SANSKRIT FRAGMENTS
OF THE MAHĀYĀNA MAHĀPARINIRVĀṆASŪTRA

1. Koyasan Manuscript

Akira Yuyama

STUDIA PHILOLOGICA BUDDHICA
Occasional Paper Series
IV

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Dedicated to Dr. J. W. de Jong,
Professor of South Asian and Buddhist Studies
at the Australian National University of Canberra
on the occasion of his sexagenarian anniversary
15 February 1981
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SANSKRIT FRAGMENTS OF THE MAHĀYĀNA MAHĀPARINIRVĀṇASŪTRA
I. Koyasan Manuscript*

Akira Yuyama
(The Reiyukai Library, Tokyo)

INTRODUCTORY REMAR克斯

1. At present only eight manuscript fragments of the Sanskrit version of the so-called Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra are known to exist throughout the world, namely, one in London, one at Kōyasan, and six in Leningrad.¹

2. The India Office Library of the British Commonwealth Office in London preserves one, known as the Hoernle Manuscript num-

* A summary of this study was read at the Third Conference of the International Association of Buddhist Studies held in conjunction with the International Association of the History of Religions at the University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Canada, on 22 August 1980.

bered 143, SA. 4, measuring approximately 31.5 x 9.3 cm. This has been for the first time identified with the Chinese versions by Kaikyoku Watanabe. Taishō edition No. 374, Vol. XII p. 422b6/7-c5 from end; No. 375, XII 663b27-664a12; No. 376, XII 895a2-24/25, and then studied carefully by F. W. Thomas after having received the information from Strassburg. This fragment, bearing the folio number 162 on the obverse side, appears to have been discovered at the ruined site of Khādalik around the year 1903 A.D. (see Hoernle, op. cit., p. 85). According to Thomas, there are seven lines of writing on each side of the folio in the Upright Gupta script. It is my cherished hope to study the fragment in comparison with various versions, after I succeed in obtaining the photocopy of both sides of the folio, since, unfortunately, only the reverse has been published in facsimile (see Hoernle, op. cit., plate XXI.2).

3. Thanks to the painstaking efforts of a Russian scholar, V. S. Vorob'ev-Desjakotovskij (1927-1956), who died a sadly premature death, six fragments of the Sanskrit version of the

2 Immediately after the identification of this fragment in the autumn of 1908 at Strassburg on the advice of his teacher, Ernst Leumann, who had been requested by F. W. Thomas of London, K. Watanabe published with scholarly excitement in his article a detailed study of the Sanskrit text in comparison with the corresponding Chinese versions found in the then available Dainippon Kōtei (Shukusatsu) Daisōkyō (Tokyo 1880-1885): "Daihatsunehangyo-no Bonbun Danpen", Shūkyōkai, V, 3 (Tokyo, March 1909). This article has been reprinted in his collected works Watanabe Kaikyoku Ronbunshū = Kogetsu Zenshū, I (Tokyo 1933, repr. 1936, 1977), pp. 570-585.

Mahāyāna Mahāperinirvāṇasūtra were discovered among the N. F. Petrovsky Collection in the Leningrad Branch of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences. It is very unfortunate that he passed away before the completion of his study of the manuscripts. A decade later after his death this important discovery was made known to us.\(^4\) Several years have now passed since it was announced that a study of the very six fragments was being prepared for publication.\(^5\) In the meantime, one of these fragments, bearing the inventory number SI\(^P\) 88 (a) and measuring 17 x 9 cm. (text portion), has recently been published together with a photomechanic reproduction.\(^6\) This fragment appears to bear the earlier folio number, most probably 15, although it has not been recorded by Bongard-Levin. With the help of L. N. Menšikov this incomplete fragmentary text has been identified with Taishō No. 374, Vol. XII p. 369a15-h17, which belongs to the first chapter of Dharmakṣema’s translation: Chin. Shou-

\(^4\) See among others G. M. Bongard-Levin and E. N. Tyomkin, "New Buddhist Texts from Central Asia" (Moscow 1967: mimeograph), p. 6f., with fig. 7 (p. 15: photomechanic reproduction of only the verso of the fragment mentioned below); almost exactly the same text, but with no plate, is included in G. M. Bongard-Levin, Studies in Ancient India and Central Asia (= Soviet Indology, VII)(Calcutta 1971), p. 235f. (cf. note 5 below); G. M. Bongard-Levin i E. N. Temkin, "Roboty V. S. Vorob'eva-Desjakotovskogo i issledovanie buddiskix tekstov iz kollekci N.F. Petrovskogo", Problemy istorii jazykov i kul'tury narodov indii: Sbornik statej (Pamjati V. S. Vorob'eva-Desjakotovskogo)(Moskva 1974), p. 19.


ming 'Life span', Skt. Āyus (?), so Tib. Sku-tshe (= Skt. ā-yus; cf. Lokesh Chandra, Tib.-Skt. Dict., s.v.), while the other two hitherto known fragments of London and Kōyasan belong to Chapter IV: Chin. Ju-lai-hsing 'Tathāgatatva'(?), or the original Sanskrit Tathāgata-garbha (?), so Tib. De-bzin-gšegs-pa'i sniṅ-po (= Skt. tathāgata-garbha?). It is a matter for great regret that the remaining five fragments in Leningrad are still hidden in a veil of mist for so long, since they may well bring light to controversial issues on the history of the textual formation and transmission of this sūtra, and needless to say, to its textual criticism from the linguistic and philological points of view. Incidentally, it seems probable that the London and Leningrad fragments which have so far been published belong to the same manuscript.

4. In the summer of 1916 Junjirō Takakusu found a hanging scroll at the Treasure House of the Temple Hōju-in on Mount Kōya-san. A folio of a paper manuscript had been split into two — recto and verso — and pasted on a hanging scroll, together with a sheet of paper explaining the history of this fragment. This manuscript was not discovered just by accident, but it was one of the fair harvests through Takakusu's careful investigations into the extant Sanskrit materials preserved in Japan. He has then made a very brief but comprehensive

7 In spite of the Chinese and Tibetan equivalents it has recently been suggested that the original Sanskrit should be Tathāgata-dhātu: see in the first place J. Takasaki, IBK, XIX, 2 (1971), p. 1022(3). For further details see note 39 (p. 15).

8 For instance, the Kōyasan manuscript has been reported in his laborious article "Shittan Senjo Mokuroku", Dainippō Bukkyō Zenshō, XXX (Tokyo 1922), pp. 234b-235a (= Reprinted new edition, XCV, Tokyo 1972: Entry No. 852, pp. 175c-176a). This work has also been included in his collected works Takakusu Junjirō Zenshū, IX (Tokyo 1978), p. 401.
report soon after the discovery of this hanging scroll. It admits of no doubt that the so-called Kōyasan fragment of the Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra belongs to a manuscript entirely different from the other two kept in London and Leningrad.

5. According to the explanatory sheet of paper on the scroll, it appears to have been traditionally held that the manuscript was copied by Kūkai, or Kōbō Daishi (774–835 A.D.), the founder of the Japanese Tantric or Shingon sect. It was then transmitted as a treasured heirloom from teachers to disciples. It has been kept in succession by the Head Priest of the Temple Hōshō-in of Kōyasan. In 1913 the Hōshō-in (Skt. Ratnamaya?) was amalgamated with the Muryōju-in (Skt. Amitāyus?) under the combined name of Hōju-in (Skt. Ratnāyus?). The accompanying sheet of notes, dated 21 March 1354 A.D., further indicates that the manuscript was at that stage possessed by the priest Yūkai by name, who had succeeded his predecessors Kōga after Ryūga. To my greatest regret, I have not had the opportunity to investigate the original manuscript at hand.

6. Takakusu had also informed the Institute of Japanese Historiography at the University of Tokyo of the Kōyasan scroll, which was photomechanically reproduced in the enormous series of historical documents under the third year of the Bunna Era, i.e. 1354 A.D. Since then the manuscript has been photomechanically reproduced, either fully or partially, four times in Japan, and once in India. Shinkō Mochizuki published a photo of the reverse side in his encyclopaedic dictionary on

Buddhism. The second, a scroll in the same size as the original, is the most beautiful reproduction. It was reproduced by one of the best-known art reprinting company named Benridō of Kyōto. The title portion of the scroll has also been reproduced. It reads Kōbō Daishi Bonji, 'Brāhmī Script by Kōbō Daishi', in Chinese characters, which have been blurred in course of time. The reproduction of the scroll was published in October 1936 with a pamphlet containing a very brief introduction by Junjiro Takakusu (pages 1-3) and a commentary by Gyoji Mizuhara (pages 5-9). However, no transcription of the Sanskrit text is given in this pamphlet. Then, three decades later, the verso of the folio has been artistically reproduced by the National Museum of Nara with bibliographical notes by Shunshō Manabe, which, unfortunately, gives incorrect information about the contents of this manuscript fragment. Only very recently the Kōyasan manuscript was photomechanically reproduced in reduced form, together with a much larger reproduction of the verso, in a beautiful collection of reproductions of ancient Sanskrit materials preserved in Japan. This is a kind of publications which has eagerly been awaited by scholars in the relevant field of studies, although it is

12 Shōrai Bijutsu / Buddhist Art from China, from 6th to 10th Century, edited and published by the Nara National Museum (Nara 1967), Plate No. 63 (on graphic page 37), with Manabe's notes in the commentary section p. 33f.
rather unfortunate that some of the materials have been put in disorder together with some misleading information about them. The anonymous commentator to this work gives a brief description of the Kōyasan manuscript, in which he says that the fragment was copied in India between the seventh and ninth centuries A.D. He also adds another theory which dates it back roughly to the T'ang dynasty. No reference is however given in this connection. Lokesh Chandra of New Delhi has in the meantime published a beautiful reproduction of the text portion of the Kōyasan fragment with a caption reading "Page of a Sanskrit manuscript preserved at the Reihōkan Museum, Kōyasan. 8th century". 14 It is apparent that the manuscript was then kept at the Treasure House, named Reihōkan, of Kōyasan. Based upon the information given in these publications, each page of this manuscript measures 13.6 x 43.3 cm., with seven lines of writing. It seems to be preserved in very good condition.

