STUDY OF SANSKRIT GRAMMAR IN TIBET

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Cultivation of Sanskrit literature in Tibet, for more than a thousand years, commencing with the great religious kings is a well known fact. Lost treasures of Sanskrit literature are recovered from the most faithful and yet idiomatic translations in Tibetan language. To sustain the cultivation of Sanskrit literature study of grammar became an obligatory discipline and Tibetan scholars made several worthy contributions in this matter. We intend to write on one such work described below and now an important accession in Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, Sikkim.

Title of the work: SGRAHI-BSTAN-BCHOS-RNAM-BSHAD-HOD-ZER-BRGYA-PA; 131 leaves measuring 20"x4" each; author: HGYUR-MED-TSHE-DBANG-MCHHOG-GRUB-NGES-DON-BSTAN-HPHEL; place of composition: KAH-THOG-RDO-RJE-GDAN; composed in 14th RAB-BYUNG.

Of all the Indo-Iranian linguistic records the oldest is the Rgveda. From the language of the Rgveda we can trace a steady development to classical Sanskrit through the later Samhitas and Brahmanas. For the classical form of the old language the native grammarians used the name Sanskrit, meaning-polished, cultured, correct (according to the rules of grammar), in contradistinction to Prakrta the speech of the uneducated masses. (Burrow: The Sanskrit Language) process of development was accentuated by the remarkable achievements of early Indian grammarians, whose analytical skill far surpassed any achieved until much later in the western world. The influence of the ancient grammarians, was fully acknolledged in Panini's Ashtadhyayi. The date of Panini is most commonly fixed in the fourth-fifth century B.C. The native tradition connects him with the Nanda King of Magadha. He was born in the north-west of India at a village called Salatura near the modern Atak.

Yuan Chuang saw a statue of Panini near Atak. Panini's grammar consists of some 4,000 aphorisms. These were supplemented and to some extent corrected by Katyayana. An extensive commentary was written by Patanjali on Panini's aphorisms. In later period grammati-

cal works of diverse schools existed in abundance. But none of them have any independent authority, being derivatives completely from Panini.

The earliest among them was Katantra which was composed by Sarvavarman a contemporary of Satavahana dynasty of the Deccan. Of later works here mention may be made of the grammar of Candra (6th century A.D.) which achieved great popularity among the Buddhists (Burrow) as Jainendra Vyakarana (c.678) among the Jainas. Later the Polymath Hemacandra produced also for the Jains the Haima Vyakarana.

Other works which won local acceptance were mostly of later date. The Samkshiptasara of Kramadisvara—was composed after 1150 A.D. and was popular in western Bengal. Vopadeva's Mugdhabodha and Kavikalpadruma won great popularity in Bengal and were written after 1250 A.D. Padmanabhadatta's Supadma Vyakarana written about 1375 A.D. was popular in Vangala. Sarasvati Trakriya along with its commentary by Anubhutisvarupacarya was popular in Magadha and Varanasi.

Here it is interesting to refer to a Tibetan grammarian like प्रमुद्द त्र क्षेत्र प्रकार कर्त क्षेत्र क्षेत्र

"The Kalapa and Candra Vyakaranas famous in Aryadesa and Tibet are the two solitary stars like the sun and moon respectively and

are actually compiled with indispensible elements from great grammars like Ashtadhyayi (Paninian grammar) etc."

"This text was much favoured in central and other parts of Aryadesa. It was the tradition to study at first Sarasvati vyakarana and then to introduce Kalapa and Candra Vyakaranas".

Keith observes "The oldest among the later grammars probably Katantra (also called Kaumara or Kalapa) certainly had much influence in Kashmir and Bengal. Originally of four books, it appears with supplements both Tibetan translation and in Durgasimha's commentary fragments have been found in Central Asia and the Dhatupatha is extant only in the Tibetan version" (A History if Sanskrit Literature, p. 431). Tibetan tradition ascribes to Sarvavarman the use of the grammar of Indragomin, and the work seems to have been popular among the Buddhists in Nepal. The Candra-vyakarana was popular in the Buddhist countries Kashmir, Tibet and Nepal and had reached Ceylon (Ibid. p.431).

The above mentioned facts and the author's observance, such as that, Anubhutisvarupacarya made use of the Vyakarana Sutra of Ka-Tsan (i.e. Kalapa and Candra) in composing Sarasvati-Prakriya also shows that, this grammar is of third category. The author states that, Acarya wrote this grammar under goddess Sarasvati's special favour, that though concise in form it is vast in meaning, and deals with grammatical questions, such as, gender, case, etc.

Inspite of its being classed in third category, due to its compactness and easy comprehensibility it was favoured by the ancient scholars of Magadha and Varanasi. In ancient time Magadha was the western adjunct of Vangala and therefore we may guess its popularity in Vangala also. It invariably found its way to Tibet via Nepal, through the disciples and followers of the Three Panditas from Aryadesa, referred to in the work under discussion.

