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अनुविद्धमिव ज्ञानं सर्वं शब्देन भासते
All cognition appears as pierced through by speech.
言贯思 思发明 སྒྲ་ཡིས་ཐུག་བཞིན་ཤེས་རིག་ཀུན་སྣང་འགྱུར།།

“Sanskrit in China 2019: Sanskrit on Paths”
संस्कृताध्वा
2019 梵语在中国学术研讨会：梵语行
ལེགས་བར་སྦྱོར་བའི་ལམ།

Yonghui Qiu, Bangwei Wang, George Cardona, Peter Scharf, Hong Luo
April 27–28, 2019, Chengdu

Centre for Tibetan Studies of Sichuan University
Centre for India Studies of Peking University

Co-organizers:
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India-China Yoga College, Yunnan Minzu University
Asien-Afrika-Institut, Hamburg University
Centre for Yoga Studies, Hamburg University
Faculty of Oriental Studies, Oxford University

Preface

Bangwei Wang, Claus Peter Zoller, Peter Scharf and Hong Luo

How languages are formatted in the human mind is still a mystery, and it is miraculous that one of the most refined ones traversed the highest mountains on our planet and infused itself into the cultural environment of the region in which it arrived in a manner unparalleled in world history. The language is Sanskrit, the land in which it arrived is China.

Along the paths, more precisely, the networks of roads as reconstructed by archaeologists and historians, across the northwestern desert, through the towering mountains and over the southern seas, caravans and ships brought goods, and warriors wars. But along these paths Buddhist missionaries brought their doctrines to China from before the beginning of the common era onwards, and with them, the Sanskrit language from no later than the fifth century. The transmission of Sanskrit from India to China has continued since then to the present, despite interruptions by many a political vicissitude, which never succeeded in completely cutting it off. This transmission, conducted mostly by Buddhists of the past, brought to China scriptures and doctrines composed in and conveyed through Sanskrit.

Today we are witnessing a wave of the influence of Hinduism, flanked by the spread of Yoga-empowered Sanskrit education for the general public and by Sanskrit studies in universities and institutes in China. The role Sanskrit played in the early days of Chinese Buddhism is rather obscure, but the impact of Sanskrit in the first

phase of Tibetan Buddhism and in related contemporary religious practices is overwhelming and obvious. All of these religious movements are intellectually indebted to Sanskrit, the salt of Buddhism and Hinduism. There are yet two more roads being trodden by Sanskrit, one of the oldest lingua francas, and both lead to cutting edge fields: Sanskrit and computational linguistics, and Sanskrit and digital humanities. Careful study of the linguistic traditions of India still has a great deal to offer to the discipline of linguistics, and methods of research and distribution of knowledge need to keep step with available technology in order to be relevant.

The conference "Sanskrit in China 2019: Sanskrit on Paths" held in Chengdu from April 27–28, 2019, was an attempt to trace all the paths taken by Sanskrit in the past, present, and future, with three dimensions highlighted: 1) The transmission of Sanskrit knowledge from India to China, 2) Sanskrit in modern society, and 3) Sanskrit, digital humanities, and computational linguistics. The papers given by colleagues specialized in the above fields during the conference are here edited and published as a special volume of the *Acta Orientalia*, the 80th issue of the renowned journal for oriental studies started in 1922.

The proceedings began with two opening speeches given by George Cardona and Saroja Bhate, two giants in the field of Sanskrit Studies, and leading scholars of Pāṇini studies.

In the *Mahābhāṣya*, Patañjali (2nd cent. B.C.) explained in three ways the compound *dharmaniyamaḥ*, which occurs in his comments on *atha śabdānuśāsanam*: the restriction for merit (*dharmāya niyamaḥ*), the restriction which is identified with merit because it serves the purpose of merit (*dharmārtho niyamaḥ*), and the restriction compelled by merit (*dharmaprayojano niyamaḥ*). In his opening speech, "Three paths," George Cardona quoted and applied these three interpretations to the title of this conference, *saṃskṛtādhvā*, and its synonym *saṃskṛtapathaḥ*. The compound then signifies the path leading to what is saṃskṛtam (*saṃskṛtāya panthāḥ*), which refers to the transmission of Sanskrit knowledge to China, the first subject of

our conference; the path which is identified with Sanskrit because it serves the purpose of what is saṃskṛtam (*saṃskṛtārthaḥ panthāḥ*), which refers to the constant engagement of society with Sanskrit knowledge, the second subject of our conference; and the path which Sanskrit compels one to follow (*saṃskṛtaprayojanaḥ panthāḥ*), which refers to its promising future perspective, the third subject of our conference.

Saroja Bhate delivered in Sanskrit her opening speech "Cīnabhāratayoḥ setuḥ saṃskṛtam (Sanskrit: A bridge between China and India)", an aṣṭhādhyāyic retrospective narrative of the cultural link between India and China. The path paved by renowned personages as Kumārajīva (343–413), Hsuan Tsang (600–664), I Tsing (635–713) and others whose contributions remain though their names have fallen into oblivion is now taken by Sanskritists at ten universities and academic institutes in China. The bridge has survived. Well maintained now, it shall contribute to the communication between India and China in the new era, as Bhate's concluding verse enjoins, *saṃvādenaiva viduṣām gīrvāṇīyaṃ mahīyatām*, *cīnabhāratabhūmyoś ca mithaḥ snehaḥ pravardhatām*. "Precisely by the conversation of pandits, may the Sanskrit language prosper! Precisely by the conversation of pandits, may the affection between China and India increase!"

Two Keynote Speeches delivered by Wang Bangwei (王邦维): "Sanskrit in Ancient Chinese Eyes: Language and Scripts," and Yonghui Qiu (邱永辉): "Bharat Mata: The Changing Image and its Religious-political Significance" draw our attention to the different dimensions of the conference topic.

In "Sanskrit in Ancient Chinese Eyes: Language and Scripts," Wang Bangwei sketched and exemplified the process of the ingestion of accurate knowledge of Sanskrit in China since the introduction of Buddhism to China around the beginning of the Common Era. The poetic exchange between Wang Wei (王维, 701-761) and Yuan Xian

(苑咸) which he first brought to light was the direct inspiration of the second section of the conference. Extracting and analyzing a few key subjects concerning the transmission of Sanskrit and Buddhism from India to China, he highlighted the future perspectives of the field.

Qiu Yonghui addressed a new religious phenomenon in India. Focusing on the religious antagonism and political conflicts caused by the slogan "Bharat Mata Ki Jai", and by tracing the background of "Bharat Mata", a representative case in the Hindu nationalist movement of creating gods and goddesses, she expressed her opinion concerning the religious and secular dilemmas in contemporary Indian society.

Diwakar Acharya's "The *Saurasaṃhitā*: The Earliest Surviving Tantra on Sun-Worship" opens the first section, "The Transmission of Sanskrit Knowledge 1.1 The Origin: दैवी वाक् (Language of Gods)." In his paper, Acharya offered a general survey of the text, which has been edited by him on the basis of a Nepalese palm-leaf manuscript dated in Nepal Saṃvat 69 (949 CE). He further highlighted the text's strong affinity to Śaivism, its influence on Śaiva and Puraṇic circles, and the Yoga it teaches. The *Saurasaṃhitā* had reinforced the ritual centrality of sun worship in the regular worship of Śiva since the early 11th century, and it exemplifies the tendency of the transference of Indic ritual practice to Bali.

In her "A Peep in Pāṇini's Workshop: Anubandhas," taking a cross-section from the Sanskrit grammatical commentarial literature as an illustration, Saroja Bhate depicted the development of Indian intellectual tradition, which, though mainly a restatement of what the founders of the tradition stated, very often, on the pretext of unraveling the hidden import of the masterminds, refreshes itself by the ingenuity of generations of exegetes.

There is a class of Sanskrit texts that was for some reason buried under the layers of the memory of history "like the caves of Ajanta or Ellora or excavations of archaeological sites that had been unknown to the world until they came to light due to the efforts of scholars."

These texts are defined by Shrikant Bahulkar as "forgotten Sanskrit texts." In his "Editing the Manuscripts of Forgotten Sanskrit Texts," Bahulkar, based upon first-person experience, renewed the discovery and editing of a list of such texts: Jñānaśrīmitra's *Vṛttamālāstuti*, two new *Jātakamālā*s of Haribhaṭṭa and Gopadatta, the *Avadānasārasamuccaya*, Śivasvāmin's *Kapphiṇābhyudaya*, Subhūticandra's *Kavikāmadhenu* and *Subantaratnākara*.

The fourth paper of this section, and the most philosophical among all the contributions, is Sthaneshwar Timalsina's "Vimarśa: The Concept of Reflexivity in the Philosophy of Utpala and Abhinavagupta." Based upon yet untranslated passages of the Abhinavagupta's magnum opus, *Īśvara-Pratyabhijñā-Vivṛtti-Vimarśinī* (ĪPVV), Timalsina argued that as far as the reflexivity of consciousness is concerned, the Pratyabhijñā system consciously maintained a distance from other systems, Buddhist as well as Hindu, by using a pair of concepts: *prakāśa* and *vimarśa*. He concluded with insightful observations, among which the most impressive was: "Speech remains at the heart of this reflexivity and this speech or *vāc* is not merely an internal mechanism of consciousness as it penetrates even externalized objects."

The second section, the Documentation in Chinese: **梵字何人識魯魚** (Where to Find a True Master of the Siddhaṃ Script?) retained the attention of the largest group of participants. Nine papers were given in this section. In his "Two Mirrors of Literature in Sanskrit and Chinese: On the Intersections of Literary Theories from Premodern Asia," Li Shenghai (**李胜海**) traced similarities in two literary mirrors: Daṇḍin's Sanskrit *Kāvyādarśa* (ca. 700) from India and the *Bunkyō hifuron* (**文鏡秘府論**, 810s) written in Classical Chinese by the Japanese Buddhist monk Kūkai (774-835). Li briefly suggested toward the end of the paper a Sanskrit influence on Chinese rhetoric, with Tang China as the point of contact between India and Japan. For the most part, the contribution is a comparative study outlining common insights shared by the Indian and East Asian theoretical

traditions in the areas of literary defects and rhetorical figures (especially syllabic repetition).

Zhou Guangrong's (**周广荣**) "试论梵语声字在般若经典中的形态与功能 (On the Form and Function of Sanskrit *Akṣara* in *Prajñā-pāramitā-Sūtra*s and *Śāstra*s)" focused on the term *akṣara*, a word which is loaded with both philosophical and linguistic significance in ancient Indian culture and is widely used as *dhāraṇī*, *mantra*, *vidyā*, spells, *guhyavāc*, etc. Zhou concluded that the evolution of the term *akṣara* bespeaks a process from simplicity to complexity, from singularity to diversification, and the functions and attributes of *akṣara* have also gone through a transformation from method to ontology, from convenient methods (*upāya*) to ultimacy (*satya*).

The paper, "Textual Study on Relationship between Season and Disease: In special reference to Vyādhipraśamanam of the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtram*," was coauthored by Liu Yinghua (**刘英华**) and Dang Suping (**党素萍**). The Vyādhipraśamanaparivarta of the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* (SBh) has a brief depiction of the relationship between season and disease. The depiction differs not only from the Ayurvedic source to which the majority of similar accounts can be traced back, but also from other Buddhist sources. Liu and Dang singled out the differences between the many translations of the SBh and related texts, they pointed out that "all these descriptions are based on the same solar calendar system, i.e. they follow the same solar-terrestrial relationship."

Fu Chong's (**傅翀**) paper, "History of the Indian Buddhist Schism Viewed by Paramārtha and Xuanzang," is based upon a close reading of a doxographical treatise which was translated into Chinese three times under different titles: the *Treatise of Eighteen Schools* (**十八部論**), the *Treatise of Schools with Disagreements* (**部執異論**) by Paramārtha, and the *Treatise of Schools Following Disagreeing Wheels* (**異部宗輪論**) by Xuanzang. Fu showed that the comments supplied by Paramārtha and Xuanzang, can serve to "deepen our

understanding of the early Buddhist schism as well as the scholarly tradition of the Sarvāstivāda school."

In his paper, "Sanskrit and the Language Situation in the Tarim Basin-oasis Towns during the First Millennium of the Common Era," Claus Zoller sketched the linguistic map during the first millennium in the oasis towns at the edge of the Tarim Basin. Three languages: Indo-Aryan (Niya Prakrit), Iranian (Khotan Saka), and Tokharian (Indo-European Kentum) were spoken. Zoller showed that members of the above three language families had developed tendencies towards a linguistic area, and that the Gāndhārī language and Niya Prakrit contributed in different ways to the flow of Buddhist literature from India to China.

John Tang (唐均), in his "The Sanskrit Lexical Sediments Loaned in Jurchen Records," located more than ten words etymologically related to Sanskrit. His discovery gave a glimpse into the black box of the building up of the Buddhist literature which accompanied the rise of the Proto-Tungusic tribe. Tang showed that the importing of terms transmitted by Serindic Uyghur and Central Chinese from India and Tibet over to Manchuria and Cathay had played a significant role during the process.

Another paper based upon the *Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra* is by Zheng Guodong's (郑国栋): "A Metamorphosis in Saṃsāra: The Structure of the Jalavāhana Story." Exploring closely the structure of the story, Zheng retrieved the narrative strategy by which the moments between the circle of time-space and the secret of the helical structure of three lives or *trayo 'dhvānas* in the eternal cycle (*saṃsāra*) are unveiled. He concluded, metaphorically, that the transmission of the Indian idea of saṃsāra to other places where the concept was alien was as successful as, strategically speaking, the Trojan horse.

Chen Yinke is one of the trailblazers who based his study of Chinese Buddhism on Sanskrit materials. Fan Muyou's (范慕尤), "Chen Yinke's Contribution to Buddhist Philological Study: With reference

to Sanskrit texts," exemplified Chen's achievements in the fields of Buddhist and oriental philological studies. This paper commemorates the fiftieth anniversary of the demise of Chen Yinke.

Chinese materials which transmit Sanskrit grammatical knowledge are extremely meager in comparison with the huge collection of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, the majority of which is originally in Sanskrit, Pāli, and other Prakrits. This poses a special problem for extracting and explaining the technical terms scattered in related texts. In her "Buddhists' Razor: How Many Vibhaktayaḥ are There?" Zhang Xueshan (张雪杉) revisited the usage of "七例" and "八啭" in Xuanzang's translation of the *Yogācārabhūmi* and other related texts based thereupon. Zhang suggested that "啭" was a purely linguistic concept while "例" was tinged with a philosophical nuance. She also pointed out that the term "八例" used by Yijing indicates, presumably, his lack of awareness of the subtle distinction between "例" and "啭."