7. At present it is generally believed that the Kōyasan manuscript was not actually written by Kūkai himself, but was brought back by him to Japan on his return from China, where he had stayed for further studies from 804 to 806 A.D. It is quite possible that this manuscript was written in Central Asia before the ninth century A.D. There is however a possibility that Kūkai copied it during his visit to China. In any case the script used in this manuscript has apparently become a model of the Shittan or Siddham script in Japan, in particular for the traditional Shingon schools (see p. 19 below).

8. Commissioned by J. Takakusu, K. Watanabe had again succeeded in identifying the Kōyasan manuscript as a part of the Ma-

14 Lokesh Chandra, "India and Japan: A Cultural Symphony", The Times of India Annual 1973, p. 45 (Plate No. 9).
hāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra with the Chinese versions. It corresponds to Taishō No. 374, Vol. XII pp. 385c12-386a6; No. 375, XII 625c5-29; and No. 376, XII 868b21-c14. Takakusu then published a romanized text at the end of the so-called Northern Version translated by Dharmakṣema: Taishō Vol. XII (Tokyo 1922), p. 604. It is regrettable, however, that his transcription has some misreadings and emendations without reference to the original. It is even more regrettable that the manuscript has since attracted very little attention from serious scholars in Buddhist philology. All three fragments published so far need more careful text-critical examination. As a part of my projected study on the manuscript fragments of the Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra, in the present paper I intend to reconstruct the text of the Kōyasan manuscript in comparison with the corresponding Tibetan and Chinese versions, offering the basic materials for the future critical analysis of the relevant texts.

9. One may easily find that the Sanskrit text is amazingly straightforward. It is normally believed that the Chinese version translated by Fa-hsien is the closest to the Sanskrit text of the Kōyasan manuscript. I should think that all the non-Sanskrit versions contain elaborations, and that the Sanskrit under discussion is not just an abridged version.

10. Herewith I would like to give some bibliographic remarks regarding the corresponding Tibetan and Chinese versions:

15 For catalogue references see further A. Yuyama, Indic Manuscripts and Chinese Blockprints (Non-Chinese Texts) of the Oriental Collection of the Australian National University Library, Canberra (= Centre of Oriental Studies Occasional Paper, No. VI)(Canberra 1967), pp. 1-12. This now needs to be revised with corrections and more updated bibliographical information.
10a. In the Kanjur section of the Tibetan Buddhist canon we find two different versions. Both of them bear the same title: 'Phags-pa yongs-su mya-ñan-las 'das-pa chen-po'i mdo (= Mahā-parinirvāṇasūtra). One was translated from the Indic by Jina-mitra, Jñanagarbha and Devacandra, probably at the beginning of the ninth century A.D. (see below). This version can be found, for example, in the following blockprints and manuscripts: Cone edition No. 761, THA 1bl-169a5; Derge 120, THA 1bl-151a4; Lhasa 122, ŇA 1bl-222b5; Narthang 107, ŇA


20 See Chibetto Daisōkyō Kanjuru Kanđo Mokuroku / A Comparative Analytical Catalogue of the Kanjur Division of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka, edited in Peking during the K'ang-hai era, and at present kept in the Library of the Otani Daigaku, Kyoto, in which the contents of each sutra are collated with their corresponding parts in the existing Sanskrit, Pali and Chinese texts, and page-references of the Narthang and the Derge editions of the Tripiṭaka are also entered (Kyoto 1930-1932), p. 290f. I have consulted the reprint edition: cf. EIin Pekin-ban Chibetto Daizōkyō Sōmokuroku · Sakuin / Catalogue and Index of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka, Peking Edition, kept in the Library of the Otani University (Tokyo-Kyoto 1961), p. 118f.


22 For this manuscript Kanjur see a forthcoming article by Helmut Eimer, "Zur Beurteilung der Textqualität der Kanjur-Handschrift aus dem Palast in Tog/Ladakh", Festeschrift J. W. de Jong (Canberra, in press).

23 For this manuscript Kanjur, which is now kept at the Staatsbibliothek, Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, see Hermann Beckh, Verzeichnis der tibetischen Handschriften, Abteilung I: Kanjur (Bkah-ngyur) (= Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, XXIX)(Berlin 1914), p. 33.

24 For example, regarding the manuscript Kanjur held at the
ponding to the Kôyasan fragment are to be found in the Derge edition THA 53a7-54a3 (Microfiche Sheet No. 389; cf. Tohoku Microfiche Sheet No. 621), Lhasa ÑA 73a4-74a4 (Xeroxcopy Vol. LIV pp.38.2.4-38.3.4), Narthang ÑA 78b5-79b6 (Microfiche for Vol. LIV, folios 60b-80a: Library of Congress No. LMPJ 026,054: 4/24), Peking TU 53b8-54b3 (Reprint edition, Vol. LXXI, pp. 167.4.8-168.1.3), Tog Manuscript, WA 11b2-11b1 (Reprint edition, Vol. LXXI, pp. 222.2-224.1). They belong to Chapter IV: Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpa' sna-graṅs bzis chos bston-pa. To my regret, I am at this stage unable to restore the original Sanskrit title of this chapter. The Tibetan title of this sutra has been recorded in the Denkarma Catalogue (Lalcu No. 80, Yoshimura No. 79).²⁵ Jinamitra was one of the most active translators as is well attested in the Tibetan Tripitaka, and his name is found as a compiler of the best-known polyglot dictionary Mahāvyutpatti. This may well be a criterion to determine the date of this translation, namely, at the latest, early ninth century A.D.²⁶ Unfortunately, there seems to be


no extant Tibetan manuscript from Tunhuang. Incidentally, the
Tibetan version was translated into Mongolian and is included
in its Kanjur.27

10b. The other Tibetan version was translated from the Chinese
by Wañ-phab-żun, Dge-ba'i blo-gros and Rgya-mtsho'i sde: Cone
edition, No. 760, ŠN 1bl-412a6, TA 1bl-383a8 (see Mibu Cat. p.
23); Derge 119, ŠN 1bl-343a6, TA 1bl-339a7 (see Tohoku Cat. p.
27, cf. Schmidt Index p. 20); Lhasa 368, KA 1-526a4, KHA 1-
529a7 (see Takasaki p. 27, cf. Eimer p. 34f.); Narthang 361,
KA 1bl-550a5, KHA 1bl-527a6 (see Feer p. 290f., also Mibu p.
23, Takasaki p. 23); Peking 787, JU 1-363, ŠN U-355 (see Otani
Cat. pp. 287-290, also Reprint Cat.-Index p. 118); Urga 119,
ŠN 1bl-343a6, TA 1bl-339a7 (see Bethlenfalvy p. 37); Tog Manu-
script, Vols. 89-90-91 (Leh 1979), KA la-342a7, KHA la-332a7,
GA la-338a7; Berlin Manuscript, Mdo VIII-IX (60-61), ŠN 1-436,
TA 1-423 (see Beckh pp. 32b-33a); etc.28 This version was ap-
parently translated from the so-called Northern Version of
Dharmakṣema. For further details, however, more careful com-
parative study is needed. Out of those editions and manuscripts
I have collated the Derge, Lhasa, Narthang and Peking editions
and the Tog Manuscript: Derge ŠN 56a7-57a4 (Koyasan Microfiche
Sheet No. 375, cf. Tohoku Microfiche Sheet No. 597), Lhasa KA
85a7-86b3 (Xerocopy Vol. LXXVII pp. 44.2.7-45.3.3), Narthang
KA 86a7-87b3 (Microfiche for Vol. LXXVII, folios 79b-99a: Li-
brary of Congress No. LMPJ 026,077: 5/28), Peking JU 57a5-58a2
(Reprint Vol. XXX p. 157.1.5-3.2), Tog KA 83a7-84b3 (Reprint

27 Louis Ligeti, Catalogue du Kanjur mongol imprimé, I (= Bib-
liotheca Orientalis Hungarica, III)(Budapest 1942-44), p. 299
(No. 877); also F. A. Bischoff, Der Kanjur und seine Koiophone,
II (Bloomington 1968), p. 411.