Before we set out to speculate on the merits of this work
শ্বনিম্পুর্মের্মান্প্র্নির্মান্প্রমান্দ্র

Just after Prologue the author states that Acarya Anubhutis-varupa was a Brahmin born in the country of Maharashtra in south of Aryadesa. The goddess Sarasvati herself favoured him with the instruction on the system of grammar celebrated after her name. Though this is abridged in form yet is profound in meaning and deals with such subjects as gender and case section by section. So this grammar is flawless, thickly-set and unobscure. This contains the grammatical rules in special and general aspects and easily understandable; so it was favoured in central as well as other parts of the Land of Enlightenment. The tradition was to break the ground with Sarasvat grammar and then proceed to study of Kalapa and Candra-vyakaranas.

"Although these early and later translations were elegant and excellent, those were too vast and deep, so it is very difficult for the people of current time to comprehend the same. Besides these books have now become rare. As in the later dissertations only declensions are given, but no formulae for deriving words are included. Those are so concise and difficult to comprehend that even a reader of such precious dissertations is very rare in Tibet".

ing with declension for the utilization of the beginners, necessary cross references, above and below, are made for convenience as traditional. In short, I have endeavoured to make this commentary lucid and useful".

At the end acknowledgement is thus made, "Here ends the Sarasvati-Prakriya composed by the illustrious Parivrajaka Paramahamsa Acarya Anubhutisvarupa".

Then there are verses at length discussing and eulogising, the science of grammar.

The concluding Folio (131 a) says. "Thus as the copies of commentary by omniscient Taranatha on Sarasvat grammar is rare and as this has much been fragmented in Tibet, so it has become difficult to introduce this grammar to the beginners. The dissertation प्रक्रिया—

(२२:५३५४) by Situ Rinpoche is a concise comment and difficult

to understand, and the text was somewhat corrupted through the fault of scribes. Therefore it was thought that a more lucid as well as simple commentary could be made available for the future".

learned in both Kalapa and Candra-vyakarana systems. Myself hGyur-med tshe-dbang-mchog-grub-nges-don-bstan-hphel being a loyal elder monk of Kah-Thog am consciously devoted to the great Acarya of Orgyan—Padmasambhava. The name bestowed upon me by my Acarya on the completion of my study was,

स्रिन्यन्यम् सर्वे देन्। I wrote in 14th Rabbyung, in the phase of full-

moon of twenty-second or twenty- third constellation (Sravana) corresponding to July-August at Kahthog Dorjedan (गुइम्बर्ग्ह्रेम्बर्ज्र) in a

The customary invocation for "happiness and welfare in all directions" is made in Sanskrit transcribed in Tibetan thus:

"Although there are many obscure points in the text, my pupil নহায়া মন মুন্ম নহাম নুন্ম নাম ক্লাম কলা মান্ত has thorough y checked the text on the basis of Kalapa and Candra-Vyakarana and Amarakosa and so on."

হার:মান্দ্র ||

A synopsis of the work

The foregoing is a free translation of the introductory and conclusive portions of the work under discussion. We now present its many interesting points for the utilization by the scholars and discuss some of them. Those are as follow:—

- (i) Acarya Anubhutisvarupa the author of Sarasvati-Prakriya; its utility and local celebrity.
- (ii) Brahmin Pandita Balabhadra and Krishnamisra meeting Taranatha and translation of Anubhutisvarupa's grammar.
- (iii) Taranatha's completion of the commentary on this grammar.
- (iv) hDar-ba-lo-tsva-ba's translation of the grammar with the aid of the two Panditas during the time of Fifth Dalai Lama.
- (v) Situ Rinpoche's study of this grammar with Pandita Vishnupati.
- (vi) Author's acknowledgements of new translations besides recourse to Taranatha's commentary.

- (vii) Adaptation of words of genders from শ্রুমান্সর্ব ক্রিমান্ত্র বিশ্বন্ধ কর্মান্তর বিশ্বন্ধ কর্মান্ত বিশ্বন্ধ কর্মান্ত বিশ্বন্ধ কর্মান্ত বিশ্বন্ধ কর্মান্ত বিশ্বন্ধ করে বিশ্বন্ধ কর্মান্ত বিশ্বন্ধ করে বিশ্বন্
- viii) The utility and value of translation of this grammar. (ix) Author's encouragement by Gelong dorje Zinpa erudite scholar in Kalapa and Candra Vyakarana.
 - (x) The author's title as master of grammar.

(xi) Place and date of compilation.

Now we propose to discuss the following points:-

(i) The authorship of the original (Sanskirt) work.

