

CONTENTS

Yu. Petrosyan. Editor's note	3
<i>TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH</i>	5
O. Akimushkin. The Sources of "The Treatise on Calligraphers and Painters" by Qāzī Aḥmad Qumī	5
M. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya. An Unique Manuscript of the "Kāśyapaparivarta-sūtra" in the Manuscript Collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences.	12
I. Petrosyan. On Three Turkish Manuscripts from the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies Collection. The Problem of Authorship	17
A. Alikberov & E. Rezvan. Ibn Abi Kḥazzām and his "Kitāb al-makhzūn": The Mamlūk Military Manual	21
E. Tyomkin. Unique Sanskrit Fragments of the "Sūtra of Golden Light" in the manuscript collection of St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences	29
<i>TO THE HISTORY OF ORIENTAL TEXTOLOGY.</i>	39
E. Kychanov. Wen-hai Bao-yun: the Book and its Fate	39
<i>PRESENTING THE COLLECTIONS.</i>	46
M. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya. Tibetan Manuscripts of the 8—11th centuries A. D. in the Manuscript Collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies	46
Tsuguhito Takeuchi. Kh. Tib. (Kozlov 4): Contracts for the Borrowing of Barley	49
<i>ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS AND NEW INFORMATION TECHNOLOGIES</i>	53
Val. Polosin & E. Rezvan. Asiatic Museum Project: 1. Data-Base on Muslim Seals	53
<i>PRESENTING THE MANUSCRIPT</i>	56
A. Alikberov & E. Rezvan. 'Adjā'ib al-Makhlūqāt by Zakariyā' al-Qazwīnī (d. 682/1283): 16th-century Illuminated Manuscript from the St. Petersburg Academic Collection	56
<i>BOOK REVIEW.</i>	68

Color plates: 'Adjā'ib al-Makhlūqāt by Zakariyā' al-Qazwīnī (d. 682/1283), MS D 370 from the collection of St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences (see p. 56).

Front cover:

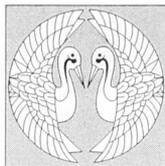
Fol. 34a. The Archangel 'Izra'īl, 160 × 124 mm.

Back cover:

Plate 1. Fol. 13b. The Planet Venus, 225 × 145 mm.

Plate 2. Fol. 35b. The Angels of the Second Heaven, 171 × 94 mm.

RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES
ST.PETERSBURG BRANCH



Manuscripta Orientalia

International Journal for Oriental Manuscript Research

Vol. 1 No. 1 July 1995



75ESA
St. Petersburg-Helsinki

M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya

**A UNIQUE MANUSCRIPT OF THE “KĀŚYAPAPARIVARTA-SŪTRA”
IN THE MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION OF THE ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH
OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES,
RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES**

There is a unique Sanskrit manuscript of the “Kāśyapaparivarta-sūtra” in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies which continues to attract the attention of scholars since 1926 when A. von Staël-Holstein published its transliteration. The reason of this unusual interest becomes clear if we take into consideration that the oldest part of this sūtra, that is its core, was formed at the earliest stage of development of the Mahāyāna literature (Conze, 1968, p. 302—5; Pāsādika, 1991, p. 59), and that the two most important philosophical schools of Mahāyāna — Mādhyamika and Yogācāra — accepted it as the basic text of their doctrine. On the other hand, the sūtra presents particular interest for the study of moral and ethical rules of Mahāyāna on account of the moral code of bodhisattva for first time worked out and formulated in its text. The code was quoted in many other Mahāyāna texts and held in high respect in Central Asia and the Far East. So far the Tibetan, Mongolian, Khotanese and five Chinese translations of the sūtra were known. Recently one more translation has been found by scholars.

The facsimile of the manuscript has not yet been published. Its text needs a new reading since it became more legible after the restoration of the manuscript.

The task of describing and publishing this popular text caused us to use a great amount of literature. In this paper we try to connect this text with the history of Central Asiatic Buddhism and Buddhist canon to find the link between the formation of the text and the inner processes in Buddhism in the first centuries A.D. when it overstepped the boundaries of India. The analysis of the Buddhist canonical texts written in different languages (Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese, Khotanese) and discovered on the territory of Eastern Turkestan (Xinjiang) and Tun-huang (Gansu), enables us to find the quotations from the “Kāśyapaparivarta” in several different texts. The character of these quotations seems to clarify the problem of how the main doctrines of Mahāyāna were comprehended in Eastern Turkestan and Tun-Huang as well as their further development.

