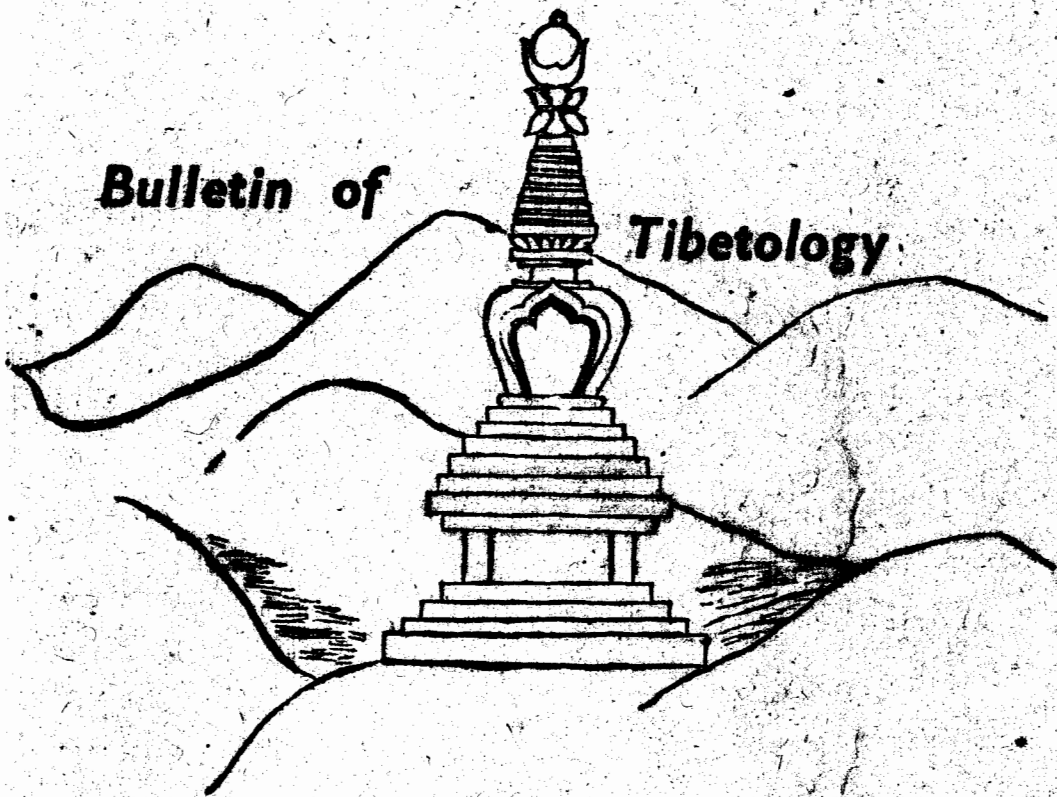


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EDITORS

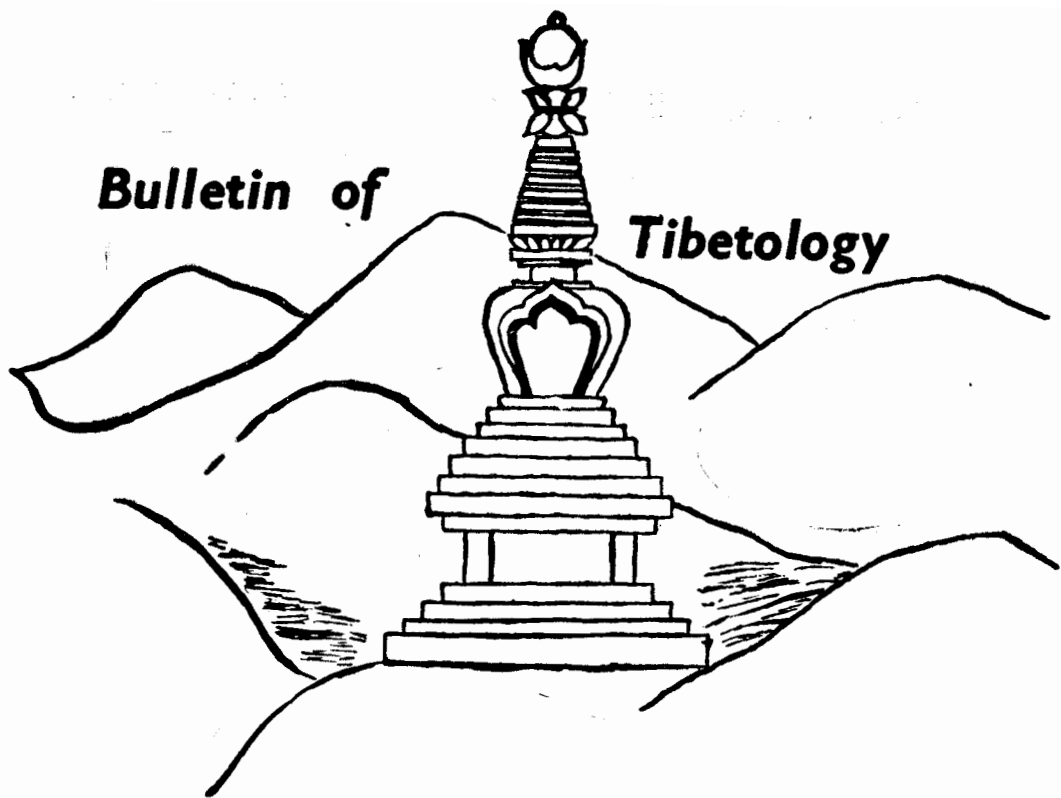
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Vyañjanabhakti, AND IRREGULARITIES IN THE TIBETAN VERB

R.K. SPRIGG

The term *svarabhakti* is familiar to Sanskrit scholars, and to students of linguistics in general, as a means of accounting for a 'vowel fragment' or vowel glide, a feature of the transition, in Sanskrit, from *r*, and sometimes also *l*, to another consonant, commonly a fricative (or spirant) consonant;¹ following in the footsteps of 'the earliest phoneticians' I wish to introduce the complementary term *vyañjanabhakti* to account for a *consonant* fragment, or *consonant* glide, as a feature of the transition from a liquid consonant to another consonant, commonly a fricative (or spirant) consonant.

Though it is in origin a Sanskrit phonological term, *svarabhakti* has been applied to comparable phenomena in other languages, as, for example, in the following passage from a grammar of Scots Gaelic: 'THE PARASITIC OR (IN SANSKRIT) THE SVARABHAKTI VOWEL (i.e. The "voice-attachment", "vowel portion", or glide vowel).

Svarabhakti is the development in the spoken language of a non-radical or inorganic vowel from the voiced sound of the preceding consonant, resulting in a repetition of the preceding vowel.

Tulach gorm m. *Green hill*, is in Scottish C.S. (Common Speech) spoken and written as *Tullochgorum* (more correctly *Tullochgorom*)².

A close parallel to the Scots-Gaelic pronunciation of *gorm* 'green' as though it were 'gorum' or 'gorom' is provided by the well-known cry of the *cá-váldá* in Hindi '*cá---garm---garmcá*', in which *garm* will in all probability, at least in its first occurrence in this small quotation, be pronounced with a *svarabhakti*, as though it were '*garam*', with two syllables to the ear though only one appears to the eye; for the *svarabhakti* here has not achieved recognition in Hindi spelling.

For *vyañjanabhakti*, on the other hand, English readily provides examples in pronunciation, and, unlike my Hindi examples, even admits them into the spelling. Thus, where some speakers (including myself) pronounce *Hampton* and *Hampstead* with a sequence of two medial consonant sounds [-mt-] and [-ms-] respectively, others pronounce them with a sequence of three consonants, [-mpt-] and [-mps-], the [-p-] being *vyañjanabhakti*, sharing the labial feature with the [-m-] but the voicelessness

feature with the [-t-] or [-s-].³ Etymology favours the former type of speaker, and requires such spellings as *Hamton and *Hamstead, compounded from Old English *hām* 'dwelling' (cf. *home*) with Old English *rūn*, 'enclosure', 'farm', 'town', and Old English *stede* 'place;' but the latter type of speaker has triumphed over the etymology, for the established spelling has clearly given orthographic status to the *vyañjanabhakti* [-p-]. In this paper I shall suggest that in Tibetan too *vyañjanabhakti* has triumphed, and that the incorporation of a *vyañjanabhakti* into the spelling of certain Tibetan verb forms has introduced an unnecessary air of irregularity into their paradigms.

