



Other People's Philology: Uses of Sanskrit in Tibet and China, 14th -19th Centuries

Matthew Kapstein

► To cite this version:

Matthew Kapstein. Other People's Philology: Uses of Sanskrit in Tibet and China, 14th -19th Centuries. L'espace du sens.Approches de la philologie indienne/The Space of Meaning.Approaches to Indian Philology., 2018. hal-02190087

HAL Id: hal-02190087

<https://hal.science/hal-02190087>

Submitted on 21 Jul 2019

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

Matthew T. KAPSTEIN

Other People's Philology

Uses of Sanskrit in Tibet and China, 14th-19th Centuries

In : *L'espace du sens. Approches de la philologie indienne / The Space of Meaning. Approaches to Indian Philology*. Sous la direction de / edited by Silvia D'INTINO & Sheldon POLLOCK; avec la collaboration de / with the collaboration of Michaël MEYER. Paris : Collège de France, 2018. Publications de l'Institut de civilisation indienne, Fasc. 84. P. 465-494.

© Collège de France, Institut d'études indiennes

Other People's Philology

Uses of Sanskrit in Tibet and China, 14th-19th Centuries *

Matthew T. Kapstein

École pratique des hautes études – PSL University, The University of Chicago

In one of his many noteworthy articles, the incomparable Giuseppe Tucci (1894-1984) sought to demonstrate the Fifth Dalai Lama's limits as a scholar of Sanskrit.¹ The Great Fifth (1617-1682), like many learned Tibetans, took pride in his Sanskrit studies and indeed promoted the advancement of Sanskrit among the Tibetan literati of his day. Tucci briefly discussed this, but was above all interested in the Dalai Lama's own Sanskrit compositions, for, as was customary among Tibetan belle-lettrists, he often adorned his writings with Sanskrit renditions of the opening Tibetan verse. In the example seen here (fig. 1, p. 488),² a dedication heading a letter to a prominent hierarch, the verse is given in the meter *pathyāvākrā* (Tib. *kha sgo phan pa*) following its description in the *Chandoratnākara*'s fourth chapter on *viṣamavṛtta*, meters with prosodically unequal lines.³

ā dī [= jī]⁴ tri | gu hyā sa | mu dre ||
shwa [= śva] ra su | ryā sa dhā | pa tu ||
ṛ la kṣa | ra smi rmā | la su ||
khī ya pa | dmā ha sā | su kṛ ||

rgyal ba kun gyi gsang gsum chu gter las ||
mkhas dang grub pa'i dbang phyug nyin mor byed ||

*. This modest essay is dedicated to the memory of Professor Michael Hahn (1941-2014), whose many fine contributions mark the standard of excellence in the study of Tibetan engagements with Sanskrit literature.

1. Tucci (1971).

2. Dalai Lama V (1975, folio 1b).

3. Ratnākaraśānti, *Chandoratnākara*, 4.2, as edited in Hahn (1982, Sanskrit: 12).

4. The Fifth Dalai Lama, in his Tibetan transcriptions of Sanskrit, adheres to the standard Tibetan conventions, as do the other Tibetan scholars I cite in this essay. Where the romanization of these does not conform with the International Alphabet of Sanskrit Transliteration, I have provided the I.A.S.T. equivalent in square brackets.

legs byas 'od zer 'bum gyis lus can nmams ||
phan dang bde ba'i 'dab brgya bzhad pa'i drung ||

From the ocean of the three secrets of all Jinās,
 [You are] the arisen sun, lord of learning and attainment,
 Whose good deeds [form] a *lakh* of rays, opening, among embodied
 beings,
 Lotuses of benefit and joy. Before [you this letter is offered].

As Tucci showed, and as will be evident to any reader of Sanskrit on perusing the foregoing verse, the Dalai Lama's efforts to write Sanskrit poetry were quite flawed, and this, indeed, was almost always the case so far as Tibetan composition in Sanskrit was concerned. Tibetan attempts to write Sanskrit verse frequently aspired to be prosodically sophisticated — anyone who has tried to teach *chandas* to contemporary students will appreciate that this in itself was no mean achievement — though, in their practice of Sanskrit prosody, Tibetans seldom equalled their grasp of the theory. Besides this, though demonstrating familiarity with a large and varied stock of Sanskrit words — in the example above, one will readily recognize *triguḥya*, *samudra*, *īśvara*, *sūrya* (erroneously given as *surya*), *raśmi* (given as *rasmi*), etc.⁵ — the actual choice of vocabulary tended to be less satisfactorily controlled, and Sanskrit inflection seems mostly to have eluded the Tibetans altogether, their difficulties in this area being a reflection of the manner in which Sanskrit was taught in Tibet; for the actual reading of Sanskrit texts, so that usage might be mastered from context, was all but unknown.⁶ As I will try to suggest here, however, to focus solely upon these shortcomings, as Tucci certainly did, is to misconstrue the strong role Sanskrit played in Tibetan learning and the sometimes creditable achievements of Tibetans in this area.

It is, of course, widely recognized that the Tibetans succeeded in translating an imposing quantity of Sanskrit material into Tibetan, though Tibetan translation practice is often portrayed too simplistically. Tibetan translations have acquired the reputation of being calques, created — as if by “Google Translate” *avant la lettre* — by the virtually mechanical substitution of Sanskrit words with the Tibetan equivalents as these had been stipulated by the state-sponsored translation committees of the 8th and 9th centuries. Nevertheless, as we know from a surviving 9th-century

5. Some of these errors may have been due to the printers and not to the fault of the Fifth Dalai Lama, for instance, *su khī ya*, where *sukhita* is perhaps what was intended.

6. See n. 24 below, p. 470.

essay attributed to the emperor Khri Sde-srong-btsan (reigned ca. 804-815) and treating the theory of translation, the Tibetans were well-aware of the limitations of calque translation alone. For there we read:

As for the method of translating the genuine doctrine, without contradicting the meaning, make it so as to be as easy as possible in Tibetan. In translating the Dharma, without deviating from the order of the Sanskrit language, translate into Tibetan in such a way that there is no deviation in the ease of relationships among meaning and word. If it be the case that in deviating [from the syntax of the original] ease of understanding is brought about, whether in a verse there be four lines or six, translate by reordering the contents of the verse as is easy. In the case of prose, until the meaning be reached, translate rearranging both word and meaning as is easy.⁷

To these general directives the emperor added precise instructions on a number of specific topics, including the treatment of homonyms and synonyms, the employment of Sanskrit loanwords in cases in which the use of Tibetan neologisms seemed impractical, acceptable types of versification, and similar challenges to fluent translation. Nevertheless, the remarkable corpus of translations achieved by the Tibetans during the 8th and 9th centuries — remarkable in terms of both volume and quality — has not so far been studied with the care required in order to clarify adequately the nuances of Tibetan translation methodology.⁸ Although the lexical features of the translations from Indic sources are in general well understood,⁹ issues of syntax, treatment of Indic nominal compounds and finite verb forms, the use of paraphrase rather than literal translation, compositional distinctions of prose and verse, etc., have received less attention. What's more, the transmission of knowledge that permitted Tibetan translation methods developed under the sponsorship of the old Tibetan imperial court to flourish anew beginning in the late 10th century, more than a century after the collapse of the institutions in which the earlier Tibetan translations had been realized, remains a historical puzzle.¹⁰

7. Schaeffer, Kapstein, and Tuttle (2013: 74). See, too, Kapstein (2003).

8. Simonsson (1957) remains the fundamental study of Tibetan translation practice during the 8th and 9th centuries.

9. The main Sanskrit-Tibetan lexicons of the period have been critically edited in Ishihama and Fukuda (1989) and Ishikawa (1990).

10. Cf. Kapstein (2000: 10-13).

Be this as it may, during the first centuries of the 2nd millennium Tibetan translators continued to refine their art, producing precise, thorough, and nuanced translations of works of considerable sophistication and difficulty, many of which stand as outstanding achievements of the translator's art even today.¹¹ Even casual familiarity with a few of the many śāstric texts, often of sprawling dimensions, of which there are outstanding Tibetan translations, readily confirms the high degree to which translation practice was refined. Works including the writings of Dharmakīrti and commentaries such as Prajñākaragupta's *Pramāṇa-vārttikālaṃkāra*,¹² or Śāntarakṣita's *Tattvasaṃgraha* with Kamalaśīla's *pañjika* upon it,¹³ or the *Vimalaprabhā* commentary on the *Kālacakra-tantra*,¹⁴ or the encyclopedic writings of Abhayākaragupta,¹⁵ and many more — texts that we continue to find challenging even today, despite all the Indological apparatus available to us — provide ample evidence of the standard of which the Tibetan scholars, with their Indian collaborators, were capable. While adhering overall to standard lexical conventions, works such as those just mentioned demonstrate a subtle grasp of the syntactical and contextual demands of difficult Sanskrit texts, and can by no means be dismissed as calque translations. The biography of Byang-chub-rtse-mo (1303-1380), the 14th-century translator of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*, to mention just one example, tells us that only inferior translators strictly rely on the equivalents proposed in translation lexicons such as the *Mahāvvyutpatti*.¹⁶ However, what I wish to

11. This is not to say, of course, that *all* Tibetan translations were such successes. Nevertheless, the overall standard was high, and in most cases we can profitably employ Tibetan translations in endeavoring to understand the texts translated, whether or not Indic versions survive.