This paper represents our first attempt to introduce to scholars the facsimile of the manuscript of the “Kāśyapaparivarta-sūtra” and to investigate it in terms of the

above mentioned tasks as well. It should be taken into account that those scholars who dealt with the text, were insisting on the necessity of publishing its facsimile. Some of them, like Dr. Daniel Boucher from the Indiana University (Bloomington), tie their further scholarly research with this publication. The facsimile edition has been prepared by me together with Prof. G. M. Bongard-Levin long time ago. We both hope to publish it in a series of books, attached to the Journal “Manuscripta Orientalia” as soon as possible.

In the paper we confine ourselves to two problems only: the history of the study of the text and the question of its creation as reflected in the written sources. The solution of the problems seems to be possible due to a series of new studies on the history of Mādhyamika school and Nāgārjuna's works. We suppose to touch the problem of the role of the Buddhist teachers of Eastern Turkestan in the transformation of the former text of the sūtra. It is known that there was the Central Asian version of the sūtra which was used as a basis for the Tibetan and Chinese translations.

The “Kāśyapaparivarta-sūtra” (abbreviated further as *KP*) belongs to a small group Mahāyāna's sūtras the existence of which before the second century A.D. is confirmed by a translation into Chinese made during the Han dynasty. Only one complete Sanskrit text of the sūtra was known till now — a manuscript written in the Brāhmī script. It dates back to the 7—8th centuries A.D. and was copied in Khotan. The inventory number of the manuscript is SI P/2, it is preserved in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. The manuscript was brought from Eastern Turkestan by the Russian Consul in Kashgar N. Th. Petrovsky at the end of the 19th century.

Comparison with some other fragments of the sūtra belonging the Central Asiatic manuscript collections of Great Britain, Finland and Germany brings us to the conclusion that two versions of the *KP* were current in Eastern Turkestan in the first centuries A.D.: the brief one and apparently the earlier, and extended one, formed later.

Manuscript SI P/2 represents the extended version of the *KP*. Its text was published in transliteration as early as

1926 by A. von Staël-Holstein (Staël-Holstein, 1926). In 1954 V. S. Vorobyov-Desyatovsky, while sorting the Petrovsky collection, found folio No. 3 belonging to the same manuscript (Vorobyov-Desyatovsky, 1957, p. 491—5). At present we possess 75 folios of the poṭhī type: No. 1—30; 32, 33, 37 (between folios 33 and 37 only two folios are missing as a result of a mistake in pagination); 40—50; 52—81 (between folios 50 and 52 no missing — again the scribe's mistake). While publishing his Sanskrit transliteration, A. von Staël-Holstein divided the text after the pattern of the Chinese translations, this is why the paragraphs are present in the Sanskrit text as well. In fact, the Chinese translation of the Song dynasty was the largest among the four known in Staël-Holstein's time. It had 166 paragraphs. The Sanskrit text numbers only 161 paragraphs because of some lacunae. The Sanskrit version was twice translated into European languages : by F. Weller (into German) and by Bhikkhu Pāsādika (into English) [1]. The popularity of the sūtra in Eastern Turkestan, its importance for the Mahāyāna canon which, as it is known, was not codified in India in spite of the activities of such an eminent Buddhist scholar as Nāgārjuna who contributed greatly to that codification, resulted in frequent quoting from the text in various inscriptions, sūtras, śāstras and Buddhist compositions ascribed to different scholars of the first millennium A.D. That is why the quotations were translated many times from Sanskrit as well as from Tibetan, Mongolian and Chinese by European, Indian and Japanese scholars. By the way, there is also a translation of the sūtra into Japanese. The bibliography of these translations was made to be the subject of a special paper by Bhikkhu Pāsādika (Pāsādika, 1991). In our bibliography we concentrate on the works not mentioned by Bhikkhu Pāsādika. There is something new in this sea of works devoted to the *KP*. Two Khotanese Saka fragments of the *KP* have been recently discovered by Professor R. E. Emmerick and myself among the manuscripts of the S. E. Malov collection in St. Petersburg. The preliminary dating of the fragments is the 8—9th centuries A.D. One fragment was identified by Dr. P. O. Skjærvo. It probably belongs to the brief version. Facsimile and interpretation of the fragments will be published by Prof. R. E. Emmerick and by the author of the present article in the "Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum", — "Saka Documents VII", Text volume.

