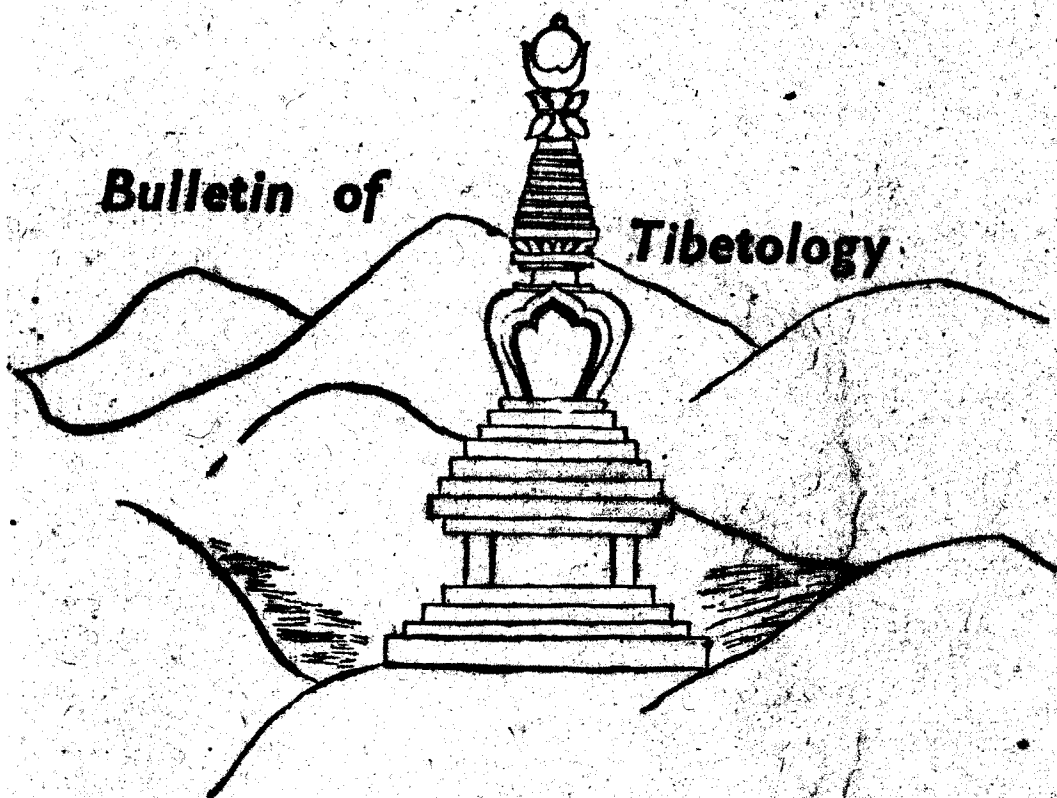


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GANGTOK, SIKKIM**

—The Bulletin of Tibetology seeks to serve the specialist as well as the general reader with an interest in this field of study. The motif portraying the Stupa on the mountains suggests the dimensions of the field—

EDITORS

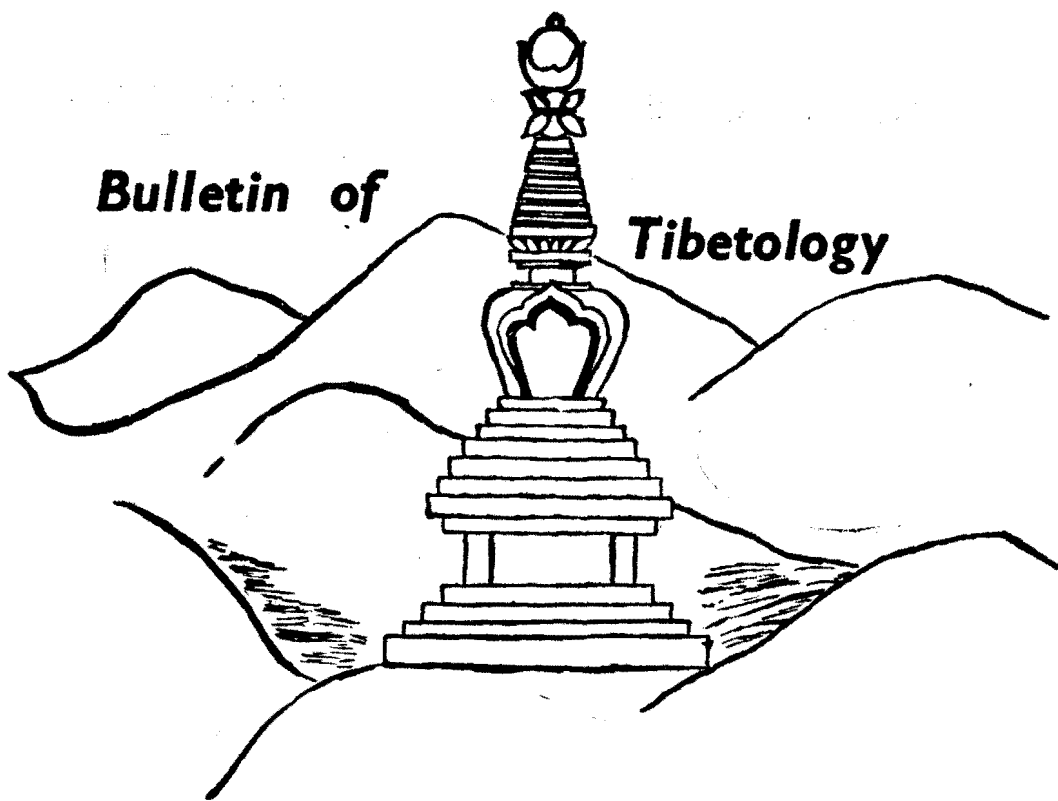
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Vyañjanabhakti, AND IRREGULARITIES IN THE TIBETAN VERB

