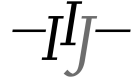




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Trans-Sectual Identity

Materials for the Study of the Praśnottararatnamālikā, a Hindu/Jaina/Buddhist Catechism (I)

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Abstract

The *Praśnottararatnamālikā* is a small tract containing 62 questions, paired with their answers. It is extraordinary that this text has been transmitted within Hindu, Jaina and Buddhist traditions, in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Tibetan, variously attributed to different authors. The present study examines what is known of the text, which from early on drew the attention of modern scholars, and presents editions of its Sanskrit and Tibetan versions, along with a translation and annotations.

Keywords

Praśnottararatnamālikā – Sanskrit literature – catechism – Tibetan literature – Jainism – Buddhism – Hinduism

The *Praśnottararatnamālikā* is a small tract of some 27 or so verses containing 62 or so questions, paired with their answers. In terms of its content, the text is unremarkable, even banal, although some verses are, it is true, rather nice. What is, however, extraordinary is that the text has been transmitted within Hindu, Jaina and Buddhist traditions, in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Tibetan. The correspondences between these versions are extremely strong, and it is obvious that we have to do not with a set of closely related texts but indeed with one and the same text, differentially transmitted with, unsurprisingly, various attributions of authorship. The study below examines what is known of the text,

which from early on drew the attention of modern scholars, and presents editions of its Sanskrit and Tibetan versions, along with a translation.¹

1 History of Study

The first modern scholarly notice of our text took place quite early, in 1858, with its publication in Tibetan by Anton Schiefner.² He knew the text under the title *Vimalaprasānottaratnamālā*, under which it is catalogued in Tibetan sources (see below), and presented it in Tibetan, with a German translation. This was followed in 1867 by Philippe-Edouard Foucaux's bilingual edition, in which he presented both the Sanskrit text and its Tibetan translation, along with a French rendering.³ It may be the fact that some manuscripts punctuate the text according to its question–answer format that led Foucaux, despite the metrical shape of the Tibetan translation, to print the text as if it were in prose, separating out the individual questions and answers.⁴ This oversight was

1 The Prakrit text will be published separately by Melinda Fodor.

This study profited in the first place from the presence in Leiden of Csaba Dezső, resident as part of the ERC-funded research project *Asia Beyond Boundaries* (609823), and Melinda Fodor, here through the auspices of the Gonda Funds of the Netherlands Royal Academy. The text was also read along with a number of my students and others who contributed to our understanding. Kristen de Joseph kindly deciphered the Tilagari manuscript; I am most grateful to Usha Colas Chauhan for her careful transcription of the important manuscript D, written in Telugu script. Among those who participated in our reading group were Channa Li, Yixiu Jiang, Gregory Forgues, Christopher Handy, and Shinko Suzuki. I was later able to revise extensively thanks to the extremely generous help of Peter Szántó. Madhav Deshpande during a visit to Leiden kindly offered valuable hints which, again, assisted my understanding. Finally, a number of corrections were kindly suggested by Jens-Uwe Hartmann, an even greater number by Harunaga Isaacson, and (at least!) one excellent suggestion by Peter Bisschop.

2 It is perhaps actually mentioned, as a Jaina work either in his possession or that of the Library of the Sanscrit College of Calcutta, for the first time by Wilson 1832: 244, with the spelling *Prishnottara Retnamālā*.

3 Foucaux in fact published the text twice; bibliographies imply that its first publication in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Stanislas* of 1867 was simply reproduced in the same year by Maisonneuve, but this is not true. Not only does the second publication include the (handwritten) Tibetan text, and have 7 pages of "Additions et corrections," it also has at least one change in its text, discussed in the next note. It is this Maisonneuve publication to which Garrez referred (see below).

4 There is a more than curious comment in the *Mémoires* version of Foucaux's edition, on page 57: "Nous avons donné d'abord le texte sanskrit en séparant chaque demande suivie de la réponse, avec un numéro d'ordre, comme l'a fait l'édition de Bombay. Pour qu'on retrouve ce texte sous sa véritable forme, c'est-à-dire en stances, il est répété tout entier à la suite de

almost immediately noticed by a scholar whose work seems to have entirely escaped all subsequent students of the text, namely (Pierre-)Gustave Garrez, whose review published in the same year as Foucaux's edition was able to correct many errors.⁵ Among other things, he correctly identified the text as written in *āryā* meter. This same identification was again made by Albrecht Weber in the next year, in 1868, apparently without an awareness of Garrez's review. Weber printed the text in metrical form and translated it into German, adding (again, with German translation) another very similar tract, this too having been noticed by Garrez, the *Praśnottaramālā* attributed to Śūka Yatindra,⁶ a work which had, as both Weber and Garrez knew, already been printed in Sanskrit and translated into English in 1847 by John Christian.⁷ (I refer to some

la traduction." The edition is not in fact followed by any repetition of the text, metrical or otherwise. Moreover, this entire paragraph is replaced in the otherwise identical Maisonneuve publication (p. 8) with the following: "En comparant la version tibétaine qui est en vers, au texte sanskrit qui est en prose, on voit qu'elle est beaucoup plus développée, ce qui était inévitable à cause de l'exigence de la mesure. Ceci porterait à croire que le nom donné dans la traduction tibétaine à l'auteur de la *Guirlande des demandes et des réponses* n'est que celui du poète qui a traduit en vers la prose sanskrite." It is very hard to understand this, unless it might be that Foucaux, failing to identify the metre, precipitously concluded, sometime before its republication along with the Tibetan text, that the text must after all be in prose.

- 5 Garrez is not a fan of Foucaux's translation. He concludes his review with the following (1867: 506–507), commenting on an additional note of Foucaux (in the Maisonneuve edition) to item 50: "La version tibétaine présentant, au dire de l'auteur, un sens différent de celui que donne le sanskrit, il propose un changement dans ce dernier texte, et en tire une traduction plus conforme, à son avis, au tibétain. Cette traduction est naturellement fautive, puisqu'elle s'appuie, d'un côté, sur une transposition contraire au mètre, et, de l'autre, sur l'hypothèse inadmissible qui *vidheyā* peut avoir le sens de: à qui il faut donner. Mais je crois trouver dans cette note l'explication de cette singulière persistance à ne pas se servir du dictionnaire sanskrit. M. Foucaux a interprété le sanskrit au moyen du tibétain. Le sens que lui a donné la traduction tibétaine, il a voulu le retrouver dans le sanskrit; on ne saurait se rendre compte d'une autre manière des fautes si graves et si nombreuses qu'il a commises dans l'interprétation d'un texte si court et si simple." I would simply add that while the text is indeed short, it is perhaps not everywhere as simple as Garrez found it.
- 6 The only reference to this figure in Flügel & Krümpelmann 2016: 824b is precisely to Christian 1847. The colophon in the manuscript recorded at http://catalogue-old.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/mediawiki/index.php/A_384-18_Pra%C5%9Bnottar%C4%AB reads: *iti śrīśukayatīndra-viracitā praśnottaramālā samāptā*.
- 7 Bhattacharya in 1929, who identifies an entry in a manuscript catalogue as this text, knows Schiefner's and Foucaux's editions, and then, apparently independently, again identifies the text as in *āryā* metre. He refers to an 1848 *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Fort William* [sic] by James Prinsep, in which the text is "ascribed to one Guru Asitapaṭa or Guru Jaina Asitapaṭa." I have been unable to locate any such catalogue of Prinsep. However, Foucaux based his own text on a copy of manuscript 2628 of Fort William, which could be the

parallels with this text in the edition and translation below.) Late in the 19th c. several scholars discussed aspects of the *Praśnottararatnamālikā*, especially with regard to its authorship and sectarian location (see below). Just at the end of the century, in 1898, Paolo Emilio Pavolini published a “Prakrit recension” of the text, reedited in the forthcoming article by Melinda Fodor.

After the early rush of interest in the 19th c., the text appears to have fallen out of the sight of scholars for some decades. It was only in 1935 that Kanakura Enshō again paid it particular attention, offering editions in, once again, Sanskrit and Tibetan, with Japanese translation, and a discussion of their mutual relation. Although he was aware of the Prakrit version, he did not include it in his edition. This study has subsequently not been much noticed, and seems to have remained entirely unknown outside of Japan.⁸ In the twentieth century, it is perhaps Suniti Kumar Pathak who paid most attention to the text, but there is, in essence, nothing new in his study.⁹

I am not sure when the first modern publication of the Sanskrit *Praśnottararatnamālikā* took place, and it may have been that of Foucaux. However, especially since it is considered by some to be a work of Śaṅkara, it has appeared in any number of collections, and been repeatedly translated both in print and on websites (and lectured upon extensively on Youtube, also in English). Foucaux refers to an Indian lithograph of 1860, but no further information is available. The earliest Indian publication of which I am aware is that in the *Kāvyamālā* series published by the renowned Nirṇaya-sāgara press in 1890 (K below), and it has subsequently appeared in multiple editions of the *Collected Works of Śaṅkara* (S below), the latter version being, as I would maintain, significantly extended,¹⁰ containing as it does not 27 but rather 67 verses. With the exception of the edition in the *Kāvyamālā* series, in the sources available to me no attempt is made to clarify the sources upon which the Indian

same. I do not know if either of the two Paris manuscripts used in the present edition is that which served as the base of Foucaux's edition.

- 8 This is a pity since, although I cannot always agree with his conclusions, Kanakura was a thoughtful and careful scholar, and his ideas are certainly worthy of serious consideration. However, his Japanese is slightly archaic, and this may have contributed to the lack of attention his work is paid these days.
- 9 The pages in Pathak 1974: 25–32 reproduce his 1958a article, without its edition or sample of the text in translation, but adding a few remarks on the Tibetan translator. Mention might also be made here of Torricelli 1993.
- 10 Kanakura 1935: 405, 416–417, discussed this question concerning the addition of the further 40 verses, in which, as he points out, Vedantin content is found, otherwise absent in the portion of the text edited here, and concluded as I have that these verses were added subsequent to the establishment of the core of the text.

editions are based. What is more, it seems that the editions of Weber, Kanakura and Pathak exclusively base themselves on the text as printed by Foucaux.¹¹ If nothing else, the present publication is based on a somewhat wider evidentiary basis.

2 Sanskrit Manuscript Sources

A fair number of manuscripts of the text are documented,¹² among which the edition here is based on the following sources:

- C:** Chunilal Gandhi Vidyabhavan, Surat, Shastri Dinamanishankara collection, SDPBO213, 10.5 × 4.5". 2 folios. Nāgarī. [<https://archive.org/details/prashnottaratnamalika-CGV-SDPB-0213>]. [Note that K's manuscript *kha* is also from Surat.]
- D:** Cod.Palmsbl. 1 27, in Hamburg (Staatsbibliothek). Janert and Poti 1975 item 1413. Folia numbered 42^r–43^r of the MS catalogued in the same collection as 1215, 3.7 × 35 cm, 6~8 lines per side, in Telugu script. The 11th of 15 works in the manuscript. The version here has an idiosyncratic ordering of verses. After verse 7 the ordering is as follows: D 8 = 11cd+12ab; 9 = 12cd+10ab; 10 = 8; 11 = 9ab+11ab; 12 = 10cd+14ab; 13 = 14cd+17ab; 14 = 16cd+17ab; 15 = 17cd+18ab; 16 = 30ab+19ab; 17 = 19cd+20ab; 18 = 20cd+21ab; 19 = 21cd+22ab; 20 = 22cd+15ab; 21 = 15cd+13ab; 22 = 13cd+23ab; 23 = 23cd+25ab; 24 = 26. There ends the text. Deciphered by Usha Colas Chauhan.
- F:** The text printed in Foucaux 1867.
- H:** Harvard University 748. 4 folia. 11 × 25.5 cm. 5 lines per page. 10 lines with

11 Pathak may have consulted editions of the works of Śāṅkara, but this is not absolutely clear.

12 The *New Catalogus Catalogorum* (Veezhinathan, Sundaram and Gangadharan 1988: 113–115) lists an impressive number of manuscripts of what in most cases is probably our text (but it clearly confuses it with the identically named work of Śūka, and thus one must examine every reference to ascertain which text is in fact at issue, which is not practical, especially since the *Catalogus* refers to numerous handwritten lists). It proved impossible, moreover, to obtain copies of most of these. However, at the same time, I did obtain copies of several manuscripts not reported in the *Catalogus*. It would have been ideal at the least to have a geographical representation of manuscripts, but this was also not possible. In particular, a manuscript from Kashmir would be helpful, but it is at the same time unlikely to produce anything surprising. That said, the variance of D indeed suggests that a wider survey might yet yield some surprises.

interlinear comments in Old Gujarati.¹³ Nāgarī. After the *racitā* verse (see below) we read: *iti śrīpraśnottararatnamālā prakaraṇaṁ bālā vibodha saṁpūrṇaḥ || sādhvī śrīdarṣaśrīpatanārgha śubhaṁ bhavatu ||*. (Generally pc [*post correctionem*] readings are not accompanied by ac [*ante correctionem*] readings because these are not legible.)

- I:** RE33572b in the Manuscript collection of the French Institute of Pondicherry, 5 folia (165^a–169^b) on palm leaf, Tigalari script. [http://www.ifpindia.org/digitaldb/online/manuscripts/show.php?no=RE*33572b]. It begins on 166^r with the last two akṣaras of verse 7, but the final leaf (170^r) contains 4cd through 7b. Deciphered by Kristen de Joseph.
- K:** Kāvyaṁālā edition, Durgāprasād and Parab 1890: 121–123.¹⁴
- L1:** British Library 160. Add. 26,424a (Bendall 1902: 55). 10 × 4". 19th c. 13–14 lines per page. Nāgarī.¹⁵
- L2:** British Library 311. Or. 3347 (Bendall 1902: 128). Foll. 372^b–374^b. 16th–17th c. Jaina nāgarī. 9 lines per leaf.
- N:** Nepalese National Archives NAK 1–1152 vi. nīti 24 = NGMPP A 23/14 (ID 54639 (o)), 4 folios, 21.5 × 4.0 cm. Palm leaf, in Newari script. [http://catalogue-old.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/mediawiki/index.php/A_23-14_Pra%C5%9Bnottaram%C4%81lik%C4%81] This is probably the oldest manuscript source used here. Kindly read by Péter-Dániel Szántó.
- P1:** Paris Sanscrit 924: [<https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc98200h>]. 19th c., European paper, 5 folia, 35 × 16 cm. With supralinear commentary in Old Gujarati.¹⁶ What were evidently missing or damaged

13 Here and below my knowledge about the language of the interlinear notes comes through the kindness of Dhaval Patel (email 20 X 2018), to whom my thanks are due. Note, however, that others have suggested the language as Old Hindi. Being entirely ignorant of both, I cannot offer more.

14 The sources of this edition are noted as follows: *praśnottararatnamālāyāḥ pustakadvayam asmābhir āsāditam. tatra prathamam ekapatrātmakeṣu śuddhaṁ saṁvegīsādhuśrīśānti-vijayamunibhir dattam ka-saṁjñakam. dvitīyaṁ patradvayātmakam śuddhaṁ bhagavān-dāsaśreṣṭhinā kevaladāsātmaṅga suratanagarāt prahitaṁ kha-saṁjñakam jñeyam*. I distinguish these sources as cited in the edition as *ka* and *kha*.

15 The text is preceded by *namaḥ saṁbhava* and the following verse (meter Vasantatilakā); with the corrections of Harunaga Isaacson, it reads:

*astokavistṛtam apāstasamastamoham
astāvī yac ca nigamais tamasah parastāt |
yad dhvastaduḥkhacayam astamitaprapañcam
tad vastu nistulamude 'stu mama praśastaṁ ||*

16 This seems to be the item listed by Cabaton 1907: 152 as item 924, though he says it is 11 folia. The manuscript is dated: *iti śrīpraśnottararatnamālā samāptāḥ || saṁvat 1823 varṣe mīti āgrahāyanasudī n tithau ravivāsare*, that is December 22, 1901 (Sunday).

akṣaras in the source of the mūla are represented with lines - . However, the vernacular commentary appears to be unaffected by the missing text. Nāgarī. (This is by far the worst of the manuscripts collated here.)

- P2:** Paris Sanscrit 1609 [<https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc7881j>]. 23.8 × 10.7 cm. Nāgarī, with interlinear commentary in Old Gujarati. Folio 6 ends with verse 23, folio 7 begins with verse 27; it appears that a folio has been lost.¹⁷ 4~5 lines of main text per page, depending on the volume of commentary.
- Penn:** University of Pennsylvania Ms Coll 390 [bibid: 9959998993503681; Penn MS: http://openn.library.upenn.edu/Data/0002/html/mscoll390_item570.html]. 4 folia, 13 × 25 cm. 7 lines per leaf. Nāgarī.
- S:** Works of Śaṅkarācārya: Anon. 1910: 87–104, almost identical to Bhagavat 1952: 89–94.¹⁸ This version contains 67 verses. No sources for the text are cited anywhere.

This small sample does not allow us to generalize about the textual tradition of the text as a whole. It is to be noted that the ordering of verses is in several sources slightly different, and in D radically different; only a survey of a broader range of manuscripts would allow an appreciation of how wide-spread this textual diversity is. In terms of lineages, again, our small sample size makes any conclusion difficult, but it is interesting to note that I and Penn, for instance, although written respectively in Tīgalari and Nāgarī, clearly belong to the same tradition.