Section 1.3 The Literature in Tibetan: ཀྱ་གར་སྐད་དུ། (In the Indian Language) focused on the transmission of Sanskrit in Tibet, which coincides with the transmission of Buddhism in that region since the 7th century A.D. Karen Lang's "Kashmiri Paṇḍitas and the Transmission of Madhyamaka: Patshab's and Sūkṣmajana's Translation of the *Catuḥśataka* and the *Bodhisattvayogācāracatuḥśatakatīkā*" illuminated the process by analyzing cases in which Pa tshab Nyi ma grags (1055–1135?) and his Indian cooperator Sūkṣmajana balanced successfully the precision and readability in their translation of an important mādhyamika work.

In his "The Compendium of the Essence of the Eight Branches and Its Tibetan Translation Errors, Mistranslation, and Intentional Changes," Yang Ga delineated in detail the transmission of the Eight Branches (*Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā*) into Tibet and showed its influences on the *Four Tantras*. By comparing the Sanskrit text of the *Eight Branches*, he observed critically the Tibetan translation and

illustrated how the misinterpretations and the intentional changes therein occurred and impacted later Tibetan writings on medicine.

Liu Yinghua (**刘英**华), in his "**从敦煌本悉**昙体梵文《心经》**看中国早期梵文**经书形态和功用 (Study on form and usage of earlier Sanskrit texts in China: Based on the Siddham Sanskrit manuscript of the *Hṛdayasūtra* found in Dunhuang grottoes)," reported and analyzed two manuscripts of the *Hṛdayasūtra* discovered in Dunhuang, Liu discussed the palaeographical as well as grammatical characteristics of the manuscripts and suggested how these manuscripts might have been copied and served a religious purpose.

"Tibetan Expertise in Sanskrit Grammar (4): Kātantra Commentaries by Zha lu Chos skyong bzang po (1441-1527) and Karmapa 8 Mi bskyod rdo rje (1507-1554)" by Peter Verhagen, an excerpt from his forthcoming monograph, *What's in a Word. Indo-Tibetan Reflections on Language*, opened a window to the *śabdavidyā* as transmitted during the 15th and 16th centuries in Tibet. As an avid reader of the canonical and para-canonical grammatical treatises in Tibetan, Verhagen sketched, with keen insights, three texts related to the *Kātantra*, Zha lu lo tsā ba Chos skyong bzang po's commentary on this treatise, Karmapa 8's sub-commentary thereupon, and another text, though entitled '*Heart [i.e. essence] of the clarification of the general meaning [or contents] of Kalāpa [i.e. Kātantra grammar]*', better taken as "a compendium offering a survey of major themes and topics in Sanskrit grammar (not only in Kātantra!)." Verhagen's anecdote of the "para-/pseudo- grammatical" interpretation of *evaṃ*, apparently a display of erudition and a fashionable phenomenon among the Tibetan *vaiyākaraṇa*s, and his detailed description of these Tibetan works on Sanskrit grammar evince a constant enthusiasm toward Sanskrit in Tibet.

In her "On the Sanskrit-original Words in Mongolian," Sachrangui showed that the Sanskrit loan words in Mongolian had different sources. The early Uighur, which had borrowed a mass of Sanskrit words, passed on them to Mongolian, another major source was

Tibetan. She further remarked on the historical sound changes and formation characteristics of these loaned words, though they had become an integral part of Mongolian vocabulary and were barely considered borrowed by natives.

Luo Hong's (罗鸿) paper "How to make and make sense of it?: The interpretation, translation, and transmission of *kṛt* in Guṇaprabha's *Vinayasūtra*" (VS) concerned yet another case in which the Tibetan translation of a Sanskrit text merits close observation. By introducing previously undiscussed materials in Tibetan, Luo furthered Bapat's (1971) discussion on *kṛt*, a term defined in *sūtra*s 104 and 105 of the first chapter of Guṇaprabha's (7th cent. CE) VS and showed how this technical term was dealt with by different translation groups during the Early Transmission, and how it was interpreted as well as misinterpreted in commentarial literature developed during the Late Transmission.

The unit Sanskrit in modern society consists of three speeches, all of which, unfortunately, are for different reasons not incorporated in the current volume. Nonetheless, we shall summarize the main points made by the speakers so as to give a full picture of the conference.

In her "Yoga Movement in China," Lu Fang (路芳) first revisited the inception of Yoga education in the West at the turning of the twentieth century, then elaborated on how Yoga was introduced into China since the 1980s. As a specialist deeply involved in the establishment of the India-China Yoga College, which was initiated by India and China in 2015, she reported in detail the current development of Yoga education in China and defined it as a "movement" in view of the diversity and momentum she witnessed.

Michael Zimmermann's speech, "Indological Studies in Europe: Strategies for Survival," addressed serious issues faced by humanities in general in Europe. Recent decades witnessed considerable shift in the field of Indological Studies. The reduction in financial support for the universities had been marginalizing the study of Sanskrit at universities in Europe. Cornered by the virtual danger, Indological

departments were reacting by developing such promising areas as Buddhist and Yoga study programs. The strategy, it seems, has so far proved to be very successful. While this model could possibly contribute to the establishment of Indological studies at universities in China, it should be recognized that the study of Sanskrit, as the dominant culture-bearing language in India for more than three millennia, is central to any study of Indology.

In their joint paper "Sanskrit and Sanskrit Studies: The "Cultural Common Denominator" in the Sino-Indian Relations," Zhou Liqun (周利群) and Kong Yuan (孔源) reviewed the cultural communication between India and China during the era of the Republic of China (1912-1949), and their diplomatic relationship since 1949. They showed how Sanskrit, the "Cultural Common Denominator" in the Sino-Indian Relations, can contribute in a constructive way to the future perspectives of the two great civilizations.

To refine the way Sanskrit is learned and studied at universities and institutes is one way to secure the future of Sanskrit Studies, but another way to achieve that is to engage with the contemporary dominant medium of information transmission, the digital medium. Doing so can significantly reshape the instruction of Sanskrit and enhance the outreach of this ancient language in contemporary society. The four papers given in this section "Sanskrit, Digital Humanities, and Computational Linguistics" represented a promising intermingling of Indologists and computer scientists: the four authors are the major driving force of these interdisciplinary studies.

In his "Issues in Digital Sanskrit Philology and Computational Linguistics," Peter Scharf showed how the development of the Extensible Markup Language (XML) and the Text-Encoding Initiative (TEI) provides a prudent and sustainable channel to transition Sanskrit heritage to the digital medium. Explaining that the formalization of the Pāṇinian linguistic system in XML can facilitate the longevity of a precise analysis of Pāṇini's linguistic system and its computational implementation independent of a specific

programming language, Scharf further spotlighted how an automation of the generation of speech forms in accordance with Pāṇinian rules can generate Sanskrit speech forms with internal dependency relations intact and with external dependency relations in the form of expectancies. This information is useful in developing a Sanskrit parser and refining existing Sanskrit parsers.

Gérard Huet's "Design of a Sanskrit Reader Assistant" explained the rationale, the construction, and the mechanism of the Sanskrit Heritage Reader Web service. As a semi-automatic computer tool consisting of three main components: a hypertext dictionary, a morphology generator, and an interactive segmenter cum tagger using a graphical interface, it can assist the users in understanding classical Sanskrit text, without presupposing an extensive knowledge of the grammar of the language. Huet also addressed the tool's main short-comings and possible solutions to them.

In her "Appropriate Dependency Tagset for Sanskrit Analysis and Generation," Amba Kulkarni showcased how the Indian theories of śābdabodha can inspire the design of a tagset which is suitable for computer parsing with high accuracy and is also easily comprehensible by a non-grammarian. At the same time, she singled out two phenomena in Sanskrit: *upapada*s and *kāraka*s, which, either due to a lack or un-specification of semantic role, or multiple or complex assignment in Pāṇini's grammar, pose difficulties to semantic analysis and automatic sentence generation. She proposed solutions in both cases.

George Cardona's "Pāṇinian Derivation and Lexicon" discussed how compounds and some *taddhita* derivatives are viewed in Pāṇini's grammar. Resuming his discussion in Cardona 2009 that most compounds and derivatives with *taddhita* suffixes are treated as optional formations derived from abstract strings which serve to derive related utterances, Cardona further presented arguments supporting the position that the derivates formed from constituents of such strings are not treated as part of a possible lexicon to which they

are exported, whence they are also imported to enter into sentence derivations.

The majority of the contributions has been incorporated into these proceedings. The speeches given but not included are summarized and listed where they are announced in the conference program. As one third of the papers were given in languages other than English, that is, in Sanskrit, Chinese, or Tibetan, we have adopted a multilingual policy for these proceedings, which adopts, as we believe, a process toward a more in-depth dialogue.

This event was jointly organized by the Centre for Tibetan Studies of Sichuan University and Centre for India Studies of Peking University and convened by Qiu Yonghui, Wang Bangwei, George Cardona, Peter Scharf and Hong Luo. To the following institutes the cooperation of which made this event possible, we owe many thanks: Gandhi Center for India Studies, Fudan University, India-China Yoga College, Yunnan Minzu University, Asien-Afrika-Institut, Hamburg University, Centre for Yoga Studies, Hamburg University, and Faculty of Oriental Studies, Oxford University.

We thank all the participants who contributed to the proceedings, and we would also like to extend our appreciation to the following colleagues who attended the event for their kind support: Ms. Chetana Rajeev Gosavi, Prof. Jinmei (晋美), Prof. Liu Xiangbo (刘祥柏), Dr. Liu Yixia (刘艺侠), Prof. Liu When (刘震), Ms. Jeanet Snijders, Dr. Yu Huaijin (于怀瑾), Ms Andrea Zoller.

Thanks are also due to the students who participated and assisted this conference: Yao Jingyuan (姚婧媛), Chen Junwen (陈俊文), Li Yilan (李仪兰), Zhou Jiayu (周佳玉), Zhang Haoran (张皓然). Special thanks to Prof. Yang Ga for translating Saroja Bhate's opening speech into Tibetan.

This event was financed by Sichuan University and hosted by the Centre for Tibetan Studies of Sichuan University. We thank Prof. Huo Wei (霍巍), Director of the School of History and Culture of Sichuan University, for his support, and Prof. Li Yingfu (李映福), Vice Director of the School of History and Culture of Sichuan University, for leading the opening ceremony.

Opening speech

George Cardona

The title of this conference is Saṃskṛtādhvā, translated as “Sanskrit on paths’. I will say a few words concerning this title, in order to elicit reactions from my learned colleagues and also because one of the sections is entitled *daivī vāk*.

Now, in his *Kāvyalakṣaṇa* (*Kāvyalakṣaṇa* of Daṇḍin [also known as *Kāvyādarśa*] edited by Anantalal Thakur and Upendra Jha, Darbhanga: Mithila Institute of Post-Graduate Studies, 1957) Daṇḍin speaks (1.33ab: संस्कृतं नाम दैवी वागन्वाख्याता महर्षिभिः।) of the divine language (*daivī vāk*) known as saṃkṛtam, which was explained by sages.

By ‘sages’ Daṇḍin means the famed munitraya: Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali — respectively authors of the most renowned śabdānuśāsana (work whereby correct speech is explained), including eight chapters (*aṣṭādhyāyī*) of sūtras, of commentatorial statements (*vākya*) on sūtras of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, and of the large commentary on both of these, the *Mahābhāṣya*. In consonance with the Pāṇinian procedure of viewing grammatical derivation from a speaker’s perspective, at the very beginning of comments concerning the opening statement अथ शब्दानुशासनम् (‘Now the śabdānuśāsana is introduced’), in his first vārttika, Kātyāyana states (सिद्धे शब्दार्थसम्बन्धे लोकतो ऽर्थप्रयुक्ते शब्दप्रयोगे शास्त्रेण धर्मनियमः।) that the grammar (*śāstreṇa*) serves as a means to establish a restriction for the sake of merit (*dharmaniyamaḥ*) — that is, establishing that only the use of correct speech forms leads to merit — given that correct speech forms, their meanings, and the relation (*śabdārthasambandhe*) between the two are established (*siddhe*) and also that the use of such speech forms (*śabdaprayoge*) is

prompted by meaning (*arthaprayukte*), as is known from the world of communication (*lokataḥ*).

The term *dharmaniyamaḥ* is immediately understood as a genitive tatpuruṣa referring to restriction (*niyamaḥ*) that is related to merit (*dharmasambandhī*). Just what is the relation between the two is a question that arises from what Patañjali says (The Vyākaraṇa=Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali edited by F. Kielhorn, revised by K. V. Abhyankar, fourth edition, Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1985, I.8.4-6: किमिदं धर्मनियम इति । धर्माय नियमो धर्मनियमः । धर्मार्थो वा नियमो धर्मनियमः। धर्मप्रयोजनो वा नियमो धर्मनियमः।) about how *dharmaniyamaḥ* is to be understood. Answering to the question, what is meant by this, he gives three alternative paraphrases: (a) धर्माय नियमो धर्मनियमः, (b) धर्मार्थो नियमो धर्मनियमः, (c) धर्मप्रयोजनो नियमो. Now, all these expressions could be considered alternative ways of portraying one fact: the restriction concerning the use of correct speech forms is intended for merit. In (a) this is brought out by the use of the dative *dharmāya* referring to the restriction's purpose; in (b), this is then brought out more explicitly with the use of *dharmārthaḥ* 'whose purpose (*artha*) is merit'; and (c) enforces the relation: merit is the compelling reason (*prayojana*) which commands observing the restriction. However, Pāṇinian commentators from Bhartṛhari onwards view (a)-(c) as true alternatives, emphasizing different ways of relating grammatical restriction and merit. (a) simply shows that the former is intended for the latter. (b) views *dharmaniyama* as a karmadhāraya, identifying the two: since the restriction is intended for merit, it is identified with this. Finally, merit compels users to observe the restriction in order to attain the desired end.

I would like to apply this outlook to the use of saṃskṛtādhvā or saṃskṛtapathaḥ. There is a path leading to what is saṃskṛtam; this path and its end are identified, and the Sanskrit language compels you to follow it. There is thus an impetus to delve ever more deeply into the language and its connections with various areas of study. This is the main focus of this conference, which, though it ranges widely, always comes back to the center which is Sanskrit.

Thank you.