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 *cā-vālá* in Hindi 'cā---garm---garmcā', 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 *tūn*, '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, ŷig 'be ruined'; 'dzug, ŷugs, im. ŷugs 'go in'; 'tsho, sos, im. sos '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	'dzig destroy	'dzugs plant	'dzug enter
(g)zags	bzig	zug	ŷugs. 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)ཟ-;

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 གཟེད བཟེད
- 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 (འཛེགས, 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', *btsun*, *zun* བཟུས, ཟུས '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 འཛེངས, གཟེང '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- འཛ, which is a *vyañjanabhakti* spelling, replaced, at least for the nine verbs with alternating forms in 'dz- and (g/b)z-, by *'z- འཛ-, with the result that, for example, 'dzag and 'dzin (འཛག, འཛིན) would be spelt *'zag and *'zin (*འཇག, *འཇིན), 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)
*འཇག	(ག)ཇགས	གཇག ;	*འཇིན	(ན)ཇུང	གཇུང	ཇུང (ས)

In my analysis I have attributed a nasal-and-affricate value to the initial group 'dz- འཛ-; 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- འཛ-as the *vyañjanabhakti* form of what is to be regarded structurally as *'z- འཛ-. 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. *ram-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- འཛ- 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', *zal* 'dzum' 'smile', *skas-* 'dzeg' 'ladder' (རྩ་འཛིན་, ར་ལ་འཛུམ་, སྐམ་འཛེག་); 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-འཛེ-', Golok has a nasal-and-fricative pronunciation [mz-], not nasal-and-affricate (*[mdz-]), corresponding to the initial group *mdz-*འཛེ- of the spelling; e.g. [mz-] *mdzo* འཛེ་ 'yak' (hybrid).

It may be that syllables spelt with 'dz-འཛེ-' (and *mdz-*འཛེ-) 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-འཛེ-' between nasal and affricate and nasal and fricative, it is evident that adopting an alphabetic scheme of the Sanskrit type, the *varṇa samānanyā*, for Tibetan has had the effect of widely separating the affricate [dz] from the fricative [z]; for *dza* ཅ in that scheme is grouped with *tṣa* and *tṣha* (ཅ, ཅ་), and separated from *za* ཇ, which is grouped with *ṣa*, *ṣha*, and *ya* (ཁ, ཁ་, ལ). 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-འཛེ' as **dz-* *འཛེ-.

The same sort of symbolization could be extended to forms currently written with initial groups *mdz-*འཛེ- and *rdz-*རྩེ-, e.g. *mdzad* 'do', *mdza* 'love', *rdzi* 'press', *rdzogs* 'be finished' (འཛེད་, འཛེལ་, རྩི་, རྩོག་) which would then be spelt **mzad*, *mza*, *rzi*, and *rzogs* (*འཛེད་, འཛེལ་, རྩི་, རྩོག་). 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 - 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' (རྫོང་, ལྷོང་), 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- ལ་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་(ལ་)-འ་), and ལ་འ་ལོག་.

