Universiteit Leiden
The Netherlands

Khotanese varga- ‘fruit (of an action)’: a Buddhist term borrowed from Bactrian

Schoubben, N.

Citation

Schoubben, N. (2025). Khotanese varga- ‘fruit (of an action)’: a Buddhist term borrowed from Bactrian. *Indo-Iranian Journal*, *68*(4), 311-329. doi:10.1163/15728536-06803005

Version:	Publisher's Version
License:	Creative Commons CC BY 4.0 license
Downloaded from:	https://hdl.handle.net/1887/4287102

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

BRILL

INDO-IRANIAN JOURNAL 68 (2025) 311–329

brill.com/iij

Khotanese *varga-* 'fruit (of an action)'

A Buddhist Term Borrowed from Bactrian

Niels Schoubben | ORCID: 0000-0002-1190-1838
Leiden University Centre for Linguistics, Leiden University,
Leiden, The Netherlands
n.schoubben@hum.leidenuniv.nl

Received 2 July 2025 | Accepted 15 October 2025 |
Published online 10 December 2025

Abstract

The present article has a twofold aim: (i) to present further evidence that (Late) Khotanese had a lexeme *varga-* 'fruit (of an action)', next to the homonymous *varga-* 'group, mass, multitude' (borrowed from Buddhist Sanskrit); and (ii) to argue that *varga-* 'fruit (of an action)' is not an inherited word but a loan from Bactrian *βαργο /vargə/ < **bara-ka-*, which is attested in Manichaean Bactrian as *βrg* 'fruit (of an action)'.

Keywords

Khotanese – Bactrian – loanwords – Buddhist terminology – Manichaeism

1 Introduction

Since the extant Buddhist texts in Bactrian are few and fragmentary,[1] it is all the more remarkable that Tarim Basin languages like Tocharian and Khotanese

1 The corpus of Bactrian Buddhist texts consists of documents **za**–**zd** (BD II: 174–177; Sims-Williams 2010: 203–205), the inscription from Tang-i-Safedak which records the restoration of a Buddhist stupa (Lee & Sims-Williams 2003), and some inscriptions on potsherds from ruined Buddhist monasteries in Uzbekistan (Sims-Williams *apud* Fussman 2011: 105–108; 125;

Published with license by Koninklijke Brill BV | DOI:10.1163/15728536-06803005
© NIELS SCHOUBBEN, 2025 | ISSN: 0019-7246 (print) 1572-8536 (online)
This is an open access article distributed under the terms of the CC BY 4.0 license.

employed originally Bactrian words to refer to essential Buddhist concepts. The Bactrian word for 'wish', i.e. αγαλγο /āγālgə/ < OIr. **āgādaka-*, was, for instance, borrowed as Toch. A *ākāl*, Toch. B *akālk* (BD II: 187a),[2] and used in syntagms expressing the concept of *bodhicitta-* 'thought of enlightenment; aspiration towards Buddhahood'. Compare Toch. A *ākāl puttiśparnac* / *puttiśparnac ākāl* 'wish for Buddhahood' (A 24 b2, b5; A 313 b1) and Toch. B *pañäktäññe perneṣṣe akālk* (and variants) 'idem' (e.g. THT 88 b4). The Bactrian moral term αζανο /ǎžānə/ 'worthy, deserving' < OIr. **arǰyāna-* was adopted into both Tocharian (Toch. A *āṣāṃ*; Toch. B *aṣāṃ*) and Khotanese (*āṣaṇa-*);[3] and a derivative of it, Toch. A *āṣānik*, Toch. B *aṣanīke*, was employed to render the Buddhist notion of an Arhat, literally 'worthy one'.[4] In a recent article, Barchi and Peschl (2024) have additionally argued that a Bactrian phrase *βαγανο βαγαδαμο < **bagānăm bagatama-* 'most divine of gods' lies at the basis of epithets of the Buddha such as Khot. *gyastānu gyasta-* 'god of gods; lord of lords', Toch. A *ñäktaśśi ptāñkät* 'Buddha-god of gods', and Toch. B *ñäkteṃts ñakte* 'god of gods'. Such examples render it likely that there existed a religious terminology in Bactrian that was sufficiently prestigious for words of this kind to be taken over by neighbouring languages (cf. also Schoubben 2024: 334; see further section 5).

In this article, my aim is to add a new item to the dossier of Bactrian loanwords used for Buddhist concepts, namely Khot. *varga-* 'fruit (of an action)'. I shall argue that this Khotanese word is a loan from Bactr. *βαργο /vargə/ < **bara-ka-*, which is attested in Manichaean Bactrian as *βrg* 'fruit (of an action)'.

2 On the Occurrences of Khotanese *varga-* 'fruit (of an action)'

It is generally accepted that Khotanese had a lexeme *varga-* meaning 'group, mass, multitude', borrowed from BSkt. *varga-* 'idem' (e.g. *Siddhasāra* § 25.27 *nva vargą* 'in succession'; see Maggi fthc.). Yet according to Bailey (DKS: 378a; 511b), there also existed a homonym *varga-*, to which he cautiously assigned the meaning 'fruit (of an action)'. I concur with Bailey's view. But since he did

127–131). Unless they are Manichaean (as cautiously considered by Santos & Albino 2024: 22), some of the Hephthalite fragments, e.g. h8, may also be remnants of Buddhist texts (cf. Sims-Williams 2004: 331).

2 It is not clear why the Tocharian A form does not preserve the final *-k* seen in Toch. B *akālk*.

3 For the etymology, see Dragoni (2023: 41) and the references cited there. I transcribe the initial α- of αζανο as /ǎ/ because of the initial long *ā-* of Khot. *āṣaṇa-*, and because the loss of the **r* in **arǰyāna-* may have caused compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel.

4 It remains uncertain whether Bactr. αζανο was already used for 'Arhat'.

not argue his case in detail, and given that other scholars who treated the relevant passages either leave *varga-* 'fruit' untranslated or conflate it with *varga-* 'group, mass, multitude', it will be worthwhile to examine the possible occurrences of *varga-* 'fruit' more closely to assess whether this meaning is indeed warranted.[5]

To the best of my knowledge, none of the relevant texts has so far been identified as having a parallel in another language. Consequently, determining whether a particular instance of *varga-* means 'fruit' must rely (i) on the internal logic of the passage in which it occurs, and (ii) on comparable contexts in other texts (whether in Khotanese or in other Buddhist languages such as Sanskrit). All of the passages discussed below are from texts in Late Khotanese, a point to which I shall return in section 5.

