

# A Rough Sketch of Central Asian Buddhism

**Kōgi Kudara**

Ryukoku University, Kyoto

## I. THE EVE OF THE JOURNEY TO CENTRAL ASIA

### 1. Shapeless Buddhism

The teachings of the Buddha (Gautama Siddhārtha) were compiled after his death and edited by his disciples to create the Buddhist scriptures. Originally the teachings were transmitted orally and did not exist as written texts. Writing systems existed in India during the time of the Buddha, but, according to Indian tradition, letters are for secular functions, not for recording the words of holy persons. The words of holy persons are to be recited aloud.

Indian people also refrained from depicting the physical form of holy persons. Although reliefs displaying the life story of the Buddha are found on the gates and fences of early *stūpa*-s erected to enshrine the Buddha's relics, the Buddha himself never appears; instead, the presence of the Buddha is expressed symbolically by a *bodhi* tree, a *dharma* wheel (*dharmacakra*), or his footprints. In this respect, similarly to the treatment of scriptures, Buddhists adhered to the contemporaneous Indian tradition not to express the physical form of holy persons. Buddhists in India maintained this tradition during the 400–500 years in which Buddhism remained within the Indian world. The tradition was broken when Buddhism spread to other countries.

### 2. Alexandros, Aśoka, and Kaniška

The Greek and Macedonian king Alexander the Great (Alexandros III, r. 336–323 BCE) waged a successful military campaign to defeat the Archaemenes Empire (550–330 BCE) in Persia. At one point he crossed the Indus River and entered India (326 BCE). In the wake of this eastbound campaign, many Greeks settled in the areas extending from present-day Iran through western Turkistan and northwest India and established cities named Alexandria in various places. After Alexander's death, the vast territories he had conquered were split into three countries following

struggles among his successors (Greek, *diadokoi*). The area between the Iranian plateau and west Turkistan eventually fell into the hands of the Seleuchos Empire of Syria (312–63 BCE). When the power of Seleuchos declined in the mid-third century BCE, independent countries emerged by seceding from the Syrian Empire.

Among these, three countries later encountered Buddhism. They were the Greek kingdom of Bactria (255–139 BCE) based around the upper Amu River and extending into northwestern India; the Iranian kingdom of Parthia (Arsakes, 248 BCE–226 CE) based around the southeastern part of the Caspian Sea; and the Indo-Scythaeon kingdom of Saka.

In the Indian subcontinent, the Indus River basin area, which had been a subject of Archaemenes Persia after the area was conquered by Dareios (Darius I, r. 522–486 BCE) in 520 (?) BCE, came under the control of the Greek powers after Persia was conquered by Alexander the Great. Meanwhile, in another part of India, King Candragupta (r. 317–293 BCE) established the Mauryan Empire with its capital city located in Pātaliputra (modern Patna). The expanding military force led by King Candragupta eventually swept the Greek powers out of the Indus River basin. At this time the Greek envoy Megasthenes, dispatched to settle a peace treaty with the Mauryan Empire, visited Pātaliputra and remained in India for the next ten years. After returning to Greece, he wrote a book entitled *Indika*, which is a valuable resource for historical materials on India at the time.

The fragmented Indian subcontinent was finally unified by King Aśoka (r. 268?–232? BCE), the third king of the Mauryan Empire. King Aśoka, whose empire included many different ethnic groups, sought for the ideals of nation-building and policy-making in the teachings of the Buddha and promoted these Buddhist ideals in the form of edicts issued throughout the empire. His edicts, known as the Aśokan Inscriptions, were carved on polished cliffs or stone pillars. The edicts discovered in north-west India (northern Pakistan and eastern Afghanistan) are written not only in the Brāhmī script for transcribing Indian languages, but also in Greek, Kharoṣṭhī, as well as Aramaic, because, as I mentioned above, Greeks and Iranians lived there. The Aśokan Inscriptions are one of the oldest existing written records in India and provide us with extremely significant linguistic and historical information.

King Aśoka promoted Buddhism by sending Buddhist missionaries to neighboring countries. These missionaries were perhaps also sent as the king's foreign ambassadors, and this represents the first time Buddhism traveled beyond the Indian world to become a world religion. It is known that the Aśokan missionaries first transmitted Buddhism to Sri Lanka. It is recorded that Buddhist missionaries were sent even as far as "Yonaloka" (a region inhabited by Greeks [*Ionia*]) to the north-west of India, probably in Bactria.