Since, however, the corresponding spelling to this Balti initial sound group is not *lz-ལ་འ- but zl-ལ་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-ལ་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. (སྤྱི-, སྤྱོད-, སྤྱུང-, སྤྱུང་, སྤྱུང་, སྤྱུང་), e.g. spun, sbom, stsol, sman, sna, sras, སྤྱུང་, སྤྱུང་, སྤྱུང་, སྤྱུང་, སྤྱུང་, སྤྱུང་; but there are no corresponding, and contrasting, initial groups *zp-, zb-, zts-, zm-, zn- zr-, *ལ་ལ་ལ-, ལ་ལ་ལ-, ལ་ལ་ལ-, ལ་ལ་ལ-, ལ་ལ་ལ-, ལ་ལ་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 *vyañjanabhakti* [t], where this sound group corresponds to the spelling *sl-* (cf. *zl-*), e.g. *slob/bslabs* སློབ/བསློབ་ 'teach', *slang* སྤང་ 'raise', *sleb* སྤེབ་ 'reach'.¹⁴ I should then wish to treat these and other examples of *sl-* as better spelt with **ls-* *ལས-, e.g. **lsab*, **lsang*, **lseb* (ལསབ་, ལསང་, ལསེབ་). Although at first sight **lts-* *ལཱ་ might seem a more appropriate symbolization of such forms as these, especially since *lts-* occurs in the orthography as an initial group, e.g. *ltsags* ལཱ་གས་ 'iron', for which the corresponding *Balti* initial is [hlts-], a close parallel to [hlts-], the proposed initial group **ls-* *ལས- avoids symbolizing the *vyañjanabhakti* [t] and therefore seems to me to be preferable (cf. the corresponding analysis of 'tsh- འཇ་ as 's- འས- in section (d)).

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

འཇ་, འཇ་, འཇ་, འཇ་, and འཇ་

A detailed account of the relations of 'dz- and rdz- (འཇ་, འཇ་) (and a potential *ldz-?) with z-, gz-, and bz- (ཟ་, གཟ་, བཟ་) 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'- འཇ- and some other form, past,

future, or imperative, with initial \dot{z} - or containing \dot{z} - in an initial group $g\dot{z}$ - or $b\dot{z}$ - (ཁཱ་, ཁཱ་—); e.g.

- | | | | |
|------|--|------------------|-------------|
| i. | present: $\dot{d}z\dot{a}g$ | འཇག་ | establish |
| | other: $\dot{z}ags$ | ཁག་ | |
| ii. | present: $\dot{d}z\dot{o}$ (imp. $\dot{d}z\dot{o}s$) | འཇ་ (འཇ་མ་) | milk |
| | other: $\dot{b}z\dot{o}$ | འཇ་ | |
| iii. | present: $\dot{d}z\dot{a}l$ (imp. $\dot{d}z\dot{o}l$) | འཇལ་ (འཇལ་) | weigh, etc. |
| | other: $g\dot{z}al$ | ཁཱལ་ | |
| iv. | present: $\dot{d}z\dot{i}g$ | འཇག་ | destroy |
| | other: $b\dot{z}ig, g\dot{z}ig$ | ཁཱིག་, ཁཱིག་ | |
| v. | present: $\dot{d}z\dot{o}g$ | འཇག་ | put |
| | other: $b\dot{z}og, g\dot{z}og, \dot{z}og$ | ཁཱག་, ཁཱག་, རྩག་ | |

For some of their forms others of the fourteen verbs go outside the four types of initial considered here, $\dot{d}z$ -, \dot{z} -, $b\dot{z}$ -, and $g\dot{z}$ -, and have forms in $b\dot{t}s$ -, $t\dot{s}h$ -, and $(b)\dot{s}$ - (བཅ་-, ཅ་-, (བ་) ཀ་-). Six have a perfect form in $b\dot{t}s$ -, three have imperatives in $t\dot{s}h$ -, and one has an imperative in $(b)\dot{s}$ -. All of these spellings except $(b)\dot{s}$ - 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: $\dot{d}z\dot{o}r/g\dot{z}\dot{o}r$ འཇར་/ཁཱར་ 'hoe'.

I take $\dot{d}z$ - འཇ- to represent a homorganic nasal-and-affricate group, just as I did in the case of $\dot{d}z$ - 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. $\dot{d}z\dot{a}m$ འཇམ་ [ndz-] 'soft'.¹⁴ I have never observed an alternative sequence comprising homorganic nasal and fricative ($*[\dot{n}z]$) for initial $\dot{d}z$ - (but compare section (a), $\dot{d}z$ -), though such a sequence would not be un-welcome.