12. The translation of much of the corpus of Dharmakīrti's work, including the commentary of Prajñākaragupta, was achieved by Rngog Blo-lan-shes-rab (1059-1109), on whom see Kramer (2007).

13. The translation of these works was undertaken, but apparently not completed, during the late 8th or early 9th century. The excellent extant translations were executed during the 11th century, the *kārikā* text by the prince of the Gu ge kingdom Zhi-ba-'od, working with the paṇḍita Guṇākaraśrībhadrā, and the *pañjikā* by Grags-'byor-shes-rab with Devendrabhadra. It is not clear to what extent they may have had access to the earlier incomplete translations.

14. The complicated translation history of the *Vimalaprabhā* cannot be detailed here. The initial version, and the basis for subsequent revisions, was completed by 'Bro Shes-rab-grags and the Kashmiri paṇḍita Somanātha during the early 11th century.

15. For an example, see below, on the bilingual manuscript of the *Āmnāyamañjarī*.

16. Bka'-'bangs Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (2011, p. 24 = f. 12b, line 1-2): *bar skabs kyi lo*

examine here is not so much Tibetan traductology, as it is what Tibetans did with their Sanskrit learning more broadly.

Part of this story has by now been very well studied. In particular, Peter Verhagen, in two painstakingly researched volumes, has examined the long history of both the Tibetan transmission of Sanskrit grammatical literature and Tibetan grammatical writing based on the Sanskrit tradition.¹⁷ The late Michael Hahn devoted considerable efforts to detailing the works of *kāvya*, *nāṭaka*, and *chandas* that were known and influential in Tibet.¹⁸ And David Seyfort Ruegg, too, has taken up Tibetan treatments of the Indian sciences, the *vidyāsthānas*.¹⁹ That the materials studied by Verhagen, Hahn, and Ruegg played a significant role in Tibetan intellectual practice, and were by no means mere bibliographical curiosities, becomes evident on examining Tibetan historical and bibliographical sources in which the study and transmission of varied Sanskrit textual traditions are detailed. The biography of Byang-chub-rtse-mo, Kālidāsa's translator to whom I have just referred, for instance, records the works that he mastered in the course of his education as directed by his uncle, the renowned translator Dpang Blo-gros-brtan-pa (1276-1342). Considering just its discussions of *śabdavidyā*, one recognizes immediately the presence of the works much discussed in the researches of Verhagen and Hahn, for we find that from his youth Byang-chub-rtse-mo was expected to master the *Kātantra* and *Cāndra* grammars, with their commentaries and subcommentaries, the *Amarakośa* with the *Kāmadhenu* commentary upon it, the *Chandoratnākara* and the *Kāvyaḍarśa*, the *Jātakamālā* and *Avadāna-kalpalatā*, as well as the plays (*nāṭaka*) *Nāgānanda* and *Lokānanda*.²⁰ Indeed, Dpang Blo-gros-brtan-pa and his nephew Byang-chub-rtse-mo were prominent among the group of scholars who in effect canonized these texts as forming the backbone for the study of Sanskrit literary culture in Tibet; three centuries after their time, the Fifth Dalai Lama would seek to master primarily the same works, with the addition, among grammatical

tsa ba du mas brda sprod pa'i gzhung chen po rnam la blo kha ma phyogs shing/ bi bud pa ta tsam la brten te cung zad bsgyur snang yang log par bsgyur... "In intervening periods many translators, whose minds were uninterested in the great texts on grammar, appear to have translated a few works by relying merely on the *Mahāvīyutpatti*, but they mistranslated them..."

17. Verhagen (1994, 2001).

18. Important examples include Hahn (1971, 1974, 1982).

19. Ruegg (1995).

20. Bka'-'bangs Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (2011, p. 22 = f. 11b, lines 2-7).

treatises, of the *Sārasvatavyākaraṇa*, which had been translated at the beginning of the 17th century by the renowned historian and tantric master Tāranātha (1575-1634). The Great Fifth's leading successor in these domains, the regent Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho (1653-1705), among his efforts to promote the study of the *vidyāsthānas* ensured that the Zhol Printing House, the printery attached to the Potala Palace in Lhasa, issued careful editions of a number of essential texts required for Sanskrit studies.²¹

Besides the creation of occasional Sanskrit verses at the beginning of Tibetan *śāstras* and *lekhas*, a few more sustained attempts by Tibetans to compose Sanskrit are also known. The most ambitious example that has come to my attention is the long *stotra* in praise of the Vajrāsana penned by the fourth Zhwa-dmar hierarch, Spyān-snga Chos-grags-ye-shes (1453-1524). Though the available reproduction of the manuscript is poor (fig. 2, p. 489), the original, which is preserved in the Potala collection, must be a work of great beauty, with the Sanskrit text given in the ornamental *rañjana* script together with Tibetan transcription and translation.²² The author uses a variety of metres, including *Śārdulavikrīḍita*, *Sragdharā*, *Indravajrā* and *Ārya*, all of which he names, with the scansion marked clearly throughout. For, as Tucci noted in the case of the Fifth Dalai Lama, metrical diversity seems to have been a value, inherited from Indian *kāvya* traditions, that the Tibetans continued to treasure. However, the same difficulties with inflection that plagued the Great Fifth are to be found here as well. To mention just one typical example, we find *Mahābodhi* in the title with the -sya termination of the *a*- stem genitive singular — *Mahābodhisya*.²³ Errors such as this, that seem to us to be elementary, were likely due in part to the practice of teaching *vyākaraṇa* and *abhidhāna* quite separately, with little attention given to the parsing of actual texts, that is to say, with almost no training in practical application. Would-be Tibetan Sanskritists were thus mostly left to play mix and match with the whole gamut of lexical items and inflexional endings, treating them more or less like pieces from a Lego set and by-and-large oblivious to the principals governing the permissible combinations thereof.²⁴

21. Refer to the Appendix below, p. 478-484.

22. *Rdo rje gdan gyi dpal byang chub chen po la legs sbyar gyi skad du tshigs su bcad nas bstod pa* in Zhwa-dmar IV (2009, vol. 4: 29-34).

23. The available reproduction is unfortunately too poor to permit the Sanskrit to be read with much accuracy. The title, given in the preceding note in Tibetan, begins: *badrāsanāya* [i.e. *vajrāsanāya*] *mahābodhisya saṃskṛtabhāṣā...stuti...*

24. An unnamed member of the audience at the University of Virginia, Charlottesville,

Nevertheless, the dividend paid to Tibetan scholars for their investment in studying the aspects of Sanskrit that they did may be first of all seen in their often careful dissection of the Tibetan translations upon which their learning was mostly based. The fourth Zhwa-dmar may have confounded the case endings when trying to write Sanskrit, but when confronted with variants in the earlier and later Tibetan translations of the *Triratnānusmṛtisūtra*, for instance, he was careful to note, in his commentary thereupon, the correspondences he observed with the readings given in the Sanskrit manuscript at his disposal.²⁵ And his commentarial writings demonstrate that, like many other Tibetan scholars, he was often attentive to the possibilities of the underlying Sanskrit texts, even when he did not likely have a Sanskrit version to consult directly. Of course, it was by no means universally the case that Tibetans writers were so scrupulous in this regard and, beginning with the work of Sa-skya Paṇḍita (1182-1251) in the 13th century and extending down to the writings of Dge-'dun chos-'phel (1903-1951) in the twentieth, we find in the literature a prominent motif of complaint in regard to the deficiencies of Tibetan Sanskrit learning and the implications this had for Tibetan understandings of the works they read in translation.²⁶ As the presence of a critical discourse of this sort suggests, some Tibetans were cultivating a sufficiency of Sanskrit so as to perceive and to seek to correct the errors that were current in the works of their fellows.

Beyond this, the interest of the Tibetan literati in attempting to study Sanskrit manuscripts when available sometimes led to novel discoveries. In a manuscript of the *Collected Writings* of the 16th-century author Lo-chen 'Gyur-med-bde-chen (1540-1615), for instance, we find his translation of a short oblation rite, a *Balividhi*, that he came across while examining a

where I delivered a talk based on this article on 17 February 2017, questioned whether the problems Tibetans seem to have had in using Sanskrit declensions and conjugations might not have been the result of treating Sanskrit endings as analogous to the postpositional particles of Tibetan, e.g., as seen here, treating the *-sya* termination of the masculine and neuter *a-* stem genitive as equivalent to the Tibetan relational particle *kyi*. Something like this would indeed seem to be part, though perhaps not all, of the explanation for the apparent “mix and match” approach of Tibetan scholars to Sanskrit composition.

25. *Dkon mchog gsum rjes su dran pa'i 'grel pa yon tan rin po che bsam 'phel*, in Zhwa-dmar IV (2009, vol. 2: 886-897).