When the power of the Mauryan Empire declined, various tribal groups from Central Asia began invading its territories in the northwest. First the Greeks of the Bactrian kingdom arrived, invading as early as the second century BCE. When they lost their homeland in Bactria during the latter half of the second century BCE, they moved the base of their kingdom to the Panjab region. Among the Greek kings who migrated to India, Menandros (a.k.a. Milinda) is particularly noteworthy. According to a Buddhist text entitled *Milindapañhā* (*The Questions of King Milinda*), the king converted from his Greek religion to become a Buddhist as a result of his dialogues with the Buddhist monk Nāgasena.

The power of Greek kings declined during the first century BCE, and the Sakas and Parthians, Central Asian nomadic tribes, began invading northwest India. Then, in the latter half of the first century CE, the Kushana tribe moved south to invade northwest India. The Kushana tribe was an Iranian nomadic people who first spread into Central Asia. As their power increased, they began expanding their territory and invaded northwest India, eventually pushing deep into the Indian continent and occupying the central part of the Ganges River basin.

Buddhism's second step in becoming a world religion occurred during the reign of King Kanishka (r. 130?–155?, or 78?–103?) of the Kushan Empire as the religion was spread into Central Asia. The Kushan Empire also included many different ethnic groups within its territory. King Kanishka rose to power in about the first or second century of the common era. It seems that he promoted Buddhism *not out of belief* but because he had to adopt its egalitarian ideals in order to manage the different ethnic groups under his reign. He would not be able to reign over diverse ethnic groups by forcing the supremacy of either Indians or Iranians. The Kushan Empire established its capital city in Purushapura (modern Peshawar) in Gandhāra. To the south, the empire's territory reached to the central part of the Ganges River basin; to the north, it occupied the area where East and West Turkistan meet—a strategically significant point in Central Asia. Thus, situated between Han China in the east and the Roman Empire in the west, the Kushan Empire controlled the major east-west trading routes for the exchange of rare goods and cultural information. This afforded Buddhism an easy opportunity to expand to both the east and west.

### 3. Visualized Images and Texts

Let me return to the issue of representation that I began my presentation with. Greeks and Iranians, newly converted to Buddhism, were not bound by the Indian traditions that refrained from giving concrete expression to sacred objects or beings. They began transcribing the Buddhist

scriptures and producing images of the Buddha and bodhisattvas. This marked the birth of Buddhist statuary. Scholars have not yet determined whether the first Buddhist statues were created in Gandhāra or in the Indian region of Mathurā. Either way, it happened under the reign of the Kushan Empire. The transcription of Buddhist scriptures and the production of Buddhist statues occurred under similar circumstances. Once the Indian taboo was broken during the second century CE, the Buddhist scriptures transcribed into visible form and the visually appealing Buddhist statues became very effective means for the propagation of Buddhism, especially to the general public.

During this period, there also emerged a reform movement against the established sects of Nikāya Buddhism. This movement is known as Mahāyāna. The Mahāyāna movement was led by progressive Buddhists who possessed knowledge of broader world communities through encountering different ethnic groups and different cultures, as examined above. They invented new manners of expression in Buddhist thought as Buddhism met with the emergence of the new age. Mahāyāna Buddhists popularized Buddhism through the use of visualized forms of Buddhist statues and scriptures. Buddhism was now ready to spread into Central Asia.

After this point, the history of northwest India includes many unclear points. However, it is certain that it was a stable Buddhist area by the ninth century CE. During the time, numerous Buddhist temples, *stūpa*-s, monasteries, and cave temples were built and great numbers of Buddhist statues and scriptures were dedicated and enshrined in them. In Bāmiyān, two enormous Buddha images were carved into the mountains. In the seventh century, the Chinese monk Xuanzang (602–664) recorded that one of the two great Buddha figures shone with a gold color, which suggests that this statue (53 m) might originally have been decorated with gold leaf.