Initial \dot{z} - ཁ- I interpret as fricative, whether single or grouped, in $b\dot{z}$ - and $g\dot{z}$ - (ཁཱ་-, ཁཱ་-); and, as in the case of z - ར- 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 ($[\dot{s}]$), in low-tone syllables; but voicing ($[\dot{z}]$), in former times, is supported by $[\dot{z}]$ in the Skardu dialect of Balti in such words as $\dot{z}u$ 'request',

zing 'field', and *zon* 'mount', and by Sikkimese too, though only where the corresponding spelling is a group, *gź-* or *bź-* (གḡ- ḡḡ-).¹⁵

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

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 *'dź-ḡ-* but as **'z'-ḡḡ-*. 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:

<i>*'zāg</i> ;	<i>zags</i>	<i>*'zōg</i>	<i>bzāg</i>	<i>gzāg</i>	<i>zōg</i>
*ḡḡḡḡ;	ḡḡḡḡ	*ḡḡḡḡ	ḡḡḡḡ	ḡḡḡḡ	ḡḡḡḡ

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 *'dź-ḡ-*. In that case *'dź-ḡ-* 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 **'z-* 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 *mdź-*, *rdź-*, or *ldź-* (ḡḡḡ-ḡḡ-, ḡḡḡ-) as *mź-*, *rź-*, or *lź-* respectively (ḡḡḡ-, ḡḡḡ-, ḡḡḡ-), though here again, as I stated for *mdz-* and *rdz-* (ḡḡḡ-, ḡḡḡ-) 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 **[mdź-]*, *[rdź-]*, and *[ldź-]* as *vyañjanabhakti*, and symbolizing such syllables as, for example, *mdźal* 'meet', *rdže* 'barter', and *ldźid* 'weight'

as *mzal, *rže, and *lžid (མཐལ, རེ, ལའིད).¹⁶ If I had taken this course, there would no longer be any syllables spelt with the initial groups mdž-, 'dz-, rdž-, and ldž-, but only those now spelt with the single initial letter dž-ཇ-; e.g. dža ཇ 'tea', džo-bo ཇ་བོ 'elder brother', džag-pa ཇག་པ་ 'robber'.

c. 'tsh- alternating with s-, gs-, and (b)s-
འཇ་— ,, ,, ས་, གས་, and (བ)ས་—

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-, གས-) that contain it, in other forms:

- | | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------|---------|
| i. present: 'tshab | འཇམ་ | repay |
| other: tshabs/bsabs, bsab | ཇམས་/བསམས, གསམ་ | |
| ii. present: 'tsho | འཇ་ | live |
| other: sos | ས་ | |
| iii. present: 'tsho | འཇ་ | nourish |
| other: (b)sos, gso | (བ)སས་, གས་ | |

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 ས 'ground', for example, is [sa], and that of gsum གལུམ '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- *འས-.

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 *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* མཚ་.

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-*; རཇ-, རཇ-, ལཇ-) 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*,

*ཨམབ་ མཚབ་/བམམབ་ བམམབ་; *འཚོ (བ)ཚོས་ གཚོ

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

འཇ- ,, ,, ག- and བག-

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

i. 'present: *'tshar* འཇར rise

other: *śar* གར

ii. present: *'tshad* འཇད explain

other: *bsad*, *sod* བགད, རྟད

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

present: *'tshol* འཇལ entrust

other: *btsol*, *gzol* '(?)' བཅལ, གཙལ

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)*ś-* alternation (འཇ-, (བ)ག-) is parallel to that of *'tsh-* and *ś-* (section (c)), even to the alternation of aspiration (*'tsh*-འཇ-) in the present form with non-aspiration ((b)*ś-*(བ)ག-) in the other forms, the aspiration feature being bound to nasality here too. I therefore take

'tsh- to be a *vyañjanabhakti* 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:

*'sar śar; *śad bśad śod
 *a-ṣar ṣar; *a-ṣad bṣad ṣod

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

e. 'dr- alternating with r- and (b)sr-
 ṛḍ ,, ,, ṛ- and (ṛ)ṣ-

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

i. present:	'drul	ṛḍṣ	rot
other:	drul, rul;	ṛḍṣ, ṣṣ;	

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

The spelling-style and reading style pronunciations of 'dr-ṛḍ- 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 ṛḍṣ is treated as incorporating a *vyañjanabhakti* [-d-], symbolized as -d-; I should therefore wish to regularize this verb as with present *'rul *ṛḍṣ and past form *rul* ṛḍṣ (also *drul* ṛḍṣ). It must be admitted, though, that this one example is a very slender basis on which to apply the *vyañjanabhakti* concept; it has, however, some support from an association of 'dr- ṛḍ- with r-ṛ- of a rather different type from that used in sections (a) -(d).

In those four earlier sections present forms in 'dz-, 'dž-, 'tsh-, and 'tsh- (ṛḍ-, ṛḍ-, ṛḍ-, ṛḍ-), and in this section a present form in 'dr-, ṛḍ-, were associated with some other form, past, future, or imperative, spelt with either a single initial z-, ž-, s-, or ś-, and, in this section, r-, (ṛ-, ṛ-, ṛ-, ṛ-; ṛ-), 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	ཤྲེ་	བཤྲེས་	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 *vyañjanabhakti*, and therefore structurally equivalent to* 'r- *འར-; the verb forms in (ii) and (iii) above would then appear as:

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

iii. intrans. *'re(s) *འརེ(ས); trans. (b)sre(s) (པ)ཤྲེ(ས);

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

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: *ts'*-, *ts'*-, *š'* to *tsh*-, *tsh*-, and *'*- respectively (♣-, ♣-, ♣-).

