

॥ षष्ट्यब्दसंस्कृतम् ॥

Sixty Years of Sanskrit Studies (1950–2010)

Vol. 2: Countries other than India

Edited by
Radhavallabh Tripathi



Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan



Publishers of Indian Traditions

Sanskrit Studies in the United States

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The past sixty years have witnessed a significant transformation of Sanskrit studies in the United States. The sheer number of people studying and teaching Sanskrit in American universities has grown dramatically. The field has also markedly changed its disciplinary location, and has gradually inched from the periphery toward the center of philology and the humanities generally, if still rather less than many of its practitioners might welcome.¹

Around 1950, Sanskrit was taught at a handful of universities, among them Chicago, Columbia, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, Pennsylvania, the U. of California at Berkeley, and Yale, typically in departments of classics or comparative philology, or Oriental (or Near Eastern or similar) studies. Today it is taught at scores, at various levels. Graduate programs in Sanskrit, which number about a dozen, are usually housed in departments of “Asian Studies” variously defined (whether including all of Asia, or some combination of East Asia, Southeast Asia, West Asia and the Middle East, or restricted to South Asia, which is now rare). It is complemented by instruction in a range of modern South Asian languages nowhere taught in America before the 1950s, above all Hindi

1 This essay represents a collaborative effort of several distinguished and generous scholars, whose knowledge and, sometimes, very formulations appear in the following pages. I wish to thank Madhav Deshpande, James Fitzgerald, Robert Goldman, Phyllis Granoff, Stephanie Jamison, Matthew Kapstein, Christopher Minkowski, Patrick Olivelle, Richard Salomon, and Michael Witzel. I am also grateful to Andrew Ollett and Anand Venkatkrishnan for their research assistance.

but also Bengali and Tamil. Sanskrit plays a major role in religious studies, and is often taught there, though rarely by specialists in the language; it has a more minor role in art history. By contrast, its presence in classics and philology (now linguistics) departments has faded dramatically as interest in comparative and historical studies has faded in those disciplines, while the virtual disappearance of ancient Indian history from American history departments, the continuing absence of Indian philosophy from almost all American philosophy departments, and the indifference of comparative literature to non-Western literary cultures has meant Sanskrit's continued exclusion from those areas as well. Statistics are not available for the production of PhDs in Sanskrit studies in the narrow sense — scholars trained primarily to teach the language and do research on Sanskrit culture — but the number is unlikely to exceed ten or twelve per year. The number of PhDs where Sanskrit is a major part of the student's training, as in religion, would certainly triple that number.

If a review of the institutional place of Sanskrit studies shows something of a mixed picture, its true health can be more securely gauged by a survey of publications over the past sixty years, even one delimited by the severe space constraints required for this essay. This survey reveals a wide range of important, even major, achievements, which both preserve the greatest strengths of the Sanskrit philological and intellectual tradition but also nudge that tradition forward along new paths of exciting research. If there is a dominant trend identifiable in this period it is toward a new kind of scholarship that, without necessarily conceiving itself as “post-Orientalist” (and perhaps in some cases even resisting such a label), approaches Sanskrit culture with the aim of making sense of its structure, history, presuppositions and standards of judgement, without measuring it against structures, histories, presuppositions and standards external to it. It thus asks, not so much whether Pāṇini's grammar is correct or Dharmakīrti's philosophy true or Kālidāsa's poetry beautiful according to some transcendental standard of correctness, truth, and beauty, but rather what

Pāṇini, Dharmakīrti, and Kālidāsa actually sought to achieve in their writings, and how they went about it. It asks why *vyākaraṇa*, *pramāṇasāstra*, and *kāvya* are the way they are and what that particular way is, rather than seeking to embed these forms of thought in a grand transcultural narrative — about civilization, progress, history, modernity, and the rest — that earlier scholars had often brought, however unconsciously, to their inquiries. And this change has been a good thing.

The survey is arranged as follows: (1) Vedic studies; (2) epic and purāṇic studies; (3) *śāstra* in general; 4) *vyākaraṇa*; 5) *dharmasāstra* and *arthaśāstra*; 6) *darśanas* along with Buddhist and Jain studies; (7) *sāhityasāstra* and literary studies; (8) *jyotiḥśāstra*, mathematics, and medicine; 9) epigraphy and paleography. Scholars are included who conduct or conducted their work in the US, along with some Americans living outside of the US. Limitation of space has required the exclusion of most work on Apabhramsha, Pali, and the Prakrits.

1. Vedic Studies

Vedic studies in the early 1950s was characterized by the then still-ongoing immigration of European scholars. Some had arrived before World War II, such as Paul-Émile Dumont (Baltimore), Paul Tedesco (Yale), Mark J. Dresden (who subsequently went into Iranian studies). Several others moved to America after the war: notably, Paul Thieme (Yale, 1954-1960), Hartmut Scharfe (UCLA), Barend van Nooten (Berkeley), and later on J. Frits Staal (Berkeley), Hanns-Peter Schmidt (UCLA), and Michael Witzel (Harvard). Several left a substantial legacy, through their work or through their students. American scholars specializing in Vedic studies were few at the time (much reduced from the era of Whitney, Lanman, and Bloomfield), but included one of the leading American Indologists, W. Norman Brown.

A useful summary of Vedic texts and translations available in 1976 was made by J. A. Santucci (1976). More recently the Vedic canon has been discussed in a volume edited by Laurie Patton (1994); additional detail is found in Witzel (1997b). An

up-to-date introduction to the Veda, its texts, rituals, and religion is provided by Witzel and Stephanie Jamison (1997).

The period under review saw the publication in 1994 of a new edition of the *Ṛgveda*, prepared by Barend van Nooten and Gary B. Holland, which offers a restored text that renders the *Ṛgveda* by and large metrically regular. A serious lacuna that has long been felt is the lack of a modern English translation of the *Ṛgveda* to replace, or at least supplement, the magisterial German translation by K. F. Geldner (completed in 1928 but published only in 1951 in the Harvard Oriental Series). A new English translation of the entire work is currently under preparation by Jamison and Joel Brereton, which also aims to incorporate scholarly progress made in the century since Geldner's translation. At the same time, Witzel along with Toshifumi Goto is preparing a new German version (the first two books were published in 2007), with extensive introduction and commentary. English translations of selected *Ṛgvedic* hymns have appeared in the anthologies of Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty (1981) and Walter Maurer (1986), the latter with valuable annotation.