During the mid-seventh century CE, as Islam spread through the Iranian plateau, a dark shadow was cast over this Buddhist area. Since the establishment of the Turkish Ghazna (962–1186) and Ghor (1148?–1215) empires in Afghanistan, the area has been dominated by Muslims who destroyed Buddhist temples and their related facilities. The faces of the two great Bāmiyān Buddhas, including the forehead, eyes, and nose, were destroyed during this period. Because of this circumstance, we can study Buddhism in northwest India only through archaeological excavations of the sites of destroyed temples and *stūpa*-s. It is well known that many statues of Gandhāran Buddhas have been recovered from the earth, and that a large number of Indian Buddhist manuscripts were discovered in the caves of Gilgit in Pakistan.<sup>1</sup>

Recently, Afghan refugees escaping the persecution of the Taliban regime by hiding in caves in the Bāmiyān valley discovered Buddhist

statues and several jars containing over ten thousand fragments of the ancient Indian Buddhist manuscripts. The manuscripts were secretly carried out of the country and, through a variety of routes, the majority of the manuscripts came into the possession of the Norwegian collector Martin Schoyen. A small portion of the manuscripts is also in the possession of a certain Japanese collector. The discovery of these Buddhist manuscripts (2nd–8th centuries CE) may well be compared with the Christian discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Although they are fragments, they are extremely important to academic studies because they were discovered within the Indian cultural area. An international research team has already been organized, and the results of its research are gradually becoming available. The first volume of the manuscript collection was published in the fall of 2001.<sup>2</sup> We expect great studies to come out of the research. These manuscripts may raise a host of new questions related to the study of early Mahāyāna Buddhism.

I am particularly interested in this collection because it includes the manuscripts of Bactrian Buddhist texts. Considering the historical circumstances, it was thought that there must be Buddhist texts in the Bactrian language, and it has been proven so. One such manuscript is written in cursive Greek script and contains passages praising various Buddhas. It is noteworthy that the name of Lokeśvararāja Buddha (*λωγοσφαροραζο βοδδο*) is included, which implies the existence of the worship of Amida Buddha among the people.<sup>3</sup>

Besides this Schoyen collection, the fragments of twenty-nine volumes from Gandhāra must be remarkable, too. These seem to be found in Hadda and are Buddhist texts written in Kharoṣṭhī script on birch skin during 1st–2nd centuries CE. The manuscripts are preserved in the British Library and studies of them are now being published.<sup>4</sup>

## II. Buddhist Eras in Central Asia (2nd–14th Centuries)

### 1. West Turkistan (2nd–8th Centuries)

Iranian people living in the western half of Central Asia (Western Turkistan) originally followed the Iranian religious tradition of Zoroastrianism. But because of the circumstances outlined above, some of them began to accept Buddhism. The major countries in this region were known in China. In the Chinese records, Parthia in northeastern Iran was known as Anxi; Kushana, established by the Kushan Empire, was Yueshi, or Yuezhi; and Sogdiana appears as Kangju. Buddhist monks from these countries traveled with merchants and came to China to propagate Buddhism.

We need to remember that those who first introduced Buddhism to China and participated in the early translations of Buddhist sutras into the Chinese language (early translation period, 178–316 CE) were not Indian monks but Iranian monks and lay persons (merchants). This is known from the names of the translators, who used the names of their home countries as their surnames. For example, An Shigao was from Parthia (Anxi); Zhiqian and Zhilou Jiachen were from Kushana (Yuezhi); and Kang Sengkai was from Samarkand (Kangju). Among the thirty-seven known names of translators active in the old-translation period, the majority are from countries in the Iranian cultural sphere.

These countries were eventually absorbed by Sasanian Persia (226–651). Sasanian Persia was established with the ideal of restoring Archaemenes Persia, which had been destroyed by Alexander the Great. Zoroastrianism was declared the state religion, but the practice of other religious traditions was tolerated. Therefore, within its territory, Buddhists, Christians (especially Nestorian Christians), Jews, and, later, followers of the Iranian religion Manichaeism, coexisted peacefully.

However, the age of Buddhism in the western part of Central Asia was overshadowed with dark clouds when the Sasanian Empire was destroyed in 651 by the attacks of rapidly emerging Islamic powers. In the eighth century, the Islamic armies began invading Turkistan. First they entered Sogdiana, and after winning a battle against the army of Tang China at the Talas River in 751, their invasions intensified. By the latter half of the ninth century, Islamic powers completely dominated the region of western Turkistan. As a result of the series of invasions by the Islamic powers, many Buddhists and Christians living in the areas, including Samarkand, Ferghana, Tashkent, Herat, and Bactria, either reluctantly converted to Islam or fled to eastern Turkistan.

