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TEXTS CONTAINING BRĀHMĪ
ELEMENTS**

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FIVE OLD UYGHUR ABHIDHARMA TEXTS CONTAINING BRĀHMĪ ELEMENTS*

YUKIYO KASAI

Abstract

It is commonly known that Chinese Buddhist texts were the main source of Old Uyghur Buddhist texts, which means that the majority of them were translated from Chinese. Among them were not only popular Mahāyāna texts but also Chinese apocryphal texts and commentaries. Abhidharma texts were also included in the lists of texts translated from Chinese. These works are noteworthy for the fact that they often contain Chinese characters in them. However, in recent years five Abhidharma texts partly written in Brāhmī script have been identified. In this paper, the comparative study of those five texts as well as their possible originals is presented, and related problems are discussed.

1. Introduction

After the introduction of Buddhism to the Uyghur people under the West Uyghur Kingdom (second half 9th to 13th century) and until the end of the Mongolian period in the 14th century, Buddhism was the main religion of the majority of Uyghurs. With their conversion to Buddhism the Uyghurs began to produce numerous Buddhist texts, most of which were written in their own language and in their own script. Although some of those texts seem to be original compositions in Old Uyghur, most of them were actually translated from other languages, such as Tocharian, Chinese or Tibetan. The Old Uyghur Buddhist texts, which we now have access to, represent only a small portion of what would have been produced, but they are deemed sufficient to document the rich diversity of Uyghur Buddhist literature. Not only well-known Mahāyāna *sūtras* but also commentaries and Abhidharma texts are found in the lists of the surviving Old Uyghur Buddhist texts.

The commentaries and Abhidharma texts indicate that some Uyghur monks were deeply engaged in the detailed study of the Buddhist teachings. This fact has already been pointed out by Kōgi Kudara, who notes that “translation work and studies of the Abhidharma texts



amongst the Uyghur Buddhists were quite active”.¹ Indeed, up to now, a not insignificant number of Old Uyghur Abhidharma texts, as well as other Buddhist texts closely related to them, have been identified.² They include:

- (1) *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (T. 1558.29)³
- (2) *Abhidharmakośaṭīkāṭattvārthā* (T. 1561.29)
- (3) *Abhidharmakośakārikā* (T. 1560.29)⁴
- (4) Commentaries on the *gāthās* in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*
- (5) *Abhidharmāvatāra* (T. 1554.28)
- (6) *Nyāyānusārin/Nyāyānusāra* (T. 1562.29)
- (7) *Pratītyasamutpāda* of every kind (provisional title given by Kōgi Kudara)⁵
- (8) Commentary on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* named *Jinhuachao* 金花抄 [Golden Flower]⁶
- (9) Unknown Abhidharma text⁷

* I would like to express my sincere thanks to Prof. Kazunobu Matsuda (Bukkyō University, Kyoto), who provided useful advice about several instances of Sanskrit terminology. While I am grateful to those colleagues for their bountiful assistance, I alone am responsible for my mistakes.

¹ Kudara Kōgi 百濟康義, “Uiguruyaku ‘Kusharonjuchū’ ichiyō ウイグル訳『俱舍論頌註』一葉 [A Leaf of the Uyghur Translation of the Commentary on *Abhidharmakośakārikā*],” *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究 [The Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies] 28.2 (1980): 941.

² Most of the texts quoted here are mentioned by Masahiro Shōgaito, who also presents his research on those texts in his book; see Shōgaito Masahiro 庄垣内正弘, *Uiguru bun Abidaruma ronsho no bunkengakuteki kenkyū* ウイグル文アビダルマ論書の文献学的研究 [Uighur Abhidharma Texts: A Philological Study] (Kyoto: Shōkadō 2008), 1–2; Shōgaito Masahiro 庄垣内正弘, *The Uighur Abhidharmakośabhāṣya preserved at the Museum of Ethnography in Stockholm* (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 2014), 9–11. Thus, at this point, only the research which is not contained in his list are quoted in footnotes.

³ Shōgaito, *The Uighur Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*.

⁴ There is also the Chinese manuscript of the *Abhidharmakośakārikā* which was very probably written by a Uyghur Buddhist; see Kudara Kōgi 百濟康義, “Tenri toshokanzō uigurugo bunken 天理図書館蔵ウイグル語文献 [The Uyghur Texts in the Tenri-Library],” *Biburia* ビブリア [Biblia] 86 (1986): 142–134.

⁵ Kudara, “Tenri toshokanzō uigurugo bunken,” 172–148.

⁶ This is a summarised version of the text called *Jinhuachao* 金花抄 [Golden Flower]. Kudara Kōgi 百濟康義, “Kusharonchū ‘Kinkashō’ ni tsuite 俱舍論註『金花抄』について [The Commentary on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* Named *Jinhuachao*],” *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究 [The Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies] 30.2 (1982): 994–989.

(10) Sanskrit and Old Uyghur bilingual text of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* in Brāhmī script⁸

Apart from the last text (10), most of them were probably copied during the Mongolian period, which we can infer from their use of Uyghur cursive script as well as the fact that some of them contain Chinese and Tibetan characters.

In addition, five more texts (see section 2) have been identified as Abhidharma texts recently in the Berlin Turfan Collection. The texts in question are partly written in Brāhmī script; however, their use of this script is limited to the Sanskrit terms, while the main text is in the Uyghur script. Moreover, they are all written in cursive script on the reverse of Chinese Buddhist manuscripts, so none of them have the appearance of having been produced as official versions such as those sponsored by donors or were meant for monastic libraries. Three of the five texts show a relationship with the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*. One is an Old Uyghur translation of the **Abhidharmahṛdayamiśraka*, and the last one contains a discussion on the *dvādaśāṅga pratīyasamutpāda*, which indicates a strong similarity with the *Abhidharmavibhāṣā*. For all five texts, it is not clear which language they were translated from or what their authors took as the source of inspiration for their composition. Because Brāhmī script itself was probably borrowed by Uyghurs under Tocharian influence, it is assumed that those texts also show a close relationship to the Tocharian texts.⁹ At least two of them (texts in section

⁷ Kudara Kōgi 百濟康義, “Gojūni shinsho wo toku uiguruyaku abidaruma ronsho danpen 五十二心所を説くウイグル訳アビダルマ論書断片 [A Fragment of an Unknown Abhidharma Text in Uyghur],” *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究 [The Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies] 26.2 (1978): 1003–1000.