26. Sa-skya Paṇḍita's interventions in these debates are presented in Sakya Pandita (2002) and Gold (2007). Among Dge-'dun chos-'phel's several writings on the subject, some of his remarks on Tibetan (mis)understandings of Sanskrit are now available in English translation in Gendun Chopel (2014, ch. 9).

manuscript of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*.²⁷ As in the case of the Zhwa-dmar's ode to the Vajrāsana, it was beautifully calligraphed with the Sanskrit in *rañjana* accompanied by Tibetan transliteration and translation; in this case, however, we are fortunate to have excellent images of the original manuscript clearly revealing the care that was lavished upon it (fig. 3, p. 490).

Ritual requirements reinforced a continuing interest in basic Sanskrit studies as well. Tibetan Buddhism, like Chinese Buddhism, assigns particular importance to the sometimes lengthy *dhāraṇīs* given in the Mahāyāna scriptures. Unlike traditional Chinese Buddhism, however, which frequently transmitted its *dhāraṇīs* in transcriptions written in Chinese characters, whose Sanskrit phonetic values were largely forgotten with the passage of time,²⁸ the Tibetans as a rule insisted on precise renderings of their Indic form, whether in an ornamental script such as *rañjana* or in the Tibetan script adjusted for the exact transcription of Sanskrit. The Tibetans understood in principle that Sanskrit phonetic values differed from those of Tibetan and therefore required special study, so that an entire textbook genre developed under the designation of "Mantra Reading Methods" (*sngags klog thabs*), which were in essence elementary primers of Sanskrit phonology.²⁹ Concern to preserve the exact transmission of the *dhāraṇīs* thus motivated instruction in the rudiments of Sanskrit in connection with religious education throughout Tibet. Scholars who had been trained in Sanskrit to whatever degree were always considered to be the appropriate experts to consult whenever written *dhāraṇīs* were required for consecrations or inscriptions, as was frequently the case when paintings, sculptures, stūpas or other religious edifices were commissioned. With the promotion of aspects of Tibetan

27. Lo-chen 'Gyur-med-bde-chen (n.d., plate 679): *spyod 'jug gi rgya dpe zhiq na snang ba*.

28. It will not be possible here to enter into the intricacies of Sanskrit transcription in Chinese logographs. For a useful review, refer to Chen (2000). Note, too, that currents of esoteric Buddhism in China and throughout East Asia did encourage some use of the *siddham* script for the exact replication of *mantras* and *dhāraṇīs*. See the classic study by Gulik (1956).

29. One of the earliest examples of the genre, Sa-skya Paṇḍita's early 13th-century *Sngags kyi klog thabs 'bras bu 'phyung ba'i me tog*, precisely notes, for instance, that the Tibetan alveolar fricative series (*tsha*, *tsha*, *dza*, *dz + ha*) is used to transliterate the Sanskrit palato-alveolar consonants (*ca*, *cha*, *ja*, *jha*), so that correct pronunciation of Sanskrit should be adjusted accordingly. To the best of my knowledge, this advice was never followed in Tibetan practice. The genre of *sngags klog thabs* writings has yet to be studied systematically.

Buddhism in the Chinese court, during the Yuan, Ming, and Qing dynasties, the services of Tibetan or Mongolian monks were often in demand to insure that, in the Tibetan manner, imperial projects were adorned with *dhāraṇīs* perfectly rendered in *rañjana* or Tibetan script. An instance may be seen today in the balustrades of the Wutasi, a Ming-dynasty temple complex in Beijing dating to 1473 and constructed to commemorate the early 15th-century visit to the Chinese capital of Śāriputrapāda (c. 1335-1426), the last known Buddhist abbot at Bodhgaya,³⁰ of which the Wutasi was intended as a Chinese replica. In this case, it is clear that the beautifully carved calligraphy has been very carefully controlled to ensure the correct replication of the *mantras* and *dhāraṇīs* placed in evidence.³¹

Though visitors from Nepal or from India, like Śāriputrapāda, may have contributed to such work as late as the 15th century, the use of Sanskrit in imperial China seems thereafter to have become entirely the domain of Tibetan or Mongol monks. A particularly impressive example of this, which has been studied in depth by our colleague in Paris, Françoise Wang-Toutain, is to be found in the very elaborate use of *dhāraṇīs* to adorn the interior walls of the mausoleum of the Manchu Qianlong emperor (1711-1799). In the Tibetan transcriptions of Sanskrit that we find there, we notice the extreme care taken to ensure that long and short vowel distinctions are properly marked, together with other features, such as voiced aspiration, retroflex consonants, and the use of the *visarga*, that are completely irrelevant in Tibetan (not to mention Chinese or Manchu) but were correctly understood to be crucial features of Sanskrit.³²

The interest of Chinese Buddhists in the transmission of *dhāraṇīs* presented in the calligraphic styles favored in Tibet seems not to have been limited to imperial circles. The single-sheet print of the *dhāraṇī* of Buddha Amitābha (fig. 4, p. 491) typifies longstanding graphic traditions in Chinese Buddhism and the *dhāraṇī* itself as practiced throughout East Asia. But the distinctive use of the *rañjana* script that we find here reflects the pervasive influence of Tibetan conventions during the period of Manchu rule.

In Tibet itself, the continuing study of Sanskrit texts extended beyond

30. McKeown (2019).

31. I have not yet been able to ascertain, however, whether the surviving Sanskrit *dhāraṇī* and *mantra* inscriptions at the Wutasi date to the original construction of the temple during the 15th century or to its 18th-century restoration.

32. Wang-Toutain (2017). See also Lokesh Chandra (1966-).

dhāraṇīs alone and, with the expansion of printing in Tibet from the 15th century on, the Tibetans may even be said to have been pioneers in the printing of works in Sanskrit. If we disregard the clay votive tablets stamped from moulds that began to appear in India during the mid-first millennium, and the woodblock prints of *dhāraṇīs* that became current in Inner Asia and China some centuries later,³³ it appears that the first to publish actual Sanskrit books in print form were the Tibetans. Among the examples of Sanskrit-Tibetan bilingual editions now known, one of the most important is the 1665 Dga'-ldan pho-brang edition of Kṣemendra's *Avadānakalpalatā*, which served as the basis of Sarat Chandra Dās's late 19th-century *editio princeps* and remains our primary witness for almost half of that sprawling poem.³⁴

It must be said that Kṣemendra's work, as reproduced in the 1665 edition (fig. 5-6, p. 492), which was sponsored by none other than the Fifth Dalai Lama, is not at all free from error.³⁵ It was probably the case that the Tibetan editors were working from defective sources, in addition to which many of the faults that we find here are to be attributed to problems arising from the technical limitations of xylographic printing. The blocks of course had to be carved in the negative, and the carvers were trained in standard manipulations of the chistle in order to produce reversed Tibetan characters. Because Sanskrit transcribed in Tibetan characters added a further degree of complexity to their task, errors were inevitable and the process of proofreading and correcting the blocks, though it perhaps succeeded in cleaning up the text to some extent, was never perfectly realized. In many cases, the remaining typos (or perhaps we should call them 'xylos') are readily recognized, though, as all who have worked on the *Avadānakalpalatā* are aware, more serious problems with the text remain.

Nevertheless, although Tibetan xylography proved to be a less than ideal medium for the publication of Sanskrit texts, a more satisfactory but still poorly explored aspect of the Tibetan engagement in Sanskrit has

33. Examples of these printed *dhāraṇī* sheets are studied in Drège (1999-2000) and Tsiang (2010).

34. On the destiny of Kṣemendra's work in Tibet, see Lin (2011), which includes full references to relevant earlier scholarship. On the state of the Sanskrit text, in particular, refer to Vaidya (1959) and Jong (1979).

35. As Dās's co-editor, Harimohan Śarmā gingerly put it, "the blocks, having been prepared at a place so far away from the seat of Sanskrit learning, cannot be expected to be as correct as might be desired." Dās (1888: ix).

recently begun to emerge as Tibetan manuscript collections have started to reveal their treasures. Calligraphy was a much practiced discipline in Tibet so that, besides *rañjana*, a number of other Indic scripts were known and cultivated. A particularly beautiful exercise that has come to light is reputed to have been penned by the revered teacher Kong-sprul Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho (1813-1899), who played a great role in promoting Sanskrit grammatical study in far eastern Tibet during the 19th century. The text (fig. 7, p. 493), demonstrating the calligrapher's skill in a variety of scripts, including a near-modern *devanāgarī*, gives a series of stanzas drawn originally from the *Sekoddeśaṭīkā* of Nāropā and borrowed by 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba Gzhon-nu-dpal to introduce his *Blue Annals*.

We are beginning to see evidence, too, of more ambitious Tibetan transcription efforts, some involving works that have not been otherwise available to us. The most impressive example that has so far come to light is a beautifully rendered bilingual text of the first seventeen chapters of the *Āmnāyamañjarī* of Abhayākara-gupta, one of the greatest of Buddhist tantric works (fig. 8, p. 494).³⁶ The complete Sanskrit text is known to be preserved in a unique palm-leaf manuscript in the Potala that has not yet become available, so that it has not been possible so far to determine whether the present manuscript, which gives us about half of the entire work, is derived from the same exemplar or if it represents another, otherwise unknown, recension. I believe, but have not yet been able to confirm, that the present manuscript dates to the 18th century, although the careful Sanskrit *nāgarī* calligraphy is based upon much earlier models.³⁷ It was perhaps created in connection with the revival of Sanskrit studies in far eastern Tibet spearheaded by Si-tu Paṅ-chen Bstan-pa'i

36. 'Jam-blo (2015). This same bilingual manuscript was used by Kano and Li (2017), appendix. For further background on the *Āmnāyamañjarī* and an edited fragment of the text, see Tomabeche and Kano (2008). A unique complete palm-leaf manuscript of the work is preserved in the collection of the Potala Palace, Lhasa, but has not so far become available to researchers.

