STUDY OF SANSKRIT GRAMMAR IN TIBET

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Cultivation of Sanskrit literature in Tibet, for more than a thousand years, commencing with the great religious kings is a well known fact. Lost treasures of Sanskrit literature are recovered from the most faithful and yet idiosyncratic 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 Nangyal Institute of Tibetology, Sikkim.

Title of the work: SGRAB-BSTON-BCHOS-RNAM-BSHAD-HOD-ZER-BRGYA-PA; 131 leaves measuring 76”x34” each; author: HGYUR-MED-TSHE-DRANG-MCHI-HOG-GRÜ-NGES-DON-BSTAN-HPEL; place of composition: KAH-Thog-RDO-RJE-GDAN; composed in 14th RAB-BOURING.

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 Sanshitas and Brahmanas. For the classical form of the old language the native grammarians used the same Sanskrit, meaning—polished, cultured, correct (according to the rules of grammar), in contrast to the Prakrits 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 Astadhyayi.

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 Salabura near the modern Atak.

Yuan Ch’ung 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 Katayana. 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 Pāṇini.

The earliest among them was Kātantra which was composed by Sarvaśrman 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 Buddhist (Bereon) as Jainendra Vyakarana (c.658) among the Jains. Later the Puyaśr̥tha Hernacanda produced also for the Jain the Hamā Vyakarana.

Other works which won local acceptance were mostly of later date. The Saddhisthāvat of Kramaśūtr—was composed after 115 A.D. and was popular in western Bengal. Vidyābhadra’s Nidānakāṣhāpa and Kaudalpadvāna won great popularity in Bengal and were written after 1370 A.D. Pulumabhadra’s Sūpadra Vyakarana written about 1375 A.D. was popular in Vṛgada. Sāntānajitāpatra along with its commentary by Anbbhatavaścāpoda was popular in Magadha and Vajrayana.

Here it is interesting to refer to a Tibetan grammarian like न्यायप्रमाण (also, ग्रंथ न्यायप्रमाण) the compiler of lexicon-cum-grammar entitled शेण सुप्रकाश (same as Prajñā of 1371 A.D. published by Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, Lexicon-Dictionaries Fortin, 1984 and Xylograph Reproduction 1986). This eminent scholar categorically affirms the celebrity of Kalpa and Candra in introduction of the Shānti and last book ैण्डकिष्कु
को निर्देशक रेखाहरूको अवलोकन or rules from Kalpa Vyakarana for euphonic combination (Sanhi) and declension (Vibhuti) of words (pages 77-119), in the following words: विभुति सन्धि रेखाहरूको निर्देशक रेखाहरूको अवलोकन

"The Galpa and Candra Vyakaranas famous in Aryavarta and Tibet are the two solitary stars like the sun and moon respectively and
The author of the Sanskrit grammar under discussion also observes almost same in the following passage:  

“This text was much favoured in central and outer parts of Aryadesa. It was the tradition to study at first Saranāti vyakaranā and then to introduce Kalpā and Candra Vyakaranā”.

Keith observes “The oldest among the later grammars probably Katantra (also called Kaumara or Kalpa) certainly had much influence in Kashmir and Bengal. Originally of four books, it appears with supplements both Tibetan translation and in Durgasinda’s commentary fragments have been found in Central Asia and the Dhutapatha is extant only in the Tibetan version” (A History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 435). Tibetan tradition ascribes to Saravarman the use of the grammar of Indragomin, and the work seems to have been popular among the Buddhists in Nepal. The Candra-vyakaranā was popular in the Buddhist countries Kashmir, Tibet and Nepal and had reached Ceylon (ibid, p.435).

The above mentioned facts and the author’s observance, such as that, Anandabhasyaśāstra made use of the Vyakaranā Sutra of Ka-Tian (i.e. Kalpa and Candra) in composing Saranati-Pradnya also shows that this grammar is of third category. The author states that, Anavāya wrote this grammar under goddess Saraswati’s special favour, that though concise in form it is vast in meaning, and deals with grammatical questions, such as, gender, case, etc.