The Indian grammarians of Sarasvat school, Harshakirti (16th century), the author of " सारस्वत धातुपाठ" (vide. Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS, Adyar Library, Vol. VI, No. 678) a pupil of Candrakirti, who was honoured by Sahu Salem of Delhi (1543-1553 A.D.); and Ramcandrasrama (1655 A.D.), the author of **सा**रस्वत– सुल-व्वाख्या : सिद्धान्त-चिन्द्रका (Ibid, No. 680); and the Tibetan grammarian Taranatha (1575. A.D.,) Darva Lotsava (conteporanous with Fifth Dalai Lama), Situ Rinpoche and Gyurme tshewang chogdup the present translator all testify to अनुभृतिस्वह्नपाचार्य as the author of सारस्वत-प्रक्रिया. As the tradition ascribes the original sutras to the divine authorship of the goddess Sarasvati; the sutras are named सारस्वतसत्र just as the 14 sutras in Panini's grammar attributed to Siva are called माहेश्वरसूत्र. Thus Anubhutisvarupacarya became the founder of Sarasvata school. This assertion is further supported by the colophons found in theMSS of the work deposited in the Library or the Asiatic Society of Bengal, viz:—

इति वाणीप्रणीतसूत्राणामष्टााध्यायी समाप्ता । इति सरस्वतीप्रोक्तसूत्रसप्तवातं समाप्तम् ।

(vide. Nos. 4419 and 4421 or the Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS of the Society Vol. vi) and by the introductory verse of the commentary called Siddhanta-Candrika (No.680 of Adyar Catalogue Vol.VI). The gloss contained in the Sarasvata-Prakriya has been ascribed to Anubhutis-varupacarya to whom the original sutras are said to have been revealed by the goddess Sarasvati. This has been ascertained by the statement of Darva Lotsava and the the present translator.

युनात्यनावाकात्र नुद्रसाउदात्रस्य नाद्रसाञ्चात्रमाञ्चात्रे निवाद्य निवादे हिन्दे ने स्वाद्य स

ब्रिंब:र्वेर:का.बे.चें.हे.के.टेंब:बेश:हुश:की.प्वेर:वा.स्याविव:पा.प्यवासास: रवेदश:क्ष्य:सश:रेट्श:बी.वक्षेप:वप्ते.पो.स्य:क्षेप:वप्ते.सेप्ते.वक्षेप:वर्ष्ट्राःप्ते. (प्रचीर:श्रर्राष्ट्राःप्ते.सेप्ते.सेप्ते.चेंच्य:प्रक्रिय:प्रक्

Main contention of both of them is that, Anubhutisvarupacarya was personally favoured by goddess Sarasvati in the composition of this grammar. As Darva Lotsava described the Acarya's name as

ব্ৰিক্-নেল্লন in Sanskrit the name should be rendered as अनुमूतिस्वरूप-भद्र;

Bhadra may be honorific suffix to the Acarya's name by a Tibetan grammarian, as Sambhota was honorific suffixed to Thonmi's name by his Indian Gurus.

Sarasvata Prakriya is in the form of a text with commentary, the text being in sutra form and the commentary in ordinary prose. The total number of sutras comes to above 1,000 of which 700 are said to be original and the rest additions made by the commentators. The number of the sutras in different Tibetan translations of Krishnabhatta and Taranatha (Tanjur Catalogue No.4423, Vol.

Da Tika and Gyurme's Da-Do, have yet to be investigated from several versions reportedly extant. The work is divided into two parts namely the Purvaidha and the Uttarardha, the first dealing with Subanta or declension, and second Tinanta or conjugation, Krdanta or verbal prefixes. The author Govindacarya in his Saiasvata-Bhashya-Tika: Padacandrika divides the work into five Adhyayas, each containing four padas and gives the contents of each of the 20 padas thus:- 1. Sanjna, 2-5, Sandhi, 6-8. Subvibhakti and Stripratyaya, 9. Karaka, 10 Samasa, 11 Taddhita, 12-19. Akhyata and 20. Krt (vide.No. 4443 of the Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS, in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol.VI.

The date of composition of Sarasvat Prakriya ranges over a century from 1250 AD to 1350 AD. Sanskrit scholars like Surendra Das Gupta and Kunhan Raja do not mention at all the name of Anubhutisvarupacarya. Keith while discussing the chronology of Sanskrit grammars merely states Anubhitusvarupa was the author of Sarasvati Prakriya with commentary (Keith: A History of Sanskrit Literature, p.432) but does not mention the Acarya's birth place. The Adyar Catalogue (Vol.VI) presumes Anubhutisvarupacarya as an ascetic and a resident of Benaras. But we are not informed about the source of this presumption. The present translator Gyurmed Tshewang Chogdup (19th century) states

"Acarya Anubhutisvarupa a high Brahmin by caste was born in the country of Maharashtra in the south of Aryadesa". The colophon (Fol. 130

a) reading विशान्याता स्वाधिता श्रीमा श्रीमु पर्दे पार सान्सार्श्विमा न्येव हिशा श्री

८ तुर्रः नः रदः नविष्मुः सुरः नदे सर्वे स्वरं सदे र नः पुः ने**र**ायः हेनिसः स्वर

is clear that the author was श्रीमत्-परिव्राज्ञक-परमहंस-अनुभूतिस्वरूपाचार्य (as we restore from Tibetan). The term Paramahamsa occurring in Tibetan transcription confirms the statement of Adyar Catalogue that the author was an ascetic.