3 The Tibetan Translation

The Tibetan translation of the text to which it gives the Sanskrit title *Vimala-praśnottararatnamālī*¹⁹ is found in all five available Tanjurs, in some of them twice (as below). It is given a Tibetan title as follow: *bod skad du | dri ma med pa'i dris lan rin po che'i phreng ba zhes bya ba*.²⁰ As is evident

¹⁷ This seems to be the manuscript listed by Filliozat 1936: 135, MS 1605; item 180 in his list.

¹⁸ These are identical; both contain 67 verses, that is, the “longer” version of the text, which is evidently our recension with the addition of sometimes clearly “Hindu” content. Most popular translations of the text render this longer version, or some abbreviation thereof.

¹⁹ The texts read as follows: *rgya gar skad du | bi ma la pra shno ta ta ra ratna mā li nā ma ||*. Three (obviously related) versions have a slightly different reading: G2, N2, P2: *bhi ma la pra shod tra ra ratna ma ma le nā ma*.

²⁰ With the following variants: *dri lan*] N2: *'dri lan*. P1 reads the whole: *dri med dri lan rin chen phreng ba bzhugs so ||*. When the title appears at the end directly before the colophon,

from the edition below, there is an extremely close correspondence between the Tibetan translation and the available Sanskrit,²¹ something emphasized in the edition by the editorial choice to select among variant readings of the Sanskrit those that appear to be closest to the Tibetan rendering, all other things being equal. The present edition may in this sense be said to represent an attempt to recover something like the Vorlage of the Tibetan translation.

The Tibetan translation is attributed to a team of two, as mentioned in its colophon:

*rgyal po chen po snyan ngag mkhan gyi dam pa slob dpon don yod 'char gyis mdzad pa rdzogs so || || rgya gar gyi mkhan po ka ma la gupta dang | zhu chen gyi lo tsā ba dge slong rin chen bzang pos bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab pa'o ||*²²

Composed by the Mahārāja Paramakavi Ācārya *Amoghavarṣa. Translated by the Indian Ācārya Kamalagupta and the Great Translator Rin chen bzang po, it has been revised and finalized.²³

Some attention must naturally be given here to the translators (the author will be discussed below). The team of Kamalagupta and Rin chen bzang po (958–1055) is credited with a number of translations, in addition to our text

there are no variants, however: *dri ma med pa'i dris lan rin po che'i phreng ba zhes bya ba ||*.

21 Notice the comment of Martin 2008: 16 a propos Rin chen bzang po: “The Tibetan translations he made are often admired for their close adherence to the Indian texts, but they reproduce the original grammar and syntax to a degree that makes their comprehension very difficult—difficult that is without resorting to oral explanations and/or written commentaries—for Tibetans who might be unable to read through the Tibetan words to the words of the Indian original.”

22 Variants:

slob dpon] G2, N2, P2: *slob dpon chen po*

rdzogs so] N1: *rdzogs s.ho*

lo tsā ba] G2, N2, P2: *lo tstsha ba*

gtan la] N1: *btan la*

phab pa'o, G1, G2, N1, N2, P1, P2] C2, D2: *phab pa*

23 This translation basically follows Cordier 1915: 344 (mdo-ḥgrel XXXIII.35) and 483 (mdo-ḥgrel CXXIII.31). Cordier offers Amoghodaya (as had Schiefner 1858: 22), with the notation that reading *char* in place of *'char* suggests Amoghavarṣa. The latter is certainly better in light of Sanskrit sources. Kanakura 1935: 418–419, in my view absurdly, rejects this, which leads him to refuse to recognize the Jaina origins of the text translated into Tibetan. The name Amoghodaya, in my view, although sometimes cited, should be considered a ghost. See below.

these being: *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (Derge [Tōhoku numbering] 121 [below D]); *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti* (D 360); *Nairātmyāparipṛcchā* (D 173); *Catuḥpīthayogatantrasādhana* (D 1610); *Tattvopadeśa* (D 1632); *Tattvopadeśavṛtti* (D 1632). They are also credited with the *Arapacanasādhana* (D 331), but perhaps problematically. The same team, with the addition of Śraddhākaravarman, is credited with translations of the **Paramādyatikā* (D 2512); *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgītikā* (D 2534); and *Pañcakrama* (D 1802).²⁴ Kamalagupta evidently hailed from Kashmir, and it is possible that this region supplied the base text upon which the Tibetan translation was based, but see below for a discussion of several indicative errors in the Tibetan translation which suggest an Eastern Indic script for the Vorlage.²⁵ As a closing verse demonstrates (see below), the source manuscript used by the translators evidently came from a Jaina milieu. For his part, Rin chen bzang po is of course one of the most renowned translators in Tibetan history.²⁶ When one looks at the list of works Kamalagupta and Rin chen bzang po translated together, however, comprised almost entirely of tantric texts, it is not obvious why they should have chosen to translate the *Prāśnottararatnamālikā*, and the reason and circumstances must, for the present, remain unknown.

Be that as it may, since the translators worked in the far west of the Tibetan Himalaya, it is slightly surprising that a small fragment has been recovered from the site of Khara-khoto, a Tangut town in what is now western Inner Mongolia. The fragment is preserved in the British Library under the shelf number 10L Tib M 135.²⁷ Evidently it had been placed in a stūpa located near the north-western corner of the town.²⁸ It might not be unreasonable, on palaeographic

24 Without Rin chen bzang po, Kamalagupta together with Lha Ye shes rgyal mtshan is credited with renditions of the *Vajrahṛdayālaṅkāratantra* (D 451), *Dvikramatattvabhāvanā* (D 1853), and *Ratnavṛkṣa-nāma-rahasyasamājavṛtti* (D 1846). With Bsod nams rgyal ba, he is said to have translated the *Las dang po pa'i dam tshig mdor bsodus pa* (D 3726).

25 See Sørensen 1994: 455–456n1673. I owe this reference and the list of translations to Dan Martin's invaluable *TibSkrit*.

26 See conveniently https://treasuryoflives.org/biographies/view/Rinchen-Zangpo/TBRC_P753. Gangnegi 1998 is also of interest, and of course Martin 2008.

27 Identified and edited in Takeuchi and Iuchi 2016: 71 as catalogue entry 107. I owe my thanks to Sam van Schaik for providing me with high resolution color photos which enabled me to reread the leaves, but it must be noted that it was primarily my possession of a collated edition of the text which allowed me improve even very slightly indeed the fine decipherment of Takeuchi and Iuchi.

Given the near identity of the date of translation and the closing of the manuscript cave at Dunhuang, it is entirely expected that no evidence is to be found there.

28 Takeuchi and Iuchi 2016: 7. "The majority (253 out of 285) of the Tibetan manuscripts from Khara-khoto were taken from [this] site."

grounds, to date the manuscript to between the 13th and 15th centuries.²⁹ This also contains some interlinear notes, though only to a few phrases. As the fragment's reconstruction indicates that this leaf contained almost exactly the first half of the text, we would expect there to have been one additional leaf. As the spacing between the lines of verse is irregular, it is difficult to know exactly how big the leaf would have been. However, the catalogue cites the dimensions of the fragment as 10.5 × 20.0 cm. The photos provided to me have a scale, which allows more precision: the vertical dimension is indeed almost precisely 10 cm, and the length of the longest preserved line is approximately 17 cm. This allows us to calculate an original size to the leaf of approximately 10 × 60 cm.³⁰ In order for the surviving portions to line up, the text most probably would have included both a Sanskrit and Tibetan title, after which the end of the Tibetan title and the invocation survive.

It is noteworthy that a portion of two lines which appear to have dropped out of the Tanjur textual transmission has survived, in the midst of what is numbered here as Tibetan verse 19. What we have in the Tanjurs as the 19th verse reads as follows:

shin tu bde ba gang zhe na ||
'du 'dzi kun la ma chags pa'o ||
srog chags rnam kyī dga' bya gang ||
don yod 'tsho ba'i srog nyid do || [19]

To the first two lines corresponds Sanskrit *kiṃ saukhyaṃ sarvasaṅgaviratir yā*, foot b of the Sanskrit verse 12. Similarly, the final two lines correspond to foot d, *priyaṃ ca kiṃ prāṇinām asavaḥ*. What evidently originally formed part of the Tibetan translation, however, is only partially preserved in our fragment, as follows (on the verso, line 4): */// zhe na || yang dag phan par 'gyur ba'o ||*, which plainly represents the Tibetan rendering of foot c, *kiṃ satyaṃ bhūtahitaṃ*, or perhaps the reading of other manuscripts, *kiṃ sādhyam bhūtahitaṃ*. Since the question portion is precisely what is missing, we cannot say which of these two readings of the question lay behind the Tibetan translation. The preservation of this verse, albeit partially, in Tibetan is particularly significant in illustrating that, evidently at some point after the production of the manuscript preserved

29 Taking a clue from the indications in Takeuchi and Iuchi 2016: 9, 11–13.

30 Looking at fully preserved folia, the manuscript numbered 208 in Takeuchi and Iuchi 2016 has the dimensions 10.2 × 66.1 cm; 209 is 12.5 × 61.0; 267 is 7.6 × 61.1; and 277 is 5.5 × 61.6. Therefore, the reconstructed dimensions are plausible at this site.

in Khara-khoto, two lines of the text otherwise preserved in the Tanjur somehow disappeared from the *textus receptus*.

The transliteration below illustrates the context of the surviving portions by quoting whole verse lines; the extant material is printed in roman type, that provided for context is given in italics. As above, a reconstruction taking account of the placement of surviving words allows us to be fairly certain that the text began at the left margin of line 1 of the recto with the title in Sanskrit: *rgya gar skad du | bi ma la pra shno ta ta ra ratna mā li nā ma ||*. Following this the latter portion of the Tibetan title and the invocation survive: *bod skad du | dri ma med pa'i dris lan rin po ce' i 'phreng ba || 'jam dpal gzhon nur gyur pa la phyag 'tshal lo ||*. This invocation offering honor to Mañjuśrī kumārabhūta shows that, centuries before the compilation of the Tanjur, at least its translators, or the scribe(s) who copied it, were themselves Buddhist, although, as Prof. Isaacson reminds me, this does not necessarily imply that they considered the text they were transmitting to itself also be Buddhist.³¹

The remainder is given line by line, beginning with the recto:

- 2: *bcom ldan blang bya gang zhe na || bla ma'i don ldan tshig rnam so ||*
 spang par bya ba gang zhe na | [2a–c]
 3: *'khor ba'i rgyun ni [space] ye gcad pa'o || thar pa'i zhing mchog [sa]*
 bon gang | [4bc]
 4: *bye brag ji zhin phyed pa'o || gdug pa'i dug ni gang zhe na || bla [ma]*
 brnyas [b]ye[d] gang *yin pa'o || [6b–d]*
 5: *mi srun dgra 'dra gang zhe na || myi bzad pa'i yul rnam so || 'khor pa'i*
'khri shing gang zhe na || [8d–9a]
 6: *phung khrol' d[o]d chags can rnam so || skyes b[u dpa'] bo gang zhe*
[na || [10d–11a]

Verso:

- 1: || tshang tshing myi bzad gang zhe na || bud my[e]d rna[*ms kyi spyod*
pa'o || [13ab]
 2: *don yod tsho ba gang zhe na || kha na ma tho myed pa'o || [skyes bu]*
 glen pa gang zhe na || [15a–c]
 3: *mi brtan myur 'jig gang zhe na || skyes bu rnam kyi lang tsho dang ||*
 no[r dang] de [b]zhin *tshe nyid do || [17b–d]*

31 As one example, in the Tibetan translation of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* (Beckh 1907: 5.3), never to be confused with a Buddhist work, following the title we nevertheless find: *yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas gsung gi dbang phyug la phyag 'tshal lo*.

- 4: [5 words lost] zhe na || yang dag phan par 'gyur ba'o || srog chags
rnam la dga[' *bya gang* || [19; see above]
- 5: *gang* zhig tshul khrim phun 'tshogs pa'o || tshig gi [r]gyan 'gyur gang
zhe na | [21bc]
- 6: *phongs pa kun 'jig m*]khas pa gang || thams cad du ni skal ldan pa'o | [
skyes bu d]mus [long] ga[ng zhe na || [23a–c]

It is very interesting that there are several interlinear glosses in this manuscript.³² Although (see above) some Sanskrit manuscripts contain often copious interlinear commentary, the sparse glosses here seem to be of Tibetan origin, rather than reflecting some pre-existing Sanskrit glosses, although there is no way to be certain about this. That below the first foot on recto 4 is unfortunately virtually illegible, but under the 'dod chags of recto 6 we read 'khrig, sex, intercourse.³³ On recto 5 beneath *myi bzad pa'i yul rnam so* [8d], "The horrid [sense] realms," we read: *dbang po'i yul lam gnas*, and then slightly displaced: *yul drug gam sdig 'phel ba'o*. This might be something like: "The object sphere or condition of the senses," followed by: "six spheres of the sense objects, or increasing sin."³⁴ On the verso, it is particularly valuable that the foot otherwise not preserved in the Tanjurs, *yang dag phan par 'gyur ba'o*, is glossed: above the line over *dag phan* we find *rang gzhan la*, and beneath it we read *phyi ma la*, that is, respectively, "to self and others," and "in the future." In all, the expression then should be understood as something like, "What will offer benefit to self and others in the future."

Finally, beneath *thams cad du ni skal ldan pa'o* on verso 6, we find *bsod nams*, normally an equivalent of *punya*. The Sanskrit line (14cd) here is *sarvavyasanavināśe ko dakṣaḥ sarvathā tyāgī*, "Who is adept at destroying all addictions? One who is in every respect a renunciant." The Tibetan translation (23ab) reads: *phongs pa kun 'jig mkhas pa gang || thams cad du ni skal ldan pa'o ||*. This was perhaps difficult to understand,³⁵ although it has not been remarked that it differs palpably from the Sanskrit. A reason for this difficulty may be that it represents a mistranslation: *skal ldan pa'o* evidently represents a misreading of *tyāgī* as **bhāgī*. This would be very easy to explain if the Vorlage were written in the Śāradā script, and it is not hard to imagine that a text translated in West-

32 I was greatly assisted by Berthe Jansen in deciphering and interpreting these.

33 My thanks to Dan Martin for his help here.

34 Once again I am profoundly indebted to Dan Martin for his help here.

35 Schiefner 1858: 25 offered, without comment: "Wer ist der Weise, der Armuth vernichtet? Der gegen alle Gabenreiche." Others, as far as I see, do not comment at all, including Kanakura 1935 [1944]: 436.

ern Tibet would have a Kashmiri origin. In Śāradā, *tyā* ཏྲ and *bhyā* ཏྲ (as too *tā* and *bhā*) are very similar.³⁶ While it is true that there exists no form **bhyāgin*, this confusion seems an obvious explanation. If one would understand *thams cad du ni skal ldan pa'o* as “one who in every respect possesses virtue,” the gloss seems to take this, then, as religious virtue, *punya*.

Despite this explanation based on the Śāradā script, another error in the Tibetan translation points in a different direction.³⁷ Sanskrit 26c reads *tyā-gasahitam ca vittam*, but its Tibetan equivalent (40b) is *sems ni rnal 'byor ldan pa'o*. Now, the (rather obvious) confusion of *vitta* for *citta* was already noticed by Foucaux 1867: 80n1. However, the explanation for *tyāgasahitam* = *rnal 'byor ldan pa* is not possible in Śāradā, nor altogether obvious. If, however, the Vorlage were written in a script which employed the *prṣṭhamātrā*, then it is far from difficult to confuse *tyā* with *yo*.³⁸ We find from an eleventh century manuscript, for instance, *tyā* written ཏྲ, and *yo* as ཏྲ. Moreover, regarding the above mentioned confusion of *tyāgī* as **bhāgī*, *bhā* is written in this script as ཏྲ, and *bhyā* as ཏྲ. Note moreover that in what Gustav Roth and Édith Nolot (table in Nolot 1997) agree in calling “Proto-Bengali-cum-Proto-Maithili,” the script of the manuscripts of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin *Bhikṣuṇī Vinaya* and *Abhisamācārikā Dharmāḥ*, *tyā* and *bhyā* are again virtually indistinguishable. It therefore seems rather likely that these errors, evidently based not on a source text different from the Sanskrit now available to us but instead on a misreading of the manuscript, point to some Eastern Indian origin for that manuscript.

The so-called canonical sources for the Tibetan edition are as follows:

- G1:** Golden Tanjur 3411 *dbu ma, gi* 103b5–106a.
N1: Narthang Tanjur *gi* 82a6–84a2.
P1: Peking Tanjur 5412 *dbu ma, gi*, 93b1–95a5.
C2: Cone Tanjur 4297 *thun mong ba lugs kyi bstan bcos, ngo*, 121a3–123b3.

36 The reference characters are taken from the table “Akṣara List of the Manuscript of the *Abhidharmadīpa* (ca. the 11th Century, Collection of Sanskrit Mss. Formerly Preserved in the China Ethnic Library),” © 2009, Research Institute of Sanskrit Manuscripts & Buddhist Literature, Peking University, prepared by Saerji 萨尔吉. A Śāradā manuscript of the *Praśnottararatnamālīkā* is in fact referred to in Aufrecht’s 1892 catalogue of the library in Florence, page 152, item 430 (14), on folio 261b.