Alternation in the spelling of the initial consonants of a considerable number of Tibetan verbs, especially between the present form and the past form, has long been something of a puzzle, and, probably, also something of an irritant, to students of Tibetan: 'Verb roots remain constant in most Sino-Tibetan languages. But --- diversity of form reaches the extreme in Old Bodish (classical Tibetan), where no positional phoneme of the verb is necessarily constant---whether consonantal prefix, consonantal initial, medial vowel, "final" consonant, or "suffixed" consonant.'⁴ Shafer takes up this challenge by attempting to provide both the comparative grammarian and 'the beginning student in Old Bodish' with 'something like "conjugations" instead of the apparently endless confusion of verbal forms with which he is confronted in most of the dictionaries and grammars of the language', in the course of which he refers to an alternation of 'affricate initials in the present and corresponding sibilant initials in the perfect---: 'tshar, śar 'rise'; 'tshi, śi "die"; 'tshor, śor "escape"; 'dzig, źig "be ruined"; 'džug, źugs, im. źugs "go in"; 'tsho, śos, im. śos "live"; 'dzad, zad "be on the decline"; and probably 'dzer, zer "say".'⁵ It is verbs of this type, in which affricate initials alternate with fricative initials (Shafer's 'sibilant initials',) that I wish to analyse in terms of *vyañjanabhakti*; indeed, I have already made a beginning elsewhere, though without using the term *vyañjanabhakti*, taking as my examples the following four verbs, the upper line comprising the present forms, and the lower line the perfect forms, of the same four verbs, except that according to Jäschke, *zug* is also an alternative present form:⁶

'dzag drip	'džig destroy	'dzugs plant	'džug enter
(g)zags	bžig	zug	źugs. ⁷

In the article in which I gave these examples limitations of time and space prevented me from illustrating *vyañjanabhakti* in Tibetan with more examples than those four, which exemplify only the following two out of a total of five types:

- a. 'dz- alternating with (g/b)z- འཛེ-, (ག/བ)ཟ-
 - b. 'dz' " " (b)z- འཛེ-, (བ)ཞ-;
- the three additional types that I need to recognize are:
- c. 'tsh- alternating with (b)gs- འཛེ-, (བ)/གས-
 - d. 'tsh' " " (b)s- འཛེ-, (བ)ག-
 - e. 'dr- " " r- འཛེ-, ར-
 - a. 'dz- alternating with z-, gz-, and bz- འཛེ- " " ཟ-, གཟ-, and བཟ-

In Jäschke's *Dictionary* I find nine verbs in which a present form in the initial two - letter group, 'dz- འཛེ- alternates with other forms, past, future, and imperative, in which the initial either is the single letter z- ཟ- or contains the letter z in the groups gz- and bz- (གཟ-, བཟ-); e.g.

- i. present: 'dzag འཛེག drip
- other: (g)zags, gzag (ག)ཟགས, གཟག
- ii. present: 'dzad འཛེད decline, be spent
- other: zad ཟད
- iii. present: 'dzed འཛེད put out
- other: gzed, 'bzed བཟེད གཟེད
- iv. present: 'dzur འཛེར make way
- other: bzur gzur, zur བཟུར; གཟུར, ཟུར

In the case of one of these verbs the alternation of 'dz-with z- is in the present form itself: 'dzugs and zug (འཛུགས, ཟུག) 'plant'; this same verb, and two others, alternate with forms in *bts-* in the perfect: *btsugs*, *zugs* བཟུགས, ཟུགས 'plant', *btsud*, *zud* བཟུད, ཟུད 'put into', *btsum*, *zum* བཟུམ, ཟུམ 'shut'; and the two last also alternate with *tsh-* ར- in the imperative: *tshud*, *tshum* (རུད, རུམ). There is, in addition, another form, apparently not a verb, in which 'dz- alternates with gz-: 'dzings, gzing འཛིངས, གཟིང 'bristly'.

At the time when the orthography was devised, I take 'dz- འཛེ- to have had the phonetic value of a nasal followed by an affricate, with the nasal having the same tongue position as the affricate ([ndz-]);⁸ thus, both sounds have in common the feature of complete closure in the mouth by the tongue. I take z- ཟ-, on the other hand, whether alone, as z-, or in the initial groups gz- and bz- (གཟ-, བཟ-), to have had the value of a fricative ([z]), and therefore no closure in the mouth.⁹ From a comparison of the nasal-and-affricate group [ndz] with the fricative ([z]) or groups containing the fricative [z], I conclude

that the non-nasal closure [d] of the [ndz-] group is a *vyañjanabhakti*, a glide, sharing the closure feature with the preceding nasal ([n]) and the non-nasality feature with the following fricative ([z]), i.e. [n(d)z-]:

closure non-nasality
[n----d-----z]

Accordingly, I should have preferred to see initial 'dz- འཛེ་, which is a *vyañjanabhakti* spelling, replaced, at least for the nine verbs with alternating forms in 'dz- and (g/b)z-, by *'z-འཛེ་, with the result that, for example, 'dzag and 'dzin (འཛེག་, འཛེན་) would be spelt *'zag and *'zin (*འཛག་, *འཛན་), and that their initial letters would cease to alternate. Their forms would then appear as follows:

*'zag	(g)zags	gzag;	*'zin	(b)zung	gzung	zung(s)
*འཛག་	(ག)ཛགས	གཛག་ ;	*འཛན་	(འ)ཛན་	གཛན་	ཛན་ (ས་)

In my analysis I have attributed a nasal-and-affricate value to the initial group 'dz-འཛེ་; but I am obliged to admit that, whatever the pronunciation may have been at the time when the spelling became established, my Research Assistant Rinzin Wangpo (*rig- 'dzin dbang-po*), a well-educated speaker from Lhasa, regularly pronounced this initial group of letters when spelling and reading not as a sequence of nasal and affricate ([ndz-]) but as a sequence of nasal and fricative ([nz-]), e.g. 'dzin not as *[ndzin] but as [ndzin], without a *vyañjanabhakti*. This pronunciation conflicts with the interpretation of the orthography that I gave at the beginning of this paragraph, and is therefore, at first sight, something of an embarrassment to me; but I take it to be an alternative pronunciation without *vyañjanabhakti*, and therefore as supporting my interpretation of orthographic 'dz-འཛེ་ as the *vyañjanabhakti* form of what is to be regarded structurally as *'z-འཛེ་. For such an interpretation I am obliged to assume that z- འ- was pronounced in former times as a voiced consonant ([z-]); but this assumption presents no great difficulty, for the z- of the orthography corresponds to the voiced consonant [z-] of the more conservative Tibetan dialects; .e.g. *zam-pa* 'bridge', *zangs* 'copper', Balti [z-]; *za* 'eat', 'gza' planet', Golok [z-] (in the Lhasa dialect and in the pronunciation used in spelling and reading written Tibetan z- corresponds to the voiceless consonant [s-] in a low-tone syllable).¹⁰

Rinzing Wangpo's pronunciation of initial 'dz- འཛེ་ not as [ndz-] but as [nz-] in reading and spelling written Tibetan does not

go un-supported: the Lhasa dialect has [-nz-] corresponding to the 'dz-' of the spelling, though only in certain types of syllable junction within the word, e.g. *zla-* 'dzin' 'eclipse', *zá-*'dzum' 'smile', *skas-* 'dzeg' 'ladder' (རྩ་འཛིན་, རྩ་འདུམ་, སྐམ་འཛིན་); so too does Golok, but with the difference that in Golok the [nz] features are not confined to a medial position but occur initially in such words as *mdzub-mo* (or 'dzub-mo) 'finger', 'dzom' 'assemble', and (') *dzam-gling* 'world'.¹¹ Consistently with this nasal-and-fricative pronunciation corresponding to 'dz-འཛི- Golok has a nasal-and-fricative pronunciation [mz-], not nasal-and-affricate (*[mdz-]), corresponding to the initial group *mdz-*འཛི- of the spelling; e.g. [mz-] *mdzo* འཛི་ 'yak' (hybrid).

It may be that syllables spelt with 'dz-འཛི- (and *mdz-*འཛི-) fluctuate in pronunciation from [nz-] to [ndz-] (and [mz-] to [mdz-]) from speaker to speaker, and have done so since the early days of the orthography, in something like the way in which English words ending in *-nch* such as *lunch*, *branch*, and *finch* fluctuate between a *vyañjanabhakti* pronunciation with nasal and affricate ([-nts̪]) and a pronunciation with nasal and fricative ([-nʃ]), as though spelt **lunsh*, **bransh*, etc.

Whatever the likelihood of a fluctuation in the pronunciation of 'dz-འཛི- between nasal and affricate and nasal and fricative, it is evident that adopting an alphabetic scheme of the Sanskrit type, the *varna samāmn̄cya*, for Tibetan has had the effect of widely separating the affricate [dz] from the fricative [z]; for *dza* འཛི in that scheme is grouped with *tṣa* and *tṣha* (ཅ, ཅ་), and separated from *za* ར, which is grouped with *zá*, *ṣa*, and *ya* (ལ, ལ་, ལུ). As I hope I have been able to show, the morphology of the verbs considered in this section (a) requires them at least to be closely associated, or, preferably, unified through the representation of 'dz-འཛི as *dz- འཛི.

The same sort of symbolization could be extended to forms currently written with initial groups *mdz-*འཛི- and *rdz-*འཛི-, e.g. *mdzad* 'do', *mdza* 'love', *rdzi* 'press', *rdzogs* 'be finished' (མཇུག་, མཇུག་པོ་, ཇུག་པོ་) which would then be spelt **mzad*, *mza*, *rzi*, and *rzogs* (*མཇུག་, མཇུག་, ཇུག་, ཇུག་པོ་). I am not, however, able to advocate this change of symbolization on the same grounds as for 'dz- and (g/b)z-, because verbs with initial *mdz-* and *rdz-* do not show any alternation in form as between *mdz-* or *rdz-* and (g/b) z-; on the contrary, verbs with initial *mdz-* or *rdz-* in one form are spelt with that same initial group in all forms. The only reasons, then, for making a parallel change from *mdz-* and *rdz-* to **mz-*

and *rz- respectively are those of consistency with the proposed change from 'dz- to *z-, and economy; for it would then be very nearly possible to dispense with the letter dz- altogether: words spelt with the single initial letter dz- number, in Jäschke's *Dictionary*, only nineteen. They alone would remain.

