STUDY OF SANSKRIT GRAMMAR IN TIBET

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

Title of the work: SGRAHI-BSTAN-BCHOS-RNAM-BSHAD-HOD-ZER-BRGYA-PA; 131 leaves measuring 76" x 47" each; author: HGYUR-MED-TSHE-DRANG-MCHI-HOOG-GRUL-NGES-DON-BSTAN-HPHEL; place of composition: KAH-THOG-AADO-RJE-GDAN; composed in 14th RAB-BYING.

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 name Sanskrit, meaning—polished, cultured, correct (according to the rules of grammar), in contradistinction to Prakrita, 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 Salatura near the modern Atak.

Yuan Choung 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 grammari-
cal works of diverse schools existed in abundance. But none of them have any independent authority, being derivatives completely from Pali.

The earliest among them was Kātantra which was composed by Sarvarman a contemporary of Satavahana dynasty of the Deccan. Of later works here mention may be made of the grammar of Candrag (6th-century A.D.) which achieved great popularity among the Buddhist (Bhārtrāya) as Jaiminiya Vyākaraṇa (c.650) among the Jains. Later the polymath Hemacandra produced also for the Jain the Hemac Vyākaraṇa.

Other works which won local acceptance were mostly of later date. The Śaṅkhaśīrśa of Kramaśivāra—was composed after 1150 A.D. and was popular in western Bengal. Vaiśekika's Bṛhaddhava-bhūṣaṇa and Kaučikapadāvatī won great popularity in Bengal and were written after 1250 A.D. Pārvīśvarabhāgavata's Śivapadī Vyākaraṇa written about 1375 A.D. was popular in Bengal. Saṃvatī Prakṣya together with its commentary by Ambhatavacupacara was popular in Magadha and Kātakas.

Here it is interesting to refer to a Tibetan grammarian like Yāsaka (after 1500) who composed a grammar in Tibetan, entitled चिप (ravya) the compiler of lexicon-cum-grammar entitled चिप (ravya) the compiler of lexicon-cum-grammar entitled (same as Prajna of 1330 A.D. published by Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, Lexicon-Dictionaries Fortis 1981 and Xylograph Reproduction 1682). This eminent scholar categorically affirms the celebrity of Āśā and Āśā in introduction at the XLI page and last book of rules from Saṁvatī Vyākaraṇa for euphonic combination (Samśā) and declension (Vibhāṣa) of words (pages 171-119). In the following words: चिप (ravya) the compiler of lexicon-cum-grammar entitled चिप (ravya) the compiler of lexicon-cum-grammar entitled चिप (ravya) the compiler of lexicon-cum-grammar entitled चिप (ravya) the compiler of lexicon-cum-grammar entitled चिप (ravya) the compiler of lexicon-cum-grammar entitled

"The Āśā and Āśā Vyākaraṇa famous in Arcastra and Tibet are the two principal stars like the sun and moon respectively and
are actually compiled with indispensable elements from great grammars like *Abhidhyaya* (Paninian grammar) etc."

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

"This text was much favoured in central and other parts of Aryadeśa. It was the tradition to study at first Saranatī *yakarana* and then to introduce *Kalaṇa* and *Candra Yakarana*".

Keith observes "The oldest among the later grammars probably *Katastra* (also called *Kamara* or *Kalpa*) certainly had much influence in Kashmir and Bengal. Originally of four books, it appears with supplements both Tibetan translation and in Durgasidha's commentary fragments have been found in Central Asia and the Dhupatopa is extant only in the Tibetan version" (A History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 451). Tibetan tradition ascribes to Sarvaśarman the use of the grammar of Indragonin, and the work seems to have been popular among the Buddhists in Nepal. The *Candra-yakarana* was popular in the Buddhist countries Kashmir, Tibet and Nepal and had reached Ceylon (ibid, p. 451).

The above mentioned facts and the author's observance, such as that, *Anubhutavahrapacaya* made use of the *Yakarana* Sutra of Ka-Tian (i.e. *Kalaṇa* and *Candra*) in composing Saranatī-Prakṣya also shows that this grammar is of third category. The author states that, *Ayāya* wrote this grammar under goddess Sarasvati's special favour, that though concise in form it is vast in meaning, and deals with grammatical questions, such as, gender, case, etc.