Because western Turkistan was converted to Islam in this early period, it was long assumed that there was no chance that Buddhist texts would be discovered in this area. However, this assumption was shattered by the discovery of a group of manuscripts in northern Afghanistan. In the 1990s the manuscripts were taken out of Afghanistan and were eventually purchased by the British Library. Among the Bactrian manuscripts discovered in northern Afghanistan (most are official documents and secular writings), there were two Buddhist texts.<sup>5</sup> The texts mention “all Buddhas” and introduce the names of the six past Buddhas before Śākyamuni as well as the names of various bodhisattvas and other Indian deities. These texts are highly valued as Bactrian Buddhist texts discovered in western Turkistan. Because of the historical context mentioned above, it is highly possible that there might be Buddhist texts in the Parthian language here. However, such texts have yet to be discovered.

## 2. East Turkistan (2nd–14th Centuries)

### A. Early Buddhist Period (2nd–9th Centuries )

Moving to the eastern half of Central Asia (East Turkistan), it will be easier to understand the situation if we divide the area further into two parts: east and west. Iranian and Indian people were living in the oasis cities in the western part of East Turkistan, and Chinese were in the eastern part. The contact point between these two areas was around Turfan.

For the sake of convenience, I would like to list the major oasis city-states (including the names established later) from the western side: Shule in Kashgar, Yutian in Khotan on the southern route of the Western Regions, Guici in Kucha on the northern route of the Western Regions, and Gaochang in Turfan. Dunhuang is located in the east of Turfan and was essentially a Chinese city.

Iranians and Indians lived in the major cities on the Silk Route, such as Kashgar and Khotan, and Buddhism flourished. In the latter half of the tenth century, however, these cities fell to the hands of Islamic powers. In the areas around Kucha and Turfan, by the ninth century the ethnic composition was relatively complex, consisting of a mixture of Iranians, Indians, Tokharians, and Chinese peoples.

### Major Buddhist Cities

(1) Kashgar/Shule: A Buddhist city that flourished from the early period. In the latter half of the tenth century, it became a subject of the Islamic Qara Khan Empire and Buddhism was terminated.

(2) Khotan/Yutian: The Indian tradition of Buddhism flourished in this city from the early period. For example, in the remains of the city a manuscript of the *Dharmapada* in Gāndhārī transcribed in Kharoṣṭhī script around the second century CE was discovered. It is considered to be the oldest existing Buddhist manuscript. The king's family escaped to Dunhuang during the surge of Islamic powers.

(3) Kucha/Guici: Iranians, Indians, and Tokharians lived together in this city. The city maintained contacts with India. For example, the famous translator monk Kumārajīva of the fourth century CE is from Guici in Kucha. According to his biography, his father was an Indian who came to Kucha and married a daughter of the king's family. As a child, he was sent to north Indian countries to study. He later became famous in China as a translator of Buddhist

scriptures. This shows that there existed a strong international network of Buddhist society at that time. It also reflects the rich international flavor of the city. Many Indian Buddhist scriptures (mainly of Nikāya texts) as well as some Buddhist texts in the Tokharian language were discovered here. On the outskirts of Kucha, in Kizil and Qumtura, many cave temples with wall paintings were constructed.

(4) The significance of Tokhara may need further explanation. Tokharians were ethnically Indo-European. However, linguistically they are not related to the eastern branch of Indo-Iranian language families. Their language is closer to the western branch of Indo-European languages, such as Greek or Latin. This ethnic group was supposed to have moved to the European continent in the west, but for unknown reasons they strayed into the northern edge of the Taklamakan desert in the east and settled near Kucha and Turfan.

(5) Turfan / Gaochang: Turfan is an oasis city surrounded by mountains. It flourished as a center of Buddhism in East Turkistan until the fourteenth century. Many different ethnic groups coexisted in this area, including Iranians, Indians, Tokharians, and Chinese. Various languages, scripts, and religious traditions could be found in Turfan. In the outskirts of the city, in Bezeklik, Toyoq, and Murtuq, many cave temples with wall paintings were constructed.

(6) Dunhuang: Chinese settled in this city from the early period. Although occasionally the city was occupied by Tibetans, it was generally maintained as a stronghold of Chinese Buddhist society. It is an important site for Buddhist cultural heritage, as seen in Magaoku, the Cave of One Thousand Buddhas. In Dunhuang, the Archives Cave (Cave 17) became particularly famous for the discovery of tens of thousands of Buddhist manuscripts. These manuscripts were sealed for about one thousand years, and since many of them are lost or unknown in China, their academic value is enormous. The majority of the discovered manuscripts are written in Chinese, followed by Tibetan texts. The collection also includes Buddhist texts written in Uigur, Sogdian, as well as Tokharian, but the numbers of these are very small. The Archives Cave appears to have been sealed in the first half of the eleventh century.



