

**Studies in Tibetan Indigenous Grammar (4):
A Sixteenth-century Survey of *Sum rtags* and Related Literature
(Appendix: Sa skya Paṇḍita's *Mkhas pa'i kha rgyan*)¹**

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*Homage to a Masterful Teacher and a True Friend, Ronald H. Poelmeijer.
Written as a minute token of immense appreciation, in memory of the man
who introduced me to all this, who enriched my life profoundly, and who
inspires me to this day.*

Important sources for the bibliography and history of Tibetan literature are extant in Tibetan,² yet have only begun to be explored by Tibetologists in earnest in recent decades. To mention only a few of the more obvious materials that provide such information:

- a. Catalogues (*dkar chag*) of various types, e.g. of collected works (*gsung 'bum*) of single authors or of certain lineages, of text-collections centered around a specific topic or basic text, or of xylographic blocks kept in specific libraries (*par tho*);
- b. Listings of textual materials required in specific monastic curricula (*yig cha*), or of texts studied by specific individuals in the course of their education or career (*gsan yig*);
- c. Surveys of literary activities and textual materials on specific topics contained in historiographical sources (e.g. in Bu ston's *Chos 'byung*) or scholastic compendiums³ (e.g. *Bshad mdzod yid bzhin nor bu* by Don dam smra ba'i seng ge (15th cent.), *Shes bya kun khyab* by Kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas [1813-1899]).

An example of the latter category will be presented in this article, viz. the compendium of the science of grammar, entitled *Tha snyad rig gnas lnga ji ltar byung ba'i tshul gsal bar byed pa Blo gsal mgrin rgyan legs bshad nor bu'i phreng ba zhes bya ba*, '[Treatise] elucidating the history

¹ This research was made possible by a fellowship of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (1991-1996).

² Cf. e.g. Taube (1968).

³ Smith introd. Chandra (1969: 5-7) = Smith (2001: 209-210), who distinguishes the *m khas 'jug* type intended for monks, and the *bshad mdzod* type intended for lay readers.

of the five fields of scientific (*tha snyad*)⁴ knowledge, entitled "Rosary of Aphoristic Jewels, Neck-ornament to the Clear of Mind".⁵ It appears to be the work of a personal disciple of the well-known Sa skya pa scholar Mang thos Klu sgrub rgya mtsho (1523-1596)⁶. The author, probably the monk-translator Dngos grub rgya mtsho from Sman ljongs in the Dbus province of Central Tibet, who is mentioned in the colophon,⁷ addresses the first *maṅgala-śloka* to Mang thos, and stresses his indebtedness to that scholar in the colophon.⁸

A significant feature of the text is the frequent reference to and citation from the *Rig gnas kun shes*⁹ by Stag tshang lo tsā ba Shes rab rin chen (1405-after 1477), so much so that one could almost consider the present text as a commentary to the *Rig gnas kun shes*. Note also the biographical notice on Shes rab rin chen (p. 309-311), which forms a welcome addition to the limited information about this interesting scholar.

The text commences with a brief introduction to the five fields of knowledge (*rig gnas*, Sanskrit *vidyā-sthāna*) (p. 255-258), listing them in the order: *sgra rig pa* 'linguistics', *gtan tshigs rig pa* 'logical reasoning', *bzo rig pa* 'arts and crafts', *gso ba rig pa* 'medicine' and *nang rig pa* 'the interior science' i.e. the Buddhist doctrine (p. 256).¹⁰ It establishes grammar, or more broadly, linguistics, as the most important secular science, therefore second only to *nang rig pa*, and proceeds to deal almost exclusively with the science of linguistics, touching on the other fields of knowledge only sporadically, e.g. in the elaborate notice on the activities of Sa skya paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan.

After this introduction, the text is subdivided into five parts:

⁴ *Tshig mdzod chen mo: tha snyad kyi gtsug lag = bzo gso sgra sogs rig gnas kyi gzhung*, cf. De Jong (1995: 298).

⁵ Henceforth all page references are to the Nor brang O rgyan 1987 edition. Another edition: TBRC: W1PD90704_5: 212-248.

⁶ The second successor of Tshar chen Blo gsal rgya mtsho (1502-1567) in the Tshar pa branch of the Sa skya pa sect, associated with the Mnyan yod Bya rgod gsho temple in Gtsang, near to Bo dong e, cf. Ferrari (1958: 67, 119 note 180, 156 note 574); author of a no longer extant biography of Sa skya Paṇḍita, and of a *Bstan rtsis* history, cf. Jackson (1987: 18-20, 23, 33, 495).

⁷ *yul dbus kyi sman ljongs su skyes pa'i dge slong lo tsā ba rnam dpyod can dngos grub rgya mtsho zhes bya ba*, p. 322.

⁸ *thams cad mkhyen pa mang thos klu sgrub rgya mtsho'i bka' drin las rig pa'i gnas la blo gros cung zad gsal ba*, p. 322.

⁹ Basic text *Rig gnas kun shes nas bdag med grub pa zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos* (TBRC: W2DB4577_1: 33-53), and the auto-commentary *Rig gnas kun shes nas bdag med grub pa zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos kyi rnam par bshad pa nyung gsal kun dga'* (TBRC: W2DB4577_1: 54-124), dated to 1477; cf. Jackson (1994B: 119-121), Mimaki (1992).

¹⁰ On the five 'fields of knowledge', cf. Jackson (1994B: 111-122).

1. on the significance of linguistics for interpreting the word of the Buddha (p. 258-262, giving, most interestingly, the technical derivations of the Sanskrit terms *siddha*, *tathāgata* and *buddha*),
2. a brief description of the grammatical observations attributed to Bodhisattvas (p. 262),
3. the history of grammar in the world of the gods (p. 262-263),
4. the history of grammatical studies in India (p. 263-276) and
5. the history of grammatical studies in Tibet (p. 276-319 [end]).

The section on the development of (Sanskrit) grammar in India contains notices on Pāṇini (p. 264), *Cāndra* (p. 264-270), *Kātantra* (p. 270-273, including the stories of Vararuci p. 271), and Kālidāsa (p. 273-276). This section, and the preceding one on the supramundane "prehistory" of grammatical science, telling the story of *Indra-vyākaraṇa*, 'Indra's grammar', the mythical primordial grammar attributed to the seer Bṛhaspati and the god Indra, show close similarities to such descriptions in Bu ston Rin chen grub's *Chos 'byung* (1322), the *Kātantra* commentary by Sa bzang Mati Paṅ chen (14th century), the *Rgyud sde spyi'i rnam par gzhas pa rgyas par brjod* by Mkhas grub rje (1385-1438), and in later literature e.g. in Kong sprul's *Shes bya kun khyab*.¹¹

The description of the history of grammar in Tibet is far more elaborate than the sources available thus far (notably *Za ma tog bkod pa*). First we have biographical notices on Thon mi Saṃbhoṭa (7th cent., p. 276-279), Ska ba Dpal brtsegs and Cog ro Klu'i rgyal mtshan, translators associated with the Early Dissemination of Buddhism, 7th / 8th century,¹² and Rin chen bzang po (958-1055), exponent of the Later Dissemination (p. 279-285). The remainder of the text offers brief biographies of Tibetan masters active in the transmission of the grammatical science (p. 285-321):

- Sa skya paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1182-1251/1252, p. 285-296)¹³
- Shong Rdo rje rgyal mtshan (c. 1235/1245-?, p. 296-299)
- Dpang Blo gros brtan pa (1276-1342, p. 299-303)

¹¹ Verhagen (1994: 166-202).

¹² On Ska and Cog, cf. e.g. Simonsson (1957: 217-218).

¹³ After a brief introduction about his youth (285-287), distinguishing his activities in the ten fields of knowledge: grammar (287-288), epistemology (288), prosody (288-289), poetics (289-290), lexicography (290-291), theatre (291), astrology (291), arts and crafts (292), medicine (292), and the 'interior' knowledge of Buddhism (292-end). This section gives a (non-exhaustive) list of his grammatical writings including *Sgra la 'jug pa'i rnam bshad*, *Mkhas pa 'jug pa'i sgo* and *Smra sgo'i don bsdu* (p. 287), the latter evidently referring to his *Sa bcad* of *Smra sgo*.

- Thar pa Nyi ma rgyal mtshan (end 13th-14th cent., p. 303-304)
- Sa bzang Ma ti Paṅ chen Blo gros rgyal mtshan (1292-1376, p. 304)
- Byang chub rtse mo (1303?-1380, p. 304-306)
- Bo dong pa Shes rab dpal (dates unknown, p. 306)
- Lo chen Grags pa rgyal mtshan (c. 1285/1295-after 1378, p. 306-308)
- Shab smad lo tsā ba Thugs rje dpal (end 14th/beginning 15th century, p. 308)
- Snar thang Samghaśrī (dates unknown, p. 308-309)
- Stag tshang Shes rab rin chen (1405-after 1477, p. 309-311)
- Zha lu Chos skyong bzang po (1441-1527/1528, p. 311-319)
- disciples of Zha lu lo tsā ba (p. 319-321).

For the present, necessarily brief contribution I will concentrate upon the list of grammatical texts, given under the heading *bstan bcos 'di nyid dgongs pa 'grel ba'i bstan bcos phyis su byung ba* [p. 278], 'later treatises being commentaries on the subject matter of these same treatises', *in casu* the two seminal treatises for Tibetan indigenous grammar, *Sum cu pa* [henceforth *SCP*] and *Rtags kyi 'jug pa* [henceforth *TKJ*].