A first instance of *varga-* 'fruit' occurs in a Vajrayāna text: a late and comparatively rare genre within Khotanese literature.[6] Passage (1) is taken from the so-called "Vajrayāna verses of Cā Kīmä-Śani", which are known from a manuscript dated to 971 AD (Ch. i.0021b.b = IOL Khot S 47).[7] The most recent edition of these verses is Skjærvø's (2002: 553–556).[8]

(1) Vajrayāna verses of Cā Kīmä-Śani 3f. (Ch. i.0021b.b = IOL Khot S 47, lines 4–7)

[3] *cu* [*py*]*ūvī'de gūstya rąheśā' mistyāṃ ttatrāṃ jsa niradä vasve pārąmą padi bāyīdä kṣasä. baudhacaittä hīvye vīvā jsa nirada.* [4] *vajrra-pārąma ba'ysūñä rahāsä. tcana ṣṭāṃ gąrśte vajrrą-satvä uvārä. aharīni ba'ysuñä gūttįra dījsākä: ttani cu* ***vīna ttīma*** *na hama* ***vīvā-vargą.***

"[3] Those who hear the deliverance in the mystery gone out of the great *tantras* lead (along?) the six paths of pure *pāramitā*. They have gone out from the fruition of the *bodhi-citta*. [4] The *vajra-pāramitā*, the buddha mystery, from which the exalted *vajra-sattva* is named, upholder without

5 For an overview of the occurrences of the BSkt. loan *varga-* 'group, mass, multitude', I refer the reader to Maggi (fthc.). In that article, Maggi accepts my argument that there was a homonymous word *varga-* 'fruit (of an action)' borrowed from Bactrian.

6 On Khotanese Vajrayāna texts, see Emmerick (1992[2]: 39) and Maggi (2009: 343; 405 f.).

7 The Sino-Khotanese diplomat Cā Kīmä-Śani (= Zhang Jinshan 張金山) was sent by the Khotanese king on a mission to Dunhuang, where several texts bearing his name were discovered (Wen 2023: 39–42; Del Tomba 2025: 228–230).

8 Older edition in KBT[2] (151–156), with translation in Bailey (1978). The beginning of the Vajrayāna verses parallels the opening of the "Panegyric to king Śrī Viśa' Dharma" (Skjærvø 2002: 522–524).

remainder of the buddha *gotra*. Because, **without seed** there is no ***vipāka-varga***." (tr. Skjærvø 2002: 554).

Passage (1) concerns the ripening/fruition (Khot. *vīvā* ~ Skt. *vipāka-*) of *bodhicitta* (Khot. *baudhacaittä*) 'thought of enlightenment; aspiration towards Buddhahood'.[9] In the Vajrayāna tradition, *bodhicitta* is at times conceptualised as a physical substance: semen (Skt. *śukra-*; Tib. *khu ba*) when referred to as "white" *bodhicitta*, and female menstrual blood (Skt. *śoṇita-*, *rakta-*; Tib. *khrag*) in the case of "red" *bodhicitta* (Wangchuk 2007: 196; 218–225). The Tibetan tantric manuscripts from Dunhuang describe various rituals for generating and/or developing *bodhicitta*;[10] and, as suggested by an anonymous reviewer, the reference to the ripening/fruition of *bodhicitta* in (1) may be understood in a similar vein.

Passage (1) also mentions Vajrapāramitā (Khot. *vajrra-pārąma*): a female bodhisattva, who is well-known from the Esoteric Buddhist traditions of East Asia, and who is commonly regarded as one of the mothers of the four Buddha families (cf. Khot. *ba'ysuñä gūttịra* ~ Skt. *buddhagotra-* in (1)). In the Khotanese text, she appears to function as the mother of the tantric deity Vajrasattva, who represents "the adamantine true nature of all *sattvas* (including *bodhisattvas*), of all *cittas* (including *bodhicitta*, as understood in its conventional sense), and, in fact, of all phenomena" (Wangchuk 2007: 142 f.).

In his English rendering of (1), Skjærvø (2002: 554) leaves *varga-* (in *vīvā-vargą*) untranslated. In my view, though, the combined mention of 'seed' (*ttīma* ~ Skt. *bīja-*) and '*vipāka* [ripening of deeds]' (*vīvā*) strongly supports Bailey's (1978: 54) translation of *vīna ttīma na hama vīvā-vargą* in (1) as "no *vipāka*-fruit arises without seed (*ttīma*)".[11] I would indeed argue that Khot. *vīvā-vargą* functions as a translation equivalent of the Buddhist Sanskrit compound *vipāka-phala-* 'fruit/result of fruition'—a technical term which in the *Yogacārabhūmi* refers to "the new entity born as a result of the good or bad karma of the previous life" (Kritzer 2005: 111).[12] This compound is once attested as a loanword

9 See Wangchuk (2007) on the complicated history of this doctrinal concept.

10 One of the relevant texts is IOL Tib J 716 (Dalton & van Schaik 2006: 311–313). Amongst other things, this text describes how "white" *bodhicitta* is transferred from the male deity Amoghasiddhi to the female deity Samayatārā and back.

11 See also DKS (511b), where Bailey translates "without seed there is not ripening (BS *vipāka-*), fruit". I have been unable to find a Sanskrit compound *vipāka-varga-* 'group/category of *vipāka*', so it does not seem likely that *varga* in (1) is to be identified with the BSkt. loan *varga-* meaning 'group, mass, multitude'.

12 The same compound is attested in (commentarial) Pāli, e.g. nom.sg. *vipākaphalaṃ* in *Papañcasūdanī, Bhayabheravasuttavaṇṇanā* § 74 (PTS edition). As of yet, it seems not

in Khotanese (nom.sg. *vipākaphalä* in IOL Khot 24/5 folio 71, recto 5; Skjærvø 2002: 221 f.), and it occurs in two passages of the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* of which the Khotanese version is extant:

(2) *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* 12.15

Skt.: *mātā-pitā vā nṛpatiḥ sukṛta-karma-kāriṇāṃ* ***vipāka-phala****-darśī ca devai rāja-m-adhiṣṭhitaḥ*

Khot.: *handārä vara merä nasä u haṃdārä pīrä rrundä vätä śäragaraṇānu uysnaurāṇu* ***vivāgä pattīmä rro*** *näjsätā'kä gyastai rrunde aväṣṣäjätāndä* (*ayiṣṭhätāndä*)

"Whether he has arisen the share of the mother or the father, the king, to the beings who are doers of good deeds he is a shower of (their) ***vipāka-phala-*** **[fruit/result of fruition]**. The divine kings have consecrated (*and firmly supported*) him." (ed./tr. after Skjærvø 2004 I: 238 f.)