37. Although Indian manuscripts may frequently be assigned approximate dates, as well as regional origins, on the basis of their paleographical features, it is important to recall that this does not extend to the use of Indic scripts in Tibet. While the *nāgarī* used in the manuscript under discussion derives from 12th-century northeastern Indian models, the form was frozen in Tibetan calligraphic practice and so does not provide evidence of provenance or dating. Other features, such as the style of illustration, as well as the Tibetan calligraphic style, suggest the 18th century as the period during which this fine manuscript was produced.

nyin-byed (1700-1774).³⁸ The opening *vandana* may serve as an example, my emendations to the Sanskrit text as we find it in the manuscript being given in square brackets.³⁹

mūrttir vajravilāsinīvahulitānandādvayī janminām
antardiyutir[= m] udayānty api tama[s]stomāstakṛnnirmītaiḥ
yasyārjan nijaṇṣprapañcaparamaprajñākrpāsaṃputaḥ[= m]
kuryād [v]aḥ kulīśvara[s] sa vilasat lakṣmīmahimnā bhuvam

rdo rje sgeg mo'i dga' ba shin du (sic!) mang dang 2 su med pa'i sku yis
'gro rnam kyī
mun pa'i tshogs rnam nub par mdzad pa'i sprul pa rnam kyis nang gi
'od zer 'char mdzad kyang
gang gi stobs ni gnyug ma'i spros med shes rab mchog dang thugs rje yang
dag sbyor yin pa
rdo rje'i dbang phyug de yis khyed la chen po'i sa yi phun tshogs rol pa
mdzad gyur cig

[He] whose body is inseparable from bliss augmented by Vajra
 Playgirl,
 Making manifest creatures' inner light by emanations that put an
 end to [their] gross darkness,
 And whose attainment is the natural, unelaborate union of ultimate
 wisdom and kindness,
 May that Lord of the Vajra make for you a world delighting with
 abundance and magnificence!

The verse may serve as an example of the virtuosity of the 12th-century translator, Tsa-mi Sangs-rgyas-grags, whose rendition of Abhayākara-gupta's long and difficult text — over 200 tightly scribed palm-leaves in the surviving exemplar in the Potala collection — is counted among the great masterworks of Buddhist tantric commentary in Tibet.⁴⁰ The transcription we find in the bilingual manuscript that concerns us here, which was produced over half a millennium after the translation was executed, preserves the Sanskrit with a notably high degree of fidelity. Although the text does demand some emendation, it seems in this regard not to fall much below the standard we find in relatively well-prepared Sanskrit manuscripts from India and so well demonstrates the care that Tibetan

38. On Si-tu's contributions to Sanskrit grammatical studies, see Verhagen (2001: 161-180 and *passim*).

39. I am grateful to Professors Whitney Cox and John Nemec for having taken the time to discuss this verse with me, leading to improvements in my treatment thereof.

40. Refer to n. 36 above, p. 475.

scholars sometimes devoted to Sanskrit texts, removed though they were from the living Sanskrit traditions of Indian Buddhism.⁴¹ We know that this carefully prepared document was by no means a one-off and we may anticipate that the on-going exploration of Tibetan manuscript collections will yield additional works of this type.⁴² It remains to be seen, of course, to what extent such materials may open new aspects of Sanskrit textual traditions to us.

* * *

In his reflections upon Nicholas Ostler's *Empires of the Word* (2006), our colleague Johannes Bronkhorst writes:

Ostler also speaks of a spread of Sanskrit northward, round the Himalayas to Tibet, China, Korea and Japan (p. 178). We will not deal with this spread in this paper, because it is debatable whether it was one at all. We have no reason to think that Sanskrit established itself in any of these countries. There are no Sanskrit inscriptions, nor do we have any reason to believe that any Sanskrit texts were composed in them. We only know that these countries were interested in Buddhism, and to a lesser extent in Indian culture, so that efforts were made to translate texts from Sanskrit into regional languages. As a result there were some scholars in those countries who knew Sanskrit, but this is not to be confused with a supposed spread of Sanskrit, just as little as the Christianization of Europe is an indication of the spread of Hebrew.⁴³

This passage seems to me, uncharacteristically for Bronkhorst, to miss the mark. Though the Christianization of Europe is not to be taken in itself as indicative of the spread of Hebrew, it did create an impetus, in some cases, for the study of Hebrew to be cultivated and thus to some degree to spread. Similarly, although it cannot be sensibly argued that Buddhism

41. If, as I surmise, the manuscript was prepared in connection with the Indological activities of Si-tu Paṅ-chen, then it should be recalled that this figure pursued his Sanskrit studies to some extent in Nepal, and so was not so far removed from the living Sanskrit traditions of his day as were most other Tibetan scholars of the period.

42. One example is the bilingual manuscript of a text on tantric yoga, the *Amṛtasiddhi*, found in the collection of the Forbidden City in Beijing, where it was brought no doubt from Tibet. The reproduction of the monochrome microfilm that is available is not of sufficient quality to permit one to date the manuscript with much certainty, though Schaeffer may be correct in assigning it to the 12th century. On the manuscript and its contents, refer to Schaeffer (2002) and Mallinson (forthcoming).

43. Bronkhorst (2010).

and Buddhist texts alone are indications of the spread of Sanskrit, it is clear that Sanskrit came to be valorized to varying degrees throughout the Mahāyāna sphere in which it was regarded as the foremost scriptural language. In many environments, of course, this meant that tokens of Sanskrit — a *mantra* in *siddham* script, for example — might be much prized, but little more. In the Tibetan case, however, the engagement in Sanskrit culture clearly extended far beyond solely an “effort to translate texts ... into [a] regional language.” I hope to have suggested here that there was indeed a distinctive Tibetan practice of Sanskrit philology, whose results, though by our measure notably imperfect in some areas, composition in particular, could nonetheless be valuable in others. If Tucci was looking for the Fifth Dalai Lama to be a second Kṣemendra, an eventuality that would no doubt satisfy Bronkhorst's criteria, too, we should have no surprise at his disappointment. But if we focus instead on the Tibetans' positive accomplishments, especially in the preservation of Sanskrit texts through the innovative use of print and in careful manuscript copies, it becomes evident that the philology of the Tibetan other must be part of our own philology as well.

APPENDIX: THE LHASA ZHOL PRINTERY EDITION OF THE “VOLUMES OF THE SCIENCES”

The Zhol Printing House, at the foot of the Potala Palace of the Dalai Lamas in Lhasa, was the main printery attached to the offices of the Ganden Phodrang government that ruled Tibet following Gushri Khan's reunification of Tibet under the Fifth Dalai Lama in 1642. During the late 17th century, under the direction of the Fifth Dalai Lama's protégé Sde-srid Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho (1653-1705), who was particularly keen on the “secular” sciences, including poetics, astral calculation and medicine, a large anthology of key works, the “Volumes of the Sciences” (*rig gnas pod ka*) was issued with the intent of establishing a more or less standard curriculum in the fields covered: chiefly grammar, lexicography, metrics and poetics.⁴⁴ The “sciences” (*rig gnas*, Skt. *vidyāsthāna*) were in this case identified specifically as the “language sciences” (*sgra rig*, Skt. *śabdavidyā*), or as we might say, “philology,” including works on both the Sanskrit and Tibetan languages. The original printing blocks having become over

44. For further background, refer to Schaeffer (2011).

time too worn to use, the “Volumes” were reissued during the mid-20th century regency of Stag-brag (1941-1950). This new edition, of which I was fortunate to acquire a copy in Lhasa in 1984, includes additional works by authors posterior to Sde-srid Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho, as well as representative texts on iconometry and astral calculation.⁴⁵

A handlist of Zhol printery editions including most of the titles found in this copy of the “Volumes” was given in Lokesh Chandra (1963 [TWPS]), but without any indication that they in fact belonged to a discrete collection within the larger inventory of Zhol prints. In listing the contents of the “Volumes” here, I give the title as found on the title page of each text, the name of the author (A.), the marginal title (M.), the number of two-sided folios, the TWPS entry number, and a brief note on the contents, mentioning the Sanskrit title where relevant.

The pages of the “Volumes” measure 9.5 x 55 cm, with a printed area of 6 x 49.5 cm.

Volume One (*stod cha*): 676 folios.