The list contains twenty-one titles. For the first ten items, a chronological ordering has been adopted. Titles 1 to 3, the earliest, stand out among the rest in this first group as they are not commentaries on *SCP* or *TKJ*. Titles 4 to 10 are in fact commentaries on *SCP* and/or *TKJ*. Then, for items 11 to 21 an approximate chronological ordering seems to be resumed, starting again in the eleventh century. This section seems mainly to comprise lexicographical texts that are naturally related to *Sum rtags*, but they are not genuine commentaries on *SCP* or *TKJ*; the precise nature of entries 12 and 21 is unclear.

In addition to the entries in this list [marked B], corresponding entries from two other major indigenous bibliographical sources are included for the sake of comparison, viz. from lists of linguistical texts in *A khu Tho yig*¹⁴ [A] and Tshe tan zhabs drung's *Thon mi'i zhal lung*¹⁵ [T 1 for the list of *Sum rtags* commentaries, T 2 for the list of lexicons]. [TH] refers to the translation and annotation of T 1 in Tillemans & Herforth (1989: 29-31). As far as possible, I have added

¹⁴ A khu rin po che Shes rab rgya mtsho (1803-1875), *Dpe rgyun dkon pa 'ga' zhig gi tho yig Don gnyer yid kyi kunda bzhad pa'i zla 'od 'bum gyi snye ma*, section 18 on *Sum rtags* commentaries, ed. Chandra (1963-3).

¹⁵ Two lists, one of early commentaries on *SCP* and *TKJ*, Tshe tan zhabs drung (1981: 190-192), cf. Tillemans & Herforth (1989: 29-31), and a list of lexicographical materials, Tshe tan zhabs drung (1981: 196-199).

further identifications of the texts and authors. A more detailed description of one of the texts in the list will be given in an appendix.

Linguistical texts listed in *Blo gsal mgrin rgyan legs bshad nor bu'i phreng ba* [B]:

[B 1] *bdag nyid chen po bsod nams rtse mo'i byis pa bde blag tu 'jug pa /*
[A][T][TH] *deest*
= Bsod nams rtse mo (1142-1182), *Yi ge'i bklaḡ thabs byis pa bde blag tu 'jug pa*. Treatise dealing with the phonology of Sanskrit and Tibetan.¹⁶

[B 2] *'jam dbyangs sa paṇḍi tas de'i 'grel pa dang /*
[A][T][TH] *deest*
= Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1182-1251), *Byis pa bde blag tu 'jug pa'i rnam par bshad pa byis pa la phan pa*. Commentary on B 1.¹⁷

[B 3] *sgra'i bstan bcos mkhas pa'i kha rgyan /*
[A][T][TH] *deest*
= Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1182-1251), *Sgra'i bstan bcos Mkhas pa'i kha rgyan*. As very little has been written on this highly interesting treatise,¹⁸ I have added a more elaborate description and a transliteration of the text in the appendix (see below).

[B 4] *dbus pa blo gsal gyi sum rtags kyi 'grel pa /*
[A 1] *dbus pa blo gsal gyi sum cu pa dang /*
[A 2] *rtags kyi 'jug rtsa ba'i 'grel pa /*
[T 1.2] *bcom ldan rigs pa'i ral gri'i slob ma dbus pa blo gsal byang chub ye shes (rab 'byung bzhi pa'i nang byon / dus rabs bcu gnyis pa) kyis mdzad pa'i sum rtags 'grel ba / [TH 2]*
= Dbus pa Blo gsal Byang chub ye shes (14th cent.), SCP commentary [precise title as yet unknown, text not available] and *Rtags kyi 'jug pa'i 'grel pa*, a TKJ commentary.¹⁹

[B 5] *sgra pa saṃgha śrī'i sum cu pa'i 'grel pa /*

¹⁶ *Sa skya bka' 'bum*, ed. Bsod nams rgya mtsho (1968) vol. 2, pp. 345-349, vol. *nga* ff. 318r-326r6. TBRC: W2DB4568_3: 514-530; W00EGS1017151_4: 691-710, etc. For more detailed descriptions of this text, cf. Verhagen (1995) and (2001: 58-63).

¹⁷ *Sa skya bka' 'bum*, ed. Bsod nams rgya mtsho (1968), vol. 5, pp. 117-122, vol. *tha* ff. 235v5-247r5. TBRC: W30279_1: 545-570; W00EGS1017151_10: 502-527 (ff. 12v-25r). Cf. Verhagen (1995) and (2001: 67-69).

¹⁸ Inaba (1961), Miller (1965) (= 1976: 74), Jackson (1987: 53, 66, 83, 92).

¹⁹ Both commentaries are extant in manuscript form; personal communication Van der Kuijp and Mimaki, at the 7th IATS Seminar, Graz June 1995. The TKJ commentary is accessible TBRC: W1KG2170; cf. Mimaki (1992: 595-598).

[A 3] *snar thang lo tsā ba samgha śrī'i sum rtags mchan 'grel rta ljang rol pa /*

[T 1.4] *snar thang ba sam gha śrīs (rab byung bdun pa'i nang byon / dus rabs bcu bzhi ba) mdzad pa'i sum rtags mchan 'grel / [TH sub 3]*

= Snar thang Samghaśrī²⁰ (14th cent.), SCP (?) commentary, title uncertain (*Rta ljang rol pa* acc. to A): text apparently not extant.²¹

[B 6] *yar 'brog pa rin chen tog gi rtags 'jug gi 'grel pa /*

[A 17] *yar 'brog pa rin chen tog gi sum rtags 'grel pa rin po che'i za ma tog /*

[T 1.5] *yar 'brog pa rin chen tog (rab byung lnga ba'i nang byon / dus rabs bcu gsum pa) gis mdzad pa'i sum rtags 'grel ba rin po che'i za ma tog / [TH 4]*

= Yar 'brog pa Rin chen tog²² (13th cent.), TKJ commentary, *Rin po che'i za ma tog*: text apparently not extant.²³

[B 7] *paṇ chen śākya mchog ldan gyi sum rtags kyi don 'grel pa chos la 'jug pa'i sgo /*

[A 26] *zi lung śākya mchog ldan gyi ṭikka /*

[T 1.8] *paṇ chen śākya mchog ldan (1428 1507) gyis mdzad pa'i sum rtags 'grel ba / [TH 7]*

[T 1.10] *paṇ chen gser mdog can pas mdzad pa'i sum rtags 'grel ba / [TH 9]*
= Gser mdog Paṇ chen Śākya mchog ldan²⁴ (1428-1507), *Chos la 'jug pa'i sgo*, commentary on TKJ, written in 1471.²⁵

[B 8] *kun mkhyen goo [double o-graph] rab 'byams pa'i rtags kyi 'jug pa'i ṭi ka /*

[A 27] *go rams pa'i sum rtags ṭikka /*

[T 1.6] *go bo rab 'byams pa bsod noms seng ges (1429 1489) mdzad pa'i sum rtags 'grel ba / [TH 5]*

²⁰ Mentioned as the author of a *Sum rtags* comm.: Csoma de Körös (1911: 86), Schubert (1937: 11).

²¹ TBRC: deest.

²² Mentioned as the author of a *Sum rtags* comm.: Csoma de Körös (1911: 86), Schubert (1937: 11).

²³ TBRC: deest.

²⁴ Mentioned as the author of a *Sum rtags* comm.: Csoma de Körös (1911: 86), Schubert (1937: 11).

²⁵ TBRC: W29984: 46-56. Colophon: *zhes bya ba 'di ni / sum rtags gnyis kyi don rgyas par bkrol nas bsdebs snyan pa'i ngag gis / tshig nyung bar bsdus pa chos la 'jug pa'i sgo zhes bya ba dbu ru byang phyogs kyi rgyud du byung ba'i dge slong dpal shā kya mchog ldan dri med legs pa'i blos / mgrin dbyangs rnga sgra'i lo zhes pa / lcags mo yos kyi lo / khrums kyi nya ba'i phyogs dang po la gtsang g'yas ru'i sa'i cha nyug rgyal gyi lha khang du sbyar ba yin no*. Not contained in his collected works (TBRC: W1KG8897).

= Go bo rab 'byams pa Bsod nams seng ge (1429-1489),²⁶ *Rtags 'jug gi tika* var. *Byā ka ra na'i rtags kyi 'jug pa'i rnam 'grel tshig nyung zhing don gsal bar ston pa*,²⁷ TKJ commentary.

[B 9] *snyigs dus kyi 'jig rten mtha' dag gi mig zha lu lo tsā ba chen po'i sum rtags kyi 'grel pa /*

[A 8] *zhwa lu lo tsā ba chos skyong bzang po'i sum rtags kyi tika /*

[T 1.9] *zhwa lu lo tsā ba chos skyong bzang pos (1441-1527) sku tshe stod la brtsams pa'i sum rtags 'grel ba rnam par gsal ba'i legs bshad /*
[TH 8]

= Zha lu Chos skyong bzang po (1441-1527), *Slob dpon a nus mdzad pa'i bod kyi skad kyi gsung rab la 'jug tshul sum cu pa'i rnam 'grel*, a SCP commentary,²⁸ and *Byā ka ra na'i rtags kyi 'jug pa Rnam par gsal ba'i legs bshad*, a TKJ commentary,²⁹ are extant.