The major advances in Vedic grammar in these five decades were made largely outside North America, but a number of books and articles may be mentioned. Stanley Insler, a student of Tedesco and Thieme, worked on the origin of the Sanskrit passive aorist (1968). The dissertations of his own students also dealt with various aspects of Vedic grammar, including Jamison (1983) and Jared Klein (1978). Klein went on to produce a discourse grammar of the *Ṛgveda* (1985), and to work on the verbal accentuation in the text (1992). Important studies on Vedic syntax were edited in a volume honoring the centenary of Speijer's *Sanskrit Syntax* by Hans Hock (1991). The method of Vedic recitation has been the focus of much of Staal's work since the 1960s (see especially 1961 and 1986); *Sāmaveda* chant has been studied in detail by Wayne Howard (1977 and 1986).

The *Atharvaveda*, largely neglected since the early 1900s, received new stimulus by D.M. Bhattacharya's discovery in the late 1950s of new Paippalāda manuscripts in Orissa. Witzel

deduced that both the Kashmir and Orissa recensions of the Paippalāda branch of the *Atharvaveda* go back to a unique written archetype from Gujarat (c. 800-1000 CE) (1985a, 1985b). Since then, the critical study of the text has been taken up both in Europe and America, with several of Witzel's students editing and translating large parts of the text.

The *Black Yajurveda* and especially its Brāhmaṇas have received considerable attention. A complete translation of *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* 3 (and small section of 2) was published in a series of articles by P.-E. Dumont (1948-69). Witzel has edited and translated the previously inaccessible Āraṇyaka of the *Kaṭha* school (2004), and his student Susan Rosenfield has edited and translated large sections of the elusive *Kaṭha Brāhmaṇa* (2004). The *Yajurveda*, as the major ritual text of the four Vedas, has been the focus of a study by Brian Smith (1989).

Interest in the Upaniṣads has long been in evidence in the US, since the days of the New England Transcendentalists, yet a critical edition of even the major Upaniṣads is still not in sight. A translation of the principal Upaniṣads by Patrick Olivelle appeared in 1998. A study of the *Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad* was published by van Buitenen in 1962, while Brereton in several articles analyzed the structures of discourse in the Upaniṣads and their role in argumentation (see especially 1986).

Although the Vedic *sūtras* are regarded by tradition as *smṛti* and thus post-Vedic, they are, both in language and content, Vedic texts. The oldest one, the *Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra*, has been studied by M. Fushimi (2007). Van Buitenen wrote a detailed study of the *pravargya* ritual (1968). The study of one of the oldest schools of the *Taittirīya Yajurveda*, the Vādhūla school, has been taken up again, after a lapse of half a century, by Witzel (1975). In this connection, the incisive studies on the position of women in the Veda (and Avesta) by Schmidt (1987) and Jamison (1996) deserve mention.

Finally, a few studies connected with late and post-Vedic rituals may be noted: while S. Eino (1996) and Witzel (1980) have studied the origins of *pūjā* ritual, Gudrun Bühnemann (1988a) has documented the institution of *pūjā* itself.

Bühnemann has also worked more broadly on the development of the Hindu pantheon (1988b, 1990) and tantric aspects of *smārta* Brahman worship (2003). In 1987, Frederick Smith wrote on the change from Vedic to Hindu ritual (1987).

The myth and religion of the *Ṛgveda* were the subject of a number of important articles by W. Norman Brown written from a broadly humanistic perspective. Especially important, from the 1950s on, are “Ṛg Veda 10.34 as an Act of Truth” (1963), “Theories of creation in the Ṛg Veda” (1965), “Agni, Sun, Sacrifice, and Vāc” (1968), “The Metaphysics of the Truth Act (**Satyakriyā*)” (1968) (for all of which see Brown 1978). Thieme’s *Mitra and Aryaman* (published in 1957 while he was teaching at Yale) concerns two gods numbered among the important group of deities known as the *ādityas*, who were the subject of a study by Brereton (1981). The designation *asura*, one of the more intractable conundrums of Vedic religion, given the Iranian data, was reconsidered by W. E. Hale (1986). Schmidt’s *Brhaspati und Indra* (1968) led to a new interpretation of Ṛgvedic myth and ritual. Ṛgvedic and post-Ṛgvedic myth was studied by Jamison (1991).

The nature of Vedic ritual in particular has been discussed by Staal in several publications (1979, 1982, 1989). A detailed treatment of a major ritual is his volume, *Agni: The Vedic Ritual of the Fire Altar* (1983). Staal’s theses have been challenged by various scholars including Scharfe (1990) and Witzel (1992). Other aspects of Vedic ritual have been studied by Christopher Minkowski (1989, 1991).

The historical and political background of Vedic literature and their indirect reflection in the Vedic corpus are the theme of much of Witzel’s work, contained in numerous articles in scattered publications (see for example 1997a). His student Theodore Proferes produced a monograph on the idea of sovereignty and power (2007). Witzel was also the convener of the first Vedic Workshop at Harvard in 1989 (Witzel 1997b); subsequent workshops have been held in Kyoto, Leiden, and Austin.

With respect to Vedic poetics, the study of Vedic

phraseology has been signally advanced by comparative work outside of India proper, in Indo-European (see especially Watkins 1995) and Old Iranian (Insler 1975). A series of studies by Klein on stylistic repetition in the *Ṛgveda* have been appearing steadily since 1998 (see for example 2006 and 2007). A wide-ranging reappraisal is available in Jamison's recent book (2007).

2. Epic and Purāṇic Studies

The most significant American contributions to the study of the Sanskrit epics in this period are the two projects undertaken to translate in their entirety both epics, whose critical editions had recently been completed (Sukthankar et al. 1933-66; Bhatt et al. 1960-75). The first of these, J. A. B. van Buitenen's single-handed effort for the *Mahābhārata*, was begun at the U. of Chicago in the mid-1960s. Van Buitenen published three volumes between 1973 and 1978, comprising the first five major books of the *Mahābhārata*, approximately 40% of the critical edition (van Buitenen 1973-78). Before his untimely death in 1979 he had also completed a translation of the *Bhagavad Gītā* (published posthumously in 1981). James Fitzgerald, a student of van Buitenen, currently coordinates the team of scholars completing the project. Volume seven of the projected ten-volume series appeared in 2004 (Fitzgerald 2004).