28 See for example Saitō, op.cit., p. 356(51): Vols. 94.1-96.1,
also p. 382(25).
Vol. LXXXIX pp. 165.7-168.3). This part belongs to Chapter III: Mtshan-gyi yon-tan brjod-pa (= Chin. Ming-tzu kung-tê). The title of this Tibetan version has been added in the Denkarma Catalogue (Lalou No. 249/p. 325, Yoshimura No. 248/p. 24/140).

It seems to be generally accepted that the translation was made most probably in the latter half of the eleventh century A.D. It has also been translated into Mongolian and is included in its Kanjur (see Ligeti pp. 227-229: Nos. 874-875-876).

lla. The corresponding Chinese texts are found in three extant versions. One is the so-called Northern Version translated by Dharmakṣema during the period between 414 and 421 A.D. from a manuscript brought from Kucha, possibly in collaboration with Buddhhabhadra: Taishō No. 374, Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching: Vol. XII pp. 385c12-386a6. This belongs to Section One of Chapter IV: Ju-lai-hsing (cf. paragraph 3 above).

llb. Dharmakṣema's version is believed to have been revised by Hui-yen and Hui-kuan together with Hsieh Ling-yûn, bearing


the same title, which was later called the Southern Version. The corresponding Chinese text, i.e. Taishō No. 375, Vol. XII p. 625c5–29, belongs to Section One of Chapter VII: Chin. Sā- hsiang (Skt. Catur-lakṣaṇa?). As far as our texts are concerned, the difference between the two versions, Northern and Southern, is not too great (see my English translations below). I.e. Almost at the same time, i.e. 417–418 A.D., Fa-hsien translated the text from a manuscript which he had obtained in the Maçadhan capital of Pāṭaliputra: Taishō No. 376, Ta- p'an-ni-yūan-ching.34 Vol. XII p. 868b21–c14. This portion belongs to Chapter VIII called Sā-fa (Skt. Catur-dharma?).

12. The Northern Version was translated into Japanese by Daijō Tokiwa, which has recently been revised by Enichi Ōchō.35 The Southern Version was translated into Japanese by Daitō Shimaji.36 There is also an anonymous Japanese translation.37 Kōsho Yamamoto has made an English translation.38 Although he states on the title page of his book that it is a translation from the 'classical Chinese language', it was in fact rendered from Shimaji's Japanese version.

13. It should perhaps be added here that, at least, one direct

citation of the Sanskrit version from the Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra has been reported to exist. It is found in the Ratnagotrabihāga Mahāyānottaratantraśāstra, otherwise known as the Uttaratantra in short. The author of this treatise, whoever it may be, has quoted the well-known "parable of water sport in summer", which has already been identified with the corresponding Tibetan and Chinese versions. In such a text like the Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra, of which only very limited portions of the original Sanskrit version are extant in fragmentary manuscripts, it is vitally important to see if there is any citation of the text in other works written

in Sanskrit, and to examine these passages from the philological points of view. In this connection a more careful study should be made in the future.

14. In this booklet I intend to offer a faithful transliteration of the Kōyasan fragment followed by a reconstructed text in comparison with the corresponding Tibetan and Chinese versions, together with my English translations of those versions, in the hope that this important material will attract more serious attention of specialists in the relevant field of studies.

15. Last but not least, this humble work is dedicated to my teacher, Dr. J. W. de Jong, Professor of South Asian and Buddhist Studies at the Australian National University of Canberra, on the auspicious occasion of his sexagenarian anniversary on 15 February 1981.

Takasaki reports in this book (p. 183 n. 3) that G. M. Bongard-Levin has also mentioned the existence of the six fragments in Leningrad in his lecture "Buddhist Studies in the U.S.S.R. and New Archaeological Excavations in Soviet Central Asia" given at the University of Kyoto in October 1972 (cf. my "Introductory Remarks" paragraph 3, cum p. 3 n. 4-6, above).
Symbols used for textual readings

[ ] indicates that this part is damaged in the manuscript.
< > indicates that this part is missing in the manuscript.
\_\_ \_ indicates a virāma written in the manuscript, e.g. ā.
\_\_\_ indicates that the letters before and after this mark are non-separate akṣaras, forming either with the following vowels or as consonant clusters, in the manuscript.

N.B. Needless to say, unlike the following transcribed text, no space is normally given after words in the manuscript.

(83al) mama śrāvakā mahāyānnakāṃkṣitās tadda ṣaḍrasavan mahā-bhojanam,iva mahāparinirvāṇaṃ mahāsūtraṃ deśayāmi ' (.2)
tatra katame ṣaḍrasā duṣṭkham,āṃblaṃ nityaṃ\(^1\) lāvaṇām anātmakaṃ
dakṣaṃ sukhaṃ madhuraṃ sātmakaṃ kāṣāyaṃ nityan ti(.3)ktam, iti '\(^2\) ime ṣaḍrasāḥ klesheṇhanena māyaśaginā paripācitam
bhojanam mahāparinirvāṇaṃ tatvānāṃmṛṣṭaṃ (.4) mama śrāvakā
bhumṣjante\(^3\) // punar,apaṇaṃ bhagini yathā yūyaṃ parāmantraṇena
paracūḍākaraṇaṇimittena vā (.5) paraṇānaṃ gantukāma duṣṣputrān,
utsṛjya satputraṇaṃ guhyābhindihānāni darśayasi ' āma bhagavaṇ
du(.6)ṣputrā aṁvāccarāḥ\(^4\) anarthabhāginas tesāmmity arthaṃ\(^5\) na
darśayāmi ' satputras tu kuladharāḥ kulanistārakāḥ\(^6\) (.7) te
dravyārhaḥ teṣāṃ darśayāmi ' evam ahaṃ bhagini mahāparinirvāṇa
gamanakriyāṃ yadā karomi ' tadda tathā(83bl)gatavividha-

\* In the following footnotes I have noted the readings given
\(^1\) T. āṇvālam [āṃvālam][a-]nityaṃ.
\(^2\) T. omits the punctuation.
\(^3\) T. bhumjante.
\(^4\) T. aṁvāccarāḥ.
\(^5\) T. tesāṃ mityarthāṃ! This does not make any sense.
\(^6\) T. kulanissarakāḥ! This is nonsensical too.
guhyam sandhavacanam sravakebhyo niravaeseam kathayisyami ' 
adya putrebhyas chhandam dasyami yath tvam bhagisi(.2)ni pra-
vasagatam dusputra mrteti kalpayanti na capi mrtaa ' ama bhaga-
vaap punar apy agatante pasyanti ' evam e(.3)va bhagini maya-
maintyasamjna7 karsita adya tathagatah parinirvasyatiti nevaam 
kalpayitavyam mrtasamjna(.4)vaat ye sadaa nityo ddhruvaah8 sasva-
tah tathagata iti dharyanti tesam9 tathagata[t]10 grhe tiistha-
ti ['] esa (.5) paraaddhyasaya11 nama '// prcchavaa naama iha 
kaicit tathagatam arhantam samyaksambuddham pariprcchet katham, 
a(.6)ham bhagavan kirttim prapnuyat loke dayako visruta iti '12 
nac ca dadyat kasmimscitta13 tathagatam evam14 vade t niip(.7)sam-
 gaam pravaraaya dasidasaripragreneha atyantabrahmacariniam 
kumarid-
danena ' amamsabhojinaam maamsabh[...].15

7 T. ma 'nityasamjna. His understanding the text, at least as for ma 'nitya-', is right in the context, but not for the gram-
matical ending.
8 T. nityodhravaah! This does not make any sense either.
9 T. tegam (with short a). It should simply be a misprint.
10 T. tathagato.
11 T. paraaddhyasayo[adhyasaya4]. I do not see why he has put 
an asterisk here. Has he intended to show any terminological 
question?
12 T. omits the punctuation.
13 T. kasmim cita[ta]. He is right to omit ta.
14 T. evam (with -m). It should simply be a misprint.
15 T. maamsabha'.
BRIEF PALAEOGRAPHICAL NOTES
(cf. paragraph 7 above)

In his report "Hōshō-in Shozō-no Bonpon" (p. 5, fn. 9 above) Takakusu concludes that the script used in the Kōyasan manuscript seems to belong to the Central Asian type (p. 15f.).¹ The paper of the fragment looks very similar to those found in Central Asian oases - both in size and style, although I have not seen the manuscript itself.

It is also pointed out that the manuscript appears to have been written with a spatula together with a brush. Takakusu is inclined to think that Kūkai himself may have copied it during his stay in the capital city of Ch'ang-an (p. 16). This is highly probable.