The extended Sanskrit version is well known due to the publication of Staël-Holstein. It is supplemented with the Tibetan text from Bka'-lgyur (in transliteration) and with four Chinese translations. The comparison of all these versions show at once that they are differed from each other.

The fact that the brief Sanskrit version has survived, became known as early as 1938 when Kuno Hōryū published two fragments from the R. Hoernle collection (No. 143, S.B.38, and No. 143, S.B.39, the India Office Library, see Kuno Hōryū, 1938, p. 71—110). Later J. de Jong discovered that both fragments could be joined in one folio (de Jong, 1979, p. 247). He also established that the third fragment of the same folio had already been published by J. N. Reuter (Reuter, [1913—8], p. 1—37). It originates from the G. Manerheim collection (Finland). The first two fragments were found in Khotan, possibly in Khadaliq; the Manerheim fragment was brought by him from his expedition to Central Asia in 1906—1908. J. de Jong managed to reconstruct the complete text of the

folio. It bears §§ 128—135 of the *KP* (de Jong, 1979, p. 250—1). This is the folio of the poṭhī type, 8 lines on each side. Unfortunately, Kuno Hōryū could not see that the two fragments belonged to one and the same folio, but he showed that this Sanskrit version could be connected only with two of the Chinese versions, that is with the translation of the period Western Qin and that of the Jin epoch.

V. S. Vorobyov-Desyatovsky was the next to find out that the fragment published by him also belonged to the brief version. He discovered this fragment (call number SI P/85a) in the Petrovsky collection. This is a folio paginated as the 5th, of the poṭhī type, 7 lines on each side (Vorobyov-Desyatovsky, 1957, p. 496—500). On the evidence of its palaeography, Vorobyov-Desyatovsky dated the manuscript to the 6—7th centuries A.D. It can be supposed that the manuscript from the R. Hoernle and the G. Manerheim collections, as well as from the Petrovsky collection, belong to one and the same brief version. The main difference of this brief version from the extended one is the absence of gāthās. Paragraphs 14—19 in the Petrovsky manuscript and paragraphs 128—135 in the Hoernle and Manerheim manuscript contain only prosaic texts. The extended version contains verse as well — gāthās following the prose text. The gāthās contain a summary of every prosaic paragraph. There is one more difference. The prosaic parts of the brief version are more contracted than those of the extended one. It is especially evident in § 130 (the Hoernle fragment). It lacks the concluding line, published by Staël-Holstein: "Whoever takes the medicines not suited [for him], though [these medicines are] of help to a rājā, [all the same] will suffer". This text is also missing in the Tibetan translation.

Furthermore in § 131 the following passage containing an important comparison is omitted: "Thus, for example, Kāśyapa, the same precious stone *vaidūrya*, if it is taken out of the heap of sewage, carefully washed, cleaned and wiped [then], it won't have lost its quality as a precious stone. In the same way, Kāśyapa, if a man [even] the little efforts makes for purification from *klesas* he won't have lost his qualities [keeping] his jewel-like great wisdom" (*mahāprajñā*). The term *mahāmaniratna* is used instead of *vaidūrya-mahāmaniratna* in the remaining part of § 131 of the brief version. The word *vaidūrya* is also absent in the Tibetan translation, as well as the above mentioned passage itself.

Unfortunately, § 133 in the extended version is rather damaged, but one can also notice here some differences. The brief version mentions only "the son of the elder of merchants", while the extended one "son of the elder of the merchants or the rājā's son". But there is no mention of the "rājā's son" in the gāthās of the extended version either. We have also one more discrepancy: the text of the example given in the extended version is closer to the version preserved in the Tibetan translation (gāthās of the extended version have "*bahuśruta... śīlasampanna*", while the text of the brief version has "*duḥśīlavato bahuśruta...*"). These examples are enough to show that the extended version differs from the brief one not only in the absence of gāthās. J. de Jong noticed that the *KP* could represent a rare case when the gāthās were serving a core around which the text of the sūtra had been formed (de Jong, 1979, p. 255). J. de Jong confirms this suggestion by the analysis of the grammatical forms used in the gāthās

and in the prosaic parts. He points out that the latter have not so many errors from the point of view of the Sanskrit Grammar [2].