1. *brda sprod dbyangs can gyi mdo*. A. Anubhūti. M. *dbyangs can sgra mdo*. 11 folios. TWPS 75. The text of the *Sārasvatavyākaraṇa*.
2. *brda sprod pa'i bstan bcos chen po dbyangs can byā ka ra ṇa'i 'grel pa rab tu bya ba gsal ldan zhes bya ba*. A. Anubhūtiśvarūpācārya. M. *dbyangs can sgra ṭīk*. 151 folios. TWPS 76. Anubhūti's autocommentary on the *Sārasvatavyākaraṇa*.
3. *brda sprod pa'i yang snying dbyangs can byā ka ra ṇa'i 'grel pa rab tu bya ba gsal ldan 'gyur lhad dag pa mthong kun grol zhes bya ba las mtshams sbyor lnga'i rgya cher bshad pa*. A. Mi-dbang Sde-srid-chen-po. M. *brda sprod yang snying*. 84 folios. TWPS 77. Glosses on the *Sārasvatavyākaraṇa* by Sde-srid Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho.
4. *dpang lo tsā ba chen pos mdzad pa'i brda sprod pa'i gzhung gi snying po gsal ba rang 'grel brda sprod snying po ches cher gsal ba dang bcas pa*. A. Dpal-ldan Blo-gros-brtan-pa. M. *snying po gsal ba*. 7 folios. TWPS 78. A brief introduction to grammatical studies by the translator Dpang Blo-gros-brtan-pa (1276-1342). The text is edited on the basis of the present exemplar in Verhagen (2001: 375-385).

45. It is possible that the works on iconometry belonged to the original collection. If astral calculation was represented therein, it would have been by texts earlier than the 19th-century treatise (no. 37) found in the present reedition.

5. *nye bar mkho ba'i legs sbyar gyi skad bod kyi brda kā li'i 'phreng 'sgrigs ngo mtshar nor bu'i do shal zhes bya ba*. A. Mdo-mkhar Zhabs-drung. M. *skad shan sbyar*. 176 folios. TWPS 79. A famous Sanskrit-Tibetan lexicon by the political figure and author Mdo-mkhar Tshe-ring-dbang-rgyal (1697-1763). A manuscript of this work was published in facsimile in Bacot (1932).
6. *mdo rgyud las 'byung ba'i gzungs sngags 'ga' zhig bod skad du bkrol ba dang bcas pa*. A. Btsun-pa Dbang-po. M. *gzungs 'grel*. 22 folios. TWPS 85. Glosses on the significance of Sanskrit *mantras* and *dhāraṇīs* by the otherwise unknown Btsun-pa Dbang-po, apparently a disciple of Zhwa-lu lo-tsa-ba Chos-skyong-bzang-po (1441-1527).
7. *sdeb sbyor rin chen 'byung gnas kyi 'grel pa don gsal me long zhes bya ba*. A. Ngag-dbang Chos-dpal. M. *sdeb sbyor 'grel pa*. 34 folios. TWPS 80. Commentary on the *Chandoratnākara* by the hierarch of the Nyingmapa order Lo-chen Dharmasrī (1654-1717).
8. *sdeb sbyor rin chen 'byung gnas kyi gzhung gi zin bris rnam gsal du bkod pa ngo mtshar me tog bkra ba'i khri shing zhes bya ba*. A. Sudhīḥ-dāna (i.e., Blo-gros-sbyin-pa). M. *sdeb sbyor zin bris*. 16 folios. TWPS 81. Lecture notes on the *Chandoratnākara* by 'O-rdzong paṇḍita Blo-bzang-sbyin-pa (1834-1895), a teacher of the regent Stag-brag.
9. *snyan ngag gi bstan bcas me long zhes bya ba*. A. Daṇḍin (Tib. Dbyug-pa-can). M. *snyan ngag me long*. 37 folios. TWPS 62. The Tibetan text of the *Kāvyādarśa*.
10. *snyan ngag me long gi dka' 'grel dbyangs can dgyes pa'i glu dbyangs zhes bya ba*. A. Tshangs-dbyangs-bzhad-pa'i-sde. M. *snyan ṭik dgyes glu*. 138 folios. TWPS 63. Commentary by the Fifth Dalai Lama (called here by his poetic name of Tshangs-dbyangs-bzhad-pa'i-sde) on the *Kāvyādarśa*.

Volume Two (*smad-cha*): 628 folios.

11. *snyan ngag me long gi bstan bcas chen po me long la 'jug pa'i bshad sbyar daṇḍi'i dgongs rgyan zhes bya ba*. A. Bod-mkhas-pa Mi-pham-dge-legs rnam-par-rgyal-ba'i-lha. M. *bod mkhas snyan ṭik*. 167 folios. TWPS 64. Commentary on the *Kāvyādarśa* by Bod-mkhas-pa (1618-1685), whose interpretations are sometimes the object of the Fifth Dalai Lama's criticisms in 10 above.

12. *snyan ngag me long gzhung gi bstan pa'i dper brjod legs par bshad pa sgra dbyangs rgya mtsho'i 'jug ngogs ces bya ba*. A. Bod-mkhas-pa Mi-pham-dge-legs. M. *bod mkhas dper brjod*. 37 folios. TWPS 65. Sample verses by Bod-mkhas-pa illustrating tropes described in the *Kāvyādarśa*.
13. *rje bod mkhas pa'i gab tshig gi dper brjod legs su bkod te bshad pa mkhas dbang dgongs rgyan paṇ chen bla ma'i zhal lung zhes bya ba*. A. Dbyangs-can grub-pa'i rdo-rje dpal-bzang-po. M. *gab tshig 'grel pa*. 7 folios. TWPS 66. Comments on the *Kāvyādarśa*'s treatment of *prahelikā*, by Dbyangs-can Grub-pa'i rdo-rje (1809-1887).
14. *mngon brjod kyi bstan bcos mkhas pa'i rna rgyan zhes bya ba*. A. Lhasger-rigs-kyi snyan-dngags-mkhan chen-po Ngag-dbang 'jig-rten dbang-phyug grags-pa'i rdo-rje. M. *mngon brjod rna rgyan*. 82 folios. TWPS 67. Treatise on synonymics, *abhidhāna*, by the 16th-century prince and poet Ngag-dbang-'jig-grags (1482-1535 or 1542-1595).
15. *mngon brjod kyi bstan bcos rgya mtsho'i chu thigs zhes bya ba*. A. Dharmabhadra. M. *mngon brjod chu thig*. 12 folios. TWPS 68. Brief *abhidhāna* treatise by Dngul-chu Chos-kyi-bzang-po (Dharmabhadra, 1772-1851), the teacher of the author of nos. 13, 18 and 20.
16. *grangs kyi mngon brjod kyi rnam bshad*. A. Dge-slong Dbang-phyug chos-bzang. M. *grangs mngon*. 6 folios. TWPS 69. On words used symbolically for numbers. By the author of the preceding work.
17. *brda gsar rnying gi khyad par bstan pa gsar bu'i blo gros skyed byed ces bya ba*. A. Dge-sbyong-gi sha-tshugs Rdo-rje'i ming-can. M. *brda gsar rnying*. 5 folios. TWPS 73 (?). On distinctions between archaic and "new" (i.e. classical) forms of Tibetan orthography, by Dngul-chu Ngag-dbang-rdo-rje (1720-1803).
18. *ming gcig don mang po la 'jug tshul bshad pa blo gsal mgrin rgyan zhes bya ba*. A. Dbyangs-can grub-pa'i rdo-rje. M. *ming don*. 5 folios. TWPS 70. On homonyms, by the author of 13 above.
19. *bod kyi skad las gsar rnying gi brda'i khyad pa ston pa legs par bshad pa li shi'i gur khang zhes bya ba*. A. Skyogs-ston. M. *li shi'i gur khang*. 17 folios. TWPS 72. One of the best-known treatises on archaic Tibetan usage, by a disciple of Zhwa-lu lo-tsā-ba Chos-skyong-bzang-po (1441-1527).
20. *bod yig gi gnas dang byed rtsol ngos 'dzin tshul gsar pa'i gtam gyi myu gu zhes bya ba*. A. Dbyangs-can grub-pa'i rdo-rje. M. *klog thabs*. 3 folios. On Tibetan phonetics, by the author of 13 above.