It seems to me that the script used in the fragment is a calligraphically evolved style from the so-called Gilgit-Bāmiyān-type II, and not from Turkestan alphabets.² It is beautifully written. There is no doubt that it has become a calligraphic model of the Siddham script in Japan.

Needless to say, a more thorough study from every angle is necessary before we draw a hasty conclusion.

¹ Takakusu describes that the letter 𢅄a is almost always written as sa (p. 16a). This is not correct. Both are clearly distinguished from each other in the manuscript.

² Cf. Lore Sander, Paläographisches zu den Sanskrithandschriften der Berliner Turfanammlung (= Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Supplementband VIII)(Wiesbaden 1968), insbes. Tafeln 21-26. It is hoped that she will in the near future bring out more palaeographical materials from her project investigating Central Asian scripts, especially Khotanese.
SANSKRIT VERSION RECONSTRUCTED

<yadā ...>¹ (83a) mama śrāvakā mahā-yāna-kāṅkṣitās² tādā śaḍ-rasavan mahā-bhojanam iva mahāparinirvāṇaḥ mahā-sūtraṃ desayāmi / tatra katame śaḍ-rasāḥ / duḥkham āṁblam,³ a-nityaṃ lavanaṃ, an-ātmakaṃ kaṭukaṃ, sukhaṃ madhuraṃ, sātmakaṃ kaśāyaṃ, nityaṃ tiktam iti / ime śaḍ-rasāḥ / klesendhanena māyā-agninā⁴ pari-pācitaṃ bhojanamahāparinirvāṇaṃ tattvāṇa-mṛṣṭaṃ mama śrāvakā bhuñjante⁵ // punar apram bhagini yathā ūyyaṃ parāmantraṇena para-cūḍa-karaṇa-nimittena vā para-grāmaṃ gantu-kāmā duṣ-putrān utsṛṭya sat-putrāṇam⁶ guhyābhinitidhānāni⁷ darśayasi⁸ //

āma bhagavan duṣ-putrā an-ācāra an-artha-bhāginas, teśāṃ ity arthaṃ na darśayāmi / sat-putrās tu kula-dharāḥ kula-nistāra= kāḥ,⁹ te dravyārāhāḥ, teśāṃ darśayāmi //

evam aham bhagini mahā-parinirvāṇa-gamana-kriyāṁ yadā karcmi, tādā tathā(83b)gata-vividha-guhyāṁ saṁdhā-vacanaṁ śrāvakabhyo niravāśesāṃ kathaiśyāmi / adya putrebhyaś chandaṃ¹⁰ dāsyāmi / yathā tvām bhagini pravāsa-gatām duṣ-putrā mṛṣti kalpayanti, na cāpi mṛtā //

āma bhagavan punar api āgatānte paśyanti //

nevam eva bhagini mayā mānitya-saṁjñāṁ kāṛṣṭit / adya tathāgataḥ parinirvāsyatiti naivaṃ kalpayitavyaṃ mṛta-saṁjñāvat / ye sadā nityo dhruvāḥ śāśvatām tathāgata iti dhārayanti, teśāṃ tathāgato gṛhe tiṣṭhati // esa parādhyāśayo¹¹ nāma //

pṛcchā-vaśa¹² nāma //

iha kaś-cit tathāgatam arhantaṁ samyak-saṁbuddhaṁ pariprccchet: katham aham bhagavan kīrtim prāṇavyāṁ loke dāyako viśruta iti / na ca dadyāt kasmiṁs-cit / tathāgatam evaṃ vadet: niḥsaṅgaṃ
pravāraya dāśī-dāśa-parigraheṇa, atyanta-brahma-cārīṇaṃ kumārī-
dānena, a-māṃsa-bhojinaṃ māṃsa-bh<o>(84a)<jana-->14

Notes on the reconstructed text

1 Correlative yādā with tadā: Tib. gah-gi tshe ... de'i tshe ...

2 MS. "yāma-", which is taken as characteristic of Central
Asian MSS. by Takakusu, "Hōshō-in Shozō-no Bonpon", p. 16a!

3 MS. āṁblam; āṁlam may well be the true reading here, and
the final m with a virāma sign should simply be a scribal er-
ror. So that the next a-nityam could easily be restored. Takak-
usu's emendation to āṁlam may be another possibility, since
it is attested as one of the six flavours in the Mahāvyuttpatti
(ed. R. Sakaki, Kyoto 1916, repr. Tokyo 1962), No. 1899; cf.
also Hemakandra's Abhidhanakintamani: Ein systematisch ange-
ordnetes synonymisches Lexicon, hrsg., Übers. und mit Anmer-
kungen begleitet von O. Boehtlingk und Charles Rieu (St.-Peters-
Dharmasamgraha: An Ancient Collection of Buddhist Technical
Terms, prepared by K. Kasawara, and edited by F. W. Max Müller
and H. Wenzel (= Anecdotae Oxoniensia, Aryan Series, I, 5)(Ox-
ford 1885, repr. Amsterdam 1972), p. 8, we read the Section
XXXVI: rasāk ṣad-vidhāḥ / tad-yathā // madhuro 'mlo lavānāḥ
kaṭus tiktah kāṣayaḥ seti // This section is not found in the
Chinese (Taishō No. 764): cf. F. Weller, Der chinesische Dhar-
masamgraha (Leipzig 1923). Max Müller and Wenzel refer to the
Pāli terms for the six tastes: see "Notes" ad XXVI on p. 42
(with extensive bibliography); cf. Critical Pāli Dictionary,
begun by V. Trenckner, I (Copenhagen 1924- ), p. 403, āṁbila-
s.v. On the basis of the reading in the Dharmasamgraha Unrai
Wogihara emends āmila- to āmila- in his edition of the Mahāvyut-
ptti (2nd ed. Tokyo 1926, repr. 1959, Taipei repr. 1976),
"Commentary", p. 21 (Chin. repr. ed. p. 19) ad CI 63. His e-
mendation is unnecessary. The question here in our text is
whether we could retain the manuscript reading with slight em-
mendation, i.e. āṁbla-. Takakusu suggests (ibid., p. 16) that
āṁbla- is a dialectal form close to Pāli ambila-: cf. W. Gei-
ger, Pali Literatur und Sprache (= Grundriss der indo-ariischen
Philologie und Altertumskunde, I, 7)(Strassburg 1916, repr.
Tokyo 1977), 51.5, where he derives it through an intermediate
form *āṁbla-; also R. Pischel, Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen
(= Grundriss, I, 8)(Strassburg 1900, repr. Hildesheim-New York
1973, Tokyo 1977), 137, also 295. One may perhaps compare our
āmbla- with Middle Indic āmba- (cf. Pischel 295, also CPD, I p. 400 s.v.). Incidentally, this does not by any means give a hint to the theory that the original may have been composed in Ardha-Māgadhī: cf. A. Yuyama, "Butten-no Hensan-ni Mochirareta Gengo-no Tokushitsu", Okuda Jō Sensei Kijū Kinen Bukkyō Shisō Ronshū (Kyoto 1976), esp. p. 875; --, "Bu-ston on the Languages Used by Indian Buddhists at the Schismatic Period", Die Sprache der ältesten buddhistischen Überlieferung (= Symposien zur Buddhismusforschung, II)(= Abhandlungen d. Akad. d. Wiss. in Göttingen, Philol.-hist. Klasse, III. Folge, Nr. 117)(Göttingen 1980), pp. 175-181. It is also to be noted that the word āmbla- is at least lexically attested: cf. M. Mayrhofer, Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen, I (Heidelberg 1952- ), p. 45 s.v.; R. L. Turner, A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages (London 1966)[Fasc. I, 1962], p. 26: No. 579 āmā-. It is generally accepted that the words āmā- etc. are etymologically connected with āmra- (cf. also Mayrhofer, I, p. 77 s.v.). After all āmbla- could well be adopted in our text: āmā- : āmāla- = āmbla- : āmbla-, or āmāla- : āmbla- : āmbla-.

4 So reads MS. with hiatus. See p. 45 for additional note.

5 3 pl.pres.Ā bhūjānte (from bhuj-) may be noted.

6 The dative-like genitive with the verb drā- (also twice in the next paragraph) is to be syntactically noted: cf. Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar (New Haven 1953), 7.63; Yuyama, A Grammar of the Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guna-saṃaya-gāthā (Canberra 1973), 7.35-42.

7 It is noteworthy that the word abhinidhāna-, nt., is used for nidhāna-, nt., meaning 'store, treasury, hoard'.

8 Non-agreement of 2 pl.pron. yūyāṃ with 2 sg. ending in darśayaei can be explained as an honorific use. At the same time both are separated too far. Cf. yathā tvam bhagīṇī pravāsa-gatam ... in the third paragraph.

9 The word nistāraka-, meaning 'rescuer, savior, preserver', is also lexicographically noteworthy (cf. p. 17 n. 6 above).