(3) *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* 12.54

Skt.: *sukṛta-duṣkṛtānāṃ ca karmāṇāṃ yaḥ pṛthag-vidhaḥ* ***vipāka-phala-darśanārthaṃ kartā rājā hi procyate***

Khot.: *ysehāña nṛhīśśāña kīraṃgarau sañäna bvemate jsa mū-ysaṃthyā-nu käḍätānānu* ***vivātu pattīmu*** *dyāñäte rre*

"The evildoers should be made to cease and be kept back with cleverness and knowledge. The king exhibits the ***vipāka-phala-*** **[fruit/result of fruition]** of sins in this world." (ed./tr. after Skjærvø 2004 I: 248 f.).

In passages (2) and (3), the Khotanese translator renders Skt. *vipāka-phala-* by a binomial phrase consisting of *vivāga-*/*vivāta-*, a loan from a Middle Indo-Aryan, possibly Gāndhārī, descendant of *vipāka-*,[13] and a nearly synonymous

to occur in Gāndhārī. *vipāka-phala-* is one of five types of *phala-* 'fruit, result' categorising various effects of action, the others being *adhipati-phala-* 'fruit of dominance', *niṣyanda-phala-* 'fruit of natural result', *puruṣakāra-phala-* 'fruit of human/manly act', and *visaṃyoga-phala-* 'fruit of dissociation' (cf. BHSD: 395b–396a s.v. *phala*).

13 Gāndh. *vivaga* /vivāγa/ < *vipāka-* is, e.g., attested in British Library fragment 28 (Cox 2025: 551).

noun *pattīma-* corresponding to Skt. *phala-*.[14] *pattīma-* also occurs on its own in the meaning 'result, fruit (of an action)', e.g. *ttye baśdye ośu pattīmu* "the evil result of that sin" (*Zambasta* 2.203b; Emmerick 1968: 44 f.), and can hence be regarded as a synonym of the postulated *varga-* 'fruit'. Note also that *pattīma-* closely resembles *ttīman-* 'seed' (~ Skt. *bīja-*), which in (1) occurs alongside *vīvā-vargą* ~ *vipāka-phala-* 'fruit/result of fruition'.[15]

Two additional examples of *varga-* 'fruit' may be found in the so-called *Karmāṃ deśana* 'confession of acts', an incompletely preserved Late Khotanese text on the Mahāyāna theory of confession. This metrical text has been synoptically edited and translated by Emmerick (1977) based on the three extant manuscripts, i.e. Ch. 00268 (mss. A), Ch. 00277 (mss. B), and Ch. xlvi.0013a (mss. C).[16]

Let us first examine verses 24 f. of the *Karmāṃ deśana*, here cited as (4). In these verses, a phrase *kīrāṃ vargä* (in mss. B *kīrau varga*) occurs, which Emmerick translates as "a mass of *karma*s".

(4) *Karmāṃ deśana* verses 24 f. (mss. A: Ch. 00268 = IOL Khot S 12, lines 174–177)

[24] *vimasąma pātci tta tta bvąñi*	*khu vara śau byehī heri*
ttye ṣi' vara haṃ vī basti	*ṣkāṃjīnai styūdi patharki(na)* ‖
[25] *jaḍi pātci biśi buri jsąna*	*byehīṃdi* ***kīrāṃ vargä***
ttina-ṃ[a] *ttrąmąma niśti*	*ttye advayi paṃdā vīra* ‖

[a]*ttina-ṃ* (with 3pl. enclitic *-ṃ*) Maggi, p.c. | *ttiną* Emmerick
The version in mss. B shows significant orthographic variation but is otherwise practically identical: [24] *vamasauma pātca tta tta bvauña khu va śau byehī hera ttye ṣa' varä ha vī basta ṣkaujīnai styūda patharkana* ‖ [25] *jaḍī pātca baiśa būra jsąna bheyīde kīrau varga ttanī vamasauma naiśta ttye advaya padā vīra.*

"(Such an) experience is to be understood thus then: if one should find one thing there, one (would be) continually bound there by it, by the firm

14 Khot. *vivāga-*/*vivāta-* can also be used to translate Skt. *phala-* (see Canevascini 1993: 127 on *Saṅghāṭasūtra* § 43, verse 5), which is a further indication that *vivāga-*/*vivāta-* and *pattīma-* are near-synonyms. Given that he has *vivāga-*/*vivāta-* and *pattīma-* followed by *rro* 'also, too; and' in passage (3), it seems that the Khotanese translator wrongly analysed Skt. *vipāka-phala-* as a *dvandva* 'fruition and fruit' rather than as a *tatpuruṣa* 'fruit/result of fruition'.

15 Though *pattīma-* and *ttīman-* probably are not real cognates (cf. Skjærvø 2004 II: 296a; Sims-Williams 2025: 121b), speakers of Khotanese may have made a folk etymological connection between *pattīma-* and *ttīman-*.

16 For a diplomatic edition of the relevant manuscripts, see also KBT² (66–71).

bolt of the *saṃskāra*s. Fools then continually obtain **a mass of *karma*s**. Therefore (*ttina*) there is for them (*-ṃ*) no entry upon the path of non-dualism." (tr. after Emmerick 1977: 98).

In the glossary appended to his edition (1977: 111), Emmerick clarifies that he takes *vargä* to be borrowed from BHS *varga-* 'group, mass, multitude'. If one follows Emmerick's interpretation, the passage in (4) would suggest that a fool who is constantly attached to material things accumulates such a mass of *karma*s that he can no longer destroy them and attain *nirvāṇa* ("the path of non-dualism"). By contrast, Bailey interprets *kīrāṃ vargä* as "the fruit of *karma*-actions" (DKS: 378a). Under this reading, the fool in (4) fails to reach nirvāṇa as a direct consequence—or "fruit"—of the bad actions he or she has performed. I deem this interpretation preferable over Emmerick's, because *kīrāṃ vargä* then corresponds neatly to Skt. *karmaṇāṃ phalam* "the fruit of *karma*-actions", as attested, for example, in the *Aśokāvadāna*: *svayaṃkṛtānām iha karmaṇāṃ phalam upasthitam* "one always reaps the fruit of one's own actions in this world" (Cowell & Neil 1886: XXVII 413, line 13; tr. Strong 1983: 279).

Let us now continue with verses 42–44 of the *Karmāṃ deśana*, here cited as (5). These verses are incompletely preserved and less well-understood than the verses 24 f., cited in (4).[17] Yet they contain another occurrence of *vargä* that Emmerick translates as "mass", but where I would prefer Bailey's rendering "it shows at last its fruits" (DKS: 378a).

(5) *Karmāṃ deśana* verses 42–44 (mss. A: Ch. 00268 = IOL Khot S 12, lines 202–205)

[42] *paḍāṃjsyau skaṃdhyau karmä*	***ttye ustaṃ vargä nijsuṣḍe'***
tti khu muḍye kiḍi [	] *vīvā niśti* ‖
[43] [	]
tti khu māva ttī jsāṃ pūri	*haṃña kṣąṇa kari ni ysyāre* ‖
[44] *anāgatti *haiysda*[a] *pātci*	*paḍā ṣṭāṃ karmä ni saijeṣṭi*
drayvā bāḍvā rraysgi	*spāśąñi bvąme paṃna* ‖

[a] *haiysda* Emmerick | *aysu* mss.