Inspite of its being classed in third category, due to its compactness and easy comprehensibility it was favoured by the ancient scholars of Magadha and Varnasāi. In ancient time Magadha was the western adjunct of Vangula and therefore we may guess its popularity in Vangula also. It inevitably 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, it would be appropriate to notice the observations made by the author himself.

Just after the Prologue the author states that Acarya Ambhuti-bhadra was a Brahmin born in the country of Maharastra in south of Aryakusa. The goddess Saraswati herself favoured him with the instruction on the system of grammar celebrated after her name. Though this is abridged in form yet it is profound in meaning and deals with each subject as gender and one section by section. So this grammar is flawless, thickly-set and unambiguous. 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 Cambha-Vyakaranas.

According to this work Pandita Balabhadra and Krishnendrak met Tarantaka and rendered both the aphorisms and the dissertation of Sarasvat into Tibetan language. Tarantaka also completed his commentary on Sarasvati Vyakaran. Later during the period of the Fifth Dala Lama, LhDarva Lobsa (the translator having from Darva) with the aid of the same two Pandita translated the aphorisms and the dissertation into Tibetan. Again in later period Lhamo-gyon Situ-rin-po-che studied difficult topic of this grammar with aid of Bhaṭṭa-bhadra's work and it is said a new rendering of this 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 Anubhutisvanga-caryā because this will help them to enter into the vast literature on the subject, like Kalapa and Candra-cakran. I myself utilized a later translation of aphorisms and its dissertation, and for the obscure points I looked up the commentary of Taranatha. I have adapted several principal words from the book entitled 'Deal-
ing with declension for the utilization of the beginners, necessary cross references, above and below, are made for convenience as traditional. In short, I have endeavoured to make this commentary lucid and useful'.

At the end acknowledgement is thus made, "Here ends the Saranatā-Prabhāja composed by the illustrious Farirajaka Paramahamsa Ācārya Anubhutisvārapa).

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

The concluding folio (131) 7 says, "Thus as the copy of commentary by renowned Taranatha on Saranatā 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 Ānubhutisvārapa (ānubhutisvārapa) by Sūtra Rinpoché 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 Tilokā Vajra-yeshe who was vastly learned in both Kalapa and Candra-cakran systems. Myself lha-yur-rnal bshe-dbang-mchog-grub-rngas-don-btan-bjed being a loyal elder monk of Kah-Thong am consciously devoted to the great Ācārya of Orgyan--Padmasambhova. The name bestowed upon me by my Ācārya on the completion of my study was, Ānubhutisvārapa-ri bshe-dbang-grub-rngas-don-.btan-bjed. I wrote in 4th Rabbyung, in the phase of full-moon of twenty-second or twenty-third constellation (Gravana) corresponding to July-August at Kah-Thong Dorjeden (Kah-Thong) in a
forest retreat for meditation known as Yang-dchen-yeang-chub-ching in the hours of break. The scribes were the inspirers, Dorje Zhipa himself and the Lamas from the Monastery.

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

**Shubhavasudha**

“Although there are many obscure points in the text, my pupil has thoroughly checked the text on the basis of Kalapa and Candrapada and Amaranath and so on.”

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. These are as follow:

(i) Acarya Amblututtvarupa the author of Sarawati-Yuktena; his pupils and local celebrities.

(ii) Brahmin Pandita Bhaktivada and Krishnamitra meeting Taranatha and translation of Amblututtvarupa’s grammar.

(iii) Taranatha’s completion of the commentary on this grammar.

(iv) bDar-bu-ba’s translation of the grammar with the aid of the two Panditas during the time of 15th Dalai Lama.

(v) Sino Rinpoché’s study of this grammar with Pandita Yishupati.

(vi) Author’s acknowledgements of new translations besides recourse to Taranatha’s commentary.