Although the initial group rdz- ར་འ་ར་ - occurs in Tibetan orthography, and is by no means rare, and although both rdz- and ldz- (ར་འ་, ལ་འ་) occur (section (b)), e.g. rdzed 'forget', ldzongs 'valley', 'region' (ལོང་, ལོང་མ་), there is no such initial group of letters as *ldz- *ལ་འ་. A corresponding initial sound group to this non-existent group of letters, [ldz-], does, however, occur in the Balti dialect; it corresponds to the existing initial group of letters zl- ར་ལ་; e.g. [ldza:] zla-ba 'month', [ldzoq] zlog 'cause to return'. This Balti initial sound group I should analyse exactly as for *[ndz-], in terms of *vyañjanabhakti*, the closure [d] being related to the partial closure of the preceding [l]. The appropriate spelling for this sound group would, therefore, be not the *vyañjanabhakm* spelling *ldz-ལ་འ་ but *lz-ལ་འ་. The above two Balti examples would, accordingly, be spelt *lza-ba ལ་འ་བ་ (better, perhaps, ལ་འ་(འ་)-བ་), and ལ་འ་ལོག་.

Since, however, the corresponding spelling to this Balti initial sound group is not *lz-ལ་འ་ but zl-ར་ལ་, the Balti sound group has generally been treated as an example of metathesis, a reversal of what is taken, on the basis of the spelling order, to have been earlier *[zl-].¹² The spelling order zl- is itself, though, anomalous, and hardly a satisfactory basis for the postulated metathesis: while there is indeed an initial group sl-ས་ལ་, which therefore contrasts with zl-ར་ལ་, nowhere else in Tibetan orthography is there a corresponding contrast. The letter s is comprised in the initial groups sp-, sb-, sts-, sm-, sn-, sr-, etc. (ས་ཤིག་, ས་བ་, ས་ལ་, ས་ལ་, ས་ལ་, ས་ལ་), e.g. spun, sbom, stsol, sman, sna, sras, སྤྲུལ་, སྤྲུལ་, སྤྲུལ་, སྤྲུལ་, སྤྲུལ་, སྤྲུལ་; but there are no corresponding, and contrasting, initial groups *zp-, zb-, zts-, zm-, zn- zr-, *འ་ལ་, འ་ལ་, འ་ལ་, འ་ལ་, འ་ལ་, འ་ལ་. The initial group zl- is, clearly, without parallel in Tibetan orthography; it is not, therefore, surprising that in none of the spoken dialects is there a corresponding pronunciation *[zl-] (or, with *vyañjanabhakti*, *[zdl-]). The word-initial features corresponding to zl- in the Balti, Golok, and Lhasa dialects, and in the reading and spelling styles of pronouncing written Tibetan are:

Balti	Golok	Lhasa	Reading-style
[ldz-	rdz-	d- (low tone)	nd- (low tone)].

There are two explanations that occur to me for what is, orthographically speaking, a freak. They are (i) that *zl-* might have been adopted as a digraph to symbolize some such initial sound group as [ldz-], as in the corresponding forms in Balti, a remarkably conservative dialect, and that, accordingly, *zl-* was regarded as a single pronunciation unit, like the Greek letters *zeta* (for [dz-] or [zd-]) and *psi* (for [ps-]), and not as a succession of the two units *z* and *l* in that order;¹³ or (ii) that *zl-* represents an early compromise symbolization of widely different pronunciation features from different dialects, as in the current phonetic diversity of the Balti and other forms given above, and was therefore intended at the outset to symbolize more than one pronunciation, in much the same way as the *Oxford English Dictionary* uses a special phonetic symbol to indicate that such words as *grass*, *path*, and *castle* are pronounced by North-country speakers with a short vowel, the same vowel as in *lass*, but by other speakers with a long vowel, the same vowel as in *guard*.

The same explanation might also stand for the corresponding voiceless Balti initial group [hlts-] ([hl] is here used as a digraph for a single sound, a voiceless lateral), as including a *vyāñjanabhakti* [t], where this sound group corresponds to the spelling *sl-*ལ- (cf. *zl-*ལ-), e.g. *slob/bslabs* ལྷབ/བལྷབས་ 'teach', *slang* ལྷང 'raise', *sleb* ལྷབ 'reach'.¹⁴ I should then wish to treat these and other examples of *sl-*ལ- as better spelt with **ls-**ལས-, e.g. **lsab*, **lsang*, **lseb* (ལསབ, ལསང, ལསབ). Although at first sight **lts-**ལཱ- might seem a more appropriate symbolization of such forms as these, especially since *lts-*ལཱ- occurs in the orthography as an initial group, e.g. *ltsags* ལཱགས་ 'iron', for which the corresponding Balti initial is [hlts-], a close parallel to [hlts-], the proposed initial group **ls-**ལས- avoids symbolizing the *vyāñjanabhakti* [t] and therefore seems to me to be preferable (cf. the corresponding analysis of 'tsh- ལཱ- as 's- ལས- in section (d)).

b. 'dz'- alternating with z', gz', and bz'-

འཇཱ- , , འ- , འཇཱ-, and འཇཱ-

A detailed account of the relations of 'dz- and rdz- (འཇཱ-, ཇཱ-) (and a potential *ldz-?) with z-, gz-, and bz- (ཇ-, འཇཱ-, འཇཱ-) has been given in order that it shall serve as a model for corresponding alternations in sections (b)- (e); these sections are, in consequence, somewhat less detailed.

Jäschke gives fourteen verbs as showing an alternation in spelling between a present form in 'dz'- འཇཱ- and some other form, past,

future, or imperative, with initial z' - or containing z' in an initial group gz' or bz' (གཙ-, བཙ-); e.g.

i.	present:	'dzag	འཇག་	establish
	other:	'zags	ཇག་མ་	
ii.	present:	'dzo (imp. 'dzos)	འཇོ་ (འཇོམ་)	milk
	other:	'bo	བཞོ་	
iii.	present:	'dzal (imp. 'dzol)	འཇལ་ (འཇལ་)	weigh, etc.
	other:	gzal	གཙལ་	
iv.	present:	'dzig	འཇིག་	destroy
	other:	bzig, gzig	བཞིག་, ཇིག་	
v.	present:	'dzog	འཇོག་	put
	other:	b'ag, g'ag, 'zog	བཞག་, ཇག་, ཞོག་	

For some of their forms others of the fourteen verbs go outside the four types of initial considered here, 'dz-, z-, bz-, and gz-, and have forms in *bts'*-, *tsh'*-, and *(b)s'*- (བཙ-, མ-, (བ)ག-). Six have a perfect form in *bts'*-, three have imperatives in *tsh'*-, and one has an imperative in *(b)s'*-. All of these spellings except *(b)s'*- suggest affricate initials for these ten forms, either as simple sounds or as part of a group; but I shall restrict myself here to the spelling alternations exemplified at (i) - (v) above, and their phonetic implications. I might add to them a noun that shows the same type of alternation: 'dzor/gzor འཇོར་/གཙོར་ 'hoe'.

I take 'dz- འཇ- to represent a homorganic nasal-and-affricate group, just as I did in the case of 'dz- འཇ-; but I am on firmer phonetic ground here, for that is the invariable pronunciation of this initial group in the current spelling-style and reading-style pronunciations; e.g. 'dzam འཇམ་ [ndz-] 'soft'.¹⁴ I have never observed an alternative sequence comprising homorganic nasal and fricative (*[nz-]) for initial 'dz- (but compare section (a), 'dz-), though such a sequence would not be un-welcome.

Initial z' - བཙ- I interpret as fricative, whether single or grouped, in *bz'*- and *gz'*- (བཙ-, ཇག-); and, as in the case of z' - མ- in section (a), I take it to have been formerly voiced. Whether simple or prefixed its current pronunciation in spelling and in reading is with voicelessness ([s'-]), in low-tone syllables; but voicing ([z'-]), in former times, is supported by [z'-] in the Skardu dialect of Balti in such words as *zu* 'request',

zing 'field', and *zon* 'mount', and by Sikkimese too, though only where the corresponding spelling is a group, *gž-* or *bž-* (གཙ- བཙ-).¹⁵

I analyse the *'dz-^{ᠠᠳ}*- initials as containing a *vyañjanabhakti*. My grounds for doing so are the same as they were for the *'dz-^{ᠠᠳ}*-initial group of section (a): the *vyañjanabhakti* [-d-] of the initial group [ndž-] shares a lingual, or tongue, closure feature with the preceding nasal sound ([ñ-]) and non-nasality with the following fricative ([-ž-]).

It seems to me unlikely, therefore, that I could have been Thonmi Sambhota in a previous incarnation; for, if I had had his opportunity of pioneering the Tibetan spelling, I should have wanted to spell the initials of the present forms of the verb shown at the beginning of this section not as *'dz-^{ᠠᠳ}*- but as **'ž-^{ᠠᠳ}*-. The verbs shown there at (i) and (iv), for example, would then be regularized in spelling, as far as initial consonant symbols are concerned, though not the vowel symbols of the second example, as:

*'žag ;	žags	*'žog	bžag	gžag	žog
*ᠠᠳག ;	ᠠᠳག	*ᠠᠳᠵ	བཙག	གཙག	ᠵᠵ

If, then, I had been Thonmi Sambhota, I should certainly have considered instituting the spellings that I have illustrated in these two examples for all the fourteen similar verbs given by Jäschke, and might well have applied it generally to all syllables, whether noun, verb, adjective, or particle, that are at present spelt with *'dz-^{ᠠᠳ}*-. In that case *'dz-^{ᠠᠳ}*- would never, of course, have appeared in Tibetan writing at all; for all syllables now spelt with this initial group of letters would have been spelt **'ž-* from the outset.