17 Emmerick (1977: 90) commented: "Two whole *pādas* seem to be missing from [43]. The drift of the argument indicates that they should contain, as suggested to me by Professor Dr. M. Hahn, a statement to the effect that *karma* and *vipāka* do not arise at the same moment. I cannot make satisfactory sense of [44] as it stands. In view of the mention of the

> "[42] *Karma* is due to former *skaṃdha*s. **(If) one reveals one's next mass (of *karma*s)**, just as in the case of one who is dead … so there is no fruition (*vipāka*) (in the case of the enlightened bodhisattva). [43] (*Karma* and *vipāka* do not arise at the same moment) just as the mother and her son are not born in the same instant. [44] Then there is no flourishing of *karma*, future, *present, past. It (*karma*) is to be viewed quickly in the three times in the presence of enlightenment." (tr. Emmerick 1977: 99).

The reason why I prefer Bailey's interpretation lies in the overall context of the passage: as in (1), we have here again a reference to the ripening (*vīvā* ~ *vipāka*) of *karma* (cf. *karmä ni saijeṣṭi* "there is no flourishing of *karma*").

As shown by Maggi (fthc.), a fourth occurrence of *varga-* 'fruit (of an action)' can be found in verse 32 of the Late Khotanese *Pradakṣiṇasūtra*. See example (6).[18]

(6) *Pradakṣiṇasūtra* verse 32 (Ch. 0048 = IOL Khot S 6, lines 47 f.)

dīdara mara hava pharāka	*ˇbyihiʾ śira cittañaˇgīhaʾna*
hūṣa jsāvi tvī tvī hāṣṭa	*bātti raṣṭa* ***kīrā varga***

> "Such numerous, good benefits will he obtain here with the help of (his) intelligence. He will progress again and again (and) will understand correctly **the fruit of *karma*s**." (tr. Maggi fthc.).

The syntagm *kīrā varga* 'the fruit of *karma*s' finds an exact counterpart in *kīrāṃ vargä* (*kīrau varga*) in (4), which has been argued above to correspond to Skt. *karmaṇāṃ phalam*.

---

three times *drayvā bāḍvā* in [44]c and the occurrence of *anāgatti* 'future' as well as *paḍā* 'former' in [44]ab I suspect that *aysu* 'I' is a misreading by the copyist of *haiysda* 'present' especially since the whole context is in the third person." (Emmerick 1977: 90). For the assumed copying mistake of *haiysda* as *aysu*, see also Emmerick (1977: 100 s.v. *aysu*).

18 The text given below (including its metrical arrangement) is Maggi's (fthc.). For a complete edition of the *Pradakṣiṇasūtra*, see KBT² (72–74), and for a translation, Bailey (1974), who took *varga* to mean 'life stage'. Further information on the Khotanese text can be found in Emmerick (1992²: 27) and Maggi (2009: 392 f.).

3 The Khotanese Adjective *vargausta-* / *vargasta-* 'fruit-bearing'

In addition to the noun *varga-* 'fruit (of an action)', there exists a Khotanese adjective *vargausta-* / *vargasta-*, which is derived from the noun by means of the denominal possessive suffix *-austa-* / *-(a)sta-* 'provided with'.[19] Both of the attestations of this adjective are from Ch. ii.004 = IOL Khot 55: a treatise on rosaries asserting the superiority of Vajrayāna Buddhism (most recent edition in Skjærvø 2002: 292–296).[20] In its overall subject matter and structure, this Khotanese treatise parallels a Tibetan manuscript from Dunhuang (Ch.73.III.22 = IOL Tib J 688), though the Tibetan is somewhat abridged and does not contain verbatim parallels to the Khotanese text.[21]

The first instance, nom.sg. *vargaustą*, occurs at the very beginning of the Khotanese treatise, where the differing interpretations of the Śrāvakayāna and the Vajrayāna regarding the nature of rites (Khot. *krrä* ~ Skt. *kriyā-*, literally meaning 'act') are contrasted. See (7).

(7) Ch. ii.004 Fol. 1 = IOL Khot 55/1 recto 1

cū būra krrä ṣṭāre ttī 'au ṣāvą̄ nva yą̄ną ttuśāttā ṣa'mārīdą u mara vajrrayauną nva ttuśai na ṣṭe ***vargaustą ṣṭe****.*

"Whatever the *kriyā*s are, those the Śrāvakas according to their *yāna* (vehicle) consider to be *śūnyatā* (emptiness). And according to the vajrayāna here it is not *śūnya* (empty), but **it is connected with a *varga***." (tr. Bailey 1965: 29).

"However many *kriyā*s there are, those(?) the *śrāvaka*s, according to *yāna*, count (as) emptiness. And here, according to the Vajrayāna, it is not empty; **it contains *varga*s**." (tr. Skjærvø 2002: 293).

19 On this suffix, see Degener (1989: 316–320; *vargausta-* / *vargasta-* is discussed on p. 320).

20 Earlier edition in KBT[2] (143–146); see further Emmerick (1992[2]: 39) and Maggi (2009: 405 f.).

21 The connection was first made by Stein (1987), who also translated the Tibetan into French. See further Dalton & van Schaik (2006: 294–296). There is evidence that certain Tibetan manuscripts from Dunhuang were copied (or at least used) by Khotanese-speaking scribes, given that some of these manuscripts (though not IOL Tib J 688) have Khotanese folio numbers written in Tibetan script (Maggi 1995; cf. Dalton & van Schaik 2006: 295). Whether—as claimed by Stein (1987: 269)—the Khotanese treatise on rosaries is based on a Tibetan *Vorlage* remains to be confirmed, however.

In both Bailey's and Skjærvø's rendering of (7), *vargaustą* is essentially left untranslated.[22] Since, however, *vargaustą* is contrasted here with *ttuśai* 'empty' (~ Skt. *śūnya*), it might mean something like 'fruitful', as Bailey later suggested (DKS: 378a).[23] The mention of *kriyā*s 'rites' is likely an allusion to the *kriyā-tantra*s (Bailey 1965: 33): a class of tantric texts in which external, object-based practices and rituals are understood as a path to karmic purification and spiritual development. Extensive rituals are indeed a distinctive feature of Vajrayāna Buddhism more broadly, and such rites can also be described as 'fruitful' (*saphala-*) in Sanskrit tantric texts: for example, *idaṃ ca karmaṃ saphalaṃ juṣantu* "May they [i.e. various divine beings receiving oblations] also ensure this rite as fruitful" (*Sarvadurgatipariśodhana Tantra* (version B), 97a–b).[24] I therefore submit that Khot. *vargaustą* functions in (7) as a translation equivalent of Skt. *saphala-* (or its synonym *phalavat-*).[25]

The second occurrence of the adjective under discussion, gen.pl. *vargastā*, appears in a later part of the rosary treatise. Here, the author discusses various types of rosaries used to count one's prayers (Khot. *ganaittrai*)[26] and notes the different materials from which these rosaries can be made.