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(vii) Adaptation of words of genders from रीति

(viii) The utility and value of translation of this grammar.
(ix) Author’s encouragement by Gelong dorga Zinpa eminist scholar in Kelpa and Chanka Shastar the.

(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 (Samkrit) work.

The Indian grammarians of Sarasvat school, Harishkirti (16th century), the author of “सारस्वत चित्रकृत” (vide Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS, Adyar Library, Vol. VI, No. 678) a pupil of Caudakirti, who was honoured by Shu Salem of Deoko (1542-1553 A.D.); and Ramanandrasana (1658 A.D.), the author of विशेषाधिकोष (ibid, No. 889), and the Tibetan grammarian Taranatha (1555 A.D.) Durva Loutava (contemporaries with Fifth Dalai Lama), Sita Rimpche and Gyurme chogdung chugdub the present translator all testify to अनुवादकस्यांस्यांस्या as the author of वास्तविक समस्या.

As the tradition ascribes the original sutras to the divine authorship of the goddess Saraswati; the sutras are named सारस्वतेः just as the 14 sutras in Panini’s grammar attributed to Siva are called सिद्धान्तेः. Thus Anubhativasuparacarya became the founder of Saraswata 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, vide:

विवेक ग्राम्योद्विकोषाः समस्या ।

विसृ यथेत्वेचामुदक्तं काल ।

(vide, Nos. 4419 and 4471 in the Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS of the Society Vol. vi) and by the introductory verse of the commentary called Siddhavyasa-Candra (No. 649 of Adyar Catalogue Vol. VI). The gloss contained in the Saraswata-Paksa has been ascribed to Amuthivasuparacarya to whom the original sutras are said to have been revealed by the goddess Saraswati. This has been ascertained by the statement of Durva Loutava and the present translator, रीति रीति रीति.
Main contention of both of them is that, Anuhbhistasvarupaacarya was personally favoured by goddess Saraswati in the composition of this grammar. As Darva Lobsang described the Acarya’s name as 

\[ \text{क्षेत्रते} \text{सरस्वतेन्द्रोऽग्निः} \]

in Sanskrit the name should be reordered as 

\[ \text{अनुह्योभितस्वरूपा} \] 

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

Saravata Padarya is in the form of a text with commentary, the text being in sanskrit 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 diverse Tibetan translations of Kramabhatta and Taranatha (Tanjor Catalogue No.4471, Vol. 3) Darva’s

Da Taka and Gyurme’s Da-De, have yet to be investigated from several versions reportedly exist. The work is divided into two parts namely the Patanjali and the Uttaradhi, the first dealing with Satkrama or declension, and second Pasacara or conjugation, Kramama or verbal prefixes. The author Govindacarya in his Saravata-Shastraya-Tika: Padacandita divides the work into five Adhyaayas, each containing four padas and gives the contents of each of the 20 padas thus:- 1. Sanjna, 2-5, Sandhhi, 6-9, Sukshma and 10-12, Trividhi and 10-15. Krit (vide.No. 444) of the Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit JBS, in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol.VI.

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The date of composition of Sarvatpadriya ranges over a century from 1250 AD to 1350 AD. Sanskrit scholars like Surende Das Gupta and Kuakan Raja do not mention at all the name of Anubhutivisvarupacarya. Keith while discussing the chronology of Sanskrit gymnastics merely states Anubhutivisvarup was the author of Sarasvat Prakriya with commentary (Keith; A History of Sanskrit Literature; p.413) but does not mention the Acarya's birth place. The Adyar Catalogue (Vol.VI) presumes Anubhutivisvarupacarya as an ascetic and a resident of Benaras, but we are not informed about the source of this presumption. The present translator Gyurmed Tshewang Chogdul (19th century) states:  

"Acarya Anubhutivisvarup A high Brahmin by caste was born in the country of Malakshtra in the south of Arzdea." (Fol. 2 b.) i.e.,

"is clear that the author was an ascetic."

As regards his works and disciples we know from T.M. Tripathi's introduction to Tarkasanagroha of Ananda Bajana (No.3, Cakward's Oriental Series).