21. *bod kyi brda'i bstan bcos legs par bshad pa rin po che'i za ma tog bkod pa zhes bya ba*. A. Zha-lu-ba Rin-chen chos-skyong-bzang-po. M. *dag yig za ma tog*. 29 folios. TWPS 74. Essentials of Tibetan lexicography, by Zhwa-lu lo-tsā-ba Chos-skyong-bzang-po (1441-1527). The author was also the editor of a bilingual *Avadānakalpalatā*, on which the Fifth Dalai Lama's edition was to a large extent based.
22. *bod kyi brda'i bstan bcos sum cu pa zhes bya ba'i rnam bshad kun tu bzang po'i dgongs pa rab tu gsal bar byed pa'i rgyan ces bya ba*. A. Dka'-bcu'i ming-can Ratna-artha-siddhi. M. *sum ṭik*. 37 folios. TWPS 87. Commentary on the *sum cu pa* grammatical treatise attributed to the legendary Thon-mi Saṃbhoṭa, by Bra-ti Rin-chen-don-grub (17th c.).⁴⁶
23. *rtags kyi 'jug pa'i dgongs 'grel gsal bar bshad pa*. A. Dka'-bcu'i ming-can Ratna-artha-siddhi. M. *bshad sbyar*. 6 folios. TWPS 88. Commentary on the *rtags kyi 'jug pa* grammatical treatise attributed to the legendary Thon-mi Saṃbhoṭa, by the author of the preceding.
24. *rtags kyi 'jug pa'i dgongs 'grel rab gsal snang ba zhes bya ba*. A. Dbyangs-can dga'-ba'i blo-gros. M. *rtags ṭik*. 19 folios. TWPS 89. Commentary on the *rtags kyi 'jug pa* grammatical treatise by the A-kya yongs-'dzin (1740-1827), abbot of Sku-'bum monastery in Qinghai.
25. *rnam dbye brgyad dang bya byed las sogs kyi khyad par mdo tsam brjod pa dka' gnad gsal ba'i me long zhes bya ba*. A. Dbyangs-can dga'-ba'i blo-gros. M. *me long*. 7 folios. TWPS 90. Treatise on the eight nominal cases (*vibhakti*) and on the distinctions amongst *kriyā*, *kartṛ*, and *karman*, by the author of 24.
26. *rtags kyi 'jug pa'i dka' gnas bdag gzhan dang bya byed las gsum gyi khyad par zhib tu phye ba nyung gsal 'phrul gyi lde mig ces bya ba*. A. Dbyangs-can dga'-ba'i blo-gros. M. *lde mig*. 6 folios. TWPS 91. Supplement to 24, by the same author, on difficulties in the treatment of transitivity, with additional remarks on *kriyā*, etc.
27. *yi ge'i thob thang nyer mkho rab gsal me long zhes bya ba*. A. Dbyangs-can dga'-ba'i blo-gros. M. *lde mig*. 1 folio. TWPS 92. On permitted combinations of letters in Tibetan, by the same author.

46. For nos. 22-34, which concern Tibetan grammar, and so lie outside of our present topic, one may consult Miller (1976) and Verhagen (2001) for references to those that have been objects of contemporary scholarship.

28. *bod kyi brda'i rnam bzhag nyung ngur bsdus pa smra ba'i sgron me zhes bya ba*. A. Dka'-bcu'i ming-can Ratna-artha-siddhi. M. *brda dag*. 10 folios. Elementary Tibetan mnemonic lexicon, by the author of 22.
29. *lung ston pa sum cu pa dang/ rtags kyi 'jug pa*. A. Thon-mi sam-bho-ṭa. M. *sum rtags*. 5 folios. TWPS 93. The root texts of the treatises *sum cu pa* and *rtags kyi 'jug pa* attributed to Thon-mi Saṃbhoṭa.
30. *yi ge'i bshad pa mkhas pa'i kha rgyan zhes bya ba*. A. A-lag-sha Ngag-dbang-bstan-dar. M. *yig bshad*. 22 folios. On principles of Tibetan orthography, by the renowned Mongol scholar Bstan-dar Lha-rams-pa (1759-1831).
31. *dag yig gces bsdus 'khrul spong legs par bshad pa'i skya rengs gsar pa zhes bya ba*. A. A-lag-sha Ngag-dbang-bstan-dar. M. *dag yig*. 17 folios. TWPS 95. Brief Tibetan spelling dictionary, by the author of the preceding.
32. *sum cu pa dang rtags 'jug gi don nyung ngur bshad pa blo ldan dga' bskyed ces bya ba*. A. Lcang-skya rol-pa'i rdo-rje. M. *sum rtags don bsdus*. 7 folios. TWPS 86. Summary of Thon-mi Saṃbhoṭa's grammatical treatises (29), by the Lcang-skya Hutukhtu (1717-1786), preceptor of China's Qianlong emperor.
33. *sum rtags don gyi gzhung 'grel shes rab snang 'byed ces bya ba*. A. Btsun-gzugs Shā-sa-na-dha-ra-karma-rasmi. M. omitted. 3 folios. A brief outline of Tibetan grammar. The author is perhaps the grammarian Karma-'od-zer who was active ca. 1700.
34. *sum rtags kyi sa bcad dang rtsa ba phyogs gcig tu spel ba 'od dkar snang ba zhes bya ba*. A. La-stod Shri Chu-bzang-sprul-ming-pa. M. *sum rtags*. 6 folios. A brief outline of Tibetan grammar by one of the Chu-bzang incarnations from Rtsib-ri in western Tibet.
35. *bde bar gshegs pa'i sku gzugs kyi tshad kyi rab tu byed pa yid bzhin nor bu zhes bya ba*. A. Sman-bla Don-grub and Dpal-ldan Blo-gros bzang-po. M. *lha sku cha tshad*. 30 folios. TWPS 82. Treatise on the iconometry of Buddhist images, by a leading 16th c. artist-scholar and his disciple.
36. *bzo rig pa'i bstan bcos mdo rgyud gsal ba'i me long zhes bya ba*. A. Dpal-ldan Blo-gros bzang-po. M. *cha tshad*. 12 folios. TWPS 83. Supplement to the preceding.
37. *phug lugs legs bshad gtso bor byas pa'i gtsug lag rtsis kyi ri mo'i lag len gsal bar byed pa rtsis rig rnam gsal 'od kyi thig le zhes bya ba*. A. Su-

dhiḥ dā-na, a.k.a. Mi-pham ngag-gi dbang-phyug blo-ldan dge-ba'i bshes-gnyen. M. 'od thig. 70 folios. TWPS 96. On astronomical and calendrical calculations, by the author of 8 above.

REFERENCES

Tibetan Sources

- BKA'-'BANGS Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan. 2011. *Chos rje rin po che Byang chub rtse mo'i rnam par thar pa snang ba spel ba*. In: *Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs*. Vol. 54. Xining: Qinghai Nationalities Press, p. 11-145. [TBRC Resource ID W1PD153537.]
- DALAI LAMA V Ngag-dbang-blo-bzang-rgya-mtsho. 1975. *Rgya bod hor sog gi mchog dman bar pa rnam la 'phrin yig snyan ngag tu bkod pa rab snyan rgyud mang*, "Reproduced from a clear print from the 'Bras-spuṅs Dga'-ldan-pho-brañ blocks from Ñi-zer-sgañ dgon-pa near Dbañ-'dus pho-brañ". Thimphu, Bhutan: Kunsang Topgay. [TBRC Resource ID W27476.]
- 'JAM-BLO, ed. 2015. *Dpal yang dag par sbyor ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po'i rgya cher 'grel pa*. Bod dmangs khrid kyi rtsa chen dpe rnying phyogs bsgrigs 3. Sichuan: Si-khron mi-rigs dpe-skrun-khang.
- LO-CHEN 'Gyur-med-bde-chen. N.d. *Lo tsā ba 'gyur med bde chen gyi gsung 'bum*. Vol. 2. Manuscript. [TBRC Resource ID W2DB16431.]
- SA-SKYA PAṆḌITA Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan. N.d. *Sngags kyi klog thabs 'bras bu 'phyung ba'i me tog*. In: *Sa skya bka' 'bum*, Sde-dge edition. Vol. 10, p. 507-510. [TBRC Resource ID W22271.]
- ZHWA-DMAR IV Chos-grags-ye-shes. 2009. *Thams cad mkhyen pa zhwa dmar bzhi pa spyang snga chos kyi grags pa'i gsung 'bum*. Beijing: Krung-go'i bod-rig-pa dpe-skrun-khang. [TBRC Resource ID W1KG4876.]

Secondary Sources

- BACOT, Jacques. 1932. *Dictionnaire Tibétain-Sanskrit par Tse-ring-ouang-gyal*. Buddhica, second series II. Paris.
- BRONKHORST, Johannes. 2010. "The Spread of Sanskrit". In: *From Turfan to Ajanta. Festschrift for Dieter Schlingloff on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday*. Ed. by Eli FRANCO and Monika ZIN. Vol. 1. Lumbini: International Research Institute, p. 117-139.
- CHEN, Shu-fen. 2000. "A Study of Sanskrit Loanwords in Chinese". *Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies*. New Series 33.3: 375-426.
- DĀS, Sarat Chandra and Hari Mohan VIDYĀBHŪṢAṆA, eds. 1888-1913. *Avadāna-kalpalatā. A Collection of Legendary Stories About the Bodhisattvas*. Bibliotheca Indica 124, 130. Calcutta: W. Carey.