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Cīnabhāratayoḥ setuḥ saṃskṛtam
Sanskrit: A bridge between China and India

Saroja Bhate
Pune, India

चीनभारतयोः सेतुः संस्कृतम् ।

सरोज भते

अयि सभ्याः । सिछुअन्विद्यापीठस्य तिबेटाध्ययनकेन्द्रं तथा च पेकिन्विद्यापीठस्य भारताध्ययनकेन्द्रमित्येताभ्यां द्वाभ्यां केन्द्राभ्यामायोजितायां "Sanskrit in China — संस्कृताध्वा" इति शीर्षकाङ्कितयामस्यां पण्डितपरिषद्युपस्थितेभ्यो भवद्भ्यः सर्वेभ्यः सप्रश्रयं नमोवाकं निवेदयामि ॥ परिषद्यस्यामुपस्थातुं मदीयं मनोगतं भावं चात्रभवतां पुरः स्थापयितुमाहूताहं संयोजकैस्तदर्थं कृतज्ञतां प्रकटयामि ॥

Dear participants,

My humble greetings to all the honorable pandits who attend the conference "Sanskrit in China — Saṃskṛtādhvā" jointly organized by the Center for Tibetan Studies of Sichuan University and the Center for Indian Studies of Peking University. I present here before the

respectable attendants my thoughts concerning this conference, and my appreciation, as I am invited by the organizers for that purpose.

सम्यगभिजानन्त्यत्रभवन्तः सर्वे यच्चीनभारतयोः सांस्कृतिकमादानप्रदानं पुरा कालादारभ्याद्य यावत्प्रचलतीति ॥ एवं किल पठ्यते वृत्तान्तेषु प्राचीनचीनभाषायामुपनिबद्धेषु यत्क्रिस्ताब्दस्य चतुर्थे शतके कुमारजीवसहिता नैके भारतीया ब्राह्मणाः चीनराष्ट्रं नीताः संस्कृतग्रन्थाननूदितुमिति ॥ ते च तदानींतनं राजानं रामायणमहाभारतादिकाव्यान्यपाठयन्नित्यपि निर्देश उपलभ्यते॥ पञ्चमं शतकमारभ्य Fa-hsien, Sung Yun, Hsuan Tsang, I Tsing इत्यादिभिर्बौद्धपरिव्राजकैरुभयसंस्कृतिपरिपोषणे यत्कार्यं कृतं तत्तु सुष्ठु विदितं विश्वस्मिन्विश्वे ॥ अत्रत्ये तक्लामकन्प्रदेशे शर्करिले गुहायां निहितमदभ्रं ग्रान्थिकं धनमुद्घाट्याभ्यासकेभ्यः समर्पितं यैस्ते ऽजस्रं प्रणामानर्हन्ति ॥

All the learned colleagues here know that the Sanskrit-related cultural exchange between India and China has a long history in the past and it continues in our era. It is well recorded in documents written in classical Chinese that in the fourth century CE many Indian brahmin pandits, along with Kumārajīva (343–413), came to China to translate Sanskrit treatises. They recited to the then ruling emperor epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* etc., and they interpreted the epics. Ever since the fifth century CE, the feats of the buddhist monk pilgrims Fa-hsien (334–420), Sung Yun (6th cent. CE), Hsuan Tsang (600–664), I Tsing (635–713) contributed to the cultural prosperity of both sides, this is worldly renowned. Those who recovered from the cave in the Taklimakan Desert many scriptures and put them at the disposal of researchers deserve for ever our respects.

द्वितीयजागतिकमहायुद्धानलेन दन्दह्यमाने जर्मनीराष्ट्रे द्वादश वर्षाण्युषित्वा संस्कृतमभ्यस्य चीनराष्ट्रं प्रतिनिवृत्तैः प्राध्यापकैर् Ji-xianlinमहोदयैर्नैकेषां रामायणशाकुन्तलादिसंस्कृतकाव्यानामनुवादं विधाय संस्कृताध्ययनायानुकूल्यं व्यधायि ॥ तेषां पन्थानमनुसरतां Jiang-zhongxinमहोदयः,Huang-baoshengमहोदयः, Wang-bangweiमहोदयः,

Duan-qingमहोदया, तेषां समानव्यापाराणां Jin-kemuमहोदयः, Wang-senमहोदयश्चेत्यादीनां नैकेषां भारतविद्याभ्यासकानां मौलिकमवदानमवश्यमुल्लेखनीयमस्मिन्नवसरे ॥ तत्रापि चिकित्सितसम्पादितस्य महाभारतस्य समग्रस्य चीनभाषायामनुवादः प्रकाशित इत्यहो महद्गौरवमावहतीदमनुष्ठानम् ॥ मन्य इदंप्रथमतया भारतीयेतरभाषायां प्रकाशितो ऽयं समग्रमहाभारतानुवादो मूर्धन्यायते चीनराष्ट्रे सम्पन्नस्य भारताध्ययनानुष्ठानस्य ॥

The great master Ji Xianlin stayed in Germany for twelve years, he was studying Sanskrit there when the country was overwhelmed by the second world war. After returning to China, he translated the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Śākuntala* and other Sanskrit poetic works into Chinese, besides, he gradually established Sanskrit studies in China. The excellent contributions of many Indologists, Jiang Zhongxin, Huang Baosheng, Wang Bangwei, Duan Qing who followed his trailblazing efforts, and his colleagues Jin Kemu, Wang Sen, are worth mentioning on this occasion. Besides, it should be mentioned that the marvelous and voluminous *Mahābhārata* has been translated in its entirety into Chinese. Indeed, this achievement carries significant weight. According to me, as the first complete *Mahābhārata* translation in a non-Indian language, the Chinese translation marks the top achievement of the well established Indian studies in China.

Geng-yinzeng इत्याख्यया विदुष्या प्राक्काले चीनभारतयोः सम्बन्धमधिकृत्य लिखितानां पत्राणां यत्सङ्कलनं कृतमस्ति तस्य सम्यगध्ययनं भारतीयशास्त्राणामपीतिहासावगमे नितरामुपकुर्यादित्यत्र न को ऽपि संशेते ॥

Geng Yinzeng collected the old documents concerning Sino-Indian relationship, a proper speculation on the collection will assist considerably our understanding of the development of Indian texts. There is no doubt about that.

अन्या विदुषी Duan-qingमहोदया लिखति यच्चीनभाषायामनूदितानां बौद्धधतन्त्रग्रन्थानाम् — येषां संस्कृतमूलं सर्वथा कालवशं सञ्जातम् —

सम्यगध्ययनेनैव दर्शनमिदं यथार्थमवगन्तुं शक्यमिति ॥

Duan Qing wrote that only through properly studying the Chinese translation of Buddhist tantric texts — and their root text in Sanskrit is gradually established — can one understand this system properly.

अद्यत्वे प्रायः दशसु संस्थाषु Chengdu-Beijing-Shanghai-Hangzou-Xian-Lanzhou-Tianjin-Jinan-Shenzhen इत्यादिस्थलेषु कार्यरतासु संस्कृताध्ययनं प्रवर्तत इत्यहो प्रमोदास्पदमिदमस्माकं संस्कृताध्येतृणाम् ॥

Now, in China, in ten cities, Chengdu, Beijing, Shanghai, Hangzhou, Xian, Lanzhou, Tianjing, Jinan, Shenzhen, Sanskrit studies are being carried out. These are propitious places. What a promising situation here for our Sanskritists!

तावता विशदमिदं भवति यच्चीनभारतयोः संबन्धं द्रढयितुं सेतुबन्धायते संस्कृतं स्थिरीकुर्वन्तु सेतुमिममत्रत्या अभ्यासका इति श्लोकमुखेन मदीयं मनोगतं प्रकटय्योपसंहरामि —

Sanskrit, inasmuch as it serves as a link tightening the relation between China and India, is truly genuine, may all scholars here make stronger the bridge, Sanskrit. To summarize my thoughts in a śloka:

संवादेनैव विदुषाम्
गीर्वाणीयं महीयताम् ।
चीनभारतभूम्योश्च
मिथः स्नेहः प्रवर्धताम् ॥

Via precisely the exchange of pandits,
May prosper the Speech in Speech!
Via precisely the exchange of pandits,
May deepen the appreciation between China and India!

梵语：中印津梁

Saroja Bhate

尊敬的与会者，

首先请允许我向诸位参与此次会议的博学的同事们致以问候，大会名为“梵语行：梵文在中国”，由四川大学中国藏学研究所和北京大学印度学研究中心共同举办，在此我向各位尊敬的同事讲述我参会的感想，同时也向邀请我参与会议的组织者表达谢意。

在座诸君都知道中印之间以梵语为纽带的文化交流源远流长。这些交流往还在古代中文文献中就有记载，公元四世纪，鸠摩罗什（343–413）等众多印度婆罗门学者来到中国，他们致力于经典的传播，并为此携来大量的梵籍。据文献记录，他们向当时在位的帝王讲述了《罗摩衍那》和《摩诃婆罗多》等诗作。五世纪以降，法显（334–420）、宋云（六世纪）、玄奘（600–664）、义净（635–713）等僧人为中印双方文化繁荣作出了贡献，他们的成就为世人所传颂。当代的研究者们在塔克拉玛干沙漠石窟中发现了诸多典籍并将它们提供给专家学者使用，这是一项永远令人钦佩的工作。

第二次世界大战期间，在被战火煎熬的德国，大师季羡林停留了十二年研习梵语，战争结束后，他回到中国，将《罗摩衍那》以及《沙恭达罗》等梵语文学作品译成中文，并在中国逐渐建立了梵文研究。蒋忠新、黄宝生、王邦维、段晴等继承了季先生的事业，他们以及季先生的同事金克木、王森等梵文学者所取得的杰出成就值得赞誉。这些成就中，卷秩浩繁寓意深远的《摩诃婆罗多》中文全译本的问世具有非常重要的意义，我认为，作为第一个非印度语言的全译本，《摩诃婆罗多》中译本代表了中国印度学研究的最高成就。

耿引曾女史收集编撰了若干关于古代中印关系的论文，认真研读这些论文对于我们研究印度典籍成立的历史无疑具有极大的助益。

段晴女史认为："汉译佛教密续典籍的梵文原本是逐渐形成的，只有妥当的研究才能正确地理解该传统。"

今天的中国，梵文研究已经在成都、北京、上海、杭州、西安、兰州、天津、济南、深圳等十个城市开展起来，对于我辈梵文学者来说，这是何等令人鼓舞！

梵文是中印文化交流的纽带，一道纯粹的津梁，愿与在座诸君共同护持这津梁！谨以一首偈颂总结我的思绪：

智士晤言 言溥其语
震旦天竺 言敦其谊

ལེགས་སྩལ་ནི་རྒྱ་ནག་དང་རྒྱ་གར་བར་གྱི་འཕེལ་ཟས་ཞིག་རེད།

Saroja Bhate

གྱས་ཤིང་བརྩེ་བའི་ཚོགས་ཞུགས་གནང་མཁན་ནམས་ལ་ཞུ་རྒྱུར།

ཐོག་མར་ངས་ཚོགས་འདུ་འདིར་ཞུགས་མཁན་གྱི་མཁས་དབང་རྣམས་ལ་བབྱ་ཤིས་བདེ་ལེགས་ཞུ་རྒྱུ་ཡིན། ཚོགས་འདུ་འདིའི་མིང་ལ་ ཥིལེགས་པར་སྩལ་བའི་ལམ་སྟེ་ལེགས་སྩལ་རྒྱ་ནག་ཏུ་དར་ཚུལ་ ཀྲེས་སུ་བཏགས། འདི་ནི་ཟེ་ཁོན་སློབ་གྲྭ་ཚེན་མོའི་ཀུང་གོའི་ཝོད་རིག་བའི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་སྟེ་གནས་དང་། པེ་ཅིན་སློབ་གྲྭ་ཚེན་མོའི་རྒྱ་གར་རིག་བའི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་སྟེ་གནས་ཀྱིས་ཐུབ་ཅིང་། བོ་ཌིན་སློབ་གྲྭ་ཚེན་མོའི་རྒྱ་གར་རིག་བའི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་སྟེ་གནས་ཀྱི་རྒྱབ་མོང་ཏུ་གཤེར་བ་ཞིག་རེད། དས་གྱས་པར་འོས་པའི་ལས་རོགས་རྣམས་ལ་སྐབས་འདིའི་ཚོགས་འདུར་ཞུགས་པའི་སྐྱོང་ཚོར་ཞུ་རྒྱུ་དང་སྨྲགས་ཚོགས་འདུ་འདིར་གདན་འདེན་ཞུ་མཁན་ཀྱི་ལས་ཁྲིགས་མཚོག་ལ་ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེ་ཞུ་རྒྱུ་ཡིན། །

འདིར་བཞུགས་ཀྱི་མཁས་དབང་ལས་རོགས་རྣམ་པས་མཁྱེན་གསལ་ལ་སྐུར། ལེགས་སྩལ་དང་འཕེལ་བའི་རྒྱ་ནག་དང་རྒྱ་གར་དབར་གྱི་རིག་གནས་བརྗེ་རེས་ནི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡུན་རིང་ཐུན་པར་མ་ཟད་དྲི་བར་སྤུ་མཐུད་ནས་སྤེལ་བཞིན་ཡོད། རིག་གནས་བརྗེ་རེས་དེ་དག་ཀྱང་རྒྱ་ནག་གནའ་བོའི་ཡིག་ཆ་ཁག་ཏུ་འགོད་ཡོད་དེ། དུས་རབས་བཞི་པའི་ནང་ཏུ། རིག་འཛིན་ཀུ་མྱ་ར་ཡི་ (343–413) སོགས་རྒྱ་གར་བྱམ་ཟའི་མཁས་པ་མང་པོ་རྒྱ་ནག་ཏུ་ཕེབས་ཤིང་གཞུང་ཆེན་མང་པོ་རྒྱ་སྐད་དུ་བསྒྱུར་བར་མཛད། ཡིག་ཚའི་ནང་དུ་འགོད་པ་སྐྱར། ཁོང་རྣམ་པས་སྐབས་དེའི་རྒྱ་ནག་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་རྟ་མྱ་ཡ་ཅ་དང་མ་གུ་ཐྲ་ར་ཏ་སོགས་ཀྱི་སྐུན་རྟོགས་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་དུ་ཕྱིན་ཅི་ལོག་ཏུ་ཕེབས་པ་ཁོ་ནས་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཡོད། དེ་ནས་ཁོང་ཕྱི་ལོ་ (334–420) དང་། སྲང་ཡོན་ (དུས་རབས་དྲུག་པ་) ། ཐང་ཟན་ཙང་ (600–664) ། དཔྱིའ་ཧིང་ (635–713) སོགས་ནང་པའི་དགེ་འདུན་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་རྒྱ་ནག་དང་རྒྱ་གར་''གཉིས་ཀྱི་རིག་གནས་ཕུན་སུམ་ཚོགས་སུ་བཏང་ཡོད། ཁོང་རྣམས་ནི་འཕོམ་གླིང་སྤྱི་རྣམས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པོ་རྒྱས་པ་ཡིན་དུ་གྱུར་ཡོད། དེང་རབས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་པ་ཚོས་ཐ་ཝེ་ལ་མ་ཀན་མྱེ་མའི་བྱག་ཕྱག་ཏུ་ཡིག་ཆ་མང་པོ་རྣེད་ཧིང་ཆེད་དེ་དག་ཚེད་ལས་མཁས་པ་རྣམས་ལ་མཁོ་འདོན་བྱས་ཡོད། དེ་ནི་གྱས་བཀུར་ཞུ་འོས་པའི་ཕྱག་ལས་གལ་ཆེན་པོ་ཞིག་རེད། །

