* rather than *mʾδryh* as the obl. case of *mʾth* 'mother' (line 14), and the spelling *mxʾyzʾnt* for *mnxʾyzʾnt*, 3 pl. impf. of *ʾnxʾyz* 'to erect' (line 12).

The most remarkable feature of the new inscription, which clearly differentiates it from the other bilingual epitaphs, is its strong Buddhist content. The inscription from Ye gives no hint of any religious affiliation, while in the case of Wirkakk scholars have debated whether he was a Zoroastrian or a Manichaean.[6]

The new epitaph is clearly Buddhist, and the central part of both the Chinese and the Sogdian texts is specifically concerned with the religious beliefs of the deceased and her conversion to the Buddhist sect known as the *Sanjie jiao* 三階教, the "Three levels" or "Three stages" school. The fact that the deceased was an adherent of this sect, which has also been recognized by Li Hao, is clear from the references to the "two kinds" of Buddhist law, "the universal and the particular" (有普別兩種仏法耳, Chinese, line 3) or "the direct and the divergent" (Sogdian, lines 3–4), and to the "law suitable for the mind of an ordinary person" (Sogdian, lines 7–8), which refer to fundamental ideas of this school. It also explains why the body of the deceased was taken to the Zhongnan mountain, the final resting place of Xinxing 信行 (540–594), the founder of the *Sanjie jiao*, who is referred to in both the Sogdian and the Chinese texts as the "Great virtuous friend."

4. Baghbidi 2011; Yoshida 2020: 105–23.

5. Exemplified by *pcwšty* '(she) met' (line 7) and *ʾkrty* '(she) became' (lines 10, 11, and 16). The special feminine forms of the 3 sg. intr. pret. are also attested in some Manichaean and Christian texts (cf. Gershevitch 1954: 248, note on §861).

6. See most recently de la Vaissière 2019.

THE CHINESE VERSION

Chinese Text (fig. 1)

1. 大唐故安優婆姨塔銘并序[7]
2. 優婆姨姓安，涼府孤臧人也 。自開元十七之
3. 歲已届　王畿，遂聞有普別兩種仏法耳 。
4. 雖聞有藥，未霑身，唐捐二周，俄經三載 。後遇
5. 良友爲演一乘之妙理，啟凡俗之迷心，誓畢
6. 三祇，當闡正法 。以開元廿四年二月廿五日
7. 遘疾終於群賢坊私第里也，春秋六十有一 。
8. 即以三月二日移柩於終南山大善知識林
9. 側起塔焉，男思□ 、善智等遵遺命也 。呜呼哀
10. 哉！乃爲銘曰：□□□真，仏子以智慧明厭生
11. 死而求涅槃 。 開元廿七年歲次己卯二月十五日建 。

Translation of the Chinese Text

During the Great Tang (dynasty), the stupa inscription of the late lay-sister of the An family, with preface.

(2) The lay-sister is from the An family (and) was a person from Guzang 孤臧[8] in Liangfu 涼府 (i.e., Wuwei 武威). Since the seventeenth year of Kaiyuan 開元 (= 729 CE) (3) she has lived in the "royal domain" 王畿 (i.e., Chang'an 長安). Thereupon she heard two kinds of Buddhist law: the universal and the particular. (4) Although she heard about medicine, it did not yet come into contact with her person, so that (all her effort) was in vain for two years, in an instant three years passed. Afterward she met (5) a "virtuous friend" who expounded for her the wonderful sublimity of the One Vehicle and enlightened her lost mind, (which was that) of an ordinary person. She vowed that through (6) three uncountable eons the correct law might be clear (for her)! Then, in the twenty-fourth year of Kaiyuan, in the second month, on the twenty-fifth day (= 10 April 736 CE), (7) having become ill she passed away in her own house in Qunxian Ward 群賢坊 at the age of sixty-one. (8) Then, in the third month, on the second day (= 17 April), her coffined body was taken to the side of the Da Shanzhishi 大善知識 ("Great virtuous friend") forest in the Zhongnanshan 終南山, (9) and a stupa was erected by (her) sons, Si… 思□, Shanzhi 善智, and the other one, according to the instruction in her will. Alas! Such sorrow! (10) Therefore an inscription was produced. In their wisdom, Buddhists are weary of (the cycle of) life and (11) death, desiring to attain *nirvāṇa*.

It (i.e., the stupa) was made in the twenty-seventh year of Kaiyuan, a *jimao* 己卯 year, in the second month, on the fifteenth day (= 28 March 739 CE).

A Note on the Chinese Text

There is no need for an extensive commentary on the Chinese text, since most points that require comment also appear in the Sogdian and will be discussed below in the commentary to that version. As in the case of the Sogdian, our readings are partly based on a rubbing and partly on direct autopsy of the stone. Sometimes the stone is clearer, sometimes the rubbing, but it must be admitted that many characters are doubtful because of the poor condition of

7. Punctuation added by the editor (Bi Bo). The characters *yan* 演 (line 5) and *nan* 男 (line 9) were first read by Zhu Yuqi 朱玉麒 and Rong Xinjiang.

8. The text of the epitaph has this form rather than the more common 姑臧.

Fig. 1. The inscription, Chinese text. Rubbing courtesy of Qi Zhi, Ancient Steles Art Museum, Yulin

the surface. This explains why some of the readings suggested by us differ from those of Li 2020.[9]

9. For example, *erqiu niepan* 而求涅槃 (line 11), see Bi and Sims-Williams 2020: 179. Although the reading of *erqiu* is not very certain, *niepan* is ascertainable, as discussed below, n. 59.

THE SOGDIAN VERSION

Sogdian Text (fig. 2)