[B 10] *karma pa'i sum rtags kyi 'grel pa /*

?[A 23] *'ol phrug rab 'byams pa karma rab rgyas kyi yum [emend: sum] rtags 'grel pa mkhas pa'i rgyan /*

?[T 1.14] *'ol phrug karma rab rgyas kyi mdzad pa'i sum rtags 'grel ba mkhas pa'i rgyan /* [TH 13]

= 'Ol phrug (or 'Ol pa) [Rab 'byams pa] Karma Rab rgyas³⁰ (?-?), *Mkhas pa'i rgyan*, commentary on SCP and/or TKJ: text apparently not extant.³¹ Identification of [B 10] with [A 23] and [T 14] is by no means certain.³²

²⁶ Mentioned as the author of a SCP [!] comm.: Csoma de Körös (1911: 86), Schubert (1937: 12). N.B. Only his TKJ commentary is extant.

²⁷ *Sa skya bka' 'bum*, ed. Bsod nams rgya mtsho (1968) vol. 11, pp. 24-27, ff. 1-7; TBRC: W1PD1725_1: 109-124; W29984: 173-183; colophon: *byā ka ra na'i rtags kyi 'jug pa'i rnam 'grel tshig nyung zhing don gsal bar ston pa 'di ni / blo ldan bson nams seng ges mkhas pa snga ma'i legs bshad la brten nas rang gzhan la phan pa'i phyir bris pa'o*; cf. Tillemans & Herforth (1989: 11).

²⁸ TBRC: W29984: 57-79; Transl. Inaba (1974; 1979); Tohoku (1953: no. 7071), Van Manen (1922: list II no. 124), 18 ff., = Schubert (1937: 8), Chandra (1961: 506) [= 'Bras spungs par tho title no. 22], Miller (1992: 584-586).

²⁹ TBRC: W29984: 80-110; Tohoku (1953: no. 7072), Chandra (1961: 506) [= 'Bras spungs par tho title no. 23], Tillemans & Herforth (1989: 30 no. 8), *dbu med* ms., 14 ff., Cultural Palace of Nationalities (Beijing) no. 002348(13), cf. Van der Kuijp (forthc.).

³⁰ Mentioned as the author of a *Sum rtags* comm.: Csoma de Körös (1911: 86), = Schubert (1937: 11), Tillemans and Herforth (1989: 9).

³¹ TBRC: deest. Cf. also Van Manen (1922: list III no. 148): *karma pa gsung rab 'phreng ba'i sum rtags 'grel pa*, = Schubert (1937: 8-9)?

³² E.g., in a personal communication, October 1995, Van der Kuijp has expressed the opinion that the author of [B 10] may very well be Karma pa VIII Mi bskyod rdo rje (1507-1554).

Observation *ad interim*: A number of the grammarians listed above must have been scholars of considerable influence; because their (often conflicting) views on specific grammatical topics are still repeated and cited, yet often refuted, in the major *Sum rtags* commentary by Si tu Chos kyi 'byung gnas (1699-1774). Although Si tu does not refer to them by name, a later sub-commentary on Si tu mentions the authors of items (B 4, 7, 9 and 10) among the sources of these divergent opinions.³³

[B 11] *don 'grel yi ge'i brda dag ston pa la lo tsā ba blo ldan shes rab kyi nyer mkho bsdus pa /*

[A][TH] *deest*

[T 2.1] *lo tsā ba chen po rngog blo ldan shes rab (1059-1102) kyi mdzad pa'i dag yig mdor bsdus /*

= Rngog lo tsā ba Blo ldan shes rab³⁴ (1059-1109), *Nyer mkho bsdus pa*³⁵ [or: *Dag yig mdor bsdus*], lexicon.³⁶ The author is mainly known as a specialist on epistemology, being the founder of an important tradition of interpretation of Dharmakīrti's thought in Tibet.³⁷

[B 12] *dbus pa blo gsal gyi phrad kyi gnad bsdus pa'i 'grel chung /*

[A][T][TH] *deest*

= Dbus pa Blo gsal Byang chub ye shes (14th cent.), *Phrad kyi gnad bsdus pa'i 'grel chung*: text apparently no longer extant.³⁸ Dbus pa Blo gsal mentions his commentary on *Phrad kyi gnad*, 'the important points regarding the enclitics', in his commentary on *TKJ*,³⁹ alongside his commentaries on *SCP* and *Smra sgo mtshon cha*. It seems therefore that the *Phrad kyi gnad* was a text different and separate from *SCP* and *TKJ*.

[B 13] *snye thang pa grags bzang gi ganggā'i chu rgyun /*

[A 6] *snye thang pa grags seng gi dag yig dag byed ganggā /*

[T 2.2] *'gro mgon chos rgyal 'phags pa'i bla ma snye thang pa grags pa seng ges mdzad pa'i dag yig ganggā / 'dis rab byung bzhi pa'i chu*

³³ Tillemans and Herforth (1989: 9).

³⁴ On the author as a grammarian: cf. Tillemans & Herforth (1989: 9).

³⁵ Taube (1978: 185, note 91).

³⁶ TBRC: W1PD89051: 97-114 (9 ff., pp. 93-110). A quotation from an unnamed grammatical work by Rngog lo tsā ba is found in the *Sum rtags* commentary *Ngo mtshar 'phrul gyi lde mig by* (Gser tog) Blo bzang tshul khirms (1845-1915), cf. Miller (1965: 328) (= 1976: 72).

³⁷ Cf. e.g. Ferrari (1958: 166 note 674), Jackson (1987: 127-128, 165-169), Jackson (1994A).

³⁸ TBRC: deest.

³⁹ Mimaki (1992: 598).

stag lor (1242) *bstan rtsis mdzad pa'i lo tshigs la dpags na dus rags pa shes thub* /

= Snye thang pa Graggs bzang [or Graggs pa seng ge] (13th cent.?), *Dag yig* [*dag byed*] *Ganggā* [*i chu rgyun*], lexicon: text apparently not extant.⁴⁰ From T we learn that the author was a teacher of 'Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan (1235-1280), the great Sa skya pa hierarch, and that the work was composed in 1242.

[B 14] *gtsang nag sbug pa thud rje seng ge'i bdud rtsi'i chu rgyun* /
 [A 7] *gtsang nag pa phug thugs rje'i seng ge'i bdud rtsi'i chu rgyun* /
 [T 2.3] *gtsang nag pa thugs rje seng ges mdzad pa'i dag yig bdud rtsi'i chu rgyun* /

= Gtsang nag pa Sbug pa [or: Phug] Thugs rje[i] seng ge (dates unknown), [*Dag yig*] *Bdud rtsi'i chu rgyun*, lexicon.⁴¹ One might consider identifying the author as Gtsang nag pa Brtson 'grus seng ge (?-1171), the prominent specialist in epistemology,⁴² although he would be approximately one century too early for the internal chronology in this list.

[B 15] *stag tshang gzhon nu dpal gyi 'od zer brgya pa* /
 [A 11] *stag ston gzhon nu dpal gyi dag yig 'od zer brgya pa* /
 [T 2.4] *stag ston gzhon nu dpal gyis mdzad pa'i dag yig 'od zer brgya pa / 'di dbus pa blo gsal dang chos grogs yin pas rab byung bzhi pa'i nang du byon* /

= Stag tshang [or: Stag ston] Gzhon nu dpal (14th cent.?), [*Dag yig*] *'Od zer brgya pa*, lexicon: text apparently no longer extant.⁴³ T describes the author as a contemporary of Dbus pa Blo gsal, which places him in the fourteenth century. Stag ston Gzhon nu dpal is mentioned in *Deb ther sngon po* as active in a transmission of a Vajravārahī cycle.⁴⁴

[B 16] *bu ston seng ge 'od kyis sgra don rgya mtsho'i me long* /
 [A 13] *bu ston seng ge'i 'od kyis sgra don rgya mtsho'i me long* /
 [T 2.5] *bu ston seng ge 'od kyis mdzad pa'i dag yig sgra don rgya mtsho'i me long* /

= Bu ston Seng ge[i] 'od (13th cent.), [*Dag yig*] *Sgra don rgya mtsho'i me long*, lexicon: text apparently no longer extant.⁴⁵ Bu ston Seng ge

⁴⁰ TBRC: deest.

⁴¹ TBRC: W1KG10731.

⁴² Cf. e.g. Van der Kuijp (1983: 38, 59, 69, a.o.).

⁴³ TBRC: deest. Cf. Taube (1978: 185, note 84). Cf. also A 45: *gzhon nu dpal gyi legs sbyar blta ba'i me long*, possibly a work of the same author.

⁴⁴ Chandra ed. (1976: 349 = ja 20r5), Roerich (1949-1953: 396).

⁴⁵ TBRC: deest. Cf. Taube (1978: 185, note 85).