1. That Anubhutivisvarupacarya was the same as the preceptor of Ananda Bajana, the author of the Tarkasanagroha.

2. That he had besides Anandadamma, another disciple called Narendrapuri alias Narendranangiri a commentator on the Sarvatpadriya.

3. That he was the author of some more works, namely—
4) That he was a contemporary of Vopadeva (1266AD), the author of Mahabharata-yayavarta. As regards Narendrapratim mentioned above, he is said to be the author of the Sarvatara Prakriya in No. 791 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 Tarkasamgrikas, as the fact is not supported by Tibetan sources.

Besides the works mentioned above one more work namely Bhagavad-gita Bhasya Tippati goes by Anubhdihisvarupa’s name. A copy is available in the Adyar Library (Bibl. Vol. VII). There are various Mss on Sarvatara Prakriya (Nos 666-68 and its different sections. One in Orissa script and in Palm leaf, others in Devanagari script on paper. Evidently this school of grammarians represent an attempt to simplify the grammar of Paniit.

(iii) 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 Bīravendraśrī Subhakṣāyaṇa Śrīmaṅgamī, the name he received from his Acarya Śri Gopāla, and the name he received from his Acarya Śrī Jayamargaya are already described. The author describes himself and his patron thus: Bhūtānām āryaṃ Śrī Gopālaśrīnaṃ acaritena pratikṣayaṃ śāstraṃ varṇyaṃ bhāṣyanti tarnādass trivallaṇam śrī saṁajitvā ca śrī Jayamargaṇāṃ prabandheyaṃ samāhāraṃ abhijñayaṃ ca kathāṃ śrī Jayamargayaṃ kṛtakārīṃ ca. Āhantu āstivahāntaṃ Śrī Gopālaśrīnaṃ Śrī Jayamargaṇāṃ bhūtānām āryaṃ ācyatām vācyena ya ca śrī Jayamargayaṃ prabandheyaṃ samāhāraṃ abhijñayaṃ ca kathāṃ śrī Jayamargayaṃ kṛtakārīṃ ca. Āhantu āstivahāntaṃ Śrī Gopālaśrīnaṃ Śrī Jayamargaṇāṃ bhūtānām āryaṃ ācyatām vācyena ya ca śrī Jayamargayaṃ prabandheyaṃ samāhāraṃ abhijñayaṃ ca kathāṃ śrī Jayamargayaṃ kṛtakārīṃ ca.
He makes an acknowledgement to his own pupil, Ḍuṅg-jeṅ-baṅgaṅ (Tibetan: འདས་དཔའི་ཐང་སྲོང་) and acknowledges his own meeting with the author of the work under discussion, Thub Lotshang-paṅ (Tibetan: རྡུག་ལོ་ཐང་བསང་). It is interesting to note that he thought the celebrated author of Prajñā (1733 A.D.), acknowledges his own meeting with the author of the work under discussion, Thub Lotshang-paṅ (Tibetan: རྡུག་ལོ་ཐང་བསང་)

(Prajña, Fol. 39a, nit.)