11 From the graphical point of view the scribe must have written 'yā, and not 'yo, probably by mistake (cf. p. 18 n. 11 above).
12 This may have also been originally (vaśo), nom.sg., instead of pl., 'potency, power, ability of questions'. Moreover, it is tempting to think that the original may have been  vaśān for vaśāt, abl., meaning 'by means of, according to questions', as suggested by the Chinese versions of Fa-hsien and Dharmakṣema, reading nēng-sui-wên-ta, 'ability, capacity, to answer according to questions', Sino-Tib. dris-pa bāṅ-du lan-debs-pa, 'answer in accordance with questions'; but cf. Indo-Tib. dri-ba'i dbah, 'power, ability, of questions'!

13 MS. prāṇavyāt, 3 sg.opt., for vaṁ, 1 sg., does not seem to be a case of confusion of persons, the subject here being the first person, i.e. āham (cf. Edgerton, BESG 25.11). It appears to be or to have been confused (or miswritten) by influence of the neighbouring third person singular optatives: pariḥrochet, dadyāt, vadet, in the course of transmission.

14 It is a great pity that the following interesting passages are not available. Incidentally, I have not noted every minor reading, such as additions of visargas, nātvām (for nevām), and so on. Instead of noting them I have given a faithfully transliterated text. One may also see how the text was reconstructed in comparison with the corresponding Tibetan and Chinese versions.

AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE SANSKRIT VERSION

"< When ...> my śrāvakas long for the Mahāyāna, then I teach the great sūtra, the Mahāparinirvāṇa, which is like a meal (bhōjana) possessed of six flavours. What are the six flavours in that case? Suffering (duḥkha) is sour (āmbla), impermanence (anītya) is salty (lavaṇa), non-selfhood (anātmaka) is pungent (kaṭuka), happiness (sukha) is sweet (madhura), selfhood (sātmaka) is astringent (kaśāya), and permanence (nītya) is bitter (tikta). These are the six flavours. My śrāvakas enjoy the meal (bhōjana), the Mahāparinirvāṇa, the delectable food (anna) of the truth, well-cooked on the fuel (indhana) of depravity (kleśa) and with the flame (agni) of illusion (māyā).

"Furthermore, o sister, just like you, wishing to go to another village by the invitation (āmantraṇa) of others or because
of the tonsure-ceremony (cūdā-karaṇa) of others, show the hidden treasury (guhyābhinidhāna) to the good sons (satputra) after having excluded the bad sons (duṣputra)."

"Indeed, o Bhagavat, the bad sons have improper conduct (anācāra) and share no wealth (anartha-bhāgin). To them I do not show the wealth (artha). But the good sons are the upholders of the family (kula-dhara) and the preservers of the family (kula-nistāraka). They are worthy of the property (dravyārha). To them I show it."

"Likewise, o sister, when I perform the deed of going to the great Parinirvāṇa, then I will completely declare to the śrāvakas the word of intention (saṃdhā-vacana) possessed of the various secrets (guhya) of the Tathāgata. Now I will give my consent (chanda) to my sons.

"Just as, o sister, when you go on a journey (pravāsa-gata), the bad sons imagine that you are dead, but of course you are not dead."

"Indeed, o Bhagavat, they see me again on my return (āgatānte)."

"Just so, o sister, one should never form¹ any notion of impermanence (anitya-saṃjñā) in regard to me (mayā)! Just like the notion of death (mṛta-saṃjñā) one should not imagine: 'Today

¹ The prohibitive particle mā plus the augmentless 3 sg.aor. kāṛṣīt together with the voc. bhaginī appears to offer no grammatical difficulties here. The verb kāṛṣīt, 3 sg., is possibly construed with the understood subject bhaginī: " ... o sister, (let the sister = you) never form ...!" Syntactically, it is also possible that this construction with mā may be taken as the so-called "lest-clause" (cf. Edgerton, BHSG 42.7) together with the following sentence: " ... o sister, it should not be imagined thus: ..., lest one should form any notion of impermanence in regard to me!"
the Tathāgata will enter Parinirvāṇa'. The Tathāgata dwells in the house of those who always bear in mind: 'The Tathāgata is permanent (nitya), perpetual (dhruva) and eternal (śāśvata)'. This is the so-called considerateness (adhyāśaya)\textsuperscript{2} to others.

"The so-called force of questions (pṛcchā-vaṣa)\textsuperscript{3} < is like this >:–

"Someone here might ask the Tathāgata, the Arhat, the Samyak-saṃbuddha: 'O Bhagavat, how can I obtain fame as a renown giver in the world?' And yet, he would not give to anyone whosoever, and might say thus to the Tathāgata: 'Give (pravāraya)\textsuperscript{4} to one who is free from clinging (niḥsaṅga) the property of female and male servants (dāśī-dāsa-parigraha), to one who practises the complete continence (atyanta-brahma-cārin) the gift of a maiden (kumārī-dāna), to one who does not eat meat (amāṃsa-bhojīn) < ⋮ ⋮ > the meal of meat (māṃsa-bhojana), ⋮ ⋮ !

\textsuperscript{2} It is very difficult to translate the word adhyāśaya in proper sense. It should mean something like 'inclination, considerateness, intention; correcting, education, rectification, etc.': cf. Indo-Tib. gzan-gyi lhag-pa'i bsam-pa, 'inclination of/to others'; Fa-hsien nèng-chéng-t'ō-jên, 'ability to rectify other people'; Dharmakṣema chēng-t'ō, 'rectification of others'; Sino-Tib. tehul bsin-du gzan-du gzan 'chos-pa, 'rectification of others to some other way justly'(?). Cf. also Edgerton, BHSD, p. 17b, adhyāśaya 1, s.v.

\textsuperscript{3} Cf. p. 23 n. 12 above.

\textsuperscript{4} Cf. Edgerton, BHSD, p. 385ab, 1 pravārayati, s.v.
"(When ... the śrāvakas ... ) have already increased their thoughts about the path (tao-hsin)\textsuperscript{a} and accept the Mahāyāna (Ta-ch'êng)\textsuperscript{b}, then I teach them this Mahāyāna (Mo-ho-yen)\textsuperscript{c} Mahāparinirvāṇa (Ta-p'an-ni-yüan)\textsuperscript{d} which is the meal of the truth possessed of six flavours — sweet (t'ien)\textsuperscript{e}, bitter (k'u)\textsuperscript{f}, pungent (hsin)\textsuperscript{g}, sour (tso)\textsuperscript{h}, salty (hsien)\textsuperscript{i} and thin (tan)\textsuperscript{j}. Suffering (k'u)\textsuperscript{f} is of sour flavour. Impermanence (wu-ch'ang)\textsuperscript{k} is of salty flavour. Non-selfhood (fei-wu)\textsuperscript{l} is of bitter flavour. Happiness (yūeh-lo)\textsuperscript{m} is of sweet flavour. Selfhood (wu-wu)\textsuperscript{n} is of thin flavour. Permanence (ch'ang-fa)\textsuperscript{o} is of pungent flavour. Fuelling the fire of illusion (huan-hsing)\textsuperscript{p} with the firewood of depravity (fan-nao)\textsuperscript{q}, the Mahāparinirvāṇa (Ta-p'an-ni-yüan), the delectable (kan-lu)\textsuperscript{r} meal of the Dharma (fa-shih)\textsuperscript{s}, is cooked."

"Furthermore, o daughter of good family (shēng-ju-jêr)\textsuperscript{t}, suppose your sisters (tzû-mei)\textsuperscript{u} have some business, and you leave the house and go on a journey. Visiting another village, you may not return for a long time. You have two sons. One is good, and the other is bad. At the time when you wish to go, you would not speak about the hidden treasury with rare valuables to the bad son but you would give to the good son."

The woman said to the Buddha: "Indeed, o Bhagavat!"

The Buddha asked the woman: "Why would you not speak about the

\textsuperscript{a} Ta-p'an-ni-yüan-ching: Taishō No. 376, Vol. XII p. 868b21-cl\textsuperscript{4}; cf. "Introductory Remarks", paragraph 11c, above.
\textsuperscript{b} Original Skt. amrta for Kōyasan MS. reading mṛṣṭa?
treasury to the bad son?"

The woman said to the Buddha: "As for the bad son, he is the one who behaves improperly. He indulges in indolence, and his food expense is immeasurable. For this reason I would not tell him. As for the good son, he is the one who upholds the family (mên-hu)\(^V\) and causes the family (tsung-tsu)\(^W\) to flourish. For this reason I would give it to him."

The Buddha said: "Indeed! My teaching (fa)\(^X\) is exactly the same. When I wish to enter the Parinirvāṇa (p'\(\tilde{a}n\)-ni-yūan) through skilful means, I will completely give to my disciples the essence of the secret teaching, the treasury of the Tathāgata. I will not bestow it on those who have broken the precepts (fan-chieh)\(^Y\) and have false views (hsieh-chien)\(^Z\). In regard to me, you form the notion of Nirvāṇa (mieh)\(^\text{aa}\) and form the notion of permanence (ch'ang)\(^\text{ab}\)."