37 I owe this insight to Peter Szántó.

38 The following example is drawn from: “Akṣara List of the Manuscript of the Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra, (1082 CE, Collection of Sanskrit Mss. Formerly Preserved in the China Ethnic Library),” © 2005 Research Institute of Sanskrit Manuscripts & Buddhist Literature, Peking University, prepared by Ye Shaoyong 叶少勇.

D2: Derge Tanjur 4333 *sgo rig pa, ngo* 126b6–127b6.³⁹

G2: Golden Tanjur 3828, *lugs kyi bstan bcos go* 259b5–261b5.

N2: Narthang Tanjur *go* 191a2–192b3.

P2: Peking Tanjur⁵⁸²⁵, *thun mong ba lugs kyi bstan bcos, go*, 172b3–174a5.

In the edited text below, the Khara-khoto manuscript fragment is quoted as **K-k**.

Major variants are given with the text, less significant readings are found in Appendix 3.

4 The Prakrit Text

As noted above, Pavolini 1898 published a Prakrit version of our text. Velankar 1944: 276 refers to a *Praśnottararatnamālā* by Bhavyottama Muni, which he says is a Prakrit rendering of our text; I do not know if this is meant to be the same. Velankar cites *Jaina Hitaiṣi*, A Hindi monthly magazine, vol. 13, pp. 109 ff., which I have not been able to locate. As again noted above, Melinda Fodor will shortly published a revised edition of this version.

5 Title

The text bears a number of titles, more or less closely related to each other, including: *Praśnottararatnamālikā*, *Praśnottararatnamālā*, and *Praśnottaramālā*. The title found in the Tibetan tradition, *Vimalapraśnottararatnamāli*, seems likely to have been motivated by a misunderstanding of the final verse (27ab): *iti kaṅṭhagatā vimalā praśnottararatnamālikā yeṣām*, in which the key terms are rendered in Tibetan *dri med dris lan rin chen phreng ba*, a nearly exact metrical representation of the title given in the Tanjurs, *dri ma med pa'i dris lan rin po che'i phreng ba*. This version of the title, therefore, should be considered an error from the Indic perspective.

39 I have reference to another copy in the same edition, but could not obtain a copy: D1: 4499, *jo bo'i chos chung, gi* 75b4–77a5. I do not know where the other copy would also be in the Cone edition, but given the availability of so many witnesses, it does not seem a crucial omission.

6 Authorship Attributions

The question of the authorship of the *Praśnottararatnamālikā* has been discussed in the scholarship with, it seems to me, sometimes a curious credulity. Let us first look to the attributions found in our sources.

Some manuscripts appear to attribute the text to an author named Vimala:⁴⁰

racitā sitapaṭaguruṇā vimalā vimaleti ratnamāleva |
praśnottaramāleyaṁ kaṅthagatā kiṁ na bhūṣayati ||

Haridas Sastri (1890, 378, reading *vimalena* for *vimaleti*) rendered as follows: “This excellent series of questions and answers, composed by Vimala, a teacher clad in white garments,—does it not adorn one who can recite them, just as a garland of pure gems enhances the beauty of a man when placed on his neck?”⁴¹ I will return in a moment to the question of who this Vimala might have been. However, this is not the only option for authorship.

The inclusion of the text in the works of Śaṅkara asserts an attribution to Śaṅkara. And indeed, F and I (with only slight variations in Penn) end with:

racitā śaṅkaraguruṇā vimalā vimalena ratnamāleyaṁ |
praśnottararatnamayī kaṅthagatā kaṁ na bhūṣayati ||

This is followed in F and Penn by: *iti śrīśaṅkarācāryaviracitā praśnottararatnamālikā samāptāḥ ||*. In D we find: *iti śrīmacchaṅkarācāryaviracitapraśnottararatnamālikā samāptā*, and in C *iti śaṅkarācāryaviracitā praśnottararatnamālikā saṁpūrṇaṁ || śivārpaṇam astu ||*. It is plain that these manuscripts, in both the verse (in F and Penn) and the colophons, attribute the authorship of the text to Śaṅkara.⁴²

⁴⁰ In our sources, the verse is in H, K, P1, P2. Variants:

vimalā] K (*ka*): vimalena

vimaleti ratnamāleva] P2: vimalena ratnamāleṇa; H & Sastri 1890, 378: vimalena ratnamāleva

praśnottaramāleyaṁ] P2: praśnottaramāleṇa; H: praśnottara(margin: ratna)māleyaṁ bhūṣayati] H: bhūṣayaṁti

⁴¹ This, incidentally, brings out what is at least the same play on words, if it is not an actual *śleṣa*, that appears in the first true verse of the text with the same, or almost the same, word, here *kaṅthagata*, in verse 1 *kaṅthasthita*.

⁴² In the anonymous 1910 edition of the works of Śaṅkara, the text is followed by: *iti śrīmatparamahansa-parivṛājākācāryasya śrīgovindabhagavatpūjyapādaśiṣyasya śrīmacchaṅkarabhagavatāḥ kṛtau praśnottararatnamālikā saṁpūrṇā*.

While there seems to be no reason to associate the authorship of the text with the famous 8th c. Śaṅkara,⁴³ the similarity of wording in the two verses cited above also casts doubt on Sastri's understanding of Vimāla as a name. Perhaps in an attempt to overcome this issue, Pathak (1958a: 93 = 1974: 29) understands the juxtaposition with Śaṅkaraguruṇā to mean that Vimāla was "teacher of Śaṅkara" (he uses no article, a or the, so it is hard to know exactly what he means), but no such figure seems to be known; Śaṅkara's master was, famously, Govindapāda (or Govindabagavatpūjyapāda).

This is not the only attribution, however. Sastri cites other manuscripts which have instead the reading cited in K (*kha*):

vivekāṭ tyaktarājyena rājñeyam ratnamālikā |
racitāmoghavarṣeṇa sudhiyām sadalamkṛtiḥ ||

This appears to be more or less precisely the source of the last verse of the Tibetan translation:

བརྟགས་ནས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ནས་སྤོང་བའི། རྒྱལ་པོ་རིན་ཆེན་སྤང་བ་འདི། [41cd]
དོན་ཡོད་འཆར་གྱིས་བྱས་པ་སྟེ།⁴⁴ ལྷོ་བཟང་དམ་པའི་རྒྱན་ཡིན་ཅོ། [42ab]

Sastri renders the Sanskrit: "This garland of gems, an excellent ornament for the learned, was composed by king Amoghavarsha, who gave up his kingdom owing to his discriminative knowledge." Note that the Tibetan here, being evidently based on a manuscript with this form of the verse, therefore almost certainly renders a text belonging to the Jaina tradition. It did not take long for this attribution to "Amoghavarṣa" to be given historical credence, but this tendency began even earlier. Seven years before Sastri's publication, Fleet 1883: 218 had cited the verse after "Mr. K.B. Pathak [who] has also brought to my notice a short poem named *Praśnōttararatnamālā* on the rules of good behaviour," and following his citation and translation of the verse,⁴⁵ he added: "The Amōghavarsha mentioned here, however, may be either the first or the second or the third of that name."

43 In a message to the Indology list on 29 August, 2018, David Reigle wrote: "each of the maṭhas started by Śaṅkarācārya has a long line of adhipatis up to the present. Each adhipati also has the title Śaṅkarācārya. So there have been many Śaṅkarācāryas after Ādi Śaṅkarācārya. The idea, then, is that the majority of the more than 400 works attributed to Śaṅkarācārya are actually by later Śaṅkarācāryas, not by Ādi Śaṅkarācārya, even though they are usually taken to be by Ādi Śaṅkarācārya."

44 It is evident here, as discussed above, that we must read rather *char*, not '*char*."

45 In which, reading *sudhiyā*, he rendered "learned king," also a possibility.

Perhaps having forgotten his own earlier contribution, to which he does not refer, however, not long after Sastri's 1890 paper appeared, Fleet 1891 published "A note on Amoghavarsha I," in which he combines this verse with a fragmentary inscription he discovered at Aihole, and which "probably proves that the king whose name is connected with the book in question, is the Rāshtrakūṭa king Amôghavarsha I." He further wonders, based on the small fragment of the inscription which he could read, whether the king could have abdicated (apparently due both to the expression *vivekāt tyaktarājyena* and to the presence in the inscription of the word *navarājyam*), and then adds: "Or is it possible that the verse in the *Praśnottara-ratnamālikā* is euphemistic; and that, in reality, he was overthrown for a time by the Eastern Chalukya king Vijayāditya II ...?" I think that in this respect, sadly, Fleet is not a faithful guide, and his credulity seems to have led to this (rather wild) speculation becoming established historical fact for Duff 1899: 79, who in a chronological sketch under the year 877 writes that "according to a Kanheri inscription, Amoghavarsha was still king in Ś[aka] 799. A possible explanation of this lies in the statement of the *Praśnottara-ratnamālikā* that Amoghavarsha abdicated the throne to lead a religious life."⁴⁶ Now, as Fleet noted, there are indeed at least four historical Rāshtrakūṭa kings named Amoghavarsha, the first of whom is dated to Śaka 736/8–799, that is, 814/6–877 CE. There is, however, not the slightest historical evidence to support any connection of any of these figures with the *Praśnottara-ratnamālikā*.⁴⁷

46 This is not the only example of this type of logic. Barnett 1928: 1239 says of the author he calls Vimala-Chandra Sūri that he is the author of a "Praśnottara-ratna-mālā. A Jaina catechism in 30 verses, by Vimala[-chandra], the latter being a name traditionally believed to have been assumed by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Amogha-varsha on entering the religious life."

47 K.B. Pathak himself (1902, a paper delivered in 1898) had already implicitly indicated some of the problems encountered by such reasoning. By reminding readers that "A few years ago I discovered a small Jaina work entitled Praśnōttararatnamālā," and citing Fleet 1883, he indicates his ignorance of the earlier European publications of the text. Aware, however, of Schiefner's work (apparently only secondarily through Bhandarkar 1895: 68–69*), after quoting the same verse, and noting that several editions of the text have been published in Bombay (no references are given), he goes on: "It is variously attributed to Śaṅkarāchārya, Śaṅkarānanda, and a Śvêtāmbara writer named Vimala. But the royal authorship of the Ratnamālā is confirmed by a Thibetan translation of it discovered by Schiefner, in which the author is represented to have been a king and his Thibetan name, as re-translated into Sanskrit by the same scholar, is Amôghavarsha. This work was composed between Śaka 797–799; in the former year Nṛīpatuṅga abdicated in favour of his son Akālarvarsha."

* It is curious that although Bhandarkar 1895: 69n2 refers to Weber's edition, this name is not even mentioned by Pathak. Perhaps he had no access to it?

If we discard the attribution to Śaṅkara, which likewise virtually all modern scholars seem to have happily done, and we set aside Amoghavarṣa, or at least the connection of this name with the famous king (or any kings of that line, for that matter), what of Vimala? Peterson (1883: 50, 58–59 of Appendix 1), quotes manuscripts that begin *praṇipatyā jinavarendraṃ*, illustrating their Jaina affiliation. These manuscripts end with a verse, almost the same as that cited above, save for one crucial difference:⁴⁸

*racitā sitapaṭaguruṇā vimalā vimalena ratnamāleva
praśnottaramāleyaṃ kaṃṭhagatā kaṃ na bhūṣayati*

Peterson 1887: 44 would identify this Vimala (whom he takes as the author) with Vimalasūri, the author of the Prakrit work *Paūmacariya* (Sanskrit *Padmācarita*). He writes “The Padmācharitra of Vimalasūri ... will I believe turn out to be an important find, if, as seems to me probable, the Vimala of this poem is the author of the Praśnottararatnamālā.” He goes on, after noting that the Cambridge Palm-leaf library contains 10 copies of the latter work, to refer to his own work on the *Hitopadeśa*, a text which contains (as 1.156) one verse also found as *Praśnottararatnamālikā* 25, saying:

It does not seem to me to be doubtful that the verse in the *Hitopadeśa* *priyavāksahitaṃ dānaṃ* is in that book a quotation from Vimala’s *Praśnottararatnamālā*, where it stands in its own context, so to say, as one of a series of answers to a series of questions. I had at first hoped to find a useful datum for the age of the *Hitopadeśa* in a circumstance which has of course already attracted attention [here he refers to Weber’s *Indische Streifen*, p. 210]. But it does not seem possible at present to fix Vimala’s date, or even to say with certainty to what religious sect he belonged, and in all probability he is earlier than references we already have for the *Hitopadeśa*. The Vimala who wrote this book was a pupil of Vijaya, who was pupil of Rāhu. Vijaya’s name as that of an old teacher occurs in the *praśasti* of the *Rayamallābhyudaya-kāvya* [ref. omitted—JAS]. ... If this *Padmācarita* or *Rāmācharitra* is really the work of the Buddhist author of the *Praśnottararatnamālā*, its importance for the history of the Indian epics can hardly be exaggerated.

48 This is not the only source; the same verse is found in our manuscript H. In foot c, ^o*ratna*^o is added in the margin before ^o*māleyaṃ*, and *kaṃ* is ‘corrected’ to *kiṃ*. The text printed in K ends: *iti śrīvimalaviracitā praśnottararatnamālā*. The *vṛtti* of Devendra (see below) also attributes the text to Vimalacandrasūri.

It is to be noted here that Peterson considered the *Praśnottararatnamālikā* to be a Buddhist text. Sastri 1890 responded to Peterson, writing, “Now, having examined a number of copies of the *Praśnottara-Ratnamālā*, I am in a position to disprove that the author of it was even a Buddhist, or that he had any connection with the *Padma-purāṇa* or *Padma-Charita* referred to, the author of which distinctly gives his date in the closing stanzas of his ... poem.” He goes on, after some considerations of kings named Amoghavarṣa, to aver that the author of the *Praśnottararatnamālā* must have been a Jaina, understanding the expression *śitapaṭaguru* to mean “‘a teacher clad in white garments,’ that is, a Jaina *Sādhu* of the Śvetāmbara sect. If, on the contrary, Amoghavarṣa was really the author of it, the poem must be regarded as a Digambara work.” V.M. Kulkarni in Jacobi and Punyavijayaji 1962–1968: 8–25 surveys what can be known of the date, life and sectarian affiliation of Vimalasūri, author of the *Paūmacariya*. Yet, however thorough this study, I believe it is not relevant here, since there is no evidence at all that this author is to be connected with our text, other than the (apparent) coincidence of names. Among other reasons, Vimalasūri’s poem the *Paūmacariya* is in Prakrit, not the Sanskrit of our text, and our text moreover contains not a single Jaina idea. Peterson’s suggestion that the *Hitopadeśa* tradition borrowed a verse does not seem in itself necessarily problematic, but since the textual tradition of that work is so fluid, this is not necessarily very helpful, and it would be equally likely that our text has borrowed a verse either from the *Hitopadeśa*, or which found its way into that text as well. It is, apparently, only the assumption of a considerable antiquity for the author—as Peterson sees it—of the *Praśnottararatnamālikā* that assures him that it must pre-date the compilation of the *Hitopadeśa*. But since I believe that in fact all efforts to identify an author for the *Praśnottararatnamālikā* so far have been in vain,⁴⁹ this assumption of relative chronology seems to me groundless. Rather than drawing conclusions based on such assumptions, I think that what emerges from the considerations above is that every scholar to offer an opinion has evidently been reaching for some certainty in a situation without any firm evidence. Some, indeed, seem to have been primarily motivated to claim the authorship of the *Praśnottararatnamālikā* for their own sect (see also below), and this cannot help but slant their analyses. We cannot, I think in conclusion, know who the author of the text was, nor perhaps even his sectarian affiliation, or date. The very earliest attestation we have comes from

49 Gāndhī 1949 also comes to the conclusion that the author was Vimalasūri. I extend my great thanks to my colleague Abhishek Avtans for reading and summarizing this Hindi article for me.

the Tibetan translation of the first half of the 11th century, but this is no more than a *terminus ante quem*. What is more, the textual fluidity evident even in the small number of manuscripts I could examine suggests that the transmission of the text introduced diversities, and at present it is not possible even to attempt to recover its “original” form. We know slightly more about its subsequent history, since the various lineages of the text do not seem to be in the least motivated by sectarian concerns (at least in so far as we are dealing with the core verses, not those I consider supplemental), and this suggests, though it cannot prove, that in the form(s) in which it was taken over into traditions other than that in which it might have originated, it was not seen as strongly sectarian from the outset.

7 Commentaries

In addition to the vernacular interlinear commentaries, mentioned above in the manuscript descriptions, catalogues list a number of commentaries on the text. Pavolini 1898: 155 refers to a *ṭikā* by Ṛṣyuttama (catalogued in Pavolini 1907: 145, item 762, where it is however not clearly called a commentary).⁵⁰ A *ṽṛtti*, dating to 1373, is credited to Devendra (Schubring 1944: 447, item 893).⁵¹ It is cited in some detail in Weber 1891: 118–1123 (item § 2021),⁵² and edited by Vimalabodhi Vijayaju 2005.⁵³ According to Weber, Devendra’s lengthy text associates every question with a story (*kathā*), some of which are in Prakrit. In his treatment of the text, he cites the introductory lemma of each verse, and gives the name of the story associated with it. In addition, Velankar 1944: 276 refers to *ṽṛttis* by Hemaprabha,⁵⁴ Munibhadra, Śubhaviyayaṅi, and an anony-

50 Pavolini writes: “Manca il primo foglio. Con un commento bh[āṣa] molto diffuso e con numerose citazioni di strofe s.e. di titoli di novelle.” Not in Flügel & Krümpelmann 2016 under the author’s name, but mentioned sv Praśnottararatnamālā, p. 612b. This and the other commentaries noted here are also cited, with references to manuscript catalogues (mostly inaccessible, including many handwritten lists), in Velankar 1944: 276 and Veezhinathan, Sundaram and Gangadharan 1988: 114.