(iii) The place and date of composition.
The preface of the book clearly states: In this country of Tibet, Bhimān Pāṇḍita Bālbhādhra and Jhikhanmānta met Taranātha and translated both Śutra and Āṇuvṛtti of Saravatsa Vvāsaranī. It seems that Bālbhādhra and Jhikhanmānta first introduced the grammar into Tibet, while Taranātha made a commentary on it. The place of translation was obviously Tsang Monasteries in central Tibet. Then later on during the Fifth Dalai Lama’s time, Dawa Losāva translated the grammar with the aid of two Panditas, Bālbhādhra and Gokhanānandarāja. Here the present author states that the two Panditas collaborated with Dawa Losāva 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, who was blessed by his Acharya Gelong Choje Zopa, with the name of grammarian Tshang-lai Zalpoi Lobsang, in the 14th Rab Byung (1867-1867 of Christian era), in the phase of full-moon of twenty-second or twenty-third constellation (Chusum) corresponding to July-August (India) at Dpal-lha shog-odo rig gsum monastery in Kham in a forest retreat known as Yang dben (whu) 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 (i)), while the work was seen by N. N. But he has not exactly mentioned in which particular year of 13th cycle he completed his work. But the accepted date of Prajna (177) A.D. V. Rajor. N.F. Pub. 1911, p. Foreword, IX) and present author’s reference of date Gnyen brgyud 14th Rab Byung, can place the date of composition of present work in the beginning of 14th 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. Daiv Inata who translated this grammar under the instruction of the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682), contended that first full translation was Daiv Inata’s own. However, the Fifth Dalai Lama, who had another name as grammarians Srong bshad, knew a full composed but authentic and terse translation by Gnyen brgyud 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 Gyurme Stbyang Choskups, Pandit Balaksheta and Krishnamitra first introduced and translated this work after having met Taranatha. Then again under the Fifth Dalai Lama with the aid of aforestated two Panditas Daiv rendered this work. Again in later times, after having discussed
difficult points of the grammar with Pandita Khyaab-kjog-bug-po made the new translation.

In spite of so many good translations by celebrated scholars being available what 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 Tarana ka, and the gendrels from a book entitled bka’-bshad-mdzad-rje.

There is no doubt, that the present author was aware of two big grammars—Kalapa and Candra Yaktamana, which is referred to by the compound formation Ka-Tsan (Ka and Tsan standing for Kalapa and Candra respectively) and local acceptance of Sarvar in central and other parts of Ayesdes. 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 bral-sprin-khlo-gsum-rtsa-ba-bja-yi-tshangs-bsho-gros-mchog-bzhin, 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 Sarvar in, 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 403 and 544 A.D. His authorship and date have been established on firmer grounds in the Patanjaliya, abhatihari samvatsari Baji, Sarva and Vatsyaksha as grammarians, who went before Candracarya and who by their uncrirical 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 Pad-ma-son-gzang (Pt.1, pp. 95-96), the story is reproduced in S.C. Vidyadhumu: History of Indian Légis. pp. 114-115 (vide, S.K. De, Bengal’s Contribution to Sanskrit Literature, Indian Studies Past & Present, Vol. 11, No. 4, pp. 275-276). 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 Smit, MSS, as well as from Tibetan version, with full imitica in 1894 is of opinion that Candra
flourished probably in the period between 465 and 544 A.D. The Candrāyaṇa śāstra is certainly earlier than the Kāśika of Jayaditya and Vamanas; for kāśika appropriates without acknowledgement thirty-five original Sūtras of Candāna's grammar which had no parallel in Panini, but which Kayyatta distinctly repudiated as un-Paninian. All accounts agree that Candragomin was a Buddhist, and this is supported not only by his hagiographic Buddhist title-Gomin, but also by the Maṇgalarākṣa of Vṛttis which pays homage to Sarvāja. J. Levi relying on the mention by losing of a 'great man named Chandru Kusat (official) of Candrayana, who lived like a Bodhisattva, in his time in central India and composed a musical play on the Visvavatara would identify this Candra with Candragomin. A Tibetan source, Taranatha, in making Candra a contemporary of Sīla, son of Haradvaradhana, would place him at about 700 A.D. Tibetan tradition does not distinguish the grammarian Candragomin from the philosopher Candragomin; Udbhovasânus however distinguishes a grammarian from a philosopher; while Taranatha states 'born in Varendra in the east', the Coler Catalogue states 'inhabitant of Sarendi' in eastern India; Sumpa says 'born in Bengal'. S.K. Chatterji believes that the surname Gomin corresponds to the modern Bengali cognomen 'gol'. For further information vide S.K. De's article "Bengal's Contribution to Sanskrit Literature", Indian Studio Res. & Pratru, Vol. 1, No. 4, July, 1966, pp. 575-577. The tradition of Candragomin is supposed to have been maintained in Bengal by two well-known Buddhist grammarians Jnannadhakshita and Mattnayakshita, Bengal had admittedly been the ultimate place of refuge of most major and minor systems of Sanskrit grammars, including the Kanatra (Kalpo, the Mughaladha, the Saksbiptasara and the Sarasvata (ibid, pp. 591-593). According to S.K. De the Candra Vyakrama however is a much more remarkably 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 Panin. We thus find a Tibetan translation of later Paninian work Prakritārśkamah of Ramachandra.