འཕོམ་གླིང་དམག་ཚེན་གཉིས་པའི་སྐབས་སུ། དམག་འཁྲུག་གིས་མནར་བའི་འཕངས་མན་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཏུ་མཁས་མཚོག་ཧོད་ཤན་ལིང་ཞི་ལོ་བསྡུ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་རིང་ལ་ལེགས་སྩལ་སློབ་གྲྭ་ཚེན་མོ་གཉིན་གནང་ནས།''

བཞུགས་ཡོད།ཁོང་རྒྱ་ནག་ཏུ་ཕྱིར་ཕེབས་གནང་རྗེས། རྟ་སྣ་ཡ་ཏ། ཤྲ་ཀུརྨ་ལ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་ཕེགས་སྒྲུབ་ཀྱི་སྐན་དག་མང་པོ་རྒྱ་ནག་སྐད་དུ་བསྒྱུར་བར་མཛད། དེ་ནས་རིམ་བཞིན་རྒྱ་ནག་ཏུ་ཕེགས་སྒྲུབ་ཀྱི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ཁང་བསྒོགས་གནང་བར་མཛད། ཅང་ཀུང་ཤིན། ཤང་པང་ཤེས། ཏོན་ཆིང་སོགས་རྒྱ་གར་ཞིབ་འཇུག་མཁན་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་སྐུ་ཞབས་ཅིང་གི་ལུགས་ལས་ཀྱི་རྒྱན་བསྒྲངས་བར་མཛད། ཁོང་རྣམ་པ་དང་། སྐུ་ཞབས་ཅིང་ཤན་ལས་རོགས་ཅིན་པ་ལྷག་ལས་ཀྱི་རྒྱན་བསྒྲངས་བར་མཛད། ཤང་ཁེན་སོགས་ཕེགས་སྒྲུབ་ཀྱི་མཁས་པ་ཆོས་བློ་མཛད་རྗེས་ཀྱི་མཛད་ཤེལ་ཡིག་ལས་ཀྱི་རྒྱན་བསྒྲངས་པ་ནི་བསྟན་པའི་ཉི་ཟླ་ཡོངས་སུ་རྫོགས་པའི་རྒྱ་སྐད་ཐོག་ཏུ་བསྒྲུབ་ཐུབ་པ་དེས་རྒྱ་ནག་མཁས་པའི་རྒྱ་གར་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ཐད་ཀྱི་ཚད་མཐོའི་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་ཁྱད་པར་ཅན་ཞིག་ཏུ་བཀོད་ཐུབ།

མཁྱེན་ཐུན་མ་ཀིང་ཡིང་ཧོང་གིས་ཐོག་མར་ཁྲིགས་བསྒྲིགས་དང་དཔར་བསྐྲུན་བྱས་པའི་རྒྱ་ནག་དང་རྒྱ་གར་འབྲེལ་བའི་སྐོར་གྱི་ཡིག་ཆེའི་ཚོགས་སྒྲིག་དག་གིས་རྒྱ་གར་ཡིག་ཚ་ཇི་ཤར་གྱལ་ཚུལ་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ཐེབ་ཐབས་ཐོག་ཚེན་པོ་བྱང་ཡོད་པར་གོར་མ་ཚག །

མཁྱེན་ཐུན་མ་ཀོན་ཚིང་ལགས་ཀྱིས་ “རྒྱ་ནག་སྐད་དུ་བསྒྱུར་བའི་ནང་ཚོས་གསང་ཐུགས་རྒྱུད་སྡེའི་ལེགས་སྒྲུབ་མ་ཡིག་ནི་རིམ་བཞིན་གྱབ་པ་ཡིན་པ་དང་། དེ་ལ་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ཚད་ཐུན་ཞིག་བྱས་ན་གཞི་ནས་སྒོལ་རྒྱུན་དེ་ཉིད་ཡང་དག་པ་རིམ་བཞིན་གྱབ་པ་ཡིན་པ་དང་། ཤེས་ཅིན། ཅིས་ནའང། ལན་གྲོའུ། ཐེན་ཅིན། ཅིས་ནན། ཏེན་ཀེན་སོགས་རྒྱ་ནག་ཐོང་ཁྲེར་བསྡུ་ལ་ལེགས་སྒྲུབ་ཞིབ་འཇུག་གི་ལས་འཚར་འགོ་བསྒོགས་ཡོད་ཚོ་ལེགས་སྒྲུབ་ཆེད་མཁས་ཚོ་ལ་ཚ་བཞག་ན། དེ་ནི་སེམས་འགྱལ་ཐེབས་འོས་པའི་བྱ་བ་ཞིག་མ་ལགས་སམ། །

ལེགས་སྒྲུབ་ནི་རྒྱ་ནག་དང་རྒྱ་གར་རིག་གནས་བརྗེ་རེས་ཀྱི་འབྲེལ་འཐུད་ཁྱེད་མཁན་ཞིག་དང་། དཔལ་གཙང་གི་ཟམ་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་མོད། འདིར་བཞུགས་ཀྱི་མཁྱེན་ཐུན་པ་རྣམས་དང་མཉམ་དུ་ཟམ་པ་འདི་ཉིད་སྒུང་སྐྱོབ་ཁྱེད་ཐུབ་པར་སྨོན་འདུན་ཞུ་རྒྱ་ཡིན། ངས་སྐབས་འདིར་ཨོ་ལོ་ཀ་གཅིག་གིས་རང་ཉིད་བསམ་ཚུལ་མཚོན་པར་འདོད་དོ། །

མཁས་པའི་དགོངས་པ་ཞིབ་མོར་བརྟེ་བར་བརྒྱད། །
ལེགས་པར་སྒྲུབ་བ་དང་ཞིང་རྒྱས་པར་སྨོན། །
མཁས་པའི་དགོངས་པ་ཞིབ་མོར་བརྟེ་བར་བརྒྱད། །
དཀར་ནག་རྒྱ་བར་མཛའ་མཐུན་ཟབ་གྱུར་ཅིག །

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Sanskrit in Ancient Chinese Eyes: The Language and Scripts
A Conference Speech

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Very few conferences on Sanskrit studies like this one have been held before in China. Never has such a conference been held that invited our colleagues from abroad, particularly from the home of Sanskrit, India.

In fact China started to become aware of and study Sanskrit and its culture very early, maybe the earliest of any country outside of India.

We all know that India and China both are great civilizations with very long history. We are neighbors, but the languages and cultural traditions are so different that it wouldn't be surprising to ask: how did it happen that Sanskrit, a foreign language, became known by people of this land, and how has Sanskrit contributed to the cultural interaction between India and China?

My speech attempts to briefly address this issue in five parts, each of which shall take less than five minutes, due to the limit on my allotted time.

1. The Language of Sanskrit: Is That of *Hu* or of the God of Brahmā?

Undoubtedly to Chinese people in ancient times, the language of Sanskrit became known together with Buddhism.

Buddhism arrived or was known in China in the beginning of the Common Era. It is generally accepted that the introduction of Buddhism into China took place in 2 BCE.

Actually we do not know exactly from what language or languages the earliest Chinese Buddhist scriptures were translated.

According to the research of scholars over the past several decades, particularly after the recent discovery of the earliest Buddhist texts from Afghanistan and other places in Central Asia, we realize that the linguistic picture of the Buddhist texts of this time period was more complicated than was previously thought. More are in Gāndhārī, some maybe in other languages, though the possibility of some kind of Sanskrit can't be totally excluded.

With this historical background the Chinese people of that time indiscriminately called all languages of the Western Regions, in which India was included, *Huyu* (胡语), that is, the languages of *Hu*, a proper name referring to those people who were living in the Western Regions, and, in Chinese eyes, were more or less uncivilized. This shows that in the beginning to Chinese people the knowledge of Sanskrit was far from clear. Only after that did the picture gradually become clearer, step by step, and eventually fully manifested.

The period from the beginning of the Common Era to the 7th century CE witnessed the instillation of accurate knowledge of Sanskrit in China. This process can be divided into four stages.

a. From the beginning of 1st to 2nd Century: The Predawn Hours

It is beyond dispute that in ancient China the knowledge of Sanskrit was closely related to Buddhism. The spread of Buddhism brought Sanskrit to China. But we are not sure of the exact time when the Chinese people encountered Sanskrit as a language.

Generally we accept the first year of the Yuanshou (元寿) of the Han, namely, 2 BCE, as the date of Buddhism's arrival in China.

The earliest Chinese Buddhist texts we have today are those translated by An Shigao (安世高) and Lokakṣema (支婁迦讖). We are not very certain of the source language or languages of these texts. We only know that An Shigao was from the Kingdom of Anxi (安息) located in today's eastern part of Iran and Lokakṣema was from Yuezhi (月氏) a country in Central Asia during that time. Many scholars today believe that Gāndhārī, an ancient language of northwestern India, was very possibly used by those Buddhists in this area and during that time.

But I believe that even at that time some texts were from some kind of Sanskrit. For instance, the translation of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* by Zhiqian (支謙), a China-born immigrant Buddhist monk with Parthian origin, shows that although the version of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* that he saw might not be the same one that we know today, it was possibly written in Sanskrit.

b. Late 3rd Century: Dawn

In this period more texts in Sanskrit or, as it is said, in some kind of hybrid Sanskrit arrived in China. This can be seen clearly through Dharmarakṣa's translation of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, the *Lalitavistara*, the *Jātaka* of the Northern tradition and other texts. Dharmarakṣa (竺法護) was born into an immigrant family from Dayuezhi (大月氏), grew up at Dunhuang, and was educated in the so-called Western Regions, a geographical term including Northwestern India.

c. From the 4th to 5th Century: Forenoon

In this period through Kumārajīva's translations we can clearly see the source texts are all in Sanskrit. These texts include the well-known *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, *Vijracchedikā* and others. The same observation is applicable to Kumārajīva's contemporaries, e.g. Buddhabhadra (佛陀跋陀羅), and Dharmayaśa (毗摩羅叉). In addition, Faxian's (法顯) translation of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* is undoubtedly from Sanskrit.

d. In the 6th and 7th century: The midday

It is very clear that the Chinese translations of this period were almost exclusively from Sanskrit. This we can see through Xuanzang's translation of the *Yogācārabhūmi* and the *Abhidharmakośa* etc. as well as Yijing's translation of the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, and the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra* and so forth.

In this time period Chinese Buddhists even started to discuss which part of India is the best place in terms of the correct pronunciation of Sanskrit, and creating the standard for both doctrinal and linguistic accuracy: the East, West, North, South or the Middle? The strongest argument was that as Śākyamuni the Buddha established Buddhism in Magadha, and Magadha is located at the heart of the centre, Madhyadeśa in Sanskrit, so Xuanzang said in his great book *The Accounts of the Western Regions during the Great Tang* the following:

> Their (Indian) writing system, composed of forty-seven *akṣara*s, was created by God Brahmā as an original standard for posterity. These *akṣara*s are combined to indicate objects and used as expressions for events. Their language developed into branches and gradually became widely used, with slight changes according to place and people. But seen as a whole, it did not deviate from the original, while the language of Central India is particularly accurate and correct. The voice like that of the gods and the tones are clear and elegant, setting the standard for other people. But the people of neighboring countries became accustomed to speaking in erroneous ways until their mistakes became accepted as correct, and they vied with one another in emulating vulgarities, not sticking to the pure and simple style.

詳其文字，梵天所製，原始垂則，四十七言也。寓物合成，隨事轉用，流演枝派，其源浸廣，因地隨人，微有改變。語其大較，未異本源，而中印度特為詳正。辭調和雅，與天同

音，氣韻清亮，為人軌則。隣境異國，習謬成訓，競趨澆俗，莫守淳風。

At this point, we can say, Sanskrit as a language had become correctly understood by Xuanzang and Chinese people of his time.

2. Indic Scripts and Chinese Characters: A Story of Three Brothers

Though it may appear strange, the fact is, generally speaking, for languages Chinese people are more concerned with their writing systems than with their sounds. From the beginning people showed much interest in the scripts of Indian languages. It seems that the translation of the *Lalitavistara* by Dharmarakṣa of the 3rd century provided information not only to attain knowledge but also for the exercise of the imagination from Chinese side.

In Chapter Lipiśālāsaṃdarśana-parivarta of the *Lalitavistara* sixty four *lipi*s are mentioned. The first one is Brāhmī and the second is Kharoṣṭhī. Though most of these *lipi*s are meaningless, the Brāhmī and the Kharoṣṭhī are obviously impressive to Chinese Buddhist believers because they can see them through the manuscripts from India and Central Asia or at other occasions.

As early as the 5th century, a new story appeared. Xie Lingyun (謝靈運,385-433), one of the renowned literati and scholars of his time, informed us in his prose piece *The Explanation of the Fourteen Sanskrit Svaras* the following:

> The scripts of *Hu* and scripts of *Fan* are both used by Buddhists and lay people. They were created by the Buddha. Thus the text says the objective arguments, dhāraṇī, discourses and scripts are all spoken by the Buddha, not by the Tīrthikas. Tīrthikas used these to understand scripts. The scripts of *Hu* are called Kharoṣṭhī. The Ṛṣi Kharoṣṭha used Kharoṣṭhī to write Sanskrit, just as in China we use characters in different ways with the dictionary books *Cangjie Pian* (The Book of Cangjie), *Er Ya* (The Literary Expositor), *Shuowen Jiezi* (Analytical Explanation of Characters), and *Zhilin* (The Forest of Characters).

> 胡書者梵書，道俗共用之也，而本由佛造。故經云異論、咒術、言語、文字皆是佛說，非外道也。外道因此以通文字。胡字謂之佉樓書。佉樓書者，是佉樓仙人抄梵文以備要用，譬如此間《蒼》、《雅》、《說》、《林》，隨用廣狹也。

Of course, Xie's explanation contains some confusion as well as misunderstanding, but given the background of his informant we need not judge him too harshly.