A fragment of one more manuscript of the *KP* was found in the German Turfan collection (Sander, Waldschmidt, 1980, No. 374). This is a damaged folio of the poṭhi type, 4 lines on each side. Its text contains § 151—153; there are no gāthās in these paragraphs, and it is difficult to decide which version this fragment belongs to. The text slightly differs from that of the Petrovsky manuscript.

As for the Tibetan translation of the *KP* (see Tibetan *Bka'-gyur* of *Sde-dge* edition, *dkon-brtsegs*, No. 87, vol. *cha*, ff.119b—151b), it was made at the beginning of the 9th century A.D. by translators Jinamitra, Śilendrabodhi and Ye-śes-sde. The Sanskrit title of the sūtra was borrowed from the Tibetan translation. In *Bka'-gyur* the sūtra is called "Ārya-Kāśyapaparivarta-nāma mahāyāna-sūtra". But we are inclined to suggest that the Tibetan tradition reflects the later title of the sūtra which was given to it not earlier than the 7th century A.D. There are the several variants of the title of the sūtra in the Petrovsky manuscript: "Mahāratnakūṭadharmaparyāya" [f.28a(3), 75b(5)], "Ratnakūṭa-dharmaparyāya" [f.81a(2)] [3] and "Mahāratnakūṭa-sūtrāntarājā" [f.79a(3)] or "Ratnakūṭa-sūtrāntarājā" [f.79a(5)] [4].

The earliest translation of the sūtra into Chinese was made in the Han epoch. Staël-Holstein gave the name of the translator as Zhi Lou jia chan. He thought that the translation had been made between years 178 and 184 A.D. The Chinese title of the sūtra is "Yi ri mo ni bao jing". Staël-Holstein rendered it as Sanskrit "[Buddha bhāshita] vaipulyamaniratna-sūtra" or, in the Sanskrit order of the words, "Mahāmaniratnakūṭa-vaipulyasūtra" (see *Tripiṭaka Taishō*, No. 350; here abbreviated TT). The Han translation is very brief, the way it renders the philosophy of the teaching is rather simplified. It contains no gāthās. The usual incipency "evam mayā śrutam..." is omitted as well.

Two synologists — P. Pelliot (Pelliot, 1936, p. 68—76) and Ōno Hōdō (Ōno Hōdō, 1954, p. 98, 101—2) called the date of the translation into question. The above mentioned date was borrowed from the Chinese Catalogue of *Tripiṭaka*, composed as early as 515 A.D. [see TT, No. 2145, p.6b(17)], but Pelliot still believed the language of the translation to be very archaic. He thought that the translation had been made within the Han period. Ōno Hōdō proposed another dating — the period of the Eastern Qin dynasty (317—420 A.D.), but produced no arguments for it. Some Sanskrit terms, such as *bhagavān*, *cakravartin*, *upāya-kauśalya*, *abhiññā*, are rendered in this translation in the same way, as in the Han translation of the "Aṣṭasahasrika-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra". We have no sufficient proof, however, to connect this Han Chinese translation with the brief Sanskrit version.

The second Chinese translation was made in 265—420 A.D. (the Jin time) by an unknown translator (see TT, No. 351). It consists of one juan and bears the name "Mo huo yan bao yan jing" which can be reconstructed as Sanskrit "[Buddha bhāshita] mahāyāna-ratnakūṭa-sūtra". The third Chinese translation dates back to almost the same period. In a preface to the sūtra it is said that the translation's title was registered in the Chinese Catalogue of the Western Qin dynasty (384—417 A.D.), the name of trans-

lator unknown. The title of this translation differs from all the rest — "Pu ming pusa hui". It corresponds to the Sanskrit title "Samantabodhisattva-pariprechā". This translation was included as chapter No. 112 in the collection of sūtras, titled "Da bao ji jing" — "Ratnakūṭa-sūtra" (see TT, No. 310). This collection of sūtras was rendered completely by the Tibetan translators at the beginning of the 9th century A.D. There is the afterword by the translators (or editors?) at the end of the first volume of the Tibetan section "dkon-drtsegs" of the Tibetan *Bka'-gyur* [vol. *ka*, ff.270a(6)—270b] where it is said that the translation was made from the Sanskrit original. The afterword contains some more information. There it is mentioned that the Tibetan translators saw several collections of Sanskrit sūtras in Khotan in the 7th century A.D., such as "Mahāsannipāta", "Mahāvataṃsaka", "Ratnakūṭa" etc.