But in Tibet Kalqua 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 Sarvāja Khampa 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 Manjushri. (on Candragomin’s Arya-Tata-Anurakshadhi, see S.C. Vidyabhusana’s introduction to Sarvasajijivita’s Saggihamulatma-sangroha (Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1908 pp. XX f) Later the Sarvatv grammar came to be adorned for its having originated from goddess Sarvatv. In Tibet pantheon Sarvatv is supposed to be the emanation of Tara-Shita. These sentiments accounted for the celebrity of Anandakusumara’s work in Tibet down to the nineteenth century. The present author’s eulogy identifies Sarvatv with Shering-Phun-yum or Praparamartha.

Taranatha in his Chos-hdung states, “Although Indra-yakarasa is famous in Tibet as the most ancient grammar and having originated in Lha-yul—Heaven, this was not originated in Aryadeva. The Candra-yakarasa, which is translated in Tibetan, coincides with that of Panini’s grammar whereas Kalapa Yakarasa coincides with that of Indroli-hgs (Indra yakarasa system).”

The Indra tradition being prior to Panini (5th century B.C.) is also strong in Sanskrit literature. It is found in the Tatsimika Samhita, where it is said that, gods approached Indra to elucidate speech (vachan yahata). Patanjali speaks of Brhaspati, the teacher of the gods, exposing to the king of gods the science of grammar. The legendary account of Katha-vaicagara and the Brhaspati manjan that it was the Indra 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 Indra system has been dealt with in detail by Burnell in his paper On the Indra 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, Sarvatv 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 Pañita Balabhadrā and Krishnamisra
and Taranatha, the Great Fifth and two Panditas, Situ Rinpoche and
Pañita Vīshnupati.

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

The author does not note anything beyond that Pañita Balabhadrā
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 the Ha-mauthong Lotsava, and commanded Darva to trans-
late this grammar according to instructions of these two Pandita brothers.
So under the patronage of the Fifth Dalai Lama Darva studied Sārveśāra
along with other grammatical works under Mahapandita Balabhadrā
and Pañita Gokulnathamisra, Brahmin residents of Kurukshetra.
Here we have to note ‘Mahapandita’ attribute in case of Balabhadrā,
and that Darva, who hailed from upper valley of gTsang belonged to
Nor-lha-ra-yang-je family. His full name is Ngag-dbang-phun-tshogs
Byung-grub and his name as grammarian is Tsho-dbang-ub-btsan-po-
rgyed, so that he completed translation in a period of six months living
at Pratāla Palace. Whether Darva visited Aryadeva, as both the Panditas
visited Tibet, and it so when, are matters to be yet investigated. But
in Derge Catalogue of Tanjur, in Sna-Tshogs (miscellaneous section)
we find one Krishnahattiya is collaborating with Taranatha in translating
GrDa-spro-pyöng-chen, but the name of the author is missing. May be
Krishnahattiya, Krishnamisra and Gokulnathamisra are the same person.
Confirmation awaits till further investigation.

One fact is firm that author of present book BeGyur-med-lhes-
dbang-mchog-drub, Pañita Balabhadrā, Krishnamisra, Taranatha,
Darva and the Fifth Dalai Lama, all are contemporaneous.

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

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Krishnamıśra. In the Fifth Dalai’s work there the name occurs as Gokula “who along with Pandita Balbhrata taught Panini in Tibet”.