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*-, *j'*-, and *ž*- respectively, *dz*-, *dž*-, and *ž*- (♣-, ♣-, ♣-).

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-]; *spyen-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 Rimpoche, 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 Shalti 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 [z] in *b'zag* 'put', *b'zugs* 'sit', but [s-] in *žu* 'request', *žon* 'ride'.
16. I have asterisked [mdž-] as being conjectural only, this is because, in spite of the occurrence of *mdž* 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 *mdžal* 'meet', pronounced not with labial nasality ([*mdž-]) but with homorganic nasality ([ṁdž-]). The other two examples here, though, are supported by Golok [rdže:] and Balti [ldžit], in each of which I take the [-d-] to be *vyāñjanabhakti*.

༄༅ ། རྒྱལ་ལྷུང་མཚོག་གཉིས། །

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-bodhi* 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་གྲུབ་སའོན་ (alias: བཟུན་སྒྲུབ་) the compiler of lexicon-cum-grammar entitled རིགས་པར་སྦྱར་བ་རྩེའི་སྒྲན་དང་གངས་ཅན་པའི་

བདེའ་ཤན་སྦྱར་བ་བྲི་བུལ་ནོར་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་སྦྱར་དང་མིང་འཁྲུང་ལག་ཁེན་ or rules from Kalapa Vyakarana for euphonic combination (*Sandhi*) and declension (*Vibhakti*) of words (pages, 271-319), in the following words : རིགས་པར་སྦྱར་བའི་གཞུང་ལུགས་སྟེན་

པའི་སྦྱ་མདོ་ཆེན་པོ་བཞུད་ལ་སོགས་པའི་བཟེད་བྲིའི་སྦྱང་པོ་བསྐྱུས་པ། འཕགས་

བོད་ཀྱི་སྦྱོངས་སུ་བདེའ་སྟོད་ཀ་ཅན་གཉིས་ཞེས་ཉི་མཱ་ལྷན་གྲགས་པའི་ཡ་གྲུལ།

“The *Kalapa* and *Candra Vyakarana*s 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:

གཞུང་
འདི་ཉིད་ལུ་ལ་དབུས་སོགས་སུ་དར་སྤོང་ཆེ་ཞིང་། ཐོག་སར་གཞུང་འདི་ལ་ཞུགས་
ནས་བཞེད་ཀྱི་ཙམ་སོགས་ལ་འཇུག་པ་ཡིན་ནི་ཞུགས་གྲགས་ཡིང་།

“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, *Anubhūtiśvarupacārya* made use of the *Vyākaraṇa Sūtra* of Ka-Tsan (i.e. Kalapa and Candra) in composing *Sarasvati-Prakriyā* also shows that, this grammar is of third category. The author states that, Acārya wrote this grammar under goddess Sarasvatī’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
 སྒྲི་བསྟན་བཅོས་ནས་བཤད་འོད་ཟེར་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 Candrayakaranas.

According to this work Pandita Balabhadra and Krishnamisra
 met Teranatha 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་ལྷོངས་འདིར་བས་ཟེ་བརྒྱ་དྲ་བ་ལ་བླ་བ་

དང་གྱི་ལྷོ་མི་གྲ་དག་གིས་ཟེ་ནང་ཆེ་བཅུན་ལ་འཇེལ་ནས་མདོ་དང་རབ་བྱེད་བོད་སྐད་
 དུ་བསྒྱུར་ཅིང་ཆེ་བཅུན་དས་པས་འབྲེལ་བའང་མཐའ་ཆོད་པར་མཛད།

Later during the period of the Fifth Dala Lama (ཕྱག་ན་བདུ་ལྷ་པ་
 ཆེན་པོ་འདྲ་ཏུས་) 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 བཞིཨ་ཐུག་པའི་ or བྱ་བ་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 Anubhūtiśvarupacārya 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’ *ཐུབ་མཐའ་རིན་ཆེན་འབྲུང་* dealing 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 *Sarasvatī-Prakriyā* composed by the illustrious Parivrajaka Paramahansa Acārya Anubhūtiśvarupa”.