'od is mentioned as "secret preceptor" in the final monastic ordination of Mun me Brag kha ba Grags pa seng ge (1255-1343) in *Deb ther sngon po*.⁴⁶

[B 17] *rje byams pa gling pa'i smra ba'i rgyan /*
 [A 19] *dag yig smra rgyan* [+ add from preceding entry: *paṅ chen byams pa gling pa bsod nams rnam rgyal gyi ...*]
 [T 2.7] *paṅ chen byams pa gling pas* (1400-1475) *mdzad pa'i dag yig smra ba'i rgyan* (1435 *lor brtsams*) /
 = Paṅ chen Byams pa gling pa Bsod nams rnam rgyal (1400-1475), [Dag yig] *Smra [ba'i] rgyan*, lexicon: text apparently no longer extant?⁴⁷
 According to T the date of composition was 1435. The author also wrote the *Zhib mo rnam 'thag* commentary on *SCP*,⁴⁸ and compiled several chronicles.⁴⁹

[B 18] *bsam sdings pa kun bzang gi 'th [?] al pa spong ba /*
 [A 14] *bsam sdings pa kun bsam gyi 'khrul spong /*
 [T 2.6] *bsam sdings pa kun bsam gyis mdzad pa'i dag yig 'khrul spong*
 = Bsam sdings pa Kun bsam [or: Kun bzang] (dates unknown), [Dag yig] 'Khrul [pa] spong [ba], lexicon: text apparently not extant.⁵⁰

[B 19] *rje btsun zha lu lo chen gyi za ma tog bkod pa /*
 [A 9] *dag yig rin chen za ma tog* [+ add from preceding entry: *zhwa lu lo tsā ba chos skyong bzang po'i ...*]
 [T 2.8] *zhwa lu lo tsā ba chos skyong bzang pos mdzad pa'i dag yig za ma tog* (1514 *lor brtsams*) /
 = Zha lu Chos skyong bzang po (1441-1527), *Bod kyi brda'i bstan bcos legs par bshad pa rin po che'i za ma tog bkod pa zhes bya ba*.⁵¹ This is a well-known work on Tibetan lexicography and orthography, presenting the entries arranged systematically according to the initial consonant structure, written in 1514.

[B 20] *dpal khang lo [?] tsā [?] ba'i ngag gi sgron ma /*
 [A] *deest*

⁴⁶ Chandra ed. (1976: 679 = *tha* 10r2), Roerich (1949-1953: 773).

⁴⁷ Taube (1978: 178, note 48, 185). Perhaps contained in the *dbu med* manuscript of his collected works: TBRC W1CZ1101?

⁴⁸ A 18, T 1.18 (*thon mi'i gdung brgyud las 'khrungs pa paṅ chen byams pa gling* (1400-1475) *pa ...*), Tillemans and Herforth (1989: 31, note 60).

⁴⁹ Vostrikov (1970: 86-87).

⁵⁰ TBRC: *deest*. Cf. Taube (1978: 185, note 87).

⁵¹ TBRC: W1KG10663_1: 99-156; W1KG23488. Partial ed. and trl. Laufer (1898); cf. Taube (1978: 178, note 49, 185).

[T 2.10] *zhwa lu lo chen yab sras kyi slob ma dpal khang lo tsā ba ngag dbang chos kyi rgya mtshos mdzad pa'i dag yig ngag gi sgron ma* (1538 lor brtsams) /

= Dpal khang [or: Dpal sgang] lo tsā ba Ngag dbang chos kyi rgya mtsho (dates unknown), [*Bod kyi brda'i bye brag gsal bar byed pa*] [*Dag yig*] *Ngag gi sgron ma*, lexicon, composed in 1538.⁵²

[B 21] *thams cad mkhyen pa klu sgrub rgya mtshos slob ma la phan pa* [*la sogs pa mang du yod pa yin no*]

[A][T][TH] *deest*

= Mang thos Klu sgrub rgya mtsho (1523-1596), *Slob ma la phan pa*: text apparently not extant?⁵³ The precise nature of this *Slob ma la phan pa*, a work by the personal teacher of the compiler of the present list, is not evident. Perhaps it is this text that Dngos grub rgya mtsho quotes from when he cites his teacher (at least twice) elsewhere in this compendium.⁵⁴

Evaluation and concluding observations

It is evident from the close agreements in the content and phrasing of items B 4-10 (and B 13-19, cf. *infra*) that either this list has served as a source for the nineteenth- c.q. twentieth-century listings in *A khu Tho yig* and *Tshe tan zhabs drung*, or all three lists are based on a hitherto unidentified common source.

⁵² Cf. the introduction to *Dagyab* (1966: 5), Taube (1978: 178, note 47, 185). TBRC *deest*. Two commentaries on this lexicon: *Dpal khang lo tsā bas mdzad pa'i bod kyi brda'i bye brag gsal bar byed pa ngag gi sgron ma zhes bya ba'i don rnams cung zad mchan bur btags pa byis pa dga' ba'i ma ku ra* (W1KG10740) and *Rdzogs chen Mkhan po Thub bstan snyan grags* (1883-1959): *Bod kyi brda'i bye brag gsal bar byed pa'i bstan bcos mkhas pa'i ngag gi sgron ma'i 'grel pa utpala gzhon nu'i phreng ba* (W1KG10751).

⁵³ Perhaps contained in his collected works: TBRC W23636; W4PD1493; and W1CZ1100.

⁵⁴ P. 255-256: *'dren pa dam pa klu sgrub rgya mtsho'i gsung las* / *lnga rig chos la ma sbyangs zag med kyi* / / *bdud rtsi thob pa'i rgyal ba 'ga' yang med* / / *rig gnas che chung shes bya'i gnas rnams la* / / *blo gros rtsal du thon cig grogs po dag* (l), and p. 257: *thams cad mkhyen pa mang thos klu sgrub rgya mtsho'i bzhed pas* / *de lta bu'i dgos pa ni rang gi blo tshod du* / *'phags pa mchog gis rig gnas la sbyang mi dgos so snyam pa shar ba'i tshod dpag las yin mod* / *'dir skabs kyi 'phags pa ni byang sems 'phags pa rnams yin pas* / *de rnams sa yongs sbyongs kyi skabs su shes bya'i gnas thams cad la* [*tha 4 na*] *slob dgos par bshad yod pas* / *'phags pa dman pa nyan rang las ches mchog tu gyur pa'i byang chub sems dpa' sar gnas rnams kyis kyang thams cad mkhyen pa thob pa'i phyir du rig pa'i gnas lnga la slob dgos na* / *so skye'i blo gsal rnams kyis rig gnas la slob dgos pa lta smos kyang ci dgos zhes pa'i don yin gsungs te* / *bla na med pa'i bshad tshul yin no* /.

For entries B 13-18 the source can be identified: these are mentioned in the concluding section of Zha lu lo tsā ba's *Za ma tog bkod pa* (itself being entry B 19) among the main sources for this lexicon.⁵⁵ It seems most likely that the redactor of our present list was using the very same *Za ma tog bkod pa* (dated 1514). It is therefore uncertain whether these texts were still available to that author in the second half of the sixteenth century. In any case, it is certain that Zha lu Chos skyong bzang po, when compiling his *Za ma tog bkod pa*, must have had access to them.

This brief, preliminary investigation has, I hope, shown that this indigenous survey of the history of grammatical science contains many materials of great value to the student of these disciplines. These and similar sources of indigenous history-of-science should be taken seriously, and they should be explored properly; they should now be recognized as highly important additions to the limited and not easily accessible sources for many branches of Tibetan literary history.

It is particularly for this reason that I dedicate this short contribution to the exploration of indigenous bibliography to the memory of the *kalyāṇamitra* who never failed to impress on his pupils the supreme importance of the indigenous arts and sciences for our understanding of the Tibetan traditions.

Ronald: *Kye kye! So so! Lha rgyal lo! Lha rgyal lo! Lha rgyal lo!*

⁵⁵ Ed. Laufer (1898: 548, 550-551), New Delhi: Tibet House, 1992, 63v3-5: / *dag byed mkhan po'i* [gloss: *snye thang grags pa sengge* /] *ganggā* [gloss: *gtsang na* [add: *g*] *phug pa thugs rje seng ge'i*] *bdud rtsi'i chu rgyun dang* / / [gloss: *stag ston gzhon nu dpal gyi* /] *'od zer brgya pa* [gloss: *bu ston seng ge 'od kyi* /] *sgra don rgya mtsho'i me long dang* / / [gloss: *rje byangs pa gling pa'i*] *smra ba'i rgyan dang* [gloss: *bsam sdings pa kun bsam gyi* /] *'khrul pa spong ba la sogs pa'i* / / *legs bshad snying po gces so 'tshal rnams 'dir bsdus te / (...)*; in his translation Laufer (1898: 550-551) erroneously combines *Gāṅgā* with *Bdud rtsi'i chu rgyun* as one title, and *'Od zer brgya pa* with *Sgra don rgya mtsho'i me long*, yielding a total of four titles instead of six. The passage is also quoted in the colophon to *Bod hor gyi brda yig Ming tshig don gsum gsal byed* by Kīrtivajra, cf. Taube (1966-3: no. 2689).

— Appendix —

A One-of-a-Kind Tibetan grammatical treatise: *Mkhas pa'i kha rgyan* by Sa skya Paṇḍita (?).

*Sgra'i bstan bcos Mkhas pa'i kha rgyan*⁵⁶ (henceforth *KKG*), 'Grammatical treatise [entitled] Head-ornament of the wise', is a treatise describing the morphophonemics of the Tibetan syllable, and the grammar of the enclitic particles, in the following sections:

1. Introduction of the phonological and morphological categories (13v4-14r1)
2. Introduction of the enclitic particles (14r1-14r5)
3. Morphophonemics of enclitics with vowel *i* (14r5-14v2)
4. idem with vowel *u* (14v2-14v4)
5. idem with vowel *e* (14v5-15r1)
6. idem with vowel *o* (15r1-15r3)
7. idem with vowel *a* (15r3-15r6)
8. Case-particles (15r6-16r2)

The grammatical elements described here correspond to a large extent to the subject matter dealt with in *SCP*, viz. the phonology and the enclitic particles of Tibetan. However, the present text deals with these in a manner which is quite different from *SCP*, both in the order of treatment as well as in the technique of description. Briefly put, the *KKG* emulates the *sūtra*-style of the Sanskrit grammarians to a far higher degree than *SCP*, *TKJ* or any other Tibetan grammatical treatise that I have seen.

