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

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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; following in the footsteps of the earliest phoneticians I wish to introduce the complementary term yuddrambhaṭṭi 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.

Taluch gorm m. Green hill, is in Scottish C.S. (Common Speech) spoken and written as Taluchgourm (more correctly Taluchgorum)².

A close parallel to the Scots-Gaelic pronunciation of gorm 'green' as though it were 'gorum' or 'gorum' is provided by the well-known cry of the cœ-wild in Hindi "cf—garm—garmad", 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 'goram', 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 yuddrambhaṭṭi, on the other hand, English readily provides examples in pronunciation, and, unlike my Hindi example, even admits them into the spelling. Thus, where some speakers (including myself) pronounce Hammas and Hammased with a sequence of two medial consonant sounds [mt] and [ms] respectively, others pronounce them with a sequence of three consonants, [mpet] and [msep], the [p] being yuddrambhaṭṭi, sharing the labial feature with the [m] but the voicelessness...
feature with the [a] or [a].

Etymology favours the former type of speaker, and requires such spellings as ‘Hamson’ and ‘Hamstead’, compounded from Old English ham ‘dwelling’ c.e. ‘home’ with Old English stā ‘enclosure’, farm’, ’house’, and Old English stāle ‘place’; but the latter type of speaker has triumphed over the etymology, for the established spelling has clearly given orthographic status to the yeṣhانshāhki [-p-]. In this paper I shall suggest that in Tibetan too yeṣhānshāhki has triumphed, and that the incorporation of a yeṣhānshāhki 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: ‘Verbal root remain constant in most Sino-Tibetan languages. But diversity of form reaches the extreme in Old Tibetan (classical Tibetan), where so positional phrasing of the verb is necessarily constant—whether consonantal prefix, consonantal initial, medial vowel, ‘final’ consonant, or ‘suffixed’ consonant.’ Shaffer takes up this challenge by attempting to provide both the comparative grammarian and the beginning student in Old Tibetan with ‘something like ‘combinations’ 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—-: ŏndra for ‘rise’, ści, fi ‘die’; yišor, for ‘escape’; ’ųndag, ūq ‘be ruined’; ’oung, ūqim. ūq ‘go in’; ści, fi em. ūq ‘live’; ściad, and ‘be on the decline’; and probably ‘cheer, see ‘say’.’ It is verbs of this type, in which affricate initials alternate with fricative initials (Shaffer’s ‘sibilant initials’), that I wish to analyse in terms of yeṣhānshāhki; indeed, I have already made a beginning elsewhere, though without using the term yeṣhānshāhki, taking as my example the following four verbs, the upper line comprising the present form, and the lower line the perfect forms, of the same four verbs, except that according to Pichard, ŋag is also an alternative present form:

`dngag driñg ‘destroy’ dngag ‘plant’ dngag ‘enter’

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

6
a. 'dr- alternating with (q)dr- (q)dr- (q)dr-.
b. 'dr- (q)dr- (q)dr- (q)dr-.

c. 'dr- alternating with (b)dr- (b)dr- (b)dr-.
d. 'dr- (b)dr- (b)dr- (b)dr-.
e. 'dr- (b)dr- (b)dr- (b)dr-.
f. 'dr- alternating with (z)- (rz)- (rz)- (rz)-.

In Fieckke's Dictionary I find nine verbs in which a present form in the initial two-letter group, 'dr-, alternates with other forms, past, future, and imperative, in which the initial either is the single letter z- or contains the letter r in the groups rz- and rz- (rz- rz-}; e.g.:

i. present: 'dreg (q)dr- drip
other: (q)dr- (q)dr- (q)dr-

ii. present: (q)dr- (q)dr- decline, be spent
other: (q)dr- (q)dr- (q)dr-

iii. present: (q)dr- (q)dr- put out
other: (q)dr- (q)dr- (q)dr-

iv. present: (q)dr- (q)dr- make way
other: (q)dr- (q)dr- (q)dr-

In the case of one of these verbs the alternation of 'dr- with z- is in the present form itself: 'dreg and zeg (q)dr- (q)dr- 'plant'; this same verb, and two others, alternate with forms in rz- in the perfect: zeg, zeg, (q)dr-, (q)dr- 'plant', brid, zd (q)dr- rz; 'put into', zbnm, znr (q)dr-, (q)dr- 'shut'; and the last one alternates with rz- in the imperative: zd, zd (q)dr-, (q)dr-. There is, in addition, another form, apparently not a verb, in which 'dr- alternates with rz-: (q)dr- (q)dr- (q)dr- (q)dr- 'bride'.

At the time when the orthography was devised, I take 'dr- to have had the phonetic of the nasal followed by an affricate, with the nasal having the same tongue position as the affricate ([ndz]); thus, both sounds have in common the feature of complete closure in the mouth by the tongue. I take z-, on the other hand, whether alone, as rz-, or in the initial groups rz- and rz-, (q)dr-, (q)dr-, to have had the value of a fricative ([f]), and therefore no closure in the mouth. From a comparison of the nasal-affricate group ([ndz]) with the fricative ([f]), or groups containing the fricative [f], I conclude
that the non-nasal closure [t] of the [nde] group is a svedsmanbhakti, a glide, sharing the closure feature with the preceding nasal ([d]) and the non-nasal feature with the following fricative ([t], i.e.: [t(d)z]).

Accordingly, I should have preferred to see initial 'dz- *d zab', which is a svedsmanbhakti spelling, replaced, at least for the nine verbs with alternating forms in 'dz- and (g)bz-, by *dz- *xab-, with the result that, for example, 'dzag and 'dzin ( *dzaq, *dzaq) would be spelt *dzag and *dzin ( *dzaq, *dzaq), and that their initial letters would cease to alternate. Their forms would then appear as follows:

*dzag (g)zægi, gægi, *dzin (d)zægi, gægi, nang nung ngug(i).

*dzin (g)zægi, gægi, *dzin (d)zægi, gægi, ngug(i).

In my analysis I have attributed a nasal-and-fricative value to the initial group 'dz- *d zab'; but I am obliged to admit that, whatever the pronunciation may have been at the time when the spelling became established, my Research Assistant Rinzing Wangpo (tib. '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 fricative ([dz-]), e.g. 'dzem not as *dzem but as *dzem, without a svedsmanbhakti. 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 svedsmanbhakti, and therefore as supporting my interpretation of orthography 'dz- *d zab as the svedsmanbhakti form of what is to be regarded structurally as *dz- *xab. For such an interpretation I am obliged to assume that *dz- was pronounced in former times as a voiced consonant ([dz-]), but this assumption presents no great difficulty, for the [d] of the orthography corresponds to the voiced consonant [dz] of the more conservative Tibetan dialects, e.g. rong-po 'bridge', zangs 'copper', 'dzin 'seat', 'gza' ('gza' planet', Golek 'dzin' in the Lhasa dialect and in the pronunciation 'dzin in spelling and reading written Tibetan 2- corresponds to the voiceless consonant [d] in a low-tone syllable).