51 Flügel & Krümpelmann 2016: 494b–495a.

52 Among other manuscripts of this text, one is found in St. Petersburg, and according to its catalogue (Mironov 1918: 154, MS 201), it is superior to that catalogued by Weber. Three verses are quoted to illustrate this.

53 My sincere thanks to Madhav Deshpande for bringing this edition to my notice, and sending me its electronic copy.

54 This is catalogued by Dalāl 1923: 10 as item 90, who quotes the beginning and end, but the portion he edits does not at first glance appear to refer directly to our text. Two authors with the name Hemaprabhasūri appear in Flügel & Krümpelmann 2016: 954a; the refer-

mous work. At least the third of these may not be a commentary on our text at all. All of these appear to be Jaina works.

8 Sectarian Orientation

The existence of commentaries on the text belonging, apparently exclusively, to the Jaina tradition(s) suggests that the Jainas at the very least adopted the text and devoted to it a certain amount of attention. However, not all sources are exclusively Jaina by any means. And in fact, here the evidence is quite clear that there is no clarity about the sectarian home of the work.

Although it is true that manuscripts may be copied by scribes not necessarily allied with the sect of the patron, this is less interesting for us at the moment than the evidence that at least in the form in which we have them there is evidence for multiple belongings of the various written sources of the *Praśnottararatnamālikā*. The incipit in manuscript D, for instance, reads *śrīkeśavāya namaḥ*, that is, with homage to Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa, while that contained in C and the Penn manuscript reads: *śrīgaṇeśāya namaḥ*. In contrast to these “Hindu” invocations, according to Foucaux 1867: 70n1, his Calcutta manuscript had here Pārśvanātha, the 23rd Jaina Tīrthānkara.

This variety appears in other ways as well. A maṅgala verse reads in one version (metre *upagīti*):

praṇipatyā mahādevam praśnottarapaddhatiṃ vakṣye |
nāganarāmaravandyam sarvajñaṃ mokṣadam śāntam ||

Bowing to the Great God, praiseworthy for nāgas, men and gods, omniscient, who offers liberation and is peaceful, I shall proclaim this guide-book of questions and answers.

For *praśnottarapaddhatiṃ* in foot b (F, K [*kha*] L1),⁵⁵ Penn and P2 have the *āryā* reading *praśnottararatnamālikāṃ*; P1 keeps the metre but reads *praśnottaramālikāṃ*. The latter two readings give instead of “guide-book” rather “small [precious] garland.” More significantly, in place of *mahādevam*, H, K (*ka*), L2, P1, P2, and F’s Calcutta MS, have *jinavareṃdraṃ*. That is, these manuscripts instead of the reference to the Hindu Śiva, who is Mahādeva, dedicate the text

ence is evidently to the first, pupil of Devendrasūri, but if Flügel & Krümpelmann 2016: 496 are correct, this figure is distinct from the Devendra mentioned above.

55 L2 has *praśnottararatnapaddhatiṃ*, making the verse an *āryā*.

to the Jina, indicating a Jaina rather than Śaivite orientation (we saw this above with manuscripts catalogued by Peterson as well). In place of *sarvajñam mokṣadam śāntam* H, K, L2, P1, P2 have the metrically identical: *devam devādhipam vīram*.⁵⁶

Of the manuscripts I examined, only N has a Buddhist incipit, namely *namo vāgīśvarāya*, an invocation of the Buddhist Mañjuśrī. It is with its Tibetan translation that the text exerts some claim to Buddhist identity. The Tibetan translation follows the title with the invocation *'jam dpal gzhon nur gyur pa la phyag 'tshal lo ||*,⁵⁷ that is, homage to Mañjuśrī-kumārabhūta, a bodhisattva. In addition to its placement in the Tanjur, this appears to be the only Buddhist indication of the text. For Kanakura 1935: 413, the inclusion of the text twice in the Tanjur is a strong reason to believe in its Buddhist origins, a logic I do not well understand. Not only does the Tanjur contain a variety of non-Buddhist works (Seyfort Ruegg 1995: 108–132, surveying the sciences, medicine, linguistics, dramaturgy, lexicography etc.; Kanakura himself refers to the *Meghadūta* of Kalidāsa [D 4302]),⁵⁸ special attention seems to have been given to a group of *nīti* texts, a category to which our work broadly belongs, some of which are clearly non-Buddhist (brief survey in Hahn 1985). These include the *Āryakośa* of Ravigupta (D 4331; Hahn 2007, 2008), the *Gāthāsataka* of Vararuci (D 4332; Hahn 2012), the *Cānakyaṛājanītiśāstra* (D 4334; Pathak 1958b; Sternbach 1961), and the *Nītiśāstra* of Masūrākṣa (D 4335; Pathak 1961; Sternbach 1962). According to Sternbach (1961: 106; 1962: 411), the Tibetan translators of the *Cānakyaṛājanītiśāstra*, Prabhākaraśrīmitra and Rin chen bzang po, adapted that work Buddhistically, something which we certainly do not see here, despite the (putative) involvement of Rin chen bzang po in both projects. It can be seen that mere inclusion in the Tanjur, then, does not in and of itself provide evidence for the “Buddhist identity” of a work.

As an example of some of the ways the matter has been argued, then, we can trace how Kanakura, having rejected the possibility of a Brahmanical origin, and admitting (1935: 418) that there are no objective grounds for deciding between Jaina and Buddhist origins for the text, flatly states that he will proceed on subjective grounds. It is thus little surprise to find that the Japanese Buddhist scholar Kanakura eventually decides that the *Praśnottararatnamālikā* is indeed originally a (Mahāyāna!) Buddhist text (1935: 423). To reach this conclusion,

56 P1: *devam daivādhipam prathamam*.

57 Variant: *'jam dpal*] G1, N1, P1 [all of which start here]: *'phags pa 'jam dpal*, that is, prefixing Ārya-.

58 Kanakura 1935: 399 also mentions the case of the *Vajrasūci*, transmitted as both a Buddhist and Hindu text, although in this case evidently borrowed from one tradition to the other.

some gymnastics are involved, such as the rejection of the Tibetan colophon's plain meaning (see above, and in note 23), and the interesting claim (1935: 421) that compared to the Buddhist text, the fact that the Vedantin version and the Jaina Prakrit text both contain additional verses leads to the conclusion that the Buddhist version alone is the original.

The contents of the text, in contrast to the trappings of praise at beginning and end, are entirely nonsectarian and generic. This situation changes with what I consider to be the additional verses found in some manuscripts (see Appendices 1 and 2), and in the editions of Śaṅkara's works. The historical core of the text, however, is without exception nonspecific. What emerges, therefore, is that one and the same text has Hindu, Jaina and Buddhist transmission lineages. In whatever milieu the text may have been actually composed—and, as above, there is virtually no evidence to decide this—it is clear that in its reception it was considered poly-sectarian, trans-sectarian or indeed even non-sectarian: as the property of all, it is the exclusive property of none.

9 Editions and Translation

In the Sanskrit edition below, I have not noted minor spelling variations, including several instances of confusion between *kh* and *ṣ*, missing vowel signs, omitted superscript *r*, geminations after *r*, and the like. In general, when the intention of the reading was clear, even if strictly speaking misspelt, I have not noted such errors in order to avoid cluttering the apparatus. In a few cases, when a reading is somewhat less than clear but nevertheless likely, I enclose the siglum in parentheses. When there are clear distinctions between variant readings, one of which corresponds to the Tibetan translation, I have tried to favor that reading in establishing the text. This does not imply any historical claim; rather, it is deployed as a useful means to establish the form of the text that may have stood closer to the Vorlage of the Tibetan translators. However, in quite a number of cases it was not possible to make decisions on this basis, and I have endeavored in each case to explain the choice between equally plausible readings, noting that the overall lack of context—each question and answer seems to be entirely independent of those preceding and following—renders decisions based on contextual logic moot. It is worth remarking that many readings yield unmetrical lines, and this is certainly a strong reason to reject them.⁵⁹

59 With the exception of the first and last verses, the Tibetan is rendered in lines of 7 syllables. When necessary, I add a *tsheg* to clarify the metre even between syllables that are

The translation renders the Sanskrit. Some manuscripts separate the questions and answers with a *danḍa*. Differences with the Tibetan rendering are generally noted when they seem significant. However, in the notes below, I have made no attempt to set the questions and their answers in the context of Indic literature more broadly. A number of instances of similar expressions in Indian gnomic literature could be adduced. Despite this general renunciation of the task of contextualizing the work more broadly, one exception is the above-mentioned *Praśnottaramālā* attributed to Śūka. This collection contains a number of expressions very close to those in our text, although it also contains quite a number of sectarian (generically Brahmanical) references, absent from our text (see Weber 1868: 106–107). Given the proximity of some of its entries, I note a few of the parallels, taking cognizance of Weber’s opinion that the work has modern origins.

The Sanskrit and Tibetan verses are independently numbered. I have followed the ordering of the majority of Sanskrit manuscripts, which on the whole agrees with the order of the Tibetan translation, but toward the end of the text some fluctuation occurs. Since the questions and answers follow no discernable order, it would have been easy for tradents to alter their ordering, and that has evidently taken place (see above for the extreme case of manuscript D). The numbering in the Tibetan edition follows the text in the Tanjurs, so that the original ordering should be clear to the reader, even when it diverges from that of the Sanskrit sequence, and I have had to rearrange the order of the Tibetan verse lines so as to align the two versions. I have further numbered the questions and answers. This numbering differs only slightly from that of Foucaux and Weber.

normally written together, typically *bab*. This is interesting in light of the observation of Hahn 2007: 306: “an āryā stanza is usually rendered by 4×9 syllables because only then is it possible to give a complete translation in which each Sanskrit word has a Tibetan equivalent.” This is manifestly not the case in our text, with the exception of the first and last verses, as noted below.

10 The *Praśnottararatnamālikā*

10.1

kaḥ khalu nālaṅkriyate
 dṛṣṭādṛṣṭārthasāadhanapaṭiyān ||
 kaṅṭhasthitayā vimala-
 praśnottararatnamālikayā || 1 ||

dṛṣṭādṛṣṭārthasāadhanapaṭiyān, C, F, H, K, L1, N, Penn, S] L2, P1, P2: dṛṣṭādṛṣṭārdhasādhana-
 paṭiyān; D: dṛṣṭādṛṣṭārthasādhane paṭiyān (unmetrical)
 kaṅṭhasthitayā vimala, C, K, L2, N] P1: kaṅ ca sthitayā vimala; H, P2: kaṅṭhasthitayā
 vimalā; D, F, L1, Penn, S: amuyā kaṅṭhasthitayā

Who, most clever in accomplishing his goals [in this world and the next, that is in the realm of the] visible and invisible, would not be adorned by this immaculate small precious garland of questions and answers, once memorized, as he would be adorned by a precious garland that sits around his neck?

འི་མེད་འི་ས་ལན་རིན་ཆེན་ཐོང་བ་འདི། གང་གི་མགུལ་ན་ངེས་པར་གནས་གྱུར་ན།
 མཐོང་དང་མ་མཐོང་སྐྱབ་པ་ལ་མཁས་པས། ངེས་པར་གྱུན་དུ་འགྱུར་བ་ཅིས་མ་ཡིན། [1]

1b: གང་གི་མགུལ་ན་, C2, D2] G1, G2, N1, N2, P1, P2: བདག་གིས་མགུལ་ན་

There is an evident double-meaning (*śleṣa*) here, with the term *kaṅṭhasthita* signaling both memorization, that which one holds in the throat (we might say, ‘keeps in mind,’ or as I rendered, ‘memorizes’), and a garland which lies around the neck. Note that although the Sanskrit metre is the same throughout, here the Tibetan uses a longer line of 9 syllables, as it does in verse 27 (Tibetan 40cd–41ab). See above n. 59.

10.2

bhagavan kim upādeyaṁ
 guruvacaṇaṁ heyam api ca kim akāryam |
 ko gurur adhigatatattvaḥ
 sattvahitābhyudyataḥ satatam || 2 ||

ca kim akāryam, D, F, H, K, L1, L2, N, P1, P2, Penn, S] C (pc): kim yad akāryaṁ
 adhigatatattvaḥ, C, D, F, H, K, L1, P1, Penn, S] L2: adhigatatatvā; N, P2: adhigatatat(t)vaṁ
 sattvahitābhyudyataḥ, H, K, L2, P1] S: śiṣyahitāyodyataḥ; P2: satvahitābhyudyataḥ; C (pc),
 D: satyahitāyodyataḥ; F, L1, N, Penn: satvahitāyodyataḥ

Lord, what is to be accepted? The speech of the teacher (1). And what,
 on the other hand, is to be rejected? Improper action (2).
 Who is the teacher? One who has penetrated the truth, and constantly
 works for the benefit of beings (3).

བཅོམ་ལྷན་རྒྱུ་བྱ་གང་ཞེ་ན།	སྲ་མའི་དོན་ལྷན་ཚོག་རྣམས་སོ།
སྲུང་བར་བྱ་བ་གང་ཞེ་ན།	བྱ་བ་མ་ཡིན་ཐམས་ཅད་དོ། [2]
སྲ་མར་སྐྱུར་བ་གང་ཞེ་ན།	དེ་ཉིད་ཇི་བཞིན་རྟོགས་པ་དང།
རྟོག་བྱ་སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ།	ཕན་པར་མངོན་པར་བརྩོན་པ་འོ། [3]

For § 1, the Tibetan specifies that the teacher's speech is meaningful (*don ldan*).
 For § 3, see Śuka § 22 (verse 7): *ko vā gurur? yo hi hitopadeṣṭā*. In foot d, the read-
 ing with °*abhi*° is supported by Tibetan *mngon par*, and *sattva*° is supported by
 Tibetan *sems can* (*thams cad* = **sarva*, not attested but to be understood as
 added for the metre and implied by the text). Note that in place of *sattva*° S has
śiṣya°.

10.3

tvaritaṁ kiṁ kartavyaṁ
 viduṣā saṁsārasantaticchedaḥ |
 kiṁ mokṣataror bījaṁ
 samyagiñānaṁ kriyāsahitam || 3 ||

viduṣā, F, H, K, L1, L2, N, P1, P2, Penn] S: viduṣāṁ; C, D: sudhiyā
 saṁsārasantaticchedaḥ, C, D, F, K, L2, N, P1, Penn, S] H: saṁsārasaṁtataḥ bedaḥ; L1: saṁ-
 sārasaṁtatibbedaḥ; P2: saṁsārasaṁtatibedaḥ (unmetrical)
 kriyāsahitaṁ, C, D, H, K, L1, L2, F, P1, P2, Penn] S: kriyāsiddhaṁ

What must a wise man do urgently? Cut off the continuity of the cycle of transmigration (4).

What is the seed of the tree of liberation? Correct knowledge joined with [appropriate ritual] action (5).

མཁས་པས་རིང་བྱ་གང་ཞེ་ན། འཁོར་བའི་རླུང་ནི་དེས་བཅད་པའོ།།
 རྩམ་པའི་ཤིང་མཚོག་ས་བོན་གང། ཡང་དག་ཡི་ཤེས་བརྩོན་བྱས་པའོ།། [4]

4b: རླུང་ནི, G1, N1] C2, D2, G2, N2, P1, P2: རླུང་ནི. Sanskrit *santati* is རླུང་.
 4b: དེས་བཅད] K-k: ཡི་གཅད
 4c: ཤིང] Ex. conj.; all sources (including K-k): ཤིང. However, ཤིང corresponds to Sanskrit *taru* (this emendation was already pointed out by Foucaux 1867: 71n2).
 4c: རྩམ་པའི་ཤིང་མཚོག་ས་བོན་གང K-k] All Tanjurs: རྩམ་པའི་ས་བོན་ཞིང་མཚོག་གང; K-k's reading is more logical. Kanakura 1935: 432n is puzzled by the Tanjur reading, as indeed he should be, and appears ignorant of Foucaux's correction.

Note that in Tibetan 4d, *brtson byas pa'o* does not seem to correspond at all to *kriyāsahitam*. I do not understand this.

10.4

kiṃ pathyataraṃ dharmāḥ
 kaḥ śucir iha yasya mānasam śuddham |
 kaḥ paṇḍito vivekī
 kiṃ viṣam avadhīraṇam guruṣu || 4 ||

I begins with paṇḍito
 kiṃ pathyataraṃ, F, L1, Penn] H, K, L2, P1, P2: kiṃ pathyadanaṃ; D: kiṃ pathyataraṃ; C, N, S: kaḥ pathyataro. This reading may have been attracted by the gender of *dharmā*.
 kaḥ śucir iha, C, D, F, H, K, L1, L2, P1, S] P2, Penn: śucir iha; N: śucir iha
 yasya mānasam śuddham, C, D, F, H, K, L1, L2, N, P1, Penn, S] P2: mānasam śuddham
 avadhīraṇam guruṣu, D] S: avadhīraṇā guruṣu; I, N, Penn: avadhīritā guravaḥ; P1, P2: avadhīritā guravaḥ; C, F, H (pc), K, L1: avadhīritā guravaḥ; L2: avadhīritā guravā. Note that in verse 17c, when the word *avadhīraṇa* occurs there are no variants.