After Xie, early in the 6th century, Seng You (僧祐), a Buddhist monk-scholar, while discussing the translation of Buddhist texts, told us a rather odd story:

> In early time, the Masters, who created the scripts, were three brothers. The eldest was called Brahmā, who created the scripts Brāhmī, written from left to right. The second brother was called Kharoṣṭha, who created the scripts Kharoṣṭhī, written from right to left. The youngest one was called Cang Jie, who created the scripts written from top to bottom. Brahmā and Kharoṣṭha lived in India, and Cang Jie, whose alternate name is Huangshi, lived in China. For creating scripts Brahmā and Kharoṣṭha learned the rules from the Pure God, and Cang Jie created his in the light of foot prints of birds. The strokes of their writings are different, but the basic theory is the same. According to the sayings of old sages, there are sixty-four scripts (i.e. *lipi*s) …… In the West, though the copying of texts can be traced to Brāhmī, there are many variations among the thirty-six countries, just as in China we write characters in such variant styles as *zhuan* and *zhou*.

> 昔造書之主，凡有三人，長名曰梵，其書右行；次曰佉樓，其書左行；少者倉頡，其書下行。梵及佉樓居於天竺。黃史倉頡在於中夏。梵、佉取法於淨天，倉頡因華於鳥跡。文畫誠異，傳理則同矣。仰尋先覺所說，有六十四書。…… 西方寫經，雖同祖梵文，然三十六國往往有異，譬諸中土，猶篆

籀之變體。（僧祐《出三藏記集》卷一《胡漢譯經音義同異記》）

While this invented narrative may offer clues to such questions as how indigenous Chinese ideas affected the documentation of foreign affairs in Chinese literature, it is not really helpful for our purpose here.

3. The Fourteen Svaras: New Discussions and the Reasons behind

The *Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* was an important and well-known text in mediaeval China. There are two Chinese translations of this *sūtra*, one by Dharmakṣema, the other by Faxian and Buddhabhadra. Both were produced in the early 5th century. One chapter of Chinese translation of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* is called Wenzi Pin (文字品), the Chapter of Scripts. In this chapter a complete list of Sanskrit alphabets is for the first time provided, together with some special Buddhist interpretations. It made Chinese Buddhist monks and scholars become more interested in Sanskrit phonology. For a better understanding of this chapter, Xie Lingyun, a scholar I mentioned above, with the advice of a Chinese Buddhist monk Huirui (慧叡), who had came back from South India, wrote a prose essay titled *The Explanation of the Fourteen Sanskrit Svaras*. It is, as far as we know, the earliest investigation on Indian phonology in mediaeval China. It shows the efforts and enthusiasm of Chinese people for acquiring a knowledge of Sanskrit and it played an important role in what happened afterwards. In the next century a heated discussion on these so-called fourteen *svara*s took place in China, and even the Emperor Wu of the Liang (梁武帝), who is well-known for his devotion to Buddhism, was involved in it. Trying to reach a better understanding, at least ten different explanations for these so-called fourteen *svara*s appeared, including one by the Emperor himself. Though the contents of the related discussions are too complicated to be dealt with here, it suffices here to mention that in them various phonetical theories of Sanskrit, including that of the Kātantra were enumerated.

4. Siddham Scripts: A Way Leading to Enlightenment and the Refined Life of Chinese Literati

No later than the 6th century, as the knowledge of Sanskrit had become much more familiar in China, together with the spread of the doctrines of Esoteric Buddhism, Chinese people, particularly those Buddhist monks, the intelligentsia, and scholar-officials became much interested in Siddham scripts, of which the name was given mainly by those Buddhist text translators.

China is called the land of poetry and the Tang time is said to be the highest peak in the history of classical Chinese poetry. A good example we can find is from the poetry of this time. Wang Wei (王维, 701-761) is one of the most accomplished poets of this time. He was also a devoted Buddhist. Out of piety, he even adopted the name Vimalakīrti Wang. Wang Wei wrote a poem entitled "Sheren Yuan is able to write Sanskrit scripts and know the sounds of Sanskrit thoroughly, so I am delighted to present him a poem". Sheren Yuan is Wang Wei's friend. His full name is Yuan Xian (苑咸). The poem reads as the follows (My tentative translation):

> The Gongche House are full of well-known scholars, waiting for the Emperor's call. But, being a gifted elite and officer, you are still in charge of the Shiqu, the library of the classics.
> The essence of the Dharma of Lotus is solely understood in your heart, while the text of the Palm Sutra was copied by your own hand.
> All agree that your composition in the style of the *Chu Ci* is better than that written by Yang Xiong and Sima Xiangru, yet who can tell the Sanskrit letters apart as well as you, as if you were differentiating the characters *lu* and *yu*?
> All old friends are expecting you to achieve in the three respects. I hope you would not tire of attending the gathering at Chengming Hall.
>
> 名儒待詔滿公車，才子為郎典石渠。
> 蓮華法藏心懸悟，貝葉經文手自書。
> 楚詞共許勝揚馬，梵字何人辨魯魚？

故舊相望在三事，願君莫厭承明廬。

And Yuan Xian replied to Wang Wei in a typical Chinese way, with a new poem written by himself.

> Being as beautiful as lotuses, the Sanskrit scripts were created by God, and you, a scholar of the high office has long since realized the Dhyāna.
> For me, with three drops the script of vowel *i* is accomplished, yet my conceptual thought remains; as for you, with a single reflection all become like an illusion, even the means has been forgotten.
> Now the trendy writing style has been changed by your composition, if you want to apply it, you need to discuss with virtuous people.
> Resembling the Buddhist Arhats, you should have been without the desire for fame, thus live well, as if Feng Tang at his old age.

蓮華梵字本從天，華省仙郎早悟禪。
三點成伊猶有想，一觀如幻自忘筌。
為文已變當時體，入用還推間氣賢。
應同羅漢無名欲，故作馮唐老歲年。

Here the writing of three drops just means the vowel long i of the Siddham script. To those scholar-officials the writing of Siddham scripts is not only the way to become enlightened, but also a part of their refined life.

Eventually the writing of Siddham scripts became a calligraphic art among Buddhist monks and scholars of that time. It was also learned by Japanese Buddhist monks and scholars who came and studied in China during the Tang Dynasty. The Siddham script works by Japanese Esoteric Buddhist Master Kūkai (空海, 774–835) now kept in Japan are good evidence of this.

5. The Knowledge of Sanskrit and Traditional Chinese Phonetic Theory

I just mention two examples.

a. The knowledge of Sanskrit orthography provided an example and tool for Chinese to begin to analyze the pronunciation of Chinese. It led to a new method, *Fanqie* (反切), to indicate proper Chinese pronunciation and to notate Chinese characters in the dictionaries.

Another fact is that before the phonetic knowledge of Sanskrit was known in China, people were not clear of the function and organ of pronunciation. For example, all of the phonetic terminology of Chinese, appeared first in the Buddhist translation of the well-known text the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* in the 5th century which I mentioned above. These phonetic terms include: Guttural sounds (喉音), Palatal sounds (颚音), Retroflex sounds (卷舌音), Labial sounds (唇音), Dental sounds (齿音), Nasal consonant (鼻音), Liquid (流音), Anusvāra (随韵), and Visarga (止声). Later on more terms such as Aspirated sounds (气声), Voiceless consonants (清音), Voiced sounds (浊音), Samdhi (合声), Guṇa (二合) and Vṛddhi (三合), as well appeared in Buddhist translations and books written by Chinese scholars.

With the introduction of these phonetic terms the Chinese scholars for the first time discovered and tried to understand the mechanics of pronunciation and how human organs function while speaking.

b. After three centuries of learning, studying, adaption and transformation, late in the 10th century, together with Buddhist monks, Chinese scholars created a new theory called *dengyun* (等韻) to classify the vowels or vowel groups of Chinese pronunciation. This was a remarkable achievement in the history of Chinese phonetic studies. The *dengyun* was a theory dominated and widely accepted by scholars until modern phonological theory arrived in China from Europe many centuries later in the 19th century.

Thank you!

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“神母印度”的图像变化及其宗教-政治意义[1]

Bharat Mata: The changing image and its religious-political significance

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内容提要：“神母印度”（Bharat Mata) 是印度独立运动时期印度教思想家提出的一个新概念，是印度艺术家将“印度”拟人化后塑造的一个新形象。随着社会变迁和印度教造神运动的发展，印度教民族主义者糅合宗教元素和政治意味，将其打造成一尊新的神灵，“神母印度”的形象经历了意味深长的变化。在 21 世纪印度变得更加“印度教化”的形势下，“神母印度”逐渐演变为印度教民族主义势力的宗教政治工具，用以“统一印度”并对其他宗教信仰者进行强制性改造。本文关注近期由“神母印度万岁”口号而引发的宗教对立和政治冲突，由此追溯“神母印度”及其印度教民族主义的造神运动，进而以“神母印度”为代表个案，分析其面临的宗教困境和世俗困境。

主题词：“神母印度”（Bharat Mata、印度教民族主义(Hindu Nationalism）、 宗教复兴主义（Religious Revivalism）

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Abstract: "Bharat Mata"(godmother India) is a new concept put forward by Hindu thinkers in the period of Indian independence movement. It is also a new image created by Indian artists after sanctified personification of "India". The Hindu nationalists have combined religious elements with political overtones to create a new goddess along with the development of creation movement for the Hindu deities. With the changes of modern society, the image of " Bharat Mata " has undergone significant changes. In the 21st century, when India became more "Hindu", " Bharat Mata " gradually evolved into a religious and political tool for Hindu nationalist forces to "unify India" and carry out mandatory transformation for other religious believers. This paper focuses on the religious antagonism and political conflicts caused by the slogan " Bharat Mata Ki Jai " and traces the " Bharat Mata " and its Hindu nationalist movement of creating gods and goddesses, and then takes " Bharat Mata " as a representative case to analyze its religious and secular dilemmas.

Keywords: Bharat Mata, Hindu Nationalism, Religious Revivalism

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与其他世界宗教一样，印度教也有属于自己的神造像和象征符号，并以独特的形象和抽象符号表现印度教的主张和意识形态。历经几千年变迁的印度教万神殿，近代以来继续了其令人眼花缭乱的造神运动，其间逐渐生成了一尊名为“神母印度”（Bharat Mata）的神灵。近年来印度各地发生的一系列宗教-政

治事件，是围绕是否高呼“神母印度万岁”（Bharat Mata Ki Jai）这一口号展开的，其焦点正是这位“神母印度”。[2]

将这些宗教-政治事件推向争议高潮的，是印度著名世界级瑜伽大师巴巴·兰德福（Baba Ramdev）宣称：“如果不是出于对宪法和法律的尊重，我们真应该将千千万万拒绝赞颂‘神母印度万岁’的不肖之徒砍头。”[3]。人们担心印度教民族主义力量正在走向好战，更明白张胆地挑衅“其他宗教少数人”（特别是穆斯林和基督教徒），从而使印度社会文化越来越“塔利班化”。至 2019 年初，笔者发现“神母印度”甚至已经成为吸引外国游客的歌舞晚会的主角（见图一）。在此背景下，本文力图追溯“神母印度”及其印度教民族主义的造神运动，进而以“神母印度”为代表个案，分析其面临的重重困境。

一、“神母印度”的创生与发展

（一）“神母印度”的创生

Bharat 即婆罗多，是早期吠陀时代一个著名的雅利安人部落。在后吠陀时代，由该部落的后人组成的“婆罗多族”，实力雄厚且占据北印度大片疆域，因此婆罗多成为了古印度的代称

[2] 2016 年上半年，印度著名学府尼赫鲁大学也因“神母印度”陷入极度混乱。时任学生会主席说“在看‘神母印度’的时候并没有看见自己的母亲”，陷入与政府关系的困境并引发了一系列的司法官司。3 月马哈拉施特拉议会穆斯林议员瓦瑞斯·帕坦（Waris Pathan）因为拒绝高呼“神母印度万岁”而被暂停议员资格。参见 http://www.ndtv.com/opinion/bhagwat-owaisi-both-benefit-from-bharat-mata-row-1288512
德里伊斯兰经学院的 3 名学生因为拒绝颂唱“神母印度万岁”而被严重殴打，参见 http://www.ibtimes.co.in/delhi-3-madrasa-students-beaten-not-chanting-bharat-mata-ki-jai-672631

[3] http://www.bbc.com/news/blogs-trending-35968775 "If someone says that he won't chant Bharat Mata Ki Jai even if his head is chopped off, I want to say there is a rule of law and we respect the constitution, otherwise we can cut hundreds and thousands of heads."

之一[4]。Mata 的原意是母亲。两个词汇均十分古老，但带有政治文化意味的集合名词，却产生于现代印度反殖民运动时期。

Bharat Mata 即“印度母亲”，首先是作为一个思想概念，在印度反殖民运动中产生的。19 世纪末 20 世纪初，英属印度（British India）各地的反殖民浪潮风起云涌，被现代研究者统称为印度民族主义的思潮，分散地出现在印度比较大的语言群体之中,特别是东北部操孟加拉语的孟加拉人和南部操马拉塔语的马拉提人之中。其上层知识分子将反殖民的主题和宗教元素结合在一起，创作音乐、绘画、诗歌等艺术作品，成为这些地方性民族运动的一大特征。1905 年，孟加拉人阿·泰戈尔（Abanindranath Tagore）创作了绘画作品“孟加拉母亲”（Bangal Mata），展现了一个优雅的、缥缈的、朴素而美丽的、严肃而热情奔放的女性形象（见图二）。这是“神母印度”的雏型。

印度作为一个具有深厚宗教氛围的社会，其各种艺术形式从古代至近代都缺乏世俗作品的发展空间，即便艺术作品在初始阶段具有世俗性质，迟早也会演变出宗教文化气质，因此印度宗教艺术中始终不乏精妙之作。在“孟加拉母亲”产生后的一段时间，孟加拉地区的一些艺术家按照印度教女神杜尔迦（Durga，中文有时译为难近母）的形象——轻柔而坚定地倚靠在雄狮座上，将作为一个民间女性“孟加拉母亲”转型成为一个“印度神母”。民族主义的艺术家们用绘画的形式将“印度”这一抽象概念拟人化，绘画作品亦正式地称为“神母印度”（Bharat Mata）。除绘画形式外，还有表现印度民族思想的文艺作品。在班克姆钱德拉·乔涂帕亚亚（Bankimchandra Chattopadhyaya）的著名小说《阿难达教团》（Ananda Math）中，亦将祖国印度作为一个女神来歌颂。

20 世纪初年，“神母印度”作为一种思想，开始得到印度教哲学家的阐释。著名哲学家室利•阿罗频多（Sri Auribindo，

[4] Margaret &James Stutley, A Dictionary of Hinduism. Routledge $ Kegan Paul plc, London,1977.P.43.