In 1969, a few years after van Buitenen began translating the *Mahābhārata*, Robert Goldman organized a collaborative initiative to translate the Baroda critical text of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. A group was formed under Goldman's leadership and common approaches were agreed upon in meetings of the group. Six of the seven volumes of this translation have appeared (Vālmīki 1984-2009), and Goldman and Sally J. Sutherland Goldman are currently at work on the final book. All the volumes of this translation are complemented by copious annotations that are in regular dialogue with the many traditional commentaries on the *Rāmāyaṇa*. It is a mark of the translation's success that it has been taken up in no fewer than three reprints in various formats: by Motilal Banarsidass of Delhi (complete reprint of the Princeton edition, 2006); the Clay Sanskrit Library (dual

language edition, 2005-2009); Éditions Diane de Selliers of Paris (lavishly illustrated with Indian miniatures, c. 1650-1800, forthcoming).

In addition to these extensive translation projects, American scholarship on the epics since 1950 has seen a number of contributions interpreting or commenting upon one or other of the epics. Mary Carroll Smith hypothesized that some two thousand stanzas of *triṣṭubh* verse constituted the kernel of an ancient pre-Brahmanic, warrior song celebrating a war-centered Kshatriya ethos (1972/1992). Her provocative thesis has been challenged in later scholarship (see e.g., Fitzgerald 2007a). In 1972 van Buitenen postulated a relationship between the dice-game motif of the Sabhāparvan and the *rājasūya*, or rite of royal consecration (van Buitenen 1972). Goldman's monograph (1977) built upon and extended Sukthankar's famous study of the Bhr̥gu Brahmins of that epic. He followed this with a watershed study of Oedipal themes in both epics (1978), the first of several psychoanalytical studies of important epic characters and incidents, themes explored also by Jeffrey Masson (e.g., 1974, 1975). Fitzgerald's ongoing study of Bhīṣma in the *Mahābhārata* (2007b) advocates a broader, cross-cultural depth-psychology of family relations. Goldman has contributed significantly to the study of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in multiple articles and in his introductions to his three *Rāmāyaṇa* volumes (one, five, and six).

Significant contributions to both epics, but especially to the understanding of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, have been made by Sheldon Pollock, who translated the second and third books of the *Rāmāyaṇa* as part of the Goldman effort and preceded both translations with substantial interpretive essays. Additionally Pollock (1984) discussed the vexed question of the divinity of Rāma and argued that it is integral to Vālmīki's text, understated though it is in accordance with the logic of the narrative (for an alternative interpretation, see González-Reimann 2006). Pollock (1993) analyzed the *Wirkungsgeschichte* of the Rāma story in political discourse, particularly in light of developments in the reception of that story with the development of a temple cult of Rāma beginning in the twelfth

century. Further analysis of the “effect-history” of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is found in two books conceived and edited by Paula Richman (1991, 2001), which emphasize the divergent permutations of the Rāma story and Vālmīki’s *Rāmāyaṇa* in vernacular literary traditions.

In his *The Ritual of Battle* (1976a) Alf Hiltebeitel drew upon recently published European scholarship on the *Mahābhārata* by the Indo-Europeanists Stig Wikander and Georges Dumézil and by the skillful interpreter of the inner themes of the Brahmanic tradition, Madeleine Biardeau. Across the past four decades he has produced numerous essays interpreting the *Mahābhārata* (for a selection see the bibliography), and has also written a study of the later oral vernacular epics of India in relation to the Sanskrit epics (1999), a theme examined for written vernacular epics by Pollock in the context of a larger argument about Sanskrit and the regional languages in the formation of imperial and “vernacular” polities (2006). Hiltebeitel’s *Rethinking the Mahābhārata* (2001) argued for the epic as the essentially simultaneous product of a single Brahmanical group.

In addition to his translation and interpretative studies of the *Mahābhārata* Books 11 and the first half of 12 (2004), Fitzgerald has produced several essays on the *Mahābhārata* as a whole, advocating an approach to the text at once structuralist and historicist, while other scholars have presented more particularized interpretations, or examine particular religious and philosophical arguments or themes in the epic (see the bibliography).

Other notable American work on the Indian epics includes a study of Arjuna as a paradigmatic hero (Katz 1989); an argument on Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa as an incarnation of the god Brahmā (Sullivan 1990); a study of the development of the *yuga* theory in the *Mahābhārata* (González-Reimann 2002). Several important edited volumes of epic studies have also appeared during this period, including *Essays on the Mahābhārata* (Sharma 1991); *Epic Undertakings* (Goldman and

Tokunaga, 2009); *Epic and Argument in Sanskrit Literary History* (Pollock 2010); and *The Rāmāyaṇa Revisited* (Bose 2004).

Purāṇic studies in the US has been dominated by the many books and articles of Wendy Doniger (O’Flaherty). Her early work was inspired by the then-dominant school of structural mythography represented by Claude Lévi-Strauss (see her *Siva, the Erotic Ascetic*, 1973). She has since produced a wide array of important studies, on the problem of evil, for example (1976), and gender (1980), and more recently has branched out to comparative myth studies (1998, 1999).

A detailed survey of the *purāṇas* was prepared by Ludo Rocher for the *History of Indian Literature* series (1986).

3. Śāstra in General

A reconsideration of the cultural logic of *śāstra* as such was offered by Sheldon Pollock in a series of articles (1985, 1989a, 1989b, 1989c, 1990); two important conferences also occurred, with various American participants, that addressed specifically the theme of *śāstra* and *prayoga* in the arts (Dallapiccola and Zingel-Avé Lallemand 1989; Katz 1992). A sense of the need to provide a historiography for *śāstra* in the “early modern period,” a seriously understudied epoch in Indian intellectual history (see Pollock 2001), led to the creation of the international collaborative project housed at Columbia U., “Sanskrit Knowledge Systems on the Eve of Colonialism” (<http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pollock/sks/>). The initiative has produced three edited collections, two substantive and one conceptual (Pollock ed. 2002, 2005, 2008), a short monograph dealing with early modern developments in *sāhityaśāstra*, *mīmāṃsā*, and *rājadharma* (Pollock, 2005), and a large and varied array of papers posted on the project’s website. An additional volume (Pollock 2011) explores early modern Indian knowledge more broadly (south Indian, Persianate, and so on), but includes a study of the place of Sanskrit as a language of science. Many of the participants in the Sanskrit Knowledge Systems project are contributing to a new series, *Historical Sourcebooks in Classical Indian Thought* (to be

published by Columbia U. Press), which aims to provide detailed expositions of a dozen or more *śāstras* through historical reconstructions of their principal arguments, as a necessary preliminary to further work on the early modern period.