Again assuming that I were Thonmi Sambhota, with a free hand to follow my feeling for the pronunciation and grammar of Tibetan wherever it might lead me, I might have gone further, and symbolized all words that at present have initial *mdž-*, *rdž-*, or *ldž-* (མᠳᠵ- རᠳᠵ- ལᠳᠵ-) as *mž-*, *rž-*, or *lž-* respectively (མᠳᠵ- རᠳᠵ- ལᠳᠵ-), though here again, as I stated for *mdz-* and *rdz-* (མᠳᠵ- རᠳᠵ-) in section (a) above, there are no grammatical grounds that require this. That is to say, there is no alternation of symbols in grammatically different forms of the same verb in their case; and the only argument for treating them in this way is that of identifying the [-d-] features of the initial groups **[mdž-]*, *[rdž-]*, and *[ldž-]* as *vyañjanabhakti*, and symbolizing such syllables as, for example, *mdžal* 'meet', *rdže* 'barter', and *ldžid* 'weight'

as *mzal, *rže, and *lʒid (མཐལ, རལ, ལཞིང).¹⁶ If I had taken this course, there would no longer be any syllables spelt with the initial groups mdz-, dz-, rdz-, and ldz-, but only those now spelt with the single initial letter dz-ཇ-; e.g. dza ཇ 'tea', dzo-bo ཇའ 'elder brother', dzag-pa ཇཔ 'robber'.

c. 'tsh- alternating with s-, gs-, and (b)s-
 འཇ- ,, ,, མ-, བམ-, and (བ)མ-

Jäschke gives only two verbs as alternating an initial group 'tsh-འཇ- for the present form with the single initial s-ས-, or the groups bs- and gs- (བས-, བམ-) that contain it, in other forms:

- | | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------|---------|
| i. present: 'tshab | འཇཔ | repay |
| other: tshabs/bsabs, bsab | ཇཔས་/བམཐཐས, བམཔ | |
| ii. present: 'tsho | འཇའ | live |
| other: sos | མས | |
| iii. present: 'tsho | འཇའ | nourish |
| other: (b)sos, gso | (བ)མས, བམ | |

I take 'tsh-འཇ- to represent a sound group comprising homorganic nasal and affricate of the same type as dz-ཇ- considered in section (a), except that where 'dz- symbolized voice and non-aspiration tsh- symbolized voicelessness and aspiration. My only support for this assumption comes from the second syllable of Golok [hrtantsho] 'horses', corresponding to rta-tsho, though a spelling 'tsho would, in my opinion, be more appropriate than tsho; nasality ([n]) is an initial feature of this syllable not only in Golok but also, medially, in such a different dialect as the Lhasa; e.g. [-nzu] in nga-tsho 'we' 'brug-pa-tsho 'the Bhutanese'. The pronunciation of s-ས- as [s] is not controversial; the spelling-style pronunciation of sa མ 'ground', for example, is [sa], and that of gsum བམམ 'three' is [sum] (Balti., and Golok [xsum]).

The reader, by now familiar with my *vyāñjanabhakti* approach to alternation in the initial groups of symbols in the verb, will not be surprised to find that I analyse the initial 'tsh-འཇ- as including a *vyāñjanabhakti* [-t-], whence the t of the initial group of symbols 'tsh-, which I should therefore interpret as *'s- *འམ-.

The aspiration feature ([h]) of the initial sound group [ntsh-], symbolized by the h component of the group of symbols tsh-, co-occurs with the nasality, and is therefore in a close relationship with it; being

automatic, it presents no difficulty to my analysis: if nasality, then also aspiration (the converse does not quite hold, because of the alternative form *tshabs* at (i)). This related nasality is, in the case of ^h*tsh-*, homorganic (cf. also sections (a) and (b)); but it is worth remarking in passing that an initial group *mtsh-མཚ-* also occurs, and that the nasality in such groups is non-homorganic and labial ([*mtsh-*]). Such a pronunciation is supported by the Golok [*mtsho*] 'lake' *mtsho* མཚོ་.

The case for analysing the initial group *mtsh-མཚ-* as incorporating a *vyañjanabhakti* [-t-], and therefore for treating it as **ms- *མམ-*, is precisely the same as the case presented in sections (a) and (b) for treating *mdž-མཇ-* and *mdž-མཇ-* (and *rdz-*, *rdž-*, and *ldž-*; ཇ-, ཇ-, ཇ-) as *vyañjanabhakti* variants of **mz-* and **mž-* (**མཟ-*, **མཟ-*), except that in their case it is not aspiration but non-aspiration that automatically accompanies the nasality.

Given the *vyañjanabhakti* type of analysis, then, verbs (i) and (iii) of this section, for example, could be regularized as:

**sab tshabs/bsabs bsab; *so (b)sos gs.*

**མམབ་ ཚབས་/བམབས་ བམབ་; *འོ་ (བ)འོས་ གས་*

d. *'tsh-* alternating with *s-* and *bs-*

འཇ- ,, ,, ག- and བག-

Jäschke gives five verbs in which a present form in *'tsh-འཇ-* alternates with forms in *s-* and *bs-* (*ག-*, *བག-*); e.g.

- i. 'present: *'tshar* འཇར rise
 other: *sar* གར
- ii. present: *'tshad* འཇད་ explain
 other: *bsad, sod* བགད་, འོད་

There is also a verb in which *'tsh-འཇ-* alternates not with *s-ག-* (and *bs-བག-*) but with *bs-* and *gz-* (*བཟ-*, *གཟ-*), though Jäschke queries the latter:

present: *'tshol* འཇལ་ entrust
 other: *bsol, gzol* '(?)' བཟལ་, གཟལ་

I have no wish to repeat *ad nauseam* the details of my approach to this problem of variation in the initial letter groups of different forms of verbs, and will content myself here with stating that the *'tsh-* and *(b)s-* alternation (*འཇ-*, *(བ)ག-*) is parallel to that of *'tsh-* and *s-* (section (c)), even to the alternation of aspiration (*'tsh-འཇ-*) in the present form with non-aspiration (*(b)s-(བ)ག-*) in the other forms, the aspiration feature being bound to nasality here too. I therefore take

'tsh- to be a *vyāñjanabhakti* initial group, and treat it as *'s' *'a-; this again enables me to regularize examples (i) and (ii) of Jäschke's five verbs of this type as:

*'sār śār; *śād bśad śod
 *a-ṅs: ṅs; *a-ṅs: ṅs: ṅs:

Grounds for analysing *mtsh-* too as a *vyāñjanabhakti* variant of *'m'- *'a- are precisely the same as those stated for *mtsh-* in section (c).

e. 'dr- alternating with r- and (b)sr-
 ṅs ,, ,, s- and (a)ṅs-

Jäschke gives only one verb as having a present form in 'dr-ṅs- alternating with other forms in r- s-:

i. present: 'drul ṅsṅ rot
 other: drul, rul; ṅsṅ, ṅsṅ;

he states that *rul* is the form in general use.

The spelling-style and reading style pronunciations of 'dr-ṅs- are alike [ndr-], the place of articulation being not the teeth but the alveolar ridge, further back in the mouth; the corresponding pronunciation of r-, [r-], is also alveolar, and with much friction. Analysed on the same basis as the variant verb forms in sections (a) - (d) 'drul ṅsṅ is treated as incorporating a *vyāñjanabhakti* [-d-], symbolized as -d-; I should therefore wish to regularize this verb as with present *'rul *'ṅsṅ and past form *rul* ṅsṅ (also *drul* ṅsṅ). It must be admitted, though, that this one example is a very slender basis on which to apply the *vyāñjanabhakti* concept; it has, however, some support from an association of 'dr- ṅs- with r-s- of a rather different type from that used in sections (a) -(d).

In those four earlier sections present forms in 'dz-, 'dz', 'tsh-, and 'tsh- (ṅs-, ṅs-, ṅs-, ṅs-), and in this section a present form in 'dr-, ṅs-, were associated with some other form, past, future, or imperative, spelt with either a single initial z-, z', s-, or s', and, in this section, r-, (s-, ṅs-, ṅs-, ṅs-; s-), or an initial group of letters containing one or other of these five; but such an association of 'dr- with r- can be supported by more than the single example shown at (i) above only if one associates not different grammatical forms of a single verb but the same grammatical forms of two relatable but independent verbs, one transitive and the other intransitive:

	present	perfect	present	perfect		
ii.	'dral	dral	འདྲལ་	དྲལ་	tear	trans.
	ral		རལ་		be torn	intrans.
iii.	'dre	'dres	འདྲེ་	འདྲེས་	be mixed	intrans.
	sre	bsres	སྲེ་	བསྲེས་	mix	trans.

Such other words, apart from pairs of verbs, as 'dril འདྲིལ་ 'roll' (intrans.) and ril-ba རིལ་བ་ 'round', also support a relationship between 'dr- and r-, (འདྲ-, ར-).

If this small list of forms in section (e) seems sufficient to warrant it, initial 'dr- འདྲ-, when associable with r- ར-, could again be treated as incorporating a *vyāñjanabhakti*, and therefore structurally equivalent to *'r- *ར-; the verb forms in (ii) and (iii) above would then appear as:

ii. trans. *'ral རལ་; intrans. ral རལ་

iii. intrans. *'re(s) རེ(ས); trans. (b)sre(s) (པ)སྲེ(ས);

and 'dril would appear as *'ril (འདྲིལ་, *རིལ་).

These examples complete the exercise in which I have usurped the role of Thonmi Sambhota, and considered how greater attention to grammar, balanced by less attention to phonetic features, might have removed at least some irregularities from the thirty-three Tibetan verbs studied here.