As regards his works and disciples we know from T.M. Tripathi's introduction to *Tarkasamgraha* of Anandajnana (No.3. Caekward's Oriental Series).

- 1) That Anubhutisvarupacarya was the same as the preceptor of Anandajnana, the author of the Tarkasamgraha.
- 2) That he had besides Anandajnana, another disciple called Narendrapuri alias Narendranagari a commentator on the Sarasvata-prakriya.
- 3) That he was the author of some more works, namely1. GaudapadakarikaBhashyaTika, 2. Nyayamakaranda Samgraha, 3.
 Nyayadipavali Vyakhya Candrika, and 4. PramanamalaNibandha.

4) That he was a contemporary of Vopadeva (1260AD), the author of Mugdhabodha-vyakarana. As regards Narendrapuri mentioned above, he is said to be the author of the Sarasvata-Prakriya in No. 793 of the I.O. Catalogue, Part I, (Adyar Catalogue, P.211). But the statement has been refuted by T.M. Tripathi in the introduction to the Tarkasamgraha, as the fact is not supported by Tibetan sources.

Besides the works mentioned above one more work namely Bhagavadgita Bhashya Tippani goes by Anubhutisvarupa's name. A copy is available in the Adyar Library (Ibid. Vol. VI). There are various MSS on Sarasvata Vyakarana (Nos 660-676 and its different sections. One in Oriya script and in Palm leaf, others in Devanagari script on paper. Evidently this school of grammarians represent an attempt to simplify the grammar of Panini.

(ii) Authorship of the Tibetan text.

Nothing much is known about the composer of this work, besides his short autobiographical account and his note about his patron monk towards the end of the work.

His personal name त्र्युम् अद् कें द्वार अर्ज्य मुद्द म्युम् मुव्द रिक्ष मुद्द मुद्द न्यू के स्वार के स्वर के स्वार के

शक्षश्चरा देशरा श्री. चीच. तर. चत्रीया. तष्ट.ला. ची. त. द्वे. चर्रीला. त. त्रु. हेर. ४८.४च. ববিষধ:ব:বধুর-বিধধাসামূল-ভিব-নঞ্জি-দ্রী **ব**বিধ:বর্জ-বর্ষা He makes an acknowledgement to his own pupil: ব্লিক্সি ন্রী সাক্ষ सरार् पर्वा याद्रम्या गुर्द्यप्राय के सेर् सहर्र सेंग्रेग्णे मिल्राया नहेव वसारर मृश्चितः स.चरःश्चिरः सवः ५ विस्राः श्चानः स्वानः स्वानः स्वानः सहस्यः प्रहेतः स्वानः सहस्यः प्रहेतः स्वानः सहस् পুরাব্দা মিলামাবাম নেলীমাবাম মার মার্রালী It is interesting to note that the celebrated author of Prajna (1771 A.D). acknowledges his own meeting with the author of the work under discussion. Thus: મ $\mathfrak{g}_{\underline{a}}$ ત્ર. $\mathfrak{g}_{\underline{a}}$ ત્ર. $\mathfrak{g}_{\underline{a}}$ ત્ર. $\mathfrak{g}_{\underline{a}}$ ત્રમ $\mathfrak{g}_{\underline{a}}$ ત્ર હ્વા ક્વારા તાલુ કવા તાલુ કા તાલુ કા તાલુ કવા તાલુ કા તા বর্ষারিব:নম:বীধানাধু:২দ্রানধ্য: (Prajna, Fol, 319a NIT) hGyur-med-tshe-dbang composed this text in 14th Rab Byung which corresponds to 1807-1867. He is known as dge-rtse-rin-po-che, getse being the name of his clan. His disciple is Ze-chen-dbon-sprul mthu-stobs-rnam-rgyal--Namgayal's disciple is mkhyen-rtse-kongsprul and his disciple is hlu-mi-pham. According to some Lama scholars further information might be available from a Namther called Rig-

(iii) The place and date of composition.

hdzin-tshe-dbang-nor-bui-rnam-thar.

The prologue of the book clearly states: In this country of Tibet Brahmin Pandita Balabhadra and Krishnamisra met Taranatha and translated both Sutra and its Prakriya of Sarasvat Vyakarana. It seems that Balabhadra and Krishnamisra first introduced this grammar into Tibet, while Taranatha made a commentary on it. The place of translation was obviously Jonang Monastery in Central Tibet. Then later on during the Fifth Dalai Lama's time Darva Lotsava translated the grammar with the aid of two Panditas, Balabhadra and Gokulanathamisra. Here the present author states that two Panditas collaborated with Darva Lotsava but does not mention their names. But circumstantial evidence, confirms that they are the same Panditas. So we can place both the translations in the same century beginning with the second half of the seventeenth.