4. Vyākaraṇa

American studies in traditional Sanskrit grammar came into prominence only from about 1960 on. Prior to that, while American linguistics, at least in the person of Leonard Bloomfield, was influenced by Pāṇinian grammar, the earlier American tradition of Sanskrit philology was singularly hostile to it (as the work of the founder of American Sanskrit studies, William Dwight Whitney, richly demonstrates). As in many other areas of Sanskrit study, it was only in this period that Indian traditions of grammatical thinking began to be taken seriously as worthy objects of study in their own right. This generation includes scholars such as George Cardona, Rosane Rocher, Barend van Nooten, Hartmut Scharfe, J. Frits Staal, Paul Kiparsky, Hans Hock, Madhav Deshpande, and Rama Nath Sharma and Peter Sharf. Sumitra Katre also spent the last few years of his life in the US teaching at the U. of Texas, Austin. A full picture of the contributions of these scholars can be seen in the detailed bibliographical works produced by Cardona (1975), Rocher (1975) and Deshpande and Hock (1991).

Pāṇinian scholars from the US have made significant contributions in the last few decades. George Cardona is perhaps the most prominent American scholar of Pāṇini. Beginning with his early work on the *Śivasūtras* (1969), Cardona has produced numerous articles analyzing various aspects of Pāṇini's grammar (e.g. 1970, 1974), culminating in *Pāṇini: His Work and its Traditions*, a projected multi-volume work, of which the first part (2nd revised ed.) appeared in 1997. Rama Nath Sharma has produced a complete translation of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* in five volumes (1987-2003), following the tradition of the *Kāśikāvṛtti* and containing detailed explanations and derivational histories of examples, while Katre's 1987 work offers a more compact full version. The early work of Staal

(1967) and Staal and Kiparsky (1969) dealing with Pāṇinian syntax and semantics was inspired by the emerging transformational grammar of Noam Chomsky. Kiparsky's most significant contribution lies in his unearthing the meanings of the option terms (*vā*, *vibhāṣā*, *anyatarasyām*) in Pāṇini's grammar. By comparing Pāṇini's rules against the statistical data of the known Sanskrit usage, Kiparsky opened a new avenue of Pāṇinian studies (see 1979). Rosane Rocher has contributed several studies relating to the meaning of verbs in Pāṇinian grammar (1962, 1968, 1969). Besides many individual articles on Pāṇini, Staal edited an influential anthology, *Reader on the Sanskrit Grammarians* (1972), which places modern studies of Sanskrit grammar in a historical perspective. Scharfe has authored several significant works on the history of the Sanskrit grammatical tradition, and on specific aspects like logic in the *Mahābhāṣya* (1961) and Pāṇini's metalanguage (1971). Recently, he has completed a comprehensive review of research on Pāṇini (2009). Deshpande has written numerous books and articles dealing with various aspects of Pāṇinian grammar, especially tracing the development of grammatical theory within the tradition of Pāṇinian grammar (see especially 1975, 1980, and 1987). He has also produced editions and detailed studies of works like the *Śaunakīya Caturādhyāyikā* (1997). James Benson, who has taught for most of his career at Oxford, published a monograph on *aṅga* in the *Mahābhāṣya* (1990), while Robert Hueckstedt (1995) wrote a history of the interpretations of *iko yaṅ aci*.

Stretching over the last few decades, there has been an ongoing vigorous debate among scholars on what might be the best ways to conceptualize the structure and function of Pāṇini's grammar, and while no two scholars completely agree with each other on everything, the debate itself has provided a great opportunity to bring into focus many intricate issues in the field of Pāṇinian studies that await full resolution. This debate concerns such questions as the ability of modern scholars to question the validity of the commentarial tradition and newer independent ways of looking at Pāṇini's grammar,

and is best represented in Cardona (1999), Kiparsky (1991, 2009), and Scharfe (2009).

Contributions to Sanskrit pedagogy in the US may be briefly noted here. The need for a new textbook to replace the materials that had embittered the youth of earlier generations of Sanskritists (notably Perry's *Primer*) led to the publication of several very useful works: *Devavāṇīpraveśikā: An Introduction to the Sanskrit Language* by Robert Goldman and Sally Sutherland Goldman (1980), which has gone through several editions; *The Sanskrit Language: An Introductory Grammar and Reader* by Walter Maurer (1995); and *Samśkr̥tasubodhinī: A Sanskrit Primer* by Madhav Deshpande (2001). Gary Tubb and Emery Boose brought out their *Scholastic Sanskrit: A Manual for Students* in 2007. Online initiatives, such as Peter Sharf's Sanskrit Library (<http://sanskritlibrary.org/>) may be pointing the way to the future of Sanskrit education.

5. Dharmasāstra and Arthasāstra

Interest in the area of ancient Indian law in the US is almost entirely a phenomenon of the period under study, largely owing to Ludo Rocher, prior to whose arrival at the U. of Pennsylvania in 1966 the subfield hardly existed. His principal publications are critical editions and translations of *dharmasāstra* texts (1956, 1976, 2002); several of Rocher's students have prepared similar works, including Richard Lariviere (1981, 2003), and Richard Salomon (1985).

Patrick Olivelle, another student of Rocher, has made a major contribution to the field. He has had an abiding interest in *dharmasāstra* texts on asceticism (*yatidharma*) (see Olivelle 1976-77, 1986; 1995, and, for a study, 1993), but has also produced editions of other *dharmasāstra* works as well, including a critical edition of *Manusmṛti* based on some 50 manuscripts, with a new translation (2000; 2005; 2009a). His edited volume (2009b) assembles a large number of essays considering the idea of *dharma* from a variety of angles, and he has recently produced a "literary history" of *dharmasāstra* (2011).