The latest translation of the *KP* into Chinese was made in the Song epoch, in the 9th century A.D., by a translator named Shi hu (Skr. Dānapāla?). Its title is "Da jia she zi da bao ji zheng fa jing" (Skr. "[Buddha bhāshita] mahākāśyapa-pariprechā-mahāratnakūṭa saddharma-sūtra"). It consists of 5 juans (see TT, No. 352). In this title two names are combined — "Kāśyapapariprechā" and "Ratnakūṭa", apparently both were current in Eastern Turkestan of that period. There is a Chinese preface to this translation where the translator says that as a pattern for his work he took the composition of the sūtras "Da bao ji jing". He also adds that another Sanskrit copy was available to him, more extensive but still not complete. Staël-Holstein noticed that the above mentioned translation had many mistakes, inaccuracies, and omissions in its text. Its main difference from the other translations may be defined as the extension of the text. The Tibetan translation follows this extended text, but since it was made a hundred years earlier, we can conclude that the extended Sanskrit version came into being already in the 7—8th centuries A.D.

All these four Chinese translations were investigated by F. Weller. He compared them with the Sanskrit version (see: Weller, 1964; Weller, 1966—1; Weller, 1966—2; Weller, 1970).

In the seventies of this century Japanese scholars found one more Chinese translation of the *KP*, the fifth one. It happened to be included as chapter No. 7 in the Chinese translation of the "Ratnamegha-sūtra" (TT, No. 659, p. 276—83). Two Japanese scholars, Takasaki Jikidō (Takasaki Jikidō, 1974, p. 449) and Nagao Gajin (Nagao Gajin, 1974, p. 13—25), discovered this text almost simultaneously. Nagao Gajin established that this Chinese translation was close to the Qin version. He also improved the Catalogue of TT by emending the name of the translator: the translation was made by Subodhi between 557 and 589 A.D.

One folio of the Sanskrit version of another sūtra, that is the "Ratnarāsi-sūtra", was also found in Eastern Turkestan. It contains the discussion of Buddha with Kāśyapa concerning the ethics (manuscript from the India Office Library, the Hoernle collection, see "Manuscript remains", 1916, pp. 116—21). Here the question about "aṣṭau śramaṇadharmāvaranā" is discussed, including the 12 points which permit to consider an *ārya* to become a *śramaṇa*. The "Ratnarāsi-sūtra" is also a part of the "Ratnakūṭa" code. There exist its Tibetan (*Bka'-gyur*, *dkon-brtsegs*, vol. *cha*, No. 88, ff.152a—175b) and Chinese translations

("Da bao ji jing", TT, No. 310, sūtra No. 44, the code composed by Bodhiruci).

We can provide some evidence to prove that the name of the *KP* was attached to the sūtra only after the "Ratnakūṭa" code had been composed. These are the following:

1. eighty-six names of different Mahāyāna and Hinayāna sūtras and parts of the Buddhist canon are enumerated in the Buddhist encyclopaedia "Mahāvvyutpatti" (Section "Saddharma-nāmāni", § 65, No. 1325). The *KP* is not mentioned among them, but "Ratnakūṭa-sūtra" is present (No. 1364). The names of 13 other sūtras are also mentioned in this list. All these were collected together in one codex "Ratnakūṭa" only after the 5th century A.D. This date is generally accepted as the time of the codification of "Mahāvvyutpatti". We can assume that at that time the *KP* was still known under the name of "Ratnakūṭa".

2. Ten quotations from the "Ratnakūṭa" are mentioned in "Śikṣa-samuccaya" by Śāntideva (see Bendall, 1901; Bendall and Rouse, 1922). All these are actually quotations from the *KP*. There are also some quotations from the "Ratnarāsi-sūtra" in the "Śikṣa-samuccaya". Śāntideva obviously followed the Indian tradition and used the name "Ratnakūṭa" for the *KP*.