What is of the greatest benefit? Dharma (6). Who, here [in the world] is pure? One whose mind is pure (7).

Who is a sage? The discerning one (8). What is poison? Disrespecting the teachers (9).

་ིན་ཏུ་མཐུན་པ་གང་ཞེ་ན། ཚོས་ཀྱི་སློབ་པ་སློབ་མེད་པའོ།
 ་འདིན་གཙེང་བ་གང་ཞེ་ན། གང་གི་ཡིད་ནི་ཡོངས་དག་པའོ། [5]
 མཁས་པར་གྱུར་པ་གང་ཞེ་ན། བྱེ་བྲག་ཇི་བཞིན་བྱེད་པའོ།
 གདུག་པའི་དུག་ནི་གང་ཞེ་ན། ལྷ་མ་བརྟམས་བྱེད་གང་ཡིན་པའོ། [6]

6c: གདུག་པའི་དུག་ནི་ G1, G2, K-k, N1, N2, P1, P2] C2, D2: གདུག་པའི་དོན་ནི་
 6d: བརྟམས་བྱེད་] G1, N1, P1: བརྟམས་བཅས་

For § 6, Tibetan has “faultless practice of dharma.” With regard to § 9, Garrez 1867: 506n1 writes “*Avadhīray s’* emploie dans le sens de *ne pas se conformer aux paroles de quelqu’un*,” and further refers to the expression *duradhītā viṣaṃ vidyā* in *Cāṇakyanūtīsāstram* 98 (found also in *Prajñādaṇḍa* 10, attributed to Nāgārjuna, Hahn 2009: 14). For § 9, as Harunaga Isaacson points out, the reading of D (cf. S), *avadhīraṇaṃ guruṣu*, means “disrespecting the teachers,” but *avadhīritā guravaḥ* (in I, N, Penn, and implied in C, F, H (pc), K, L1, L2) means rather “disrespected teachers,” that is, as he explains, “the teachers themselves, if disrespected, will be poison for one, that is to say, will harm one.” As I believe that the Tibetan *bla ma brnyas byed* is closer to the former reading, I adopt it here.

10.5

kiṃ saṃsāre sāraṃ
 bahuśo 'pi vicintyamānam idam eva |
 manuṣeṣu dṛṣṭatattvaṃ
 svaparahitāyodyataṃ janma || 5 ||

Omitted in N.

kiṃ saṃsāre sāraṃ, D, H, (I), K, L1, L2, P1, P2, Penn, S] F: saṃsāre kiṃ sāraṃ; C: saṃsāre kiṃm asāre

bahuśo 'pi vicintyamānam idam eva, D, F, H, (I), K, L1, L2, P1, P2, Penn, S] C: bahudhā saṃcetya sāraṃ idam eva

manuṣeṣu dṛṣṭatattvaṃ: spelt generally manuṣeṣu dṛṣṭatattvaṃ, F, H, I, K (*kha*), L1, L2, P1, Penn] C, P2: manuṣeṣu dṛṣṭitatvaṃ; K (*ka*) manuṣeṣu dṛṣṭasattvaṃ; D: manuṣeṣu dṛṣṭatattvaṃ kiṃ; S: kiṃ manuṣeṣv iṣṭatamaṃ

svaparahitāyodyataṃ, D, F, H, (I), K, L1, L2, P1, P2, Penn, S] C: kiṃ svaparahitāyodyataṃ

What is the pith in the world of transmigration? No matter how much one thinks about it, it is just this:

Birth as a human, in which truth has been seen and in which one strives for the benefit of self and others (10).

འཁོར་བ་ན་ནི་སླིང་པོ་གང། ཡང་དག་དོན་ལ་རྣམ་དཔྱད་ཉིད།
 མི་ཡི་དེ་ཉིད་ཐོབ་པ་གང། བདག་གཞན་ཕན་པར་བརྩོན་པ་འོ། [7]

7c: མི་ཡི་] G1, N1, P1: མི་ཡིས་

The Tibetan translation assumes two questions, answering the first in 7b with something like “Precisely contemplating the ultimate truth.” The reading in S of Sanskrit 5c is “What is most desirable among men?” This leaves the referent of *idam* unclear, and might be an emendation of the editors of S or some source of theirs. It is difficult to correlate any of the attested Sanskrit readings with Tibetan *thob*. Against the choice made here, there is in any event nothing in Tibetan corresponding to *dr̥ṣṭa*, although it is likely that we should see *de nyid* as *tattva*. Is it possible that *thob* (ཐོབ་) ← *thong* (ཐོང་) ← *mthong* (མཐོང་)? This would give us an equivalent of *dr̥ṣṭa*. Tibetan as we have it seems to mean: “Who obtains the Truth of/among men? One who exerts himself for the benefit of self and others.”

10.6

madireva mohajanakaḥ
 kaḥ snehaḥ ke ca dasyavo viṣayāḥ |
 kā bhavavallī tṛṣṇā
 ko vairī nanv anudyogaḥ || 6 ||

ke ca dasyavo viṣayāḥ, (C), D, F, H, (I), K, L1, L2, N, Penn, S] P1: ke va dasyaśe viṣacyāḥ; P2: ke vidasyavo viṣayā
 kā bhavavallī tṛṣṇā, D, F, H, K, L1, L2, N, P2, Penn, S] P1: kā namavallī tṛṣmā; I: kā bhavavallī māyā
 nanv anudyogaḥ, C, K] L2: nanv anudyogāḥ; P2: nanv anuṃyogaḥ; H: nanv anuyogaḥ; D, F, L1, Penn, S: yas tv anudyogaḥ; N: yo hy anuyogyam; I: damaged; P1: tanv a - - -

What produces stupor, like strong drink? Attachment (11). And who are thieves? Sense objects (12).

What [grows swiftly and aggressively like] the vine [that leads one to cling to] existence? Lust (13). Who is the enemy? None other than laziness (14).

རོ་ལྷ་བྱའི་ཚོངས་པ་གང། ཕྱིན་ཅི་ལོག་ལ་ཆགས་པ་འོ།
 མི་སྐྱོན་དག་འདྲ་གང་ཞེ་ན། མི་བཟད་པ་ཡི་ཡུལ་རྣམས་སོ། [8]
 འཁོར་བའི་འགྲི་ཤིང་གང་ཞེ་ན། འོག་པར་སྲིད་པ་དམ་པ་འོ།
 དག་པོར་གྲུར་པ་གང་ཞེ་ན། ཡང་དག་དོན་ལ་བརྩོན་མེད་པ་འོ། [9]

For §12, see Śuka § 79 (verse 25): *ke dasyavaḥ santi? kuvāsanākhyāḥ*. My translation of § 13 is a clumsy attempt to bring out what I see as the image of the creeper, the clinging of which is apparently central here. Prof. Deshpande suggests that the image may be of one shoot growing out of another continuously. Tibetan understands the answer as “devotion to perverse desires.” Somewhat distantly, for § 14, see Śuka § 16 (verse 5): *jīvan mṛtaḥ kas tu? nirudyamo yaḥ*. Tibetan understands here “lack of energy directed toward the truth.”⁶⁰

10.7

kasmād bhayam iha maraṇād
 andhād api ko viśiṣyate rāgī |
 kaḥ sūro yo lalanā-
 locanabāṇair na vivyathitaḥ || 7 ||

andhād api, (C), D, F, H, K, L₁, L₂, P₂, Penn] S: andhād iha; P₁: vaṁdhāv api; N: annād api; I: damaged.

ko viśiṣyate rāgī, C, D, F, H, K, L₁, L₂, N, P₂, Penn, S] P₁: ko citoyato rāgī; I: damaged.
 na vivyathitaḥ, F, L₂]; C: na vivyathite; H, K, L₁, Penn, W (emending F): na ca vyathitaḥ;
 P₁, S: na vyadhitaḥ; D: na ea vyadhitaḥ; P₂: na ca vyadhitaḥ; N: vyathitaḥṛdayo naḥ; I
 begins with ///dhitaḥ on 166^v. Szántó suggests that the original *vi*^o lost its vowel, and
 was then either read as or emended to *ca*.

60 After commenting that Foucaux’s edition, by altering the sandhi of the original, which he did not recognize to be in verse, “disfigures” the text, Garrez 1867: 504 goes on (without, of course, knowing of the existence of the reading I have adopted, *nanv anudyogaḥ*): “Cette ... erreur a exercé une influence fâcheuse sur la traduction française. Ainsi le § 14 est rendu: “Qui est un ennemi? *Celui qui ne fait* aucun effort (*yas tvanudyogaḥ*).” Il fallait traduire, sans se préoccuper de la tournure relative, qui n’est employée ici que pour le mètre: Quel est l’ennemi? Le manque d’énergie. On obtient ainsi, au lieu d’un non-sens, une idée familière aux poètes indiens.” He then refers in a note to a passage from Bhartṛhari (he calls it 11.74), which I believe to be the following (Kosambi 2000: 86, verse 216):

ālaṣyaṁ hi manuṣyāṇāṁ śarīrastho mahāripuḥ |
nāsty udyamasamo bandhuḥ kṛtvā yaṁ nāvasīdati ||

This is rendered freely by Kennedy 1913: 79 (verse 86 for him) as: “Mankind’s great enemy is idleness. There is no friend like energy, and if you cultivate that you will never fail.”

What does one fear here [in the world]? Death (15). Who is in a worse situation than even a blind man? A lustful one (16). Who is a hero? One not brought down by the arrows that are the sideways glances of a woman (17).

འདི་ལ་འཛིགས་པ་གང་ཞེ་ན།	སྲོག་མཐར་གྱུར་པའི་འཆི་བ་འོ།
ལོང་བ་ལས་ཀྱང་ལོང་བ་གང།	ཕུང་ཁྲོལ་འདོད་ཆགས་ཅན་རྣམས་སོ། [10]
སྐྱེས་བུ་དཔའ་བོ་གང་ཞེ་ན།	གང་ཞིག་བུད་མེད་མཛེས་པ་ལ།
ཆགས་པའི་མིག་གི་མངའ་ཡིས་ནི།	ཡིད་ལ་ཕོག་པར་མ་གྱུར་པའོ། [11]

10a: འདི་ལ་] G2, N2, P2: འདི་ན
 11b: མཛེས་པ་ལ་, G1, G2, N1, N2, P1, P2] C2 D2: མཛེས་པ་ལ་

For § 16, Tibetan has “Those (plural!) possessing attachment to vain things.” See here also Śuka § 20 (verse 6): *ko janmanāndho? madanāturo yo*. For § 17, see Śuka § 41 (verse 12): *sūrān mahāsūratamo hi ko vā? manojabānair vyathito na yas tu*.

Regarding the reading *vivyathita*, it may be that the image of the arrow attracted the reading *vyadhita*, which however is evidently an incorrect form of what should be *viddha*. However, note that Tibetan *phog par ma gyur pa* might well render *na viddha*, and therefore conceivably reflects the reading *vyadhita*.

10.8

pātuṃ karṇāñjalibhiḥ
 kim amṛtam iva yujyate sadupadeśaḥ |
 kiṃ gurutāyā mūlaṃ
 yad etad aprārthanam nāma || 8 ||

iva yujyate, C, D, F, L1, Penn] S: iha yujyate; K, L2, N, P1: iva budhyate; H, P2: iva pīyate; I: damaged
 gurutāyā mūlaṃ, D, F, H, I, K, L1, L2, N, P1, P2, Penn, S] C: guruvāyām utpaṃ
 aprārthanam, D, F, H, I, K, L1, L2, N, P1, P2, Penn, S] C: arthātham

What is suitable to be drunk as nectar with one’s ears as cupped hands?
 The teachings of good persons (18).
 What is the basis of exaltation? Not asking for anything at all (19).

རྣམ་སྟོན་བདུང་ཚི་ལྷ་བུ་གདམ། ཡང་དག་དོན་གྱི་མན་ངག་གོ།
 འདི་ན་སྣེ་བའི་ཚུ་བ་གདམ། གང་འདི་སྣེ་པར་གྱུར་པ་འོ། [12]

12a: རྣམ་སྟོན་] D2 རྣམ་སྟོན་; G1, N1, P1: ལྷ་བུ་གདམ; G2: རྣམ་གས-[effaced character]; N2, P2: རྣམ་གས

Regarding foot a, a verse with its key word is found in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*: 3.13.51:

ko nāma loke puruṣārthasāravit purākathānām bhagavatkathāsudhām |
 āpiya kaṛṇāñjalibhir bhavāpahām aho virajyeta vinā naretaram ||

The “teachings of good persons” may also be simply “good teachings.”

For § 19 and § 23 below, see Śuka § 58–59 (verse 18): *sadā laghutvaṁ ca kim? arthitaiva. gurutvaṁ asyaiva viparyayo ’sti*. There is a pairing of § 19’s *gurutā* with *lāghu* in § 23. Tibetan *lci ba* understands *guru* here as something like weightiness. Schiefner 1858: 19, item 20, understood Tibetan 12cd as: “Wer hat hieselbst die Wurzel der Schwere? Derjenige, der dumm ist.” There is no remark by either Foucaux or Kanakura. I cannot very well imagine what the Tibetan translators read in their Vorlage of the Sanskrit 8d. Sanskrit *pravarth* is generally rendered by *bslang pa*, such that *ma bslang pa* = *aprārthana*, but I cannot imagine how this might have become *blun pa*.

10.9

kiṁ gahanam strīcaritam
 kaś caturo yo na khaṇḍitas tena |
 kiṁ dāridryam atoṣaḥ
 evam kiṁ lāghavam yācñā || 9 ||

feet cd absent in C, D.

khaṇḍitas tena, C, D, F, H, I, K, L1, L2, P2, N, Penn, S] P1: khaṇḍitasetha

kiṁ dāridryam atoṣaḥ, F] N: kiṁ dāridryam asantoṣa; P1: kiṁ dāridragam aṁtoṣaḥ; L2,

P2: kiṁ dāridram asaṁtoṣa; Penn: kiṁ dāridryam asaṁtoṣaḥ; H: ac: kiṁ dāridryam asaṁtoṣa, pc: kiṁ dāridram asaṁtoṣa; K, L1: kiṁ dāridrayam asaṁtoṣa; I: kiṁ dāridam asaṁtoṣam; S: kiṁ duḥkham asaṁtoṣaḥ

evam kiṁ lāghavam yācñā] K: eva kiṁ lāghavam yācñā; N: eva kiṁ lāghavā yācñā; F: kiṁ laghutāmūlakaṁ yācñā; P1: evam kiṁ lāghavam yācā; L2, P2: eva(ri) kiṁ lāghavam yāñjā; L1: eva kiṁ ca lāghavam parayācñā; Penn: kiṁ ca lāghavam parayācnyā; H: eva kiṁ lāghavam ca yācñā; I: evamim lāghavam parayācyā; S: kiṁ lāghavam adhamato yācñā

What is an impenetrable forest? The behavior of women (20). Who is clever? The one who is not torn to pieces by that [behavior] (21). What is poverty? Just dissatisfaction (22). What is humiliation? Begging (23).

ཚང་ཚོང་མི་བཟང་གང་ཞེ་ན།	བུད་མིའི་དུས་ལྱི་སྐྱོད་པ་འོ།
ཤིན་ཏུ་སྒྲིན་པ་གང་ཞེ་ན།	གང་གིས་དེས་རྒྱུ་མ་གྱུར་པ་འོ། [13]
འདི་ན་དབུལ་པོ་གང་ཞེ་ན།	གང་ཞིག་ཚོག་གིས་མིང་པ་འོ།
ཤིན་ཏུ་ཡང་བ་གང་ཞེ་ན།	གཞན་སྣོད་སྣོད་མོ་པ་རྣམས་སོ། [14]

14c: ཡང་བ་, G1, G2, N1, N2, P1, P2] C2, D2: ཡངས་པ་

14d: གཞན་སྣོད་] G1, G2, N1, N2, P1, P2: གཞན་བསྣོད་

The reading of *cd* is highly problematic, and while what I print is metrical, I am not at all sure about it. For §20, see Śuka §53 (verse 16): *jñātum na śakyam hi kim asti sarvair? yośinmano yac caritam tadīyam*. For §21, see Śuka §42 (verse 12): *prājño 'tidhīras ca samasti ko vā? prāpto na moharñ lalanākaṭā-kṣaiḥ*. For §22, see Śuka §14 (verse 5): *ko vā daridro? tviśālatṛṣṇaḥ*. Tibetan seems to have had something like **iha* ('*di na*). For §23, see above under verse 8.