Olivelle's student Donald Davis has written on law in medieval Kerala (2004), and recently published an innovative synthetic account of the theory of Indian law especially in relationship to Indian religion, dealing with such questions as sources of legal knowledge, interpretation theory, and the structure of personal, civil, and criminal law (2010). He has collaborated with Timothy Lubin on the *Cambridge Handbook of Law and*, which contains contributions from a wide range of scholars (2011). Ethan Kroll produced an innovative study of the early modern theory of property, drawing on texts in both *dharmaśāstra* and *navyanāyā* (2010).

There have been several significant contributions to the study of the *Arthaśāstra*. Thomas Trautmann considered the problem of the date and authorship of the text (1971), and this compositional history has been further analyzed in a recent dissertation (McClish 2009). Hartmut Scharfe has published two monographs, one exploring problems in the history of the *Arthaśāstra* and the other, more broadly, on the nature of the early Indian state (1989, 1993).

6. Darśanas

The most important bibliographical and descriptive project in the area of Indian philosophy of the pre-1800 era is the *Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies*, now in eleven volumes. Begun in the late 1960s, the *Encyclopedia* is projected to comprise 26 substantive volumes providing summaries of Indic philosophical works ("Indiane" because Pali and Prakrit materials are also referenced). The first volume is a comprehensive bibliography (periodically updated online, <http://faculty.washington.edu/kpotter/>). Published volumes are listed in the bibliography of this essay.

The post-World War II study of Indian philosophy in the US may be said to begin with Daniel H. H. Ingalls' *Materials for the Study of Navya-Nyāya Logic*, which introduced the historical and conceptual development of the New Logic and brought Western symbolic logic to bear upon it. Bimal K. Matilal, one of Ingalls' students, whose Harvard dissertation was published as *Navya*

Nyāya Doctrine of Negation (1968), assumed leadership internationally in the study of Indian philosophy during his generation. Though his career took him to Canada and Oxford, he continued to influence the field in the US in many ways. Another of Ingalls' students, Phyllis Granoff, initially focused on philosophy (1978), and assumed the editorship of *The Journal of Indian Philosophy* after the untimely death in 1991 of Matilal who had been the founding editor.

Karl Potter was also much influenced by his teacher Ingalls, publishing his dissertation on Raghunātha Śīromaṇi in 1957. His *Presuppositions of India's Philosophies* (1965) was the leading textbook in the area for a generation. Strong work in logic and related areas has been continued in various publications of Stephen Phillips, including *Classical Indian Metaphysics* (1995).

The study of Indian philosophy in the US has been very much indebted to the contributions of scholars trained outside of the US, who advanced work on Indian philosophy at the American universities they joined. One Dutch scholar who played an important role in this regard is J. Frits Staal, who, while focusing on Vedic and grammatical studies, has been engaged with questions in logic and the philosophy of language throughout his career (see for example 1988). Another important contributor to this field is Arindam Chakrabarti, who produced an important collaboration with B. K. Matilal (1994), as well as *An Introduction to Indian Philosophy* (2008), a broad survey in collaboration with Roy Perrett. Wilhelm Halbfass, an outstanding German scholar of Indian philosophy who joined the U. of Pennsylvania in 1982, made a major contribution to Vaiśeṣika studies (1992) and published a revised and updated version of his study *India and Europe* (1988) that had originally been published in German.

A number of noteworthy Indian philosophers have also spent their careers in the US. An early example was the late P. T. Raju, who moved from the U. of Rajasthan to the College of Wooster (Ohio), and whose *Structural Depths of Indian Thought* (1985) represents the summation of a lifetime of reflection on many of the key themes in Indian philosophy. Jitendranath

Mohanty, a leading phenomenological philosopher who was professor at several US universities, published alongside his work on Continental philosophy much important Indological scholarship, including a study of Gaṅgeśa (1966) and a collection of more general essays (1992). John Taber, a student of Mohanty, studied *mīmāṃsā* philosophy of language and theory of knowledge (2005). An earlier contribution to *mīmāṃsā*, in particular on the text of Jaimini, was made by Francis Clooney (1990). A leading younger scholar in the field is Lawrence McCrea, whose work to date has been a series of important articles (e.g., 2000, 2009), including those produced for the “Sanskrit Knowledge Systems” project. Peter Sharf’s doctoral dissertation (published 1996), examines the notion of *ākṛti* in *vyākaraṇa*, *nyāya* and *mīmāṃsā*.

Vedānta studies are represented in the first instance by J.A.B. van Buitenen, who published two books on Rāmānuja (1953, 1956). In collaboration with Eliot Deutsch he also wrote *A Sourcebook of Advaita Vedānta* (1971). Bina Gupta, a close associate of Mohanty, has specialized in the study of Advaita Vedānta (see especially 1998), while Allen Thrasher has written articles and a monograph (1993) on Maṇḍanamīśra. John Braisted Carman added to the study of Viśiṣṭādvaita through his work on the theology of Rāmānuja (1974). Ajay Rao’s *Refiguring the Rāmāyaṇa as Theology* (2012) discusses the remarkable tradition of Śrīvaiṣṇava commentary, while a recent doctoral dissertation by Sucharita Adluri (2009) focuses on Rāmānuja’s own exegetical strategies. The Madhva system of Dvaita Vedānta has been studied by Deepak Sarma (2003) and Valerie Stoker (2004), and the later *bhedābheda* philosophy of Vijñānabhikṣu and its legacy by Andrew Nicholson (2010). A comparative theological approach to Hindu and Christian scholastic systems has been attempted by Francis Clooney in two monographs (1993, 1996).

Buddhist Studies

The subfield that has experienced the most explosive growth in the past sixty year is undoubtedly Buddhism, in all its varieties. And perhaps the most remarkable American contribution in

this era to the study of Indian Buddhist texts in Sanskrit languages was also the earliest: Franklin Edgerton's *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary* (1953), which remains an essential reference work in this field. Edgerton's work was hampered by the inadequate state of Buddhist manuscript studies at the time, and his unavoidable dependence on inferior editions prepared for the most part on the basis of late manuscripts from Nepal. In recent decades, important projects based on manuscripts from Afghanistan and Central Asia, discovered during earlier generations and also very recently, have permitted scholars to attain a new depth of analysis of the evolution of Indian Buddhist languages, Gāndhārī above all. The American contribution to this effort has been centered in the Gandhari Manuscripts Project directed by Richard Salomon (discussed in "Epigraphy and Paleography" below).