1.]. ʾp[wr]sty[a] ʾ[ʾ]n kwtrʾ ʾwpʾyʾh[b] xypδ ʾstʾwp nʾmδʾn[c]
2.]. ʾyδ ʾʾn kwtrʾ ʾwpʾyʾh[b] kcʾn ʾsky γwʾn[d] cyk mrtxmʾk
3. mʾt xʾy ʾnkwyn 10-6[e] myk srδy kw xwmtʾn ʾʾγt wʾnw ptγwšδʾrt ʾδw znkʾn
4. pwty pδkh ʾsty mrxy ZY ptʾyn styw wʾn ptγwšδʾrt mʾt myδʾkk rʾβ šyr[y][f]
5. rwrʾ ʾsty pyšt šy wʾnw[g] prγnʾ(?) Lʾ ʾkrty ʾyc xwrt wnʾyty kδ[h] ZY šy ZKw γrʾyw
6. ʾʾγʾyrwtʾy ʾδw ʾδry srδ pyšm ʾnβʾnty mʾyδ[i] zrnʾk(?) ZY wʾrʾk xrt cywʾyδ pštrw
7. šyrʾnkʾry ptzʾncyk pcwšty ZKZY[j] šy ʾyw prβʾr pʾrʾγz nškʾrt prβʾyr[k] wʾywš[l] myδʾkk
8. xypδ pʾzn ʾnsʾky δrm xyδ wʾn ʾʾγδʾy xwšδʾrt mʾt rʾmʾnt 100 krp ʾδry ʾʾsʾnky
9. wzrw(?)[m] pδkh pcwzʾn ZY ptγwšʾn[n] ZY ywxsʾn ZY šwʾn ptsrδ xʾy ʾnkwyn 20-4 myk srδ rʾβkʾw[o]
10. ʾkrty[p] δβty mʾxy 20-5 sγty nymʾk myδ s..ʾwʾn[q] xwyr txʾyz ʾwy kwnʾyn βʾnk xypδ xʾnʾy pwʾrsty[r]
11. ʾkrty[p] 20-20-20-1 myk srδy cšty mʾx ʾδ[wsγt]y[s] βrwʾrty kw nʾmšʾnʾy RBk šyrʾnkʾrʾk ptzʾncyky
12. xypδ ʾstʾwpy ....[t] βrt(?)[u] ʾstʾwp mxʾyzʾnt xypδ wyry wyʾws ʿM ʾδry zʾtk srδmʾn
13. ZY ʾʾδprn[v] ZY ʿM pwtyδβʾr[n] prʾyw myδ[w] cʾnw pštʾwn mʾt zʾtʾyt ʾnxwh zγwy[a] mʾrʾyxk[x] cn
14. mʾtyh ....ry .....ʾ pʾrZY cnn wysʾʾk[y] pwty mγʾwn mʾtyh ywʾyštym ʿM RBk ʾβzyʾ
15. pcwʾštym[z] rty mn(?) kδ zʾwr βwtʾy rty ʾβt rtnynʾk ʾstʾwp wnʾytʾym tym kβny mʾt pyšt[aa]
16. ..... snkynʾk ʾstʾwp mʾyδ(?)[bb] mʾryxc nʾʾ prmʾy[cc] ʾkrty 10-5
17. ʾynʾk ʾstʾwp xʾy ʾnkwyn 20-7 my srδ δβty mʾx ʾkrty

[a] Reading suggested by YY. [b] Or *ʾwpʾynh*, hardly *ʾwpʾyyh* (in either line 1 or line 2). [c] One word or two? YY suggests *nʾm δnn*. [d] Or *xwʾn*, *xwyn*, *γwyn*. [e] Error for *10-7*. [f] Or *xy*..? *ʾn*..? [g] Less likely *wzrw*. [h] With horizontal tail. As there is no other final *-δ* like this in the inscription (except perhaps that of *mʾyδ* in line 16), one might also consider reading *kδʾ*. [i] For the writing of *-yδ* here cf. *cywʾyδ* at the end of the line and *myδ* in line 10. [j] *ZKZY* (rather than *ʾPZY*) is clear on the stone. [k] Fairly clear apart from the final *r*. It is not sure that the word is complete at the end. [l] The last letters (*-ywš* or *-ywx*, hardly *-yws*) are rather clear, but those preceding them are uncertain. [m] Or *wʾnw*? Neither reading is wholly satisfactory. The last letter in fact looks more like *r*, perhaps because the top of *-w* has disappeared. [n] The middle of the word is not fully legible, but there is little doubt about the reading as a whole. [o] Only *-kʾw* is certain. [p] Both in line 10 and in line 11 the individual letters are uncertain, but the outline of the word as a whole makes the reading *ʾkrty* very likely. [q] The first letter is most likely *s-*, but the letters immediately following are unclear. Only *-wʾn* is certain. [r] The end of the word is quite unclear. [s] We owe the brilliant reading *cšty mʾx ʾδ[wsγt]y* to YY. [t] Illegible. The last letter seems to be *-c* or *-n*. [u] Only *-t* is sure. [v] The first two letters are not quite certain. [w] The writing of the *y* seems to be blundered. [x] The final *-k* is rather small (resembling *-r*), probably in order to leave room for *cn*. [y] Less likely *wyšʾʾk*. [z] With unusually long horizontal offstroke. As there is no other final *-m* like this in the inscription, one might also consider reading *-mn* or *-mʾ*. [aa] The final *-t* is written in an unusual way, no doubt because of lack of space at the end of the line. [bb] The first two letters are almost certainly *mʾ-* or *sʾ-*. The following letters are unclear, but the word ends with a horizontal offstroke (cf. note h above). [cc] Reading sug-

Fig. 2. The inscription, Sogdian text. Rubbing courtesy of Qi Zhi, Ancient Steles Art Museum, Yulin

gested by YY. The last letter is like no other in the inscription, having a form intermediate between -*r* (as we first read it) and -*y*.

Translation of the Sogdian Text

[During the Great Tang], the "stupa" (i.e., tomb) [inscription] containing the name of the late lay-sister (Sanskrit *upāsikā*) of the An 安 family (2) …

This lay-sister of the An family was a person belonging to the "upper county" of Kachan (= Guzang 姑臧, i.e., Liangzhou 涼州). (3) In the seventeenth year of Kaiyuan 開元 (= 729 CE) she came to Khumdan (= Xianyang 咸陽, i.e., Chang'an 長安). She heard thus: (4) "The law of the Buddha is of two kinds: the direct and the divergent." Although she heard that there is good medicine (for) the illness of an ordinary (person), (5) yet the idea(?) did not occur to her (that) she might be able to consume any (of that medicine) so that it might (6) come into contact with her person. Two (or) three years in succession(?)[10] went to waste and (were) in vain. Afterward (7) she met a "virtuous friend" (Skt. *kalyāṇamitra*), who illuminated(?) for her the explanation of the excellent meaning of the One Vehicle (Skt. *ekayāna*), (8) the law (Skt. *dharma*) suitable for the mind of an ordinary (person). Thus she wished:[11] "Always, for a hundred ages (Skt. *kalpa*) (and) three uncountable (eons) (Skt. *asaṃkhyeya*),

10. Or "therefore" (see commentary).
11. Literally "wished a wish."

(9) may I encounter and hear and learn and follow the correct(?) law!"[12] Then in the twenty-fourth year of Kaiyuan she became ill. (10) In the second month, on the twenty-fifth day (= 10 April 736 CE), in the middle of the day, to the west of the Western Market(?), in Qunxian ward 群賢坊, in her own house, she passed away, (11) in (her) sixty-first year. In the third month, on the second day (= 17 April), (her) corpse was borne to the [vicinity] (?) of the stupa of the "Great virtuous friend" (= Xinxing 信行) in the Nanshan 南山. (12) Her husband Wiyus erected a stupa, together with (their) three sons, Sardhmān, (13) and Ādh-farn, and likewise Puti-thvār, as was (her) instruction. The sons' hearts (were) grieving bitterly because of (14) (their) mother's [passing]: "Since we have become separated from (our) Buddha-like mother Wisāk, we have met with a great evil. (15) If we had the means, we would have made a seven-jeweled (Skt. *saptaratna*) stupa, but (our means) were small. Nevertheless, (16) please do not grieve [in this] stone stupa!"