22 In the commentary appended to his translation, Bailey (1965: 33) suggested that *vargaustą* would be derived from the BSkt. loanword *varga-* 'group, non-isolation', but he later changed his mind on this; see below.

23 Thus also Degener (1989: 320): "fruchttragend".

24 The Sanskrit text and translation are taken from Skorupski (1983: 99; 280). *karman-* shows exactly the same polysemy as *kriyā-* in that it can mean both 'act' and 'rite'.

25 In *Saṅghāṭasūtra* § 211.2 (Canevascini 1993: 87), Khot. *haṃtsa hīyāryau* 'with fruits' is used to translate the Skt. nom.pl. *saphalāḥ* (which is used there in a literal sense with reference to trees, cf. gen.pl. *vargastā* in (8)).

26 Khot. *ganaittrai* (also *ginaittrai*) 'rosary' is an Indo-Aryan loanword. This word for 'rosary' is first attested as *gaṇettiyā-* in Jain texts in Ardhamāgadhī (e.g. *Aupapātikasūtra* § 86), where it refers to rosaries used by brahmins (Jainism later borrowed the use of rosaries from Hinduism; cf. Kirfel 1949: 43). This Prakrit form *gaṇettiyā-* is a *tadbhava* from Skt. **gaṇayitṛkā-*, literally 'counter', but when the word occurs in Sanskrit sources, it is mistakenly written as *gaṇitrikā-* (Schmidt 1928: 165c). The Khotanese form has been argued to go back to an unattested Buddhist Sanskrit form **gaṇayitraka-* (Bailey 1965: 29) or **gaṇetrī-* (Skjærvø 2002: 292). The same Indo-Aryan word was also borrowed into the vernacular languages of the Indonesian archipelago (e.g. Old Javanese *gaṇitri*), though in these languages the word mainly refers to the tree whose fruits were used to make the rosary beads (cf. *infra*). The botanical name for this tree is *Elaeocarpus ganitrus*, whose second part is a latinised version of Javanese *gaṇitri*. For further discussion on this word for 'rosary', see e.g. Leumann (1893), Kirfel (1949: 19; 21), Bailey (1965: 28 f.), and Gonda (1973[2]: 268; 327 f.).

(8) Ch. ii.004 Fol. 3 = IOL Khot 55/3 verso 1 (including the interlinear insertion 1a)

ṣāvā prrattīkābḍā arahadā bḍasatvāṃ pajsa-padya pā ganaittrai na habusanä ranīnai ganaittrai u āstīnai u ***vargastā bahyā hīyāṃ*** *gīchaukāṃ jsa na habūsa.*

"… henceforth the five-fold *ganetra* is not suited for the *śrāvakas, pratyekabuddhas*, arhats, bodhisattvas. The jewel *ganetra* [rosary] and the one of bone and the one from the *kernels **of the *vargasta* trees** are not suitable." (tr. Skjærvø 2002: 295).[27]

While Skjærvø remains once more agnostic about the meaning of the gen.pl. *vargastā* in (8),[28] Bailey proposed translating it as 'fruit-bearing' (DKS: 378a; cf. again Skt. *saphala-*). Under this interpretation, one type of rosary would be made from the "kernels" (*gīchaukāṃ jsa*) of "fruit-bearing trees" (*vargastā bahyā*).

Bailey did not argue at length for this interpretation of (8), but several arguments support it. Firstly, there is some evidence that Khot. *gichauka-* 'kernel' can specifically denote the 'stone of a stone-fruit', as this noun can be used to translate Tib. *rus pa* when the latter refers to the stones of fruits (cf. DKS: 82b–83a). The literal meaning of Tib. *rus pa* is 'bone', corresponding to Skt. *asthi-*, which it often translates. In medical texts, Skt. *asthi-* 'bone' can also denote "der harte Kern, Stein einer Frucht" (PW vol. 1: 563), and the Tibetan translator of Ravigupta's *Siddhasāra* uses Tib. *rus pa* with the same polysemy: 'bone' and 'stone of a stone-fruit'.[29] The Khotanese translator, though, distinguishes between these two senses: he uses *āstaa-* 'bone' when Skt. *asthi-* and Tib. *rus pa* are meant literally (cf. *Siddhasāra* § 21.21), but *gichauka-* 'kernel' when translating them in the sense 'stone of a stone-fruit' (cf. *Siddhasāra* § 24.23).

27 An anonymous reviewer kindly pointed out that characterising (certain types of) rosaries as "not suited/suitable" can mean that they are only suitable for Vajrayāna practitioners, who in this type of context are deemed superior to *śrāvakas*, *pratyekabuddhas*, and so forth.

28 Bailey's (1965: 32) earlier translation is nearly identical (he also did not translate *vargastā*). Yet unlike Skjærvø, he assumed that *ranīnai ganaittrai* 'the jewel rosary' belongs to the preceding sentence.

29 For the former meaning, see, e.g., *Siddhasāra* §§ 1.12; 5.9. For the latter meaning, note especially *Siddhasāra* § 6.28.5 (*rus pa* translating *asthi-* in *āmra-jambv-asthi-* 'stones (*asthi-*) of the fruit of the mango tree (*āmra-*) and of the jambool tree (*jambu-*)' and § 24.23 (*rus pa* translating *asthi-* in *dhātry-asthi-* 'stones (*asthi-*) of the emblemic myrobalan (*dhātrī-*)'). The Sanskrit and Tibetan versions of the *Siddhasāra* are cited from, respectively, Emmerick (1980) and Emmerick (1982).

Secondly, Indian rosaries are commonly made of fruits.[30] Most frequently used are the nuts of the *Elaeocarpus ganitrus*, which in Sanskrit is called *rudrākṣa-*, literally 'Rudra-eye(d)' (cf. also fn. 26).[31] These nuts were clearly known to the composer of the Khotanese treatise on rosaries, who mentions them as *lodrrākṣā'* at the end of his text (Ch. ii.004 Fol. 4 = IOL Khot 55/4 recto 3; Skjærvø 2002: 296).

Finally, the author of the Khotanese treatise also references rosaries made from *putrajīva* nuts said to come out of "one fruit (*hiyāra-*) of a tree" (*bhahyi śīña hīyārañia*; Ch. ii.004 Fol. 4 = IOL Khot 55/4 recto 1; Skjærvø 2002: 296). A very similar statement is made in the Tibetan parallel (cf. Stein 1987: 269; 279).