Besides Edgerton, a number of other scholars of Buddhism who were active in the US during the 1950s and 1960s contributed to the exploration of Buddhist texts in Sanskrit (though for the most part focusing their researches on Sanskrit works of *śāstra*, not BHS). These included Alex Wayman, *Analysis of the Śrāvakaśāstra Manuscript* (1961), and Richard Robinson, who laid much emphasis on the comparative study of Sanskrit and Chinese sources in his study of early Mādhyamaka thought (1967).

Padmanabh Jaini produced critical editions of several key Buddhist texts (1977, 1979, among others). Students of his who have continued to work on Indian Buddhist *śāstra* include Robert Kritzer, the author of among other works a book on rebirth according to *Yogācāra Abhidharma* (1999). The study of Sanskrit Abhidharma traditions have also been furthered by Collett Cox in her *Disputed Dharmas* (1995), and, in collaboration with Charles Willemen and B. Dessein, *Sarvāstivāda Buddhist Scholasticism* (1998). Further contributions to Abhidharma and Yogācāra studies are due to Paul Griffiths (1998) and Griffiths in collaboration with Hakamaya and others (1989).

Among the issues in Sanskrit Abhidharma that has attracted considerable attention, the problem of personal

identity has been particularly prominent. Matthew Kapstein's *Reason's Traces* (2001) explores this and varied aspects of Indian Buddhist metaphysics, and includes new translations of a several texts, including Vasubandhu's *Pudgalaprakaraṇa*. Mark Siderits, a student of Matilal, has authored *Personal Identity and Buddhist Philosophy* (2003), among other contributions to Indian philosophical studies. An important Yogācāra treatise, the *Mahāyānasūtra-alaṃkāra* with its commentary by Vasubandhu, has now been translated in full under the general editorship of Robert Thurman (2004).

Work on Buddhist philosophy in the US has tended to be concentrated on the Mādhyamaka philosophy of Nāgārjuna and his interpreters, Candrakīrti above all. (Robinson's work, stressing the reception of Nāgārjuna in China, has been noted above.) A pioneering effort in this respect emerged was Frederick Streng's work on emptiness (1967). One of the most influential scholars in the study of Mādhyamaka, and many other aspects of Indian and Buddhist philosophy, is the American scholar David Seyfort Ruegg, who, however, has spent most of his career in Europe. A representative collection of his essays was published as *The Buddhist Philosophy of the Middle* (2010). Karen Lang, one of Ruegg's students, has focused on the early Mādhyamaka thinker Āryadeva and his interpretation by Candrakīrti (see especially 2003).

The important line of interpretation of Mādhyamaka represented by Bhāviveka and Jñānagarbha has been the focus of the scholarship of Malcolm David Eckel, whose publications include *Bhāviveka and His Buddhist Opponents* (2008). The cultural background of Nāgārjuna and his work have been explored recently by Joseph Walser (2005), while a philosophical interpretation of the confrontation between Mādhyamaka and the Buddhist and Mīmāṃsaka epistemological traditions may be found in Daniel Arnold, *Buddhists, Brahmins, and Belief* (2005).

American scholarship on the Indian Buddhist epistemological traditions of Dignāga, Dharmakīrti and their successors has expanded in recent years. A. Charlene Senape McDermott, a scholar of European medieval logic by training,

pioneered in this area with her 1970 book, *An Eleventh-Century Buddhist Logic of "Exists"*; Richard Hayes has produced *Dignāga on the Interpretation of Signs* (1988). The late Masatoshi Nagatomi of Harvard encouraged work in this area; two Harvard graduates who have contributed here are John Dunne (2004) and Sara McClintock (2010). Parimal Patil's dissertation on Ratnakīrti was published as *Against a Hindu God* (2009); he and Lawrence McCrea have recently written on the *apoha* theory (2010).

A significant trend in recent US Buddhist Studies has been the investigation of early Indian Buddhist institutions and practices, especially in the writings of Gregory Schopen, whose three volumes of collected articles are fundamental here (1997, 2004, and 2005). One of Schopen's students, Robert DeCaroli, has written on the early Buddhist cults of *yakṣas* and *pretas* (2004). In tandem with this historical scholarship has emerged a closer reading of sources bearing on the emergence of Mahāyāna Buddhism than was possible in earlier scholarship. Work here has turned on Sanskrit sources where available, but often Chinese and Tibetan translations, too. Noteworthy studies of early Mahāyāna *sūtras* include Jan Nattier's on the *Ugraparipṛcchā* (2005), and Daniel Boucher on the *Rāṣṭrapālāparipṛcchā* (2008). A detailed comparison of the Sanskrit and Chinese versions of the larger *Sukhāvativyūhasūtra* was produced by Luis O. Gómez (1996). Indian Buddhist narrative writings have been studied by John Strong (1989, 1992), Andy Rotman (2009), and Jonathan Silk (2009).

Indian Buddhist tantric studies began to expand during the 1970s, thanks in part to the impetus provided by Alex Wayman at Columbia U. and his students. Among the latter, Christopher S. George published a study of selected chapters from the *Caṇḍamahāroṣana Tantra* (1974). Wayman's own contributions to Indian Buddhist tantric studies include *Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra* (1977) among other publications. Ronald Davidson's major historical synthesis, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, appeared in 2002; additional studies include Vesna Wallace (2001), Christian Wedemeyer (2007), and David Gray (2007).

Jain Studies

The study of Jainism has remained a rather restricted field in the US. This is in part due to the untimely death of one of its leading exponents, Kendall Folkert, in 1985. Folkert published a number of major essays on Jain scripture, monasticism, and philosophy that have since been collected in a volume edited by John Cort (1993). Although his principal area of scholarship has been Buddhist studies, Padmanabh Jaini has made substantial contributions in the area of Jain philosophy, with his major monograph, *The Jaina Path of Purification* (1979), and a study of gender and salvation (1991). His collected articles (2000) address an array of topics in Jain doctrine, karma theory, ethics, and the literary genre of *purāna*.