Inspite of its being classed in third category, due to its compactness and easy comprehensibility it was favoured by the ancient scholars of Magadha and Varnasi. 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 Pandits from Aryadeśa, referred to it 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 Ambhatrudrivaraṇa was a Brahmin born in the country of Maharashtra in south of Aryaksetra. The padeśa Saravatī herself favoured him with the instruction on the system of grammar celebrated after her name. Though this is abridged in form yet is profound in meaning and deals with each subject as gender and case 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 Saravat grammar and then proceed to study of Kalapa and Candheya Vyakaranas.

According to this work Pandita Babhusha and Krishnamitra met Taranatha and rendered both the aphorisms and the dissertation of Saravat into Tibetan language, Taranatha also completed his commentary on Saravat Vyakaranā. 

Later during the period of the Fifth Dāla Lama, Dārā ṿotsaw (the translator having from Darṣa) with the aid of the same two Pandita translated the aphorisms and the dissertation into Tibetan. Again in later period Dustupi the studied difficult topic of this grammar with the aid of Vīśveshvarānanda Samkhyaśaṃskṛta 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. These 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 Anubhutisvargacarya because this will help them to enter into the vast literature on the subject, like Kalapa and Candra-vakrana. I myself utilized a later translation of aphorisms and its dissertation, and for the obscure points I looked up the commentary of Tarana. I have adapted several principal words from the book entitled ‘Tanglad’ 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 Saranati-Tredruga composed by the illustrious Farvajaka Paramahamsa Acarya Anubhutisvarupa."

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

The concluding folio (132) says, "Thus as the copies of commentary by unscattered Tarana on Saranat 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 Saranat\textsuperscript{(13)} by Stob Rinspoch by 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 Pabkpa and Tseten-khyung-fa who was vastly learned in both Kalapa and Candra-vakrana systems, Myself Dbyug-med Tse-dbang-nchog-grub-nges-don-bstan-bipal being a loyal elder monk of Kab-Thog am consciously devoted to the great Acarya of Orgyan—Padma-sam-dbyor. The name bestowed upon me by say Acarya on the completion of my study was, \textit{dpal-ba-\textsuperscript{14}}. I wrote in 4th Taba-yang, in the phase of full moon of twenty-second or twenty-third constellation (Gravana) corresponding to July-August at Kabung Dorjedan (\textit{gawang-dgon}) in a
forest retreat for meditation known as Yong-dchen-byang-chub-ching (བསྟན་བསྒོད་ས་ས་བོད་ལྕགས་པོ་སྡེ་) in the hours of break. The scribes were the inscribers, Dorje Zampa himself and བསྟན་པོའི་དབུས་བོའི་ཅིག་ཆོས་པའི་སྡུག་པ་

The customary invocation for “happiness and welfare is all directions” is made in Sanskrit transcribed in T'ibetan thus: གུ་གཞན་ལྡན་ལ་སྨད་པའི་ལོ་མ་སྟེ གུ་གཞན་ལྡན་ལ་སྨད་པའི་ལོ་མ

"Although there are many obscure points in the text, my pupil བསྟན་པོའི་དབུས་བོའི་ཅིག་ཆོས་པའི་སྡུག་པ་

has thoroughly checked the text on the basis of Kālāpa and Candragī, śurangadāsa and Anuradha 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 follows:—

(i) Acarya Anubhutivarsupa the author of Sarvatīṇ-Hākhyā; as well as other local scribes.

(ii) Brahmī Pandita Rādhāhāra and Kṛishnāmīra meeting Tarabhaṭa and translation of Anubhutivarsupa’s grammar.

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

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

(v) Sino Rinpoche’s study of this grammar with Pandita Yishaṃpati.

(vi) Author’s acknowledgements of new translations besides recourse to Tarabhaṭa’s commentary.
(vii) Adaptation of words of genders from Skt.

(viii) The utility and value of translation of this grammar.

(ix) Author's encouragement by Gelung Dorje Zinpa eminently scholar in Kelapa and Guhia (Yuktenra.