10.10

kiṃ jīvitam anavadyam
 kiṃ jāḍyam pāṭave 'py anabhyāsaḥ |
 ko jāgarti vivekī
 kā nidrā mūḍhatā jantoh || 10 ||

C has after verse 12.

kiṃ jāḍyam pāṭave py anabhyāsaḥ C, F, H, K, L1, L2, P2] S: kiṃ jāḍyam pāṭhato 'py anabhyāsaḥ; D: kiṃ jāḍyam pāṭave-py anabhyāsaḥ; P1: kiṃ tā—pāṭave py anuvyāsaḥ; Penn: kiṃ jāḍūyam pāṭave py anabhyāsaḥ; I: kiṃ jāḍyam pāṭhane 'py asaḥ; N: kiṃ jāḍyam pāṭhikeṣv anabhyāsaḥ

ko jāgarti, D, F, I, K, L1, Penn, S] H, N, P1: ko jāgaro; C, L2: ko jāgarī; P2: after jāga, one leaf is missing.

vivekī, C, F, H, I, K, L1, L2, P1, Penn, S] D: virāgi; N: vivekaḥ

mūḍhatā jantoh, C, D, F, K, L1, L2, N, P1, Penn, S] H: mūḍhatām jānto; I: mūḍhatā jāta jantoh

What is [correct] livelihood? [A livelihood that is] irreproachable (24).

What is sluggishness? Not practicing even when one has acuity (25).

Who is [truly] awake? One who discriminates [correctly] (26). What is sleep? The confused state of a person (27).

དོན་ཡོད་འཚོ་བ་གང་ཞེ་ན།	ལ་ན་མ་ཐོ་མེད་པ་འོ།
སྐྱེས་བུ་སྐྱེན་པ་གང་ཞེ་ན།	མ་ལས་བྱ་ལེ་ཡུལ་ལ་མི་སྐྱོབ་པ་འོ། [15]
གཉིད་ཀྱིས་མ་ལོག་གང་ཞེ་ན།	མ་རྗེས་དོན་གྱི་བྱ་བ་ཤེས།
གཉིད་ཀྱིས་ལོག་པ་གང་ཞེ་ན།	སྐྱེས་བུ་ཤིན་ཏུ་རྗེས་པ་འོ། [16]

Tibetan *mkhas bya* (15d) is related to \sqrt{pat} . For § 24, see Śuka § 36 (verse 11): *kiṃ jīvanam? doṣavivarjitam yat*. Tibetan understands the question as “meaningful livelihood.” For § 25, Tibetan has: “not practicing what one is skilled at / in the domain in which one should be good.” For § 26, see Śuka § 11 (verse 4): *jāgarti ko vā? sadasadvivekī*. It may be that *jāgaro vivekaḥ* goes better with *nidrā* (and the Prakrit of Pavolini 1898 has *ko jāgaro*), but if so this is a minority reading.

10.11

nalinīdalagatajalavat

taralaṃ kiṃ yauvanaṃ dhanam cāyuh |

ke śaśadharakaranikarā-

nukāriṇaḥ sajjanā eva || 11 ||

nalinīdalagatajalavat taralaṃ, F, S] D, H (pc), I, K, L1, L2, Penn: nalinīdalagatajalavatara-
lam; P1: nalinīdalagatajalam iva taralaṃ; N: nalinīdalagatajalavat taralaṃ; C: nalini-
dalajalataralaṃ, followed by kiṃ kiṃ kiṃ (!)

dhanam cāyuh, C, (I), L1, Penn, S] F, H, K, L2: dhanam athāyuh; P1: dhananadhātuḥ; D:
dhanam jāyāḥ

ke śaśadharakaranikarānukāriṇaḥ, F, H, I, K, L1, L2, N, P1, Penn] S: kathaya punaḥ ke śaśi-
naḥ kiraṇasamāḥ; D: ke śaśadharasya kiraṇānukāriṇaḥ; C: ke śaśadharakaranikaropa-
kāriṇaḥ (the Prakrit in Pavolini 1898 reads the line: *ke sasaharakaranīyarā uvayāriṇo
sajjanā evam*)

What quivers in transience like a drop of water on a lotus petal? Youth,
wealth and lifespan (28).

Who are like the mass of moon-beams [in giving relief]? Only the virtu-
ous (29).

པད་མའི་འདབ་ཆགས་ཚུམིགས་ལྟར། མི་བརྟན་ལྷུང་འཇིག་གང་ཞེ་ན།
 ལྷོས་བུ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ལང་ཚོ་དང། མོར་དང་དེ་བཞིན་ཚོ་ཉིད་དོ། [17]
 ལྷ་ཟེར་ལྟ་བུའི་ཡིད་འོང་གང། ལྷོ་བོ་དམ་པ་མན་འདོད་པའོ། [18ab]

18a: ལྷ་ཟེར་, G1, G2, N1, N2, P1, P2] C2, D2: ལྷ་ཚོས་

18b: མན་འདོད་པའོ་] P2: མན་འདོགས་པའོ

Quoted in the anthology *Śārngadharaḥpadhati*, dating to 1363, with the reading *nalinīdalagatajalalavataralaṃ* (Peterson 1888: 88, verse 557⁶¹). Harunaga Isaacson point out that the *Mohamudgara* (popularly *Bhaja Govindam*), attributed to Śaṅkara, reads in 4ab: *nalinīdalagatajalalam atitaralaṃ tadvajjīvitam atīśaya-capalam*.

Regarding the reading of our text, the evidence of the Tibetan is a bit ambiguous: *ltar* certain supports °*vat*, but *tshig* supports *lava*. The reading of P2 in 18b, *phan 'dogs pa*, might agree with the Prakrit *uvayāriṇo* in representing **upakāra*, which is in fact the reading in Sanskrit manuscript C. Tib. 18a seems to mean, “what is pleasing like moon-beams?”, while 18b seems to mean “good people who wish to benefit others.” For § 28, see Śuka § 91 (verse 29): *vidyuccalaṃ kim? dhanayauvanāyur*. (For *vidyut*, see § 59, below.)

10.12

ko narakah paravaśatā
 kiṃ saukhyaṃ sarvasaṅgaviratir yā |
 kiṃ satyaṃ bhūtahitaṃ
 priyaṃ ca kiṃ prāṇinām asavaḥ || 12 ||

kiṃ satyaṃ bhūtahitaṃ, D, H, K, L2, P1, S] I: kiṃ sātyaṃ bhūtahitaṃ; F, L1, Penn: kiṃ sādhyāṃ bhūtahitaṃ; N: kiṃ pathyaṃ bhūtahitaṃ; C: saṃsāre niḥsāre
 priyaṃ ca kiṃ prāṇinām asavaḥ, S] L1, Penn: kiṃ priyaṃ prāṇinām asavaḥ (unmetrical);
 I: kiṃ priyaṃ ca prāṇinām asavaḥ (unmetrical); P1: kiṃ preyaḥ prāṇinām asamaḥ; C:
 kiṃ priyaṃ prāṇinām aśmavaḥ (?); F, H, K, L2: kiṃ preyaḥ prāṇinām asavaḥ; D: kiṃ priyam iha jīvinām asavaḥ; N: kva prema ṇāṇinām asavaḥ

What is hell? Being subject to the control of another (30). What is pleasure? Disinterest in every sort of attachment (31).

What is truth? Benefitting creatures (32). And what is dear to beings? Life (33).

61 And on this basis also in the modern *Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāram*, Āchārya 1952: 171, vs. 790, and elsewhere.

དམུལ་དང་འདྲ་བ་གང་ཞེ་ན།	གཞན་གྱི་དབང་དུ་གྱུར་པ་ལོ། [18cd]
ཤིན་ཏུ་བདེ་བ་གང་ཞེ་ན།	འདུ་འཛི་ཀུན་ལ་མ་ཆགས་པ་ལོ།
{+ + + +} ཞེ་ན།	ཡང་དག་པོ་པར་འགྱུར་བ་ལོ།
སློབ་ཆགས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་དགའ་བྱ་གང།	དོན་ཡོད་འཚོ་བའི་སློབ་ཉིད་དོ། [19]

18c: དམུལ་དང་འདྲ་བ་] G1, N1, P1: དམུལ་བ་དང་འདྲ་; G2: དམུལ་དམུལ་དང་འདྲ་བ་

19cd: Only in the Khara-khoto MS; see discussion in the Introduction above. I have added the tsheg between *ba* and *o* for the metre; it is not written in the manuscript.

19e: རྣམས་ཀྱི་, G1, G2, N1, N2, P1, P2] C2, D2: རྣམས་ནི་

As an example of the sort of parallels one might identify elsewhere in Indian literature, in addition to the verse cited above in note 57, for § 31 see perhaps again Bhartṛhari's *Epigram* (Kosambi 2000: 154, § 468a): *kim asukham prājñetaraiḥ saṃgamaḥ*. For *virati*, Tibetan suggests “nonattachment.” Tibetan understands the answer to § 33 as “a meaningful life.”

10.13

kim dānam anākāṅkṣam
 kim mitraṃ yan nivartayati pāpāt ||
 ko 'laṅkāraḥ śīlaṃ
 kim vācām maṇḍanam satyam || 13 ||

For C this comes after verse 16; in S this is #22.

anākāṅkṣam, C, D, F, H, K, L1, L2, N, S] P1: anāmkāṅkṣam; Penn: anākāṅkṣyam; I: anākāṅkṣā

kim mitraṃ, C, F, H, I, K, L1, L2, P1, S] D: tūrtham kim; Penn: mitraṃ

yan nivartayati, D, N, P1] C, F: yan nivārayati; H, K, L1, L2, P2 (resumes here), Penn: yan nivārt(t)ayati; I: yo nivārayati. Tibetan *zlog byed* would seem to support connection either with *ni√vr̥* or *ni√vr̥t*.

What is generosity? [A gift] without expectation [of any return] (34).

Who is a friend? One who restrains one from evil (35).

What is the ornament [of life]? Restraint (36). What is the adornment of speech? The truth (37).

ལྷགས་པར་བྱིན་པ་གང་ཞེ་ན།	ལན་ལ་རེ་བ་མེད་པ་འོ།
མཛེས་བཤེས་ཡིད་འོང་གང་ཞེ་ན།	གང་ཞེ་གཟིག་ལས་སྒྲོག་བྱེད་པ་འོ། [20]
མཛེས་པའི་རྒྱན་ནི་གང་ཞེ་ན།	གང་ཞེ་གཟུལ་ཁྲིམས་ལུན་ཚོགས་པ་འོ།
ཚོག་གི་རྒྱན་གྱུར་གང་ཞེ་ན།	གཞན་ལ་མི་སྐྱུ་བདེན་པའི་ངག། [21]

20a: G2, N2, P2 skip from the end of verse 19 to 24a.
 20d: རྒྱག་བྱེད་པ་འོ] G1, N1, P1: རྒྱག་བྱེད་པ་འོ

Tibetan in 21d understands: “Speaking truthfully to others.”

10.14

kim anarthaphalaṃ mānasam
 asaṃyataṃ kā sukhāvahā maitrī |
 sarvavyasanavināśe
 ko dakṣaḥ sarvathā tyāgī || 14 ||

kim anarthaphalaṃ mānasam asaṃyataṃ, C, D, F, N] S: ko 'narthaphalo mānaḥ; H, K, L2, P1: kim anarthaphalaṃ mānasam asaṃgataṃ; P2: kim anarthaphala mānasam asaṃgataṃ; L1, Penn: kim anarthaphalaṃ mānaḥ susaṃgati(ḥ); I: kim anarthaphalaṃ mānaḥ susaṃ///. Tibetan *ma bsdams pa* supports *asaṃyata*.
 kā sukhāvahā maitrī, C, D, F, H, K, L1, L2, N, P1, Penn] S: kā sukhadā sādhujanamaitrī; P2: kā sukhādahā maitrī; (I: /// hā maitrī)
 sarvathā tyāgī, D, S] P2: sarvathā tyāgīḥ; F, I, L1, Penn: sarvarthā parityāgī (unmetrical, hence W: *read metri causa sarvparityāgī*); P1: sarvaprātyāgaḥ; H, K, (L2?): sarvathā tyāgaḥ; N: sarvadā tyāgaḥ; I: sa????ā parityāgī; C: yo sarvadā tyāgī.

What results in disasters? An unrestrained mind (38). What confers pleasure? Friendliness (39).
 Who is adept at destroying all addictions? One who is in every respect a renunciant (40).

ཕུང་ཚོལ་འབྲས་འབྱིན་གང་ཞེ་ན།	ཡིད་ནི་ཀུན་དུ་མ་བསྐྱམས་པ་འོ།
བདེ་བ་འཕྲོག་བྱེད་གང་ཞེ་ན།	ཀུན་ལ་བྱམས་ཤིང་ཕན་བྱེད་པ་འོ། [22]
ཕོངས་པ་ཀུན་འཇིག་མཁས་པ་གང།	ཐམས་ཅད་དུ་ནི་སྐྱལ་ལྔ་ན་པ་འོ། [23ab]

23b: See the discussion above

Sanskrit *anartha* is rendered with *phung khrol*, as in *Bodhicaryāvatāra* VIII.40.

For the Tibetan correspondent to *tyāgī*, see the discussion in the Introduction, above. Although *tyāga* might be a better reading (What is adept at destroying all addictions? Renunciation in every respect), the Tibetan *skal ldan pa* suggests the unattested **bhāgīn*, but in any event therefore the possessive suffix, °*in*.

10.15

ko 'ndho yo 'kāryarataḥ
 ko badhiro yaḥ śṛṇoti na hitāni |
 ko mūko yaḥ kāle
 priyāṇi vaktuṃ na jānāti || 15 ||

In C, after verse 22; for S, this is #21.

yaḥ śṛṇoti na hitāni, C, D, F, H, I, K, L1, L2, N, P1, P2, Penn] S: yo hitāni na śṛṇoti
 kāle priyāṇi, C, D, F, H (pc), I, K, L1, L2, N, P2, Penn, S] P1: kāli divyāṇi

Who is blind? One who delights in what is wrong (41). Who is deaf? One who does not listen to what is beneficial (42).

Who is dumb? One who does not know to speak agreeably at the appropriate time (43).

སྐྱེས་བུ་དམུས་འོང་གང་ཞེ་ན།	བྱ་བ་མ་ཡིན་ལ་དགའ་བའོ། [23cd]
འོན་པར་གྱུར་པ་གང་ཞེ་ན།	ཕན་དང་མི་ཕན་མི་ཉན་པ་འོ།
སྣེ་མེད་རྒྱལ་པ་གང་ཞེ་ན།	གང་ཞེ་ག་སྐྱེས་སྐྱེ་མི་ཞེས་པ་འོ། [24]

For §42–43, see Śuka §62–63 (verse 19): *mūkaś ca ko vā vadhiraś ca ko vā? vaktuṃ na yuktam samaye samarthaḥ tathyam sa pathyam na śṛṇoti vākyaṃ*.

For §42, Tibetan has: does not listen to the beneficial and unbeneficial.

10.16

kiṃ maraṇaṃ mūrkhataṃ
 kiṃ cānarghyaṃ yad avasare dattam |
 ā maraṇāt kiṃ śalyaṃ
 pracchannaṃ yat kṛtam akāryam || 16 ||

kiṃ maraṇaṃ, C, D, F, H, I, K, L₁, L₂, N, P₂, Penn, S] P₁ (ac): kiṃ maprā(?)raṇaṃ; P₁ (pc)
 jiṃ maprā(?)raṇaṃ
 kiṃ cānarghyaṃ yad avasare, C, D, F, H (ac), I, K, L₁, L₂, Penn] S: kiṃ cānarghaṃ yad
 avasare; P₂: kiṃ cārghyaṃ yad avasare; H (pc): kiṃm anarghyaṃ yad avasare; P₁: - - -
 - - - re; N: kiṃ cānarghaṃ yad etad avasare
 ā maraṇāt, D, F, H, I, K, L₁, L₂, N, P₁, P₂, Penn, S] C: ābharaṇāt
 pracchannaṃ yat kṛtam akāryam, F, H, K, L₂, P₂] P₁: - - lam ya kṛtam akāryaṃ; D, I, L₁, Penn,
 S: pracchannaṃ yat kṛtaṃ pāpaṃ; N: pracchannaṃ yat kṛtam akāryam; C: pracchinnāṃ
 yat kṛtam akāryaṃ

What is death? Foolishness (44). And what is priceless? What is given in
 the right situation (45).

What is a thorn tormenting until death? The forbidden act performed
 secretly (46).

སྐྱེས་བུའི་འཆི་བ་གང་ཞེ་ན།།	སྐྱེན་ཞིང་གཏི་མུག་ཅན་ཉིད་དོ།
རིན་ཆེན་གྱུར་པ་གང་ཞེ་ན།།	གང་ཞིག་དུས་སུ་འབྱིན་བྱེད་པའོ། [25]
མི་ཡི་བླག་རྩུར་གྱུར་པ་གང་།།	དབེན་པར་བྱ་མིན་གྲས་པ་འོ། [26ab]

Tibetan *bya min* is equivalent to *akārya*, also supported by the Prakrit version's *akajjam*, not the alternative reading *pāpa*.

10.17

kutra vidheyo yatno
 vidyābhyāse sadauśadhe dāne |
 avadhīraṇā kva kāryā
 khalaparayoṣitparadhaneṣu || 17 ||

kutra, C, D, F, H, I, K, L1, L2, N, P2, Penn, S] P1: atra
 vidyābhyāse sadauśadhe, C, D, F, H, I, K, L1, L2, P2, Penn, S] I: vidyā vidyābhyāse sadau-
 śadhe; P1: vidyā—ro sadośathe; N: vidyābhyāse sadauśadhī
 dāne, D, F, H, I, K, L1, L2, N, P1, Penn, S] C: dyane
 khalaparayoṣitparadhaneṣu, D, F, H, K, L2, N, P2, Penn, S] P1: khalakhalaparayoṣitpara-
 dhareṣu; I: khalaparayoṣitparanveṣu; L1: khalaparayoṣitparasveṣu; C: khalaparayoṣita-
 parasveṣu

Where is effort to be exerted? In repeated study, in [searching for] true
 remedies, and in giving (47).