Rinzing Wangpo’s pronunciation of initial 'dz- *d zab' not as [nde-] but as [nde-] in reading and spelling written Tibetan does not...
go unsupported: the Khaza dialect has [-m-] corresponding to the 
'de' of the spelling, though only in certain types of syllable junction 
within the word, e.g. shā 'day', ḍheđe 'smile', shā 'fagari 
'ladder' (ἐ'φν, Ṛx- ṚR, ṚR- ṚR-); so too does Golok, 
but with the difference that in Golok the [n] features are not confined to 
a medial position but occur initially in such words as mds-n-mo (or 
mds-n-mo) 'fingers', Nfam 'assemble', and (') 'dus-gling' 'world'.M 
Consistently with this nasal-and-fricative pronunciation corresponding to 
'de'-M, Golok has a nasal-and-fricative pronunciation [m̩-], not nasal-and-fricative [*m̩ds-], corresponding to the initial group m̩- 
of the spelling; e.g. [m̩-] ma- 'πας' 'sak' (hybrid).

It may be that syllables spelt with 'd- (and m̩ds-m̩-) 
fluctuate in pronunciation from [m̩-] to [mds-] (and [m̩ds-] to m̩ds-), 
from speaker to speaker, and have done so since the early days of the 
orthography, is something like the way in which English words ending 
in -nch such as lunch, branch, and finish fluctuate between a syllabic 
pronunciation with nasal and affricate (mn-) and a pronunciation with 
nasal and fricative (mn-), as though spelt *lunch, *branch, etc.

Whatever the likelihood of a fluctuation in the pronunciation 
of 'd- (and m̩ds-m̩-) between nasal and affricate and nasal and fricative, it is 
evident that adopting an alphabetic scheme of the Sanskrit type, the 
varna samāra is, for Yetican has had the effect of widely separating the 
affricate [ḍh] from the fricative [ḍ]; for ḍha it in that scheme is grouped 
with tv and dhau (d, 'd), and separated from za x, which is grouped 
with ža, žu, and yu (y, 'y, 'y). 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 'd- as ḍ- 'd-.

The same sort of symbolization could be extended to forms 
currently written with initial groups m̩ds-m̩d- and m̩ds-m̩d-, e.g. m̩sd- 
'day', m̩sd- 'love', m̩ds- 'press', m̩ds- 'be finished' (see, m̩ds-, m̩ds-, m̩ds-)
which 
would then be spelt m̩sd- m̩sd- m̩sd- m̩sd- m̩sd-

I am not, however, able to advocate this change of symbolization on 
the same grounds as for 'd- and (g/)r-; because verbs with initial 
m̩ds- and m̩ds- do not show any alternation in form as between m̩ds- 
and m̩ds- (g/k) r, the contrary, verbs with initial m̩ds- or m̩ds- in 
one form are spelt with that same initial group in all forms. The only 
reasons, then, for making a parallel change from m̩ds- and m̩ds- to m̩ds-
and *r*- respectively are those of consistency with the proposed change from ‘de- to ‘be-‘, and economy; for it would then be very nearly possible to dispense with the letter ‘de‘ altogether: words spelt with the single initial letter ‘de-‘ number, in Fleischke’s Dictionary, only nineteen. They alone would remain.

Although the initial group *de*- ‘t‘ occurs in Tibetan orthography, and is by no means rare, and although both *id-‘ and *i-‘ (‘d-, ‘g-) occur (section (b)), e.g. ‘red‘ ‘targe‘, ‘dpong‘ ‘valley‘, ‘region‘ (‘d-, ‘k-‘), there is no such initial group of letters as *ide*- ‘de-‘. A corresponding initial sound group to this non-existent group of letters, *[ide]‘, does, however, occur in the Balti dialect; it corresponds to the existing initial group of letters ‘de-‘, e.g. *[idda]‘ ‘de‘-‘ba‘ ‘month‘, *[idda]‘ ‘de‘-‘go‘ ‘cause to return‘. This Balti initial sound group I should analyze exactly as for *ide-‘, in terms of yedyawabsham, 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 yedyawabsham spelling *ide-‘, but *ide-‘. The above two Balti examples would, accordingly, be spelt *ide-‘-‘sta‘ (better, *ide-‘-‘la‘), and *ide-‘.

Since, however, the corresponding spelling to this Balti initial sound group is not *ide-‘, but *ide-‘, 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 *ide-‘. The spelling order *de-‘ is itself, though, anomalous, and hardly a satisfactory basis for the postulated metathesis: while there is indeed an initial group *de-‘, which therefore contrasts with *ide-‘, nowhere else in Tibetan orthography is there a corresponding contrast.

The letter ‘i‘ is comprised in the initial groups *er-‘, *er-‘, *er-‘, *er-‘, etc. (*i-‘, ‘er-‘, ‘er-‘, ‘er-‘, etc. (*i-‘, ‘er-‘, ‘er-‘, etc. (*i-‘, ‘er-‘, ‘er-‘, etc. (*i-‘, ‘er-‘, ‘er-‘, etc. (*i-‘, ‘er-‘, ‘er-‘, etc. (*i-‘, ‘er-‘, ‘er-‘, etc. (*i-‘). E.g. *ide-‘, *ide-‘, *ide-‘, *ide-‘, *ide-‘, *ide-‘, etc. (*i-‘, ‘er-‘, ‘er-‘, etc. (*i-‘, ‘er-‘, ‘er-‘, etc. (*i-‘, ‘er-‘, ‘er-‘, etc. (*i-‘, ‘er-‘, ‘er-‘, etc. (*i-‘). In contrast, the initial group *de-‘, clearly, without parallel in Tibetan orthography; it is not, therefore, surprising that in none of the spoken dialects is there a corresponding pronunciation *[ide-‘] (or, with yedyawabsham, *[sid-‘]). The word-initial features corresponding to *de-‘ in the Balti, Golok, and Lhasa dialects, is in the reading and spelling styles of pronouncing written Tibetan are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Balti</th>
<th>Golok</th>
<th>Lhasa</th>
<th>Reading-style</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*[ide-‘]</td>
<td>*ide-‘</td>
<td>*d- ‘</td>
<td>*(low tone)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are two explanations that occur to me for what is, orthographically speaking, a freak. They are (i) that el- might have been adopted as a digraph to symbolize voice such initial sound group as [bls], as in the corresponding form in Balsi, a remarkably conservative dialect, and that, accordingly, el- was regarded as a single pronunciation unit, like the Greek letters αὐ (for [vē]) for [el-] and πι (for [πς]), and not as a succession of the two units ε and l, in that order; or (ii) that el- represents an early compromise symbolization of widely different pronunciation features from different dialects, is in the current phonetic diversity of the Baltic 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, past, and caste are pronounced by North-country speakers with a short vowel, the same vowel as in laid, but by other speakers with a long vowel, the same vowel as in guard.

The same explanation might also stand for the corresponding voiceless Baltic initial group [bls] (bl) here used as a digraph for a single sound, a voiceless lateral, as including a *vw and rhyming with *bl- and rhyming with *lw. Although at first sight *bl- *el- might seem a more appropriate symbolization of such forms as these, especially since el- occurs in the orthography as an initial group, e.g., *klgs *klv 'tennis,' for which the corresponding Baltic initial is [bls], a close parallel to [bls], the proposed initial group *bls *el- avoids symbolizing the *v and rhyming with *lw and therefore seems to me to be preferable (cf. the corresponding analysis of 'nh- *s- as *s- in section (d)).

b. *el- alternating with *l-, *el-, and *el-

A detailed account of the relations of *el- and *el- (-els, *els-) and a potential *el- (-el-) with el- and *el- (s, *el, *el-) has been given in order that it shall serve as a model for corresponding alternations in sections (b), (c); these sections are, in consequence, somewhat less detailed.