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 *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 *འཁྲིལ་པ་* (རབ་ཏུ་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་རྩོམ་པ་འགན་ཁུར་གྱི་མཆོ་* who was vastly

learned in both *Kalapa* and *Candra-vyākaraṇa* systems. Myself hGyur-med tshe-dbang-nchog-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, *ཆོངས་ལྷན་པའི་ཁྱེད་ལྷན་འཛིན་པ་*

མེད་ལེན་པའི་གྱུ་མཆོ་འི་ལྷ་, 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 (*ཀམ་ཐོག་རྩོམ་པ་*) in a

forest retreat for meditation known as Yang-dben-byang-chub-shing (ཡང་དབེན་བྱང་ཐུབ་ཤིང་) in the hours of break. The scribes were the inspirers, Dorje Zinpa himself and རབ་འབྱུང་མས་པ་པ་མཐོག་མཐོག་མཐོག་

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

ས་པ་རི་ཁྱེ་ལྟུ་ འཕྱོ་མཛེ་ལ་ རྒྱ་ལྟུ་མ་ལྟུ་
 सर्वदिक्कालेषु शुभंमङ्गलनाभासाप्तुं ।

“Although there are many obscure points in the text, my pupil རབ་ལྟུ་ རབ་འབྱུང་མས་ལྟུ་པ་ལེན་རྒྱུང་ས་ལྟུ་ལྟུ་མཐོག་མཐོག་མཐོག་ has thoroughly checked the text on the basis of *Kalapa* and *Candra-Vyakarana* and *Amarakosa* and so on.”

སེམས་པ་ལྟུ་ ॥

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 Anubhūtiśvarūpa the author of *Sarasvati-Prakriya*; its utility and local celebrity.
- (ii) Brahmin Pandita Balabhadra and Krishnamisra meeting Taranatha and translation of Anubhūtiśvarūpa'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-सप्त**

सिद्धा-चन्द्रिका

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 Anubhutiśvarupacarya 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 सरस्वतीप्रोक्तसूत्रसप्तशतं 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 Anubhutiśvarupacarya 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. **देवदत्त-सिद्धा-चन्द्रिका**

ཕུག་འཕགས་མ་དབང་ས་ཅན་མས་གནས་ལུ་རིག་པའི་སྒྲིབ་དཔོན་ཆེན་པོ་ཨ་ཁུ་རྩུ་ཏི་
ས་རྩུ་པ་ཕྱེ་ཟེས་སུ་འབྱོར་པ་རང་བཞིན་བཟང་པོ་ལ་དངོས་སུ་སྦྱེལ་བའི་བད་སྒྲིབ་པའི་
བསྟན་བཅོས་ཆེན་པོ་དབང་ས་ཅན་གྱི་ཀ་ར་ཏེ་ཞེས་གྲགས་པའི་གཞུང་།

(འདས་བ། དབང་ས་ཅན་སྒྲིབ་ཀ་ Fol. 1. NIT)

སྒྲིབ་དཔོན་ཨ་ཁུ་རྩུ་ཏི་ས་རྩུ་པ་ཞེས་སུ་འབྱོར་པ་རང་བཞིན་ལ་འཕགས་མ་
དབང་ས་ཅན་མས་དངོས་སུ་བསྦྱེལ་བའི་ལེ་ཤ་པར་སྦྱར་བའི་སྒྲིབ་བསྟན་བཅོས་འདི།

(འགྱུར་མེད་ཆོ་དབང་མཆོག་གྲགས། སྒྲ་མ་དོ། Fol. 2bNIT)

Main contention of both of them is that, Anubhūtisvarupacarya was personally favoured by goddess Sarasvati in the composition of this grammar. As Darva Lotsava described the Acarya's name as ཟེས་སུ་འབྱོར་པ་རང་

བཞིན་བཟང་པོ་ in Sanskrit the name should be rendered as अनुभूतिस्वरूप-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 *Krishnabhakta* and *Taranatha* (Tanjur Catalogue No.4423, Vol. རོ་) 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 *Purvardha* and the *Uttarardha*, the first dealing with *Subanta* or declension, and second *Tinanta* or conjugation, *Krdanta* or verbal prefixes. The author Govindacarya 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 Anubhutiśvarupacārya. 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 Acārya's birth place. The Adyar Catalogue (Vol.VI) presumes Anubhutiśvarupacārya 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་ལུ་མ་རྩོ་ཕྱགས་མ་ར་ཏའི་ཡུལ་དུ་བྱས་ཆེ་གཙང་མའི་རིགས་སུ་འབྱུངས་
བའི་སློབ་དཔོན་ཨ་རུ་ཁྱུ་ཏི་ས་རུ་བ་ཞེས་ཆེས་སུ་འབྱོར་བ་རང་བཞིན་

(སྟེ་མ་རྩོ་; Fol. 2 b.) i.e.

“Acārya 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་རྩོ་སློབ་དཔོན་ཆེས་སུ་

འབྱོར་བ་རང་བཞིན་གྱི་སྐུར་བའི་མཆོ་ལྷན་མའི་རབ་དུ་བྱེད་པ་ཕྱགས་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 Anubhutiśvarupacārya 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 *Sarasvatapraakriya*.