The statement repeated in the introductory verse,⁵⁷ in the concluding verse⁵⁸ and in the colophon,⁵⁹ that this text is "[made] in accordance with *Skad gsar bcad*" could be taken as suggesting that it is some form of post-*Skad gsar bcad* reworking of the materials contained in *SCP*. Indeed, these elements in *SCP* that have been interpreted as pointing to a pre-*Skad gsar bcad* date of origin,⁶⁰ are not found here. In these instances, *KKG* describes the morphophonemics

⁵⁶ Sde dge xylograph *Sa skya Bka' 'bum* vol. *na*, f. 271v2-274v1; facs. ed. Bsod nams rgya mtsho (1968-5: title no. 109), text infra based on this edition; see Inaba (1961), Miller (1965) (= 1976: 74), Jackson (1987: 53, 66, 83, 92). TBRC: W30279_3: 651-657; W00EGS1017151_10: 577-584 (ff. 14r-17v); W22271; W2DB4570_4: 287-293.

⁵⁷ / *gsar bcad skad kyi nor bu rin chen tshogs* / / *rnam dag blo* [?] *yiis byi dor legs byas shing* (271v3-4/13v3-4).

⁵⁸ *gsar bcad ji bzhin* (274r6/16r6).

⁵⁹ *skad gsar bcad dang rjes su mthun par* (274v1/16v1).

⁶⁰ E.g. the morphophonemics of the enclitic *-tu* and its alternants, cf. Miller (1963: 493-495) = (1976: 9-11), (1993: 43-53).

of post-reform, classical literary Tibetan. However, this is hardly unusual as this is, of course, also precisely what we find in all of the commentaries on *SCP*.

The authorship of this text is uncertain: the text is contained in the collected works of Sa skya paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (briefly Sa paṇ) (1182-1251) in the Sde dge print of the *Sa skya bka' 'bum* (and is attributed to Sa skya paṇḍita in the colophon in that edition), in the Sa skya and Glo bo manuscripts as well as in the index by Gong dkar 'Phrin las rnam rgyal.⁶¹ However, as Jackson (1987: 53, 67, 83, 92) observes, Sa paṇ himself refers to his treatise *Mkhas pa'i kha rgyan* as a work dealing with poetics.⁶² It is therefore by no means certain that we can identify with certainty the *Mkhas pa'i kha rgyan* under consideration here, with the text of the same title to which Sa paṇ referred. The *KKG*, as we have it now, refers explicitly to two treatises that are datable; but they cannot contribute to our dating or identification of the author of *KKG*, because, on the one hand, both antedate Sa paṇ (in fact he wrote commentaries on both), while, on the other hand, both remained popular throughout the history of grammatical studies in Tibet; so they could very well be quoted by a later author as well. The references are to the *Byis pa bde blag tu 'jug pa* by Bsod nams rtse mo (1142-1182) (B 1 supra)⁶³ and *Smra sgo'i mtshon cha* by Smṛtijñānakīrti (11th cent.),⁶⁴ both references occurring in glosses. At best we can therefore conclude that the glosses in *KKG* must have been composed at a date later than *Byis pa bde blag tu 'jug pa*, i.e. 1167 or 1179.⁶⁵

Whoever the author of the text was, it is evident that he was well versed in the traditions of Sanskrit grammar; and that he attempted to adhere to the style and techniques of the basic texts of Indic *vyākaraṇa* as closely as possible. He abandoned the traditional Tibetan seven-syllable *śloka*-line, as is found in *SCP* and *TKJ*, and materials such as Bsod nams rtse mo's *Byis 'jug* and Sa paṇ's *Yi ge'i sbyor ba*. Instead he adopted the format of the Indic *sūtra*, which was

⁶¹ Jackson (1987: 92).

⁶² In his *Nga bryad kyi 'grel pa*, p. 149.4.4: *snyan ngag gi gtsug lag ltar bshad shes pa dang / 'di dag 'chad pa'i bstan bcos kyang / kho bos byas pa'i mkhas pa'i kha rgyan zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos der blta bar bya'o /*, cf. Jackson (1987: 103).

⁶³ 1.12: */ de rnams la rkyang pa dang 'phul ba dang brtsegs pa dang / rjes su rkang [?] 'jug dang yan lag rnams sbyar bas phyee ba'i yi ge'i rnam grangs ni* [infralinear gloss: *byis pa bde 'jug la sogs pa /*] *gzhan du grags* [infralinear gloss: *kyis 'dir ma bshad /*] *pa nyid do /* [271v6 272r1 / 13v6-14r1].

⁶⁴ 2.23: */ 'di la sogs pa don gyi phrad rnams ni* [infralinear gloss: *smra sgo la sogs pa /*] *gzhan du grags pas 'dir ma bshad do /* [272r4-5 / 14r4-5].

⁶⁵ Verhagen (1995: 944).

commonly used not only in the basic texts of the grammatical traditions, but also in other technical genres of Sanskrit literature.⁶⁶

The most prominent characteristic of the *sūtra*-style is its brevity. The individual rules (Skt. *sūtra*) usually consist of nominal phrases formulated with the utmost economy of words. This economy is achieved by a number of techniques and conventions; such as ellipsis; the use of technical terms; the specific technical use of certain cases, etc. All these elements typical for the *sūtra*-style can be found in *KKG*. Moreover, we find the sentence-final particle *-Co* at the end of every *sūtra*, which convention is also found in the canonical Tibetan translations of the *sūtra*-texts of the Sanskrit grammarians.

For the technical use of cases:⁶⁷ the ablative case is used in the technical sense of 'following x', in other words indicating the left-hand context of the grammatical operation (3.1-4, 3.16). In most instances, however, the genitive seems to be used instead of the ablative (3.8-10, 4-7 passim). This could be taken as (through *anuvṛtti*, cf. infra) abbreviated from genitive + *pha rol tu* (4 passim with *anuvṛtti* of *pha rol tu* from 4.1, 5 passim with *anuvṛtti* of *pha rol tu* from 5.1, etc.). The technical use of the locative in the sense of 'before x', i.e. indicating the right-hand context of the operation, is found as well (3.17-19). I see no evidence of the technical use of the genitive, at least not in the traditional Pāṇinian technical sense of indicating the substituend element. In fact, I find no trace of the method of substitution, which constitutes such a central element in the Indic descriptive technique. Neither the method of notation of Pāṇini (and *Cāndra*, genitive for substituend and nominative for substitute) nor that of *Kātantra* (nominative for the substituend, or perhaps rather transformand, and accusative for the substitute) is applied. No form of substitution is used in the description: in the first introduction of an enclitic all allomorphs are listed; and, subsequently, in a later rule each allomorph is associated with its specific morphological left (or in some cases right) context.

Another characteristic of the *sūtra*-style is the grouping and ordering of rules describing similar elements,⁶⁸ and the use of *anuvṛtti*, i.e. ellipsis of recurring phrases.⁶⁹ The occurrence of *anuvṛtti* can be explicitly indicated by *kyang*, i.e. Skt. *ca* (e.g. 2.2-2.6 where in

⁶⁶ Cardona (1976: 142, 187 seqq.).

⁶⁷ Cardona (1976: 201-202).

⁶⁸ E.g. the grouping of the enclitics according to the vowel they contain, both in the first introduction in 2, as well as in the description in 3-7; and, the ordering within these groups, as in the consecutive treatment of *-gi* etc., *-gir* etc. and *-gis* etc. (3.1-6), thus avoiding repetition of the morphophonemics that they have in common.

⁶⁹ Cardona (1976: 204-206).

every *sūtra* the phrase *i yig gi rkyen* from 2.1 must be supplied), or it can be implicit (e.g. in 2.7 where to *u yig gi* the term *rkyen* from 2.1 must be supplied).

The most important technical terms used in this text that are evidently of Indic origin, are the following:

- *kyang* = Skt. *ca*, indicating *anuvṛtti*, cf. supra (2.2-2.6, 2.8-2.10, 2.12-2.13, 2.15-2.17, 2.19-22, 3.6, 3.13, 3.16, 4.11, 5.10, 6.8, 7.7, 7.10; its allomorph *yang*: 2.22, 3.5, 3.11, 4.6, 5.4, 5.8, 6.6, 6.7, 7.5, 7.6, 8.7, 8.11, 8.30-8.33, 8.35, 8.39).

- *mthar gnas pa*: Indic antecedent is unclear; the term meaning 'standing at the end', refers to the consonant *h* (1.5).⁷⁰

- *sde pa* = Skt. *varga*, phonological class (1.4, 1.5 gloss).

- *rnam (par) dbye(ba)* = Skt. *vibhakti*, case ending (8.2, 8.29).

- *dbyangs* (1.1) and *gsal byed* (1.3) = Skt. *svara* and *vyañjana*, vowel and consonant.

- *ming* = Skt. *nāman*, here equivalent to *prātipadika*, free, lexical word form, typically of a nominal (8.1).