Jacke gives fourteen verbs as showing an alternation in spelling between a present form in *el- and some other form, past,
future, or imperative, with initial इ- or containing इ- in an initial group गः or बः (गः, बः); e.g.

i. present: 'द्यवस्' एत् एत्
other: द्यवस्

ii. present: 'द्या (imp. 'द्या) एत् (एत्)
other: द्या

iii. present: 'द्यवत् (imp. 'द्यवत्) एत् (एत्)
other: द्यवत्

iv. present: 'द्यवत् एत्
other: द्यवत्, द्यवत्

v. present: 'द्यवत्
other: द्यवत्, द्यवत्

For some of their forms others of the fourteen verbs go outside the four types of initial considered here, 'द्यत्, 'द्यत्, द्यत्, and द्यत्, and have forms in द्यत्, द्यत्, and (b) द्यत् (कः, तः, अः) एत्. Six have a perfect form in द्यत्, three have imperatives in द्यत्, and one has an imperative in (b)पत्. All of these spellings except (a) 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: 'द्यत्' द्यत् एत् / एत् 'hoe'.

I take 'द्यत्' to represent a homorganic nasal- and affricate group, just as 1 did in the case of 'द्यत्'14; 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. 'द्यम् एत् [द्यम्] soft'.14 I have never observed an alternative sequence comprising homorganic nasal and fricative ('द्यत्') for initial 'द्यत्' (but compare section 9, 4a, 4b), though such a sequence would not be un-welcome.

Initial इ- I interpret as fricative, whether single or grouped, in गः and बः (गः, बः); and, as in the case of इ-.

In section (a), I take it to have been formerly voiced. Whether simple or prefixed as its current pronunciation in spelling ard in reading is with voicelessness (इ), in low-tone syllables, but voicing (ई), in former times, is supported by ई in the Skanda dialect of Balti in such words as 'request',
I analyse the 'dZ.- or 'bk.- initials as containing a yodhyanahakhi. My grounds for doing so are the same as they were for the 'kiz.- or initial group of section (a) the yodhyanahakhi [-d] of the initial group [-fr.] shares a lingual, or tongue, closure feature with the preceding nasal sound [-t] and non-nasality with the following fricative [-d].

It seems to me unlikely, therefore, that I could have been Thonmi Sambhota in a previous incarnation; for, if I had had his opportunity of pioneering the Tibetan spelling, I should have wanted to spell the initials of the present forms of the verb shown at the beginning of this section not as 'dZ.- but as 'gU.-. 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:

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If, then, I had been Thonmi Sambhota, I should certainly have considered instituting the spellings that I have illustrated in these tw. examples for all the fourteen similar verbs given by Fischke, and might well have applied it generally to all syllables, whether noun, verb, adjective, or particle, that are at present spelt with 'dZ.-. In that case 'dZ.- 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 'gU.- 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 mdZ., rdZ., or idZ.(-'zh, 'b)- as mdZ., rdZ., or idZ., respectively (-'zh, -'b, -'gh), though here again, as I stated for mdZ. and rdZ. (-'zh, -'b-) 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 *[-mdZ.], [-rdZ.], and [-idZ.] as yodhyanahakhi, and symbolizing such syllables as, for example, mdZ. 'meet', rdZ. 'barter', and idZ. 'weight'.
I take 'shab' to represent a sound-group comprising homorganic nasal and affricate of the same type as 'sh-a', considered in section (a), except that where 'sh' symbolized voice and non-aspiration tah-sualized voicelessness and aspiration. My only support for this assumption comes from the second syllable of 'Golok [knttah] 'borya', corresponding to tsh-cho, though a spelling 'tsho', in my opinion, be more appropriate than tsho; nasality in [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. [mam] in ngy-sho "we" 'dong-pa-sho 'the Bhutaneses'. The pronunciation of m-w-as [m] is not controversial; the spelling-style pronunciation of as 'ground', for example, is [sa], and that of sum 'three' is [sum] (Balti, and Golok [xiom]).

The reader, by now familiar with my syllable-ph Naz approach to alternation in the initial groups of symbols in the verb, will not be surprised to find that I analyse the initial tsh-as including a syllable [tsh], whence the t of the initial group of symbols tah-, which I should therefore interpret as 'sh-', and so on.

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

| i. present | tshab | shab | repay |
| ii. present | 'tsho | (b)-sho, go | live |
| iii. present | tsho | (b)-sho, go | nourish |

| other: | tshab/hsab, bsh | shab |
| other: | ses | (b)-sho |

If I had taken this course, there would no longer be any syllables spelt with the initial groups mSh, Sh, and tSh, but only those now spelt with the single initial letter Sh, e.g. Sh t 'tea'; Sh-ho Sh- "elder brother", Sh pa Sh- "robber".

d. 'sh- alternating with r-, g-, and (b)-,

Jeschke gives only two verbs as alternating an initial group 'sh-", for the present form with the single initial sh-w-, or the groups Sh- and g- (sh-w- and sh-), that contain it, in other forms:

| i. present | tshab | shab | repay |
| ii. present | tsho | (b)-sho, go | live |
| iii. present | tsho | (b)-sho, go | nourish |

| other: | tshab/hsab, bsh | shab |
| other: | ses | (b)-sho |
automatic, it presents no difficulty to my analysis; if nasality, then also aspiration (the converse does not quite hold, because of the alternative form tabbyata (i) ). This related nasality is, in the case of mith-a, homorganic (cf. also sections (a) and (b) ); but it is worth remarking in passing that an initial group mith- also occurs, and that the nasality in such groups is non-homorganic and labial (mitch-a). Such a pronunciation is supported by the Golok mitha 'take mith a'.

The case for analysing the initial group mith- as incorporating a nyutyanabhata [-c], and therefore for treating it as *m. *nyutc., is precisely the same as the case presented in sections (a) and (b) for treating syllo- and syl-lo. (and rite, rite, and ldt.; rite, rite, rite) as nyutyanabhata variants of *syl- and *sylc. (*syl, *sylc.), except that in their case it is not aspiration but non-aspiration that automatically accompanies the nasality.

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

* mith. nyutyanabhata sylc.; sylc. (rith.) syl c.

\[\text{d.} \text{rith. alternating with} \text{ } \text{c.} \text{ and} \text{ } \text{c}.\]

fajchke gives five verbs in which a present form in 'rith-\text{c.}'

alternates with forms in c. and rith,, rith,; e.g.

i. present: 'rith. syl c. rise

other: syl c.

ii. present: rith. c. explain

other: bid, sed c., c.

There is also a verb in which 'rith-\text{c.}'

alternates not with c. (and syl-\text{c.}), but with bid and sed (c., c.), though Fajchke queries the latter.

present: 'rith. c. entrust

other: bid, sed 'c.?

There is 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 (a) and (b) of c. alternation (\{m., rith\}c.) is parallel to that of mith- and c. (section (c)), even to the alternation of aspiration mith-\text{c.} in the present form with non-aspiration (b)\text{c.} in the other forms, the aspiration secure being bound to nasality here too. I therefore take,
t₁. to be a *nāmānāhāk initial group, and treat it as *y₁. *n₁. *n₁.; this
t again enables me to regularize examples (i) and (ii) of *nāchke's five
verbs of this type as:

* y₁. *n₁. *n₁. *n₁. *n₁.

Grounds for analyzing *m₁. *n₁. too as a *nāmānāhāk variant
of *m₁. *n₁. are precisely the same as those stated for *nāmānāhāk in
section (c).

e. *y₁. alternating with *r₁. and (0) *n₁.