## B. Later Buddhistic Period (9th–mid-14th Centuries)

As examined above, during the early Buddhist period different ethnic groups and tribes maintained their own cultural identities. While the degree of influence from Indian, Iranian, or Chinese cultures varied depending on the geographical area, each group encountered Buddhism and accepted it. However, the social context allowing for a balanced coexistence of different ethnic groups faced a drastic change from the ninth century. The change started with the expansion of the Turkish Uigur people along the Silk Route which eventually created the situation in which Central Asia could genuinely be called Turkistan (“domain [*stan*] of the Turks”).

Turks were originally nomadic people living in the Mongolian steppes. During the mid-eighth century CE, the Empire of East Uigur Khagan was established and controlled the Mongolian steppes for the next hundred years. In this period the Uigurs were introduced to Manichaeism by the Sogdian people. They also created a writing system for their language based on Sogdian scripts, resulting in a relatively advanced civilization within the empire. The Uigur Empire was destroyed by the Turkish Kirghiz people around 840 and dispersed into tribal groups. Some Uigur tribes moved into Shazhou, the Turfan basin, and Kucha to survive and eventually established two kingdoms.

One of these was the Kingdom of Tianshan Uigur centered in Beiting (Biš Baliq in Uigur) and Qočo (Turfan). This kingdom, together with the Mongol Yuan Dynasty, lasted for three hundred years, until the mid-fourteenth century. The other was the Kingdom of Hexi Uigur established in Gansu. This kingdom existed for about 130 years until it was destroyed by the attacks of Xixia.

The influences brought by Uigurs in the history and culture of the Silk Route area are very significant. The Uigurs flourished by occupying the major trading centers on the Silk Route. They actively absorbed the cultural heritages of the earlier Buddhist residents. Gradually they blended ethnically with Iranians, Indians, and Tokharians, who are Caucasians and whose languages are Indo-European.

One more thing that is noteworthy about the role of the Uigur people is their activities under the Mongolian Yuan Dynasty. In the beginning of the thirteenth century, the Mongolian leader Chinghiz Khan (r. 1205–27) began his campaign for world domination. At that time, the Uigur people voluntarily became Mongolian subjects and offered their support for the Mongols’ plan. This was a great boon to the Mongols, because the Uigurs, with three hundred years of experience along the Silk Route, were culturally advanced and had accumulated a high level of knowledge about the ethnic groups, geography, languages, and religious traditions both in the

east and the west. Behind the establishment of the Mongolian Empire was the great contribution of knowledge and information by the Uigur people. Due to those contributions, the homelands of the Uigurs were protected by the Mongols—very exceptional treatment for a minority ethnic group under the Mongol Yuan Dynasty (1260–1367). Uigur people were granted the status of second rank in the empire’s ethnic hierarchy and played significant roles in politics, economics, culture, and religion as the leaders of “people of colored eyes.”

For example, the Mongols, who did not have a writing system, first borrowed Uigur scripts to eventually develop Mongolian scripts. Most Uigur civilian officers working in the Mongolian capital city Dadu (modern Beijing) as officers of the “people of colored eyes” were Buddhists. They used blockprinting, the most advanced printing technology of the time, to publish great numbers of Buddhist texts and sent them to the people living in their homeland in the Turfan area. Many printed texts discovered in East Turkistan were texts published during the Yuan Dynasty, and most of the printed materials are Buddhist texts. They are printed not only in Uigur but include texts in Sanskrit and Xixia language. It is known that the people who printed and bound these texts were Chinese because the page numbers are in Chinese characters.