(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 Sarasvati school, Harshakirti (16th century), the author of "सारस्वत भावधार" (vide Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS, Adyar Library, Vol. VI, No. 678): a pupil of Caudrakirti, who was honoured by Sahu Salem of Deliku (1545-1553 A.D.); and Ramacandrasanta (1653 A.D.), the author of वर्तमान-महाकाव्य: (ibid, No. 880); and the Tibetan grammarian Taranatha (1535 A.D.) Diwa Lotava (contemporary with Fifth Dalai Lama), Situ Rinpoche and Gyume chosang chenrup the present translator all testify to अनुवादिकवाचमा as the author of वाचक-सरस्वति. As the tradition ascribes the original sutras to the divine authorship of the goddess Sarasvati; the sutras are named सरस्वतीकृत even as the 14 sutras in Panini's grammar attributed to Siva are called सिद्धार्थकृत. Thus Amshuttamvarapacarya became the founder of Sarasvati 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.:—

दिब्य 14वर्नानितीकृतभावधारनाधिकारी सम्पादित

दीर्घ 14वर्नानितीकृतसारस्वतिकृत सम्पादित

(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 Siddhanta-Candra (No. 824 of Adyar Catalogue Vol. VI). The gloss contained in the Sarasvati-Padikya has been ascribed to Amshuttamvarapacarya to whom the original sutras are said to have been revealed by the goddess Sarasvati. This has been ascertained by the statement of Diwa Lotava and the present translator, इति वर्तमानसारस्वतिकृते विविध ग्रन्थादि प्रमाणेन इति.
Main contention of both of them is that, Anandhithevapropacarya was personally favoured by goddess Saraswati in the composition of this grammar. As Darva Totsawa described the Acarya's name as श्रीनारायणजीवी, which is in Sanskrit the name should be read as श्रीनारायणजीवी-

“Chandra” may be honorific suffix to the Acarya’s name by a Tibetan grammarian, as Sanphet was honorific suffix to Thonmi’s name by his Indian Gurus.

Saranvata Prakriya is in the form of a text with commentary, the text being in sansa form and the commentary in ordinary prose. The total number of sutras comes to above 1,000 of which 790 are said to be original and the rest additions made by the commentators. The number of the sutras in different Tibetan translations of Karmabhatto and Taranatha (Tanjur Catalogue No.4471, Vol. 2) Darva's

Do Taka and Gyurme’s Dz-Dzi, have yet to be investigated from several versions reportedly extant. The work is divided into two parts namely the Patravāda and the Uttararci, the first dealing with Sabda or declension, and second Tattva or conjugation, Krīdā or verbal prefixes. The author Govindacarya in his Saranavat-Sasata-abha: Patravāda divides the work into five Adhyāya, each containing four paths and gives the contents of each of the 20 paths thus:- 1. Sanjna, 2-5, Sandhi, 6-8. Sabhāhak and Sarvaparyaya, 9. Karaka, 10 Samna, 11 Tadbhava, 12-9. Akhāra and 16. Kri (vide No. 444) of the Descriptive catalogue of the Sanskrit IBS, in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VI.
The date of composition of Sarasvatī Praṇīṭā ranges over a century from 1250 AD to 1350 AD. Sanskrit scholars like Surendra Das Gupta and Kuṣṭān Raja do not mention at all the name of Anubhūtiśvaraparācyā. Keith while discussing the chronology of Sanskrit gymnams merely states Anubhūtiśvarurupa was the author of Sarasvatī Praṇīṭā with commentary (Keith: A History of Sanskrit Literature, p.417) but does not mention the Acārya’s birth place. The Adyar Catalogue (Vol. VI) presumes Anubhūtiśvaraparācyā as an ascetic and a resident of Benaras, but we are not informed about the source of this presumption. The present translator Gyurmed Tshewang Chogdub (19th century) states

"Acārya Anubhūtiśvarupa a high Brahmin by caste was born in the country of Malabar in the south of Arzadéa". The colophon (Fol. 130 a) reading 

is clear that the author was an ascetic (as we restore from Tibetan). The term Paramahamsas 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 Tarkaśāṅkha of Anandajana (No.3, Cawkward’s Oriental Series).