* y₁. * r₁. *n₁.

*nāchke gives only one verb as having a present form in *y₁. *n₁.
alternating with other forms in *r₁. *n₁.:

1. present: *m₁. *n₁.

2. other: *m₁. *r₁.; *n₁. *x₁.;

nāchke states that *r₁. is the form in general use.

The spelling-style and reading style pronunciations of *y₁. *n₁.
are alike [n₁.], the place of articulation being not the teeth but the
alveolar ridge, further back in the mouth; the corresponding pronunciation
of *r₁. [r₁.] is also alveolar, and with much friction. Analyzed on the same
basis as the variant verb forms in sections (a) - (d) *d₁. *x₁. is treated
as incorporating a *nāmānāhāk [d₁.], symbolized as *d₁.; I
should therefore wish to *regularize this verb as with present *r₁. *x₁.
and past form *r₁. *x₁. (also *d₁. *x₁.). It must be admitted, though,
that this one example is a very slender basis on which to apply the
*nāmānāhāk concept, it has, however, some support from an association
of *y₁. *n₁. with *r₁. of a rather different type from that used in
sections (a) - (d).

In those four earlier sections present form in *d₁., *d₁., *x₁.,
and *x₁. ( *n₁., *x₁., *x₁., *x₁., ) and in this section a present form in
*d₁., *x₁., were associated with some other form, past, future, or
imperative, spelt with either a single initial *r₁., *r₁., or *f₁., and, in this
section, *r₁. ( *m₁., *x₁., *x₁., *x₁., ) or an initial group
of letters containing one or other of these five; but such an association
of *d₁. with *r₁. 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. 'dril    dril    *drul    *drul
     +drul    +drul
     be torn    trans.

rai  *ra ∂ be torn    intrans.

iii. 'tre    tres    *tres    *tres
     be mixed    intrans.

are    bares    +eqg    mix    trans.

Such other words, apart from pairs of verbs, as 'dril *tre
'roll' (intrans.) and 'lil-ba *tsul 'round', also support a relationship
between 'dr. and *t., (*tre, *tre).

If this small list of forms in section (ii) seems sufficient to warrant
it, initial *dr., when associative with *t., could again be
regarded as incorporating a syllabographic, and therefore structurally
equivalent to *r. *lr.; the verb forms in (ii) and (iii) above would
then appear as:

ii. trans. *rai  *drul; intrans. rai  *drul

iii. intrans. *tre(i)  *tres(i); trans. (i)tre(i)  (i)tr.  (i)

and 'dril would appear as *dril  *drul

These examples complete the exercise in which I have usurped the
role of Thomson 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 *parabhakti
    from Sanskrit sources (Phonetics in ancient India, a guide to
    the appreciation of the ancient phoneticians, Oxford University
3. Symbols in square brackets are in the International
    Phonetic Alphabet, but with certain modifications that
make for easier printing: these modifications are:

[tc]: voiceless alveolo-palatal affricate
[f]: voiceless fricative
[d]: voiced /d/
[t]: voiceless alveolar /t/
[r]: rolled
[n]: (voiced) palatal nasal

(both the English examples [k] and [f] have not alveolo-palatal but palato-
velar values).
4. Robert Shaffer, 'Studies in the morphology of Bodie verbs',
5. Shaffer, id., pp. 707, 704. I have re-Romanized Shaffer’s Tibetan examples in the following respects in order to have a uniform system of Romanization throughout this article: ri’-, ri’-, f’ to fh-, tsh-, and ’ respectively (a, ã, a).  


For the reason given in note 4, 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, f, and ’ respectively, dz, dd, and d. (č, ę, ę).  

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 A in the development of the modern spoken Tibetan dialects’, Acta Orientalia Hungarica, XXI, 3 (1964), 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 ‘est’, Balti and Golok [z]; bong-ba ‘good’, Balti [ba]; opun-tas giezi ‘Avacakitefura’, Golok [gic]. 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 kw-tone syllables, the former corresponding to the initial groups gi- and bi-, and the latter to the single initial letter z; e.g. [z] in gi ‘sleep’, ba ‘make’; [s] in zum-pa ‘bridge’, zan ‘copper’, za ‘eat’.  

11. See also ‘The role of A’, p. 311. My research assistant for Goloki, Dodrup Rinpoche, of the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, preferred the spelling ’douk-mo to Fischke’s ndub-mo;
and his pronunciation of this word, with initial [ns] rather than [ms], which occurs in Golok (cf. note later in this paragraph), supports his preference.

12. Shafer, op. cit., p. 211: "the common Shalti invention of spirants and affricates in combination with P."


14. For examples from the spoken dialects Golok and Lhasa that support this conjecture see "The role of R" p. 311.

15. Cf. note 12: Sikkimese, [z] in bbug 'put', bbug 'sit', but [s] in bu 'request', ja 'ride'.

16. I have attempted [ms] as being conjectural only, this is because, in spite of the occurrence of ms in spelling, I have never in fact observed an initial sound group such as this in any dialect; the only relevant example in ms Golok material is msflu 'meet', pronounced not with labial nasality ([msfl]) but with homorganic nasality ([msf]). The other two examples here, though, are supported by Golok [zfl] and Balti [ldfl], in each of which I take the [-d-] to be msflanaboldaz.
RGI'DAN-DRUG MCHOG-GRNzes (Six Ornaments and Two Excellents): reproduces ancient scrolls (1670 A.C.) depicting Budha, Nagajuna Aryadeva, Asanga, Vasubandhu, Dharmakirti, Gunaprabhā and Satyaprabhā; reproductions are as per originals today after 150 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 Tantric-Himalayan art or Mahayana. A glossary in Sanskrit-Tibetan, a key to place names and a note on source materials are appended. Illustrated with five colour plates and thirteen monochromes.
STUDY OF SANSKRIT GRAMMAR IN TIBET

—BHAGAVINDA 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 idiomatized 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 Namgal Institute of Tibetology, Sikkim.

Title of the work: SGBAH-BISTAN-BCHOS-RNAM-BSHAD-HOD-ZER-BIRGYA-PA; 131 leaves measuring 76 x 44” each; author: HGYUR-MED-TSHE-DRENG-MCHI-HOG-GRUI-NGES-DON-BSTAN-HPHEL; place of composition: KAH-THOG-ADO-RJE-GDAN; composed in 14th RAB-BYING.

Of all the Indo-Iranian linguistic records the oldest is the Rigveda. From the language of the Rigveda 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 Prakrit, 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 Astadya-yi. 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 Salatira 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 Katriyana. 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 Pāṇini.

The earliest among them was Kātantra which was composed by Sarvavarman, a contemporary of Satavahana dynasty of the Dvana. Of later works here mention may be made of the Grammar of Candrā (6th-century A.D.) which achieved great popularity among the Buddhists (Bhārikas) as Jainendra Vyakaran (c.650) among the Jains. Later the Pāli scholar Hemacandra produced also for the Jains the Bhāsa Vyakaraṇa.

Other works which won local acceptance were mostly of later date. The Sāndhīpravāsa of Kramaśivā—was composed after 1135 A.D. and was popular in western Bengal. Vāparāsa's Śivapada-bheda and Kādandapadhana gained popularity in Bengal and were written after 1272 A.D. Pālunakshabhādatta’s Śivapada Vyakarana written about 1375 A.D. was popular in Vṛndavana. Saṅgaha Īḍāra along with its commentary by Amṛtānandaśaṇu was popular in Māgadhā and Kāśmir.