- DRÈGE, Jean-Pierre. 1999-2000. “Les premières impressions des *dhāraṇī* de Mahāpratisarā”. *Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie* 11: 25-45.
- GENDUN CHOPEL. 2014. *Grains of Gold. Tales of a Cosmopolitan Traveler*. Transl. by THUPTEN JINPA and Donald S. LOPEZ Jr. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- GOLD, Jonathan C. 2007. *The Dharma’s Gatekeepers. Sakya Paṇḍita on Buddhist Scholarship in Tibet*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- GULIK, Robert Hans van. 1956. *Siddham. An Essay on the History of Sanskrit Studies in China and Japan*. Sarasvati-vihara Series 36. Nagpur: International Academy of Indian Culture.
- HAHN, Michael. 1971. *Jñānaśrīmitras Vṛttimālāstuti. Eine Beispielsammlung zur alt-indischen Metrik nach dem tibetischen Tanjur zusammen mit der mongolischen Version*. Asiatische Forschungen 33. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- 1974. *Candragomins Lokānandanāṭaka*. Asiatische Forschungen 39. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- 1982. *Ratnākaraśānti’s Chandoratnākara*. Kathmandu: Nepal Research Centre.
- ISHIHAMA, Yumiko and Yoichi FUKUDA, eds. 1989. *A New Critical Edition of the Mahāvīyutpatti*. Studia Tibetica 16. Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko.
- ISHIKAWA, Mie. 1990. *A Critical Edition of the Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa. An Old and Basic Commentary on the Mahāvīyutpatti*. Studia Tibetica 18. Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko.
- JONG, J.W. de. 1979. *Textcritical Remarks on the Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā (Pallavas 42:108)*. Studia philologica Buddhica, Monograph Series 2. Tokyo, Japan: Reiyukai Library.
- KANO, Kazuo and Xuezhong LI. 2017. “Critical Edition of the Sanskrit Text of the *Munimatālaṃkāra* Chapter 1 (fol. 58r5-59v4). Passages on Caturāryasatya and Trisvabhāva Borrowed from Kamalaśīla’s *Madhyamakāloka* [Appendix: 10 Sanskrit Verses from the *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* Cited in the *Āmnāyamañjari*].” (In Japanese.) *Mikkyo bunka* 238: 7-27.
- KAPSTEIN, Matthew T. 2000. *The Tibetan Assimilation of Buddhism. Conversion, Contestation, and Memory*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- 2003. “The Indian Literary Identity in Tibet”. In: *Literary Cultures in History. Perspectives from South Asia*. Ed. by Sheldon POLLOCK. Berkeley: University of California Press, p. 747-802.
- KRAMER, Ralf. 2007. *The Great Tibetan Translator. Life and Works of rNgog Blo ldan shes rab (1059-1109)*. Collectanea Himalayica 1. München: Indus Verlag.
- LIN, Nancy Grace. 2011. “Adapting the Buddha’s Biographies. A Cultural History of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* in Tibet, Seventeenth to Eighteenth Centuries”. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. University of California, Berkeley.
- LOKESH CHANDRA. 1963. “Tibetan Works Printed by the Sholparkhang of the Potala”. In: *Jñānamuktāvalī. Commemoration Volume in Honour of Johannes Nobel on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday Offered by Pupils and Colleagues*. Ed. by Claus VOGEL. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, p. 120-132. [Reprinted in the author’s *Cultural Horizons of India. Studies in Tantra and Bud-*

- dhism, Art and Archaeology, Language and Literature*, 3. Ed. by Tara CHANDRIKA. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 1993, p. 350-360.]
- LOKESH CHANDRA, ed. 1966-. *Sanskrit Texts From the Imperial Palace at Peking, in the Manchurian, Chinese, Mongolian and Tibetan Scripts, from the Collection of Raghu Vira*. Śatapiṭaka Series, Indo-Asian literatures 71.1-22. New Delhi: Institute for the Advancement of Science and Culture.
- MALLINSON, James. Forthcoming. "The Amṛtasiddhi. Haṭhayoga's Tantric Buddhist Source Text". In: *Śaivism and the Tantric Traditions*. Ed. by S. HATLEY, D. GOODALL, and H. ISAACSON. Leiden: Brill.
- MCKEOWN, Arthur. 2019. *Guardian of a Dying Flame. Śāriputra (c. 1335-1426) and the End of Late Indian Buddhism*. Harvard Oriental Series 89. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- MILLER, Roy A. 1976. *Studies in the Grammatical Tradition in Tibet*. Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science III, Studies in the History of Linguistics 6. Amsterdam: John Benjamins B.V.
- OSTLER, Nicholas. 2006. *Empires of the Word. A Language History of the World*. New York: Harper Perennial.
- RUEGG, David Seyfort. 1995. *Ordre spirituel et ordre temporel dans la pensée bouddhique de l'Inde et du Tibet*. Publications de l'Institut de civilisation indienne du Collège de France 64. Paris: De Boccard.
- SAKYA PANDITA Kunga Gyaltshen. 2002. *A Clear Differentiation of the Three Codes. Essential Distinctions among the Individual Liberation, Great Vehicle, and Tantric Systems*. Transl. by Jared Douglas RHOTON. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- SCHAEFFER, Kurtis R. 2002. "The Attainment of Immortality. From Nāthas in India to Buddhists in Tibet". *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 30: 515-533.
- 2011. "New Scholarship in Tibet, 1650-1700". In: *Forms of Knowledge in Early Modern Asia. Explorations in the Intellectual History of India and Tibet, 1500-1800*. Ed. by Sheldon POLLOCK. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, p. 190-210.
- SCHAEFFER, Kurtis R., Matthew T. KAPSTEIN, and Gray TUTTLE, eds. 2013. *Sources of Tibetan Tradition*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- SIMONSSON, Nils. 1957. *Indo-tibetische Studien*. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells.
- TOMABECHI, Toru and Kazuo KANO. 2008. "A Critical Edition and Translation of a Text Fragment from Abhayākara Gupta's *Āmnāyamañjarī*: Göttingen, Cod. ms. sanscr, 259b". *Tantric Studies* 1: 22-44.
- TSIANG, Katherine R. 2010. "Buddhist Printed Images and Texts of the Eighth-Tenth Centuries. Typologies of Replication and Representation". In: *Eso-teric Buddhism at Dunhuang. Rites for This Life and Beyond*. Ed. by Matthew T. KAPSTEIN and Sam van SCHAIK. Brill's Tibetan Library 25. Leiden: E.J. Brill, p. 211-266.
- TUCCI, Giuseppe. 1971. "The Fifth Dalai Lama as a Sanskrit Scholar". In: *Opera Minora*. Vol. II. Rome: Giovanni Bardi, p. 589-594.

- VERHAGEN, Pieter C. 1994. *A History of Sanskrit Grammatical Literature in Tibet*. Vol. I: *Transmission of the Canonical Literature*. Leiden and New York: E.J. Brill.
- 2001. *A History of Sanskrit Grammatical Literature in Tibet*. Vol. II: *Assimilation into Indigenous Scholarship*. Leiden and New York: E.J. Brill.
- VAIDYA, P.L., ed. 1959. *Avadāna-kalpalatā*. Buddhist Sanskrit Texts 22-23. Darbhanga: Mithila Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning.
- WANG-TOUTAIN, Françoise. 2018 [2017]. *Le Décor de la tombe de Qianlong (r. 1736-1796). Un empereur mandchou et le bouddhisme tibétain*. Études tibétaines du Collège de France. Paris: Collège de France.

ILLUSTRATIONS

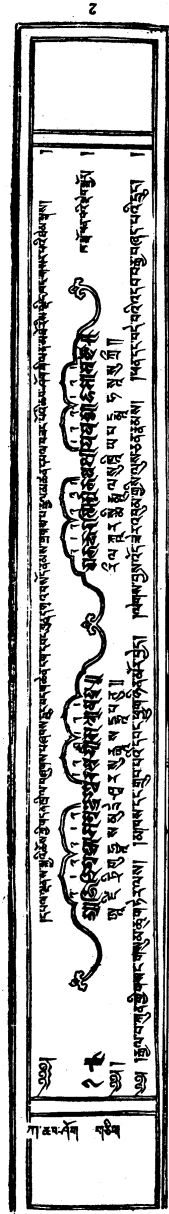


Figure 1 – The opening of the Fifth Dalai Lama's letter to the head of the Sa-skyapa order. The upper line gives the title in Tibetan. The ribbon-like brackets illustrate the scansion of the Sanskrit verse, which is given in an ornamental *nāgarī* script followed by the Tibetan transliteration. The final line is the Tibetan version. A note to the right identifies the metre as *kha sgo phan pa*, i.e. *pathyāvaktṛā*. Image courtesy of the Buddhist Digital Resource Center (www.tbrc.org).

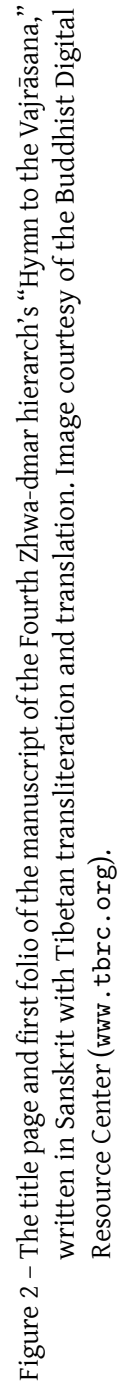


Figure 2 – The title page and first folio of the manuscript of the Fourth Zhwa-dmar hierarch's "Hymn to the Vajrāsana," written in Sanskrit with Tibetan transliteration and translation. Image courtesy of the Buddhist Digital Resource Center (www.tbrc.org).



Figure 3 – Sanskrit *balividhi* with Tibetan transliteration and translation. From the gold manuscript of the collected writings of Lo-chen 'Gyur-med-bde-chen. Central or Eastern Tibet, 18th century. Image courtesy of the Buddhist Digital Resource Center (www.tbrc.org).