1) That Anubhūtiśvaraparācyā was the same as the preceptor of Anandaśā, the author of the Tarkaśāṅkha.

2) That he had besides Anandaśā, another disciple called Narendrapuri alias Narendraśāngi a commentator on the Sarasvatī Praṇīṭā.

3) That he was the author of some more works, namely:

4) That he was a contemporary of Vopadeva (1260AD), the
author of Meghaduta-sahasrara. As regards Naredrapuri mentioned
above, he is said to be the author of the Sarasu-Prakriya in No. 799 of the I.O. Catalogue, Part I, (Ayar Catalogue, P. 211). But the
statement has been refuted by T.M. Tripichh in the introduction to the
Tarkashmya, as the fact is not supported by Tibetan sources.

Besides the works mentioned above one more work namely
Bhagavadgita Bhadha Tippa goes by Ambadevappersa’s name. A copy
is available in the AYAR Library (Bodh. Vol. VII). There are various
MS on Sarasu- Yalaunza (Nos 666-68 and its different sections.
One in Orya script and in Palm leaf, others in Devangari script on
paper. Evidently this school of grammarians represent an attempt
to simplify the grammar of Panini.

(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.

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30
He makes an acknowledgement to his own pupil; "I thank my pupil..."

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: "I..." (Prajna, Fol. 390 Nit)

(hGyur-med-bshes-dbang composed this ext in 14th Rab Brng which corresponds to 1857-1859. He is known as dgye-rtsen-po-che, go-te being the name of his clan. His disciple is ze-chen-dhon-po sprul-sku-lugs-rje---Nanggyal's disciple is mkhyen-rtses-kong-sprul and his disciple Shes-snyin-pa. According to some Lama scholars further information might be available from a Nander called rig-gzhus-bshes-dbang nor-bum-pa-thyur.

(iii) The place and date of composition.
The prologue of the book clearly states: In this country of Tibet Beskun Pandita Balabhata and Kshnamitra met Taranatha and translated both Sutra and its Prajnaparamita of Sarvastivada Vaikarana. It seems that Balabhata and Kshnamitra first introduced the grammar into Tibet, while Taranatha made a commentary on it. The place of translation was obviously Sera Monastery in Central Tibet. Then later on during the fifth Dalai Lama's time Darsa Lobsa translated the grammar with the aid of two Panditas, Balabhata and Gorkhaladhavanka. Here the present author states that the two Panditas collaborated with Darsa Lobsa 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. 

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Present work was undertaken by the author, who was blessed by his Achara Gyurme Dondrup Dorje Zinpa, with the name of grammarian Tshangpai Zalpa Lodolza, in the 14th Rab Byung (1867-1867 of Christain era) in the phase of full-moon of twenty-third or twenty-third constellation (Sawana) corresponding to July-August, in the Khum world centre known as Yang Dhen(we) byang-chub-ling.

We have already stated the fact, that the author of Prajna completed his composition of the text during the New Year-days of 11th cycle. (Vide under (iii)), while the work was seen by the 14th Rab Byung 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 has utilized in translation. Darva Lobsang who translated this grammar under the instruction of the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682), contendd that first full translation was Darva's own. However, the Fifth Dalai Lama, who had another name as grammarian Gyalshin Namgyal, knew a full composed but authentic and terse translation by Khum world centre and other translations of the work. His reference to other translations may denote the translation of Tananatha who was almost an elderly contemporary of the Fifth Dalai Lama.

According to our author Gyurme Tsewang Chogdup, Pandita Balabhada and Krishnamiva first introduced and translated this work after having met Tananatha. Then again under the Fifth Dalai Lama with the aid of aforestated two Panditas Darva rendered this work. Again in later times Dzongkha Dzongkha after having discussed...
difficult points of the grammar with Pandita Khysab-kjog-bug-po, made the new translation.

In spite of so many good translations by celebrated scholars, being available in 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 Nyakriya (dissertation), the new translation and the commentary by Tarana, and the gendoss from a book entitled 2457 7 6 3 2 6 4 4 2 3 7 8 5 7 5.