Here it is interesting to refer to a Tibetan grammarians like भक्त्षिप्तिकर्मिक्षिक (also known as भक्त्षिप्तिकर्मिक्षिक) the compiler of lexiçon-grammar entitled भक्त्षिप्तिकर्मिक्षिक (same as Prajna of 1337 A.D. published by Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, Lexicon-Dictionary Fortieth 1984 and Xylograph Reproduction 1983). This eminent scholar categorically affirms the celebrity of Kālpa and Candrā in introduction of the XIth and last book भक्त्षिप्तिकर्मिक्षिक of rules from Kālpa Vyakaran for euphonic combination (Sanāti) and declension (Vihāra) of words (pages, 171-119). In the following words: भक्त्षिप्तिकर्मिक्षिक भक्त्षिप्तिकर्मिक्षिक भक्त्षिप्तिकर्मिक्षिक भक्त्षिप्तिकर्मिक्षिक भक्त्षिप्तिकर्मिक्षिक भक्त्षिप्तिकर्मिक्षिक भक्त्षिप्तिकर्मिक्षिक भक्त्षिप्तिकर्मिक

“The Kālpa and Candrā Vyakaranas survive in Aranyaka and Tibet are the twin popular stars like the sun and moon respectively and
are actually compiled with indispensable elements from great grammars like Abhidhānagāti (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 Aryavarta. It was the tradition to study at first Saranasati yakaranas and then to introduce Kalana and Candra Yakaranas).

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 Durgsunda’s commentary fragments have been found in Central Asia and the Dhutupatha is extant only in the Tibetan version" (A History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 455). Tibetan tradition ascribes to Sarvanarman 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. 455).

The above mentioned facts and the author’s observance, such as that, Anushastaruyapacaya made use of the yakarana Sutra of Ka-Tian (i.e. Kalana and Candra) in composing Saranasati-Pradnya also shows that, this grammar is of third category. The author states that, Aryaśa wrote this grammar under goddess Sarvanarman’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 Varnasai. In ancient time Magadha was the western adjunct of Vangala and therefore we may guess its popularity in Vangala also. It invariably founds its way to Tibet vie Nepal, through the disciples and followers of the Three Panditas from Aryavarta, 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 Ambhotisvarupa was a Brahmin born in the country of Maharashtra in south of Aryadesa. The goddess Sarasvati herself favoured him with the instruction on the system of grammar celebrated after her name. Though this is abridged in form yet is profound in meaning and deals with such subjects as gender and case section by section. So this grammar is flawless, shikhy-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 Candrika-vyakaranas.

According to this work Padrita Bhishada and Krishnendira met Taranta and rendered both the aphorisms and the dissertation of Sarvastra into Tibetan language. Taranta also completed his commentary on Sarvastra Vyakaranam. Later during the period of the Fifth Dalai Lama the translator having from Darva, with the aid of the same two Padrita translated the aphorisms and the dissertation into Tibetan. Again in later period Ijamgon Sitru-ri-pu the studied difficult topic of this grammar with the aid of Sambhuram 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 even a reader of such precious dissertations is very rare in Tibet."
"Some would still prefer the short treatise of Abhutisvamsacarya because this will help them to enter into the vast literature on the subject, like Kalapa and Candra-vakrama. I myself utilized a later translation of aphorisms and its dissertation, and for the obscure points I looked up the commentary of Tanazhila. I have adopted several principal words from the book entitled 'Samagama' 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-Terajia composed by the illustrious Farivarajaka Paramahamsa Acarya Abhutisvamavacarya'.

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

The concluding folio (132 r) says, "Thus as the copy of commentary by unsearchable Tanazhila 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 'Samagama' by Situ Rinpoche is 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 the commentary and was proceeding on my slow wit I had the ever persistent encouragement at the hands of Lhasa (Lha-sa), who was vastly learned in both Kalapa and Candra-vakrama systems. Myself the young-enchanted sde-dbang-mchog-grub-nges-don-gra-bhul-po being a loyal elder monk of Kab-Thog am consciously devoted to the great Acarya of Orgyen--Padmasambhava. The name bestowed upon me by say Acarya on the completion of my study was, 'Samagama'. I wrote in 4th Rabbyung, in the phase of full-moon of twenty-second or twenty-third constellation (Gravana) corresponding to July-August at KabbOp DorjeDorjed (Vadhuk BYANG-CHEL) in a
forest retreat for meditation known as Yon-gchen-kyi-khang

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

"Although there are many obscure points in the text, my
pupil has thoroughly checked the text on the basis of Kālīka and Cambra-
śvyākrama and Amarakosā 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 Adbhutottarāṇa the author of Sarvatīyaśāstra; as utthiya and local celebrity.
(ii) Brahmi Pandita, Rāhahāvyā and Kṛṣṇāmatsa meeting Taranātha and translation of Adbhutottarāṇa’s grammar.
(iii) Taranātha’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 Rinpochē’s study of this grammar with Pandita Yishaupati.
(vi) Author’s acknowledgements of new translations besides
recourse to Taranātha’s commentary.
(vii) Adoption of words of genders from ानामकायम्

(viii) The utility and value of translation of this grammar.
(ix) Author's encouragement by Gelong dorje Zinpa emlite scholar in Kelaupa and Ganda Vyakaran.

(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 Saravati school, Harshakirti (16th century), the author of "सारस्वत धनुषक्षेत्र" (vide Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS, Adyar Library, Vol. VI, No. 678); a pupil of Caudrakirti, who was honored by Sahu Salem of Deoli (1547-1550 A.D.); and Ramdoutrakar (1645 A.D.), the author of शरस्वती-शास्त्राद्वादः, also (ibid. No. 849); and the Tibetan, grammarian Taranatha (1535 A.D.) Darva Lotsava (contemporaneous with Fifth Dalai Lama), Situ Rinpoche and Gyurme choyang chogshul are the present translatr all testify to the present translation as the author of वारस्वत-शास्त्राद्वादः. The tradition assigns the original sutras to the divine authorship of the goddess Sarasvati; the sutras are named सारस्वती-शास्त्राद्वादः, just as the 14 sutras of Panini's grammar attributed to Siva are called विद्वेशशुद्धि. Thus Amalakhavaranpacaarya 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.:

विद्वेशशुद्धि पद्माभिंधानांगावकारोऽसुधारः

dh. विद्वेशशुद्धि पद्माभिंधानांगावकारोऽसुधारः

(vide. Nos. 4419 and 4471 of the Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS of the Society Vol. VI) and by the introductory verse of the commentary called Siddhara-Candra (No. 646 of Adyar Catalogue Vol. VI). The gloss contained in the Sarasvati-Padma has been ascribed to Amalakhavaranpacaarya 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 present translator, विद्वेशशुद्धि पद्माभिंधानांगावकारोऽसुधारः
Main contention of both of them is that, Anubhutisvayamaparava was personally favoured by goddess Saraswati in the composition of this grammar. As Darva Lobsang described the Acarya’s name as

क्षेत्रवर्तिकायु: नामा नामकार्यमानवत्तानामृतीमानवत्तिकायु: नामाणि

(2166) नामधनार्युरुपात (Fol. 82NIT)

Bhadrā may be honorific suffix to the Acarya’s name by a Tibetan grammarians, as Sandhūti was honorific suffix to Thonmi’s name by his Indian Gurus.