⁸ VOHD 13, 9, no. 14.

⁹ von Gabain, Annemarie, “Die Schreiber der alt-türkischen Brāhmī-Texte,” *Studia Orientalia* 28.5 (1964): 6–7; Zieme, Peter, “Zur Verwendung der Brāhmī-Schrift bei den Uiguren,” *Altorientalische Forschungen* 11.2 (1984): 337. This assumption was also supported by the paleographical research of Brāhmī script, see Sander, Lore, *Paläographisches zu den Sanskrithandschriften der Berliner Turfansammlung, mit 40 Alphabettafeln* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1986), 164; Maue, Dieter, “A Tentative Stemma of the Varieties of Brāhmī Script along the Northern Silk Road,” in *Languages and Scripts of Central Asia*, ed. Shirin Akiner and Nicholas Sims-Williams (London: Routledge, 1997), 9–10.



2.1. and 2.2), however, show a close relationship with their Chinese counterparts, even if they are not a verbatim translation from Chinese.

2. Five Old Uyghur Abhidharma Texts

2.1. An Old Uyghur Text Based on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*

Altogether, 31 fragments in the Berlin Turfan Collection belonging to the same manuscript are identified in the text based on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*. They have been written on the reverse of the Chinese *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* (T. 220.5 and 6) and the *Mahāratnakūṭasūtra* (T. 310.11), and can be reconstructed to yield six large leaves on the basis of the exact identification and localisation of the Chinese texts on the front.¹⁰ These six leaves are from different chapters of the *sūtras*, and not all of them are in sequential order. Because the Uyghur cursive script is used here, this manuscript was probably copied during the Mongolian period (13th–14th century).¹¹ In the manuscript,

¹⁰ The complete edition of those fragments was published in my book, see BT XXXVIII, Text Aa, 29–55. The fragments which belong to this handwriting were listed in the table with the identification; see *ibid.*, 30. Some fragments which originally belong to the same leaf were put together and the reconstructed images can be seen in BT *ibid.*, Tafel I–V.

¹¹ The different types of Uyghur script are used as one of the important features for dating of the Old Uyghur texts; see, e.g., Moriyasu Takao 森安孝夫, “Uigurugo bunken ウイグル語文献 [Uigurica from Dunhuang],” in *Kōza Tonkō 6 Tonkō kogo bunken 講座敦煌 6 敦煌胡語文献 [Dunhuang Series 6: Non-Chinese Literature from Dunhuang]*, ed. Zuihō Yamaguchi 山口瑞鳳 (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1985), 16, 39; Moriyasu Takao 森安孝夫, “Uiguru monjo sakki (sono 2) ウイグル文書節記 (その二) [Notes on Uyghur Documents (2)],” *Nairiku ajia gengo no kenkyū 内陸アジア言語の研究 [Studies on the Inner Asian Languages]* 5 (1990): 69–72; Moriyasu Takao 森安孝夫, “Uiguru monjo sakki (sono 4) ウイグル文書節記 (その四) [Notes on Uyghur Documents (4)],” *Nairiku ajia gengo no kenkyū 内陸アジア言語の研究 [Studies on the Inner Asian Languages]* 9 (1994): 66–67; Moriyasu Takao 森安孝夫, “From Silk, Cotton and Copper Coin to Silver. Transition of the Currency Used by the Uighurs during the Period from the 8th to 14th Centuries,” in *Turfan Revisited—The First Century of Research into the Arts and Cultures of the Silk Road*, ed. Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst et al. (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 2004), 228–229. Most of the Old Uyghur texts do not have any date specification, so they cannot be dated exactly. Thus, the dating of those texts is a relevant and serious topic, and different features are still under discussion. As Moriyasu himself has underlined, the type of Uyghur script alone cannot give any definite dating of the texts per se.

every sheet of paper has a surface divided into two, with some space in the middle of the page kept free (e.g., see fig. 1). The text begins on the right, that is, in the second part of the sheet of paper, and continues into the first part towards the left. This way of writing the text allows us to assume that every piece of paper was folded in the middle, with the side with Chinese text being glued together. Then the leaves, completed in this way, had to be bound on the left side.¹²

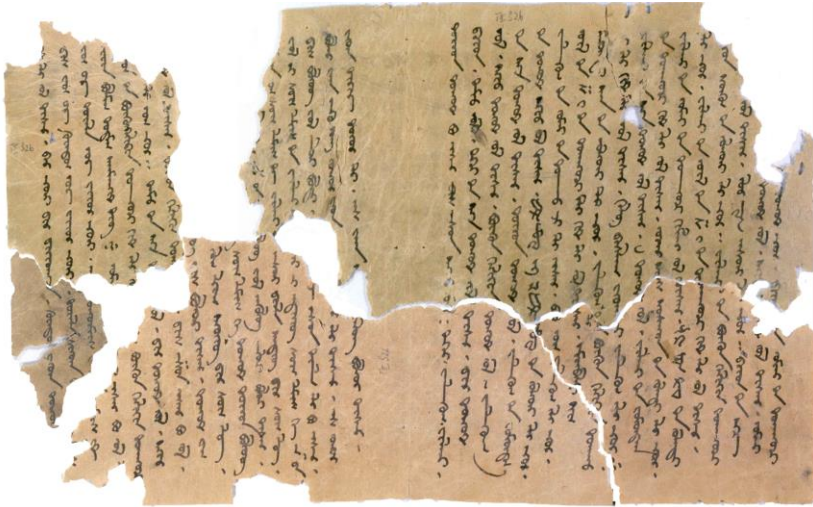


Figure 1: Text based on the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*. Turfan. Ch/U 8083 (MIK 031764) [T II S 26.57]+ Ch/U 7519 + Ch/U 6829 [T II S 26.64] + Ch/U 6698 [T II S 26/56] + Ch/U 6172 [T II S 26.69] verso (the images are joined by the present author). Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz Orientabteilung.