(17) This stupa was made in the twenty-seventh year of Kaiyuan, in the second month, (day) fifteen (= 28 March 739 CE).

Commentary on the Sogdian Text

As suggested to us by Yutaka Yoshida, the first partially preserved word of the Sogdian text can plausibly be restored as *ʾp[wr]sty*, translating *gu* 故 'deceased'. This would be a normal variant spelling of *pwʾrsty*, the form found in line 10 and discussed below, pp. 814–15. The personal name of the deceased, which can perhaps be read as Wisāk "Peace," does not appear until line 14, near the end of the inscription.[13] In the first two lines, she is simply referred to as a "lay-sister of the An 安 family." An 安 is of course one of the famous "nine surnames of Zhaowu 昭武," this one being used originally for Sogdians whose families hailed from Bukhara. Judging from parallel cases in some other stupa inscriptions,[14] Wisāk may be the lady's religious name rather than her birth name. It is not clear whether it is a mere coincidence that the meaning of her personal name seems to be the same as that of her surname An 安.

Sogdian *ʾwpʾyʾh* is obviously a transcription of *youpoyi* 優婆姨 (EMC ʔiw pɦua ji, EH ʔju ba źjiəi),[15] the Chinese equivalent of Sanskrit *upāsikā* 'lay-sister', Gandhari *u(v)asia*. The reason for the final *-ʾh*, i.e., [-ā], is not clear. One could alternatively read *-nh*, but hardly *-yh*. Possibly the Sogdians treated the Chinese form ending in *-i* like an inherited feminine in **-ǐ-*, to which it was normal to add the more common f. ending **-ā-*.[16] At any rate, since the form *ʾwpʾyʾh* occurs twice, in both line 1 and line 2, it is not likely to be a mistake. The same applies to the repeated spelling *ʾʾn-kwtrʾ* 'belonging to the An 安 family'. Elsewhere, giving the family name of males, we find spellings such as *ʾʾn-kwttrʾk*, which imply a *bahuvrīhi*-suffix *-ē* < **-aka-*.[17] The expected f. form would be *ʾʾn-kwtrʾnch*,[18] but in principle a form in *-ā* < **-akā-* would be a possible f. equivalent of m. *-ē* < **-aka-*, just as most Khota-

12. Or (reading *wʾnw pδkʾ*) "that law."

13. Attested as a m. name in the Manichaean spelling *wsʾk* (Colditz 2018: 524–25, no. 606).

14. Other examples include that of Zhang Changqiu 張常求 (discussed below, p. 811), whose courtesy name (*zi* 字) is Changqiu, that of Duan Changxing 段常省 (discussed below, p. 814), and that of Lu Weicengyou 盧未曾有 (d. 738), whose tabooed personal name (*hui* 諱) is 未曾有 (TMH: 1479, Kaiyuan 468). None of these names seems to be one given at birth.

15. EMC / LMC = Early / Late Middle Chinese (Pulleyblank 1991); EH = Eastern Han (Coblin 1983).

16. Sims-Williams 1981: 14–15. Since the preceding "stem" is clearly heavy, one must assume that the final **-ā-* was protected from disappearance by the further addition of **-kā-*, another common process.

17. Sims-Williams and Hamilton 2015: 32.

18. Gershevitch 1954: §§1043–48.

nese adjectives in *-aa-* have f. forms in *-aā-*; cf. also Sogd. *trxqʾ* < **taxrakā-*, the f. form of *trxq-* < **taxraka-* 'bitter'.[19]

Sogdian *ʾstʾwp* translates *ta* 塔 'stupa, pagoda', which in this inscription, as in other *Sanjie jiao* epitaphs, evidently refers to an overground tomb or reliquary for the remains of the deceased.

The end of line 1 is problematic. While the reading *nʾm* is clear, the meaning 'name' does not seem to fit the context. Yutaka Yoshida has ingeniously suggested to us that *nʾm* may here represent *ming* 銘 'inscription', this being a homophone of *ming* 名 'name' (as well as containing this character as its right-hand component). In that case, as he noted, the following word could be *δnn* 'with', the beginning of a phrase corresponding to the words 并序 "with preface" in the Chinese text. A possible alternative is to read *nʾmδʾn*, lit. 'name-containing', and to interpret this otherwise unattested compound as a noun for 'inscription' or, more likely, an adjective qualifying a following noun with this meaning, the expression "inscription containing a name" acting as a sort of etymological translation of 銘.

In line 2 the demonstrative *ʾyδ* 'this' perhaps implies 'the same, the above-mentioned', as it does in the epitaph of Wirkakk. Wisāk is described by the phrase *kcʾn ʾsky-γwʾn-cyk mrtxmʾk*, which we have translated as "a person belonging to the upper county of Guzang." Here *mrtxmʾk* 'man' translates *ren* 人 in the sense 'person' (without regard to sex), while *kcʾn*, the Sogdian spelling of the place-name Guzang 姑臧 or 孤臧 in Gansu, is well attested in documents and inscriptions from the "Ancient Letters" of the early fourth century onward. We have interpreted *ʾsky-γwʾn-cyk* as 'belonging to the upper county' on the supposition that *γwʾn* is a transcription of Chinese *xian* 縣 'county' (EMC γwɛn^{h}, LMC xɦjyan), borrowed as a technical term, and that the compound *ʾsky-γwʾn* represents *shangxian* 上縣 'upper county', a term used during the Tang to designate Guzang as the most populous county in the prefecture (*zhou* 州) of Liangzhou 涼州 or Liangfu 涼府, the abbreviation of *Liangzhou dudu fu* 涼州都督府 (708–742).[20] In the epitaph of Shijun, he is referred to in the Chinese text as "*sabao* of Liangzhou" but in the Sogdian as "*sabao* of Guzang,"[21] which seems to indicate that the Sogdians designated the prefecture by the name of Guzang, its chief city and county. In translating *Liangfu Guzang ren* 涼府孤臧人 "a person from Guzang (county) in Liangfu" as *kcʾn ʾsky-γwʾn-cyk mrtxmʾk* "a person belonging to the upper county of Guzang," the composer of the Sogdian version may have intended to represent *Liangfu* 涼府 by *kcʾn*, lit. 'Guzang', and *Guzang* 孤臧 by *ʾsky-γwʾn* 'the upper county'.