What should one avoid? The badly behaved, another's wife and
 another's wealth (48).

གང་ལ་འབད་བྱ་གང་ཞེ་ན།	རིག་པ་ལེགས་པར་སློབ་པ་དང། [26cd]
སྤོན་ཆེན་ཚུལ་བཞིན་བསྟེན་པ་དང།	སྤྱིན་པ་ཀུན་དུ་གཏོང་བ་ལོ།
བསྟོན་མེད་བྱ་བ་གང་ཞེ་ན།	འགྲོ་བ་མི་སྤྱོད་འདུལ་མིན་དང། [27]
ཆགས་གྲུར་གཞན་གྱི་བུད་མེད་དང།	འབྲེལ་མེད་གཞན་གྱི་ཚོར་རྣམས་ལ་ལོ། [28ab]

10.18

kāharnīśam anucintyā
 saṃsārāsāratā na tu pramadā |
 kā preyaśi vidheyā
 karuṇā dākṣiṇyam api maitrī || 18 ||

Feet cd absent in D.

kāharnīśam, C, D, F, I, K, L1, L2, N, P1, Penn, S] P2: kā 'harnīśim; H: kāharnīśim; N (ac): kā
 'hīrniśam
 na tu pramadā, F, I, L1, N, Penn, S] D, H, K, L2, P1, P2: na ca pramadā
 karuṇā dākṣiṇyam api, H, K, L2, N] P1: kasaṇā dākṣiṇyam api; P2: karuṇā dākṣiṇya 'm apya;
 F: karuṇā dākṣiṇyam atha [this is Prakrit *aha*, in the phrase *karuṇā dāhiṇṇam aha*]; I,
 Penn, S: karuṇā dīneṣu sajjane; L1: karaṇā dīneṣu sajjane; C: karuṇād dākṣiṇyam sajjane

What should one contemplate day and night? The vanity of transmigra-
tion—but not women (49).

What is to be considered dearest? Compassion, kindness and friendli-
ness (50).

གང་ཞིག་ཉིན་དང་མཚན་རྣམས་སྟུ།	བསམ་པར་བྱ་བ་གང་ཞེ་ན། [28cd]
འཁོར་བ་སྣོད་ལོ་མེད་ཉིད་ལ།	བག་མེད་པར་ནི་མི་བྱ་ལོ།
ཡིད་དུ་འོང་བ་གང་ཞེ་ན།	གཡོ་མེད་ཀུན་དུ་སྣོད་རྗེར་ལྡན། [29]
སྣྱོན་པར་བྱ་བ་གང་ཞེ་ན།	བྱམས་པའི་སེམས་དང་ཡང་དག་ལྡན། [30ab]

For § 49, see Śūka § 99 (verse 31): *aharniṣaṁ kiṁ paricintanīyaṁ? saṁsāra-mithyātvaśivātmātattvam*. In § 50, Tibetan has “possessing unshakable universal compassion.” In Tibetan 29b, *bag med pa* is evidently a mistranslation, as pointed out by Kanakura 1935: 438n, reading *pramāda* (without case ending?) instead of *pramadā*. Tib. makes a question out of 30a: “What should be given” (**kā preyaśiva deya?*). 30b suggests something like **maitrī-samanvitam/-samyuktam*. There is evidently a significant variation here from the available Sanskrit text.

10.19

kaṅṭhagatair apy asubhiḥ
kasyātmā no samarpyate jātu |
mūrkhasya viśādasya ca
garvasya tathā kṛtaghnasya || 19 ||

kaṅṭhagatair apy asubhiḥ, C, D F, H, I, K, L1, Penn, S] P1: kaṁ vyāvair apy astutiḥ; L2: kaṅṭhagatair apy aśrubhiḥ; P2: kaṅṭhagatair a'pyaṁ śubhiḥ
kasyātmā no samarpyate jātu, K, L2, Commentary in Vimalabodhi Vijaya 2005] F, N: ka-
syātmā nopasarpate jātu; W: kasyātmā nopasarpate jātu (*suggesting F's* nopasarpate
is rather nopasarpate); S: kasya hy ātmā na śakyate jetuṁ; P1: kasyātmā no vā aryyate
jaṁtoḥ; P2: kasyā 'tmā no na saṁmarpyate jaṁtuḥ; H: kasya mano na samarpyate yat
tu; I, L1, Penn: kasyātmā na vaśam upayāti; D: kasya mano na vaśatārṁ yāti; C: kasya
mano na vaśyatārṁ yāti
mūrkhasya, D, F, H, K, L2, P1, P2, S] I, L1, Penn: mūrkhasyā
viśādasya ca garvasya tathā kṛtaghnasya, F, H, K, L2] P1: viśādasya ca garvasya bhavākṛta-
ghaṇa; D: viśādavato ea garvavato vai tathā kṛtaghnasya; P2: viśādasya garvasya tathā
kṛtaghnasya; I, L1, Penn: śāṅkitasya viśādavataḥ kṛtaghnasya; S: śāṅkitasya ca viśādino
vā kṛtaghnasya; N: vipannasya garvasya tathā kṛtaghnasya; C: viśādavato garvavato vai
kṛtaghnasya

To what should one never give oneself over, even at the point of death?

To a fool, and to despondency, to pride and to an ungrateful person (51).

ལྷོག་མར་སློབ་མི་ལྷན་སྐྱུར་ཀྱང་ནི། བདག་དང་མི་འབྲེལ་གང་ཞེ་ན། [30cd]

སློན་པ་སློན་ནི་ལྷན་པ་དང། ཀྱུན་གནོད་བྱས་པ་མི་གཞོ་བའོ། [31ab]

For § 51, see Śuka § 56 (verse 17): *vāso na saṃgaḥ saha kair vidheyo? mūrkhaiś ca pāpaiś ca khalaiś ca nīcaiḥ*. The incredible instability of the readings in foot b illustrates the tradition's uncertainty of the intended sense here. For invaluable suggestions about this verse I am in debt to Harunaga Isaacson.

10.20

kaḥ pūjyaḥ sadvṛttaḥ
kam adhamam ācakṣate calitavṛttam |
kena jitaṃ jagad etat
satyatitikṣāvātā puṃsā || 20 ||

kaḥ pūjyaḥ sadvṛttaḥ, F, H, I, K, L1, L2, N, P2, Penn] S: kaḥ sādhuḥ sadvṛttaḥ; P1: vā ayaḥ sadvṛttaḥ; D: kaḥ pūjyaḥ sādhuḥ sadvṛttaḥ; C: sadvṛtaḥ
adhamam, D, F, H, I, K, L1, L2, N, P2, Penn, S] P1: adhagam; K: adhanam; C: atham
calitavṛttam, C, D (pc), F, H, K, L2, N, P2] D (ac), P1: calitaṃ vṛttaṃ; L1, Penn, S: tv asadvṛttaṃ; I: ca sa vṛttaṃ
jagad etat, C, D, F, H, I, K, L1, L2, N, Penn, S] P1: jatahe tadā; P2: gajād etat
satyatitikṣāvātā puṃsā, F, L1, L2, N, Penn, S] P1: satyativikṣayatāṃ puṃsāṃ; P2: satyatitikṣāvātā puṃsāḥ; H: satyatitikṣāvātā puṃsāṃ; I: satyadhuti?titikṣāvātā puṃsāṃ; D: satyatitikṣāvātāṃ puṃsāṃ; C: satyatitikṣāvavā pusā

Who should be honored? One of good conduct (52). Whom do they declare to be vilest? The one whose conduct has deviated [from the right course] (53).

By whom is this world conquered? By a man possessed of truth and patience (54).

མཚོད་པར་བྱ་བ་གང་ཞེ་ན། ལེགས་པ་རྣམས་ལ་འཇིགས་པོ། [31cd]
 ཐ་ཤལ་དུ་ནི་ཤེས་བྱ་གང། ཚུམ་པ་ཀུན་ལ་མི་བརྟན་པོ།
 འགྲོ་བ་འདི་དག་ཐམས་ཅད་ལས། དེས་པར་རྒྱལ་བ་གང་ཞེ་ན། [32]
 རྒྱུས་བྱ་བ་དེན་པར་སྐྱ་བ་དང། བཟོད་པ་ཡང་དག་ལྷན་པོ། [33ab]

32b: ཚུམ་པ་] G2: བཟོན་པ་; N2, P2: བཟོམ་པ་
 32c: འདི་དག་] C2, D, G1, N1, P1: ཀུན་ལ་; འདི་དག་ ≈ *etat*.

10.21

kasmai namaḥ surair api
 sutarām kriyate dayāpradhānāya |
 kasmād udvijitavyam
 saṁsārāraṇyataḥ sudhiyā || 21 ||

namaḥ surair api sutarām kriyate, C, D, F, H (pc), K, L2, P2]; P1: namaḥ surair api śuta
 saṁkriyate; L1, Penn: namaskriyā syād devānām api ca; I: namā?ki yās?ā dedavānām
 api ca; S: namāṁsi devāḥ kurvanti; N: namaḥ surair api niratām kriyate; *api* is sup-
 ported by །ཡང་.
 dayāpradhānāya, C, F, H, K, L2, P1, P2, S] I, L1, Penn: dayāpradhānasya; D: dayāpradhānāya;
 N: yadāpradhāno yaḥ
 udvijitavyam, C, F, H, K, L2, N, P1, P2] S: udvegah syāt; D, I, L1, Penn: udvejitavyam.
 saṁsārāraṇyataḥ, C, D, F, H, I, K (*kha*), L1, N, P1, Penn, S] P2: saṁsārāraṇyaḥtaḥ; K (*ka*):
 saṁsārāvāsataḥ; L2: saṁsārānyavaḥ
 sudhiyā, C, D, F, H, K, L1, L2, N, P1, P2, Penn] I, S: sudhiyaḥ

To whom do even the gods offer profound respect? To one who whose
 chief goal is compassion (55).
 From what should one shrink in fear? The wise one [shrinks in fear]
 from the wilderness of transmigration (56).

ལྷས་ཀྱང་གུས་པས་ཕྱག་བྱས་གང། ལྷིང་རྗེ་གཙོ་བོར་བྱེད་པོ། [33cd]
 གང་ལས་སྦྱོར་བར་བྱ་ཞེ་ན། མཁས་པས་འཁོར་བའི་འགྲོག་དགོན་ལས། [34ab]

33c: ཕྱག་བྱས་གང་, G1, G2, N1, N2, P1, P2] C2, D2: ཕྱག་བྱ་གང་
 33d: ལྷིང་རྗེ་] G1, G2, N1, N2, P1, P2: ལྷིང་བརྗེ་
 34a: གང་ལས་] Ex. conj. All editions གང་ལ་

10.22

kasya vaśe prāṇigaṇaḥ
 satyapriyabhāṣiṇo vinitasya |
 kva sthātavyaṃ nyāyē
 pathi dṛṣṭādṛṣṭalābhāya || 22 ||

kasya vaśe, D, F, H, K, Lz, P1, P2, S] I, L1, Penn: kasya vaśāḥ; N: kasya vaśī?; C: kasya vaśaḥ
 prāṇigaṇaḥ, C, F, H, K, Lz, N, P1, P2, Penn, S] D, I, L1: prāṇigaṇāḥ
 satyapriyabhāṣiṇo, C, D, F, H, K, Lz, N, P1, P2, S] L1, Penn: satyapriyabhāṣaṇa; I: satyapriya-
 bhāṣa
 vinitasya, D, F, H, I, K, L1, Lz, N, P1, P2, Penn, S] C: vigaṃtasya
 pathi, C, D, F, H, K, Lz, N, P1, P2, S] I, L1, Penn: pathi ca
 dṛṣṭādṛṣṭalābhāya, D, F, I, K (ka), Lz, P1, P2] S: dṛṣṭādṛṣṭalābhādḥya; C, K (kha), L1, N, Penn:
 dṛṣṭādṛṣṭārthalābhāya (unmetrical); H (pc): draṣṭadṛṣṭilābhāya

To whom are people obedient? To one who speaks what is true and agreeable, and who is humble (57).

Where should one be fixed? On the right path, in order to obtain seen and unseen [benefits in this world and the next] (58).

སློབ་ཆགས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཚོགས་དག་ནི།	གང་གི་དབང་དུ་འགྱུར་ཞེ་ན། [34cd]
གང་ཞིག་ཕན་དང་སྐྱེན་སྲུང་དང་།	དུལ་བར་སློབ་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་སོ།
སྐྱེས་བུ་ལེགས་པར་འདོད་པ་ཡིས།	གང་ལ་གནས་པར་བྱ་ཞེ་ན། [35]
མཐོང་དང་མ་མཐོང་ཐོབ་བྱའི་ཕྱིར།	བདེན་པའི་ལམ་ལ་ངེས་གནས་བྱ། [36ab]

36a: ཐོབ་བྱའི་ཕྱིར་, G1, G2, N1, N2, P1, P2] C2, D2: བྱ་བའི་ཕྱིར་

Tibetan renders the question in § 58 “Where should a being who seeks to obtain the good”

10.23

vidyudvilasitacapaḷaṃ
 kiṃ durjanasaṅgatiṛ yuvatayaś ca |
 kulaśailaniṣprakampāḥ
 ke kalikāle 'pi satpuruṣāḥ || 23 ||

vidyudvilasitacapaḷaṃ, C, F, H, K, L1, L2, N, P1, P2, Penn, S] D: vidyudvilapitacapaḷaṃ; I: vidyudvilasitacalaṃ
 durjanasaṅgatiṛ, D, F, I, L1, Penn, S] P1: durjjanaṃ saṅgataṛ; P2: saṅgataṛ durjana; H, K, N: durjanasaṅgataṛ; L2: durjahasaṅgataṛ; C: durjanasaṅgatiś ca
 kulaśailaniṣprakampāḥ, F, H, K, N, P2] C, D, I, L1, L2, P1, Penn, S: kulaśilaniṣprakampāḥ
 satpuruṣāḥ, C, D, F, H, I, K, L1, L2, N, P1, P2, Penn] S: sajjanā eva

What is unsteady like a flash of lightning? Association with bad people and young women (59).
 Who are unshakable like enormous mountains? Those who are noble even in the degenerate Kali age (60).

སྒོ་གཞུང་མི་བརྟན་གང་ཞེ་ན། སྐྱེས་བུ་དམ་པ་ཕྱད་བརྟེན་པ་འོ། [37ab]
 རིགས་ཀྱི་རི་ལྷ་རམ་གཡོ་གང་། ཚོད་དུས་སྐྱེས་བུ་དམ་པ་འོ། [38cd]

In § 59, it is very odd that Tibetan has “association with good persons” (noted also by Kanakura 1935: 440). It is hard to imagine what the translators read, but perhaps (unmetrically) *sujana*^o in place of *durjana*^o? However, the absence of any equivalent for *yuvatayaś ca* suggests that their Vorlage may have had an entirely different line here. Note that *skyes bu dam pa* appears immediately below this in 38d, where it renders *satpuruṣa*. In § 60, instead of “Kali age” one might understand “time of conflict.” *Kula* is understood literally in Tibetan with *rigs*. It would perhaps make better sense to take *kalikāle 'pi* with the question, but the Tibetan translation clearly takes it with the answer.

10.24

kiṃ śocyaiṃ kārpaṇyaiṃ
 sati vibhave kiṃ praśasyam audāryam |
 tanutaravittasya tathā
 prabhaviṣṇor yat sahiṣṇutvam || 24 ||

Verse absent in C, D; see below for cd in I, L1, Penn, S
 śocyaiṃ, F, H, I, K, L1, P1, S] P2: śocya; Penn: śācyaiṃ; L2, N: śaucyaiṃ
 kārpaṇyaiṃ, F, H, I, K, L2, N, P2, Penn] L1, P1: kāryyanyaiṃ
 kiṃ praśasyam audāryaiṃ, F, H, I, K, L2, N, P2] L1, Penn, S: kiṃ praśastam audāryaiṃ; P1: ki
 praśasyam audāryaiṃ
 tanutaravittasya H, K, N, P1, P2] F: na tu gatavittasya (W emends: nanu gatavittasya); L2
 tanv ataravittasya
 prabhaviṣṇor yat sahiṣṇutvam, F, H, K, N] P1: prabhaviṣmor yat sahiṣmutvaiṃ; L2, P2: pra-
 bhuviṣṇor yat sahiṣṇutvaiṃ

What is deplorable? Niggardliness when one is wealthy (61). What is
 praiseworthy? The magnanimity
 of one who has very little wealth, and likewise the forbearance of one
 who is powerful (62).

མྱ་ངན་འགྲུར་བ་གང་ཞེ་ན།།	འགྲོར་བ་ཡོད་བཞིན་ཞེན་པ་འོ།། [36cd]
བསྐྱབས་པར་བྱ་བ་གང་ཞེ་ན།།	གང་ཞིག་སློ་གྲོས་ཆེ་བ་དང།། [37cd]
ཤིན་ཏུ་ཉམ་ཚུངས་སྟོབས་མེད་ལ།།	རྒྱས་དང་ལྡན་ཞིང་བཟོད་བྱེད་པ་འོ།། [38ab]

36d: ཡོད་བཞིན་, G2, N1, N2, P1, P2] C2, D2: བཞིན་བྱེད་; G1: ཡོད་ཡིན་

In I, L1, Penn, S, this verse comes below verse 26. They read cd as:

kaḥ pūjyo vidvadbhiḥ svabhāvataḥ sarvadā vinīto yaḥ
 sarvadā, S] Penn: sarvathā; I: sarvaṭhā; L1: sadā

Who should be honored by the wise? One who is by nature always/in
 every respect humble.