Notes

1. W.S.Allen cites four different accounts of *svarabhakti* from Sanskrit sources (*Phonetics in ancient India, a guide to the appreciation of the earliest phoneticians*, Oxford University Press, 1953, pp. 73-4, 80.
2. George Calder, *A Gaelic grammar*, Glasgow, 1923, p. 70.
3. Symbols in square brackets are in the International Phonetic Alphabet, but with certain modifications that

make for easier printing: these modifications are:

[tʃ]:	voiceless alveolo-palatal affricate
[ʃ]:	fricative
[ʒ]:	voiced " "
[dʒ]:	affricate
[hl]:	voiceless alveolar lateral
[hr]:	rolled
[ñ]:	(voiced) palatal nasal

(in the English examples [tʃ] and [ʃ] have not alveolo-palatal but palato-alveolar values).

4. Robert Shafer, 'Studies in the morphology of Bodic verbs', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XIII, 3 (1950,) p. 702.

5. Shafer, *id.*, pp. 702, 704. I have re-Romanized Shafer's Tibetan examples in the following respects in order to have a uniform system of Romanization throughout this article: *tš'*-, *ts'*-, *č'* to *tsh*-, *tsh*-, and *'*- respectively (š-, č-, ʻ-).

6. For Tibetan orthographic forms I have followed H.A. Jäschke, *A Tibetan-English dictionary*, London, 1934.

7. R.K. Sprigg, 'A tibeti mássalhangzókapcsolatok fonetikai problémái', *Magyar Tudományos Akadémia I. Oszt. Közl.*, 25, 1968, pp. 161-7 (trans. A. Rona-Tas), the text of a paper read before the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest in May, 1967, on which occasion I learnt that the analysis I have proposed in the present article had also occurred to, and had the support of, G. Uray, author of 'Kelet-Tibet' nyelvjárásainak osztályozása', *Dissertationes Sodalium Instituti Asiae Interioris* 4, Budapest, 1949.

For the reason given in note 5, uniformity of symbolization, and also to emphasize the relationship between certain Tibetan initial letters that is essential to my argument, I have here re-Romanized the examples given there out of the Hungarian system of Romanization as follows: for Hungarian *j*-, *ǰ*-, and *ǰ'*- respectively, *dz*-, *dž*-, and *ž*- (*ĵ*-, *ĵ'*-, *ĵ'*-).

8. Such an interpretation is supported, as far as the homorganic nasal is concerned, by the Golok and the Lhasa dialects of spoken Tibetan (R.K. Sprigg, 'The role of R in the development of the modern spoken Tibetan dialects', *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*, XXI, 3 (1968), pp. 310-11) as well as that of the spelling-style pronunciation of written Tibetan, examples of which are given later in this section.

9. Such an interpretation has the support of the Balti, Sikkimese, and Golok dialects: e.g. *za* 'eat', Balti and Golok [z-]; *bzang-ba* 'good', Balti [bz-]; *spyan-ras gzigs* 'Avalokiteśvara', Golok [(g)z-] Sikkimese [z-].

10. In this respect the Sikkimese dialect forms something of a bridge between the more conservative Balti and Golok dialects and the less conservative Lhasa dialect: it has both [z-] and [s-] in low-tone syllables, the former corresponding to the initial groups *gz*- and *bz*-, and the latter to the single initial letter *z*-; e.g. [z-] in *gzin* 'sleep', *bzo* 'make'; [s-] in *zam-pa* 'bridge', *zangs* 'copper', *za* 'eat'.

11. See also 'The role of R', p. 311. My research assistant for Golok, Dodrup Rinpoche, of the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, preferred the spelling 'dzub-mo' to Jäschke's *mdzub-mo*;

and his pronunciation of this word, with initial [nz-] rather than [mz-], which occurs in Golok (cf. *mdzo* later in this paragraph), supports his preference.

12. Shafer, *op. cit.*, p. 711: 'the common Sbaliti inversion of spirants and affricates in combination with l'
 13. On the pronunciation of the Greek letters see W.S. Allen, *Vox Graeca*, Cambridge University Press, 1968, pp. 53-7
 14. For examples from the spoken dialects Golok and Lhasa that support this conjecture see 'The role of R', p. 311
 15. Cf. note 10; Sikkimese [ʒ] in *bʒag* 'put', *bʒugs* 'sit', but [s-] in *ʒu* 'request', *ʒon* 'ride'.
 16. I have asterisked [mdʒ-] as being conjectural only, this is because, in spite of the occurrence of *mdʒ* in spelling, I have never in fact observed an initial sound group such as this in any dialect; the only relevant example in my Golok material is *mdʒal* 'meet', pronounced not with labial nasality ([*mdʒ-]) but with homorganic nasality ([ṁdʒ-]). The other two examples here, though, are supported by Golok [rdʒe:] and Balti [ldʒit], in each of which I take the [-d-] to be *vyāñjanabhakti*.
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ལྷན་ ། རྒྱལ་ལུ་མཚོ་གཤེས་ །

RGYAN-DRUG MCHOG-GNYIS (Six Ornaments and Two Excellents); reproduces ancient scrolls (1670 A.C.) depicting Buddha, Nagarjuna, Aryadeva, Asanga, Vasubandhu, Dinnaga, Dharmakirti, Gunaprabha and Sakyaprabha; reproductions are as per originals today after 300 years of display and worship with no attempt at restoration or retouching. The exposition in English presents the iconographical niceties and the theme of the paintings, namely, the Mahayana philosophy; the treatment is designed to meet also the needs of the general reader with an interest in Trans-Himalayan art or Mahayana. A glossary in Sanskrit-Tibetan, a key to place names and a note on source material are appended. Illustrated with five colour plates and thirteen monochromes.

NAMGYAL INSTITUTE OF TIBETOLOGY, GANGTOK, SIKKIM

STUDY OF SANSKRIT GRAMMAR IN TIBET

—BHĀJAGOVINDA GHOSH

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-GRÜB-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 Prakṛta the speech of the uneducated masses. (Burrow: *The Sanskrit Language*) The 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 acknowledged in Panini's *Ashtadhyāyī*. 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 Jains. 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 *Mugdha-bodha* 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 Prakriya* along with its commentary by Anubhutiśvarupacarya was popular in Magadha and Varanasi.

Here it is interesting to refer to a Tibetan grammarian like བཟུན་འཛིན་གྲལ་སའོན་ (alias: བཟུན་མ་དག) the compiler of lexicon-cum-grammar entitled རིགས་པར་སྤྱད་བ་རྩེའི་སྐད་དང་གངས་ཅན་པའི་

བདེའ་ཤན་སྤྱད་བ་རྩེ་བུལ་མོའི་བུ་བཞུགས་སོ།།

(same as *Prajna* of 1771 A.D. published by Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, *Lexicon-Dictionary Portions* 1961 and *Xylograph Reproduction* 1962). This eminent scholar categorically affirms the celebrity of Kalapa and Candra in introduction of the XIVth and last book ཀ་ལ་པའི་

སའོན་པས་སྤྱོད་དང་མིང་ལའུར་ལག་ལེན་ or rules from Kalapa Vyakarana for euphonic combination (*Sandhi*) and declension (*Vibhakti*) of words (pages, 271-319), in the following words : རིགས་པར་སྤྱད་པའི་གཞུང་ལུགས་སྟོན་

པའི་སྐྱེ་མ་དོ་ཆེན་པོ་བཟུང་ལ་སོགས་པའི་བཟོད་བྱའི་སྟོང་པོ་བསྐྱེས་པ། འཕགས་པོད་ཀྱི་སྤྱོད་ས་སུ་བདེའ་སྟོད་ཀ་ཅན་གཉིས་ཞེས་ཉི་ཟླ་རྩེར་གྲགས་པའི་ཡ་གྲལ།

“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 indispensable elements from great grammars like *Ashtadhyayi* (Paninian grammar) etc.”

The author of the Sanskrit grammar under discussion also observes almost same in the following passage: ………

བཀའ་རྒྱུ་ལ་
 འདི་ཉིད་ལྷུ་ལ་དབུས་སོགས་སུ་དར་སྲིལ་ཆེ་ཞིང་། ཐོག་མར་བཀའ་རྒྱུ་འདི་ལ་ལྷུ་གས་
 རྣམ་བཅའ་ཇོ་ཀ་ཙན་སོགས་ལ་འཇུག་པ་ཡིན་ཞེས་བྲགས་ཤིང་།

“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 of 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, *Anubhavisvarupacarya* 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.

In spite 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
 ལྷའི་བསྟན་བཅོས་ནམ་བཤད་འོད་རློང་བརྒྱ་བ། it would be appropriate to
 notice the observations made by the author himself.

Just after Prologue the author states that Acarya Anubhuti-
 varupa was a Brahmin born in the country of Maharashtra in south of
 Aryadesa. The goddess Sarasvati herself favoured him with the instruc-
 tion 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.

According to this work Pandita Balabhadra and Krishnamisra
 met Taranatha and rendered both the aphorisms and the dissertation
 of Sarasvat into Tibetan language, Taranatha also completed his commentary
 on Sarasvata Vyakarana;

དེ་ལས་པོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱུངས་འདིར་བུས་ཟེ་པ་རྗེ་དྲ་བ་ལ་བ་བྱ་
 དང་ཀྱི་ལྷོ་མི་ཤ་དག་གིས་ཟེ་ནང་རྗེ་བཙུན་ལ་འཇལ་ནས་མ་དོ་དང་རབ་བྱེད་པོད་སྐད་
 དུ་བསྐྱར་ཅིང་རྗེ་བཙུན་དམ་པས་འབྲེལ་བའང་མཐའ་ཚོད་པར་མཛོད།

Later during the period of the Fifth Dala Lama (ཕུག་ན་བསྐྱེ་ལྷ་བ་
 ཚེན་པོའི་དུས་) hDarva Lotsava (the translator hailing from Darva,) with

the aid of the same two Pandita s translated the aphorisms and the
 dissertation into Tibetan. Againsin later period hJam-mgon Situ-rin-
 po-che studied difficult topic of this grammar with the aid
 of ཤུབ་འཇུག་བདག་པོ། or ལྷུབ་འཇུག་བདག་པོ། and it is said a new rendering
 of the dissertation of this grammar into Tibetan was written by him.