The interpretation of the gen.pl. *vargastā* 'fruitful' advocated above would probably imply that Khot. *varga-* can denote both the karmic consequences of one's actions and a literal fruit, in much the same way as Skt. *phala-*.[32]

4 A Bactrian Etymology for Khotanese *varga-* 'fruit (of an action)'

In Bailey's view (DKS: 378a), Khot. *varga-* 'fruit (of an action)' would be an inherited word deriving from PIr. **bara-ka-* 'fruit' (cf. MSogd. *βry*, *βr'k*, *βr'y* 'id.'; Khwar. *βrk* 'id.'). Yet to make this etymology work, Bailey had to resort to the *ad hoc* assumption of a dialect form, as from **bara-ka-* one would normally expect Khot. ***baraa-*. Contrast the regular developments PIr. **b-* > Khot. *b-* and PIr. **-aka-* > Khot. *-aa-* in *bāraa-* 'vehicle; riding animal' < **bāra-ka-* (DKS: 278).

In my view, Khot. *varga-* is more plausibly explained as a loan from Bactrian. In Bactrian, PIr. **b-* is regularly continued as /v/,[33] while the sequence **-rak-* undergoes syncope, yielding -ργ- /rg/—for example in αζαδοβοργο /āzādəvurgə/ 'freeman' < **āzāta-puθra-ka-*. From **bara-ka-* one would therefore expect

30 Crooke (1906: 407): "There is hardly any class of substance which has not been used in India for beads—minerals, as glass, stone; products of the animal kingdom, coral, shells, bones; vegetable, **seeds and fruits**, prepared pieces of wood or other natural botanical structures" (emphasis mine; cf. also Laatsch 2010: 4; 10). On rosaries as used in Indian religions (Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism), see Kirfel (1949: 19–60).

31 For a study about *rudrākṣa-* as used in ancient times and by present-day Shaivites, see Laatsch (2010). According to Crooke (1906: 408), *rudrākṣa-* can, at least in the Punjab, also refer to the seeds of the jujube tree. Sanskrit lexica record *mālāphala-*, literally 'garland-fruit', as an alternative name for *rudrākṣa-* (PW vol. 5: 752), which is another indication of the close connection between *rudrākṣa-* and rosaries.

32 Since, however, the supposed literal sense of *varga-* would be limited to passage (8), Mauro Maggi (p.c.) suggested that 'fruit-trees' in (8) could also be a metaphor for plants that are economically exploited and, therefore, precious like jewels (*ranīnai*) and bones (*āstīnai*).

33 Cf. Sims-Williams (2011: 170) and Schoubben (2024: 49–51).

Bactr. *βαργο /vargə/, which provides a phonologically plausible source of Khot. *varga-*.[34] There is moreover evidence that Bactr. *βαργο is more than a theoretical reconstruction, for our sole text in Manichaean Bactrian (M 1224) actually contains the cognate form *βrg* 'fruit (of an action)':

(9) M 1224 recto 11–16

t'd 'ww q[*d*](*y*)*βryyg 'qydyy*(*ẖ*) *lhyyd* [*ṭ*]*'*(*d pyd*) *wyśp pwwn b'gy*(*g*)*ynd 'wd ywg py*(*d*) *hz'r* ***pwnyng βrg*** *'βyryyd 'wd wy*(*ś*)*p nrẖ śwwhyyd 'wd pwwn pydrw*(*βy*)*d y'wyd'nźyg*

"[T]hus, that layman who gives it—he becomes a sharer in all the merits, and obtains **merit-fruit** a thousandfold and escapes(?) all hells and receives merits eternally." (ed./tr. Sims-Williams 2009: 249; 252).

In (9), *pwnyng βrg* 'merit-fruit' is equivalent in sense to the Sanskrit compound *puṇyaphala-* 'fruit of merit' (e.g. *Cīvaravastu* MSV II, p. 86, MS 259r, also *puṇyaphalavipāka-*),[35] and comparable to the Khotanese phrase *puñānu vivāta-** 'ripening of merits'.[36] In other words, MBactr. *βrg* is used here in the same way as Skt. *phala-*, a word which Khot. *varga-* can translate; it is also parallel to Khot. *vivāta-* 'ripening', a near-synonym of Khot. *varga-* (cf. section 2). The hypothesis that *varga-* is a loan from Bactr. *βαργο /vargə/ (MBactr. *βrg*) is thus supported by phraseological evidence.

Bactrian is the only known Middle Iranian language in which **b-* develops into a fricative and in which also syncope takes place. Consequently, one can exclude on phonological grounds that Khot. *varga-* was borrowed from, for example, Sogdian.[37]

34 Compare also βαργο /vārgə/ 'animal for riding, mount' < **bāra-ka-*.

35 Note also Gāndh. *puñapavaphal*(**o*)*vaga* "attaining the fruits of merit and evil" in *Split Dharmapada* 48d (Falk 2015: 43, who lists additional parallels in Buddhist Sanskrit and Pāli).

36 I found the following occurrences of Khot. *puñānu vivāta-**: P 2742 line 7 (*pūñāṃ vīvā*; Duan 1992: 66), *Bhadracaryadeśanā* verse 60c (*ttyāṃ pūñāṃ vīvāvina*; Asmussen 1961: 35), and Deśanā P 3513 80r4 (*ttyau pūñau vīvā*; KBT[2]: 64). The same phrase is perhaps to be restored in P 5536 recto 6 (x x x *ñāṃ vīvā*; KT III[2]: 117). In *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* 3.87, the Skt. ins.sg. *puṇyaphalena* is rendered as Khot. *pūñāṃ prrabhāvna* 'by the power of (their) virtues' (Skjærvø 2004 I: 58 f.).

37 The Sogdian cognate of Bactr. *βαργο /vargə/ (= MBactr. *βrg*), i.e. *βry*, *βr'k*, *βr'y*, was probably pronounced like /varē/, which cannot have yielded Khot. *varga-*.

As noted in section 3, *varga-* also served as the base for the derived adjective *vargausta-* / *vargasta-* 'fruitful', containing the suffix *-austa-* / *-(a)sta-* 'provided with'. This suffix is frequently attached to loanwords (Degener 1989: 317, § 54.8.2), which fits well with the hypothesis that *varga-* is a loan from Bactrian.[38]

5 Concluding Remarks

If the arguments regarding the semantics and etymology of Khot. *varga-* 'fruit (of an action)' presented above are accepted, they provide further evidence that—despite the limited number of Bactrian Buddhist texts—there existed in Bactrian a religious vocabulary sufficiently prestigious for words from this semantic domain to be borrowed by neighbouring languages. When and under which sociolinguistic circumstances languages like Khotanese and Tocharian adopted such Bactrian terms remains an open question, and one that cannot be satisfactorily addressed on the basis of a single lexical item. In what follows, I offer some general and preliminary remarks on this issue.