- *yang na* = Skt. *vā*, indicating optionality, (3.12, 3.14, 3.15, 4.3, 4.10, 5.9, 6.2, 7.2, 7.3, 7.10, 7.12, 8.20, 8.27).

Technical terms that seem not to be based on Indic examples: *yan lag* (1.2, 1.12), *rjes 'jug* (1.6 etc.), *yang 'jug* (1.7 etc.), *sngon 'jug* (1.9 etc.), *rkyang pa*, *'phul ba*, *brtsegs pa* (1.12 etc.).⁷¹

In the captions at the end of each section we find the title *Phrad kyi sbyor ba*, 'Application of the enclitic particles' for the first seven sections. It is quite likely that the title should also apply to the last, eighth section, as it deals with the case enclitics. It is important to note that, in addition to the term *phrad* for 'enclitic particle', as found in the chapter-titles, the text also uses the term *rkyen* for the same grammatical elements (2.1). In a grammatical context, *rkyen* usually translates Sanskrit *pratyaya* 'suffix'. In its emulation of the Indic methods, this text applies the term to the Tibetan enclitics.

The descriptive technique of *KKG* displays particularly significant correspondences with *Kātantra* grammar. The first chapter of *KKG*, with its introduction of the main phonological and morphological categories, strongly resembles the first, so-called *saṃjñā-prakarāṇa* of

⁷⁰ Note that the term *mthar gnas* is frequently encountered as a translation for the Sanskrit term *antaḥstha*, 'semi-vowel'. This translation seems actually to be based on an erroneous reading of the term as **anta-stha* 'standing at the end', instead of *antaḥstha* 'standing in between', i.e. between vowel and consonant. Here, in *KKG*, the meaning 'semi-vowel' is clearly not intended. The designation 'standing at the end' for consonant *h* is quite plausible per se, as this consonant is in fact the last phoneme in the traditional Sanskrit alphabet.

⁷¹ On a number of these terms, see Verhagen (1995: 947, 953-954, 957).

Kātantra, where the basic *saṃjñās*, 'technical terms', for these categories are introduced and defined. The similarity is especially striking in the first two rules of KKG:

[1.1] / *de la dang por dbyangs rnam ni lnga'o* [infralinear gloss: *a i u e o* //] /

[1.2] / *a yig bor* [infralinear gloss: *i sogs bzhi* //] *ba rnam ni* [infralinear gloss: *bod*] '*dir yan lag go* /

[1.1] Here [i.e. in an apparently "sanskritized" form of the Tibetan alphabet] the five [elements] at the beginning [of the list] are [technically termed] the vowels. [Gloss: viz. *a, i, u, e* and *o*.]

[1.2] The [vowels] with the exception of *a* [gloss: viz. the four *i* etc.] are here [gloss: i.e. in Tibet] [technically termed] *yan lag*.⁷²

Note the close resemblance of KKG 1.1 with *Kātantra* 1.1.2 *tatra caturdaśādaḥ svarāḥ*, 'Here [i.e. in the traditional Sanskrit alphabet] the fourteen [elements] at the beginning [of the list] are [technically termed] the vowels'. On account of this similarity, I chose to translate KKG 1.1 as a *saṃjñā-sūtra*. It is tempting to consider whether KKG 1.2 might be related in some way to, or perhaps rather inspired on *Kātantra* 1.1.7 *svaro 'varṇavarjito nāminī*, 'A vowel with the exception of phoneme *a* is [technically termed] *nāminī*'.⁷³ The term *nāminī*, 'bending' i.e. 'changing', refers to the 'changing' effect of certain vowels on a following dental sibilant under certain conditions, the dental being substituted by a retroflex.⁷⁴ Of course, it seems evident that the rationale for grouping all Tibetan vowels except *a* here in KKG is structurally different from that in Sanskrit grammar. What distinguishes the four vowels *i* to *o* from the vowel *a* in Tibetan is, of course, their graphic representation: the *a* being implicit in the syllable, the other vowels being appended as 'limbs' (*yan lag*) over or below the radical consonant sign in the Tibetan writing system.⁷⁵ And, there is no *prima facie* evidence for a relation between the Sanskrit term *nāminī* and Tibetan *yan lag*. Nevertheless, the similarity between *Kātantra* 1.1.7 and KKG 1.2 is too striking to be ignored.

KKG uses item-and-arrangement models of description, as does SCP, while Indic *vyākaraṇa* generally prefers item-and-process type(s) of description. Note, however, that precisely the *Kātantra* tradition --

⁷² KKG 1.1 and 1.2, as quoted in the *Sum rtags* commentary by Blo bzang tshul khriṃs (1845-1915), were translated by Miller (1965: 330) (= 1976: 74); his rendering of *bor* as "having" seems implausible.

⁷³ *Kātantra vṛtti* ad 1.1.7: *avarṇavarjitaḥ svaro nāmisamjñā bhavati*.

⁷⁴ Abhyankar (1977: 217).

⁷⁵ Verhagen (1995: 956-957, 959).

which clearly influenced the redactor of *KKG*-- is one that favours item-and-arrangement types of description more than is generally found in the Indic systems of grammar. For instance, the *Kātantra* description of the personal endings of the verbal tenses and moods simply lists the occurring combinations of thematic and personal suffixes, while Pāṇini and Cāndra describe these formations as step-by-step processes of concatenation and substitution of thematic and personal suffixes and appropriate augments under specific conditions. This description of the verbal conjugation in *Kātantra* reveals significant correspondences with the description of the case-particles in *KKG*, e.g. *Kātantra* describes the ending *-syati* as a unit, as a single suffix indicating third person singular active future tense, while Pāṇini analyses it as thematic suffix *-sya-* indicating future tense and personal suffix *-ti(P)* indicating third person singular active. This is comparable to *KKG*'s description of the genitive plural, where *-rnams kyi* is presented as a unit, and where it is not analysed as consisting of the enclitic *-rnams* indicating plural, and the enclitic *-kyi* indicating genitive. Equally comparable is the treatment of the combinations of certain nominal particles with specific case particles that are integrated into the syllable of the nominal particle, which are introduced as separate, integral particles; *-pur/-bur/-'ur* (2.9, 4.11), *-pus/-bus/-'us* (2.10, 4.11), *-por/-wor/-mor* (2.16, 6.8), *-pos/-wos/-mos* (2.17, 6.8), *-par/-bar/-war/-mar* (2.19, 7.7), *-pas/-bas/-was/-mas* (2.20, 7.7).⁷⁶

The paradigm of case grammar, as described 8.1-8.29, is interesting as it attempts to minimize the relative incompatibility of the Indic case system and the sets of Tibetan particles. In *SCP* the set of particles *-la/-na/-tu* and its alternants is associated with (at least) three case-functions, viz. the accusative, dative and locative. *KKG* primarily pairs off *-tu* etc. with the accusative, *-la* with the dative, and *-na* with the locative, adding the option for interchanging these particles in a later rule (8.27). A second observation of some interest is the introduction of a particle, other than zero, for the nominative singular, viz. *-nyid*, adding in a gloss that this particle is commonly elided (8.3). Section 8 is not devoted exclusively to the case particles. It touches also on verb morphology and semantics in the passage 8.30-8.39, dealing, roughly speaking, with the same subject matter as *TKJ* 12-16. Although this is certainly very interesting, it is too complex, its opacity being enhanced by apparent corruptions in the blockprint, to be dealt with here.

⁷⁶ Note in this connection also the remarkable and inconsistent spelling in nominal particles *-wo* (2.15-2.17, cf. *-o* in 6.6?; the usual orthography is *-bo*), and *-ba/-wa* (2.18-2.20, 7.2, 7.4).

Sa skya Paṇḍita's
Sgra'i bstan bcos Mkhas pa'i kha rgyan: text.

Transliteration based on Sde dge xylograph *Sa skya Bka' 'bum* vol. *na*, f. 271v2-274v1, facs. ed. Bsod nams rgya mtsho (1968-5: title no. 109); numbering in square brackets added by present author; indication "igm" in square brackets stands for "infralinear gloss in minuscule":

[271v2/13v2:] [Minusc.: // bstan bcos mkhas pa'i kha rgyan bzhugs /]

// om swa sti siddham/

sgra'i bstan bcos mkhas pa'i kha rgyan /

bla ma dang dkon mchog gsum la phyag 'tshal lo /

/ [271v3/13v3:] sgra ni 'chi med dbang pos mtshon dka' zhing /
/ gsung ni tshangs pa'i dbyangs la phrag dog byed /
/ phyogs las rnam par rgyal ba'i thugs mnga' ba'i /
/ bdag gi snying la yun du gnas par mdzod /

/ gsar bcad skad kyi nor bu rin chen tshogs /
/ rnam dag [271v4/13v4:] blo [?] yis byi dor legs byas shing /
/ dri med tshig gi srad [?] bus [?] legs brgyus te /
/ mkhas rnam kha rgyan mdzes pa bdag gis bya /

[1. introduction of phonological / morphological categories:]

[1.1] / de la dang por dbyangs rnam ni lnga'o [igm: a i u e o //] /

[1.2] / a yig bor [igm: i sogs bzhi //] ba rnam ni [igm: bod] 'dir yan lag go /

[1.3] / ka la sogs pa [igm: nyi shu dgu /] rnam ni [271v5/13v5:] gsal byed rnam so /