3. A. von Staël-Holstein published the commentaries on the *KP* ascribed to Sthīramati (Staël-Holstein, 1933). They were preserved only in the Tibetan and Chinese translations. The Chinese translation of the commentaries can be reliably dated. This translation by Bodhiruci the younger was made between 508 and 535 (TT, No. 1523). Its title is "Da bao zang jing lun" (Skr. "Mahāratnakūṭa-śāstra"). The Tibetan translation of the commentaries (the beginning of the 9th century A.D., the translators — Jinamitra and Śilendrabodhi, see *Bstan-'gyur* of the *Sde-dge* edition, No. 4009, vol. *ji*, ff. 199b—277a) begins with the words: "If [somebody] tells [me]: you want to explain this "Ratnakūṭa" text, so at first you have to explain, why this [composition], which represents [all] the dharmas, is called "The Collection of Jewels", [my] answer: that is because all the different Jewels of the Mahāyāna are described there" (f. 200). The text of the commentaries does not contain the name of the *KP*. It is especially interesting that many of the gāthās present in the extended Sanskrit version, are omitted in the commentaries. For example, §128—35 of the text contain no gāthās. There are also no gāthās in the Horner and Manerheim manuscripts.

4. 20 of 48 sūtras which were included in the "Ratnakūṭa" code (No. 1, 5, 6, 10, 13, 15, 19, 21, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 36—8, 41—3, 48) are present in early Chinese translations, made between the 2nd and 4th centuries A.D. Some of them are known in two or even three versions (No. 5, 27, 43). Since these translations did not mention the "Ratnakūṭa" code they were recognized as independent sūtras.

5. Some very important evidence is present in the works of Nāgārjuna, the accepted founder of the

Mādhyamika school (150—250 A.D., see Nakamura, 1980, p. 235). The celebrated anthology of the Mahāyāna scriptures "Sūtra-samuccaya", ascribed to him, represents the first attempt to codify the Sanskrit Mahāyāna canon in the form of āgamas. Unfortunately, it is preserved only in late Tibetan and Chinese translations [5]. Nāgārjuna was the first who applied the term *duṣkaracaryā* — "the course of difficult tasks [undertaken by Bodhisattva]" to Mahāyāna (see "Mahāvvyutpatti", No. 6679; Lindtner, 1982, p. 72—178). To defend the Mahāyāna doctrines from the orthodox śrāvakas criticism Nāgārjuna collected quotations from the most authoritative sūtras available and divided them into 13 main topics. The sūtras quoted by him can be recognized as the earliest sūtras of Mahāyāna. He used 68 sūtras and collections of sūtras, among them "Buddhāvatamsaka-sūtra" (No. 14) and "Mahāsamnipāta-parivarta" (No. 29). The list of works in Sanskrit and Tibetan quoted in the anthology was examined by Chr. Lindtner (Lindtner, 1982). "Ratnakūṭa" is omitted there, while 13 other sūtras of the "Ratnakūṭa" code, mentioned in "Mahāvvyutpatti", are present in Nāgārjuna's list. There are 36 quotations used in the "Sūtra-samuccaya". While comparing the list of Nāgārjuna with that of the "Mahāvvyutpatti", one can notice some differences. We suppose, that they appeared due to activities of Tibetan and Chinese editors who tried to identify the names listed by Nāgārjuna with those current in Central Asia and China in the 9—11th centuries A.D. Meanwhile Nāgārjuna's list must be considered as the source of the "Mahāvvyutpatti". While analysing Nāgārjuna list, A. Banerjee reconstructed the Sanskrit names of the sūtras with the help of their Tibetan translations (Banerjee, 1941). Nāgārjuna quoted the *KP* only once, under No. 43. A. Banerjee reconstructed its name basing on the later Tibetan "'Od-srungs-kyi le'u". In the same way the Tibetan and Chinese editors substituted the name of the "Ratnakūṭa" of the "Mahāvvyutpatti" for another one, namely, for the *KP*. If we take into account the "Mūlamādhyamakakārikās" by Nāgārjuna, we shall see that he referred to three more sūtras (see Inada, 1970; de Jong, 1977). The *KP* is among them — Nāgārjuna is quoting it many times, always naming it "Ratnakūṭa". Neither Nāgārjuna himself, nor his commentators mention the name of the *KP* at all.