¹² See Kasai, Yukiyo, “The Old Turkish Text based on the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*,” in *Xiyu—Zhongya yuwenxue yanjiu. 2012 nian zhongyang minzu daxue zhuban Xiyu—Zhongya yuwenxue guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 西域——中亞語文學研究. 2012 年中央民族大学主辦西域——中亞語文學國際學術研討會論文集 [Studies in Central Asian Philology. Papers of the International Symposium on Central Asian Philology, November 2012, Beijing], ed. Abdurishid Yakup 阿不都熱西提·亞庫甫 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2015), 254, table II.



The comparison of this Old Uyghur text with the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, as transmitted in other languages, makes it clear that the former has a close relationship with Xuanzang's (600/602–664, 玄奘) Chinese version (T. 1558.29). However, the Old Uyghur version is not a literal translation of the Chinese text. The most remarkable and serious differences between the two versions is the lack of the section in verse-form in the Uyghur text. The *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* was originally composed by Vasubandhu (3rd–4th c. (?)) in accordance with the tenets of the Sarvāstivāda School. In this text, the composer first presents the teachings of this Buddhist school and then adds the corresponding commentary in prose. This style was also taken on by the Chinese translator Xuanzang, although he also reworked the original Sanskrit in many parts of the text. However, the Old Uyghur version, at least according to those leaves preserved up to now, only consists of the commentary without any presentations of the teachings to which the commentary added.

Brāhmī script has been used for a few single words in this text, but the choice of those words otherwise appears to have been made on the personal choice of the Uyghur translator (or rather, author). The Brāhmī script is typically used for Sanskrit proper names, but not all of them have been written in this script. In addition, some common nouns have been in Brāhmī, with their Sanskrit forms provided all the way through.¹³ The Chinese text which the Uyghur translator/author used as a reference cannot explain this arbitrary use in Old Uyghur texts. Thus, the choice of the words for Brāhmī use was surely left to the Uyghur translator/author to decide, and the Sanskrit forms used in this text reflect his level of knowledge. In this context, it is worth mentioning that in the text in question, only once do we encounter the number four being written in non-Uyghur script. Nevertheless, it differs remarkably from the otherwise commonly attested Brāhmī form (fig. 2).

¹³ This topic is discussed in detail, with several examples; see, Kasai, “The Old Turkish text based on the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*,” 258–260.

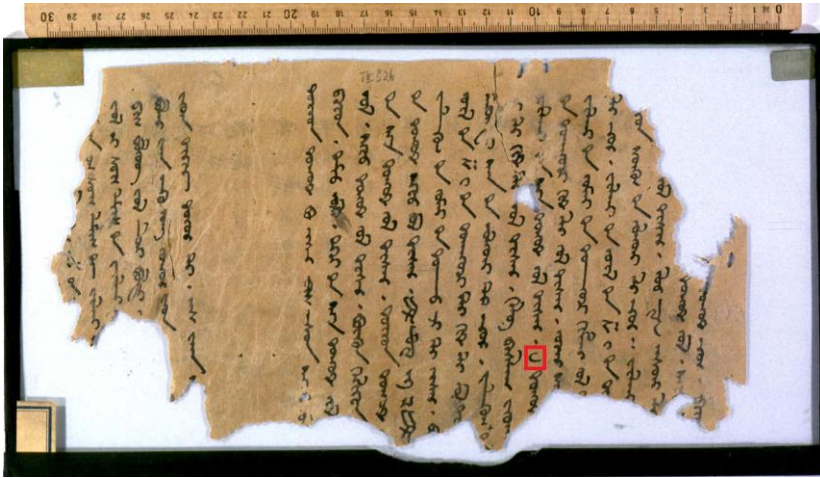


Figure 2: Text based on the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, Turfan. Ch/U 6698 [T II S 26/56], l. 16 (the red square around the character was inserted by the present author). Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz Orientabteilung.

This form is also attested in other Old Uyghur texts, one of which is identified as a kind of Abhidharma text. This form corresponds to the number four in Tibetan script.¹⁴ In that Abhidharma text, however, the Tibetan script is used only for numbers, whereas the whole text is otherwise written in Uyghur script. If the numbers in the text in question are Tibetan ones,¹⁵ three different scripts would then appear to have been used in one text. In which case, it remains unclear why the author/translator/scribe of this text used Tibetan only for numbers, or only for the number four, while using Uyghur and Brāhmī scripts for the text as a whole.

¹⁴ BT VII, 6; Shōgaito Masahiro 庄垣内正弘. “Uigurubun ‘abidatsuma kusharon’ chūshakusho no danpen niyō ウイグル文『阿毘達磨俱舍論』註釋書の断片二葉 [The Uyghur Fragments of the “Commentary on the Abhidharmakośabhāṣya],” in *Philological Studies on Old Central Asian Manuscripts*, ed. Satoko Shirai and Masahiro Shōgaito (Kyoto: Kyoto University Press, 2006), 1–14; Shōgaito, *Uiguru bun Abidaruma ronsho*, 155–163.

¹⁵ There are other numbers in this text, but because they are almost identical in Tibetan and Brāhmī, they could be interpreted as either or both.