According to the Chinese version, Wisāk came to Chang'an in the seventeenth year of the Kaiyuan 開元 reign (LMC k^{h}aj ŋyan, transcribed as *xʾyʾnkwyn* also in the colophon of the Sogdian "Sūtra prohibiting intoxicating drink," line 34).[22] The Sogdian version of our inscription seems to give the date as the sixteenth year, but this is probably a mere mistake, since the difference between the figures 6 and 7 is very small in Sogdian. As for the name Khumdan, *ʾxwmtʾn* or *xwmtʾn*, first attested in Sogdian in the Ancient Letters and later in Wirkakk's epitaph, this is nowadays known to be a transcription of the name Xianyang 咸陽, the capital of the Qin empire, which continued to be used by the Sogdians as the name of the capital after the Han had moved its location to Chang'an, a few miles to the southeast.[23] In the Chinese text Chang'an is referred to as *wangji* 王畿 'royal domain', an expression for the capital city that is well attested in Tang literature and epitaphs. A space equivalent to two

19. Sims-Williams 1989: 185.
20. YHJX 40: 1019.
21. Sun Fuxi 2005: 49; Yoshida 2005: 59.
22. MacKenzie 1976, 1: 10.
23. See G. Haloun *apud* Henning 1948: 608.

characters is left blank before *wangji* to show respect for royal authority. The reason why Wisāk moved to Chang'an is not indicated, but to judge from the fact that the ward where she lived is next to the Western Market, the family were probably merchants.

On reaching Chang'an, the stronghold of the *Sanjie jiao*, Wisāk apparently came into contact with this sect for the first time, though she did not immediately accept its teachings. Lines 3–4 contain the first of several passages expressed in direct speech (sometimes introduced by the conjunction *mʾt* 'that', sometimes not). Here we read: "She heard thus: 'The law of the Buddha is of two kinds: the direct and the divergent'." The *Sanjie jiao* distinguishes the particular, partial, or exclusive teachings (*bie fa* 別法) from the general, universal, or inclusive teachings (*pu fa* 普法), of which only the latter are suitable for the people of the present, degenerate "third level."[24] This passage of the Sogdian is closely parallel to the Chinese version, which refers to "two kinds of Buddhist law: the universal and the particular" 有普別兩種仏法耳, using the characteristic words *pu* 普 and *bie* 別. The term *pufa* is the core of the teachings of the *Sanjie jiao*. It is also attested in the stupa inscription of another female follower of the *Sanjie jiao*, the *youpoyi* Zhang Changqiu 張常求.[25] Interestingly enough, this lady's religious experience was very similar to Wisāk's. She was a native of Nanyang 南陽, and later moved to Chang'an, where "she was able to hear the *pu fa.*" After her death in the tenth year of Kaiyuan (722 CE) in Huaide 懷德 ward in Chang'an (just to the south of Qunxian ward where Wisāk lived), her body was also taken to the Zhongnanshan for burial.

In lines 4–5 we read: "there is good(?) medicine (for) the illness of an ordinary (person)." From the wording of the Chinese text one might get the impression that Wisāk suffered from a physical illness, but the reference in the Sogdian to "the illness of an ordinary (person)" rules out such an interpretation. The biographical note on Xinxing in the *Mingbao ji* 冥報記 by Tang Lin 唐臨 (600–659) reports his teaching that people should "dispense medicine in accord with the affliction."[26] Here the word 'affliction', or 'illness' (*rʾβ*) as the Sogdian expresses it, clearly refers to false understanding rather than to an illness of the body. The passage of the *Mingbao ji* in which these words occur makes it clear that the "medicine" is the teaching that matches the capacity of the recipient. In the case of the "ordinary person" (Sogdian *myδʾkk*, literally 'middling', elsewhere used to translate *fan fu* 凡夫 = Sanskrit *pṛthagjana*),[27] this is the teaching just described as 'direct' or 'straightforward' (Sogdian *mrx-*).

In connection with *myδʾkk* 'ordinary (person)', it is of interest to note a passage in the Sogdian text of the *Dhūta-sūtra*, lines 78–80: "The layman (*myδʾkk mrtxmʾk*) of the two Vehicles (*prβʾr*), who is ignorant about the root (and) seed and of little knowledge, although he hears (*styw ... ptγʾwšt*) the excellent dharma (*pʾrʾγz δrm*), does not have the wise means and therefore does not believe."[28] Since the Chinese original of this Sogdian text was probably composed toward the end of the seventh century,[29] and since the ascetic practices known as *dhūta* (*toutuo* 頭陀) were typical for the *Sanjie jiao*,[30] a text such as this might well have been familiar to Wisāk or her teacher.

24. See for example Hubbard 2001: 33–34, 127.
25. TMH: 1257, Kaiyuan 145.
26. Cited in Hubbard 2001: 18.
27. MacKenzie 1976, 2: 167a.
28. The translation is that of MacKenzie 1976, 1: 39, with the addition in parentheses of the Sogdian words that are paralleled in our inscription.
29. Yoshida 1998: 167a.
30. See Hubbard 2001: 24–27 and elsewhere.

The next words in the Sogdian text (lines 5–6) are clearly an elaboration of the idea of the "illness" and the "medicine" that can cure it. Unfortunately the passage is somewhat obscurely expressed and the abbreviated wording of the Chinese text is even less clear, but it seems evident that the implied object of the verb *xwrt wnʾyty* (3 sg. opt. mid. tr. pot.) "might be able to consume (i.e., eat or drink)" must be the "medicine" referred to just before. Two words in this passage require specific comment. The first is *prγnʾ* (if correctly read), the basic meaning of which is 'type, manner, kind, way', but which we have here translated as 'idea' on the basis of the fact that *prγnʾ* in Sogdian Buddhist texts often translates *xiang* 想 = Sanskrit *saṃjñā* 'idea, perception' as well as *xiang* 相 = Sanskrit *lakṣaṇa* 'mark'.[31] The second is the verb *ʾʾγʾyr*, which seems to be otherwise unattested in Sogdian, but which can be understood as a literal translation of *zhan* 霑, the basic meaning of which is 'to moisten, soak'. Sogdian *ʾʾγʾyr* < ***ā-gāraya-** may therefore be understood as an exact cognate of Persian *āγārīdan* 'to moisten', Shughni *ažär-* 'to soak, wet (skin, clothes, etc.)', words that have cognates with different preverbs in many other Iranian languages, including Sogdian *wyʾyr* 'to soak, steep'.[32] Here, however, the literal meaning is not appropriate. In literature of the Tang period *zhan* 霑 is also attested with a rather general sense such as 'to affect, touch, come into contact with' and a wide range of possible subjects including dust or dirt; flowers or leaves; or, more metaphorically, sadness, joy, rank, grace, reputation, etc. In one epitaph dated 859 CE its subject is an illness: *weiji zhanshen* 微疾霑身 "a slight illness affected her body."[33] This suggests that the Sogdian could be translated: "Although she heard that there is … medicine (for) the illness of an ordinary (person), yet the idea(?) did not occur to her (that) she might be able to consume any (of that medicine) if it (= the illness) should affect her body." However, a corresponding translation seems impossible in the case of the Chinese version, where there is no word for 'illness'. We have therefore assumed that the subject of both *zhan* 霑 and *ʾʾγʾyr* is 'medicine'.