There is no doubt that the present author was aware of two big grammars—Kalapa and Candra Vakanasas, 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 Aryan. 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 brad-sprod-khalyams-smra-ba-hjil-which, published in 1845, who made final revision of his translation with the aid of the Ka-Tsan and so on.

Among these two major grammars Kalapa was undoubtedly a work of non-Buddhist author Sarvar, under Siva's special favour. The legend brings him into contact with Satavahanas. 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 493 and 544 A.D. His authorship and date have been established on firmer grounds in the Vajyapada, which is a vernacular Bhaja, Sans and Haryaksha as grammarians, who went before Candragomini and who by their unsatisfactory 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, Sampa's Pasa-sam-sam-zang (Pt.1, pp. 95-96), the story is reproduced in S.C. Vidyabhushan: History of Indian Logic, pp. 114-15 (Cited. S.K. De, Bengal's Contribution to Sanskrit Literature, Indian Studies Part & Press, Vol. 1, No. 4, pp. 715-720). Regarding Sampa's censure of Patanjali having plagiarised on Candragomini it has been assumed that this Candragomini is no other than Candragomin.

B. Lieblach, who has recovered and edited from Ma, MSS, as well as from Tibetan version, with full indices in 1845 is of opinion that Candra
flourished probably in the period between 465 and 544 A.D. The Chandraya stana is certainly earlier than the Koshika of Jayaditya and Varnana; for koshika appropriates without acknowledgment thirty-five original Sutras of Candrak’s grammar which had no parallel in Panini, but which Kayasta distinctly republished as un-Paninian. All accounts agree that Chandragomin was a Buddhist, and this is supported not only by his hereditary Buddhist title Gomin, but also by the Vaidikapada of Vritti which pays homage to Saravapa. S. Levi relying on the mention by losing of a great man named Candra Kossas (official) or Chandrasas, who lived like a Bodhisattva, in his time in central India and composed a musical play on the Vasvantara would identify this Candra with Chandragomin. A Tibetan source, Taranatha, in making Candra a contemporary of Sisa, son of Harishvardhana, would place him at about 766 A.D. Tibetan tradition does not distinguish the grammarian Chandragomin from the philosopher Chandragomin; Vidyabhasan however distinguishes a grammarian from a philosopher; while Taranatha states ‘born in Varendra in the east’, the Coller Catalogue states ‘inhabitant of Sarend’ in eastern India; Smon says ‘born in Bengal’. S.K. Chattopadhyaya believes that the surname Gomin corresponds to the modern Bengali cognomen ‘guli’. For further information vide S.K. De’s article “Bengal’s Contribution to Sanskrit Literature”, Indian Studies Past & Present, Vol. 1, No. 4, July, 1965, pp. 573-377. The tradition of Chandragomin is supposed to have been maintained in Bengal by two well-known Buddhist grammarians Jinendrahoddhi and Mattreyakishita. Bengal had admittedly been the ultimate place of refuge of most major and minor systems of Sanskrit grammars, including the Kanadita (Kalapa), the Muggalabodha, the Smas—-haptasastra and the Sarasvata (ibid., pp. 591-593). According to S.K. De the Candra Vyakrana 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 Panini. We thus find a Tibetan translation of later Paninian work Prakrityakamish of Ramachandana.

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 Sunaya Khenpo and other Tibetan scholars have discussed at length the life and works of Chandragomin because of his being a Buddhist and the celebrated composer of hymns of Tara.
and Manjusri, (on Candragomin’s Arya-Tara-Anurakābhisāti, see S.C. Vidyabhusan’s Introduction to Sarvajocnātra’s Śraddhākrama-saṅgahā (Bibl. Ind., Colcuta, 1908 pp. XX i). Later the Sarvastiva grammar came to be adorned for its having originated from goddess Sarvatva. In Tibet pantheon Sarvatva is supposed to be the emanation of Tara-Sita. These sentiments accounted for the celebrity of Anubhutiavarana’s work in Tibet down to the nineteenth century. The present author’s eulogy identifies Sarvatva with Sherphu-yum or Prajsparamita, ताराकाशा का चोल स्वक तत्त्व, चोल स्वक "सर्वसिद्धान्त संग्रहीत “
Taranatha in his Chos-bhgyung states, “Although Indra-vyakara is famous in Tibet as the most ancient grammar and having originated in Lha-yul—Heaven, this was not originated in Aryadeva. The Candrabhyakara, which is translated in Tibetan, coincides with that of Panini (Panini’s grammar) whereas Kalapa Vyakara coincides with that of Indrali-hgs (Indra vyakara system).”