Present work was undertaken by the author, when he was blessed by his Acarya Gelong dorje Zinpa, with the name of grammarian Tshangsai Zadpai Lododan, in the 14 h Rab Byung (1807-1867 of Christain era), in the phase of full-moon of twenty-second or twenty-third constellation (Sravana) corresponding to July-August) () at dPal-kah-thog-rdo-rje gdan monastery in Kham in a forest retreat known as Yang dben(wen) byang-chub-shing.

We have already stated the fact, that the author of Prajna completed his composition of the text during the New Year-days of 13th cycle. (Vide under (ii)), while the work was seen by महिन्ना अर्जा सुराद्वार अर्जा सुराद सुराद

(iv) Utilization of Buddhist and non-Buddhist works.

According to our author Gyurmed tshewang Chogdup, Pandita Balabhadra and Krishnamisra first introduced and translated this work after having met Taranatha. Then again under the Fifth Dalai Lama with the aid of aforestated two Panditas Darva rendered this work. Again in later times 250×10^{-5} 10^{-5} 10^{-5} after having discussed

difficult points of the grammar with Pandita Khyab-hJug-bdag-pomade the new translation.

Inspite of so many good translations by celebrated scholars being available value of the present one according to its author is due to its abridged form and easy comprehensibility.

The author clearly states that he has utilized the Sutra (aphorism) and the Prakriya (dissertation), the new translation and the commentary by Taranatha, and the genders from a book entitled अंदा अविक केंद्र केंद्र केंद्र

There is no doubt, that the present author was aware of two big grammars—Kalapa and Candra Vyakaranas, which is referred to by the compound formation Ka-Tsan (Ka and Tsan standing for Kalapa and Candra respectively) and local acceptance of *Sarasvat* in central and other parts of Aryadesa. So the fact that the author in the first half of 19th century probably utilized these two grammars goes without saying. This is evidenced by his reference to his direct disciple brda-sprod-Rab-hbyams-smra-ba-hJam-dbyangs-blo-gros-mchog-hdzin, who made final revision of his translation with the aid of the Ka-Tsan and so on.

Among those two major grammars Kalapa was undoubtedly a work of non-Buddhist author Sarvavarman, under Siva's special favour. The legend brings him into contact with Satavahana. This work was popular in Kashmir and Bengal (Keith: A History of Sanskrit Literature). But the founder of Candra school of Sanskrit grammar, Candragomin, flourished probably in the period between 465 and 544 A.D. His authorship and date have been established on firmer grounds in the Vakyapadiya. Bhartrihari mentions Bajji, Sauva and Haryaksha as grammarians, who went before Candracarya and who by their uncritical method contributed not a little to the neglect of the Mahabhashya of Patanjali. As this observation accords well with Kalhana's account of the fate of Mahabhashya as well as with the curious legend recorded in a late Tibetan work, Sumpa's Pag-sam-zon-zang (Pt.i.pp. 95-96), the story is reproduced in S.C. Vidyabhusan: History of Indian Logic, pp. 334-35 (vide. S.K. De, Bengal's Contribution to Sanskrit Literature, Indian Studies Past & Present, Vol. 1. No. 4, pp. 575-576). Regarding Sumpa's censure of Patanjali having plagiarised on Candracarya it has been assumed that this Candracarya is no other than Candragomin. B. Liebich, who has recovered and edited from Skt. MSS, as well as from Tibetan version, with full indices in 1890s is of opinion that Candra

flourished probably in the period between 465 and 544 A.D. The Candrayya arana is certainly earlier than the Kashika of Jayaditya and Vamana; for Kashika appropriates without acknowledgement thirtyfive original Sutras of Candra's grammar which had no parallel in Panini, but which Kayyata distinctly repudiated as un-Paninian. All accounts agree that Candragomin was a Buddhist, and this is supported not only by his honorific Buddhist title-Gomin, but also by the Mangalasloka of Vritti which pays homage to Sarvajna. S. Levi relying on the mention by I-tsing of a great man named Candra Kouan (official) or Candradasa, who lived like a Bodhisattva, in his time in central India and composed a musical play on the Visvantara would identify this Candra with Candragomin. A Tibetan source, Taranatha, in making Candra a contemporary of Sila, son of Harshavardhana, would place him at about 700 A.D. Tibetan tradition does not distinguish the grammarian Candragomin from the philosopher Candragomin; Vidyabhusan however distinguishes a grammarian from a philosopher; while Taranatha states 'born in Varendra in the east', the Codier Catalogue states 'inhabitant of Barendi' in eastern India; Sumpa says 'born in Bangala'. S.K. Chatterji believes that the surname Gomin corresponds to the modern Bengali cognomen "gui". For further information vide S.K. De's article "Bengal's Contribution to Sanskrit Literature", Indian Studies Past & Present, Vol. I. No. 4. July, 1960, pp. 575-577. The tradition of Candragomin is supposed to have been maintained in Bengal by two well-known Buddhist grammarians Jinendrabuddhi and Maitreyarakshita. Bengal had admittedly been the ultimate place of refuge of most major and minor systems of Sanskrit grammars, including the Katantra (Kalapa), the Mugdhabodha, the Samkshiptasara and the Sarasvata (Ibid, pp. 591-593). According to S.K. De the Candra Vyakarana however is a much more remarkable work, which had currency at one time in Kashmir, Nepal. Tibet and Ceylon (Ibid. p. 578).