“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”.

“Some would still prefer the short treatise of Anubhūtiśvarūpa-
cārya because this will help them to enter into the vast literature on the
subject, like Kalapa and Candra-vyākaraṇa. I myself utilized a later
translation of aphorisms and its dissertation, and for the obscure points
I looked up the commentary of Taranātha. I have adapted several
principal words from the book entitled’ *ལྷུ་མཐའ་རིན་ཆེན་འབྲུང་* deal-
ing with declension for the utilization of the beginners, necessary
cross references, above and below, are made for convenience as tradi-
tional. In short, I have endeavoured to make this commentary lucid
and useful”.

At the end acknowledgement is thus made, “Here ends the
Sarasvatī-Prakriyā composed by the illustrious Parivrajaka Paramahansa
Acārya Anubhūtiśvarūpa”.

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 Taranātha on Sarasvatī 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-*
(*རབ་དུ་བྱེད་པ་*) 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”.

“While I was contemplating this commentary and was proceeding
on my slow wit I had the ever persistent encouragement at the hands
of Bhikṣhu *དགེ་སྤྱོད་རྩི་མེད་འཇིག་པ་འག་དབང་གྲུ་མཚོ་* who was vastly
learned in both *Kalapa* and *Candra-vyākaraṇa* 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 Acārya of Orgyan—
Padmasambhava. The name bestowed upon me by my Acārya on
the completion of my study was, *རྩི་མེད་ལྷུ་མཐའ་པའི་སྤྱོད་ལྷུ་མཐའ་ལྷུ་*
མེད་ལེ་ཏ་བཤད་གྲུ་མཚོ་འཇིག་པ་, I wrote in 14th Rabbyung, in the phase of full-
moon of twenty-second or twenty- third constellation (Sraṇa) corres-
ponding to July-August at Kahthog Dorjedan (*ཀམ་ཐོག་རྩི་མེད་གདན་*) in a

forest retreat for meditation known as Yang-dben-byang-chub-shing (ཡང་དབེན་བྱང་ཚུབ་ཤིང་) in the hours of break. The scribes were the inspirers, Dorje Zinpa himself and རབ་འབྲུམ་སེང་གེ་མཚོ་ལྷ་མོ་

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

ས་པ་དེ་རྒྱ་ལེ་ཏུ་ འུ་ལྷོ་མཛུ་ལ་ ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ས་པ་ལྷོ་
 सर्वदिक्कालेषु शुभंमङ्गलनाभासापनुतु ।

“Although there are many obscure points in the text, my pupil འུ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ རབ་འབྲུམ་སེང་གེ་མཚོ་ལྷ་མོ་ has thoroughly checked the text on the basis of *Kalapa* and *Candra-Vyakarana* and *Amarakosa* and so on.”

སྤྱི་མཛུ་ལྷོ་ །།

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 Anubhutiśvarūpa the author of *Sarasvati-Prakriya*; its utility and local celebrity.
- (ii) Brahmin Pandita Balabhadra and Krishnamisra meeting Taranatha and translation of Anubhutiśvarūpa’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 **सुधा-सप्तद-**

संज्ञा-सूत्रम् ।

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 (Sanskrit) 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 Ramchandrasrama (1655 A.D.), the author of **सारस्वत-सूत्र-व्याख्या : सिद्धान्त-चन्द्रिका** (Ibid, No. 680); and the Tibetan grammarian Taranatha (1575. A.D.) Darva Lotsava (contemporaneous with Fifth Dalai Lama), Situ Rinpoche and Gyurme tshewang chogdup the present translator all testify to **अनुभूतिस्वरूपाचार्य** 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 **सारस्वतसूत्र** just as the 14 sutras in Panini's grammar attributed to Siva are called **माहेश्वरसूत्र**. Thus Anubhuti-varupacarya became the founder of Sarasvata school. This assertion is further supported by the colophons found in the MSS of the work deposited in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, viz:—

इति वार्णाप्रणीतसूत्राणामष्टाध्यायी समाप्ता ।

इति सरस्वतीप्रोक्तसूत्रसप्ततं समाप्तम् ।

(vide. Nos. 4419 and 4421 of 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 Anubhuti-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. **दे-डु-र-द-म-गी-द-व-**

ལྷ་མོ་འཕགས་པ་དབྱངས་ཅན་མས་གནས་ལྷ་རིག་པའི་སྐོབ་དཔོན་ཅེན་པོ་ཨ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ཉི་
 ས་རྒྱུ་པ་ཕྱི་རྗེས་སྐུ་འབྱོར་པ་རང་བཞིན་བཟང་པོ་ལ་དངོས་སྐུ་ལ་བའི་བད་སྐོབ་པའི་
 བཟུན་བཅོས་ཅེན་པོ་དབྱངས་ཅན་གྱ་ཀ་ར་ཏེ་ཞེས་གྲགས་པའི་གཞུང་།

(འདྲེན་བ། དབྱངས་ཅན་སྐུ་ལྷ་ཉི་ཀ་ Fol. 1. NIT)

སྐོབ་དཔོན་ཨ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ཉི་སྐུ་ལ་ཞེས་རྗེས་སྐུ་འབྱོར་པ་རང་བཞིན་ལ་འཕགས་པ་
 དབྱངས་ཅན་མས་དངོས་སྐུ་བཟུང་བའི་ལེ་ར་པར་སྐུར་བའི་སྐུའི་བཟུན་བཅོས་འདི།

(འགྲུར་ལེ་ར་ཅེ་དབང་མཚོ་གྲགས། ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་ཉི་ཀ་ Fol. 2bNIT)

Main contention of both of them is that, Anubhūtiśvarupacārya was personally favoured by goddess Sarasvatī in the composition of this grammar. As Darva Lotsava described the Acārya's name as རྗེས་སྐུ་འབྱོར་པ་རང་

བཞིན་བཟང་པོ་ in Sanskrit the name should be rendered as अनुभूतिस्वरूप-भद्र ;

Bhadra may be honorific suffix to the Acārya'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 Krishnabhata and Taranatha (Tanjur Catalogue No.4423, Vol. ལོ་) Darva's

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 *Purvārdha* and the *Uttarardha*, the first dealing with *Subanta* or declension, and second *Tinanta* or conjugation, *Krdanta* or verbal prefixes. The author Govindacārya in his *Sarasvata-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 Anubhutiśvarupacarya. Keith while discussing the chronology of Sanskrit grammars merely states Anubhutiśvarupa 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 Anubhutiśvarupacarya 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 དེ་ཡང་

འབགས་ ལྷམ་རྩོམ་གས་ མ་ར་ཏའི་ལྷམ་ ཏུ་བྲམ་ རི་གཙང་མའི་ རིགས་ སུ་འབྱུངས་
བའི་སློབ་དཔོན་ཨ་རུ་བློ་ཏེ་ས་རུ་བ་ཞེས་རྗེས་སུ་འབྱོར་བ་རང་བཞིན་

(སྐུ་མ་དོ་; Fol. 2 b.) i.e.

“Acarya Anubhutiśvarupa a high Brahmin by caste was born in the country of Maharashtra in the south of Aryadesa”. The colophon (Fol. 130 a) reading ཞེས་དཔལ་ལྷན་ཡོངས་སུ་གྱུ་བའི་བ་ར་ མ་རྩོམ་སློབ་དཔོན་རྗེས་སུ་

འབྱོར་བ་རང་བཞིན་གྱི་སྐུར་བའི་མཚོ་ལྷན་མའི་རབ་ཏུ་བྱེད་པ་རྗེས་སོ་

is clear that the author was श्रीमत्-परिव्राजक-परमहंस-अनुभूतिस्वरूपाचार्य (as we restore from Tibetan). The term Paramahansa 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 Anandajana (No.3. Caekward's Oriental Series).

1) That Anubhutiśvarupacarya was the same as the preceptor of Anandajana, the author of the *Tarkasamgraha*.

2) That he had besides Anandajana, another disciple called Narendrapuri alias Narendranagari a commentator on the *Sarasvata-prakriya*.

3) That he was the author of some more works, namely-
1. *GaudapadarikaBhashyaTika*, 2. *Nyayamakaranda Samgraha*, 3. *Nyayadipavali Vyakhya Candrika*, and 4. *PramanamalaNibandha*.