The Aindra tradition being prior to Panini (4th century B.C.) is also strong in Sanskrit literature. It is found in the Tattvajja Sambhini, where it is said that, gods approached Indra to elucidate speech (vācam vyakata). Patanjali speaks of Brhadarpan, the teacher of the gods, expounding to the king of gods the science of grammar. The legendary account of Katha-stūpa-samgāra and the Brhadarpana manjri 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 Barnett in his paper On the izyra 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, Sarvatva also has divine origin. Its divine origin and its orthodox lineage with Panini through Buddhist grammarians 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 Balabhadrā and Krishnamisra and Taranatha, the Great Fifth and two Panditas, Situ Rinpoche and Pandita Vrishupati.

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 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 one Lha-santhong 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 Sāraṅgāta along with other grammatical works under Mahapandita Balabhadrā and Pahitita Gokulanathamisra, Brahmin residents of Kursuksheta. Here we have to note 'Mahapandita' attribute in case of Balabhadrā, and that Darva, who hailed from upper valley of gTsang belonged to Nor-khris-yang-se family. His full name is Ngag-dbang-phun-tshogs lhung-grub and his name as grammarian is Tshe-dbang-rg-yas-rgb-ri and that he completed translation in a period of six months living at Potala Palace. Whether Darva visited Arayalas, as both the Panditas visited Tibet, and if so when, are matters to be yet investigated. But in Derge Catalogue of Tanjur, in Sng-tshogs (miscellaneous section) we find one Krishnasubhatā is collaborating with Taranatha in translating brTa-spro-s-byang-grub, but the name of the author is missing. May be Krishnasubhatā, 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 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 Gokulanathamisra, the present author mentions him as
Krishnamstra. In the Fifth Dalai’s work there the name occurs as Gokula ‘who along with Pandita Balbhadra taught Panini in Tibet’.

In the earlier Indian tradition we come across a Krishnamstra, the author of famous allegorical drama Ṛgadha-candrodaga or ‘The moon-rise of true knowledge’. The date of dramatic Krishnamstra 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 Karuva. As Karuva is mentioned in an inscription dated 1641 A.D., and as an inscription of the Candella King Kirtivarman is also dated 1598 A.D., it has been concluded that Krishnamstra belonged to the second half of the 13th century (Dasgupta: A History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 48). Therefore, Krishnamstra the dramatist and Krishnamstra the Gokulamitra (or Gokulanatha-mitra) 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 Naiyayik and Vedantist born in the decade of 1640-50, in Mithila (Dinsh Chandra Bhatkacharya History of Naiya Naya in Mithila, p. 193). We quote here the following from Gokulanatha’s commentary (Pandya) on Vasumati’s Divata Nityam: ‘तत्त्वज्ञान साक्ष्यमभिनवी रिविवारस्यस्यह्यात्मकां समन्वितमन्निष्कन्यम्’