To sum up, we can state with certainty that Nāgārjuna called the work quoted by him, the very text which later got the name of the *KP*, "Ratnakūṭa". He was not familiar with the "Ratnakūṭa" code, and the sūtras, included later in this code, were quoted by him as independent texts. We may presume that the code "Ratnakūṭa" has not yet been codified in India in the first centuries A.D. It makes us suggest that Eastern Turkestan was the place where its codification occurred about the 7—8th centuries A.D. Of course, there is probably not enough evidence to prove it decisively. But this subject has much to offer and there is still much to be discovered.

Notes

1. We take into account only the translations of the whole text, see: Weller, 1965; Pasādika, 1977—9. Bhikkhu Pasādika has recently published the paper where the comparison of both translations is made, with special attention to "purely philological or Buddhological concern" (Pasādika, 1992, p. 145).

2. Lin Li-Kouang views this problem differently. He believes that the prosaic part was specially improved and sanskritized later by some editors (or revisers, see Lin Li-Kouang, 1949, p. 167 ff.).

3. The term "dharmaparyāya" (Pali *dhammaparyāya*, Tib. *chos-kyi mnam-grangs*) means "sūtra" in the early Mahāyāna texts, cf. the name of the "Saddharmapūṇḍarīka-sūtra".

4. The term "sūtrānta", Tib. "mdo-sde" means "sūtras as a special type of Buddhist literature". For the term "rājā" cf. the name of another sūtra — "Suvārnabhāsa-uttamarājā-sūtra" where it is also used. This is the name of the sūtras of the greatest authority.

5. Tibetan translation: "Mdo kun-las bsdus-pa", *Bstan-gyur*, section *dbu-ma*, vol. *ki* (31), ff. 148b(1)—215a(6); the 9th century translation. The Chinese translation: "Da cheng bao yao yi lun", TT, No. 1635, translator Fa hu (Skr. Dharmarakṣa), the 11th century A.D. Both translations were used by Bhikkhu Pāsādika to compose a critical text, see Pāsādika, 1989. He is also the scholar to whom the "Sūtra—samuccaya" owes its translation into English: see Pāsādika, 1978—1982.