It is a well-known fact that all the major post-Paninian grammars were influenced by and improved upon the rules of Panini. We thus find a Tibetan translation of later Paninian work *Prakriya-kaumudi* of Ramachandra.

But in Tibet Kalapa and Chandra were favoured in the beginning while later Tibetan grammarians and translators preferred the Sarasvata. Obvious cause of its popularity have been discussed by the present author. We find that Taranatha and Sumpa Khenpo and other Tibetan scholars have discussed at length the life and works of Candragomin because of his being a Buddhist and the celebrated composer of hymns of Tara

and Manjusri, (on Candragomin's Arya-Tara-Antaravalividhi, see S.C. Vidyabhusan's Introduction to Sarvajnamitra's Sragdharastotra-samgraha (Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1908 pp. XX f) Later the Sarasvat grammar came to be adorned for its having originated from goddess Sarasvati. In Tibetan pantheon Sarasvati is supposed to be the emanation of Tara-Sita. These sentiments accounted for the celebrity of Anubhutisvarupa's work in Tibet down to the nineteenth century. The present author's eulogy identifies Sarasvati with Sher-phyin-yum or Prajnaparamita.

র্ম. ২ বি চর দ্রী, মহু, দের তে মিচর, ২ বিচর, ৫৫, জা। ঐর, এপিয়, জীল, এথ, বঙ্গী, সহ্, পুরু, দ্রীর, রীরা

Taranatha in his Chos-hbyung states, "Although Indra-vyakarana is famous in Tibet as the most ancient grammar and having originated in Lha-yul—Heaven, this was not originated in Aryadesa. The Candra-vyakarana, which is translated in Tibetan, concurs with that of Pani-pa (Panini's grammar) whereas Kalapa Vyakarana coincides with that of Indrahi-lugs (Indra vyakarana system.)"

कुर्कुर्देनु, स्वेचका स्टास बेक्सी। बुर्कुर्देनु, स्वेचका स्ट्रास्त्रेन्, चेन्या साक्ष्य स्ट्रास्त्रेन् साल्य स्ट्रास्त्र या साम्यास स्ट्रास्त्र स्ट्रास्त्र साम्यास साम्यास

The Aindra tradition being prior to Panini (5th century B.C.) is also strong in Sanskrit literature. It is found in the Taittiriya Samhita, where it is said that, gods approached Indra to elucidate speech (vacam Patanjali speaks of Brihaspati, the teacher of the gods, expounding to the king of gods the science of grammar. The legendary account of Katha-sarit-sagara and the Birhaspati manjari that it was the Aindra school which was supplanted by Panini's work is strongly supported by Yuan-chuang's allusion to the establishment of grammatical rules by Indra. The existence of Aindra system has been dealt with in detail by Burnell in his paper On the Aindra System of Sanskrit Grammarians (V.S. Agrawala, India as Known to Panini, p. 16). The Tibetan historians clearly suggest two parallel systems of grammars. In Tibetan view, like Panini and Kalapa, Sarasvata also has divine origin. Its divine origin and its orthodox lineage with Panini through Buddhist grammarian Candragomin inspired so many Tibetan grammarians to collaborate with the custodians of the homeland tradition to bring out many profound and faithful dissertations, commentaries and translations. We have already referred to the fact that three Brahmin panditas collaborated in the translation of the text in different dates.

(v) Contacts between Pandita Balabhadra and Krishnamisra and Taranatha, the Great Fifth and two Panditas, Situ Rinpoche and Pandita Vishnupati.

Here we discuss each contact following the chronological sequence adopted by the author of the present text.

The author does not state anything beyond that Pandita Balabhadra and Krishnamisra met Taranatha and that Taranatha completed his commentary on this grammar. But Darva Lotsava of 17th century throws some further light.