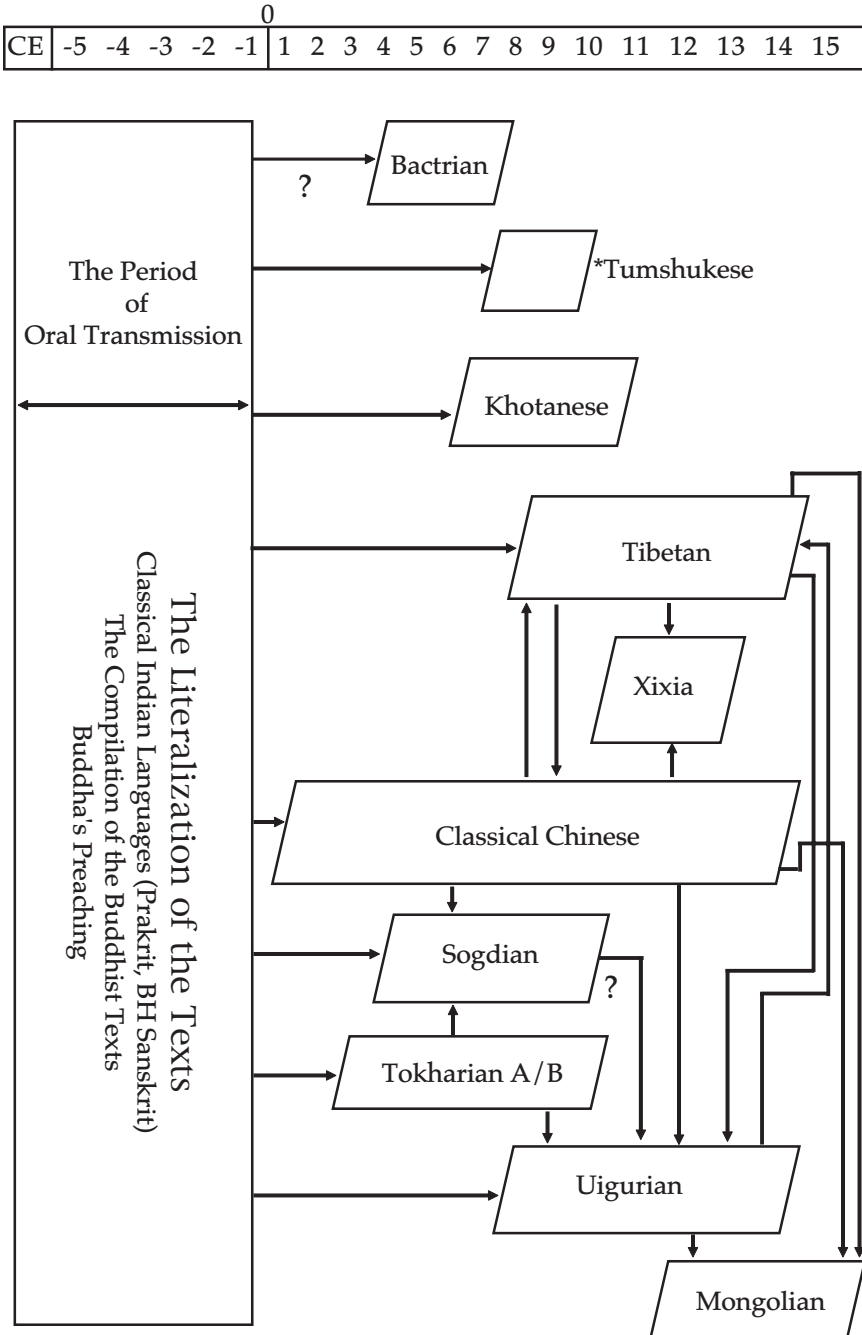
Here I would like to point out the number of languages from which Uigurs were translating Buddhist texts into their own, as shown in Chart A.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, the Uigurs followed the tradition of their predecessors to restore the cave temples, add balcony temples, and repaint Buddhist wall paintings at such sites as Bezeklik.

Uigur Buddhism was the last of the Buddhist cultures that flourished in East Turkistan and came to the end in the mid-fourteenth century together with the destruction of the Yuan Empire.

### III. Results of the Philological Studies on Central Asian Buddhist Texts

In the beginning of the twentieth century, the major powers in Europe and Japan began sending expeditions to excavate Buddhist sites in eastern Turkistan. The Japanese Otani expeditions and German expeditions were both focused on the area between Turfan and Kucha. Their collections are, therefore, related to each other. The textural material collected by the German expeditions reportedly includes twenty-four writing systems in seventeen languages, a fact which stunned the academic circles of Oriental Studies of the early twentieth century. A part of the collections from the Otani expeditions<sup>7</sup> is stored at Ryukoku University—where I am currently affiliated—and I have examined the existing text materials and discovered that they include thirteen writing systems in fifteen languages.<sup>8</sup>

Chart A: Outlook of the Translation Relationship of the Buddhist Texts in Central Asia



Since 1965, we have been involved in a cooperative research project with German scholars working on the Buddhist texts discovered at Turfan. This cooperative study includes research on Buddhist materials in Chinese,<sup>9</sup> Uigur,<sup>10</sup> and Sogdian<sup>11</sup> languages. We have already made public some of the results of our research project, and we will continue to publish them in the future. I would like to discuss a few issues that have come out of the cooperative research project and which I believe are significant in the philological study of Buddhist texts.