2.2. An Old Uyghur Version of *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (?)

The fragment Ch/U 8014 [T III 1134]¹⁶ written on the reverse of the Chinese translation of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* (T. 1604.31) could be considered part of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*. This fragment contains a list of ten different methods of obtaining the *vinaya* precepts (Skt. *prātimokṣa*).¹⁷ The same list is included in many Abhidharma texts, including the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, as follows:¹⁸

1. through self-ordination [*svayaṃbhūtvēna*], in the case of the Buddha and the self-enlightened ones (*pratyekabuddha*);
2. through entry into the noble path (*niyāmāvakraṅti*), in the case of the five [*bhikṣus*], i.e., of Ājñātakauṇḍinya and of his companions;
3. through the calling out: “Come, *bhikṣu!*” [*ehibhikṣukayā*] in the case of Ājñāta;
4. by recognizing the Fortunate One as master, as in the case of Mahākāśyapa;
5. by satisfying the Fortunate One through one’s answers, as in the case of Sodāyin;
6. by accepting the special obligation of monastics, as in the case of Mahāprajāpati;
7. by a messenger, as in the case of Dharmadinnā;
8. by an officiant who is the fifth, i.e., ordination before a Saṅgha of five *bhikṣus*, as in frontier lands;
9. by [a chapter of] ten *bhikṣus*, as in Madhyadeśa;
10. by repeating three times the formula of refuge, as in the case of the sixty, the Bhadravarga, who were ordained in group.

¹⁶ The image of this fragment is accessible in Digital Turfan Archive, accessed November, 2018. http://turfan.bbaw.de/dta/ch_u/images/chu8014versototal.jpg.

¹⁷ For the complete transcription and German translation of this fragment, see BT XXXVIII, Text Ab, 57–59.

¹⁸ de la Vallée Poussin, Louis, *Abhidharmakośa-Bhāṣya of Vasuvandhu. The Treasury of the Abhidharma and Its (Auto) Commentary*, trans. Gelong Lodrö Sangpo (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 2012), vol. 2, 1339. Here, I quote the English version which was translated by Gelong Lodrö Sangpo, with annotations from the French translation by Louis de La Vallée Poussin, who translated directly from the original version. Here, the translation from the Chinese version should be quoted; however, the Sanskrit and Chinese texts do not actually differ from each other in those lines. 一由自然。謂佛獨覺。二由得入正性離生。謂五苾芻。三由佛命善來苾芻。謂耶舍等。四由信受佛為大師。謂大迦葉。五由善巧酬答所問。謂蘇陀夷。六由敬受八尊重法。謂大生主。七由遣使。謂法授尼。八由持律為第五人。謂於邊國。九由十衆。謂於中國。十由三說歸佛法僧。謂六十賢部共集受具戒。(T. 1558.29, 74b25–c04).

According to the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, these ten methods of obtaining the *vinaya* precepts are based upon the teachings of the Buddhist Vaibhāṣika School. This explanation is, however, repeated in many Abhidharma texts almost word for word (T. 1559.29, 231c18–28; T. 1562.29, 551a29–b10; T. 1563.29, 867c18–29; T. 1821.41, 222b13–c21; T. 1822.41, 643c08–644a15), and in the case of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, there are no serious differences between the Sanskrit and Chinese versions.

The rather poor condition of the Old Uyghur fragment in question tells us only that the first, second and tenth methods were actually part of the text. However, the question remains as to whether all ten methods without abbreviation were translated into Old Uyghur, and how faithful that translation was. Furthermore, we cannot clearly determine, on the basis of the damaged text, how the original looked by comparing several texts in different languages that contain the list of ten methods. Even so, part of one sentence in Uyghur could give us a small clue regarding the source language; namely, “world₂ [...] all” (OU [y]ertinčü yer suv tüzü) (Ch/U 8014, l. 5). This excerpt probably corresponds to the eighth method, and as such may just refer to the use of this method “as in frontier lands” (Chin. *weiyu bianguo* 謂於邊國). The Old Uyghur and Chinese sentences differ obviously from each other, but based upon the premise that the Chinese for the term ‘frontier’ (Chin. *bian* 邊) was confused with the character with the meaning ‘all over, all’ (Chin. *bian* 遍), which has the same radical and same pronunciation¹⁹ as the former

¹⁹ They both belong to the same rhyme group *xian* (先): K: *piwen/pien*; EMC: *pjian/pjian*-, LMC: *pen/pen*^h. The first reconstructed pronunciations are for the character *bian* 邊, while the second ones stand for the *bian* 遍. K is the reconstruction by Bernhard Karlgren, E(early)M(iddle)C(hinese) and L(ate)M(iddle)C(hinese) are reconstructed by Edwin G. Pulleyblank. They are taken from the following research: Karlgren, Bernhard, *Gramata Serica Recensa* (Stockholm: The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities Stockholm, 1957), 224c (for *bian* 邊) and 246c (for *bian* 遍); Pulleyblank, Edwin G., *Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese and Early Mandarin* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1991), 36 (for both characters). The phonetic value inside the rhyme group *xian* (先) did not change even in the Hexi dialect, which became dominant in the 10th century in Dunhuang area; see e.g. Takata Tokio 高田時雄, *Tonkō shiryō niyuru Chūgokugoshi no kenkyū-kyū, jusseiki no kasai hougen*–敦煌資料による中国語史の研究–九・十世紀の河西方言– [Study of the Chinese Language History According to the Materials from Dunhuang–Hexi Dialect in 9th and 10th Centuries–], (Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1988), 149–157.



one, the Old Uyghur translation is plausible. If it is the case, the Old Uyghur version was translated from one of the Chinese Abhidharma texts including the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, which comprise the ten methods of receiving the *prātimokṣa*.

2.3. *An Old Uyghur Version of the *Abhidharmahrdayamiśraka (Zha pitan xin lun 雜阿毘曇心論; T. 1552.28.)*

Two fragments which are now preserved under the same signature, Ch/U 8177 (MIK 031770) [T I D 1004a, b],²⁰ can be restored as one leaf in the upright format and contain a part of the **Abhidharmahrdayamiśraka* [Heart of Scholasticism with Miscellaneous Additions].²¹ This Abhidharma text was composed around the fourth century by Dharmatrāta (fl. 4th c.) of the Sarvāstivādin School, and explains the essences of the comprehensive *Abhidharmavibhāṣā* in verse. For the *Abhidharmavibhāṣā*, the other text composed by Dharmavijaya (fl. 3rd c. (?)) already existed, but Dharmavijaya's work was a bit sparse, so Dharmatrāta expanded it with additional verses.²² The Sanskrit version was not yet discovered, but the above-mentioned Chinese version had already come into existence in the fifth century by Saṃghavarman.