Darva states that Fifth Dalai Lama found the authentic but incomplete translation by one Lha-mthong Lotsava, and commanded Darva to translate this grammar according to instructions of these two Pandita brothers. So under the patronage of the Fifth Dalai Lama Darva studied Sarasvata along with other grammatical works under Mahapandita Balabhadra and Pahdita Gokulanathamisra, Brahmin residents of Kurukshetra. Here we have to note 'Mahapandita' attribute in case of Balabhadra. and that Darva, who hailed from upper valley of gTsang belonged to Nor-hdzin-yangs-se family. His full name is Ngag-dbang-phun-tshogs lhung-grub and his name as grammarian is Tshe-dbang-rab-brtan-rdorje, and that he completed translation in a period of six months living at Potatla Palace. Whether Darva visited Aryadesa, as both the Panditas visited Tibet, and if so when, are matters to be yet investigated. in Derge Catalogue of Tanjur, in Sna-Tshogs (miscellaneous section) we find one Krishnabhatta is collaborating with Taranatha in translating brDa-sprod-dbyangs-can, but the name of the author is missing. May be Krishnabhatta, Krishnamisra and Gokulanathamisra are the same person. Confirmation awaits till further investigation.

One fact is firm that author of present book hGyur-med-tshedbang-mchog-grub, Pandita Balabhadra, Krishnamisra, Taranatha, Darva and the Fifth Dalai Lama, all are contemporaneous.

The only obscurity is about the second pandita. While Darva names him as Gokulanathamisra, the present author mentions him as

Krishnamisra. In the Fifth Dalai's work there the name occurs as Gokula "who along with Pandita Balabhadra taught Panini in Tibet".

In the earlier Indian tradition we come across a Krishnamisra, the author of famous allegorical drama *Prabodha-candrodaya* or "The moon-rise of true knowledge". The date of dramatist Krishnamisra is fixed with some certainty from his own reference in the prologue to one Gopala, at whose command the play was written to commemorate the victory of his friend King Kirtivarman over the Cedi King Karna. As Karna is mentioned in an inscription dated 1042 A.D., and as an inscription of the Candella King Kirtivarman is also dated 1098 A.D., it has been concluded that Krishnamisra belonged to the second half of the 11th century (DasGupta: A History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 48-). Therefore, Krishnamisra the dramatist and Krishnamisra (or Gokulanathamisra), the Indian pandit in Tibet, are separate from each other by a gap of more than five centuries.

We know of Gokulanatha Upadhyaya, the illustrious Neo-Logician and Vedantist born in the decade of 1640-50, in Mithila (Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya: History of Navya Nyaya in Mithila, p. 193). We quote here the following from Gokulanatha's commentary (Pradipa) on Vacaspati's Dvaita Nimaya'' "अतएव जीवनाथद्वैतनिक्ये इतिपदसमिष्ट्याहाराहम-पदाभ्मां बाधितत्वादित्युत्वम्"

Iivanatha is dated about 1400 A.D., he was evidently not alive when Sankaramisra took lesson from his younger brother and pubil Bhavanatha (about 1425 A.D., Ibid, pp. 113-114). Mangroni near Madhubani the native village of Gokulanatha Upadhyaya became as famous as Navadvipa or Varanasi because of Gokulanatha (Ibid, p. 191). It is said that Gokulanatha left. Mithila in his early life and was a courtier of a Muhamedan (?) Fateh Sah of Garhwal at the foot of the Himalayas (Sinha's History of Tirhut, p. 133, cited in Bhattacharya's, History of Navya Nyaya in Mithila, p. 195). He must have gone there in the last quarter of the century as Fateh Sah died in 1699 A.D. There he wrote seven works. Then he adorned the court of Maharaja Madhava Simha of Mithila (1700-1739, A.D.). According to tradition Gokulanatha died at Varanasi, when he was 90 years old. The date of his death is surmised to be in the decade 1730-40 A.D. (Ibid, p. 195). Although in Bhattacharya's work we do not find Gokulanatha to be a grammarian, yet he states that his cousin and pupil Jivanatha Misra of Mithila author of Vibhaktyartha-nirnaya (Chowkh. Ed 1902, p. 477). treated the subject in such a masterly way both from grammarian's and logician's

point of view that even Gokulanatha must have yielded his palm to him in many places. (Ibid, p. 197).

Therefore, Gokulanatha who was born in 1640 A.D. and was a courtier of King of Garhwal in western Himalayas, might have visited eastern Himalaya (Nepal) and had contact with Tibetan scholars like Taranatha and Situ. It is important to note that Mithila (Tirhut) is geographically contiguous to Nepal Himalayas. So we may place Gokulanatha Upadhyaya as elder contemporary of Taranatha and the Fifth Dalai. while Darva speaks of Gokulanathamisra as Brahmin from Kurukshetra the Fifth Dalai clearly states that the same was from Varanasi, (vide. rgya-bod-hor-sog-gi-mchog-dman-bar-pa-rnams-la-hphring-yig-snyan-ngag-tu-bkod-pa-rab-snyan-rgyud-mang-shes-bya-ba-bsuhgs, Vol. Fol. 127 a).

Generally Misra is a well-known title of Maithili Brahmin and is alternately known as Upadhyaya. So this Gokulanatha Upadhyaya might have been for sometime at Kurukshetra.