Bibliography

- Banerjee, 1941. — A. Banerjee, "Sūtrasamuccaya", *Indian Historical Quarterly* XVII, 1—2, pp. 121—6.
- Bendall, 1901. — C. Bendall, *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (St. Petersburg, 1897—902).
- Bendall and Rouse, 1922. — C. Bendall, W. H. D. Rouse, *Śikṣā-Samuccaya, A Compendium of Buddhist Doctrine* (London). Repr. (Delhi, 1971, 1981). The English translation of the KP quotations see on pp. 53—5, 144, 147, 190, 220, 221.
- Conze, 1968. — E. Conze, "Review of F. Weller, Zum Kāśyapaparivarta 2: Verdeutschung des Sanskrit-Tibetischen Textes", *Indo-Iranian Journal*, X, 4. Repr.: *Further Buddhist Studies* (Oxford, 1975), pp. 216—9.
- Inada, 1970. — K. Inada, *Nāgārjuna. A Translation of his Mūlāmādhyaṃakā-kārikā with Introductory Essay* (Tokyo).
- de Jong, 1977. — Nāgārjuna, *Mūlāmādhyaṃakā-kārikā*, ed. by J. W. de Jong (Adyar).
- de Jong, 1979. — J. W. de Jong, "Sanskrit fragments of the Kāśyapaparivarta", *Buddhist Studies by J. W. de Jong*, ed. by G. Schopen (Berkeley), pp. 247—55.
- Kuno Hōryū, 1938. — Kuno Hōryū, "Saiki shutsudo bukkyō bonpon to sono seiten shiron-jo chii (jō). Daihōshakkyō to Zōagonkyō no genten. 1. Uten shutsudo Daihōshakkyō bonpon to sono kachi", *Bukkyō kenkyū* II, 3 (1938), pp. 71—110.
- Lin Li-Kouang, 1949. — Lin Li-Kouang, *L'Aide-Mémoire de la Vrai Loi (Saddharma-Smṛtyupasthāna-sūtra)*, Introduction au Compendium de la Loi (Dharma-Samuccaya) (Paris).
- Lindtner, 1982. — Chr. Lindtner, "Nāgārjuniana. Studies in the Writings and Philosophy of Nāgārjuna", *Indiske Studier* 4 (Copenhagen).
- Manuscript Remains, 1916. — R. Hoernle (ed.), *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature Found in Eastern Turkestan*. Facsimiles with Transcripts and Notes (Oxford).
- Nagao Gajin, 1974. — Nagao Gajin, "Kashōhon no shohon" to "Daihōshakkyō" seiritsu no mondai", *Suzuki gakujutsu kenkyū nenpo* 10 (1973).
- Nakamura, 1980. — H. Nakamura, *Indian Buddhism. A Survey with Bibliographical Notes* (Tokyo).
- Ono Hōdō, 1954. — Ono Hōdō, *Daijō kaikyō no kenkyū* (Tokyo).
- Pāsādika, 1977—9. — Bhikkhu Pāsādika, *The Dharma-Discourse of the Great Collection of Jewels. The Kāśyapa-Section. Mahāratnakūṭadharmaparyāya*. — *Kāśyapaparivarta*. English Translation and Restoration of the Missing Sanskrit Portions, Monastère Bouddhique Linh S'ou. Linh S'ou Publication d'Études Bouddhologiques, 1—9 (Joinville-le-Pont, Paris).
- Pāsādika, 1978—82. — Bhikkhu Pāsādika, *Mdo kun las btus pa*, tr. into English, Linh S'ou Publication d'Études Bouddhologiques (Joinville-le-Pont, Paris).
- Pāsādika, 1989. — *Nāgārjuna's Sūtrasamuccaya: A Critical Edition of the Mdo kun las btus pa* by Bhikkhu Pāsādika, Akademisk Forlag (København).
- Pāsādika, 1991. — Bhikkhu Pāsādika, "Bibliographical remarks bearing on the Kāśyapaparivarta", *Buddhist Studies Review*, VIII, 1—2 (Institute de Recherche Bouddhique Linh S'ou, Paris), pp. 50—70.
- Pāsādika, 1992. — Bhikkhu Pāsādika, "Remarks on two Kāśyapaparivarta translations", *Prof. H. Bechert Felicitation Volume on the Occasion of his 60th Birthday (Göttingen)*, pp. 146—9.
- Pelliot, 1936. — P. Pelliot, "Compte rendu de Kāśyapaparivarta, etc.", *T'oung Pao*, 32, pp. 68—76.
- Sander, Waldschmidt, 1980. — *Sanskrihandchriften aus den Turfafunden*, bearb. Lore Sander und Ernst Waldschmidt, 4, S. 280.
- Staël-Holstein, 1926. — *The Kāśyapaparivarta, a Mahāyānasūtra of the Ratnakūṭa Class*, ed. in the Original Sanskrit, in Tibetan and in Chinese by Baron A. von Staël-Holstein (Shanghai).
- Staël-Holstein, 1933. — *A Commentary to the Kāśyapaparivarta*, ed. in Tibetan and in Chinese by Baron A. von Staël-Holstein (Peking).
- Takasaki Jikidō, 1974. — Takasaki Jikidō, *Nyorai-zō shisō no keijō* (Tōkyō).
- Vorobyov-Desyatovsky, 1957. — V. S. Vorob'ev-Desiatovskii, "Vnov' naidennye listy rukopisei Kāśyapaparivarty" ("The folios of the Kāśyapaparivarta, which were newly found"), *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 21, pp. 491—500.
- Weller, 1964. — F. Weller, "Kāśyapaparivarta nach der Tjin-Ubersetzung verdeutscht", *Wissenschaften Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität*, 13 (Leipzig) (Gesellschafts- und Sprach. Reihe, H. 4).
- Weller, 1965. — F. Weller, *Zum Kāśyapaparivarta, 2: Verdeutschung des Sanskrit-Tibetischen Textes* (Berlin).
- Weller, 1966—1. — F. Weller, "Kāśyapaparivarta nach der Djin-Fassung verdeutscht", *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientalforschung*, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, XII.
- Weller, 1966—2. — F. Weller, "Die Sung-Fassung des Kāśyapaparivarta Versuch einer Verdeutschung", *Journal of Oriental Studies*, XXV (The Monumenta Serica Institute, University of California, Los Angeles).
- Weller, 1970. — F. Weller, "Kāśyapaparivarta nach der Han-Fassung verdeutscht", *Buddhist Yearly 1968/1969* (Hale).