Sarvavāta Padārya is in the form of a text with commentary, the text being in sanskara form and the commentary in ordinary prose. The total number of sutras comes to above 1000 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 Kṛishnavīrata and Taranatha (Tanjur Catalogue No.4444, Vol. 102) Darva’s

Da Taka and Gyurme’s Da-Do, have yet to be investigated from several versions reportedly extant. The work is divided into two parts namely the Patravāhi and the Uttararāthi, the first dealing with śānta or declension, and second Pitombra or conjugation, Kṛidyā or verbal prefixes. The author Kṛishnaviśvāmaṇa in his Sarvavāta-Shastra-Itaha: Padavārdhika divides the work into five Adhyayas, each containing four pados and gives the contents of each of the 40 pados thus:- 1. Saṃjña, 2-5, Sandhi, 6-10, Spārvabala and Svaranatya, 11, Karaka, 10 Samāsa, 11 Tadbhāva, 12-9, Akṣara and 10, Kṛi (vide.No. 4444 of the Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit 388, in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol.VI.

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The date of composition of Sarvaras Prakriya ranges over a century from 1250 AD to 1350 AD. Sanskrit scholars like Surendra Das Gupta and Kuwan Raja do not mention at all the name of Anubhutiwarapucaraya. Keith while discussing the chronology of Sanskrit gymnastics merely states Anubhutiwarapu was the author of Sarvaras 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 Anubhutiwarapucaraya as an ascetic and a resident of Benaras; but we are not informed about the source of this presumption. The present translator Gyurmed Tsewang Chogdul (19th century) states: 

"Acarya Anubhutiwarapu a high Brahmin by caste was born in the country of Malabar in the south of Arzadea". The colophon (Fol. 110 a) reading 

is clear that the author was an ascetic (as we restore from Tibetan). The term Paramdhama 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 Tarkasangraha of Anandajana (No.3. Ciskward's Oriental Series).

1) That Anubhutiwarapucaraya was the same as the preceptor of Anandajana, the author of the Tarkasangraha.

2) That he had besides Anandajana, another disciple called Narendrapi, alias Narendranandi a commentator on the Sarvaras-prakriya.

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

   1. Guadapadaswarakhyatika
   2. Ngopamahinda Songke
   3. Ngoyampana Vasyhuko Chandrika, and
   4. ParamamolaNikandha.

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4) That he was a contemporary of Vopadeva (1166AD), the author of Meghadatta-vyakarana. As regards Narendrapuri mentioned above, he is said to be the author of the Saravasa-vilakya 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 Vakasamayika, as the fact is not supported by Tibetan sources.

Besides the works mentioned above one more work namely Bhagavadgita-Bhashya Tippuri goes by Ambedakarvarupa's name. A copy is available in the Adyar Library (Ind. Vol. VII). There are various MSs on Saravasa Vyakarana (Nos. 666-6-8 and its different sections. One in Oriya script as in Palm leaf, others in Devangari 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 and the name he received from his Acarya are already described. The author describes himself and his patron thus:

The author describes himself and his patron thus:
He makes an acknowledgment to his own pupil: "I thank you, Venerable, for your agreement in the matters. It is a great pleasure to see your approval of my work under discussion. Then this very learned and able scholar, Rim-paṅ-blo-bzhis-rje, composed this text in 1415 Rab Brang which corresponds to 1567-1667. He is known as dge-lugs-pa-btsan-shirt, go-te being the name of his clan. His disciple is Zos-chos-’od-bon-sprul-ston-stabs-mam-rgyal—Namgyal’s disciple is mkhyen-tsos-kong-sprul and his disciple is sＢkra-shis-pham. According to some Lama scholars further information might be available from a Namtha called Rig-paṅ-bstan-bde-de-maṅ-lod-tsal-rgyal-po in Yarlung-tsho-pa, but no one has discovered his biography.

(iii) The place and date of composition,

The preface of the book clearly states: In this country of Tibet, Bskon-pa Pandita Bālabhādra and Kṣhivasānta met Taranātha and translated both Sutra and Āgama Prakīrti of Sarvārata Vajracarita. It seems that Bālabhādra and Kṣhivasānta first introduced the grammar into Tibet, while Taranātha made a commentary on it. The place of translation was obviously Jeang Monasteries in Central Tibet. Then later on during the Fifth Dalai Lama’s time Dāra Lobsāpa translated the grammar with the aid of two Panditas, Bālabhādra and Gokulanathavatara. Here the present author states that the two Panditas collaborated with Dāra Lobsāpa 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 Achariya Gelong Sopa, with the name of grammarian Tshangpa Zalpa Lodrola, in the 14th Rab Brung (1867-1867 of Chistain era), in the phase of full-moon of twenty-second or twenty-third constellation (Venus) corresponding to July-August (雪覟) at Dpal-khab-chog-ro-dri glyn monastery in Khams in a forest retreat known as Yang-dhen (wed) byang-chub-thong.

We have already stated the fact, that the author of Pujna completed his composition of the text during the New Year-days of 13th cycle. (Vide under (ii)), while the work was seen by dGe-lugs-pa. But he has not exactly mentioned in which particular year of 13th cycle he completed his work. But the accepted date of Pujna (177) A.D. 1937. Pref. Pub., 1961, p. Foreward, IX and present author’s reference of date 14th Rab Brung 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. Darje Lobsang who translated this grammar under the instruction of the Fifth Dalai Lama (1587-1687), contended that first full translation was Darje’s own. However, the Fifth Dalai Lama, who had another name as grammarian Thosang Namgyal, knew a full composed but authentic and terse translation by dGe-lugs-pa 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 Gyemtse dhewang Chopbupa, Pandit Balabhada and Krishnashiva first introduced and translated this work after having met Taranatha. Then again under the Fifth Dalai Lama with the aid of aforestated two Pandits Darje rendered this work. Again in later times, a few scholars have studied and discussed...
difficult points of the grammar with Pandita Khyab-kjog-bdag-po made the new translation.

Insipite 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 Vakritya (dissertation), the new translation and the commentary by Taranatha, and the gingers from a book entitled Jam-chos intact. The Sutra which contains the Aphorism has been written on a palm leaf and was found in the collections of the Mahasahas-akashi. The Sutra was written in the 15th century. The author states that these two grammars go without saying. This is evidenced by his reference to his direct disciple bka-skrod-bkra-shis-smra-ba-kjol-thyang-blo-gros-mchog-dbyin, 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 Candracarya 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 Tattvapaddhati. Bhattarchari veritable Baji, Samsara and JayaKalpa smaranis, who went before Candracarya and who by their unscientific method contributed not a little to the neglect of the Mahabarsha of Patanjali. As this observation accords well with Kalkaha's account of the date of Mahabharsha as well as with the curious legend recorded in a late Tibetan work, Sumpa's Sgar-sam-grong (Pt.1 pp. 95-96), the story is reproduced in S.C. Vidyabhusan: History of Indian Logic, pp. 134-135 (vide. S.K. De, Bengal's Contribution to Sanskrit Literature, Indian Studies Past & Present, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 515-520). Regarding Sumpa's censure of Patanjali having plagiarised on Candracarya it has been assumed that this Candracarya is no other than Candragomin. B. Lieebich, who has recovered and edited from MS, MS, as well as from Tibetan version, with full indices in 1849 is of opinion that Candra
flourished probably in the period between 465 and 544 A.D. The \textit{Candrayane} is certainly earlier than the \textit{Kadāka} of Jayaditya and Varuna; for \textit{kadāka} appropriates without acknowledgement thirty-five original \textit{Sutras} of Candrawin's grammar which had no parallel in Panini, but which Kayata distinctly republished as \textit{un-Panini}. All accounts agree that Candrawin was a Buddhist, and this is supported not only by his heretical Buddhist title \textit{Gomin}, but also by the \textit{Mongalakadha} of Vritti which pays homage to Sarvaparcha. S. Levi relying on the mention by \textit{Loxang} of a great man named Candrawin (official) or Candrawinola, who lived like a Bodhisattva, in his time in central India and composed a musical play on the Visvantara would identify this Candra with Candrawin. A Tibetan source, Taranatha, in making Candra a contemporary of Siva, son of Haravardhana, would place him at about 700 A.D. The Tibetan tradition does not distinguish the grammarians Candrawin from the philosopher Candrawinola; Vidyadhara however distinguishes a grammarians from a philosopher; while Taranatha states 'born in Varendra in the east', the Coler Catalogue states 'inhabitant of Sarendi' in eastern India; Sumra says 'born in Bengala'. S.K. Chatterji believes that the surname \textit{Gomin} corresponds to the modern Bengali cognomen 'gal'.