In the earlier Indian tradition we come across a Krishnamısra, the author of famous allegorical drama Āvadha-candrika or “The moon-rise of true knowledge”. The date of dramatic Krishnamıśra 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 Celi King Karna. As Karna is mentioned in an inscription dated 1547 A.D., and as an inscription of the Candella King Kirtivarman is also dated 1547 A.D., it has been concluded that Krishnamısra belonged to the second half of the 11th century (Dasgupta: A History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 48). Therefore, Krishnamıśra the dramatic and Krishnamıśra (or Gokulanıśra) the Indian pandit in Tibet, are separate from each other by a gap of more than five centuries.

We know of Gokulanıśa Upadhyaya, the illustrious Nya-logician and Vedantaist born in the decade of 1643-50, in Mithila (Din-Sh Chandra Bhattacharya: History of Naya Nyaya in Mithila, p. 193). We quote here the following from Gokulanıśa’s commentary (Paddhyap) on Vasapati’s Divata Niyamsi: “नानां विश्वसनात निष्प्रयाहस्मानं द्वादशमासां अनुभविनियमितवम्” (“nānām vishvayatanāṁ niṣprayaḥsāmānāṁ dvādasaṁāḥ anubhaviniyamatiḥ”)

Jivanıśa is dated about 1440 A.D., he was evidently not dive when Sunkaranıśa took lesson from his younger brother and pupils bharanıśa (about 1475 A.D., ibid, pp. 113-114). Margoni near Madhubani the native village of Gokulanıśa Upadhyaya became as famous as Nalanda or Varanasi because of Gokulanıśa (ibid, p. 197). It is said that Gokulanıśa left Mithila in his early life and was a courtier of a Muhomeadan (?) Fateh Sah at Garhwal at the foot of the Himalayas (Sinha’s History of Tibet, p. 113, cited in Bhattacharya’s History of Naya Nyaya in Mithila, p. 193. He must have gone there in the last quarter of the century as Fateh Sah died in 1649 A.D. There he wrote seven works. Then he adopted the court of Maharaj Madhava Simha of Mithila (1700-1734, A.D.). According to tradition Gokulanıśa 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 Gokulanıśa to be a grammarian, yet he states that his cousin and pupil Jivanıśa Misra of Mithila, author of Tattvabhyamsa-mingaya (Chowdh, Ed 1907, p. 477), treated the subject in such a masterly way both from grammarian’s and logician’s

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

Therefore, Gokulnatha who was born in 1640 A.D. and was a courtier of King of Garhwal in eastern Himalayas, might have visited eastern Himalayas (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 Gokulnatha Upadhyaya as elder contemporary of Taranatha and the Fifth Dalai, while Darva speaks of Gokulnathamitra as Brahmin from Kurukshetra the Fifth Dalai clearly states that the same was from Varanasi, (vide, rgya-bod-bor-sog-gi-’on-nog-dam-pa-ma-rnam-la-lh’phring-yig-sman-sngag-tsho-bhod-pa-rab-snyan-’gyad-ma-lang-sha-bya-bus-bshad, Vol. 4, Fol. 117 a).

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

We know from Darva that Pandita Balabhadra was the brother of Gokulnathamitra and that the brothers met Taranatha. But it is not known where the meeting took place, while Taranatha in the Chos Brung does not mention these names, the Fifth Dalai in his works (Vol 4, Fol. 177 a) albetr 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 Deus-bhata carita (17th 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-NAnya, from Varanasi belonged to 17th century (Bhattacharya History of NAvya-NAnya, p. 112). So the Balabhadra of Tibetan tradition (15th century) was among the last to have this popular name.

We know from the introductory page of the book that, hjem- mon-si-tu studied some obscure points of this grammar through the aid of one Pandita Khyab-hjog-bdag-po. ‘"sgu-bzhin-’dod-rje dbang-po”.  