The texts include previously unknown Buddhist materials. In China, Buddhist scriptures were compiled into the Chinese Buddhist canon, which includes texts translated into Chinese and Chinese commentaries on the translated texts. However, we should not trust that all the Chinese Buddhist scriptures are preserved in the currently existing Chinese Buddhist canon. There were many Buddhist texts that never reached the center of Chinese culture (modern Xian) and were not incorporated in the Chinese canon (i.e., Buddhist texts that were not introduced to Central China). Some texts reached Central China and their existence was once recorded, but they were lost before they were included in the canon due to wars or other circumstances (i.e., Buddhist texts that were lost in China). Some of these Chinese texts have now been discovered in Central Asia.

For example, the fragments of Chinese Buddhist texts discovered in Turfan include a formerly unknown Chinese translation of the *Wu liang shou jing* (cf. Plate A).<sup>12</sup> The text was translated from *Sukhāvatiyūha* in Sanskrit. However, this text is not included in the Chinese Buddhist canon. This is just one of the examples of lost Chinese Buddhist texts.

The Uigur materials include a collection of manuscripts with the abbreviated title Abitaki. Abitaki is a phonetic transcription of the Chinese title *Amituo jing*. Among the texts important for the worship of Amida Buddha and his Pure Land, there is a sutra of the same name, *Amitou jing*, translated by Kumārajīva, but the Uigur manuscript is not a translation of Kumārajīva's work. The Uigur text is in four volumes and consists of citations of different types of scriptures (suttas, commentaries, records of doctrinal discussions, and biographies of monks and lay persons) related to Amida worship.<sup>13</sup> It is certain that the text was translated from sources originally written in Chinese. The Chinese originals, however, have been lost in China. By studying these Uigur translations, it is possible to reconstruct the lost original Chinese texts to a certain degree of accuracy. I believe we can publish the results of this cooperative research project in English within a few years.

This concludes my outline of Central Asian Buddhism and discussion of some of the most recent information and research on Central Asian Buddhist materials.

Plate A: A Fragment of an Unknown Chinese Version of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha*



## NOTES

1. Nalinaksha Dutt, et al., eds., *Gilgit Manuscripts*, 4 vols. (Calcutta: J.C. Sarkhel, vol. 1, 1939; vol. 2, 1941, 1953, and 1954; vol. 3, part 1, 1947; vol. 4, 1959).
2. Jens Braarvig, ed., *Buddhist Manuscripts*, 2 vols., Manuscripts in the Schoyen Collection (Oslo: Hermes, 2000–2002).
3. Nicholas Sims-Williams, "A Bactrian Buddhist Manuscript," in Jens Braarvig, ed., *Buddhist Manuscripts*, vol. 1, pp. 275–277; esp. verso 3.
4. Richard Salomon, *Ancient Buddhist Scrolls from Gandhāra: The British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments* (Seattle: The British Library and University of Washington Press, 1999); Richard Salomon, *A Gāndhārī Version of the Rhinoceros Sutra*, Gandhāran Buddhist Texts 1 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000); Fumio Enomoto, "The Discovery of the Oldest Buddhist Manuscripts," *The Eastern Buddhist* 23-1 (2000): pp. 157–166; Mark Allon, *Three Gāndhārī Ekottariāgama-Type Sutras*, Gandhāran Buddhist Texts 2 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001).
5. Cf. Nicholas Sims-Williams, "New Findings in Ancient Afghanistan: The Bactrian Documents Discovered from the Northern Hindu-Kush," <http://www.gengo.i.u-tokyo.ac.jp/~hkum/bactrian.html>.
6. This chart also appears in my article, "The Buddhist Culture of the Old Uigur Peoples," *Pacific World*, Third Series, 4 (2002): p. 189, in this issue and is further explained there.
7. Concerning the historical background and the academic significances of the Otani expeditions, cf. Kudara Kogi, "Silk Road and Its Culture: The View of a Japanese Scholar," in *Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berichte und Abhandlungen*, Band 6 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1999), pp. 331–347.
8. The thirteen writing systems are: Brāhmī, Tibetan, Karoṣṭhī, Runic, Manichean, Sogdian, Syrian, Uigur, Mongol, Arabic, Chinese, Xixia (Tangut), and Phags-pa scripts. The fifteen languages are: Sanskrit, Prakrit, Middle Persian, Khotan-Saka, Parthian, Sogdian, Tokharian B, Syrian, Chinese, Tibetan, Old Turkish, Uigur, Xixia (Tangut), Mongolian, and Arabic languages.
9. *Katalog chinesischer buddhistischer Textfragmente*, Band 1, Berliner Turfantexte VI (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1975); *Katalog chinesischer buddhistischer Textfragmente*, Band 2, Berliner Turfantexte VI (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1985).
10. Kudara Kogi, "Zwei verirrte Blätter des uigurischen Goldglanz-Sutras im Etnografiska Museum, Stockholm," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen*

*Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Band 132-2 (1982): pp. 336–347 (with Klaus Röhrborn); “Uigurische Āgama-Fragmente (1),” *Altorientalische Forschungen* 10-2 (1983): pp. 269–318 (with Peter Zieme); “Die Alttürkischen Abitaki-Fragmente des Etnografya Müzesi, Ankara,” *Turcica: Revue d’Etudes Turques*, Tome 16 (1984): pp. 13–28, Pl. i–v (with Ahment Temir and Klaus Röhrborn); “Fragmente zweier unbekannter Handschriften der Xuanzang-Biographie,” *Altorientalische Forschungen* 11-1 (1984): pp. 136–150 (with Peter Zieme); *Uigurugo no Kanmuryōjukyō* (Kyoto: Nagata Bunshōdō, 1985) (with Peter Zieme); “Chinesisch-alttürkische Fragmente des ‘Schwitzbad-Sutras’,” *Altorientalische Forschungen* 15-1 (1988): pp. 182–191 (with Peter Zieme); “Uigurische Āgama-Fragmente (2),” *Altorientalische Forschungen* 17-1 (1990): pp. 130–145, tafeln III–VIII (with Peter Zieme); “Uigurische Āgama-Fragmente (3),” *Bukkyō bunka kenkyūsho kiyō* 34 (1995): pp. 23–84 (with Peter Zieme); “Two New Fragments of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūhasūtra* in Uigur,” *Nairiku Ajia Gengo-no Kenkyū* 12, (1997): pp. 73–82 (with Peter Zieme).

11. Kudara Kōgi, “Fragmente einer soghdischen Handschrift des *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*,” *Altorientalische Forschungen* 15-1 (1988): pp. 174–181, tafeln I–II (with Werner Sundermann); “Fragmente einer soghdischen Handschrift des *Viśeṣacinti-brahma-paripṛcchā-sūtra*,” *Altorientalische Forschungen* 18-2 (1991): pp. 246–263, tafeln I–II (with Werner Sundermann); “Ein weiteres Fragment einer soghdischen Uebersetzung des *Bhaiṣajyaguruvaidūrya-prabhatathāgatasūtra*,” *Altorientalische Forschungen* 19-2 (1992): pp. 350–358 (with Werner Sundermann); *Irango danpen shūsei: Ōtani tankentai shūshū Ryūkokū daigaku shōzō Chūō Ajia shutsudo Irango shiryō*, Ryūkokū daigaku zenpon sōsho, vol. 17, (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1997) (with Yutaka Yoshida and Werner Sundermann); “A Second Text of the Sogdian *Viśeṣacinti-brahma-paripṛcchā-sūtra*,” *Nairiku Ajia gengo-no kenkyū* 13 (1998): pp. 111–128 (with Werner Sundermann).

12. Kudara Kōgi, “Kanyaku *Muryōjukyō* no shinihon danpen,” *Indo tetsugaku to Bukkyō: Fujita Kōtatsu hakase kanreki kinen Ronshū* (Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1989), pp. 373–394.

13. Peter Zieme and Kudara Kōgi, *Uigurugo no Kanmuryōjukyō* (Kyoto: Nagata Bunshōdō, 1985), pp. 23–24.