1872—1950）创立“精神进化论”，高度认同一种折衷的哲学精神性，批评将宗教与世俗相区隔，因此讴歌“神母印度”[5]。随着“神母印度”的概念和各种艺术形象在印度各地的流传，并被逐渐赋予神性，很多高种姓印度教徒开始崇拜“神母印度”，并在崇拜仪式进行中唱诵“神母印度万岁”（Bharat Mata Ki Jai）。于是，“神母印度万岁”这一开创性地糅合了宗教元素和政治意味的口号，在印度民族独立运动中风靡一时，甚至很多世俗的印度独立运动领导人也认为，这种形式的“宗教复兴主义”，是动员印度民众投身独立运动的杠杆，因此喜闻乐见“神母印度万岁”的广为流行。

然而，随着印度独立运动的社会基础扩大，越来越多的贫民、劳工等中下层民众加入到反殖民队伍中来，印度穆斯林、低种姓印度教徒甚至贱民等社群，开始在独立运动中扮演重要角色，他们对政治的、极端的印度教或者没有好感，或者相当抵触。人口众多的穆斯林崇尚唯一真主，且严禁偶像崇拜，不接受赞颂印度教的神母。因此不难理解，具有浓厚印度教色彩的“神母印度”的形象开始走下坡路。[6] 大批虔诚的印度教徒，如圣雄甘地及其追随者，主张恢复印度宗教宽容和多元传统，从未认可印度教民族主义的造神运动，甚至从未提及“神母印度”。

持自由世俗立场的独立运动领袖也意识到，宗教复兴的能量虽大，但这种能量也可能是毁灭性的——如果过于强调某一种宗教或族群元素，其他宗教团体和族群就容易受到离间和疏远，而熟谙“分而治之”的英国人则可以利用这种分裂，分化民众，瓦解印度独立运动。有鉴于此，印度民族主义精英们带领人们高呼一些世俗性的口号，如“Jai Hind”（印度必胜）“Hindustan Zindabad”（印度万岁）和“Inquilab Zindabad”（革命万岁）等。

[5] 被称为“当代玄奘”的我国著名学者徐梵澄（1909-2000）曾在阿罗频多学院主持华语工作多年，并有专著详细介绍室利阿罗频多。

[6] http://www.ndtv.com/opinion/bhagwat-owaisi-both-benefit-from-bharat-mata-row-1288512

不仅如此，以尼赫鲁为代表的独立运动领导层，还特别警惕“大多数人的极端化”，即占人口绝大多数的印度教徒中兴起的极端倾向。随着印巴分治而发生的历史上最严重的宗教冲突和教派仇杀，圣雄甘地被印度教极端分子杀害，以及“印度国民志愿团”（Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, RSS）被宣布为非法组织并被禁止活动，新独立的国大党政府致力于淡化印度社会内部差异，强调国家认同，“神母印度”的形象进一步下降，“神母印度万岁”这种狭隘且可能引发内讧的口号，亦逐渐淡出政治生活。

（二）“印度教特性”语境下的“神母印度”

印度是一个多元性十分突出的社会——政治信仰多元、经济制度多元、宗教文化多元、语言族群多元等等。长期以来，如何在一个多元社会中调动民众，凝聚人心，共同建构“印度”——作为一个“民族国家”的印度，作为一种高度文明的印度，一直是印度社会精英们的最大课题。“神母印度”创生之时，印度进入民族独立运动高涨时期，其政治秩序处于变迁阶段，在各种宗教、族群、部落的冲突中找到新的平衡点，成为新印度建立的前提和基础。在此重要的历史节点上，建构一个“印度教的印度”，成为部分印度教徒的选择，这股力量致力于让这一选择成为占据主流地位的主张。

1921 年，《印度教特性：谁是印度教徒？》的作者 V·D·萨瓦卡尔（Vinayak Damodar Savarkar）提出，所谓印度教徒就是“全心全意地热爱我们共同的母亲”的人，印度教徒不仅将印度视为“父国”（Pitarbhu，fatherland），还要将其视为“圣地”(Punyabhu, holy land)[7]。萨瓦卡尔在《印度教特性的本质》（*Essentials of Hindutva，1923*）一书中争辩说，穆斯林和基督教徒如果也这样做，便可受到欢迎从而加入印度教信仰层

[7] Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, Hindutva: Who is a Hindu? New Delhi:Hindi Sahitya Sadan, 2003. P.111.

（Hindu-fold），被认可为“印度教徒”。萨瓦卡尔认为，穆斯林和基督教徒可以选择，而选择成为“印度教徒”则是一种“爱的选择”。

在“印度教特性”(Hindutva)的语境下，“神母印度”又产生了另外两个具有突出影响的形象。

其一是地理的神母印度形象。这是“神母印度”的一个十分特别形象，将国家的地理轮廓与女性身体的线条合二为一，她那飘动的、旖丽的沙丽扫过印度的北部和东北部，彰显了印度作为一个民族国家的领土观念（见图三）。这个“印度国民志愿团（RSS）的‘神母印度’，总是手持其橙黄色三角旗（bhagwa jhanda），从来没有展示过手持国家三色旗的形象，但却激起了对他人爱国主义的挑战。在她身后，是一幅阿坎德邦的地图，横跨阿富汗、缅甸和西藏，当然还有巴基斯坦和孟加拉国。”[8]对此，印度学者苏马锡·拉马斯瓦米（Sumathi Ramaswamy）通过一段引人入胜的历史描写，分析了印度版图是如何通过其特征性的图案标志（iconographic marks）而被标志化为一个女性，即“神母印度”形象的[9]。

印度“庶民学派”代表人物帕沙·查特吉[10]在《民族形象的神圣传播》一文中写道：1962 年，印度因为喜马拉雅山脉的一块争议地区与中国开战。当时还在上中学的我还很容易受爱国主义激情的影响。……对印度来说，军事行动的结果是灾难性的；并且和数百万同胞一样，我为这一民族耻辱而感到痛楚。后来，……我发现我们并非为这一块土地而战……而是为了其表征（representation）而战。我们是为地图而战。对于我们的想象和感情而言，（神母印度）这一形象（image）的力量要比事实大得多。

[8] Nivedita Menon, Bharat Mata and Her Unruly Daughters.The Wire,2017-07-18.
[9] Sumathi Ramaswamy, *Goddess and the Nation: Mapping Mother India.* Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2010.
[10] 帕沙·查特吉：1947 年生，印度加尔各答社会科学研究中心主任，美国哥伦比亚大学人类学教授。印度“庶民学派”代表人物，对当代民族主义和后殖民主义研究作出了创造性贡献。

由此可见，“神母印度”作为“印度地图”或“地理的印度”的形象，在 60 年代初已经被当成民族标志而得到衍生和传播，不仅充分保全了神圣性，还对印度青年一代产生了有效的引导，在知识青年中产生了广泛的影响。

其二是手持三叉戟的战神形象。该形象出现的具体时间待考。利用大量的法器来象征神力，是印度教宗教艺术创作中神性观念的具体展现。在图像学的语境下，当神灵被表现为人的模样，其手中所持的物件就表明了自身的象征含义以及所拥有的能力。该“神母印度”的突出之点，在于其手持的法器是三叉戟，即湿婆大神——印度教生殖与毁灭、创造与破坏之神——的法器，因此时常作为“煽动叛乱的民族主义”形象，出现在进行政治动员的群众集会场所（见图四）。1983 年，第一座“神母印度神庙”（Bharat Mata Mandir）在喜马拉雅山下的印度教圣城哈里瓦里（Hardwar）落成[11]。

在 20 世纪 80 年代末，印度教民族主义组织“印度国民志愿团”和“世界印度教大会”（Viswa Hindu Parishad, VHP）的领导层不断进行宗教团体之间的“仇恨宣传”，声称是穆斯林统治者将大批印度教圣地变为清真寺，宽宏大量的印度教徒并不准备对穆斯林过去的罪恶进行清算，而只是要求将三处圣地，即阿约迪亚、马杜纳和卡西（Kashi，瓦纳那西的古称）归还印度教徒。位于阿约迪亚的巴布里清真寺，被指是穆斯林在摧毁了印度教大神罗摩的神庙后在原址上建立的，印度教组织有志于重建罗摩庙，因此掀起“庙寺之争”。冲突中，青年印度教徒冲锋在前，终于在 1996 年捣毁了巴布里清真寺，大批穆斯林死亡。1998 年印度人民党能够获得大选胜利，第一次在中央执政，与从 20 世纪 80 年代开始兴盛的印度教民族主义政治动员密切相关。值得注意的是，印度教的“一体化仪式”（Ekatmata Yagna）和对“神母印度”的崇拜仪式，伴随着“庙寺之争” 的政治动员而获得了极大成功。来自落后种姓的成员也手捧一罐圣水，与高种姓妇女并肩进行对“神母印度”和“神母恒河”（Ganga Mata）的崇拜。

[11] Christopher Jaffrelot, *The Hindu Nationalist Movement and Indian Politics 1925 to the 1990s. New Delhi: Penguin Books India, 1999.* P.348

二、“神母印度”的困境

与中国将宗教视为民族国家建构的障碍不同，在印度的民族主义建构中，宗教文化是一个有价值的方面。“神母印度”作为一个新神灵的建构，本可望为建构“印度民族国家”做出贡献，但印度教民族主义势力将“印度教文化”等同于“印度文化”，甚至采取强行取代其他文化的极端思想和粗暴行为，却使得“印度认同”难以达成。具体到“神母印度”，其建构和推广过程面临诸多挑战，甚至陷入了多方面的困境。以下分别简述。

（一）宗教困境：“神母印度”是宗教神灵还是政治工具？

对于印度教徒而言，神灵及其神像是宗教祭祀的对象，也是教义的象征与具体的符号语言。对于广大不识字的信徒而言，神灵和神像更是包含了自古以来中耳相传的神话故事及其重要意义。印度传统宗教的一个独特之处，就是崇拜神灵的母亲形式。在印度教最著名的经典《薄伽梵歌》中，大神克里希那宣称：“我是这个宇宙的父母，也是宇宙的浮载者和先祖，我是《梨俱》、《夜柔》和《裟摩》，我是‘唵’音和可知之物。”[12]

印度教的“女神”概念，原本是指作为“母亲神”的女神。从地中海许多地方到印度洋周围地区，都有崇拜“母亲神”的文化传统。Mata，即母亲、妈妈这个词汇，来自印度教的生活世界。

人类学家林恩·加特伍德(Lynn Gatwood)对印度次大陆南部的黑人女神进行了历史解读。她在《天神与配偶女神》一书中提出：在吠陀时代之前，原始的、独立的、女性部落的女神，是被婆罗门祭司阶级在安抚南方非雅利安人的过程中驯化和驯服的。她们是通过“配偶化”而被驯化的，即他们被安设为雅利安男性神的妻子。那些未被驯化的野性女神，仍然存在于生活世界中。拉贾斯坦的“神母悉塔拉”（Sitala Mata）就是这样一位女神。当地的 Sitala Ashtami 节日，就是以该女神而命名的。在平

[12]《薄伽梵歌》第 9 章第 17 颂。见张保胜译本，第 106 页。中国社会科学出版社（北京），1989 年 12 月。

时或节日期间，广大信徒为治病或求平安（保护儿童免受天花之病苦）的，蜂涌而至该女神庙，去敬拜端座在山巅的女神。

从史诗时代起，“女神”逐渐成为一个集合名词，泛指所有与男神相伴的伟大女神。在印度教内，最突出的母亲神，是三大主神的配偶，即梵天的配偶萨拉斯瓦蒂（妙音天女）、毗湿奴的配偶拉克希米（吉祥天女）和湿婆的配偶帕尔瓦蒂（Parvati），其次是帕尔瓦蒂的化身——杜尔迦（Durga）、萨克提(Shakti 和迦利（Kali）等女神。印度教徒普遍相信，通过崇拜母亲神，人们更容易学习到温柔、宽谅大度等美好品质。

经过数千年的变迁，母性神的教义已经在印度教徒心中扎根，以至于在印度教社会的日常生活中，称呼女性为“神圣的母亲”“神圣的女儿”等，是一种尊敬和认可。1878 年 2 月 21 日出生于巴黎的米娜氏（全名 Mirra Alfassa），1926 年与阿罗频多共同在本地治理（Pondicherry）创立阿罗频多静修所，在阿罗频多仙逝后又主持阿罗频多修道院，并大力推广整体瑜伽而举世闻名，被尊称为“神圣母亲”。[13] 20 世纪 80 年代英迪拉·甘地由于领导国大党政府推进了一系列扶贫项目，使贫困阶层受益，也因此被中下层人民被尊称为“杜尔迦女神”。这些现象显示，印度教社会经过日积月累，已经形成了一种尊重女神的文化传统。

在印度教已经形成的、庞大的女神系统中，各路女神不仅数量大，而且有严格的等级。在印度教民族主义的政治动员中，将“神母印度”作为唯一的、统一印度教徒的最高女神，很难得到不同教派的印度教徒的认可；将其视为是否爱国的标准，在很大程度上混淆了宗教与政治的是非，破坏印度教内的团结，更挑动了印度教徒与其他宗教信仰者特别是穆斯林和基督教徒之间的争议和冲突。

在印度教系统的“亚文化”中，地方性的“神母”信仰在悠久的历史长河中形成了一种传统，例如上述拉贾斯坦的“神母悉塔拉”

[13] 1973 年“神圣母亲”仙逝，享年 95 岁。现在阿罗频多修道院平时承担本地治理许多文化和教育活动。参见李文彬：“《孔学古微》译者后记”，载《世界宗教研究》2016 年 2 期。

信仰，其“附体者”的传承历来是家族性的。90 年代初，年轻女孩贾米拉（Jamila）就曾是该女神的一个“附体者”，她居住在拉贾斯坦阿吉米尔（Ajmer）地区的贝瓦尔（Beawar）镇。她在继承传统的信仰方式的基础上，进行了大量创新工作，新的实践和仪式受到信众的高度认可，对当地影响很大。在她去世后（她是被丈夫和婆婆杀死的），她的哥哥继承了她的“财富”，他现在是“神母悉塔拉”的附体者。具有讽刺意味的是，从 20 世纪 80 年代开始，“世界印度教大会”打着“净化印度教”的旗号，在贝瓦尔地区进行改教运动，而这位“附体者”则成为该组织的改造目标。

改造“神母悉塔拉”的附体者，只是印度教组织强行“净化印度教”的一个实例。类似这种对已经形成的既有传统进行改造，对“神母悉塔拉”的“化身”或“附体者”进行强制改造甚至取缔的行动，其目标是将“神母悉塔拉”等传统民间信仰，统一到政治神灵“神母印度”的名下，因此导致了许多印度教徒的反感。毕竟，印度教上亿的神灵，是印度教徒崇拜自由的体现。况且如前文所述，“神母印度”本身有多种形象，很难肩负起淡化印度教社会的内部差异的重任。

从比较宗教学的视角出发，人类学家詹姆斯·瓦特森（James Watson）指出，中国的政府统一了中国仪式实践的形式，因而创造出文化的统一性，相比之下，印度则没有仪式的统一。在瓦特森看来，人们在印度见不到国家管理的万神殿，种姓意识形态也不能提供统一的文化。[14] 总之，中国全都是政府的统一，印度全都是宗教与社会的分化。[15] 因此，“神母印度”很难在印度分裂的社会文化中制造出仪式的统一。

[14] James Watson, “Rites or Beliefs: The Construction of a Unified Culture in Late Imperial China,” in China’s Quest for National Identity, ed. Lowell Dittmer and Samuel Kim （Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993）, 80–104.