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Here the author does not give the Indian name of the scholar. But as the Tibetan tradition preserves 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 नामस्यानुरूप सिद्धान्त or सिद्धांत. In the famous Sanskrit Tibetan Lexicon and translated scriptures we find Sanskrit equivalents of ज्ञानविद्या as विद्यार्थी (Mahayogapati, etc) विद्याधर, विद्याभि, also विद्याधर. Sāntabha, Sāntabha (Nyagvinda, etc).

In our investigation with Jangchub Situ’s works the exact equivalent for Khyab-hjag bzag-po is found to be भज्ञानिक मयाधिकारी.

In a recent edition of Taisitsu Rinpoche’s work entitled दो रिपोचे चुप भज्ञानिक मयाधिकारी or the autobiography and diaries of Situ Rinpoche (M. 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 Regnhi covered 1722-1736 A.D. (Medieval Nepal, Pt. II, Calcutta, 1966, p.178). Situ’s first visit to Nepal was in 1731 in a place called Kyim-Tol (कीम-टोल) in a temple dedicated to भज्ञानिक. The personal name भज्ञानिक of illustrious old Brahmin Pandita from Tirhuti (तिरहुटी) was Baccchur Oja. and his name as a Vedic scholar विज्ञानिक was mentioned in an ancient Vedic text यज्ञ (Yajur Veda, पार्वती, यज्ञादित्या, 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 Kulu (कुलु) of Nāgārjuna, the famous grammarian of 2nd century A.D. Situ also read Bhumipāla Pandita Bhattoji-dīkṣita’s (भुमिपाल) commentary on Amarakosha, Subhuticandra’s (सुभूतिचन्द्र) commentary on Amarakosha, Nanarāmekha of Medhinikara (मेदिनिकर) and so on.

In conclusion we may say that the beginnings of Sanskrit studies were made in the seventh century (612-650 AD) by royal scholar Throni-Sarabha. 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 Pragya, NIT, 1961). As the inventor of science of expression, Panini was almost apotheosized in Tibetan tradition. As Professor Nalakshita Dutt says: “Regarding Panini the texts mention that he was born at Bhirakabara in the west (probably north-west) and that though he was a Brahman, he was strongly inclined to the Buddhist faith, and that he attained proficiency in grammar and logic through the grace of Avalokiteshvara. He composed the well-known Panini-yaśakara and ultimately attained Svāvikabodhi” 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 Himalaya.
APPENDIX

The eulogy which prefaces the book deserves reproduction in extenso. A few words in the beginning are now illegible.

The eulogy is composed in Sanskrit metre. The Sanskrit is transcribed at first in "Rajajia" 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.

मराठा: शास्त्रास्त्र भूतसम्बलीतांने ताबरकेकुं।
अयोध्ये नामिनी निदर्शित कृपामयी नाम निदर्शित
क्षेत्रस्वभावस्य नेवलकाळ व आशायुक्त तथा किंग्रेश्वरमुखी दिने।

बाणकोशाचार्ये बिचित्र शुभिवाच्ये न्यायवाचार्य नेवलकाळ व समस्यास्फोटक न्यायस्वभावादि गुरुपराजा।

आयुक्त सर्वाध्यासर्वनामाभिर्मन्दल नाम ब्रजभुवनि।
गोविन्द वर्धमाननं सर्वाध्यासर्वनामाभिर्मन्दल ं नाम
गोविन्द वर्धमाननं सर्वाध्यासर्वनामाभिर्मन्दल ं नाम

गांगशीलदुत्सन महानून गुरुधारण गगदी।
सर्वाध्यासर्वनामाभिर्मन्दल नामवत कविरघ्नति।
गोविन्द वर्धमाननं सर्वाध्यासर्वनामाभिर्मन्दल ः नाम
गांगशीलदुत्सन महानून गुरुधारण गगदी।

मुख्यपौराणिकसंस्कृततालालिन हस्तिः।

मुख्यपौराणिकसंस्कृततालालिन हस्ति।

इति धृतराष्ट्रसी उपनिषदं आदि अध्यायं सबद्धमुक्तं सर्व गुरुपराजा।