The expression in line 6—"Two (or) three years in succession(?) went to waste and (were) in vain"—probably means merely that Wisāk followed the standard Buddhist doctrine rejected by Xinxing rather than implying any particularly bad conduct. It seems likely that she was already a Buddhist (rather than a Zoroastrian, for instance) before she came to Chang'an. This is suggested by the fact that this section of the inscription, regarding the teaching that she encountered in Chang'an, does not refer to her simply hearing the "law of the Buddha" but plunges immediately into a very specific *Sanjie jiao* doctrine: "She heard thus: 'The law of the Buddha is of two kinds'." Moreover, if our reading of line 13 of the Sogdian text is correct, her third son, who must have been born many years earlier, even has a specifically Buddhist name: Puti-thvār, literally "Gift of the Buddha."

This sentence contains the slightly problematic phrase *pyšm ʾnβʾnty*. Since *ʾnβʾnt* means 'cause' (among other things), the literal meaning of the phrase might be "according to this cause," i.e., "therefore," which would make sense in the context. On the other hand, since such an expression does not seem to be attested elsewhere, it is tempting to take it as an error

31. MacKenzie 1976, 2: 121–22.

32. Morgenstierne 1974: 17b; Cheung 2007: 108–9. This proof of the existence in Sogdian of the verb *ʾʾγʾyr* 'to moisten' reopens the question of the meaning of several other Sogdian words that occur in unclear contexts but that could be related to this verb: the pp. *ʾʾγrtʾk*, its superlative *ʾʾγrtyšṭr*, and the nouns *ʾʾγʾr* and *mndʾʾγʾryyʾ* (see Sims-Williams and Durkin-Meisterernst 2012: 6 for references to the relevant attestations and discussions). The problem is that some or all of these words could equally well be connected with Christian Sogdian *ʾγrtqyʾ* 'splendor' and *ʾγʾrc* (f. of **ʾγʾry* or **ʾγʾrty*) 'clear, bright, radiant' (Sims-Williams 1985: 149), which seem likely to belong to a different root.

33. XBXMH: 801.

for (or a variant spelling of) **pyšm nβʾnty* "in succession, successively," which would be a plausible variant of the attested expression *ʾpyšym nβʾnt*.[34]

"Afterward she met a 'virtuous friend'" (lines 6–7). While the concept of the virtuous friend, that is, the counselor who can put one on the right way, Sanskrit *kalyāṇamitra*, Chinese *shanyou* 善友 or *shanzhishi* 善知識, is part of standard Buddhism, the idea of the "exhaustive seeking of virtuous companions" was particularly important for the *Sanjie jiao*.[35] Xinxing's followers even referred to him as *shanzhishi* or as the "Great virtuous friend," i.e., *Da shanzhishi* 大善知識, as is already known from the memorial stele inscriptions on his life and teaching drafted by his disciple Pei Xuanzheng 裴玄證 in 594 CE and by Prince Yue 越王 Li Zhen 李貞 (erected in 706 CE) as well as from other contemporary stupa inscriptions.[36] The latter phrase is also used to refer to Xinxing in line 8 of the Chinese text of our inscription, translated as *RBk šyrʾnkʾrʾk ptzʾncyk* "Great virtuous friend" in the Sogdian version, line 11. Elsewhere, *shanzhishi* is translated into Sogdian as *šyrʾk ptzʾncy* "good friend" or as *šyrʾnkʾrʾk* "virtuous (person)."[37] Here the Chinese (line 5) uses a different expression, *liangyou* 良友, lit. "good/virtuous friend," again translated as *šyrʾnkʾry ptzʾncyk* (Sogdian, line 7), while the stupa inscription (703 CE) of another lay follower of the *Sanjie jiao* uses the synonymous term *shanyou*.[38]

According to the Sogdian text, lines 7–8, the "virtuous friend" taught Wisāk the explanation of the "One Vehicle," namely "the law suitable for the mind of an ordinary (person)." The Chinese text too has the phrase "One Vehicle" (一乘). This is closely parallel to the passage of the *Mingbao ji* referred to above, which describes the "teaching of the One Vehicle" (頓教一乘) as the teaching that matches the capacity of the recipient. This latter concept is actually enshrined in the title of one of Xinxing's writings, the *Duigen qixing fa* 對根起行法 or "Teaching on the practice that arises in accord with the capacity."[39]

In line 7 the form *prβʾyr* does not seem to be a finite verb '(he) explained', for which one would expect either the impf. *pryβʾyr* or the tr. pret. *prβʾyrδʾrt*, but rather a verbal noun 'explanation'.[40] The finite verb of this clause is presumably the word following. If our reading *wʾywš* is correct, this may attest the 3 sg. impf. form of a previously unknown Sogdian verb corresponding to *qi* 啟 'enlightened' in line 5 of the Chinese. The present stem **wywš* can be understood as a causative form, lit. 'to cause to dawn, illuminate', derived from the inchoative *wyws* 'to dawn' in the same way as *wγryš* 'to waken, arouse' is derived from the inchoative *wγrʾs* 'to be awake'.[41]

Turning now to Wisāk's wish, *100 krp ʾδry ʾʾsʾnky* "a hundred ages (and) three uncountable eons" (line 8) is the length of time necessary for a bodhisattva to attain Buddhahood, i.e., three uncountable eons (= *sanqi* 三祇) to attain *liudu* 六度 ("six *pāramitā*s or things that ferry one beyond the sea of mortality to *nirvāṇa*") and a hundred ages (= *baijie* 百劫) to acquire *sanshier xiang* 三十二相 ("thirty-two *lakṣaṇa*s or characteristic marks of a

34. Translating *zhong* 終 'finally' according to Kudara and Sundermann 1998: 121 n. 29. Cf. also *pyšnβnt* (Reck 2015: 294, 306), *pyšnβʾnt* (Sims-Williams and Durkin-Meisterernst 2012: 165a; also attested in So 10100m[a], R11, unpublished) and *nβʾnt pyš nβʾnt* translating *xiangci* 相次 (MacKenzie 1976, 2: 63), all meaning 'in succession, one after another'.