4) That he was a contemporary of Vopadeva (1260AD), the author of *Mugdhobodha-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 Anubhutiśvarupa'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 འགྲུང་མེད་ཚོ་དབང་མཚོ་གྲུབ་ངེས་དོན་པལ་ལྷན་ འཕེལ་ and the name he received from his Acarya ཚངས་སྤུལ་བཞན་ པའི་ལྷོ་ལྷན་འཛིགས་མེད་ལེགས་བཤད་ཀྱི་མཚོ་འོ་ལྷོ་ are already described. The author describes himself and his patron thus: འདི་ཉིད་ལྷ་མོ་ ལས་བྱེད་འདོད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་ཙམ་ཡིད་ལ་བཞགས་པའི་ཁར་ཉེ་ཆར་ཀ་ཙན་ལ་སྦྱངས་བ་མཐར་ སོན་པའི་དགེ་སློང་དོ་རྗེ་འཛིན་པ་ངག་དབང་ལྷ་མཚོ་ལན་དན་ཚེན་ངེས་བརྒྱལ་པས་ ཀྱིན་བུས་དེ། དུས་གསུམ་མཁུན་པ་ཨོ་ལྷན་གྱི་སློབ་དཔོན་ཚེན་པོ་བརྒྱ་སྐྱེ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ལྷ་ མཚོན་ཤེས་ནས་དང་པ་ཕྱོབ་པ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྗེ་ཀམ་ཕོག་པའི་འབངས་ཀྱི་ཡང་ཕ་རྒྱུང་བར་ ལྷན་པོ་ཨ་འགྲུང་མེད་ཚོ་དབང་མཚོ་གྲུབ་ངེས་དོན་པལ་ལྷན་འཕེལ་ ལམ་ལ་སློབ་དཔོན་ ཀྱིས་བཏགས་པའི་ཕ་རྒྱུད་དུ་ཚངས་སྤུལ་བཞན་པའི་ལྷོ་ལྷན་འཛིགས་མེད་ལེགས་ བཤད་ཀྱི་མཚོ་འོ་ལྷོ་ལྷན་འཛིན་པའི་ལྷོ་ལྷན་འཛིན་པའི་ལྷོ་ལྷན་འཛིན་པའི་ལྷོ་ལྷན་ ཀམ་ཕོག་དོ་རྗེ་གདན་གྱི་ཡང་དཔོན་བྱང་ལྷུང་ཤིང་གི་ནགས་ཁྲོད་ཀྱི་བྱུ་ཁང་དུ་བྱུན་

མཚོམས་ཀྱིས་སུ་གྲུབ་པར་བཤེས་པའི་ཡི་གེ་པ་ཞི་བརྒྱལ་པ་པོ་ཉིད་དང་རབ་
འབྲམས་པ་བསོད་ནམས་མཚོག་ལྷན་གཉིས་ཀྱི་འདུས་བཤེས་པས་

He makes an acknowledgement to his own pupil: བེ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་གནས་

མང་དུ་འདུག་པ་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་ཚན་དང་འཚི་མེད་མཚོན་སོར་གྱི་གཞུང་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་དང་
གི་སྤྱོད་མ་བརྟེན་དེ་རབ་འབྲམས་སྐྱེ་བ་འཇམ་དབྱངས་ལྷོ་གྲོས་མཚོག་འཛིན་གྱིས་
ཞུས་དག་ཤེགས་པར་བཤེས་པས་སའ་སྒྲུབ། 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: སྐྱར་

རབ་བྱུང་བཅུ་གསུམ་པའི་རྩོད་ལྷན་གནས་ལོ་གསར་ཚེས་སྐབས་ཡུལ་བ་ཀམ་ཤོག་
མཚོག་སྐྱེལ་འགྲུང་མེད་ཚོ་དཔང་མཚོག་གྲུབ་ཞུས་ཀྱི་གཞིགས་པའི་ཚོད་དུ་མཇུག་
བསྟུ་ཐུབ་པར་བྱས་པའི་དགེ་བས་ (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, ge-
tse being the name of his clan. His disciple is Ze-chen-dbon-sprul
mthu-stobs-rnam-rgyal—Namgayal's disciple is mkhyen-rtse-kong-
sprul and his disciple is h|u-mi-pham. According to some Lama scholars
further information might be available from a Namther called Rig-
hdzin-tshe-dbang-nor-bui-rnam-thar.

(iii) The place and date of composition.

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 Tshang-sai 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) (སྤྱི་ཚེ་རྟེན་གྱི་ལོ་བཞི་ཅན་ཅན་གྱི་ཡར་ཚེས་ལ་) 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 ཀུན་གྲོགས་མཚོ་གསུམ་ལགུར་མེད་ཚེ་དབང་མཚོ་གསུམ་ But he has not exactly mentioned in which particular year of 13th cycle he completed his work. But the accepted date of Prajna (1771 A.D.V. *Prajna*. NIT. Pub. 1961, p. Foreword. IX) and present author's reference of date སྤྱི་ཚེས་གྱི་ལོ་ 14th Rab Byang, can place the date of composition of present work in the beginning of 19th century.

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

We have already made reference to Sanskrit and Tibetan works that our author thus utilized in translation. Darva Lotsava who translated this grammar under the instruction of the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682), contended that first full translation was Darva's own. However, the Fifth Dalai Lama, who had another name as grammarian འཛིན་མེད་གོ་ཚུབ་བཟུན་ལང་ཚོའི་སྤྱི་; knew a half composed but authentic and terse translation by ལྷ་མགོང་ལོ་ཙ་བ་ and other translations of the work. His reference to other translations may denote the translation of Taranatha who was almost an elderly contemporary of the Fifth Dalai Lama.

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 འཇམ་མགོན་མི་དུ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ after having discussed

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

In spite 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 སྲུབ་མཐུན་རིན་ཆེན་
ལྷུང་།

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 *Candravyakarana* is certainly earlier than the *Kashika* of Jayaditya and Vamana; for *Kashika* appropriates without acknowledgement thirty-five 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 *Mangalashloka* 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 Samks- hiptasara 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.

དུས་གསུམ་རྒྱལ་ཀུན་བསྐྱེད་མཚན་ཤིང་ཕྱིན་ཕུམ།

སྐྱེད་བྱངས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ལས་འབྲུངས་དབྱངས་ཅན་རྩ།

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.)"

ཨིན་ཏུ་ཀར་ཅེ་སྐྱེ་བ་ཡིན་པར་བཤོད་པ་གྲགས་ཀྱང་ལྷ་ཡུལ་དུ་བྱུང་སྐྱེ་བ་ཡིན་པར་
 བོད་མིའི་ཀྱང་། འཕགས་པའི་ཡུལ་དུ་བྱུང་བ་སྐྱེ་བའི་མ་ཡིན་ཏེ་འོག་དུ་འཆད་དོ།
 བཤོད་ཡུལ་དུ་འབྱུང་བའི་ཨིན་ཏུ་ཀར་ཅེ་པའི་བ་དང་མཐུན་ལ། ཀུལ་པ་བྱུ་ཀར་ཅེ་
 བོད་མིའི་ལྷ་གས་དང་མཐུན་ལོ།

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 vyakaru*). 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 Pandita 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-rdo-rje, 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. But in Derge Catalogue of Tanjur, in Sna-Tshogs (miscellaneous section) we find one Krishnabhata is collaborating with Taranatha in translating brDa-sprod-dbyangs-can, but the name of the author is missing. May be Krishnabhata, Krishnamisra and Gokulanathamisra are the same person. Confirmation awaits till further investigation.

One fact is firm that author of present book hGyur-med-tshe-dbang-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 (Dinash Chandra Bhattacharya: *History of Navya Nyaya in Mithila*, p. 193). We quote here the following from Gokulanatha's commentary (*Pradipa*) on Vacaspati's *Dvaita Nirnaya* "अतएव जीवनाथद्वैतनिर्णये इतिपदसमभिव्याहारात्म-पदाभ्यां बाधितत्वादित्युत्वम्"

Jivanatha is dated about 1400 A.D., he was evidently not alive when Sankaramisra took lesson from his younger brother and pupil 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. 195). 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 *Vibhaktiyartha-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. ❸ 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 ❸, 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 Nyaya*, 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, hJam-mgon-si-tu studied some obscure points of this grammar through the aid of one Pandita Khyab-hJug-bdag-po. “དུས་ཕྱིས་འཇམ་མགོན་མི་དུ་

རིན་པོ་ཆེས་པ་རྗེ་ཏུ་བྱམ་འཇུག་བདག་པོ་ལས་དཀའ་གནས་རྣམས་གསལ་བྱེ་”

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 བདམ་པོ་ as མཐིམ་པི་ (*Mahavyutpatti*, etc) འཐིམ་པལ་, དཔལ་, པི་ also སྐལ་མིན་ *Dasabhumi Sutra*-སྐལ་བུ་པོ་, *Nyayavindu*, etc),

In our investigation with Jamgon Situ's works the exact equivalent for Khyab-hjug bdag-po is found to be བེ་མཐིམ་པི་

In a recent edition of Ta'i-si-tu Rinpoche's work entitled དེ་ལོ་མི་དུ་ར་འབོད་པ་ ཀམ་བཟམ་པའི་རྟིན་བྱེད་ཀྱི་རང་ཚུལ་ རྒྱུ་ལོ་ལོ་བཞེད་པ་རྩི་བྲལ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་མེ་ལོང་ཞེས་བྲལ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ་ or the autobiography and diaries of Situ Rinpoche (Ed. Lokesh Chandra and with a foreword by E. Gene Smith, New Delhi, 1968), we find Situ states his meeting with Vishnupati.

Situ met Vishnupati many times during king Jagajjaya Malla whose reign according to Regmi covered 1722-1736 A.D. (*Medieval Nepal*, Pt. II, Calcutta, 1966. p.178). Situ's first visit to Nepal was in 1723 in a place called Kyin-Tol (ཀྱིན་ཏོལ་) (in a temple dedicated to hJig-rten-dbang phyug (Lokesvara). The personal name (དངོས་མིང་) of illustrious old Brahmin Pandita from Tirahuti (རི་ར་ཏུ་རྟིའི་) was Bacchur Oja, and his name as a Vedic scholar (རིག་བྱེད་ཀྱི་མིང་) was Vishnupati (བེ་མཐིམ་པི་) སྐབས་འདི་ཤེད་དུ་རི་ར་ཏུ་རྟིའི་བཟམ་ཟེ་པའི་ཉ་གཞུང་པོ་ཆེས་གྲུ་བ་དངོས་མིང་བཅ་ར་ཨོ་ཟ། རིག་བྱེད་ཀྱི་མིང་བེ་མཐིམ་པི་རི་ར་ཏུ་རྟིའི་བ་དེ་ཡང་ཡང་ཁོ་བོ་ཅན་དུ་བྱུང་།། (ནམ་མཐར་, བཀའ་འབུམ་ Fol, 65-66, 67 a).