The Old Uyghur text was written on the reverse of the Chinese Buddhist text *Mahāvaipulyabuddhāvataṃsakasūtra* (T. 279.10) in careful semi-cursive Uyghur script. The content of this text corresponds to scroll II of the Chinese version of the **Abhidharmahrdayamiśraka*,²³ which reads as follows:

[First part:]

of the gods of limited magnificence, it is sixteen *kalpas*; of the gods of unlimited magnificence, it is thirty-two *kalpas*; of the entirely magnificent gods, it is sixty-four *kalpas*; of the gods making thirst for merit, it is one hundred twenty-five *kalpas*; of the gods having increase of merit, it is two

²⁰ See the image of this fragment online, accessed November 7, 2018. http://turfan.bbaw.de/dta/ch_u/images/chu8177verso.jpg.

²¹ Dessein, Bart, *Samyuktābhidharmahrdaya—Heart of Scholasticism with Miscellaneous Additions*, 3 vols (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1999), xxi.

²² About the author Dharmatrāta and his work, see Dessein, *Samyuktābhidharmahrdaya*, xix-xxiv.

²³ The complete transcription, German translation and commentaries for this Old Uyghur text were published by the author, Yukiyo Kasai, see BT XXXVIII, Text Ac, 61–65.

hundred fifty *kalpas*; of the gods having great fruit, it is five hundred *kalpas*; the same applies to the gods who do not conceptually identify; of the not troubled gods, it is one hundred *kalpas*; of the gods without ardour, it is two thousand *kalpas*; of the clearly visible gods, it is four thousand *kalpas*; of the clear-visioned gods, it is eight thousand *kalpas*; of the highest gods in form, it is sixteen thousand *kalpas*.²⁴

[Second Part:]

In the realm of formlessness, it is twenty thousand *kalpas* in the sphere of unlimited space, forty thousand *kalpas* in the sphere of unlimited consciousness, sixty thousand *kalpas* in the sphere of nothingness, eighty thousand *kalpas* in the sphere of neither-identification-nor-nonidentification.²⁵

The foregoing belongs to the explanation on the length of life in the Realm of Form (Skt. *rūpadhātu*) and the Realm of Formless (Skt. *ārūpadhātu*). The remaining Old Uyghur text affirms that the translation is relatively faithful if the Chinese text quoted above was the original one. However, between the first and second part, the Old Uyghur text has an additional explanation on the term *antarakalpa* or middle *kalpa*:

Question: What is the middle *kalpa*?

Answer: The middle *kalpa* is, furthermore, three. The middle *kalpa* on the ...-teen *antarakalpa*. The middle *kalpa* on the fo[urte]n(?) *antarakalpa*. The middle *kalpa* on the sixteen *antarakalpa*. [These three] middle *kalpa* is the lif[e] time₂ of beings on the god lands standing on the middle *kalpa* named ‘fourteen *antarakalpa*’. This is the measure of the life₂ of the gods in the coloured realm (Skt. *rūpadhātu*).²⁶

²⁴ Dessein, *Samyuktābhidharmahrdaya*, 146. (少淨天十六)劫。無量淨天三十二劫。遍淨天六十四劫。福愛天一百二十五劫。福生天二百五十劫。

廣果天五百劫。無想天亦如是。無希望天千劫。無熱天二千劫。善見天四千劫。善現天八千劫。色究竟天萬六千劫。

²⁵ Dessein, *Samyuktābhidharmahrdaya*, 146. 無色界空處二萬劫。識處四萬劫。無所有處六萬劫。非想非非想處八萬劫。(T. 1552.28, 887c19–25)

²⁶ *sezik orṭun kalp kay[u] ol [k]ikinč [ort]un kalp y(e)mä üč törlüg bolur [] y(e)gr{ä}mi antarakalaba üzäki orṭun kalp t[ört] yegr{mi}(?) antarakalaba üzäki orṭun kalp altı y(e)grmi antarakalaba üzäki orṭun kalp [bo üč] törlüg orṭun kalp-lar ma bo t(ä)ḡri yer-indäki-lär-n[i]ḡ tört y(e)grmi antrak(a)lp tegli orṭun kalp üz[äki] özlär-i [ya]š-lar-ı [ä]rür bo tetir öḡlüg uguš-taki t(ä)ḡri-lär-niḡ öz yaş ül(g)ülär-i :: (Ch/U 8177 (MIK 031770) [T I D 1004a, b], ll. 6–10). For detailed commentaries, see BT XXXVIII, Text Ac, 61–65.*



In this section, the Sanskrit word *antarakalpa* is consequently written in Brāhmī script, but incorrectly spelt, *antalakalaba*. This term semantically corresponds to the Old Uyghur *ortun kalp*, which describes one of the ‘world periods’. Thus, the above text explains the term *ortun kalp* by the mention of its Sanskrit form *antarakalpa*, with different numbers.²⁷ This explanation cannot be found in any Buddhist texts to date, so it may be the Uyghur translator’s own unique interpretation. Since we do not know how the Uyghur translator understood the Sanskrit word *antarakalpa*, the concrete meaning of this explanation remains unsolved.

2.4. The Old Uyghur Text on *dvādaśāṅga pratīyasamutpāda*

The Old Uyghur fragment Ch/U 8159 (MIK 030514) [T III 62]²⁸ contains the explanation of the Twelve Links of Dependent Arising (Skt. *dvādaśāṅga pratīyasamutpāda*),²⁹ which are explained as the cause of human suffering:

- (1) ignorance (OU *biligsiz bilig*, Chin. *wuming* 無明, Skt. *avidyā*)
- (2) action-intentions (OU *kılmak*, Chin. *xing* 行, Skt. *saṃskāra*)
- (3) consciousness (OU *bilig*, Chin. *zhi* 識, Skt. *vijñāna*)

²⁷ In fact, there are three kinds of *antarakalpa*, which are explained in several Buddhist texts. According to that explanation, the three *antarakalpa* are: (1) eon of war (Skt. *śāstrāntarakalpa*), (2) eon of famine (Skt. *durbhikṣāntarakalpa*), and (3) eon of pestilence (Skt. *rogāntarakalpa*). Those three *antarakalpas*, however, differ from the presentation of three middle *kalpas* in the Old Uyghur text. For more about this explanation, see e.g., T. 1.1, 144a18–145a03.