The woman said to the Buddha: "In regard to the Tathāgata I form the notion of eternity (ch'ang-chu)\(^\text{ac}\)."

The Buddha said: "O sister, just as you have explained it, you should form this view (kuan)\(^\text{ad}\), and never form the notion of Nirvāṇa! You should know that the Tathāgata is indeed the eternal Dharma (ch'ang-chu-fa)\(^\text{ae}\), the immutable Dharma (fei-pień-i-fa)\(^\text{af}\), and the imperishable Dharma (fei-mo-mieh-fa)\(^\text{ag}\), those living beings, who practise the notion of eternity in regard to the Tathāgata, should know that the Buddha dwells in the house of each of them. This is called the 'ability to correct other people (nêng-chêng-t'\(\tilde{o}\)-jèn),\(^\text{ah}\)."\(^2\)

"'Ability to answer according to questions (nêng-sui-wên-ta)\(^\text{ai}\)\(^3\)

\(^2\) Cf. p. 25 n. 2 above.

\(^3\) Cf. p. 23 n. 12 above.
is like this:--
"If someone comes to ask the Tathāgata: 'How can I obtain fame (ming) as a great donor (ta-shih) renown in the world, and yet not lose my wealth (ts'ai)?'

The Buddha addressed the son of good family (tsung-shēng-tzū): 'If there is someone who is pure (ching-su), does not keep boy servants (t'ung-p'u) and practises continence (fan-hsing), you just happily give him your male and female servants, wife and mistress (ch'i-ch'ieh)! To the one who abstains from the flavour of meat, you just happily give him meat! ...
TIBETAN VERSION TRANSLATED FROM THE INDIC*


(L73b) che-že gzan-yaṅ dper-na khyod gzan-gyis bos-sam / gzan-gyi³ gtsug-phud⁴ bca'-ba'i phyir groṅ gzan-du 'gro-bar 'dod-pa-na bu ŋan-pa-rnams bor-te bu bzaṅ-po-rnams blaṅs-nas gter gsaṅ-ba-rnams ston-par byed-dam //

bcom-ladan-'das de-ni bka' mad-de⁵ / bu ŋan-pa tshul ma mchis-pa nor-gyi skal-ba-can ma lags-pa de-dag-la-ni bdag nor (T112a) ston-par mi bgyid lags-kyi / bdag-ni bu bzaṅ-po khyim-so 'dzin-pa⁶ khyim-gyi don sgrub-pa rdzas bstan-par 'os-pa de-dag-la ston-par bgyid lags-so //

* Sde-dge 120 THA 53a7-54a3 (abbreviated D); Lha-sa 122 ņA 73a4-74a4 (abbr. L); Snar-thaṅ 107 ņA 78b5-79b6 (abbr. N); Peking 788 TU 53b8-54b3 (abbr. P); Tog Palace MS. WA 111b2-112bl (abbr. T); for further details about these editions see "Introductory Remarks" paragraph 10a, above. Minor variants have been neglected in the footnotes.

¹ P looks as if bab-o for kha-ba-o. ² P 'bras-can, N o-chen. ³ T gzan-gyis for o-gyi. ⁴ T gtsug-pud for gtsug-phud. ⁵ P med-do for mad-de! ⁶ T zin-pa for 'dzin-o.
che-že dper-na khyod byes-su soṅ-ba-na bu ṇan-pa-rnams khyod ma śi-bar śi'o sñam-du sems-sam //
bcom-ldan-'das de-ni bka' mad-do //
'dri-ba'i dbaṅ ṇes-byao-ba-ni:
'di-na⁹ la-la žig de-bzin-gṣegs-pa dgra-bcom-pa yaṅ-dag-par rdzogs-pa'i saṅs-rgyas-la Žu-bar byed-de / bcom-ldan-'das ji-ltar bygis-na¹⁰ bdag-gis su-la-yan ci-yaṅ ma stsal-bar 'jig-rten-du sbyin-pa-por grags-pa'i gtam sñan-pa thob-par 'gyur lags //
de-bzin-gṣegs-pas de-(T112b)la de-skad ces bka' stsal-to //
chaṅgs-pa med-pa-la bran daṅ bran-mo blaṅ-bar stobs-śig / gtan-du tshaṅs-par spyod-pa-la bu-mo'i sbyin-pa gyis-śig / śa mi za-ba-la śa-zar chug-cig¹¹ / ...

⁷ T ston-to for ṇ-te.
⁸ N 'dzin-śig for ṇ-cig.
⁹ P 'di-ni orig. 'dir-ni?
¹⁰ T bygis-nas for ṇ-na.
¹¹ Dp ṇ-śig.
"When, as your son grows up and becomes a great śrāvaka who is growing strong, he longs for the Mahāyāna, then I will teach the great sūtra of the Mahāparinirvāṇa which is like a great meal (zas) possessed of six flavours (ro). What are the six flavours in that case? They are the sour (skyur)(flavour) of suffering (sdeg-bsnal), the salty (lan-tshva)(flavour) of impermanence (mi-rtag-pa), the pungent (tsha-ba)(flavour) of non-selfhood, the sweet (mhar-ba)(flavour) of happiness (bde-ba), the astringent (bska-ba) (flavour) of selfhood (bdag-yod-pa), and the bitter (kha-ba) (flavour) of permanence (rtag-pa). These are the six flavours. My śrāvakas eat the delectable food ('bran-chan) of the truth of the Mahāparinirvāṇa, which is the meal cooked with the firewood (bud-lsñ) of depravity (ñon-mohns-pa) and the flame (me) of illusion (sgyu-ma).

"O elder sister, furthermore, just like you, wishing to go to another village either by invitation of others or because of the tonsure feast of others, show the hidden treasury (gter) after having received the good sons and excluded the bad sons."

"O Bhagavat, it is true! I will not show the wealth (nor) to those bad sons who have improper conduct and do not share the wealth. I will show it to those good sons who uphold the house (khyim-so 'dzin-pa), gain the welfare (don) of the house (khyim-gyi don sgrub-pa), and are worthy of being shown the property (rdzas bstan-par 'os-pa)."

(The Buddha) said: "O elder sister, likewise, when the Tathāgata performs the deed of going to the great Parinirvāṇa, then
he will completely teach the word of intention (dgoñs-pa'i tshig) of various secrets (gsañ-ba sna-tshogs) to the brāvakas, and then will give his consent (dad-pa) to the children.
"O elder sister, just as when you go on a journey, the bad sons imagine that you are dead, though you are not dead."
"O Bhagavat, it is true!"
(The Buddha) said: "Then they see you come back. Just so, o elder sister, never form any notion of impermanence in regard to me! Just like the notion of death one must not consider:
'Today the Tathāgata will enter the Parinirvāṇa'! The Tathāgata dwells in the house of those who always bear in mind:
'The Tathāgata is permanent (rtag-pa), perpetual (brtan-pa) and eternal (ther-zug-pa)'. This is called the considerateness to others (gzan-gyi lhag-pa'i bsam-pa)\textsuperscript{1}.

"The so-called power of questions ('dri-ba'i dbaṅ)\textsuperscript{2}:-
"Someone here might ask the Tathāgata, the Arhat, the Samyaksambuddha: 'O Bhagavat, how can I possibly obtain glorious fame in the world without giving anything whatsoever to anyone whosoever!'"

The Tathāgata spoke thus to him: "Present the property (blaṅ-ba) of male and female servants to one who is free from clinging! Perform the giving of a maiden (bu-mo) to one who practises the complete continence (tshaṅs-par spyod-pa)! Prevail upon one who does not eat meat (śa mi za-ba) to eat a meal of meat (śa-za)! ...

\textsuperscript{1} Cf. p. 25 fn. 2 above.
\textsuperscript{2} Cf. p. 23 n. 12 above.
AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE CHINESE VERSION
RENDERED BY DHARMAKŠEMA

(Northern Version in comparison with the Southern)*

"If my disciples (ti-tzǔ) † who are the śrāvakas are endowed with qualities (kung-tê) ‡ and are capable of practising the Mahāyāna-sūtra (Ta-ch‘êng ching-t’ien) §, I teach this sūtra as six kinds of flavours (wei) †. What are the six flavours? I teach that suffering (k‘u) ‡ is the sour flavour (ts‘u-wei) †, impermanence (wu-ch‘ang) ‡ is the salty flavour (hsien-wei) †, non-selfhood (wu-wu) ‡ is the bitter flavour (k‘u-wei) †, happiness (lo) ‡ is like¹ a sweet flavour (t‘ien-wei) †, selfhood (wu) † is like a pungent flavour (hsin-wei) †, and permanence (ch‘ang) ‡ is like a thin flavour (tan-wei) †. In this world there are three kinds of flavours, that is to say, impermanence (wu-ch‘ang) ‡, non-selfhood (wu-wu) † and unhappiness (wu-lo) †. Depravity (fan-nao) † is the firewood (hsin) † and wisdom (chih-hui) ‡ is the fire (huo) †. With these conditions (yin-yüan) † the meal (fan) † of Nirvāna (nieh-p‘an) ‡ is prepared, that is to say, permanence (ch‘ang) ‡, happiness (lo) † and selfhood (wu) †. The disciples will all be made to taste it."