For further information vide S.K. De's article 'Bengali's Contribution to Sanskrit Literature', \textit{Indian Studies Past \\& Present}, Vol. 1, No 4, July, 1966, pp. 571-577. The tradition of Candrawin is supposed to have been maintained in Bengal by two well-known Buddhist grammarians Jinendra-bodhi and Mattreya-bodhi. Bengal had admirably been the ultimate place of refuge of most major and minor systems of Sanskrit grammars, including the Katantra (Kalapa), the Mugilhahodha, the Swarkapithasastra and the Saravata (ibid, pp. 491-553). According to S.K. De the Candra Vyakarna 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-Panini grammarians were influenced by and improved upon the rules of Panini. We thus find a Tibetan translation of later Panini work \textit{Prakārya-krama} of Ramanandatva.

But in Tibet Kalapa and Chandra were favored in the beginning while later Tibetan grammarians and translators preferred the Saravata. Obvious cause of its popularity have been discussed by the present author. We find that Taranatha and Sunaka Khampa and other Tibetan scholars have discussed at length the life and works of Candrawin because of his being a Bodhisattva and the celebrated composer of hymns of \textit{Tara}.
and Manjusri. (on Candragomin's Arya-Tata-Arayavardhini, see S.C. Vidyabhushan’s introduction to Sarvajñatrimitra’s Sjuḍһdhanuma-sangoha (Bibli. Ind., Calcutta, 1908 pp. XX 1). Later the Sarvasv grammar came to be adorned for its having originated from goddess Sarvasvati. In Tibetan pantheon Sarvasvati is supposed to be the emanation of Tara-Stwa. These sentiments accounted for the celebrity of Anukutusvanapra’s work in Tibet down to the nineteenth century. The present author’s eulogy identifies Sarvasv with Sherphyan-yum or Prajaparamita.

Taranatha in his Chois-bhuyang states, “Although Indra-yaṇkarasā is famous in Tibet as the most ancient grammar and having originated in Lha-yul—Heaven, this was not originated in Aryadeva. The Candrabhaṇya, which is translated in Tibetan, coincides with that of Panini (Panini’s grammar) whereas Kalapa Yaṇaka coincides with that of Indraj-hgs (Indra-yaṇkarasā system).”

The Aṇḍra tradition being prior to Panini (5th century B.C.) is also strong in Sanskrit literature. It is found in the Tattvārga Samhita, where it is said that, gods approached Indra to elucidate speech (saṃkaṃ yaṇakā). Patanjali speaks of Bṛhadpriyadaṇ, the teacher of the gōṛh, ex- pounding to the king of gods the science of grammar. The legendary account of Kauṭika-ṣaṅkara and the Bṛhyapati maṇja that it was the Aṇḍra school which was supplanted by Panini’s work is strongly supported by Yuan-chang’s allusion to the establishment of grammatical rules by Indra. The existence of Aṇḍra system has been dealt with in detail by Borthwick in his paper On the Āṭya System of Sanskrit Grammarians (V.S. Agrawala, Indiā as Known to Panini, p. 16). The Tibetan historians clearly suggest two parallel systems of grammars. In Tibetan view, like Panini and Kalapa, Sarvasvata also has divine origin. Its divine origin and its orthodox lineage with Panini through Buddhist grammanian 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 Paditta Balabhadrā and Krishnamisra and Taranatha, the Great Fifth and two Panditas, Situ Rinpoche and Paditta 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 Paditta 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-mauthong 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 Sarveśa along with other grammatical works under Mahapandita Balabhadrā and Paditta Gokulanathamisra, Brahmin residents of Kurkudsheta. Here we have to note 'Mahapandita' attribute in case of Balabhadrā and that Darva, who hailed from upper valley of gTsang belonged to Nor-ldrel-yang-po family. His full name is Ngag-dbang-phan-tshogs lhung-grub and his name as grammarian is Tshe-dbang-rab-brtan-sku-rje, so that he completed translation in a period of six months living at Potala Palace. Whether Darva visited Aryavada, as both the Panditas visited Tibet, and if so, when are matters to be yet investigated. But in Derge Catalogue of Tanjur, in Sm-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 Gyar-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
Krishnamisra. In the Fifth Dalai’s work there the name occurs as Gokula “who along with Pandita Balshubha taught Panini in Tibet”.

In the earlier Indian tradition we come across a Krishnamisra, the author of famous allegorical drama Vakadha-candradya or “The moon-rise of true knowledge”. The date of dramatic 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 Kritivarmman over the Coli King Karuu. As Karuu is mentioned in an inscription dated 1549 A.D., and as an inscription of the Candella King Kritivarmman is also dated 1549 A.D., it has been concluded that Krishnamisra belonged to the second half of the 12th century (Dasgupta: A History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 48). Therefore, Krishnamisra the dramatist and Krishnamisra (or Gokulamisra) the Indian pandit in Tibet, are separate from each other by a gap of more than five centuries.

We know of Gokulamisra Upadhya, the illustrious Naiya-logician and Vedanta Commentator in the decade of 1649-58, in Mithila (Din-Dhi Chandira Bhattacharya: A History of Naiya-Nyu in Mithila, p. 193). We give here the following from Gokulamisra’s commentary (Pudhyā) on Vasu-putri’s Dwaraś Naniyā: “नामन आचार्यांनि भिक्षुणिषा शिष्याणां विना नायाण्याते...”

Jayanta is dated about 1400 A.D., he was evidently not dive when Sankaranarayana took lesson from his younger brother and pupil Bhavanath (about 1425 A.D., ibid, pp. 115-116). Mangoni near Madhubani the native village of Gokulamisra Upadhya became as famous as Nalanda or Varanasi because of Gokulamisra (ibid, p. 141). It is said that Gokulamisra left Mithila in his early life and was a courtier of a Muslim-nad (?). Fateh Sahib Garhwal at the foot of the Himalayas (Sinha’s History of Tibet, p. 115, cited in Bhattacharya’s, History of Naiya-Nyu in Mithila, p. 193). He must have gone there in the last quarter of the century as Fateh Sahib died in 1669 A.D. There he wrote seven works. Then he adopted the court of Maharaj Madhura Sinha of Mithila (1709-1734, A.D.). According to tradition Gokulamisra died at Varanasi, when he was 90 years old. The date of his death is surmised to be in the decade 1670-80 A.D. (ibid, p. 195). Although in Bhattacharya’s work we do not find Gokulamisra to be a grammarian, yet he states that his cousin and pupil Jayanta Misra of Mithila author of Vaiśalyam-aśrūya (Chowdhri, Ed 1907, p. 471), 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 Himalayas (Nepal) and had contact with Tibetan scholars like Taranatha 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 Taranatha and the Fifth Dalai. while Darva speaks of Gokulanathamitra as Brahmin from Kurukshetra the Fifth Dalai clearly states that the same was from Varanasi, vide, rgya-bod-bor-sog-gi-mchos-dzin-bar-ma-nams-la-rhying-yig-sman-sngag-tsho-blo-ga-rab-snyan-gyud-mang-shes-bya-bus-bu-ba, Vol. 6 Fol. 177 A).