²⁸ See the image of this fragment online, accessed November 7, 2018. http://turfan.bbaw.de/dta/ch_u/images/chu8159verso.jpg.

²⁹ This text was already dealt with in my Chinese article; see Kasai, Yukiyo, “Youguan shi’er yuanqi (dvādaśa-astaṅga pratīyasamutpāda) de huihuyu fojing 有关十二缘起 (dvādaśa-astaṅga pratīyasamutpāda) 的回鹘语佛经 [The Old Turkish Buddhist Text on the *dvādaśa-astaṅga pratīyasamutpāda* ‘Twelve Links of Dependent Arising’ (Chin. *shi’er yuanqi* 十二缘起)],” translated by Shen Shen 沈琛 and corrected by Ching Jiaojung 庆昭蓉, in *Xiyu kaogu shide yuyan yanjiu xinshiyue Huang Wenbi yu zhongduan xibei keyue kaochatuan guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 西域考古·史地·语言研究新视野 黄文弼与中端西北科学考查团国际学术研讨会论文集 [New Perspectives on Archaeology, History, Geography, and Language of the Western Regions. Proceedings of the International Symposium on Hunag Wenbi and the Sino-Swedish Northwest China Scientific Expedition], ed. Rong Xinjiang 荣新江 and Zhu Yuqi 朱玉麒 (Beijing: Science Press, 2014), 348–355.

- (4) name and form (OU *at öy*, Chin. *míngse* 名色, Skt. *nāmarūpa*)
- (5) the six-fold sphere of sense contact (OU *altı oron*, Chin. *liuchu* 六處, Skt. *ṣaḍāyatana*)
- (6) contact (OU *büritmäk*, Chin. *chu* 觸, Skt. *sparśa*)
- (7) sensation (OU *täginmäk*, Chin. *shou* 受, Skt. *vedanā*)
- (8) thirst (OU *az*, Chin. *ai* 愛, Skt. *tṛṣṇā*)
- (9) grasping (OU *tutyak*, Chin. *qu* 取, Skt. *upādāna*)
- (10) becoming (OU *bolmak*, Chin. *you* 有, Skt. *bhava*)
- (11) birth (OU *tugmak*, Chin. *sheng* 生, Skt. *jāti*)
- (12) old age and death (OU *karımak ölmäk*, Chin. *laosi* 老死, Skt. *jarāmaraṇa*)

The concept of the Twelve Links of Dependent Arising can be considered as one of the most important and central Buddhist teachings; hence, we find it discussed in numerous texts and in considerable detail. As one of those primary sources, the *Abhidharmavibhāṣā* is worth mentioning. This work was probably composed in the third century and can be characterised as a comprehensive collection of the Sarvāstivādin tradition, based on the teachings of different masters. The text only survives as a fragment in Sanskrit,³⁰ but it was translated into Chinese several times. In contrast, a complete version exists in Chinese; namely, the translation by Xuanzang (600/602–664, 玄奘) (T. 1545.27). Compared with this version, the Uyghur text in question shows considerable similarity in the first half. In this first part, the different explanations of *pratītyasamutpāda* are discussed and it matches the Chinese version with only a few differences:

識入生。名色六處觸受入老死。或復有處說五緣起。謂愛取有及生老死。前際七支攝入此五。謂無明入愛取。行入有。識入生。名色六處觸受入老死。或復有處說六緣起。謂三世中各有因果。或復有處說七

³⁰ The Fragment is preserved in Paris, see Enomoto Fumio 榎本文雄, “‘Poshalun’ no bonbun shahon danpen 『婆沙論』の梵文写本断片 [A Fragment from a Sanskrit Manuscript of the Vibhāṣa],” *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究 [Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies] 42.1 (1993): 52–57.



緣起謂無明行識名色六處觸受。後際五支攝入此七。謂愛取入無明。
有入行。生入識。老死入名色六處觸受 (T. 1545.27, 122a16–24)³¹

[.] *kayu öjräki bilig ärsär ol ok amtıki tugmak-ta [kirür . kayu öjräki(?)]
at öñ altı oron büritmäk täginmäk tegmä tört [bavanaklar ärsär] bolar
amtıki karımak ölmäk-tä kirür . nä üçün tep tesär ki[rmiš(?)]/// tözlügintin
. ok munta{a}g yeti beş-tä kirür .*

*y(a)nt[uru(?) beş] yeti-[tä nä]täg kirür-lär tep tesär . kayu amtıki azlar
tutyak-lar är[sär] ol ok(?) kenki biligsi[z bili]g-tä kirür-lär kayu amtıki
bolmak ärsär ol ok kenki kulm[ak]-ta kirür . kayu am[tıki tu]gmak ärsär [ol
o]k kenki bilig-tä kirür . kayu amtıki karı[mak] ölmäk ärsär ol [o]k ken[ki
at öñ [altı] oron büritmäk täginmäk tegmä tö[r]t bavanak-lar-ta k[irür] .
muntag beş bavanak-lar yeti-tä kirür-lär . (Ch/U 8159 (MIK 030514) [T
III 62], ll. 2–10)³²*

[...] In terms of the past consciousness (Skt. *vijñāna*), it just [enters] into the present birth (Skt. *jāti*). [In terms of the past(?)] four [*bhavāṅgas*] called name and form (Skt. *nāmarūpa*), six places (Skt. *ṣaḍāyatana*), contact (Skt. *sparsā*) and sensation (Skt. *vedanā*), they enter into the present aging and dying (Skt. *jarāmaraṇa*). Why? Because the ent[ered] ... have the root, so seven (components) just enter into five (components).