3) That he was the author of some more works, namely-
1. *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 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 འགྲུར་མེད་ཆོ་དབང་མཆོག་གྲུབ་ངེས་དོན་བཟུན་ འཕེལ་ and the name he received from his Acarya ཚངས་ལྷན་བཞད་པའི་ཁྱོད་ལྷན་འཛིགས་མེད་ལེགས་བཤད་ཀྱི་མཆོའི་ཞེ་ are already described. The author describes himself and his patron thus: འདི་ཉིད་ལྷ་མོ་ ལས་བྱེད་འདོད་ཀྱི་ཀྱ་ཙམ་ཡིད་ལ་གནས་པའི་ཁར་ཉི་ཆར་ཀ་ཙན་ལ་སྦྱངས་པ་མཐར་ སོན་པའི་དགེ་སློང་དོ་རྗེ་འཛིན་པ་ངག་དབང་གྱི་མཆོ་ནན་དན་ཆེན་ངོས་བརྒྱལ་པས་ ཀྱིན་བྱས་དེ། དུས་གསུམ་མཐུན་པ་ཨོ་གུན་གྱི་སློབ་དཔོན་ཆེན་པོ་པདྨ་སྒྲ་མ་ལ་གྱི་ མཆོན་ཤེས་ནས་དད་པ་ཐོབ་པ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྗེ་ཀུན་གྱི་པའི་འབངས་ཀྱི་ཡང་ཐ་རྒྱུད་བཅ་ གན་པོ་ཧམ་གྲུར་མེད་ཆོ་དབང་མཆོག་གྲུབ་ངེས་དོན་བཟུན་འཕེལ་ལས་ཧམ་སློབ་དཔོན་ ཀྱིས་བཏགས་པའི་ཐ་སྣང་དུ་ཚངས་ལྷན་བཞད་པའི་ཁྱོད་ལྷན་འཛིགས་མེད་ལེགས་ བཤད་ཀྱི་མཆོའི་ཞེ་ཞེས་བཀྱི་པས་སྒྲ་ཆོར་གྱི་ལོ་གྲོ་བཞིན་ཅན་གྱི་ཡར་ཆོས་ལ་དབལ་ ཀུན་གྱི་ལོ་རྗེ་གདན་གྱི་ཡང་དབེན་བྱང་རྒྱུ་ཤིང་གི་ནགས་ཁྲོད་ཀྱི་གྲུབ་ཁང་དུ་བྱུན་

མཚམས་ནམས་སུ་གྲུབ་པར་བགྱིས་པའི་ཡི་གེ་པ་ནི་བསྐྱལ་པ་པོ་ཉིད་རང་རབ་
 འབྲས་པ་བསོད་ནམས་མཚོག་ལྷན་གཉིས་ཀྱི་འདུས་བགྱིས་པས་

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

མང་དུ་འདུག་པ་ནམས་ཀྱ་ཙན་དང་འཆི་མེད་མཚོ་མོའི་ཀྱི་གཞུང་ལ་བཞེན་ནས་རང་
 གི་སློབ་མ་བཞེས་པར་འབྲས་སྐྱེ་བ་འཇམ་དབྱངས་ལྷོ་གྲོས་མཚོག་འཛིན་གྱིས་
 ཞུས་དག་པེགས་པར་བགྱིས་པས་མཐོ་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: སྤྲུང་

རབ་བྱུང་འཇུག་སྐྱུས་པའི་སྤྱོད་ལྷན་གནས་ལོ་གསར་ཆོས་སྐབས་ཡུལ་བ་ཀུན་གྱི་
 མཚོག་སྤྱུལ་འགྱུར་མེད་ཆོད་བང་མཚོག་གྲུབ་ནམས་ཀྱི་གཟིགས་པའི་ཆོད་དུ་མཐུག་
 བསྐྱེ་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 hlu-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་

ཀྱི་ལོ་གྱོ་བཞིན་ཅན་གྱི་ཡར་ཆེས་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 ཀྱི་ཐོག་

མཆོག་སྤྱུང་འགྲུར་མེད་ཆོ་དབང་མཆོག་གུལ་ 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་ཚེ་གསུམ་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་

གྲོ་ཆ་ཐུབ་བཟུན་ལང་ཆོའི་མྱེ་ knew a half composed but authentic and terse translation by ལྷ་མཐོང་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་དྲུ་ཅིན་པོ་ཆོ་ 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 སྤུལ་མཐུན་རིན་ཆེན་
འབྱུང་།

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 *Candrayyakarana* is certainly earlier than the *Kashika* of Jayaditya and Vamana; for *Kashika* appropriates without acknowledgement thirty-five original Sūtras 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 Vṛtti which pays homage to Sarvajña. 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-
hīptasara 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 Anubhutiśvarupa's work in Tibet down to the nineteenth century. The present author's eulogy identifies Sarasvati with Sher-phyin-yum or Prajnaparamita.