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

literature in general and specially in grammar. For this purpose he investigated in the commentary made by Klu (ཀླུ་མ་བཙུན་མཚོ་པ་)

This Naga was most probably Nagojibhatta, the famous grammarian of 7th century A.D. Situ also read Brahmin Pandita Bhattoji-dikshita's

(འཇིག་རྟེན་གྱི་ཀེ་དམ)

commentary on *Amarakosha*, Subhucandra's commentary on *Amarakosha*, *Nanarthakosha* of Medinikara (དེཙ་མང་

གི་མངོན་མཚོན་མེ་དེ་ཉི་ཀར་ 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, ལྷ་ལོ་བཙུན་མཚོ་པ་ Panini was almost

apotheosized in Tibetan tradition. As Professor Nalinaksha Dutt 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.

SOME PUBLICATIONS
FROM
NAMGYAL INSTITUTE OF TIBETOLOGY

ལྷོ་མཁའ་ལྷོ་མཁའ་

PRAJNA or the famous Sanskrit-Tibetan Thesaurus-cum-Grammar was compiled by Tenzing Gyaltzen, a Khampa scholar educated in Nyingma and Sakya schools of Derge, in 1771 A.C. Though this book was preserved in xylograph few copies of the block-prints are found outside Tibet. The lexicon portions are now presented in modern format with Tibetan words in Tibetan script and Sanskrit words in Sanskrit script with an elaborate foreword by Professor Nalinaksha Dutt.

October 1961.

ལྷོ་མཁའ་ལྷོ་མཁའ་

The entire xylograph (637 pp: 21 inches x 4 inches) containing both lexicon and grammar parts is now presented by offset (photo-mehanic); most clear reproduction of any Tibetan xylograph ever made anywhere. A table of typographical errors etc., found in the original (xylograph), compiled by late lamented Gegan Palden Gyaltzen (Mentsikhang : Lhasa and Enchay : Gangtok) makes the present publication an improvement upon the original.

November 1962.

Notes & Topics

OBITUARY: གསལ་སྤོང་ཤེ་གྲོ་མེས་རྒྱལ་སྤོང་སྤེལ་སྐྱེ།

Lama Sal-Tong-Shva-Gom, popularly known as Gyaston Tulku, was born 63 years ago near Khyung-Po in Kham. Recognised as the incarnation of Gyaston, he entered the Dva-Phel Gompa while a child yet. The child was the inheritor of a very ancient lineage of Kargyu sect. The lineage began with the celebrated Yogi Khyung-Po who preceded by a generation, the celebrated scholar Gampopa (Dvag-Po Lhaje 1079-1153 of Christian Era). The first Tulku Sal-Tong-Shva-Gom was one of the three principal disciples of Gampopa, known as Three Men of Kham (Khampa Misum). The deceased was also the incarnation of JamPalShe-nyen (Manjusri Mitra, the Indian Siddha), SangyeYeshes (a Tantrik Siddha of the House of Nub Rig) and Tshondu Senge among others.

After his early schooling with Palpong Situ, Gyaston Tulku distinguished himself as a foremost disciple of Khentse Rimpoche who also passed away in 1959 in the same temple—the Royal Tsukla-khang. For years Gyaston Tulku practised meditation and retreated into the hermitage of Ma-Ling. He was DubPon (Master of Dub-Da) of the Yoga school in Khyung-Po. The serene and kind appearance on his face reflected the experience of the meditation of the Dhyani Buddha Amitabha (Opame), for he had accomplished in his own solitude Dung-Chur (that is, one hundred million meditation of Opame). Opame is the Dhyani Buddha of Limitless Light leading to Life Eternal. Gyaston Tulku had indeed tasted the nectar of Eternity (Amrita) for he entered into the Final or Absolute meditation on March 22 morning with absolute though quiet preparedness for the journey hereafter. His figure in the posture of Vajra Dhara remained in meditation for 48 hours or more before he was embalmed.

Gyaston Tulku had come to Sikkim following the trail of Khentse Rimpoche and the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology was fortunate in enlisting his scholarship for the then new project. The project was undoubtedly new for the whole world for it was an exclusive assignment

for Northern Buddhist studies recorded in Tibetan language. His services were readily forthcoming not only for scholarly dissertations but also for routine cataloguing of collections. He was of great help in the matter of publication, though with his true modesty he desired his name not to be publicised. One such publication which does not bear his name but which earned credit for the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology was the verification of the original version of RED ANNALS. Besides research scholars interested in Khampa dialect as well as Kargyu tradition much profited from his advice.

In 1966 he fell ill rather seriously. Modern medical diagnosis was that it was the effect of excessive breathing exercises and inadequate nourishment forced by the diet habits and fastings of the Yogi. He was very ill indeed and he was apprehensive whether his vow to do a pilgrimage to ancient shrines of Nepal would be possible. That desire was fulfilled in December 1969—February 1970. He made extensive rounds of pilgrimage and performed Tongcho (Sahasra Puja) in which he made charities which clearly suggested that he was renouncing all the desires and treasures of this mundane world. On the eve of entering the Final Meditation he expressed to the Chogyal Chempo his last desire, that is, how the body should be cremated and where cremated, who would perform the cremation rites and how his scriptures, images and such objects be distributed and among whom? In compliance with his Testament, the body was taken to Tashiding for cremation and for the enshrinement of the relics into a Chorten in the neighbourhood of the Chorten containing the relics of Khentse Rimpoche.

Gyaston Tulku's passing away is mourned by innumerable admirers who found in him a good friend in their own lives. The Namgyal Institute of Tibetology has lost a friend and a counsellor. The President and members of the General Council mourn an irreparable loss. I take this opportunity to record my own acknowledgements to a saintly teacher.

Nirmal C. Sinha

WHAT IS VAJRA ?

The Sanskrit form Vajra (or its Tibetan form Rdo-rje) has been all along rendered as Thunderbolt in English. That Thunderbolt is not a fully satisfactory translation has been however admitted and as explanatory the word Adamant has been used. Vide Anagarika Govinda: *Foundations of Tibetan Mysticism* (London 1959) and D.L. Snellgrove: *Hevajratantra* (London 1959). As Vajra is an object as adamantine as Adamant this explanatory has been found satisfactory by Sanskritists. Recently an eminent scholar has introduced a coinage, namely, Powerbolt. Several English reading Lamas object to the construction Powerbolt since Thunder, and not Bolt, is the essence of Thunderbolt. Some contributions from Tibetan context are expected for *Bulletin of Tibetology*. For the non-specialist reader of this *Bulletin* I seek to preface the discussion with a historical note from Sanskrit/Indic context.

The concept of Vajra is early Vedic. It is the weapon of Indra which could prevail upon or destroy the mightiest adversary of the Devas. It was described to be made of stone and alternately of iron. Kalyan Kumar Ganguly, Calcutta University, suggests that this marks the transition from stone to metal. The essence of the weapon was thus its hardness, that is, its adamantine attribute. The shape or form of the weapon is obscure. The wonder of Vajra being in its attribute, the image did not matter in rituals. So in iconography the weapon of the Weather God, as Indra was in a stage of evolution, was thunder or thunderbolt as in current imagery. The missile was drawn in various forms: discus, bar, two transverse bars, spike or spear with three or five prongs. Gopinatha Rao: *Elements of Hindu Iconography* (Madras 1914/Delhi 1968) and J.N. Banerjea: *Development of Hindu Iconography* (Calcutta 1956) may be seen.

Originating as a weapon for destruction Vajra came to be prized as a talisman for protection e.g. a stone which baffled evaluation or adequate description. This imagery was carried into stipulations about Brahman or Absolute. In Katha Upanishad (2-3-2) Brahman is likened to Vajra. The relevant words may be rendered into English as "a thunderbolt uplifted" (Aurobindo), "the upraised thunderbolt" (Radhakrishnan), or "a poised thunderbolt" (Nikhilananda).

In Buddhism, the attainment of Bodhi by Sakya Prince, Gautama Siddhartha, was described as attainment of Vajra which is same as Ratna or Mani. The seat under the Bodhi Tree came to be called Vajrasana. Meanwhile the Mani or shining stone, which can cut asunder similar

shining objects but cannot itself be cut, was found; that was diamond. Thus in Buddhism Vajra came to be equated with diamond. In Tibet, diamond is described in hybrid phrase as Rdo-rje Phalam (fruit of thunder). In Buddhism also the shape of Vajra was not so important as its import, that is, its adamantine attribute. The form which Vajra took in Mahayana iconography bears, in my submission, distinct Graeco-Roman imprint. I would not press this point as the description "bolt" is wide enough to apply to any of the known shapes of Vajra as weapon. Besides, bolt is not the essence of thunderbolt as Rupa is not the essence of Vajra.

Secondly, the attribute symbolized by Vajra is not Power. Power may be Sakti or Bala, each Sanskrit word having its equivalent in Tibetan. In Tibetan Vajra is Rdo-rje, that is, the lord of stone or precious stone. In Tibetan, as in Sanskrit, Sakti or Bala is used in special restricted sense and is not used as the attribute of Vajra.

In Buddhism, that is, in Mahayana, Vajra symbolized the attribute Sunyata. The treatise *Advayavajrasangraha* says:

"Sunyata is designated as Vajra because it is firm and sound, and cannot be changed, cannot be pierced, cannot be penetrated, cannot be burnt and cannot be destroyed". (trans. Bhattacharyya)

Nirmal C. Sinha

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