A new area of Jain scholarship has been opened up by the work of Phyllis Granoff with her studies of Jain biographical literature. In four books and numerous articles over the past 30 years she has explored the possibilities this material presents for enhancing our understanding of Indian conceptions of the self, history, community, and the religious life (see for example 1989-90, 1994, 2001; and with K. Shinohara, 1988, 1992, and 1994). John Cort, another contributor to Jain studies, exemplifies the anthropological-textual approach to research on Indian religions. While exploring Jainism “in the world,” he has also been concerned with textual materials in both his own writings (e.g., 2009) and in his editorial work (see especially Cort 1988).

7. Sāhityaśāstra and Literature

Prior to the 1960s, the study of Sanskrit literature in the US was essentially the study of what the Sanskrit tradition never considered *kāvya* — the Vedic *saṃhitās* — or what it considered *kāvya* only at a rather late epoch (the *Mahābhārata*; the *Rāmayaṇa* is of course a case apart). *Kāvya* was occasionally translated, to be sure, but was never the object of sustained intellectual engagement. This changed dramatically with the work of Daniel H. H. Ingalls, *An Anthology of Sanskrit Court Poetry: Vidyākara’s “Subhāṣitaratnakośa,”* the companion volume to the

text edited, at Ingalls' invitation in 1951, by D. D. Kosambi and V. V. Gokhale (published 1957). The original volume of the translation came out in 1965, and was reissued in 1999, a rare occurrence for a work of Sanskrit scholarship; an abridged version, *Sanskrit Poetry from Vidyākara's Treasury*, with a slightly modified introduction, was published in 1968, entering its fourth printing in 2000.

Ingalls not only provided the best translations of *muktaka kāvya* that had ever been produced in English but was one of the first scholars to treat the poetry with high seriousness and, as far as possible, according to the standards it had set itself. This meant providing, in the introduction, head-notes, and annotations, a detailed account of the rhetoric and conventions of Sanskrit poetry (complemented by a series of important studies, including Ingalls 1954a, 1954b, and 1968a). The breadth and depth of this scholarship were unprecedented in its day and set the agenda for the coming generation of Sanskrit literary scholars, many of them his own students and students of his students.

The study of *alaṅkāraśāstra* in particular was pursued by Ingalls' student Jeffrey M. Masson, in several studies published in collaboration with the well-known Pune scholar M. V. Patwardhan (e.g., 1969). Masson's doctoral dissertation had been a translation and study of parts of the *Dhvanyāloka* of Ānandavardhana and the *Locana* of Abhinavagupta; a complete version was later prepared with Patwardhan in 1975. Ingalls began collaborating on this project soon thereafter, and fifteen years later the heavily annotated complete version (with translations of the poetry versified by Ingalls) was published (Ingalls, Masson, Patwardhan 1990). This is the first complete translation of an *alaṅkāra* work ever produced by American scholars, and is undoubtedly the finest ever made into English.

Several of Ingalls' other students continued to develop the study of Sanskrit literature or literary theory, including Sheldon Pollock on metrics (1977) and *rasa* (1998, 2010, forthcoming), Robert Hueckstedt on stylistics (1985), Indira Peterson on the nature of the court epic (2003), Gary Tubb on

poetics and literature more generally (forthcoming). Pollock sought to rethink the relationship of Sanskrit literature to other vernacular literary traditions and within the context of later “cosmopolitan” languages, in a large collaborative project called “Literary Cultures in History” (2003); his essay for this project, “Sanskrit Literature from the Inside Out,” offers a narrative of Sanskrit literary history that among other things gives primacy to Sanskrit conceptual categories. The theoretical and methodological framework behind the “Literary Cultures” project was both prefigured and refined in the research that led to Pollock’s *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture and Power in Premodern India* (2006). Here Sanskrit’s emergence as a literary language and its complex later history is explored for what this can tell us not only about Indian history but also about the limits of Western cultural and social theory. Several of Pollock’s students have pursued these questions. The relationship of Sanskrit and Tamil, the oldest of the *deśabhāṣās*, has been innovatively explored in the Chicago dissertation of Whitney Cox (2006), and that of Sanskrit and Persian, the other great cosmopolitan language of premodern India, in the Columbia dissertation of Audrey Truschke (2012).

Several of Pollock’s other students have continued to build on the legacy passed on from Ingalls. *The Teleology of Poetics in Medieval Kashmir* (2009) by Lawrence McCrea reconstructs the intellectual history of Ānandavardhana’s achievement especially in relation to *mīmāṃsā*. Yigal Bronner’s *Extreme Poetry* (2010) is the first book to take seriously the phenomenon of *śleṣa* – recognized here as a paradigmatic, even ultimate form, of literariness – both in order to make sense of its particular capacities and to chart its history and proliferation in Indian literatures and culture more generally. Bronner has also published several important articles on *alaṅkāraśāstra* (e.g., 2004 and 2009).

Edwin Gerow produced a *Glossary of Indian Figures of Speech* (1971), which defines *alaṅkāras* while providing diverting parallels from English literature, as well as a brief survey of *alaṅkāraśāstra* for Gonda’s *History of Indian Literature* series

(1977). In collaboration with H. V. Nagaraja Rao of Mysore, he recently published an edition and translation of Appayya Dīkṣita's *Vṛttivārttika* (2001). An annotated bibliography of *alankāraśāstra* was published by Timothy Cahill in 2003.

Although begun in England in the early 2000s, with patronage from the English businessman John Clay and initially under the general editorship of Richard Gombrich, the "Clay Sanskrit Library," a dual-language series of translations of Sanskrit epic and *kāvya* works published by New York U. Press, has had a substantial American representation. Sheldon Pollock was co-editor from 2006, and editor in 2008-09. Contributors to the Library from the US include Yigal Bronner and David Shulman, *Ātmārpaṇastuti*, *Śāntivilāsa*, *Dayāśataka*, and *Haṃsasamdeśa* (2009); Wendy Doniger, *Ratnāvalī* and *Priyadarśikā* (2007); Matthew Kapstein, *Prabodha-candrodaya* (2009); Patrick Olivelle, *Pañcatantra* (2006), and *Buddhacarita* (2008); Sheldon Pollock, *Uttararāmacarita* (2007), and *Rasamañjarī* and *Rasatarāṅgiṇī* (2009); Velcheru Narayana Rao and David Shulman, *Vikramorvaśīya* (2009); Lee Siegel, *Gītagovindakāvya* (2009); Somadeva Vasudeva, *Kaliviḍambana Kalāvīlāsa and Bhallaṭaśataka* (2005), and *Abhijñānaśākuntala* (Kashmiri recension) (2006); in addition, the first five volumes of the Princeton *Rāmāyaṇa* were reprinted. A new initiative from Harvard U. Press, the "Murty Classical Library of India," also edited by Pollock, will publish facing-page translations and editions of works in Sanskrit as well as other Indian languages, beginning in 2013.