[1.4] / bzhi bzhi [igm: ka tsa [sic] ta sogs /] pa'i sde ba ni bdun no /

[1.5] / ha ni [igm: / sde pa de rnam kyi /] mthar gnas pa'o /

[1.6] / ga nga da na ba ma 'a ra la sa [igm: bcu /] rnam ni rjes su 'jug pa rnam so /

[1.7] / da sa dag ni yang 'jug pa dag go /

[1.8] / da ni na ra la [271v6/13v6:] rnam kyi'o /

[1.9] / sa ni ga nga ma rnam kyi'o /

[1.10] / de rnam las ga da ba ma 'a rnam ni sngon du 'ong ngo /

[1.11] / lhag ma [igm: bcu dgu] rnam ni [igm: sngon rjes /] gang du yang [igm: 'jug pa /] ma yin pa'o /

[1.12] / *de rnams la rkyang pa dang 'phul ba dang* [272r1/14r1:] *brtsegs pa dang / rjes su rkang* [?] *'jug dang yan lag rnams sbyar bas phyed ba'i yi ge'i rnam grangs ni* [igm: *byis pa bde 'jug la sogs pa /*] *gzhan du grags* [igm: *kyis 'dir ma bshad /*] *pa nyid do /*

/ zhes pa phrad kyi sbyor ba las dang po'o //

[2. introduction of enclitics:]

- [2.1] // *gi kyi gyi 'i rnams ni i yig gi rkyen no /*
 [2.2] / *gir kyir gyir yir* [?] *rnams kyang* [272r2/14r2:] *ngo /*
 [2.3] / *gis kyis gyis yis rnams kyang ngo /*
 [2.4] / *cing zhing shing rnams kyang ngo /*
 [2.5] / *cig shig zhig rnams kyang ngo /*
 [2.6] / *ci ji dag kyang ngo /*
 [2.7] / *tu du ru su rnams u yig gi'o /*
 [2.8] / *pu bu 'u rnams kyang ngo /*
 [2.9] / *pur bur 'ur rnams kyang* [272r3/14r3:] *ngo /*
 [2.10] / *pus bus 'us rnams kyang ngo /*
 [2.11] / *ste de te rnams e yig gi'o /*
 [2.12] / *ce she zhe rnams kyang ngo /*
 [2.13] / *ces shes zhes rnams kyang ngo /*
 [2.14] / *ga sogs rnams la o yig sbyar* [?] *ba rnams o yig gi'o /*
 [2.15] / *po wo mo rnams kyang ngo /*
 [2.16] / *por wor mor rnams kyang ngo /*
 [2.17] / [272r4/14r4:] *pos wos mos rnams kyang ngo /*
 [2.18] / *pa ba wa ma rnams a yig gi'o /*
 [2.19] / *par bar war mar rnams kyang ngo /*
 [2.20] / *pas bas was mas rnams kyang ngo /*
 [2.21] / *kyang yang 'ang rnams kyang ngo /*
 [2.22] / *rnam par brtag pa can yang ngo /*
 [2.23] / *'di la sogs pa don gyi phrad rnams ni* [igm: *smra sgo la sogs pa /*] *gzhan du* [272r5/14r5:] *grags pas 'dir ma bshad do /*

/ zhes pa phrad kyi sbyor ba las gnyis pa'o //

[3. morphophonemics of enclitics with vowel i:]

- [3.1] // *ga nga dag las pha rol du gi'o* [igm: *bdag gi / gang gi /*] /
 [3.2] / *da ba sa rnams las kyi'o* [igm: *khyod kyi / rgyab kyi / las kyi /*] /
 [3.3] / *na ma ra la rnams las gyi'o* [igm: *mdun gyi / lam gyi / bar* [?] *gyi /* ' [?] *tshal gyi /*] /

- [3.4] / 'a las 'i 'o [igm: mkha'i /] /
 [3.5] / sa mtha' can spangs [igm: de'i 'di'i [?] /] pa'i yang ngo /
 [3.6] / rang dang [272r6/14r6:] sa rjes su 'jug pa'i rnam kyang de bzhin no /
 [3.7] / bya ba la sbyor ba'i kun tu gyis so /
 [3.8] / ga da ba rnam kyi cing ngo [igm: dag cing yod cing / grub cing /] /
 [3.9] / sa'i shing ngo [igm: rtags shing /] /
 [3.10] / lhag ma [272v1/14v1:] rnam kyi zhing ngo /
 [3.11] / ga la sogs pa spangs pa'i yang ngo [igm: 'byung zhing / dran zhing / bsgom zhing / 'gyur zhing / 'tshal zhing / 'dri zhing /] /
 [3.12] / da yang 'jug pa rnam kyi cing yang na'o [igm: stend cing / gyurd cing / rold cing /] /
 [3.13] / cig shig zhig rnam kyang de bzhin no /
 [3.14] / rjes 'jug spangs pa'i cig yang na'o /
 [3.15] / bya ba sbyor ba'i yang na'o /
 [3.16] / sa las cig kyang ngo [igm: thabs cig /] /
 [3.17] / [igm: ci] zhig [igm: ci] ste [272v2/14v2:] slar [igm: ci] 'dra [igm: ci] phyir rnam la ci'o /
 [3.18] / [igm: ji] zhig la ci [igm: ltar] yang ngo /
 [3.19] / [igm: ji] snyed [igm: ji] srid [igm: ji] ltar [igm: ji] bzhin skad rnam la ji'o /

/ zhes pa phrad kyi sbyor ba las gsum pa'o //

[4. morphophonemics of enclitics with vowel u:]

- [4.1] // ga ba dag gi pha rol tu'o [igm: bdag tu / rab tu /] /
 [4.2] / nga da na [272v3/14v3:] ma ra la rnam kyi du'o [igm: gang du / thad du / don du / tsam du / bar du / tshal du /] /
 [4.3] / da yang 'jug pa rnam kyi tu yang na'o [igm: shind tu / gyurd tu /] /
 [4.4] / zhugs pa'i tu nyid do /
 [4.5] / a'i ru'o [igm: mkha' ru /] /
 [4.6] / [igm: sa skya ru] sa mtha' can phyin pa'i yang ngo [igm: de ru 'di ru /] /
 [4.7] / sa'i su'o [igm: rjes su /] /
 [4.8] / ga'i pu'o [igm: gcig pu /] /
 [4.9] / lhag ma rnam kyi bu'o [igm: dal bu / shed bu / lan bu / xxul [?] bu / dum bu / nor bu / gsar bu /] /
 [4.10] / 'a dang rjes 'jug med [272v4/14v4:] pa'i 'u yang na'o /
 [4.11] / ra dang rjes su 'jug pa rnam kyang de bzhin no /

/ zhes pa phrad kyi sbyor ba las bzhi pa'o //

[5. morphophonemics of enclitics with vowel e:]

[272v5/14v5:] [5.1] // *ga nga ba ma 'a rnams kyi pha rol tu ste'o* [igm: *reg ste / 'byung ste / grub ste / 'tsham ste / dga' ste* //]

[5.2] / *da'i de'o* [igm: *byed de* //]

[5.3] / *na ra la sa rnams kyi te'o* [igm: *yin te / tshar te / 'tshal te / thos te* //]

[5.4] / *da yang zhugs pa'i yang ngo* [igm: *gyurd te* //]

[5.5] / *sa mtha' can med pa'i ste'o* [igm: *de ste / ci ste* //]

[5.6] / *ce ga da ba rnams kyi'o* [igm: *rtag ce'am / yod ce'am / 'grub ce'am* //]

[5.7] / *she sa'i'o* [igm: *thos she'o* //]

[5.8] / *zhe lhag ma rnams dang rjes 'jug med pa'i yang ngo* [igm: *'ong zhe / yin zhe / lam zhe / mtha' zhe / rol zhe / tshol zhe / 'gro zhe* //]

[5.9] / [272v6/14v6:] *ma* [?] 'i yang na'o [igm: *shes sam zhes* //]

[5.10] / *ces shes zhes rnams kyang de bzhin no* /

/ *zhes pa* [273r1/15r1:] *phrad kyi sbyor ba las lnga pa'o* //

[6. morphophonemics of enclitics with vowel o:]

[6.1] // *ga sogs rnams kyi pha rol tu rang rang la o yig sbyor ba'o* [igm: *dag go / 'ong ngo / byed do / don no / grub bo / bam mo / mkhas so / dor ro / dal lo / rtags so* //]

[6.2] / *de* [emend: *da* ?] *yang 'jug pa rnams kyi te* [= *to* ?] *yang na'o* [igm: *z* [?] *ind to / gyurd to / 'tshald to* //]

[6.3] / *zhugs pa'i to nyid do* [igm: *phyind to* //]

[6.4] / *sa mtha' can b* [?] *or ba'i 'o nyid do* [igm: *de'o / 'di'o / ba'o* //]

[6.5] / *sa mtha' can gyi pha rol tu po'o* [igm: *bdag po / 'byung po / byed po / rin po / dal* [?] *po* [?] //]

[6.6] / 'a dang [273r2/15r2:] *de rnams med pa'i 'o yang ngo* [igm: *dga'o / kha* [?] *'o / skye'o* //]

[6.7] / *thams cad la mo yang ngo* [igm: *dog mo / mang mo / gad mo / nyin mo / zhib mo / mkho* [?] *mo / khod* [?] *mo / rol mo / legs mo* //]