Jvanatla is dated about 1400 A.D., he was evidently not dive when Sankarasiva took lesson from his younger brother and pupil Bhavanatha (about 1425 A.D., ibid, pp. 111-114). Mangori near Madhubani the native village of Gokulanatha Upadhyaya became as famous as Nasik or Varanasi because of Gokulanatha (ibid, p. 193). It is said that Gokulanatha left Mithila in his early life and was a courtier of a Mohammdan (?) Fateh Sahib of Garhwal at the foot of the Himalayas (Sinha’s History of Tibet, p. 133); cited in Bhatkacharya’s, History of Naiya Naya in Mithila, p. 193. He must have gone there in the last quarter of the century as Fateh Sah died in 1669 A.D. There he wrote seven works. Then he addressed the court of Maharaj Madhava Sinha of Mithila (1700-1732 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. 193). Although in Bhatkacharya’s work we do not find Gokulanatha to be a grammarian, yet he states that his cousin and pupil Jvanatla Mitra of Mithila author of Ebbadhyayana-mingya (Chowdhry, Id 1907, p. 437), 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 Tananhia and Situ. It is important to note that Mithila (Tirhuta) is geographically contiguous to Nepal Himalayas. So we may place Gokulanatha Upadhyaya as elder contemporary of Tananhia and the Fifth Dalai, while Darva speaks of Gokulamathamitra as Brahmin from Kurukshetra the Fifth Dalai clearly states that the same was from Varanasi, vide, rya-bod-sor-sog-gi-ming-dtan-bar-pa-ras-ma-lha-hphring-yig-snyan-sog-gi-bhod-pa-rab-snyan-gyes-mang-shes-bya-bu-bshad, Vol. 4, Fol. 117 A).

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

We know from Darva that Pandita Balabhadrā was the brother of Gokulanathamitra and that the brothers met Tananhia. But it is not known where the meeting took place, while Tananhia in the Chos Brung does not mention these names, the Fifth Dalai in his works (Vol 4, Vol. 17 A) affirms that the two brothers visited Tibet, expounded Panini and returned to India.

In Indian traditional literature we find the name of Balabhadrā. One Balabhadra is a character in Dandin’s Deva-thotasa cartta (13th 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 Nyaya-Nāyaka, from Varanasi belonged to 17th century (Bhattacharya History of Nyaya-Nāyaka, p. 192). So the Balabhadra of Tibetan tradition (13th 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-hjub-bshad-po. "Kyi brahmanitata sang oref

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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 विद्वान सहस्रादेशी (Vidvan Sahasradeshi) or विद्वान सहस्रादेशी (Vidvan Sahasradeshi) in the famous Sanskrit Tibetan Lexicon and translated scriptures we find Sanskrit equivalents of विद्वान सहस्रादेशी (Vidvan Sahasradeshi) (Mahayagnopati, etc) विद्वान सहस्रादेशी (Vidvan Sahasradeshi), etc.

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

In a recent edition of Ta'i-si-tu Rinpoche’s work entitled फिकृदिल फिकृदिल फिकृदिल or the autobiography and diaries of Situ Rinpoche (Ed. Lokesh Chandra and with a foreword by E. Gene Smith, New Delhi, 1968), we find Situ states his meeting with Vishnupati.

Situ met Vishnupati many times during king Jagajjaya Malla whose reign according to Regmi covered 1721-1736 A.D. (Medieval Nepal, Pt. II, Calcutta, 1966, p.178). Situ’s first visit to Nepal was in 1723 in a place called Kyim-Tol (क्यिम्तोल) in a temple dedicated to ब्रह्मदेवी (Brahmadevi). The personal name (किल्लविंद्र) of illustrious old Brahmin Pandita from Tirhuti (टिरहुती) was Bacchur Oja. and his name as a Vedic scholar (किल्लविंद्र) was Vishnupati (विज्ञापति).

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

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literature in general and specially in grammar. For this purpose he investigated in the commentary made by Kla ( redux). Thus Naga was most probably Nagajibhata, the famous grammarian of 13th century A.D. Situ also read Bhulnata Panabita Bhattoji-dikshita's ( Redux) commentary on Amarakosha, Subhuticandra's commentary on Amarakosha, Naradakshita of Madhukara's ( Redux) and so on.

In conclusion we may say that the beginnings of Sanskrit studies were made in the seventh century (612-657 AD) by royal scholar Thomm-Sambhata. 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 Pampa, NIT, 1961). As the inventor of science of expression, Panini was almost apotheosized in Tibetan tradition. As Professor Naluksha Dutt says: "Regarding Panini the texts mention that he was born at Bhirakavana 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 easbhasa raj through the grace of Avalokiteshvara. He composed the well-known Pan ni-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 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 "Rajasthani" and "Vartuha" scripts and then transcribed in Tibetan. Each line is followed by Tibetan rendering. We give below the Sanskrit version in Devanagari as well as Tibetan script followed by Tibetan rendering.