Significant scholarship on particular authors and aspects of Sanskrit literature includes W. Norman Brown's studies of *stotra* literature (1958 and 1965), Barbara Miller's edited volume *Theater of Memory* (this includes translations and analyses of Kālidāsa's three plays), and her editions and translations of the *Gītagovinda* (1977) and of Bilhaṇa's *Caurapañcāśikā* (1978), and Lee Siegel's various works, in particular his study of humor in Sanskrit literature, *Laughing Matters* (1987). The wide range of David Shulman's contributions to Sanskrit literary studies, above all his sensitive readings of major texts, are well represented in his collection of essays (2001).

8. Jyotiḥśāstra, Mathematics, and Medicine

The study of *jyotiḥśāstra* in the US is associated with one name: David Pingree. His oeuvre is vast, including 32 books and monographs published as of 2003, and 127 articles, and much work in various stages of completion left unfinished at his death in 2007. His monumental contribution to Indian studies is the *Census of the Exact Sciences in Sanskrit* (1970-94), which compiles in one place all that is known about the primary sources for the study of astronomy, astrology, mathematics, and divination in Sanskrit and allied Indian languages: texts, authors, manuscripts and their scribes, owners, and collectors. There are, furthermore, detailed descriptive catalogues produced for manuscript collections of texts in the Sanskrit exact sciences (including, the catalogue of *jyotiḥśāstra* manuscripts in the Chandra Shum Shere Collection, Oxford, the Wellcome Institute, and Columbia U.), and an as yet incomplete project to extend such cataloguing to all of the manuscripts held in collections, both public and private, in the US. In addition, Pingree produced editions of Indian astrological texts: the *Vṛddhayavanajātaka* (1976) and the *Yavanajātaka* (1978a), to mention only these, and some works of Varāhamihira and Bhojarāja (omitted here are his editions of Arabic, Hellenistic, and medieval European astrology, and Babylonian divinatory materials). Pingree also wrote a *History of mathematical astronomy in India* (1978b), and a synthetic history of *jyotiḥśāstra* literature for the “History of Indian Literature” series (1981). A fairly complete bibliography is available in Burnett et al. (2004) (this does not include the last and posthumous works, but these are mostly not Sanskritic).

The majority of this work is devoted to establishing the primary sources, whether in cataloguing extant works or, more significantly, in executing the primary philological task of establishing critical editions of astrological texts in a range of languages. For, in accordance with the larger trend mentioned at the start of this essay, Pingree was concerned in the first instance with the philology of texts and the attendant understanding of context, in order to reconstruct the practice of science in its own terms, rather than mining texts for their

equations, and then comparing that with reality as we understand it now through our own science. (On Pingree's contribution and method generally see Minkowski 2008). He did depart from this general philosophy in *Astral Omens to Astrology, from Babylon to Bikaner* (1997), "a simple narrative," he called it, "based on all of the known original sources, of a number of cases of transmission."

One of Pingree's students, Kim Plofker, has published a very significant synthetic account of mathematics in her *Mathematics in India* (2009).

The history of Indian medicine has been less well developed in the US than in Europe. One exception is Kenneth Zysk, who has published widely in the area of *āyurveda* as well as medicine and religion, including a book on asceticism and healing (1990) and an edition and study of two texts on *kāmaśāstra* (2002). This is also the place to mention Frederick Smith's wide-ranging monograph on possession (2006).

9. Epigraphy and Paleography

Epigraphy and paleography were generally a neglected area in US Sanskrit studies until the late 1970s. It was then that Gregory Schopen published several articles with groundbreaking analyses and interpretive studies of early Indian Buddhist inscriptions. These are assembled in the three volumes (mainly in the first and third volume) of his collected papers mentioned above (particularly influential articles include 1979, 1987a, 1987b, 1991). Schopen has systematically employed epigraphic and archaeological evidence as a check and control on the textual sources used for reconstructing the early history of Indian Buddhism and the rise of Mahāyāna, imposing a balance lacking in most earlier studies of Buddhist history.

Richard Salomon has published many editions and studies of Indian inscriptions, particularly Buddhist inscriptions and Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions from the northwest (Gandhāra) region (some of his more important articles include 1990, 1991, 1996a, 1996b, 2003, 2005). His *Indian Epigraphy* (1998) has become the

standard modern handbook and general reference source for Indian epigraphic studies. Salomon has attempted to integrate epigraphy into the general Indological curriculum by training Sanskrit students in the study of inscriptions and bringing Indian epigraphy to the attention of scholars in related fields. Both Salomon and Schopen have striven to view Indian (especially Buddhist) inscriptions in their broader historical, archaeological, art-historical, and sociological context, a more capacious view of Indian epigraphy that contrasts with a sometimes excessively myopic focus on the inscription itself characteristic of many earlier studies.

Salomon's students Andrew Glass and Stefan Baums have sought to modernize the study of Indian epigraphy through the compilation of electronic resources such as the Corpus of Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions (http://gandhari.org/a_inscriptions.php) and the online dictionary of Gāndhārī (http://gandhari.org/a_dictionary.php). The corpus of Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions now contains 729 items, in comparison to only 100 in Sten Konow's once-definitive volume (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* 2.1, 1929). Glass and Baums are also making notable contributions to Gāndhārī/Kharoṣṭhī epigraphic studies in their writings (see Glass 2007; Baums 2011).

In recent decades, important projects based on manuscripts from Afghanistan and Central Asia, discovered during earlier generations and also very recently, have permitted scholars to attain a new depth of analysis of the evolution of Indian Buddhist languages, Gāndhārī above all. The American contribution to this effort has been centered at the U. of Washington, in The British Library/U. of Washington Early Buddhist Manuscripts Project directed by Richard Salomon (see <http://www.ebmp.org/>). Pertinent publications include Salomon 1999; Salomon and Glass 2001, and several additional volumes published in the "Gandhāran Buddhist Text Series."

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