[6.8] / *ra dang sa rjes su 'jug pa rnams kyang de bzhin no* /

/ *zhes pa phrad kyi* [273r3/15r3:] *sbyor ba las drug pa'o* //

[7. morphophonemics of enclitics with vowel a:]

[7.1] / *ga da ba sa rnams kyi pha rol tu pa'o* [igm: *dag pa / god pa / grub pa / shes pa'o* //]

[7.2] / *nga ra la rnams kyi wa yang na'o* [igm: 'byung bar / 'gyur ba / dal ba / gang ba / myur ba / chal ba //]

[7.3] / *na ma dag gi pa yang na'o* [igm: g [?] zhen pa / ram pa / rim pa //]

[7.4] / *'a 'i wa'o* [igm: dpa' ba / dga' ba //]

[7.5] / *sa mtha' can bor ba'i yang ngo* [igm: drog [?] drag [?] //]

[7.6] / *thams cad la ma yang ngo* [igm: thog ma / gong ma / gdod ma / sgron ma / 'dab ma / gsham ma / tha' ma / bar ma / mkhal ma / dbu ma / lo ma / 'o ma //]

[7.7] [273r4/15r4:] / *ra dang sa rjes su 'jug pa rnams kyang de bzhin no* /

[7.8] / *kyang ga da ba sa rnams kyi pha rol du'o* [igm: bdag kyang / byed kyang / grub kyang / thos kyang //]

[7.9] / *yang lhag* [273r5/15r5:] *ma rnams kyi'o* [igm: gang yang / gzhan yang / nam yang / mnga' yang / 'gyur yang / grol yang //]

[7.10] / *yang 'jug pa rnams kyi kyang yang na'o* /

[7.11] / *sa mtha' can phyis pa'i 'ong* [emend: 'ang?] *ngo* [igm: de'ang / 'di 'ang //]

[7.12] / *yang yang na'o* [igm: khyed la [?] yang //]

[7.13] / *rnam par rtog pa can ni ga sogs rnams kyi pha rol tu rang* [273r6/15r6:] *rang gi rjes su ma sbyor ba'o* [igm: 'gog gam / 'dong ngam / byed dam / byin nam / thub bam / 'don nam //] [igm: thim mam / dor ram / 'phel lam / thos sam //]

[7.14] / *de rnams spangs pa'i 'am mo* [igm: de'am / 'di am //]

/ *zhes pa phrad kyi sbyor ba las bdun pa'o* //

[8. case particles:]

[8.1] // *don gyi ngo bo ston pa ni ming ngo* /

[8.2] / *de las pha rol tu* [273v1/15v1:] *rnam dbye rnams so* /

[8.3] / *nyid* [igm: shing nyid //] *dang po'i gcig gi tshig gi'o* [igm: phal cher dbyi'o //]

[8.4] / *dag gnyis kyi'o* [igm: shing dang [emend: dag] //]

[8.5] / *rnams mang po'i'o* [igm: shing rnams //]

[8.6] / *tu du su ru rnams phrad bzhin du gnyis pa'i gcig gi'o* [igm: shing du //]

[8.7] / *'a dang sa mtha' can med pa'i rjes su sbyar ba yang ngo* /

[8.8] / *dag tu gnyis kyi'o* [igm: shing dag tu //]

[8.9] / *rnams su mang* [273v2/15v2:] *po'i'o* [igm: shing rnams su //]

[8.10] / *gis kyis gyis yis rnams phrad bzhin du gsum pa'i gcig gi'o* [igm: shing gis //]

[8.11] / *'a dang sa mtha' can spangs pa'i rjes su sbyar ba yang ngo* /

[8.12] / *dag gis gnyis kyi'o* [igm: shing dag gis //]

[8.13] / *rnams kyis mang po'i'o* [igm: shing rnams kyis khang pa bskyed //]

- [8.14] [273v3/15v3:] / *la bzhi pa'i gcig gi'o* [igm: *shing la* /] /
 [8.15] / *dag la gnyis kyi'o* [igm: *shing dag la* /] /
 [8.16] / *rnams la mang po'i 'o* [igm: *shing rnams la bya gnas* /] /
 [8.17] / *las lnga pa'i gcig gi'o* [igm: *shing las* /] /
 [8.18] / *dag las gnyis kyi'o* [igm: *shing dag las* /] /
 [8.19] / *rnams las mang po'i 'o* [igm: *shing rnams las bras bu 'byung ngo* /] /
 [8.20] / [igm: *gter* /] *nas* [igm: *gtir* /] *dag nas* [igm: *gtor* /] *rnams nas*
rnams yang na'o /
 [8.21] / [273v4/15v4:] *gi kyi gyi 'i rnams phrad bzhin du drug pa'i gcig*
gi'o [igm: *shing gi* /] /
 [8.22] / *dag gi gnyis kyi'o* [igm: *shing dag gi* /] /
 [8.23] / *rnams kyi mang po'i 'o* [igm: *shing rnams kyi me tog* /] /
 [8.24] / *na bdun pa'i gcig gi'o* [igm: *shing drung na* /] /
 [8.25] / *dag na gnyis kyi'o* [igm: *shing drung dag na* /] /
 [8.26] / [273v5/15v5:] *rnams na mang po'i 'o* [igm: *shing drung rnams*
na thub pa gnas so /] /
 [8.27] / *gnyis pa'i rnams dang* / *bzhi pa'i rnams dang* / *bdun pa'i rnams*
yang na'o /
 [8.28] / *brgyad pa'i rnams dang po'i rnams la kye sbyar ba'o* /
 [8.29] / *zhes pa rnam par dbye ba'o* /
 [8.30] / *las la ga dang* [273v6/15v6:] *por 'jug pa'i byed pa la 'a* [?] *yang*
ngo [igm: *gnas bya* / *gnas byed* / *gzhal bya* / *'jal byed* /] /
 [8.31] / *da 'jug pa'i byed pa la 'ang 'a yang ngo* [igm: *dpag bya* / *dpog*
byed / *dbri bya* / *'bri byed* /] /
 [8.32] / *pa* [emend: *ba*] *'jug pa'i la 'a 'am 'a mtha' can phyis pa yang ngo*
 [igm: *bstand bya* / *ston byed* /] /
 [8.33] / *ma 'jug* [igm: *mchod bya* / *mchod byed* /] [274r1/16r1:] *pa'i lag*
 [??] [igm: *mnan bya* / *gnon byed* /] *'am* [?] *'a mtha' can bor ba yang ngo*
 [igm: *mnyan bya* / *mnyan byed* /] /
 [8.34] / *'a 'jug pa'i la ni gzhan ma yin pa nyid do* [igm: *gzhug bya* / *'jug*
byed /] /
 [8.35] / *'a mtha' can spangs pa'i la 'ang yang ngo* [igm: *shes bya* / *shes*
byed /] [igm: *dor bya* / *'dor byed* /] /
 [8.36] / *lus dang srog* [igm: *'chad bya* / *mchod byed* /] *gzhan du 'gyur ba*
ni ci rigs par ro [igm: *bsal bya* / *sel byed* /] /
 [8.37] / *bya ba la las gtso bor ston na las dang* / [274r2/16r2:] *byed pa*
gtsor ston [igm: *ston pa'i gsung* / *gsung rab* /] *na byed pa'i sgra'o* /
 [8.38] / *yang na* [igm: *sbyor ba byas te mdor gzhan dag la dpyad pa'i phyir*
 /] *ci rigs par ro* /
 [8.39] / *bya ba byas pa la ni* [igm: *dgag bya* / *'gog byed* / *bkag pa* /] *gzhan*
yang ngo /
 [8.40] / *gnyis pa mang po'i tshig dag* [274r3/16r3:] *ni dag dang rnams*
nyid do /

[8.41] / zhes pa byed pa'i tshig go /

/ 'dir ni phrad rnam 'dud pa bzhin /
 / rnam dbye snyan par smra ba bzhin [igm: zhes pa la sogs 'di rnam kyis
 mgron gyi bya ba rgyas par bstan to /] /
 / byed tshig g'yos legs ston [274r4 / 16r4:] pa bzhin /
 / mkhas rnam mgron du bos pa bzhin /

/ phrad dang rnam dbye byed tshig rnam /
 / 'gran pa bzhin du bstar ba 'di /
 / zhal ras rgyan gyis mdzes 'dod pa'i /
 / mkhas pa rnam la bdag nyid 'bul /

/ [274r5 / 16r5:] da dung mkhas la nyer mkho ba'i /
 / rnam dbye du ma yod mod kyis /
 / yi ge'i tshogs kyis rnam sgrag pas /
 / don de'i spros pa re zhig bzhag (/)

/ kho bos legs par rnam dpyad nas /
 / phan pa'i bsam pas bshad mod kyang /
 / nongs pa'am phrag dog gis [274r6 / 16r6:] xxx xxx [?] /
 / mkhas rnam bdag la brtse bar mdzod /

/ gsar bcad ji bzhin mkhas rnam kyis /
 / kha rgyan bkra bas rnam sdus [?] las /
 / thob pa'i dge bas 'gro rnam kyis /
 / thub mchan [?] changs [?; or tshangs ?] dbyangs thob par shog (/)

[colophon:]

/ ces pa mkhas [274v1 / 16v1:] pa'i rgyan / sa skya paṇḍi tas skad gsar bcad
 dang rjes su mthun par / brda sprod pa'i mkhas pa rnam la nye bar mkho
 ba bzhin rgyan du byas pa'o /

/ dge bar gyur cig //

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