[H]ow ag[ain do five components] enter [into] seven? In term[s of] the present desires (Skt. *trṣṇā*) and the adherences (Skt. *upādāna*), they just enter into the later nes[cien]ce (Skt. *avidyā*). In terms of the present being (Skt. *bhava*), it just enters into the later acti[on] (Skt. *saṃskāra*). In terms of the pres[ent bi]rth (Skt. *jāti*), [it ju]st enters into the later consciousness (Skt. *vijñāna*). In terms of the present ag[ing] and dying (Skt. *jarāmaraṇa*), it jus[t] e[nters] into the [lat]er fo[ur] *bhavāṅgas* called name and form (Skt. *nāmarūpa*), [six] places (Skt. *ṣaḍāyatana*), contact (Skt. *sparsā*) and sensation (Skt. *vedanā*). So five *bhavāṅgas* enter into the seven.

In the second half of the text (l. 10 ff.), however, the Old Uyghur version completely differs from the Chinese one. The most noteworthy discussion in that part is the reference to another teaching on the Twelve Links of Dependent Arising, which explains this concept in connection with the *sāvitrī* hymn.³³ This hymn is well-known as the verse dedicated

³¹ The sentences in black font correspond to the Old Uyghur version.

³² The sentences in grey font have no equivalents in the Chinese version. The whole text, with German translation and commentaries of the relevant terminology and sentences, was published in BT XXXVIII, Text Ad, 67–71. The following English translation is based on my original German translation.

³³ The corresponding Old Uyghur text begins in line 17, see BT XXXVIII, 70–71.

to the sun god Savitar in the *Rgveda*.³⁴ The verse is in a metre called *gāyatrī*, which consists of three times eight syllables, 24 syllables altogether. This number of syllables is also mentioned in the Old Uyghur text in question.³⁵ Initially these facts led us to the assumption that this text could have been influenced by the Old Indian literature. But the *sāvitrī* hymn is also mentioned in other Buddhist texts, so its appearance here should, in my view, be understood in a Buddhist framework and not as a reference to the wider Indian tradition.³⁶ It is still unclear which text was used as the original for the Uyghur translation. Up to now, no Buddhist texts which contain the explanation on the *pratīyasamutpāda* that is based on the *Abhidharmavibhāṣā* and has a connection with the *sāvitrī* have been found. The possibility that the Uyghur Buddhist translator made his original composition under the inspiration of different Buddhist texts or textual traditions cannot be excluded either.

2.5. An Unknown Old Uyghur Abhidharma Text

In the fragment Ch/U 8151 (MIK 030490) [T II 755], the relationship between the Great Element (Skt. *mahābhūta*) and the sense organ of the tangible (Skt. *spraṣṭavyāyatana*) is discussed as a main topic. This topic is actually dealt with in many Abhidharma texts, and our Uyghur text in question shows considerable similarity with the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* in terms of content. The Chinese and Sanskrit versions differ from each other in their discussion of the Great Elements. A comparison between the Old Uyghur text and the Chinese and Sanskrit versions, however, shows that no literal correspondences can be found with either of them. The Uyghur version reads:

Therefore the eye etc. which has remained from the explaining by one part of the tangible place and the being soft₂ etc. have the *mahābhūta* nature by no means. So, it was detailed and clearly demonstrated in the *sutra*(?). If all₂ ten fields would have the *mahābhūta* nature like in a time, why only the tangible field was described by two kinds? They were the fields

³⁴ The verse is quite short: “This, God Savitar’s desirable light, which should drive our inspiration we want set (in us)”, see Witzel, Michael et al., *Rig-Veda. Das heilige Wissen. Dritter bis fünfter Liederkreis* (Berlin: Verlag der Weltreligionen, 2013), 108, no. 10. It is repeated by the Brahmins at the prayer in the morning and in the evening.

³⁵ Ch/U 8159 (MIK 030514) [T III 62], l. 20: *s[āvitrī at]g tort otuz užik-lig čant* “the metre with 24 syllables called S[āvitrī]”, see also BT XXXVIII, 70–71, l. Ad20.

³⁶ Prof. Fumio Enomoto (Osaka University) kindly indicated this fact. For examples mentioning the *sāvitrī* hymn, see BT XXXVIII, 71, fn. 186.



beginning with the eye by no means. Why the fields beginning with eye were again described by one kind? It is again the tangle field by no means.³⁷

The Sanskrit version reads:

spraṣṭavyaṃ dvividhaṃ

bhūtāni bhautikaṃ ca | tatra bhūtāni catvāri | bhautikaṃ ślakṣṇatvādi
saptavidhaṃ | bhūteṣu bhavatvāt |

śeṣā rūpiṇo nava bhautikāḥ |

pañcendriyadhātavaś ca catvāro viṣayāḥ | ete nava dhātavo bhautikā eva |

dharmadhātvekadeśāś ca

avijñāptisaṃjñako bhautikaḥ | śeṣāḥ cittadhātavo dharmadhātuś
cāvijñāptivarjyo nobhayathā | bhūtamaṭraṃ daśāyatanānīti bhadanta
buddhadevaḥ |.³⁸

³⁷ *ann bürütüg oron-nuḡ bir ülişi üzä sözlälmäkintin . kalmış köz-tä ulatı . y[ılıg] yumşak bolmak-ta ulatı-lar y(e)mä näḡ mahābhut tözlüg ärmäz-lär tep ađırt-lıg o-t-gurak suđur-ta(?) körgiñlimiş äritür . bir üd-čä alku barča on oron-lar mahābhut tözlüg boldı ärsär . nä üçün bürütüg oron ((una)) iki törlüg üzä sözläñlimiş äritür . näḡ inčip köz-tä ulatı oron-lar ärmäz . nä üçün yänä köz-tä ulatı oron-lar bir törlüg üzä sözläñlimiş [är]ür . näḡ yänä bürütüg oron ärmäz. (Ch/U 8151, II. 4-9).* For the complete transcription of the whole text with German translation and commentaries on the relevant terminologies, see BT XXXVIII, 74-75.