Generally Miara 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 Babhadvada was the brother of Gokulanathamitra 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) abbrevs that the two brothers visited Tibet, expounded Panini and returned to India.

In Indian traditional literature we find the name of Babhadvada. One Babhadvada is a character in Dandin’s Denz-humata carita (5th century, Das Gupta). Another Babhadvada was one of the brothers of Govardhana a contemporary of Jayadeva, the famous lyric poet of Bengal towards the end of 12th century.

Another Babhadvada, the profound scholar of Naya-Nyasa, from Varanasi belonged to 17th century (Bhattacharya History of Naya-Nyasa, p. 102). So the Babhadvada of Tibetan tradition (5th century) was among the last to have this popular name.

We know from the introductory page of the book that, lharmgon-si-tu studied some obscure points of this grammar through the aid of one Pandita Khyab-lhug-blog-po. “]*)
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 विष्णुविना or विष्णुविन्द. In the famous Sanskrit–Tibetan Lexicon and translated scriptures we find Sanskrit equivalents of विष्णुविन्द as अविष्णु, अविष्णु (Mahayogpati, etc) अविष्णु. रामान्द, श्री तब ग्राहिन देशभाषी सत्त्र-कारकाद्रा, नगाविनी, etc).

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

In a recent edition of Tal-si-tu Rinpoche’s work entitled दलित उपाधिधातिक अविष्णु अनावश्यक, दलित उपाधिधातिक अविष्णु अग्रवेदवर्ती, or the autobiography and diaries of Situ Rinpoche (M. Lokeswar Chandra and with a foreword by S. Gene Smith, New Delhi, 1968), we find Situ states his meeting with Vishnupati.

Situ met Vishnupati many times during his stay in Nepal, and his visit in 1713 was in a temple called क्रिऺ्य-तल (क्रिया-तल) in a temple dedicated to ज्यौं-ज्यौं-भघु (Jyotisvara). The personal name ज्यौं-ज्यौं-भघु of illustrious old Brahmin Pandita from Tirhut was भगवत कुवको यज्ञ कुवको. His name was a Vedic scholar भगवत कुवको यज्ञ कुवको and his name as a Vedant scholar भगवत कुवको यज्ञ कुवको was Vishnupati. 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 was noted for his grammatical studies by Bhoja (672-738 AD). He also wrote a commentary on Agastya's commentary on Amarakosha, Subhutiandra's commentary on Amarakosha, Nanakcharaka's commentary on Medinisvara and so on.

In conclusion we may say that the beginnings of Sanskrit studies were made in the seventh century (672-630 AD) by royal scholar Thoram-Subhuti. A thorough knowledge of Sanskrit grammar and vocabulary was acquired 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, Parini was almost apotheosized in Tibetan tradition. As Professor Nalinaksha Dutt says: "Regarding Panini the texts mention that he was born at Bharukarana in the west (probably north-west); and that though he was a brahmana, he was strongly inclined to the Buddhist faith, and that he attained proficiency in grammar enshrinced in the grace of Avadhutesvara. He composed the well-known Panini-syakarana and ultimately attained Svavakabodhi" (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.

The eulogy is composed in Sanskrit metre. The Sanskrit is transcribed at first in “Rajana” 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.

...
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.D. Though this book was preserved in xylograph few copies of the block-prints are found outside Tibet. The lexicon portions are now presented in modern format with Tibetan words in Tibetan script and Sanskrit words in Sanskrit script with an elaborate foreword by Professor Nalinaksha Dutt.

October 1961.

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 tabe of typographical errors etc., found in the original (xylograph), compiled by late larnented Gegan Palden Gyatso (Mentsikhang: Lhaasa and Etchay: Gangtok) makes the present publication an improvement upon the original.

November 1962.
Notes & Topics

OBITUARY: སྣ་མོ་སྦྱིང་ངོ་མོ་གོ་

Gyaston Tulku, popularly known as Gyaston Tulku, was born 63 years ago near Khyung-Po in Khum. Recognized as the incarnation of Gyaston, he entered the Dwa-thel Gompa while a child yet. The child was the inheritor of a very ancient lineage of Kagyu sect. The lineage began with the celebrated Yogi Khyung-Po who preceded by a generation, the celebrated scholar Gampopa (Drog-Po Lhasa, 1077-1153 of Christian Era). The first Tulku Sal-Tong-Shva-Gom was one of the three principal disciples of Gampopa, known as Three Men of Khum (Khampa Misum). The deceased was also the incarnation of jam-PaShewen (Manjushri Mitra, the Indian Siddha), SangyoYeshe (a Tantrik Siddha of the House of Nub Rigs and Tahondu Senge among others.

After his early schooling with Pelpong Situ, Gyaston Tulku distinguished himself as a foremost disciple of Khentse Rinpoche who also passed away in 1974 in the same temple—the Royal Tshok-lha-khang. For years Gyaston Tulku practiced meditation and retreated into the hermitage of Ma-Ling. He was Dab-Pon (Master of Dab-Oa) of the Yoga school in Khyung-Po. The serene and kind appearance on his face reflected the experience of the meditation of the Dhyan Buddha Amitabha (Opome), for he had accomplished in his own solitude Dung-Chur (that is, one hundred million meditation of Opame). Opame is the Dhyan Buddha of Limitless Light leading to Life Eternal. Gyaston Tulku had indeed tasted the nectar of Eternity (Amritza) 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 Rinpoche and the Namgal 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 RFED ANNALS. Besides research scholars interested in Khampa dialect as well as Kar-gyu 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 fasting 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 1966—February 1970. He made extensive rounds of pilgrimage and performed Tongcho (Sakya 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 Rimpochhe.

Gyatso 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

44
WHAT IS VAJRA?

The Sanskrit form Vajra (or its Tibetan form Bod-rgyud) has been all along rendered as Thunderbolt in English. That Thunderbolt is not a fully satisfactory translation has been however admitted and as expository the word Adamant has been used. Vele Anagirika Gevinda: Foundations of Tibetan Mysticism (London 1938) and D.L. Snellgrove: Hevajratantra (London 1959). As Vajra is an object as adamantine as Adamant this expository 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 o’ 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 1946) 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 Kāśa Upanishad (2.13-12) Brahma is likened to Vajra, The relevant words may be rendered into English as “a thunderbolt uplifted” (Aurobindo), “the upraised thunderbolt” (Rahulkrishnan), 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; this was diamond. Thus in Buddhism Vajra came to be equated with diamond. In Tibet, diamond is described in hybrid phrase as Pulo-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 Greco-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 Pulo-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 Abhayavajra-vajrakha 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)

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