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

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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 pathyāvaktrā (Tib. kha sgo phan pa) following its description in the Chandoratnākara’s fourth chapter on viṣamavṛtta, meters with prosodically unequal lines. ³

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ā dzi } [= \text{jī}]^{4} & \text{ trī } | \text{ gu hyā sa } | \text{ mu dre } || \\
\text{shwa } [= \text{ śvā}] & \text{ ra su } | \text{ rāyā sa dhā } | \text{ pa tū } || \\
\text{r la kṣa } & \text{ ra smī rmā } | \text{ la su } || \\
\text{khi yā pa } & \text{ dāmā ha sā } | \text{ su kr } || \\
\text{ravay ba kun gyī gsang gsum chu gter las } & || \\
\text{mkhas dang grub pa’i dbang phyug nyin mor byed } & || \\
\end{align*}
\]

* 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.

2. Dalai Lama V (1975, folio 1b).
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.
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 triguhya, samudra, īśvara, sūrya (erroneously given as surya), raśmi (given as rasmi), etc. — 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.

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
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

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).
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. 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-vārttikālāṃkāra, or Sāntarakṣita’s Tattvasaṃgraha with Kamalaśīla’s pāñjikā upon it, or the Vimalaprabhā commentary on the Kālacakra-tantra, or the encyclopedic writings of Abhayākaragupta, 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 Mahāvyutpatti. 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-idan-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 pāñjīta Guṇākaraśrībhadra, and the pāñjikā 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 pāñjīta Somanātha during the early 11th century.

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

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 Kāvyādarśa, the Jātakamālā and Avadānakaḷpalatā, 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

18. Important examples include Hahn (1971, 1974, 1982).
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 Zhöl Printing House, the printery attached to the Potala Palace in Lhasa, issued careful editions of a number of essential texts required for Sanskrit studies.  

Besides the creation of occasional Sanskrit verses at the beginning of Tibetan sāstras 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, Spyan-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.  

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. 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 permissable combinations thereof.  

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


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*. 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, 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. 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


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 bu’i me tog, precisely notes, for instance, that the Tibetan alveolar fricative series (tsa, 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

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, 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.

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. 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 Šarmá 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 raṅjana, 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-tṣā-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 Ṣāmāyamañjarī of Abhayākaragupta, one of the greatest of Buddhist tantric works (fig. 8, p. 494). 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. It was perhaps created in connection with the revival of Sanskrit studies in far eastern Tibet spearheaded by Si-tu Pañ-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 Ṣāmāyamañjarī and an edited fragment of the text, see Tomabechi 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). 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.

mūrttir vajrālaśīnīvahulitānandādvayī janminām
antaryūtir[= m] āduaçcayanty api tama[= s]tostamāstakṛṇnimitaih
yasyāryan niṣṭanirpanācaparamapraṇājākṛṣṇapāṃputah[= m]
kuryād [v]aḥ kuliśeśvara[s] sa viṣalā lakṣmīmahinnā bhuvan

[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 Abhayakara-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. 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 Pan-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 Aṃrtasiddhi, 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).

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. 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.\footnote{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.}

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 na ‘i ‘grel pa rab tu bya ba gsal ldan zhes bya ba. A. Anubhūtisvarūpācārya. M. dbyangs can sgra tīk. 151 folios. TWPS 76. Anubhūti’s autocommentary on the Sārasvatavyākaraṇa.

3. brda sprod pa’i yang snying dbyangs can byā ka ra na ‘i ‘grel pa rab tu bya ba gsal ldan ‘gyur lhad dag pa mthong kun grol zhes bya ba las mthams 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.

5. nye bar mkho ba’i legs sbyar gyi skad bod kyi brda kā lī’i ’phreng ’sgrigs ngo mtshar nor bu’i do shal zhes bya ba. A. Mdo-mkhar Zhab-drup, M. skad shan sbyar, 176 folios. TWPS 79. A famous Sanskrit-Tibetan lexicon by the political figure and author Mdo-mkhar Tshê-ring-dbang-rgyal (1697-1763). A manuscript of this work was published in facsimile in Bacot (1932).


7. sde b’ycor rin chen ’byung gnas kyi ’grel pa don gsal me long zhes bya ba. A. Ngag-dbang Chos-dpal. M. sde b’ycor ’grel pa. 34 folios. TWPS 80. Commentary on the Chandoratnākara by the hierarch of the Nyingmapa order Lo-chen Dharmāśri (1654-1717).

8. sde b’ycor 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. sde b’ycor 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.


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 ṭīk 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 bcos chen po me long la ’jug pa’i bshad sbyar d本身就 rgyan zhes bya ba. A. Bod-mkhas-pa Mi-pham-dge-legs rnam-par-rgyal-ba’i-lha. M. bod mkhas snyan ṭīk. 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 pa'n 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).


17. brda gsar rnying gi khyad par bstan pa gsar bu'i blo gros skyed byed ces bya ba. A. Dge-sbyong-gisha-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.


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-tsä-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 Sāṃbhota, by Bra-ti Rin-chen-don-grub (17th c.).


25. rnam dbye brayad dang bya byed las soqs 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, kart, 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 phyé 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 transitiv-ity, 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.


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 rsa pa 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-ladan 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.


37.  *phug legs legs bshad gtsos 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-

**References**

**Tibetan Sources**


**Secondary Sources**


Figure 1 – The opening of the Fifth Dalai Lama’s letter to the head of the Sa-skya-pa 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. pathyāvaktrā. 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 5 – The first pages of the 1655 Dga’l dan 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*: cittaṃ yasya sphaṭikavimalaṃ naiva grññati rāgaṃ kāruṇyārdre… With interlinear Tibetan: gang thugs dri bral shel la chags mtshon ’dzin pa min pa nyid || yid ni snying rjes brlan la… Note that *kāruṇyārdre* 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 Sekoddeśa 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 Pan-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 Abhayākaragupta. Probably produced in the Derge (sde dge) region of far eastern Tibet during the 18th century. After ‘Jam-blo (2015).