དུས་གསུམ་གྱི་ཀུན་བསྐྱེད་མཛད་ཤིང་ཕྱིན་ཕུམ།

སྒྲ་དབྱངས་གྱི་མཛོ་ལས་འབྱུངས་དབྱངས་ཅན་རྒྱ།

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་བླ་ཀར་ཆ་སྒྲ་བ་ཡིན་པར་བཤིང་བ་གྲགས་ཀྱང་ལྷ་ཕུམ་དུ་བྱུང་སྒྲ་བ་ཡིན་པར་
 རྟོགས་ཀྱང་། འཕགས་པའི་ཕུམ་དུ་བྱུང་བ་སྒྲ་བ་ནི་མ་ཡིན་ཏེ་འཁོ་དུ་འཆད་དོ།
 བཤིང་ཕུམ་དུ་འགྱུར་བའི་ཨིན་བླ་ཀར་ཆ་འི་པ་ཆི་བ་དང་མཐུན་ལ། ཀ་ལ་པ་བླ་ཀར་ཆ་
 ནི་ཨིན་པའི་ཕུགས་དང་མཐུན་ནོ།

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 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-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 Nirṇaya* "अतएव जीवनाथद्वैतनिर्णये इतिपदसमभिव्याहारात्म-पदार्थमां बाधितत्वादित्युक्तम्"

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-nirṇaya* (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་སི་རུ་

རིན་པོ་ཆེས་པ་རྒྱ་ཏེ་ཁྱབ་འཇུག་བདག་པོ་ལས་དཀའ་གནས་རྣམས་གསལ་ནི་”

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

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

(འཕྱུག་པའི་རྒྱ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ཀློང་པ་) commentary on *Amarakosha*, Subhucicandra's

commentary on *Amarakosha*, *Nanarthakosha* of Medinikara (འཛིན་མང་

གི་མཛུགས་པའི་རྒྱ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ཀློང་པ་) 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, སྤྱི་འཕྱུག་པའི་རྒྱ་ཁྱེད་ 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 (sabdasasra) 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.

ཏེ་པ་ལོར་མཉམ་པའི་ཡིན་པའི་གོ་ བཟུང་ལོན་གྱི་ཏེ་ཅོད།

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 Tibetan script followed by Tibetan rendering.

सौपथः शास्त्राज् प्रतिनमितयोगं तपे शाक्यकेतुः ।

[illegible]

དཔག་ཡས་འགྲོ་ལ་འཇགས་པའི་ལམ་གང་ཞོན་པ་རྒྱ་མེད་གྲུའི་རྟེན་

वाग्वज्राचार्यं विलिल कुलिशानां प्रभुः पद्मराजा ।

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ।

གཞུང་གི་རྒྱུ་རྐྱེན་དཔེ་ཆ་འཕྲུལ་བའི་མཁས་ཀྱི་བདག

माभैत्सीद्वाभ्यं मलशुधि गुरोरुत्तमं पादरेणू ।

[illegible]

གང་དག་དབྱེར་མེད་མཆོག་གི་ཐུ་མཐི་ཞབས་རྒྱལ་གྱི་མ་དག་བྱེད་ཅིང་།

श्रीकोद्याकार्य्यं कुलशशिरसापुजनानन्द हर्षिः ।

ཕྱི་ལོ་བཅུ་གསུམ་། ཀྲུང་གི་ཤིང་ས་ཡུའོ་ན་ན་ན་ ན་ཏེ།

དཔལ་ལྷན་བགྲིས་བྱེ་བའི་འབྲུང་གནས་ཀུན་ནས་དཔལ་ལྷན་གཙུག་གིས་མཆོད།

SOME PUBLICATIONS
FROM
NAMGYAL INSTITUTE OF TIBETOLOGY



PRAJNA or the famous Sanskrit-Tibetan Thesaurus-cum-Grammar was compiled by Tenzing Gyaltsen, 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 Prof. Nalinaksha Dutt.

October 1961.



The entire xylograph (637 pp: 21 inches x 4 inches) containing both lexicon and grammar parts is now presented by offset (photo-mechanic); 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 Gagan Palden Gyaltsen (Mentsikhang : Lhasa and Enchay : Gangtok) makes the present publication an improvement upon the original.

November 1962.

Notes & Topics

OBITUARY: གསལ་སྟོང་ཤལ་གློ་མ་གྱུ་ལྟོན་སྤུ་སྤུ།

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 1107-1153 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 JamPalShesnyen (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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