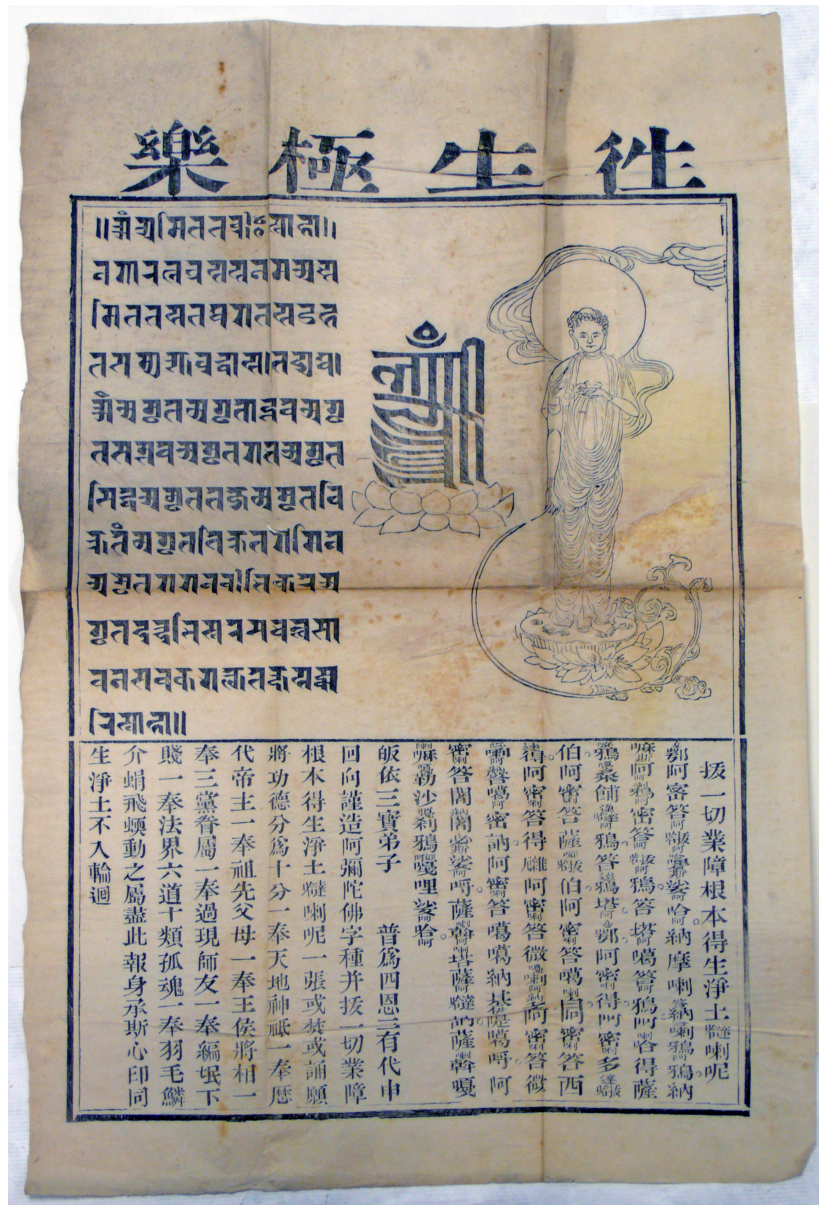


Figure 4 – Dhāraṇī of Buddha Amitābha, entitled *Wang sheng ji le*, “engendering ultimate happiness,” i.e., birth in Sukhāvātī. China, 19th century. Courtesy of the Field Museum, Cat. No. T2008.44.1. Photo: Matthew T. Kapstein.

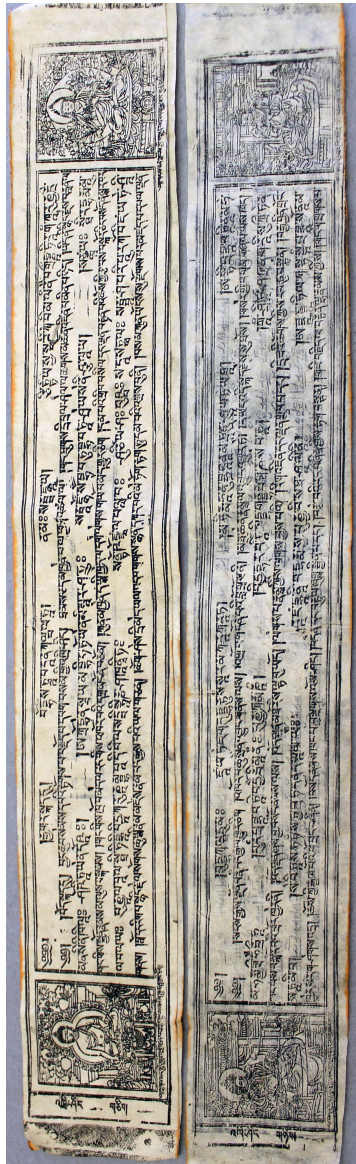


Figure 5 – The first pages of the 1655 Dga' ldan pho brang bilingual xylographic edition of Kṣemendra's *Avadānakalpalatā*. Private collection. Photo: Matthew T. Kapstein.

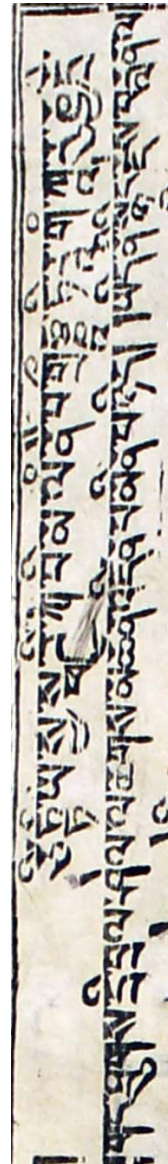


Figure 6 – Detail of fig. 5. The first line of verse of the *Avadānakalpalatā*: *cittam yasya sphatikavimalam naiva grhṇāti rāgaṃ kāruṇyādre...* With interlinear Tibetan: *gang thugs dri bral shel la chags mtshon 'dzin pa min pa nyid || yid ni snying rjes brlan la...* Note that *kāruṇyādre* should be emended to *kāruṇyārdre*, a typical error in Tibetan printing of Sanskrit.



Figure 7 – Pages from a bilingual calligraphic exercise attributed to 'Jam-mgon Kong-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas (1813-1899), reproducing a hymn to the four *kāyas* of the Buddha from the *Sekoddésa* of Nāropa as cited in the famous 15th-century history, the *Blue Annals*. The Sanskrit of each page is given in a different script; in the three examples seen here, the ornamental *rañjana*, a *nāgarī* script that follows eastern Indian models of about the 12th century, and a variant of modern *devanāgarī*. The last is unusual in Tibetan scribal practice and probably reflects the influence of Si-tu Paṅ-chen Chos-kyi-nyin-byed (1700-1774), to whose tradition Kong-sprul belonged. Note that in the upper center of the final page, the scansion of the verses is diagrammed. Image courtesy of a private collection.

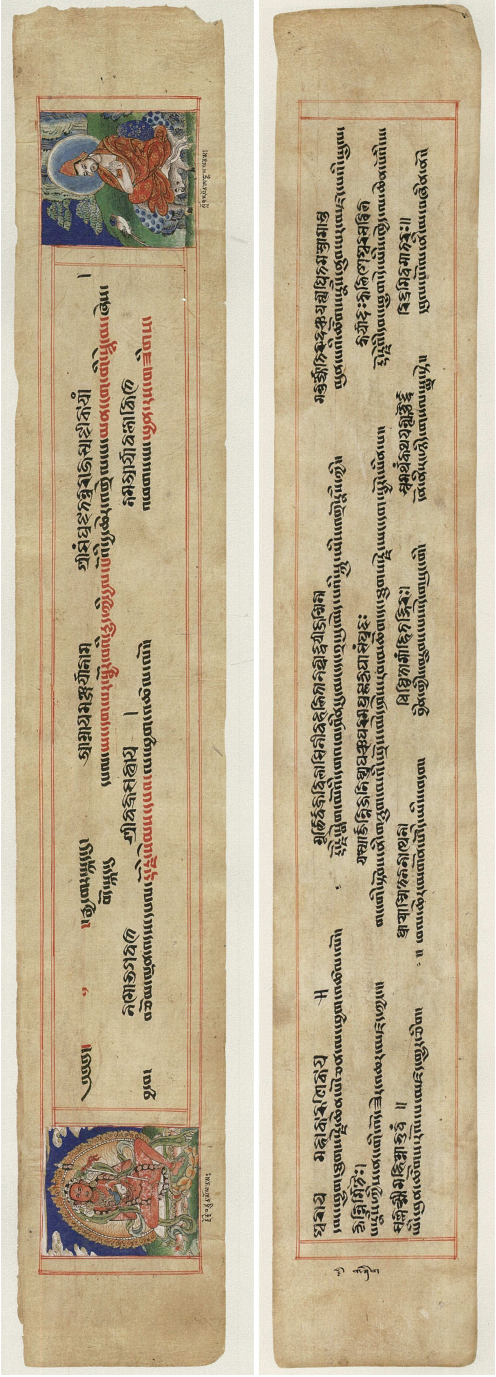


Figure 8 – Folios 1b and 2a of the bilingual manuscript of the *Āmnāyamañjarī*, with miniatures of the tantric goddess Vajrayoginī and the work's author, paṇḍita Abhayākara Gupta. Probably produced in the Derge (*sde dge*) region of far eastern Tibet during the 18th century. After 'Jam-blo (2015).