Kanakura 1935: 440 has commented at length on this verse. See Appendix 1 for
 the continuation of verses in I, L1 and Penn.

10.25

cintāmaṇir iva durlabham
 iha kiṃ kathayāmi nanu caturbhadraṃ |
 kiṃ tad vadanti bhūyo
 vidhūtatamaso viśeṣeṇa || 25 ||

Omitted in N. Feet cd absent in C, D.

cintāmaṇir, D, F, H, I, K, L₁, L₂, P₁, P₂, Penn, S] C: maṇir
 durlabham iha, D, F, H, I, K, L₁, L₂, P₁, Penn, S] P₂: durlabhaṃ; C: satataṃ
 kiṃ kathayāmi, C, F, H, I, K, L₁, L₂, P₁, Penn, S] P₂: kim iha kathayāmi; D: kiṃ kathaye
 nanu, F, H, K, L₂, P₁, P₂] S: tac; C, I, Penn: ø; L₁: te; D: written and cancelled
 kiṃ tad vadanti, F, H, K, L₂, S] P₂: kiṃ tad vadati; I, L₁, Penn: kiṃ tad vadeti; P₁: etad
 vadanti
 vidhūtatamaso, H, I, K, L₁, L₂, P₁, Penn (pc), S] F: 'vidhutamanaso (W: *for metre* 'vidhūta-
 manaso); P₂: vidhutaṃ tamaso

What is rare here [in the world] like a wish-fulfilling gem? I will tell you:
 surely the four good things.

What are they? Those who have shaken off ignorance speak of these
 again and again in distinguishing them:

འདིན་སྐྱེས་སུས་ཆེད་དཀའ་བའི།། བཟང་པོ་བཞི་ནི་གང་ཞེ་ན།། [39ab]

Tibetan has no equivalent to 25cd, and the text proceeds directly to the answer in the next verse. As we saw above with Tibetan verse 19, however, some portion of the original was already lost to the version enshrined in the Tanjurs, so the absence of the line here does not *necessarily* provide evidence for an original absence from the translation produced by Kamalagupta and Rin chen bzang po. The text, however, is coherent without the missing passage. Note that Weber, who emended the text, understood it rather as: “Nun, und was nennen denn speciell so die, deren Sinn unerschüttert ist.”

10.26

dānaṃ priyavāksahitaṃ
 jñānam agarvaṃ kṣamānviṭaṃ śauryam |
 tyāgasahitaṃ ca vittaṃ
 durlabham etac caturbhadram || 26 ||

kṣamānviṭaṃ, F, H, I, K, L1, L2, N, P1, P2, Penn, S] D: kṣamāyuntaṃ; C: kṣamāyutaṃ
 tyāgasahitaṃ ca vittaṃ, H, K, N, P1] L2: tyāgasahitaṃ ca cittaṃ; P2: tyāgasahitaṃ ca
 vittaṃ ca; C, F, S: vittaṃ tyāgasametaṃ; D: vittaṃ tyāgasametaṃ ea-vittaṃ; I, L1, Penn:
 tyāgasametaṃ vittaṃ

Charity, accompanied by affectionate speech; knowledge free of pride;
 valor linked with patience;
 and wealth accompanied by generosity—these four good things are rare
 (64).

ལྷོན་པ་སྐྱེན་སྐྱེར་བཅས་པ་དང། ཤེས་པ་མེད་པར་ལྡན། [39cd]
 བཟོད་པ་བརྩོན་འགྲུས་བཅས་པ་དང། སེམས་ནི་རྣལ་འབྱོར་ལྡན་པ་འོ། [40ab]

39d: མེད་པར་ལྡན།, G1, N1, N2, P1] C2, D2: མེད་ལྡན་དང།; G2, P2: མེད་པར་ལྡན།

This verse is precisely *Hitopadeśa* 1.156. The Tibetan translation of Sanskrit 26c is discussed in the Introduction, above.

Böhtlingk and Roth 1855–1875: v.194 cite from a scholium on the *Mahābhārata* (their reference 7.2182, evidently to the Calcutta edition, to which I do not have access) the following verse:

vittaṃ dānasametaṃ jñānam agarvaṃ kṣamānviṭaṃ śauryam |
bhogaḥ saṅgavihīno durlabham etac caturbhadram ||

The category of *caturbhadra* is extremely flexible, or rather, the term is used to refer to a variety of elements. Here we have *dāna*, *jñāna*, *śaurya* (*kṣamā*), *vitta* (*tyāga*). As Lindtner 1999: 121–122 mentions, in Nāgārjuna's *Ratnāvalī* the four are *satya*, *tyāga*, *upaśama* and *prajñā*. However, the *Mahābhārata* provides lists including: *kīrti*, *āyus*, *yaśas* and *bala*; *dharma*, *jñāna*, *vairāgya* and *aśvarya*; *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *bala*.⁶² For the present, perhaps it suffices to say

62 Unfortunately Lindtner's idiosyncratic article does not really further explore these categories.

that the category *caturbhadra* is a box into which a wide variety of items may be placed.

Following this verse P2 has: *yugmañ*, indicating that this verse is to be read together with the preceding verse 26.

10.27

iti kaṅṭhagatā vimalā
praśnottararatnamālikā yeṣāṃ |
te muktābharaṇā iva
vibhānti vidvatsamājeṣu || 27 ||

Absent in C, D. In S this is verse 67. Before this verse, N has two additional verses, for which see below Appendix 2.

iti kaṅṭhagatā vimalā, I, K, L, P2, Penn] S: ity eṣā kaṅṭhasthā; F, H, L2, P1: iti kaṅṭhagatā vimala; N: iti kaṅṭhasthītavimala
te muktābharaṇā iva, S] F, H, K, L2, P2: te muktābharaṇā api; P1: te muktābharaṇa api; L1, Penn: te muktāmaraṇād api; I: te muktābhāraṇād
vibhānti vidvatsamājeṣu, F, H, I, K, L1, L2, P1, P2, Penn] S: vimalās cābhānti satsamājeṣu; N: vibhanti vidvatsamājeṣu

Those who memorize this immaculate small precious garland of questions and answers, keeping it like a precious garland around their necks,
will shine among the crowds of the learned as if wearing pearl necklaces.

འི་མེད་དྲིས་ལན་རིན་ཆེན་སྲེང་བ་འདི། གང་གི་མགུལ་ན་ལེགས་པར་ཡོད་གྱུར་ན། [40cd]
དེ་ནི་སྐྱེས་བུ་མཁས་པ་འདུས་ནང་དུ། མགུལ་གྱི་སྐྱ་ཏིག་རྒྱན་བཞིན་མངོས་པ་ཡིན། [41ab]

In c, the reading *iva* is supported by Tibetan *bzhin*, while *api* is regularly rendered in Tibetan with *kyang*. If we read *api*, we might also understand (taking *mukta* as a participle rather than *muktā* as pearl): “even having dropped their ornaments”. Perhaps both senses were intended. Note that here again, as with the first verse, Tibetan has chosen a longer metre of 9 syllables per foot.

Appendices

A1 *Extra Verses in I, L1 and Penn, Partially Corresponding to Verses in S*
 Although I give the verses as found in the sources, there is evidently an error in organization, since the metre indicates that the ab feet and the cd feet have somehow been reversed, and perhaps one line at the beginning of the sequence has been lost. Moreover, in some places the metre is problematic and it has not been possible to restore the lines satisfactorily.

kaḥ kulakamaladineśaḥ
 sati guṇavibhave 'pi yo namraḥ |
 kasya vaśe jagad etat
 priyahitavacanasya dharmaniratasya || 28 ||

guṇavibhave, L1, Penn, S] I: vibhavekaṁ
 vaśe jagad, S] L1, Penn: vaśāsjagad; I: vaśaṁ jagad
 priyahitavacanasya, Penn, S] L1: priyahitavacanasya; I: unclear
 dharmaniratasya, L1, S] Penn: dharmanirata tasya; I: ø

Who is the sun shining on the lotus-flower of his family? One who is
 humble, even though he is endowed with virtues and wealth.
 To whom is everyone in the world obedient? To one whose speech is
 sweet and beneficial, and who is devoted to the Dharma. [28]

paradhanahṛdayaharā kā
 satkavitā vivekavanitā ca |
 kaṁ na sprśati vipattir
 vṛddhavadanānuvartināṁ dāntam || 29 ||

paradhanahṛdayaharā kā satkavitā vivekavanitā ca, I, L1] Penn: paradhanahṛdaharā kā
 satkavitā vivekavanitā ca; S: vidvanmanoharā kā satkavitā bodhavanitā ca
 sprśati, I, L1, S] Penn: sprśāti
 vṛddhavadanānuvartināṁ] Ex. conj: I, L1 (pc), Penn: vṛddhavadanonuvartināṁ; S: pravṛ-
 ddhavadanānuvartināṁ;
 dāntam, S] I, L1: dātaram; Penn: dātāraṁ

What captures the wealth and the hearts of others? Good poetry and a
 discerning woman.
 Whom does misfortune not touch? One [self-]controlled who follows
 the guidance of the elders. [29]

kasmai spr̥hayati kamalā
 vimalasacittāya nītivṛttāya |
 tyajati ca kaṁ sahasā dvija-
 gurunindakaṁ ca sālasyam || 30 ||

vimalasacittāya, I, Penn] L1: vimalasaccarītāya; S: tv analasacittāya
 sahasā, Penn, S] I: sahasām; L1: sahasā sā
 dvijagurunindakaṁ, I, L1, Penn] S: dvijagurusuranindākaraṁ

Whom does Lakṣmī envy? One with a pure mind, whose conduct is proper.
 And whom does [she] suddenly abandon? One who finds fault with brahmins and gurus, and is slothful. [30]

kutra vidheyo vāsaḥ
 sajjananikaṭe 'thavā kāśyārṁ |
 kaḥ parihāryo deśaḥ
 piśunayuto lubdhabhūpaś ca || 31 ||

ab in D 16ab.
 parihāryo, L1, Penn, S] I: parihāro
 piśunayuto, I, S] L1: piśyunayuto; Penn: piśunayutā

Where ought one to have one's residence? Nearby to good persons, or alternatively, in Varanasi.
 What location is to be avoided? One filled with slanderers, and [one ruled by] a greedy king. [31]

kenāśocyāḥ puruṣaḥ
 praṇatakalatreṇa dhīravibhavana |
 iha bhuvane kaḥ śocyāḥ
 saty api vibhave na yo dātā || 32 ||

kenāśocyāḥ, I, Penn, S] L1: kiṁ nāśocyārṁ

How does a person become unpitiable? By means of a humble wife and lasting wealth.
 Who is pitiable here in this world? One who is not a giver despite having wealth. [32]

kiṁ laghutāyā mūlaṁ
 prākṛtapuruṣeṣu yā yācñā |
 rāmād api kaḥ śūraḥ
 smaraśaranihato na calati yaḥ || 33 ||

laghutāyā, I, L1, S] Penn: ghutāyā
 calati yaḥ, I, L1, Penn] S: yaś calati

What is the source of contempt? Begging from vulgar persons.
 Who is a greater hero even than Rāma? One who, struck by Cupid's
 arrows, is not affected. [33]

kim aharnīsam anucintyaṁ
 keśavacaraṇau jagaccalatā |
 kā ca sabhā parihāryā
 hīnā yā vṛddhasacivena || 34 ||

After 34b is entirely different in S, which then has our 34cd as its 37ab; b is difficult to
 decipher in I, and might read differently
 jagaccalatā] I: ?gaccāmbalatā; L1, Penn: jagaccāncalatā

What should one contemplate day and night? The feet of Kṛṣṇa and the
 unsteadiness of the world.
 And what assembly is to be avoided? One which is lacking in any senior
 member. [34]

brūhi sphurati ca kā vā
 svabhyastā nirmalā vidyā |
 prāṇād api ko rakṣyaḥ
 kuladharmāḥ sādhusaṁgāś ca || 35 ||

35ab (very difficult to decipher in I): S: ø; 35cd = S 38ab

And tell me, what else shines forth? Spotless knowledge which has been
 well-rehearsed.
 What is to be defended even at the cost of life? One's family duty and
 contact with the good. [35]

A2 *Extra Verses in N*

sarvasvāvdhidānaṃ
 niravadhikaruṇā ca janmāvadhidhairyam |
 iti yo leḍhi triphalām
 na tasya saṃsārikā rogāḥ || 25

niravadhikaruṇā] N: niradhikaruṇā
 triphalām] N: t[r]iphalān

The one who tastes the medicine consisting of three fruits—giving everything, even oneself, endless compassion and life-long fortune—is not subject to the illness of transmigration.

A metrical problem remains in foot b. The three fruits (*triphala*) are *haritakī* (Chebulic myrobalan, *Terminalia chebula* Retz.), *vibhītaka* (Belleric myrobalan, *Terminalia bellerica* [Gaertn.] Roxb.) and *āmalaka* (Indian gooseberry, *Emblica officinalis* = *Phyllanthus emblica* Linn.). The verse redefines these remedies as medicines for another kind of illness, that of *saṃsāra* itself.

ko dharmo bhūdayā
 kiṃ saukhyam arogitā jantoḥ |
 kaḥ snehaḥ sadbhāvaḥ
 kiṃ pāṇḍityaṃ paricchedaḥ || 26 [metre *upagīti*]

What is the Dharma? Compassion toward beings. What is felicity? The health of beings.

What is affection? A good disposition. What is erudition? Discrimination.

A3 *Additional Readings from Tanjur Editions of the Tibetan Translation*

- 1a dri med dris lan] G1, N1, P1: dri med dri lan
 phreng ba 'di] G1, N1, P1: phreng ba ni
- 1b nges par] C2: ngas par
 gnas gyur na] G2, N2, P2: gnas 'gyur na
- 1c ma mthong sgrub pa] G2, N2, P2: ma mthong bsgrub pa
- 1d rgyan du 'gyur ba] G1, G2, N1, N2, P1, P2: rgyan du gyur ba
- 2b bla ma'i] G1, N1: blang pa'i
- 4a ring bya] N2: rig bya

- 5b skyon med pa'o] N2: med seems to have been added below the line
 5d gang gi] N2: gang gis
 8b log la] C2: log ya
 8c mi srun] G2, N2, P2: mi bsrún
 9b sred pa] N2: srod pa
 11a dpa' bo] P1: dpa' po
 11d phog par] P1: phog sar
 12d blun par] P1: glun par
 13a mi bzad] G2, N2, P2: mi zad
 13b spyod pa'o] G2, N2, P2: dpyod pa'o
 13c sgrin pa] G2, N2: bsgrim pa; P2: bsgrims pa
 13d des dral] G1: de bral; G2, N2, P2: des gral; N1: de dral
 14b med pa'o] G1, P1: med pa nyid
 16a gnyid kyis] G2: gnyid kyi
 16c gnyid kyis] G1: gnyid kyi
 21d mi slu] G1, N1, P1: mi bslu
 23a phongs pa] P1: phungs pa
 24a 'on par] G2, N2, P2 resume here with 'on par
 gyur pa] G1, P1 'gyur ba
 24d gang zhig] G1, N1, P1: gang gi
 25a skyes bu'i] C2, D2, G1, N1, P1: skyes bu
 'chi ba] G1, N1, N2, P1, P2: 'ching ba
 25d 'byin byed pa'o] C2, D2, G1, G2, N2, P2: byin pa'o
 26a zug rngur] N2, P2: zug ngur
 26b dben par] G1: dbyen par
 27c bltos med] C2, D2: ltos med
 27d mi srun] G2, N2, P2: mi bsrún
 28a gzhan gyi] P2: gzhan gyis
 31a glen pa] P2: glen ba'i
 ldan pa dang] G2, N2, P2: zhan pa dang [probably a graphic error]
 31b mi gzo ba'o] G2, N2, P2: yi bzo ba'o
 31c mchod par] G2: mchod pa
 32b brtan pa'o] G2, P2: brten pa'o
 32d bden par] C2: bden ba
 33b bzod pa] N2, P2: bzod par
 33c gus pas] G1, P1, P2: gus par
 33d gtso bor] P1: gtsa bor
 34d gang gi] G1, N1, P1: gang gis
 35d gnas par] G2: gnas pa
 37b phrad bsten pa'o] N2, P2: phred bsten pa'o

- 38a nyam chung] G2, N2, P2: nyams chung
 40c dris lan] G2, N2, P2: dri ldan
 phreng ba 'di, G1, G2, N1, N2, P1] C2, D2, P2: phreng ba ni
 40d yod gyur na] G2, N2, P2: yod 'gyur na
 41c G2, N2, P2 omit from 41c until the title below.
 brtags nas] G1: btags nas
 nmam spong ba'i] N1, P1: nmams spong ba'i
 Colophon rdzogs so] N1: rdzogs s.ho
 lo tsā ba] G2, N2, P2: lo tstsha ba
 gtan la] N1: btan la
 phab pa'o, G1, G2, N1, N2, P1, P2] C2, D2: phab pa

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