[15] For a nuanced critique of Watson’s state standardization in China thesis, see Donald Sutton et al., “Ritual, Cultural Standardization, and Orthopraxy

强制穆斯林和基督教徒高呼“神母印度万岁”，显然违背了一神教的观念和实践，而更为致命的是，印度教民族主义者将“神母印度”打造为政治神灵，冲击了传统印度教的信仰方式，难以得到印度教徒的认可。在占人数多数的印度教团体内强制推行对“神母印度”的崇拜，使政治的印度教强行凌驾于一切宗教信仰之上，这不仅与广大印度教徒所持的宽容立场背道而驰，更是与印度教哲学的和精神的信仰传统水火不容。

（二）世俗困境：“神母印度”是白种人还是有色人？

20 世纪初“神母印度”的创生，无疑是具有创造性的。其形象的不断变化，也在一定程度上反映了“好争善辩的印度人”（阿玛蒂亚·森语）的不同追求和各种想像。但是，随着“印度国民志愿团”所推广的、在一定程度上已经在印度流行的“神母印度”引发了越来越多的冲突，印度社会也开始透过思考“神母印度”的形象问题，对真正的社会公正和正义的问题进行深层次的思考。

第二次世界大战之后，当世界真正成为一个民族国家的世界，世界政治不可避免地成为民族主义的政治世界。在新独立的印度，驳杂的宗教信仰、数十个大的语言团体、无数已经发现或尚待发现的部落民团体、以及因严格的等级制度而被分裂的种姓和亚种姓，使得“印度民族”如本尼迪克特·安德森所揭示的“想象的共同体”，开始了艰难的建构历程。正如印度学者帕尔塔·查特吉帕莎·查特吉所指出的那样，民族主义必须突破知识精英的圈子，争取俘获大众情感以便建立最大的民族主义联盟，而大众情感往往基于传统的，甚至是狂热反现代的[16]。印度教民

in China: Reconsidering James L. Watson’s Ideas,” Modern China（2007）, 33.

16 （印度）帕尔塔·查特吉帕莎·查特吉:《民族主义思想与殖民地世界:一种衍生的话语?》，范慕尤、杨曦译，北京:译林出版社，200 年版，第 202 页。

族主义的极端势力在宗教领域所表现出来的精神特质，正是基于同样的逻辑。

与此同时，二战之后印度民族主义在一定程度上受到西方启蒙主义和理性主义世界观的支配，经历了一个宗教性思维方式走向衰退的过程。独立以后的新政府，面临着将反对帝国主义和反对殖民主义的正义性，体现在政治稳定、经济发展和提高人民生活水平等方面的艰巨任务。自 2014 年 5 月印度人民党赢得了大选胜利，能干、强势又不乏争议的莫迪接任总理之职并猛刮“莫迪旋风”，先建神庙还是先建厕所，便成为观察莫迪新政的一大指标。印度民众更为在意的，是“神母印度”是否会引发社会冲突，从而影响印度的经济发展和民生安稳。

“神母印度”有许多版本，但时至今日，几乎所有版本都是白皮肤的、“雅利安的”（Aryanised）、北印度的、穿着华丽的、威严而自信的和高种姓的，明显带着富裕和尊贵的印记（见图五）。但是，正如印度作为一个国家有许多层面和若干模样一样，“神母印度” 如一面镜子所展现的印度形象，就应当是完全的、但并不完美的国家形象，其中也包括斜眼角的、黑皮肤的、被饥饿剥夺痛苦和疾病所困扰的、衣裙破烂和戴着锁链的、怒嚎着并准备挣脱锁链获得新生的！还有部落民自己的，或者不得不努力劳动的“神母印度”！（见图六、图七）而在南部沿海地区，人们可以接受的“神母印度”形象，自然是以海洋、海水、海神为模版的形象。

部落民、达利特人和低种姓（Adivasi-Dalit-Bahujans）中的女性印度教徒，一直拒绝加入主流印度教，她们成为“21 世纪的反叛者”。她们也拒绝印度国民志愿团建构的神母形象。她们设计的“神母”，是“皮肤黝黑，腰板挺直，站立着的农村妇女形象；她的身边的是黑水牛，而不是印度教的神牛”“她宣称这个国家是无法无天的女儿和无法无天的自然。这些反叛的女儿们提

醒人们，这个国家并不优先于它的人民，而是由他们塑造的。”17

由此可见，在印度的社会文化条件下，“神母印度”的形象一定是灵活多变的，很难形成一个既可以聚拢人心，又可以厘清社会群体之间的文化边界的形象。“神母印度”也很难通过建构群体认同与群体忠诚，使自身成为一种世俗化的或公民社会的崇拜对象。如果只是一味地呈现一种绝对主义倾向的文化傲慢，“神母印度”甚至无助于形成强大的民族主义运动。

（三）司法困境：“神母印度”是教派的还是民族的？

在印度民族独立运动中，许多印度教徒与穆斯林并肩战斗，穆斯林也曾欣赏印度教徒高呼”神母印度万岁”。但在独立后 70 年中，在印度教徒与穆斯林之间、印度教徒与锡克教徒之间、印度教徒与基督教徒之间已经发生数次严重的暴力冲突。今天，武装的印度教徒，虽然是少数人，正推动建立一个印度教国家，以对抗相邻的那个穆斯林国家。因此，即便是将印度视为祖国的穆斯林，也被强制高呼“神母印度万岁”，以显示自己的爱国和忠诚。这让穆斯林质疑“神母印度”作为一尊神祇的功能，并质疑印度教极端势力通过将“神母印度”与特定宗教相关联，强制穆斯林服从的究竟是怎样的“母亲”？

从 20 世纪 30-40 年代开始，印度教民族主义组织就学习现代国家、现代民族的观念，力图建构一个“印度教乌托邦”，即一个强大的、武装化的宗教政体，印度教在这个政体中成为霸主，要求穆斯林和基督教徒高呼“神母印度万岁”，正是印度教霸主地位的体现。但是，印度宗教多元化及印度社会对“文化塔利班化”的警惕，使国家认同的功能和爱国主义的表达，是不可能借由强制人们崇拜“神母印度”而达成的。

17 Nivedita Menon, Bharat Mata and Her Unruly Daughters.The Wire,2017-07-18.

从整体上考量，“印度教特性”作为一种意识形态，对印度的影响因时因地而异。最重要的事实是，“印度教特性”从未成为印度思想界的主流思想，从未成为印度社会的主旋律。之所以如此，很大程度上是因为印度不是一个美国式的“大熔炉”，投入的材料不会被彻底融化，并在痛苦的熔炼中形成新的形态。印度从来就是一个文化的“综合体”，各种文化既相互融合，又相对舒适地保持自身特质。印度人民党作为执政党，必须顾及宪法中有关政党世俗化的规定，并与极端印度教势力进行周旋，以防止被绑架和跟随极端势力的步伐，最终引发政局动荡。

那么，在印度教圈内，“印度教特性”的“印度教民族”的设计，是否得到印度教思想家和活动家的认可和赞赏，而一度成为印度教圈内的主旋律呢？人们似乎可以理解，当印度次大陆（特别是次大陆北部）经历了数百年的伊斯兰化，又经历了 200 多年被殖民化之后，建构一个“强大的印度教”的主张，便与建立一个独立印度的主张叠加在一起。但是，印度社会的魄力就在于，百花齐放百家争鸣从来就是社会常态，即便是在 20 世纪 30-40 年代印度独立运动进入最后阶段之时，在第二次世界大战的混乱状态下，以争取国家独立为目标的“民族主义”，始终保持是印度各种宗教团体、各种姓团体和各人民团体的主旋律。“印度民族主义”这个主旋律一旦形成，就像万形而无形的风吹向各地。而“印度教民族主义”，只是形成了一股“风”，时强时弱却从未成为主旋律。

1947 年伴随印巴分治的印度独立，使新印度的“民族国家”认同和族群认同不得不在分裂的废墟上抽芽滋衍。虽然留在印度的穆斯林人口多于巴基斯坦的穆斯林人口，但分治使印度教徒的人口优势更加突出，占到印度总人口的 85%以上。简单的多数主义民主很可能成为政教分离的天敌，如果印度教徒都期望把印度教变成“国教”，那么“其他宗教”的信仰者是无力阻止的。但也正是印度教徒占多数的制宪会议所制定的宪法，规定“民主”“社会主义”“世俗主义”等三大原则，并将“世俗主义”解释为国家不设国教，平等地尊重和认可所有的宗教，并对所有宗教信

仰者一视同仁。[18] 独立后印度思想界对印度教民族主义的极端思想一直保持批判态势，在国家行为方面对印度教极端行为进行种种限制，因此没有也不会出现 85%以上的印度教徒可以成功修改宪法，规定印度教为国教的可能。印度教圈内对此也是有明晰的认识的，即使瑜伽大师巴巴·兰德福想强迫穆斯林崇拜"神母印度"，也表示"我们尊重这个国家的法律和宪法"，因此不能将千千万万对'神母印度'不敬的人砍头。[19]

从印度民族主义与印度教民族主义交锋的过往经历与现实情况看，关于"神母印度万岁"的争议还将继续下去。一个印度人民党领导人经营的教育机构明确表示，只有在申请表上写了"神母印度万岁"的学生，才可能被录取；而印度最大的逊尼派神学院颁布"教法令"（fatwa），禁止穆斯林使用这一口号。据《印度快报》（The Indian Express）报道，2016 年 5-6 月，爱国主义、神母印度和印度梵语等内容，将进入古吉拉特邦的教科书中。邻近的拉贾斯坦邦，在 11 年级学生的教科书中，加入了尼赫鲁自传的部分内容，即他对哈里亚那邦的农民解释"神母印度"观念的内容。与此同时，"全印穆斯林联盟理事会"领导人奥瓦斯（Owaisi）则发誓：即使你拿刀子对准我的喉咙，我也不会说'神母印度万岁'……因为宪法并没有这样的要求。

印度近年发生的一系列社会政治事件，标志着"神母印度"成为印度政治与宗教问题的焦点，并提出了印度教民族主义对政治、经济和文化的影响全面升级的问题。特别是当世界级的著名瑜珈大师不再引导年轻人重拾"经典传统"，不再向外国人传播印度的"文化瑰宝"，而是口出狂言甚至威胁让千百万人头落地的时候，人们就有理由担心，极端印度教民族主义不甘心蜷缩在宗教文化领域，而是更深刻地影响着国家的政治经济。虽然印度是一个"神的国度"，但宽容却是印度文化的精髓，况且还有印度宪法对于自由民主的保护。这一切均预示着，"神母印度"将面临更大更深的困境。

[18] 参见邱永辉《印度世俗化研究》，2004 年巴蜀书社。
[19] Jahnavi Sen, Freedom on fire. http://thewire.in/27339

结语

“神母印度”作为一尊印度教的新神灵，其产生和发展一直伴随着印度教民族主义的产生和发展，其当下在宗教、世俗和法律等方面的困境，也正是印度教民族主义面临的困境。上述分析可见，“神母印度”是印度教民族主义造神运动的产物，虽然在其演变过程中呈现出狭隘的、极端的一面，但也展现了印度宗教文化的一大特色，即在一个“神的国度”里，人们如何通过“印度教”方式，将一种自然的、民间的形象转变成一种偶像，然后再经过倍受争议的建构过程，使这一偶像得到再生产、再分配和反复展示，最终将其神圣化。

19-20 世纪印度社会遭遇到殖民主义、民族主义、世俗主义、宗教复兴主义的强势冲击，其交互作用使 21 世纪的印度变得更加印度教化了。如今有关“神母印度”的纷争表明，印度社会面临的问题，不仅是重返宗教宽容的优良传统、使大多数印度教徒遵循包容和非暴力原则，还有重建其道德哲学、培养真正的宗教精神的重任。[20]

[20] Jones, David Martin, Sacred Violence: Political Religion in a Secular Age Basingstoke : Palgrave Macmillan 2014.

图一：穿着国旗的印度神母

（本文作者 2019 年 2 月 17 日拍摄于中央邦卡久拉霍）



图二：孟加拉母亲



图三



图四：手持武器的神母



图五：白种人的神母印度



图六：部落民的神母印度



图七：劳动妇女的神母印度



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The *Saurasaṃhitā*: The Earliest Surviving Tantra on Sun-Worship[1]

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Oxford, England

The *Saurasaṃhitā* is the earliest surviving Tantra text on Sun worship available by far, and is preserved in a palm-leaf manuscript preserved in National Archives, Kathmandu, dated Nepal Samvat 69 (equivalent to 949 CE). A Buddhist householder with Mahayanist motive had copied this manuscript wishing peace and prosperity for all. Four transcripts of it on Nepalese paper were produced in different periods in the 20th century, two of which have remained in Kathmandu but the other two have reached Wellcome Institute, London, and MS University, Baroda. The *Saurasaṃhitā* teaches a ritual system of sun worship championing the identification of the Sun god and Śiva. This text was obviously produced by some Śaivas to promote identity of the Sun god with Śiva, because it locates itself in the Bāthūla line of scriptural transmission of the Śaivas, and matches in style and structure the Kālottara class of Śaiva texts. Thanks to its promotion of the unity of the Sun god and Śiva and an

[1] I am grateful to Prof. Hong Luo of Sichuan University for the organisation of this workshop and inclusion of my paper in the proceedings.

open declaration of its Śaiva affiliation as well, all Siddhānta Śaivas gradually adopted sun worship as found in this text as a compulsory element of the regular worship of Śiva from the early 11th century onwards.