1 S wei instead of N ju in the following three, while Tib. ... lta-bu'o in all cases.

2 All the other versions read mâyā, 'illusion' (and not 'wisdom'): so Tib. sgyu-ma (= mayā), Fa-hsien huang-heing (= mâyā).
(The Buddha) addressed the woman further: "Suppose you wish to
go to another place for some reason. You should drive the bad
son (ê-tzû)\textsuperscript{ad} away, making him leave the house. And you should
show (fu-chî)\textsuperscript{ae} the whole treasury (pao-tsang)\textsuperscript{af} to the good
son (shan-tzû)\textsuperscript{ag} ."

The woman said to the Buddha: "Indeed, like the holy teaching
(shêng-chiao)\textsuperscript{ah}, I shall show (chi)\textsuperscript{ai} the treasury (tsang)\textsuperscript{aj}
with rare valubles to the good son, and shall not show it to
the bad son."

"O sister, I am also like this. At the time of the Parinirvâna
(p'anjieh-p'an)\textsuperscript{ak} I will not bestow (yû)\textsuperscript{al} the secret and
highest Dharma treasury (fa-tsang)\textsuperscript{am} of the Tathâgata to my
disciples among the śrāvakas, just as you would not show the
treasury (pao-tsang) to the bad son. I shall bestow (fu-chu)\textsuperscript{an}
the essence (yao)\textsuperscript{ao} on the bodhisattvas, just as you would
give (wei-fu)\textsuperscript{ap} the treasury (pao-tsang) to the good son. Why
is it? The disciples who are śrāvakas form (shêng)\textsuperscript{aq} the no-
tion of transmutation (pien-i)\textsuperscript{ar}, saying that the Buddha, the
Tathâgata, has actually entered Nirvâna (mieh-tu)\textsuperscript{as}, when ac-
tually I have not entered Nirvâna. Just as when you go afar
and have not yet returned, your bad son may say that you are
dead, when actually you are not dead. The bodhisattvas say
that the Tathâgata is permanent (ch'ang) and immutable (fu-
pien-i)\textsuperscript{at}, just as your good son does not say that you are
dead. For this reason (i)\textsuperscript{au} I bestow (fu)\textsuperscript{av} the treasury
(tsang) of the highest secret on the bodhisattvas."

"O son of good family, if any living being says that the Bud-
dha is permanent (ch'ang) and immutable (fu-pien-i), he should
know that the Buddha dwells in his house. This is called the
correcting others (chêng-t'œ)\textsuperscript{aw}."

\textsuperscript{3} Cf. p. 25 fn. 2, above.
"The ability to answer in accordance with questions (nêng-sui-wên-ta)⁴ is like this:-

"If someone comes to ask the Buddha, the Tathāgata: 'How can I obtain fame (ming)⁵ as a great donor (ta-shih)⁶, the dānapati (t'an-yüeh)⁷, without losing (shê)⁸ my wealth (ch'ien-ts'ai)⁹?""

The Buddha said: "If there is a śramaṇa (sha-mên)¹⁰ or Brahmin (p'o-lo-mên)¹¹, who has little desire (yū)¹², knows contentment (tsu)¹³ and does not accept or keep impure things (fu-ching-wu)¹⁴, you should give him male and female servants (nu-p'i p'u-shih)¹⁵! Give women¹⁶ to the one who practises continence (fan-hsing)¹⁷! Give liquor (chiu)¹⁸ and meat (ju)¹⁹ to the one who abstains from liquor and meat! ..."

List of Chinese Characters

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⁴ S begins with the appellation to Kāśyapa (Chia-yeh)¹⁰.
⁵ Cf. p. 23 n. 12 above.
⁶ S ju-shih¹¹ for N ju-jên¹².
List of Chinese characters quoted in transliterated form in the footnotes on pages 39-41 below:

bp 堪任
br 淡
bt 要
bv 如來
bg 堪忍
bs 淨
bu 生變異想
bw 以是義故

yaṅ bud-med de-la bka'-stsal-pa / (P57b) khyod don gñer-ciṅ gżan-du 'gro-na khyod-kyi bu ma ruṅs-pa khyim-nas phyuṅ-la / rin-po-che'i gter-rnams bu mdzaṅs-pa-la⁸ gtod-cig //
bud-med-kyis gsol-pa / bcom-ladan-'das 'phaḥs-pa'i bka' bžin-te / rin-po-che'i gter-rnams bu mdzaṅs-pa-la⁸ ston-gyi / bu Ḇan-pa-la-ni ma lags-so //

* Sde-dge 119 ṼA 56a7-57a⁴ (abbrev. D); Lha-sa 368 KA 85a7-86b3 (abbrev. L); Snar-thaṅ 361 KA 86a7-87b3 (abbrev. N); Peking 787 JU 57a5-58a2 (abbrev. P); Tog KA 83a7-84b3 (abbrev. T). For further details see "Introductory Remarks" paragraph 10b above. Minor variants have been neglected in the notes.

¹ T spyod-pa. ² P o'-ṭsha'i. ³ T Ḇhar-o.
⁴ So L only!; DT bsal-ba'i, N mḥal-ba'i, P ma-ḥal-ba'i! Cf. Chin. tsn 'thin' (of flavour)! ⁵ T o'-bu'o.
⁶ T 'da'-ba'i. ⁷ So LN only!; DT gyur-pa'i rnam, P gyur-pa'i rtsams. ⁸ P 'dṣaṅs-o.
bcom-ldan-'das-kyis bka'-stsal-pa / ŋa-yaṅ de⁹ daṅ 'dra-ste /
yoṅ-su mya-ṅan-las 'da'-ba-na / de-bzin-gšegs-pas dgoṅs-te /
gsuns-pa¹⁰ bla-na med-pa'i chos-kyi gter (T84a) ŋan-thos-kyi
ñe-gnas-rnams-la mi ston-pa'ān khyod-kyis rin-po-che'i (L86a)
gter bu ŋan-pa-la mi ston-pa bzin-no // (N87a) byaṅ-chub-sems-
dpa'-rnams-la gdamgs-siṅ gtad-pa-ni ji-ltar khyod-kyis¹¹ rin-
po-che'i gter-rnams bu mdzaṅs-pa-la⁸ gtad-pa bzin-no // de'i
phyir ţe-na / ŋan-thos-kyi ŋe-gnas-dag-ni skye-ba daṅ 'pho-
ba'i 'du-šes daṅ bcas-pas saṅs-rgyas bcom-ldan-'das-ni yaṅ-
dag-par mya-ṅan-las 'das-so sṅam-ste / ŋa-ni¹² yaṅ-dag-par
mya-ṅan-las 'das-pa ma yin-no // dper-na khyod lam riṅ-por
soṅ-ba-las phyir ma 'khor-γyi bar-du khyod-kyi bu ma ruṅs-pas
khyod ma śi-bar śi žes zer-ba daṅ 'dra'o // byaṅ-chub-sems-
dpa'-dag-ni de-bzin-gšegs-pa rtag-pa / mi 'pho-ba / mi 'gyur-
ba'o žes zer-te / ji-ltar khyod-kyi bu mdzaṅs-pa⁸ khyod ma¹³
śi'o ōr ŋe-ber ba daṅ 'dra'o // don de-lta-bas-na¹⁴ ŋas bla-na
med-pa dgoṅs-pa chos-kyi gter byaṅ-chub-sems-dpa'-rnams-la
gtad-do //

rigs-(D57a)kyi bu sems-can gaṅ-γig saṅs-rgyas rtag-pa / gnas-
pa / mi 'pho mi 'gyur-bar 'dzin-na / gnas de-ṅid-na saṅs-
rgyas bzhugs-par rig-par bya-ste / de-dag-ni tshul bzin-du
gzan-du gzan 'chos-pa žes-bya'o //

de-la¹⁵ ji-ltar-na dris-pa bzin-du lan-'debs-pa že-na / gal-
te gaṅ-zag gcig-gis saṅs-rgyas (T84b) bcom-ldan-'das-la 'di-
skad-du bdag-(L86b, N86b)gis nor daṅ / zaṅ-ziṅ ci-yaṅ ma btaṅ-
bar¹⁶ sbyin-bdag chen-po'i¹⁷ miṅ-du grags-par 'gyur žes smra-
na (P58a) bcom-ldan-'das-kyis de-la 'di-skad ces bka'-stsal-

⁹ D da.
¹² P da-ni.
¹⁵ P da-la.
¹⁰ T o-pa'i.
¹³ P maṅ.
¹⁶ T gtah-o.
¹¹ PT o-kyi.
¹⁴ T omits na.
¹⁷ T o-po.
to // dge-sbyoṅ daṅ bram-ze-la sogs-pa 'dod-pa ūnuṅ-žiṅ chog
šes-pa / ma brtags-pa'i yo-byad mi 'chaṅ mi gsog-pa-la
bran-pho daṅ bran-mo daṅ / las byed-pa'i mi byin-pa daṅ
/ tshaṅs-par spyod-pa-la bud-med byin-pa daṅ / ša chaṅ bcaḥ-pa-
la ša chaṅ byin-pa daṅ / ...