³⁸ See the text in online, accessed January 8, 2019, <https://www2.hf.uio.no/polyglotta/index.php?page=fulltext&view=fulltext&vid=511&cid=501772&mid=962687&level=3>. For a comparison, Lodrö Sangpo's English translation which is based on de la Vallée Poussin's French translation was quoted: "The tangible is of two kinds [i.e., primary matter and secondary matter]. The other nine material elements are solely secondary matter, as is also the part of the element of factors [i.e., the non-informative] that is material. (1) The four fundamental material elements (themselves): solidity [*khara*], humidity [*sneha*], heat [*uṣṇatā*] and mobility [*īraṇā*] (i. 12), and (2) the sevenfold secondary matter: smoothness [*ślakṣṇatva*], roughness [*karkaśatva*], [heaviness (*gurutva*), lightness (*laghutva*), coldness (*śīta*), hunger (*jighatsā*) (i. 10d),] are tangibles.

The other nine material elements (i. 15cd), i.e., the five sense-faculties, the object-fields of the first four sense-faculties, are solely secondary matter.

Likewise the part of the elements of factors (*dharmadhātu*; i. 15cd) that is called the non-informative [*avijñāptisaṃjñaka*; i. 11] [is solely secondary matter].

The [remaining seven] elements of thought [*cittadhātu*; i. 16c] are neither primary matter nor secondary matter.

Likewise the element of factors (*dharmadhātu*), except for the non-informative (*avijñāpti*), [is neither primary matter nor secondary matter], see de la Vallée Poussin, *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, vol. 1, 267. Because of the different construction, this quotation

The Chinese version reads:

The tangible is of two types. The other nine material *dhātus* are secondary matter.

A part of the *dharmadhātu* is the same, too. The ten material *dhātus* are agglomerations.

Explanation: The tangible covers two. It is the primary elements and the secondary matter. The primary elements are four. It is solidity etc. The secondary matter is seven. It is soft etc. Because it arises from the primary elements, it is named as secondary matter. The other nine material *dhātus* are solely secondary matter. It is five organs and the objects of the first four organs. A part of the *dharmadhātu* is non-manifest karma and solely secondary matter, too. The other seven *dhātus* of mind are a part of the *dharmadhātu*. With the exception of the non-manifest karma they are the same and not the two. According to Bhadanta Buddhadeva, ten fields of visible form are solely the primary elements.³⁹

In addition, the writing style of this text, which is in the form of a series of questions and answers, is worth considering. According to Masahiro Shōgaito, who has researched the Abhidharma texts in Old Uyghur intensively, the version of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* preserved in Stockholm and that of the *Abhidharmakośaṭīkāttattvārthā* preserved in London both use the ‘question and answer’ framework in their respective discourses. This framework does not appear in the Chinese version from which both of the Old Uyghur versions have been translated. Shōgaito also points out that in the Chinese fragment of *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, preserved in Berlin (Mainz 728), the Chinese characters *wen* (問) (i.e. question) and *da* (答) (i.e. answer) are added in interlinear fashion. Because this fragment has a short note in Uyghur script, the interlinear characters were most probably written by a Uyghur monk. Considering those facts, Shōgaito concludes that the framework of ‘question and

does not completely correspond to the quotation in Chinese. About the Chinese version, see the next footnote.

³⁹ 觸界中有二 餘九色所造

法一分亦然 十色可積集

論曰。觸界通二。謂大種及所造。大種有四。謂堅性等。所造有七。謂滑性等。依大種生故名所造。餘九色界唯是所造。謂五色根色等四境。法界一分無表業色亦唯所造。餘七心界法界一分。除無表色俱非二種。尊者覺天作如是說。十種色處唯大種性。(T. 1558.29, 8c01–08).



answer’ was made at the time of the translation of those Abhidharma texts into Old Uyghur.⁴⁰ The addition of the words for ‘question’ and ‘answer’ can also be observed in the above-mentioned Uyghur version of **Abhidharmahrdayamiśraka* (see 2.3. above). Thus, the use of the ‘question and answer’ framework that we see here supports the assumption that the text does indeed belong to the Abhidharma class of Buddhist scriptures.

3. Closing Remarks

These five newly found texts in Old Uyghur confirm Kōgi Kudara’s comment about the level of activity in translation work and the study of Abhidharma texts amongst the Uyghurs. The Uyghur Abhidharma texts not only partially contain Chinese or Tibetan characters but also bilingual Sanskrit and Old Uyghur scripts, and those partly written in Brāhmī script were also composed. This fact indicates that the Abhidharma texts concerned were possibly used by different Buddhist communities or, rather, schools, and in different periods. At least one of them was definitely influenced by Chinese Buddhist culture, while the other retained a part of the Tocharian tradition, including the use of Brāhmī script. All of which raises questions about how many Buddhist schools of thought were introduced to the Uyghurs, the activities of different Buddhist communities, and in which periods they were active. Regarding the fact that a comparable partial use of Chinese characters, Tibetan and Brāhmī script can be observed amongst the Old Uyghur Abhidharma texts it can be assumed that those communities were in contact with each other, although they would appear to have kept their own cultural tradition.

⁴⁰ Shōgaito, *The Uyghur Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, 16–17.

Abbreviations

BT VII	Kara, Georg and Peter Zieme, <i>Fragmente tantrischer Werke in uigurischer Übersetzung</i> (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1976).
BT XXXVIII	Kasai, Yukiyo, <i>Die alttürkischen Fragmente mit Brāhmī-Elementen</i> (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017).
Ch/U	Chinese/Uyghur Manuscripts preserved at the Turfan Collection in Berlin
Mainz	Manuscripts in various languages preserved at the Turfan Collection in Berlin (formerly preserved in Mainz)
VOHD 13,9	Maue, Dieter, <i>Altürkische Handschriften</i> (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1996).

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Ch/U 6698 [T II S 26/56]+ Ch/U 6172 [T II S 26.69]
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