One plausible scenario is that these Bactrian words were borrowed between the 1st and 3rd centuries AD, when the local kingdoms of the Tarim Basin were under the influence of the Kuṣāṇa empire (Høisæter 2017; Vorderstrasse 2020). At that time, Buddhist monks also travelled from the Kuṣāṇa territories to the Tarim Basin, as is, for example, evidenced by the Karakorum petroglyphs. These monks will have used Gāndhārī as their "church" language.[39] Still, it is conceivable that monks whose native language was Bactrian had developed a Buddhist vocabulary in their own language for use in oral contexts (e.g. when preaching to the local Tarim Basin communities);[40] and that Khotanese and Tocharian speakers borrowed from these monks not only Buddhist terms in Gāndhārī but also in Bactrian. Possibly, Khot. *varga-* 'fruit (of an action)' was borrowed during Kuṣāṇa times as well. Yet, if this were the case, it is noteworthy that the word is only attested in Late Khotanese texts from Dunhuang (10th century AD).[41]

38 The fact that an adjective was derived from *varga-* additionally suggests that it was a relatively well integrated loanword.

39 Note, for instance, that Gāndhārī texts have been discovered in Bactrian-speaking areas such as Bamiyan. Occasionally, these Gāndhārī texts also show phonological signs (e.g. deaspiration) which suggest that they were written down by speakers of Iranian languages like Bactrian. See e.g. Salomon (2016: 376).

40 Some of these Buddhist terms were possibly shared with the religious vocabulary of other local religions such as Zoroastrianism and (from the 3rd century onwards) Manichaeism.

41 It is always possible that words which existed in a language are by chance not attested in

There is, in fact, no linguistic reason to exclude the possibility that Khot. *varga-* 'fruit (of an action)' was adopted at a later date, i.e. after the Kuṣāṇa period. Culturally, too, this alternative merits consideration, since some of the manuscript remains from the Turfan area suggest that Bactrian remained a piece of the linguistic mosaic of the Tarim Basin during the Hephthalite period (5th–8th centuries AD). This would bring us closer in time to the composition of the Late Khotanese texts from Dunhuang (10th century AD). The Bactrian manuscripts in question are (i) the so-called Hephthalite fragments h1–h9, some of which may be remnants of Buddhist or Manichaean texts (cf. fn. 1); and (ii) the Manichaean Bactrian fragment M 1224, which contains the word *βrg* 'fruit (of an action)' (= *βαργο) that, I argue, provides the source of Khot. *varga-* 'idem'.[42]

Acknowledgments

For this research, the author was supported by the European Research Council (ERC-2022-COG 101088902). An earlier version of this paper was presented orally as part of a lecture on "New lexical evidence for Bactrian Buddhism and the role of contact linguistics in Buddhist literature" delivered at a workshop on "Buddhism and language, a twofold perspective" (LMU Munich, online, 22–23 October 2021), and I thank the organisers and participants of that workshop, in particular Francesco Barchi, for their helpful input. I am also grateful to Mauro Maggi, Federico Dragoni, and an anonymous reviewer for providing very valuable feedback on an earlier draft.

the random selection of texts that have come down to us—but it remains peculiar that *varga-* is never attested in Old Khotanese texts like the *Book of Zambasta*, yet occurs several times in Late Khotanese texts. Another example of a Buddhist term in Late Khotanese that does not (so far) occur in Old Khotanese is *maśpa-* 'road; (Buddhist) path' (~ Skt. *mārga-*). As, however, the etymology of this word remains unknown (cf. Dragoni 2023: 29–34), it cannot be decided whether this is an inherited word that simply happens not to be attested in older texts or whether it is a recent loanword that was adopted after the Old Khotanese texts were composed.

42 M 1224 has been dated on linguistic grounds to the late 7th/early 8th century AD (Sims-Williams 2011: 168 f.).

References

Asmussen, Jes P. 1961. *The Khotanese Bhadracaryādeśanā: Text, Translation, and Glossary, together with the Buddhist Sanskrit Original*. Copenhagen: Munksgaard.

Bailey, Harold W. 1965. "Vajrayāna Texts from Gostana." In *Studies of Esoteric Buddhism and Tantrism: In Commemoration of the 1,150th Anniversary of the Founding of Koyasan*, edited by Joseph M. Kitagawa, 27–39. Koyasan: Koyasan University.

Bailey, Harold W. 1974. "The *Pradakṣiṇā-sūtra* of Chang Tsiang-kuin." In *Buddhist Studies in Honour of I.B. Horner*, edited by Lance Cousins, Arnold Kunst and Kenneth R. Norman, 15–18. Dordrecht: Reidel.

Bailey, Harold W. 1978. "Vajrayāna in Gostana-deśa." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 1: 53–56.

Barchi, Francesco and Benedikt Peschl. 2024. "'God of Gods' An Iranian Buddhist Epithet and its Traces in Early Chinese Buddhist Translations." *Indo-Iranian Journal* 67(3): 229–275.

BD II = Sims-Williams, Nicholas. 2007. *Bactrian Documents from Northern Afghanistan, II: Letters and Buddhist Texts*. London: The Nour Foundation.

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

Canevascini, Giotto. 1993. *The Khotanese Saṅghāṭasūtra: A Critical Edition*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

Cowell, Edward B. and Robert A. Neil. 1886. *Divyāvadāna. A Collection of Early Buddhist Legends*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cox, Collett. 2025. *A Gāndhārī Abhidharma Text: British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragment 28*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Crooke, William. 1906. *Things Indian: Being Discursive Notes on Various Subjects Connected with India*. London: John Murray.

Dalton, Jacob and Sam van Schaik. 2006. *Tibetan Tantric Manuscripts from Dunhuang: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Stein Collection at the British Library*. Leiden/Boston: Brill.

Degener, Almuth. 1989. *Khotanische Suffixe*. Stuttgart: Steiner.

Del Tomba, Alessandro. 2025. "On the Relationship between the Two Manuscripts of the Khotanese *Siddhasāra*." *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University* 28: 221–243.

DKS = Bailey, Harold W. 1979. *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dragoni, Federico. 2023. *Watañi lāntaṃ: Khotanese and Tumshuqese Loanwords in Tocharian*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

Duan, Qing. 1992. *Das khotanische Aparimitāyuḥsūtra: Ausgabe, Übersetzung, Kommentar und Glossar*. Reinbek: Dr. Inge Wezler.

Emmerick, Ronald E. 1968. *The Book of Zambasta, A Khotanese Poem on Buddhism*. London: Oxford University Press.