18 P 'chad. 19 So L only!; DNT sogs-º, P stsoṣ-º.
20 T omits daṅ.

AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE TIBETAN VERSION
RENDERED FROM THE CHINESE*

"To my disciples (ñe-gnas) among the śrāvakas (ñan-thos), who
are endowed with qualities (yon-tan) and are capable (bzod-pa)1
of practising the Mahāyāna-sūtra (theg-pa chen-po'i mdo) at
their best (nan-tan-du)2, I teach this very sūtra (mdo-sde) as
six kinds of flavours (ro). What are the six flavours? Suffer-
ing (sṇug-bsṅal) is like a sour (skyur-ba) flavour. Imperma-
nence (mi-rtag-pa) is like a salty (lan-tshva) flavour. Non-
selfhood (bdaγ-med-pa) is like a bitter (kha-ba) flavour. Happ-
piness (bde-ba) is like a sweet (mñar-ba) flavour. Selfhood
(bdag) is like a pungent (tsha-ba) flavour. Permanence (rtag-
pa) is like an astringent (bska-ba)3 flavour. In the world
there are three kinds of flavours: impermanence (mi-rtag-pa),
non-selfhood (bdaγ-med-pa) and unhappiness (bde-ba med-pa).

* For the Chinese characters transliterated in the following
footnotes see page 36 above.

1 Tib. bzod-pa corresponds to Skt. kṣānta- rather than the
Kōyasan MS. reading kāḥkṣāta-! This may have originated from
the confusion of the similar Skt. words. Cf. Chin. k'an-jên
bp. The Japanese translators of the Southern Chin. version (see
p. 14 fn. 36-37 above) use k'an-jên br, which should simply be
an error. No variant has so far been found or reported.

2 Equivalent to Skt. prayatnena?

3 Cf. Chin. tan br 'thin'!
Depravity (ñon-moṅs-pa) is like firewood (śih), and wisdom (śes-rab)\(^4\) is like fire (me). With this cause and this basis (de’i rgyu daṅ de’i rkyen-gyis) is prepared the meal of the Nirvāṇa (mya-ñan-las 'das-pa), which is permanence (rtag-pa), happiness (bde-ba), selfhood (bdag) and pure (yoṅs-su dag-pa)\(^5\). So (I shall) put (dgod)\(^6\) the disciples into that flavour."

(The Buddha) addressed the woman further: "Suppose you go to another (place) while you are earning money (don), you should make your unfit son (bu ma ruṅs-pa) leave the house (khyim), and give (gtod) the treasuries (gter) of jewels (rin-po-che) to the wise son (bu mdzahs-pa)".

The woman said: "O Bhagavat! Like the word (bka’) of his holiness ('phags-pa), (I) shall show the treasuries of jewels to the wise son, and never to the bad son (bu ṣan-pa)."

The Bhagavat said: "I am also like that. On entering Parinirvāṇa the Tathāgata advises: 'I shall not show the treasury of the Dharma of the highest teaching (gsuṅs-pa) to the disciples who are the śrāvakas, just as you do not show the treasury of jewels to the bad son. (I) shall bestow (gtad-pa) the teaching (gdams-śih)\(^7\) on the bodhisattvas, in the same way as (you) bestow the treasuries of jewels on the wise son. It is for this reason why the disciples among the śrāvakas imagine with the

\(^4\) Cf. p. 33 n. 2 above.

\(^5\) The Chinese equivalent to Tib. yoṅs-su dag-pa is found \textit{only} as a variant reading: cf. Taishō XII p. 385 n. 15: \text{ching} \textsuperscript{bs} 'pure'. Incidentally, it is neither in the Chi-sha edition: Chung-hua Ta-tsang-ching (Taipei repr. 1962), p. 6584a4.


\(^7\) It may perhaps be translated as 'doctrinal essence'; cf. Chin. \textit{yao} \textsuperscript{bs} 'essence'.
notion ('du-šes) of birth (skye-ba) and death ('pho-ba)\(^8\) that the Buddha, the Bhagavat (bcom-ldan-’das)\(^9\) enters Parinirvāṇa. I do not actually enter Parinirvāṇa, just as when you go on a journey afar, and as long as you do not return, your unfit son may say that you are dead, though you are not dead. The bodhisattvas say that the Tathāgata is permanent, does not die ('pho-ba) and is not mutable ('gyur-ba), just as your wise son may say that you are not dead. For this reason (don)\(^10\) I advise the highest: I shall bestow the teaching (gsuṅs-pa), the treasury of the Dharma, on the bodhisattvas'."

"O son of good family, if any living being holds that the Buddha is permanent (rtag), is existent (gnas-pa), does not die ('pho-ba) and is immutable ('gyur-ba), he should know that the Buddha dwells (bzung-pa) in his very abode (gnas). Those are called 'Correcting ('chos-pa) others (gzan) to some other way (gzan-du) justly (tshul bzin-du)'\(^11\)."

"Thereupon, how about the 'Answer in accordance with questions'?\(^12\) If someone says this to the Buddha, the Bhagavat: 'Can I become famous with the designation of great donor (sbyin-bdag) without abandoning (btaṅ-ba) any wealth (nor) and goods (zaṅ-zin)?', the Bhagavat will say this to him: 'Give a male servant (bran-pho) and a female servant (bran-mo), and a labourer (las byed-pa'i mi) to a śramaṇa (dge-sbyob), a Brahmin (bram-ze) or the like, who has little desire

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\(^8\) Cf. Chin. shêng pien-i haiang\(^{bu}\) 'produce the notion of mutation!'

\(^9\) Cf. Chin. ju-lat\(^{bv}\) 'Tathāgata'.

\(^10\) Cf. Chin. i shih i ku\(^{bw}\) 'for this reason / meaning'.

\(^11\) Cf. p. 25 fn. 2 above.

\(^12\) Cf. p. 23 n. 12 above.
(ˈdod-pa), knows contentment (chog), and neither holds (ˈchañ) nor keeps (gso-g-pa)\textsuperscript{13} uninspected properties (ma btags-pa’i yo-byad)\textsuperscript{14}! Give a woman (bud-med) to the one who practises continence (tshañs-par spyod-pa)! Give meat (ša) and liquor (chañ) to the one who abstains (bcd-pa) from meat and liquor!

13 Cf. D mi chañ mi-sogs-pa-la 'to the people and the like who do not hold ...'?!

14 Cf. Chin. fu-ching-wu 'impure things'!
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Three Kinds of Flavours in the World and the Nirvāṇa Meal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dharmakṣema's Chinese Version</th>
<th>Tibetan Version translated from the Chinese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Three flavours</strong></td>
<td><strong>Three flavours</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(san-chung wei)</em></td>
<td><em>(ro rnam-pa gsum)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nirvāṇa meal</strong></td>
<td><strong>Nirvāṇa meal</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(nieh-p'an fan)</em></td>
<td><em>(mya-ṇan-las 'das-pa'i zas)</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 1. *wu-ch'ang* | 1. *ch'ang*  
| 'impermanence' | 'permanence'  |
| 2. *wu-wu* | 2. *lo*  
| 'non-selfhood' | 'happiness'  |
| 3. *wu-lo* | 3. *wu*  
| 'unhappiness' | 'selfhood'  |
| (4. *ching*  
| 'purity/pure')² | 4. *yoṅs-su dag-pa*  
| | 'purity/pure'² |

¹ These are not mentioned in the Sanskrit version, Fa-hsien's Chinese translation and the Tibetan version translated from the Indic.

² In the Chinese version translated by Dharmakṣema this is found only as a variant reading of the Northern version: cf. p. 40 fn. 5 above.
SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES:

Page 3, n. 5: See also G. M. Bongard-Levin, "New Sanskrit and Prakrit Texts from Central Asia", Indologica Taurinensia, III-IV (1975-76) (= Proceedings of the Second World Sanskrit Conference, Turin, June 1975), p. 76: '... The six fragments of the Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra are currently prepared for the press. They are likely to command considerable attention among students of Buddhism.'


Page 22, n. 4: Syntactically, kleśendhanena could perhaps be taken as a Bahuvihi compound with māyā-agminā, "... on the fire of illusion fuelled with depravity"; but compare the Tibetan version translated from the Indic: ṇon-mohn-pa'i bud-siṅ don sgyu-ma'i mes ...

POSTSCRIPTUM:-

Last but not least I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Professor Shinten Sakai, D.Litt., President of Kōyasan University, who has encouraged me to study the manuscript with his valuable advice.
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Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Manuscripts Found in Gilgit, edited and annotated by Shōkō Watanabe, with a preface by P. V. Bapat. Clothbound in two volumes (1972-1975), 30 x 21 cm.
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