35. Xinxing's *Duigen qixing fa* 對根起行法, cited by Hubbard 2001: 90. In a work written by Xinxing in 587 CE he claimed that from the age of seventeen onward he sought *shanshizhi* (求善知識); see Hubbard 2001: 9.

36. Nishimoto 1998: 39; Hubbard 2001: 14; Zhang 2013: 84, 270–73.

37. MacKenzie 1976, 2: 170a.

38. TMH: 1018, Chang'an 長安 038.

39. Thus translated by Hubbard 2001: 124.

40. For other attestations see Sims-Williams and Durkin-Meisterernst 2012: 141–42.

41. These three verbs are all attested in Christian Sogdian texts; see Sims-Williams 2016: 216, 203.

Buddha").[42] The phrase *sanqi baijie* 三祇百劫 "three uncountable eons (and) a hundred ages" is attested in various Buddhist texts. The exact Chinese equivalent of the Sogdian text, **baijie sanqi* 百劫三祇, seems not to be attested, though the similar expression *leijie sanqi* 累劫三祇 "many ages (and) three uncountable eons" is attested in the *Foxing guan xiushan fa* 佛性觀修善法, a work by Xinxing that survives at Dunhuang.[43] Here the Chinese text (line 6) has only *sanqi* 三祇, which is also attested in the variant form *sanqi* 三祁 in the stupa inscription (dated 753) of another follower of the *Sanjie jiao*, the *youpoyi* Duan Changxing 段常省, in which it is claimed that she has donated her "internal and external valuables" so that her wishes for three uncountable eons might be fulfilled (捨內外之財，望三祁願滿).[44] Although the text does not tell us what her wish is, it was probably similar to Wisāk's.

The state of the surface of the stone makes it difficult to decide whether the first words of line 9 are *wzrw pδkh* "the correct law" or *wʾnw pδkh* "that law," but the fact that the Chinese text (line 6) has *zheng fa* 正法 "the correct law," an expression translated as *wyrzrw pδkh* elsewhere in Sogdian,[45] seems to tip the balance in favor of the former reading.

Lines 9–11 deal with Wisāk's illness and death. The date of her death is given in a remarkably precise way, including even the time of day (*nymʾk myδ* "midday"), which is not mentioned in the Chinese text. The place where she died is also defined in more detail in the Sogdian than in the Chinese version. Sogdian *kwnʾyn βʾnk* is a slightly simplified transcription of Qunxian *fang* 群賢坊 (LMC kɦyn-xɦjian fjyaŋ/faŋ) "Qunxian ward," but the Sogdian adds *s..ʾwʾn*(?) *xwyr-txʾyz* "to the west of ...." Since this ward was in the westernmost part of the city, immediately to the west of the Western Market (see fig. 3), one might expect the unknown word *s..ʾwʾn*(?) to refer to the axial street of Chang'an, i.e., Chengtian Gate 承天門 Street (abbreviated as *tianjie* 天街) or Zhuque 朱雀 Street (abbreviated as *jie* 街), or to the Western Market itself (*xishi* 西市, LMC siaj ʂɦiˋ), both of which were sometimes used in contemporary sources to define the location of a ward in the city.[46] Since the word in question almost certainly begins with *s-* and ends with *-wʾn* or *-ʾwʾn*, it is worth considering the possibility that it combines a transcription of *xi* 西 'west', LMC siaj, and a translation of *shi* 市 'market', e.g., *-wʾn* < **wahana-*, to the Indo-European root **u̯es-* 'to buy, sell'; cf. Vedic *vasná-* 'price', Middle Persian *wahāg* 'trade', Sogdian *wʾcrn* 'market', *xwʾkr* 'merchant', etc.[47] Alternatively, *-ʾwʾn* could be explained as a loanword from Prakrit *āvaṇa-* 'market, shop', Skt. *āpaṇa-*.[48]

In preference to the verb *myr-* 'to die' Sogdian epitaphs and other inscriptions use a variety of euphemisms,[49] some of which make use of the verb *(ʾ)pwʾrt* 'to turn'. The Bugut and Mongolküre inscriptions have the expression "to turn to the gods (or god)," while the epitaph of Nanai-vande and his wife has a phrase that may mean "to turn (away) from the world" or "to turn (away) from the body." Here in lines 10–11 we have what is perhaps to be seen as

42. According to Soothill and Hodous 1937: 71b. Unfortunately this work does not cite its sources.

43. Text edited by Teruma Nishimoto 西本照真 in ZFW 9: 35.

44. TMH: 1696, Tianbao 天寶 237.

45. MacKenzie 1976, 2: 184a.

46. For example, an epitaph dated 868 CE records that a lady passed away in her own house in Xiude 脩德 ward to the west of the street (*jiexi* 街西) of Chang'an (終於長安街西脩德坊之私第也); see TMHX: 1074, Xiantong 咸通 052. A passage in the *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 by Daoshi 道世 (ca. 596–668+) mentions that the ten disciples of the Vinaya Master Daoxuan 道宣 were assigned to live in the Chongyi Temple 崇義寺 in Changshou 長壽 ward to the south of the Western Market (配住西市南長壽坊崇義寺); see FYZL 38: 1211.

47. Rix et al. 2001: 693; Mayrhofer 1996: 535. See further Bi, Sims-Williams, and Yan 2017: 313–14.

48. Turner 1966: 54, no. 1191. As Turner notes, referring to Burrow 1937: 77, *aʹvana* in the Niya documents seems not to be this word for 'market' but an Iranian loanword meaning 'village'.