Emmerick, Ronald E. 1977. "The Confession of Acts." In *Varia 1976* (Acta Iranica 12), 87–115. Leiden: Brill.

Emmerick, Ronald E. 1980. *The Siddhasāra of Ravigupta. Volume 1: The Sanskrit Text*. Wiesbaden: Steiner.

Emmerick, Ronald E. 1982. *The Siddhasāra of Ravigupta. Volume 2: The Tibetan Version with Facing English Translation*. Wiesbaden: Steiner.

Emmerick, Ronald E. 1992². *A Guide to the Literature of Khotan*. Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies.

Falk, Harry. 2015. "A New Gāndhārī *Dharmapada* (Texts from the Split Collection 3)." *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University* 18: 23–62.

Fussman, Gérard. 2011. *Monuments bouddhiques de Termez, 1: Catalogue des inscriptions sur poteries*. Paris: Édition-Diffusion de Boccard.

Gonda, Jan. 1973². *Sanskrit in Indonesia*. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture.

Høisæter, Tomas L. 2017. "Migrants or Monks: The Problems of a Migration Scenario in First to Fourth Century Caḍota by the Niya River." *Distant Worlds Journal* 3: 80–93.

KBT² = Bailey, Harold W. 1981. *Khotanese Buddhist Texts*. Revised edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kirfel, Willibald. 1949. *Der Rosenkranz: Ursprung und Ausbreitung*. Walldorf-Hessen: Verlag für Orientkunde.

Kritzer, Robert. 2005. *Vasubandhu and the Yogacārabhūmi: Yogacāra Elements in the Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*. Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies of The International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies.

KT III² = Bailey, Harold W. 1969². *Indo-Scythian Studies, Being Khotanese Texts*, Volumes I–III. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Laatsch, Mario. 2010. *Rudrākṣa: Die Perlen der shivaitischen Gebetsschnur in altertümlichen und modernen Quellen*. Munich: Akademische Verlagsgemeinschaft München.

Lee, Jonathan and Nicholas Sims-Williams. 2003. "The Antiquities and Inscription of Tang-i-Safedak." *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 9: 159–184.

Leumann, Ernst. 1893. "Rosaries Mentioned in Indian Literature." In *Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists II* (*Held in London, 5th to 12th September 1892*), edited by E. Delmar Morgan, 883–889. London.

Maggi, Mauro. 1995. "Late Khotanese Numerals from 1 to 36 in Tibetan Transcription." In *Proceedings of the Second European Conference of Iranian Studies Held in Bamberg, September 30th to October 4th, 1991 by the Societas Iranologica Europæa*, edited

by Bert G. Fragner et al., 425–444. Rome: Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.

Maggi, Mauro. 2009. "Khotanese Literature." In *The Literature of Pre-Islamic Iran*, edited by Ronald E. Emmerick and Maria Macuch, 330–417. New York: I.B. Tauris.

Maggi, Mauro. fthc. "Manichaean Bactrian *βrg* and Khotanese *varga-*: One More Occurrence of the Bactrian Loanword in Late Khotanese."

PW = Böhtlingk, Otto and Rudolph Roth. 1855–1875. *Sanskrit Wörterbuch*. St. Petersburg: Buchdruckerei der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Salomon, Richard. 2016. "Thirty-Two Fragments Written by Bamiyan Kharoṣṭhī Scribe 7." In *Buddhist Manuscripts, Volume IV*, edited by Jens Braarvig, 367–406. Oslo: Hermes Publishing.

Santos, Diego M. and Marcos Albino. 2024. *Beiträge zur Iranistik und zum iranischen Manichäismus I*. Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovač.

Schmidt, Richard. 1928. *Nachträge zum Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung von Otto Böhtlingk*. Leipzig: Harrassowitz.

Schoubben, Niels. 2024. *Traces of Language Contact in Niya Prakrit: Bactrian and Other Foreign Elements*. PhD dissertation Leiden University.

Sims-Williams, Nicholas. 2004. "Two Bactrian Fragments from Yar-khoto." In *Turfan Revisited. The First Century of Research into the Arts and Culture of the Silk Road*, edited by Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, 325–332; 461–464. Berlin: Reimer.

Sims-Williams, Nicholas. 2009. "The Bactrian Fragment in Manichaean Script (M 1224)." In *Literarische Stoffe und ihre Gestaltung in mitteliranischer Zeit*, edited by Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, Christiane Reck and Dieter Weber, 245–268. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

Sims-Williams, Nicholas. 2010. "Two Late Bactrian Documents." In *Coins, Art and Chronology II. The First Millennium C.E. in the Indo-Iranian Borderlands*, edited by Michael Alram, Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter, Minoru Inaba and Matthias Pfisterer, 203–211. Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Sims-Williams, Nicholas. 2011. "Remarks on the Phonology of the Manichaean Bactrian Fragment (M 1224)." In *Leksika, ėtimologija, jazykovye kontakty: K jubileju doktora filologičeskix nauk, professora Džoj Iosifovny Ėdel'man*, edited by Elena K. Molčanova et al., 244–251. Moscow: Tezaurus.

Sims-Williams, Nicholas. 2025. *An Old Khotanese Reader: The Tale of Bhadra*. With contributions by Jonathan A. Silk. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

Skjærvø, Prods O. 2002. *Khotanese Manuscripts from Chinese Turkestan in the British Library. A Complete Catalogue with Texts and Translations*. With contributions by Ursula Sims-Williams. London: British Library.

Skjærvø, Prods O. 2004. *This Most Excellent Shine of Gold, King of Kings of Sutras: The Khotanese Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*. 2 vols. Cambridge MA: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University.

Skorupski, Tadeusz. 1983. *The Sarvadurgatipariśodhana Tantra* (*Elimination of All Evil Destinies*)*: Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts with Introduction, English Translation and Notes*. Delhi/Varanasi/Patna: Motilal Banarsidass.

Stein, Rolf A. 1987. "Un genre particulier d'exposés du tantrisme ancien tibétain et khotanais." *Journal Asiatique* 275(3–4): 265–282.

Strong, John. 1983. *The Legend of King Aśoka: A Study and Translation of the Aśokāvadāna*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Vorderstrasse, Tasha. 2020. "The Limits of the Kushan Empire in the Tarim Basin." In *The Limits of Empire in Ancient Afghanistan. Rule and Resistance in the Hindu Kush, circa 600 BCE–600 CE*, edited by Richard E. Payne and Rhyne King, 169–200. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Wangchuk, Dorji. 2007. *The Resolve to Become a* Buddha: *A Study of the* Bodhicitta *Concept in Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*. Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies of The International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies.

Wen, Xin. 2023. *The King's Road. Diplomacy and the Remaking of the Silk Road*. Princeton/Oxford: Princeton University Press.