We know from Darva that Pandita Balabhadra was the brother of Gokulanathamisra and that the brothers met Taranatha. But it is not known where the meeting took place, while Taranatha in the Chos Byung does not mention these names, the Fifth Dalai in his works (Vol É, Fol. 127 a) affirms that the two brothers visited Tibet, expounded Panini and returned to India.

In Indian traditional literature we find the name of Balabhadra. One Balabhadra is a character in Dandin's Dasa-kumara carita (7th century, Das Gupta). Another Balabhadra was one of the brothers of Govardhana a contemporary of Jayadeva, the famous lyric poet of Bengal towards the end of 12th century.

Another Balabhadra, the profound scholar of Navya-Nyaya, from Varanasi belonged to 15th century (Bhattacharya: History of Navya Nayaya, p. 102). So the Balabhadra of Tibetan tradition (17th century) was among the last to have this popular name.

We know from the introductory page of the book that, hJammgon-si-tu studied some obscure points of this grammar through the aid of one Pandita Khyab-hJug-bdag-po. "إِنَّمْ الْمُعْنَامُ الْمُعَانِّمُ الْمُعَانِّمُ الْمُعَانِّمُ الْمُعَانِّمُ الْمُعَانِمُ الْمُعَلِمُ الْمُعَلِمُ الْمُعَلِمُ الْمُعَلِمُ الْمُعَلِمُ الْمُعَلِمُ الْمُعَلِمُ الْمُعَلِمُ الْمُعَانِمُ الْمُعَلِمُ الْمُعَلِمُ الْمُعَلِمُ الْمُعَانِمُ الْمُعَانِمُ الْمُعَلِمُ الْمُعَلِ

Here the author does not give the Indian name of the scholar. But as the Tibetan tradition prefixes the title Pandita denoting a scholar from Aryadesa, the Indian name was rendered into Tibetan probably because the Indian Pandita was better known by this Tibetan form. The original form was विष्णुस्वामिन् or विष्णुपति. In the famous Sanskrit-Tibetan Lexicons and translated scriptures we find Sanskrit equivalents of प्रमार्थ as अधिपति (Mahavyutpatti, etc) आधिपत्य,

In our investigation with Jamgon Situ's works the exact equivalent for Khyab-hJug bdag-po is found to be विष्णुपति

Situ also states that, he talked with this Pandita in Sanskrit but at first he was facing difficulties- the Pandita regularly rectified his pronunciation and then he talked with ease. Then the Pandita certified Situ for his apt pronunciation. Situ had manifold discussions on grammar and logic. He attained proficiency in Indian

मी अदिन सहिर् से रे के गार and so on.

In conclusion we may say that the beginnings of Sanskrit studies were made in the seventh century (632-650 AD) by Royal scholar Thonmi-Sambhota. A thorough knowledge of Sanskrit grammar and vocabulary was the sine qua non for the work of translation of Sanskrit texts into Tibetan (See N. Dutt's foreword *Prajna*, NIT, 1961). As the inventor of science of expression,

apotheosized in Tibetan tradition. As Professor Nalinaksha Duit says: "Regarding Panini the texts mention that he was born at Bhirukavana in the west (probably north-west) and that though he was a brahamana, he was strongly inclined to the Buddhist faith, and that he attained proficiency in grammar (sabdasas.ra) through the grace of Avalokitesvara. He composed the well-known Panini-vyakarana and ultimately attained Sravakabodhi" Vide Dutt. Buddhist Sects in India (Calcutta 1970, p.8)

Long after India ceased to be the homeland of the priests and preachers Sanskrit studies continued to flourish and thrive in the Land of Snows, thanks to scholars and pilgrims from the Himalayas.

APPENDIX

The eulogy which prefaces the book deserves reproduction in extenso. A few words in the beginning are now illegible.
ইবং মুহ সঙ্গানই ইন্ উপৌ তা সমূহ দেই ক্রিট্রার

The eulogy is composed in समवृत्त metre. The Sanskrit is transcribed at first in ''Ranjana'' and ''Vartula'' scripts and then transcribed in Tibetan. Each line is followed by Tibetan meaning. We give below the Sanskrit version in Devanagari as well as Tibeatn script followed by Tibetan rendering.

माश्वाद्याचार्त्यः विश्वित कुलिगाना प्रभुः पद्मराजाः । यमः इं.इ.इ. ५.४.४.५ मी.क्. सं.स्.इ. माश्वाद्याः । यमः इं.इ.इ. ५.४.४.५ मी.क्. सं.स्.इ. माहः रहा।

माभंत्सीद्चाभ्यं मलशुधि गुरोहत्तमं पादरेणू । सःचै-दै-दु-दु-सु-स्याभ्यं मलशुधि गुरोहत्तमं पादरेणू । सःचै-दे-दु-दु-सु-स्याभ्यं मलशुधि गुरोहत्तमं पादरेणू ।