49. See Yoshida 2005: 65–66; Bi, Sims-Williams, and Yan 2017: 314.

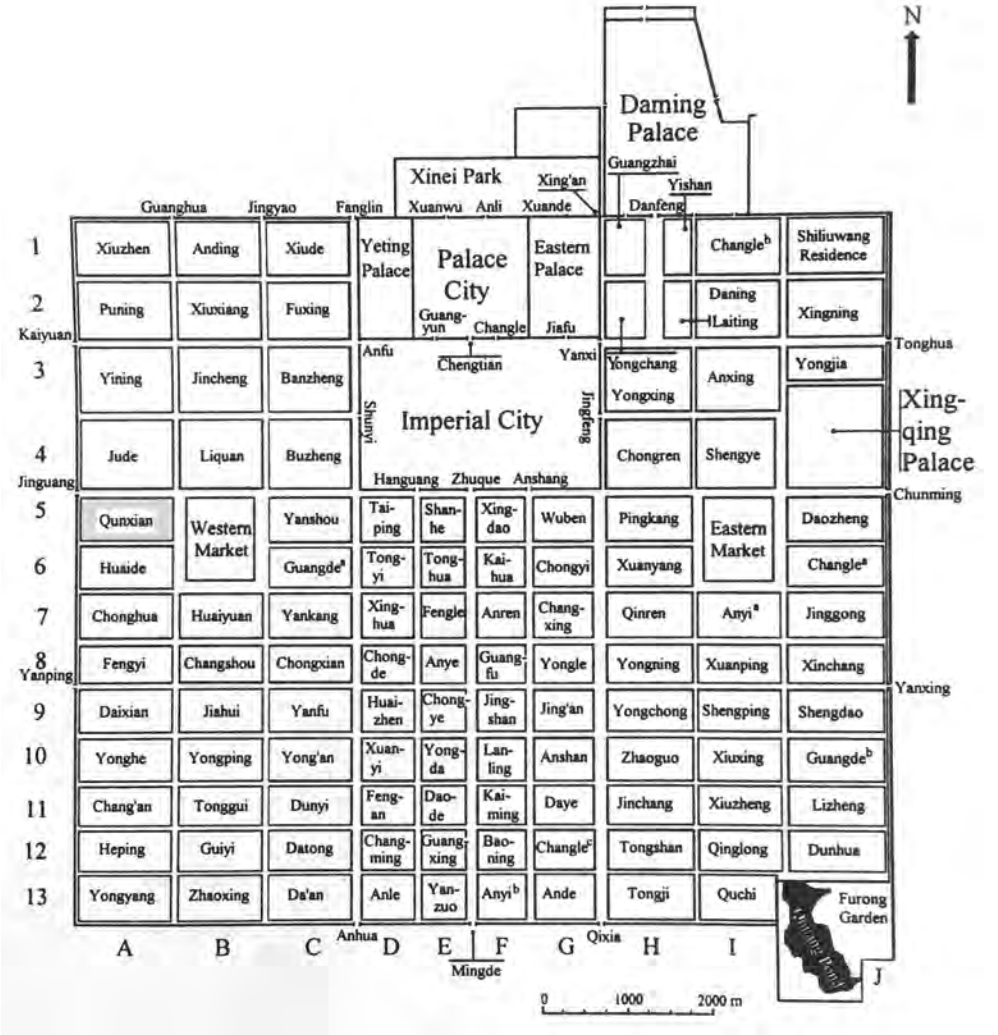

Fig. 3. Plan of Tang-dynasty Chang'an. After Xiong 2000: xix. This work is subject to a Creative Commons Attribution 3.0 license

an abbreviated form of one of these idioms: the pp. of the verb *(')pw'rt*, lit. '(having) turned (away)', used euphemistically in the sense 'passed away, deceased' (as perhaps also in line 1 above) and combined with *'krty* '(she) became' to give a verbal phrase equivalent to "she died."

A week after her death, as we learn from line 11, Wisāk's body was taken to the "Great virtuous friend" forest in the Zhongnanshan to the south of Chang'an, where it was no doubt exposed to be eaten by birds and wild animals. This procedure, known as *linzang* 林葬 'forest burial', was practiced by certain Buddhists, including in particular Xinxing himself and some of his followers.[50] The Sogdian text names the place as being in the "Southern mountain"

50. Hubbard 2001: 13–14 with n. 43.

(using a transcription of Nanshan 南山 'id.', LMC nam ʂa:n, with the Sogdian oblique case ending), near the stupa of the "Great virtuous friend," that is, the reliquary containing the remains of the sect's founder Xinxing. Nanshan is another name of Zhongnanshan 終南山, the two expressions being used interchangeably in the Tang period, as in a well-known poem by Wang Wei 王維 (701–761), where the title has Zhongnan but the text itself has Nanshan.[51]

A similar case is that of Zhang Changqiu already mentioned above. She too passed away in Chang'an; her coffined body was taken to the Zhongnanshan and later a *fangfen* 方墳, lit. "square mound," was built north of the *Chanshi lin* 禪師林, the "forest of the Meditation Master." The Meditation Master (*chanshi* 禪師) here is Xinxing, as is clear from another epitaph (dated 688), which mentions a burial in the Zhongnanshan near "the forest of the Meditation Master Xinxing of Sui" (隋信行禪師林側).[52] *Chanshi lin* is also attested as another name of *Da shanzhishi lin* 大善知識林 in the stupa inscription of a Meditation Master named Siyan 思言 of Chongyi Temple (d. 714 CE).[53] Both texts cited here give the location of the "forest" at the Pianzi Valley (*Pianzi gu* 楩梓谷) in the Zhongnanshan, the same place recorded as Chiming Hillock (*chiming dui* 鵄鳴堆) in the above-cited stele inscription by Pei Xuanzheng, in the biography of Xinxing in the *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 by Dao Xuan 道宣 (596–667), and in other sources,[54] which is almost certainly the original location of the stone bearing our inscriptions.

Since *βrwʾrty* '(dead) body, corpse' (line 11) is apparently the subject of the verb *βrt* 'was borne' (line 12), it cannot be the oblique case of the noun attested as *frwrt* in Christian Sogdian texts but must rather be the **-aka*-stem attested in Manichaean texts, where, however, it is not used of the bodies but of the souls of the deceased.[55]

To judge from the Chinese *lin* 林, the third word of line 12 might mean 'forest', but the traces do not allow the restoration of *mrγ* or *kysnʾk*. A word meaning 'near, beside', e.g., *nβʾnt*, the equivalent of Chinese *ce* 側 'side', would also fit the context, as would various other words indicating a location, but these considerations do not seem to lead to a plausible restoration either.

The following passage, lines 12–13, describes the erection of a "stupa" or tomb in which Wisāk's remains were finally laid to rest three years later. The Sogdian text names her husband *wyʾws*, i.e., Wiyus, an attested name meaning 'Dawn',[56] as well as all three sons, though unfortunately not all of their names are fully legible. The most likely readings seem to be *srδmʾn* (Sardhmān), lit. "Happy," *ʾʾδprn* (Ādh-farn), perhaps meaning "Supreme fortune," and *pwtyδβʾr* (Puti-thvār) "Gift of the Buddha." None of these three names is attested elsewhere, but they all conform to commonplace name types. Of the eldest son's Chinese name only the first character *si* 思 (LMC sɻ̀) is recognizable. This may represent the first syllable of Sardhmān. The second son seems to be named in the Chinese text as Shanzhi 善智, a male name meaning "Good wisdom," which is well attested in the Tang period,[57] but which seems to have no connection with the Sogdian name Ādh-farn. As in the Chinese version of Wirkakk's epitaph, it seems that some of the Sogdian names are transcribed in a very

51. KDZ: 8. For a translation of Wang Wei's poem see Owen 1981: 34.

52. TMH: 900, Wansui tongtian 萬歲通天 017.

53. TMH: 1152, Kaiyuan 004.

54. XGSZ 16: 601; Nishimoto 1998: 39; Zhang 2013: 91; for a translation see Hubbard 2001: 13. Chiming Hillock is also attested in the epitaphs or stupa inscriptions of some *Sanjie jiao* followers; cf. Nishimoto 1998: 126. For its exact location see the references cited in Li 2020.

55. Sundermann 1997: 138–39.

56. Lurje 2011: 424, no. 1375.

57. For example, Li Shanzhi 李善智 (d. 652) and Wu Shanzhi 烏善智 (d. 751); see TMH: 763, Chuigong 垂拱 049; 1664, Tianbao 191.

imprecise way or replaced by better-known names.[58] Strangely, neither the husband nor the third son is named in the Chinese text. In the Sogdian text the third son's name is apparently preceded by a repetition of *ʾM* 'with'. We have tried to reproduce this redundant preposition by inserting the word "likewise" in our English translation.

The following lines 13–16 describe the three sons' grief at the death of their mother. This passage corresponds only vaguely to the Chinese text ("Alas! Such sorrow! ... In their wisdom, Buddhists are weary of (the cycle of) life and death, desiring to attain *nirvāṇa*," lines 9–11).[59] From the context it seems that the previously unknown word *mʾrʾyxk* (line 13) should be an adjective synonymous with the attested *mʾrʾntʾy* and *mʾrʾwt* 'grieving, mourning':[60] *zʾtʾyt ʾnxwh zγwy mʾrʾyxk* "the sons' hearts[61] (were) grieving bitterly." The only parallel for the formation of *mʾrʾyxk* is *mzʾyxk* 'great', f. *mzʾyxch*, from which one may deduce that *mʾryxc* in line 16 is the f. form of *mʾrʾyxk*. Yutaka Yoshida's reading *prmʾy* (rather than *prmʾr*) has made it possible to understand the phrase in which *mʾryxc* occurs as being addressed by the sons to their mother: *mʾyδ*(?)[62] *mʾryxc nʾʾ prmʾy ʾkrty* "please do not grieve!" The reason for this request seems to be the fact that the sons lacked the means to provide a more splendid tomb for their mother, as stated in the preceding sentence: "If we had the means (lit. 'power'), we would have made a seven-jeweled stupa, but (our means) were small."[63]

Finally, on a separate line with a blank space at the beginning, the Sogdian gives the date of the construction of the stupa, which is presumably also the date of the burial of Wisāk's remains, three years after her death. The Chinese version gives the same date, also preceded by a small blank space.

ABBREVIATIONS

FYZL — Daoshi 道世. [668] 2003. *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 (A Forest of Pearls from the Dharma Garden). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju. Also T, no. 2122, vol. 53.

KDZ — Li Tai 李泰. [641] 1980. *Kuodizhi* 括地志 (Treatise extended to all regions). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.

T — *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經, ed. Junjiro Takakusu 高楠順次郎 and Kaikyoku Watanabe 渡邊海旭. Tokyo: Daizō shuppansha, 1924–34.

58. See Yoshida 2005: 60–61. If one could read Shanfu 善福 "Good fortune or blessing" (another name that is well attested in epitaphs of the Tang period), the correspondence to Ādh-farn "Supreme fortune" would be closer, but this seems more difficult from a palaeographic point of view.

59. The phrase *yan shengsi* 厭生死, which we have translated "are weary of (the cycle of) life and death," is attested in some contemporary epitaphs of lay Buddhists, which refer to the desire of the deceased to escape *saṃsāra* and to attain *nirvāṇa* (i.e., *qiu niepan* 求涅槃, a phrase attested in some epitaphs and Buddhist texts).

60. The formation of *mʾrʾwt* (attested in Syriac script and in Manichaean script in the unpublished fragment M501j, B6) implies a noun **mʾr* 'grief', while that of *mʾrʾntʾy* (Sogdian script) implies a verbal stem **mʾr* 'to grieve', which may of course be denominative. See Gershevitch 1954: §§1079 and 1068 respectively.

61. *ʾnxw(h)* 'mind, feelings, heart' is well attested in the *Vessantara Jātaka* (Benveniste 1946), in particular in the expression *rty šy ZKh ʾnxwh mntrʾxs* "then his mind was oppressed" (VJ, d17–18, and passim with minor variants). Cf. also *twʾ ʾPZY ʾky KZNH ʾnxwh kwnty ʾPZY ZKw mnʾ prmʾnh ʾnxwʾyʾy* "who has put it in your mind (or: encouraged you) to infringe my command?" (VJ, 218–19).

62. For the use of *mʾyδ*, lit. 'thus', with a following predicative adjective (also attested in line 6) see Sims-Williams 1976: 57 n. 66; 2016: 110 *s.v.* *[1]myd*.

63. We owe the interpretation of this last phrase to Yutaka Yoshida, who rightly objected that our initial translation (Bi and Sims-Williams 2020) failed to account for the contrast between the indicative *kβny mʾt* "it was little" and the modal forms in the preceding phrases *kδ zʾwr βwtʾy . . . wnʾytʾym* "if we had (irrealis) the means . . . we would have made (opt. middle) . . . ."

TMH Zhou Shaoliang 周紹良, ed. 1992. *Tangdai muzhi huibian* 唐代墓誌匯編 (A Collection of Tang Dynasty epitaphs). 2 vols. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe.

TMHX Zhou Shaoliang and Zhao Chao 趙超, eds. 2001. *Tangdai muzhi huibian xuji* 唐代墓誌匯編續集 (Sequel to A Collection of Tang Dynasty epitaphs). 2 vols. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe.

XBXMH Zhao Liguang 趙力光, ed. 2007. *Xi'an Beilin bowuguan xincang muzhi huibian* 西安碑林博物館新藏墓誌匯編 (A Collection of new epitaphs held at Xi'an Beilin Museum). 3 vols. Beijing: Xianzhuang shuju.

XGSZ Daoxuan 道宣 [645] 2014. *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 (Further Biographies of Eminent Monks). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju. Also T, no. 2060, vol. 50.

YHJX Li Jifu李吉甫. [813] 1983. *Yuanhe junxian tuzhi* 元和郡縣圖志 (Maps and geography of the commanderies and counties of the Yuanhe reign). 2 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.

ZFW Fang Guangchang 方廣錩, ed. 2003. *Zangwai fojiao wenxian* 藏外佛教文獻 (Buddhist texts not contained in the Tripitaka), vol. 9. Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe.

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