Some fifth-century inscriptions from different parts of the Indian subcontinent bear witness to the fact that leaders of merchants travelling long distances with caravans of mercantile goods worshipped the Sun god, built his temples, and installed images of his various forms. For example, the Mandsor inscription which mentions King Kumaragupta and a local ruler Bandhuvarman (Sircar 1965: 299-307) opens praising the Sun god in beautiful verses and records that a guild (*śreṇī*) of silk-traders built in Daśapura a temple of the Sun god in Mālava Year 493 (equivalent 436 CE) and repaired a section of the temple damaged in some mishap in Mālava Year 529 (equivalent 473 CE). Similarly, a Licchavi inscription from Nepal dated Śaka 402 (equivalent 480 CE) records that a leader of merchants called Guhamitra installed an image of the Sun god in his Indra form[2] (Vajracharya 1973: 59-60, inscription no. 12).

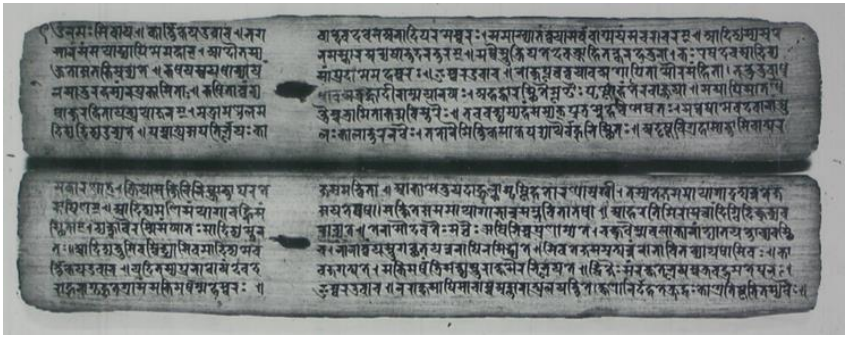
Royal inscriptions from the 6th and 7th centuries bear witness that some Odisha and Valabhī kings, and three Gurjara predecessors of King Harṣa had declared themselves as paramasaura and paramādityabhakta, meaning 'entirely devoted to the Sun god,' but in the 8th century, their descendants chose Śaiva epithets. Further, in the 9th century, we can still find a ruler like Pratihāra King Ādivarāha Bhoja identifying himself again as paramasaura. Kashmirian Śaiva sources from pre-11th century period bear witness to Sun-worshippers and their scriptures. For example, the Netra Tantra (13.17-19), which can be dated to the first-half of the ninth century at the latest, tells us that the Sun god was worshipped in different forms following different traditions at the time of its composition. As Sanderson writes (2009: 56-57), "Kashmirian sources know of a Śākta cult whose deity was the Sun under the name Vīra or Vīreśvara accompanied by the goddess Bhargaśikhā. …

[2] As the image Guhamitra installed has been lost we do not know how was the Sun god in his Indra form visualised. Indra is included in almost every list of Ādityas found in old Vedic to Puranic and astrological texts.

There are also strong elements of a solar esotericism in the Kālīkula of the Jayadratha Yāmala and the Krama." There is even a list of the names of 85 Saura *Saṃhitās* found in another pre-11th century text called the *Śrīkaṇṭhīyasaṃhitā* but none of these texts have survived in any form.

Some royal devotees of the Sun god are still there in the 12-13th centuries, and it was this period in which the famous Konarka temple of Odisha was built. Even in the 15th century, Ānandagiri, a hagiographer of Śaṇkara, locates different groups of devotees of the Sun god in a place called Subrahmaṇyam near Trivendram in the south, who regarded the Sun as the origin of the world, believed that he alone is capable of creating, maintaining and destroying it. They were divided into six groups, but none of them exclusively identified the Sun god with Śiva.

The *Saurasaṃhitā* is a short text consisting of a few more than five hundred verses divided into thirteen chapters and presented in the format of a conversation between Maheśvara Śiva and his son Skanda Kārtikeya. The text deals with topics such as supremacy of the Sun god, raising of the *khakholka-mantra*, the *mūlamantra*s and



Opening of the palm-leaf manuscript of Saurasaṃhitā, dated Nepal Saṃvat 69 (949 CE)

visualizations of the Sun god and the other eight grahas, the ritual bath, initiation, the way of worship of the Sun god, fire sacrifice, drawing of the maṇḍala, consecration, various recipes for the use of the mantras, drawing of the figure of the Sun god, and finally a

relatively simple system of yoga. The text highlights the usage of mantras and states that because of the significance of this aspect the whole text has got the nickname *prayojanatilaka*, a text 'marked with purpose.'

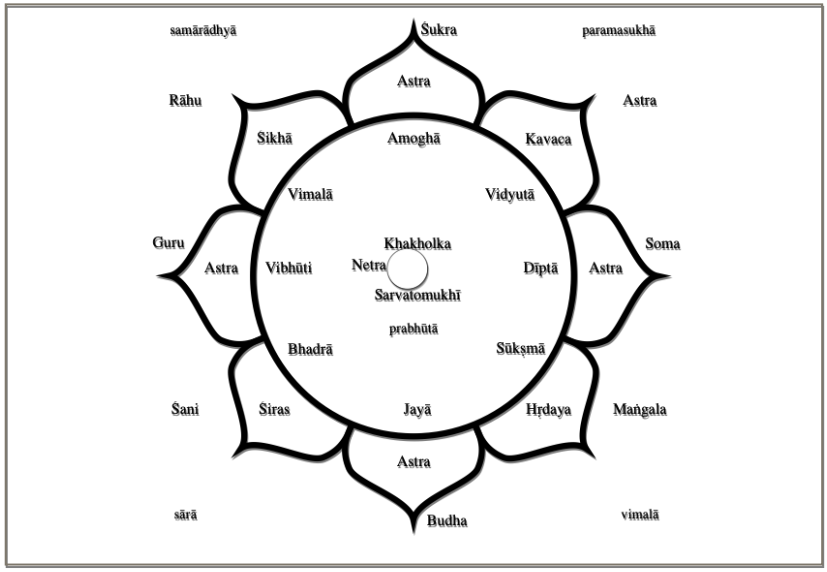
Who is Āditya? Why worshipped first?

The text of the Tantra text begins with this question: Who is Āditya and why is he venerated in the beginning of rites? Śiva's answer to this question conceptualises Āditya by way of Nirukta-style interpretations of the name. Āditya is described here to be the first (*ādi*) of all the gods, the one belonging to the beginning, because as claimed here even Prajāpati and Kāla were created after him (Chap. 1.8-9). The Sun was created through a fusion of the energy (*tejas*) of Śiva, the primordial cause, and the creative power (*kriyāśakti*) that came out of Śiva himself. Therefore, the Sun god and Śiva are one, as the text claims (Chap. 1.10-11, 15). Again, Āditya is called so because he drives out (*āharet*) the darkness prevailing in all quarters, directions and sub-directions (*digvidikṣu vyavasthitān*) by releasing his rays (*tyaktvā vai raśmi-saṃghātam*). The Sun is described further as the eye of all worlds and so being venerated by all the gods and the sages (Chap. 1.13-14). The text also admonishes that there is neither chariot nor horses. The three godheads attend the Sun god at three junctures and so, when he is venerated they are automatically venerated. (19-21). At the time of eclipse, Rāhu waits in his chariot under the solar disc to collect amṛta until it is not seeped out. Thus, the disc of the Sun is hidden beyond the chariot at the time of eclipse (22-23). No demons nor Rāhu could ever trouble or obstruct the Sun god as he would burn them. The Sun revolves forever in order to divide the time into day and night. Would there not be the Sun, there would be only darkness, no distinction of dharma and adharma would be there. So, the Sun witnesses and maintains everything in this world (24-26).

Ritual System and Ancillary Mantras

The text asks to worship the Sun god surrounded by eight powers (*śakti*) and flanked by the ninth Sarvatomukhī, all in the

middle of an eight-petalled lotus.[3] On four lotus-petals in four directions the *astramantra* (*raḥ phaṭ*) is installed and on the other four the other ancillary mantras: *aṃ* as *hṛdaya*, *arkāya* as *śiras*, *bhūrbhuvaḥ svaḥ re jvālinī* as śikhā and *hūṃ* as *kavaca*.
The text introduces bhāṃ as the netramantra but obviously does not included it among the ancillary mantras. Worshipped in the retinue



outside these petals are the eight heavenly bodies (*grahas*)[4] other than the Sun, and beyond them, in the outmost retinue are the eight guardians of the world (*lokapālas*). First, the five seat-deities (*āsana-devatā*): Prabhūtā, Vimalā, Sārā, Samārādhyā and Paramasukhā should be installed on the ground or the object where the *maṇḍala* will be drawn, the first one in the middle and others at four corners. The *bījamantra* for all these five is the same *aṃ*. At the time of fire sacrifice, the sacred fire is identified as Sūryāgni and his consort is

[3] The *bījamantras* of these nine *śaktis* are *rāṃ, rīṃ, ruṃ, rūṃ, reṃ, raiṃ, roṃ, rauṃ, raṃ.*
[4] The *bījamantras* of these eight *grahas* are *saṃ, aṃ, baṃ, braṃ, bhaṃ, śaṃ, raṃ, kaṃ.*

venerated as Prabhāvatī. It is noteworthy that Prabhāvatī as the consort of the Sun god is venerated only in the fire sacrifice. The *Saurasaṃhitā* names Tejaścaṇḍa as the deity who would receive the remainder of the worship (*nirmālya*) at the end of the ritual and pardon the devotee. In every ritual system of Āgamic Śaivism Caṇḍa or Caṇḍeśa[5] has this role of receiving the nirmālya at the end of the ritual and forgiving the devotee for his mistakes. Our text has a solar version of the Śaiva deity Caṇḍa.

The *Khaṣolka Mantra* and its Antiquity

The *Saurasaṃhitā* teaches *hrāṃ hrīṃ saḥ* as the *mūlamantra* and identifies it as the mantric image (*mantramūrti*) of the Sun god. However, this *mantra* is meant only for mantric cultivation for the sake of perfection and ritual usage. The text exhorts its followers to draw a simple lotus *maṇḍala* at the time of worship and install a different *mantra*, *haṃ khaṃ khaṣolkāya*, in the middle of the maṇḍala. This *mantra* is named as the 'heart' (*hṛdaya*) of the deity which is different from the heart included among the ancillaries of the *mūlamantra*. This *mantra* in a simpler form as *khaṣolkāya svāhā*, without the initial seed-syllable haṃ khaṃ but with svāhā at the end, is found in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, a late Vedic text, but its two late medieval commentaries are unable to recognize it as a mantra of the Sun god and force an abstract interpretation claiming that it is dedicated to the supreme lord. Apparently, by the time of these commentators, even the actual wording of the mantra was uncertain: Sāyaṇa reads it as *kaṣotkāya svāhā*[6] and Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara reads it as *ghaṣotkāya svāhā*.[7] The *Saurasaṃhitā* passage on the raising of this

[5] On the identity and role of Caṇḍa in Śaivism, see Acharya 2005, Goodall 2009, and Bisschop 2010.

[6] Sāyaṇa on TĀ 10.66 *kaṣotkāya svāhā* : *kaṣa śiṣa karaṇa iti dhātuḥ, kaṣyate kriyate kaṣaḥ nāma-rūpakarmātmakaḥ kāryaprapañcaḥ, tasmin utkaḥ tat kartum utsukaḥ kaṣotkaḥ parameśvaraḥ tādṛśāya sṛṣṭyabhimukhāya parameśvarāya svāhā svāhutam idam astu* ||

[7] Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara on TĀ 10.59.1 *ghaṣotkāya svāhā* : *ghaṣotkāya svāheti* || *ghasḷ adane, pacādyac. ghasāḥ ghasmarāḥ trailokyāpasaṃharaṇaśīlāḥ utkā ulkā yasya saḥ ghasolkaḥ iti prāpte parokṣa-tvāya ṣatvatatve kṛte | yad vā*

mantra (5.2-4) and also the *Kūrmapurāṇa* passage below confirm that the wording of this mantra should be *khaṣolkāya*, and also that it is a mantra of the Sun god. The fact that the *Khaṣolka mantra* appears to be extraneous to the ritual system of the *Saurasaṃhitā* may suggest that the *Saurasaṃhitā* has superimposed a separate archaic and popular mantra of the Sun god on a pro-Śaiva ritual system it created or inherited. It is likely that the five goddesses of the seat: Prabhūtā, Vimalā, Sārā, Samārādhyā, and Paramasukhā, were originally belonging to a separate cult of the Sun god as Khaṣolka.

The *Kūrmapurāṇa* calls the Sun god Khaṣolka and, like the *Saurasaṃhitā*, promotes identity of the Sun god and Śiva. The text exhorts to worship the Sun god as Rudra, Śiva, and Virūpākṣa using this mantra. With the exception of these two texts—the *Saurasaṃhitā* and the *Kūrmapurāṇa*—I have not found any other independent tradition that identifies the Sun god exclusively with any form of Śiva. As the *Kūrmapurāṇa* (II.18.33-34) recommends, one should in the morning greet the rising sun with the mantras of the Sun god derived from the Vedas, and prostrate on the ground reciting the same mantras. One should praise the deity reciting the following eulogy identified as the *Sūryahṛdaya* which begins with hailing the Sun god as Khaṣolka:

Sūryahṛdaya (Kūrmapurāṇa II.18.35-44)

*oṃ *khaṣolkāya*[8] *śāntāya kāraṇatrayahetave |*
nivedayāmi cātmānaṃ namas te jñānarūpiṇe |
namas te ghṛṇine tubhyaṃ sūryāya brahmarūpiṇe ||
tvam eva brahma paramam āpo jyotī raso 'mṛtam |

— ghasanaṃ ghasaḥ tatrotkāya utsukāya svātmani viśvāni bhūtāni juṣate parasmai devāya havir idam astu yaṃ aham īpsāmīti ||

[8] I have adopted *khaṣolkāya*, because five of the manuscripts Gupta (1971: 484) reported in his apparatus read the first two syllables as *khaṣo-*, five others read the same, though with a different sibilant. As far as the second syllable is concerned, the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, too, lends support to *-ṣo-*, and above all, the *Saurasaṃhitā* passage leaves no doubt concerting reading of the *mantra*.

bhūr bhuvaḥ svas tvam oṅkāraḥ sarve rudrāḥ sanātanāḥ|
puruṣaḥ san maho 'tas tvāṃ praṇamāmi kapardinam ||

Obeisance to Khaṣolka, the peaceful, the cause of three causes[9]! I offer myself to you who has the form of cognition. Obeisance to Ghṛṇi, Sūrya, a form of brahman! You precisely are the supreme brahman, the waters, the light, the essence, and the immortal. You are '*oṃ bhūr bhuvaḥ svaḥ*,' you are all eternal Rudras. You are Puruṣa, the Existent, the Great and Glorious (*mahas*), therefore I bow in front of you Kapardin (lit. one with braided and knotted hair).

tvam eva viśvaṃ bahudhā sad asat sūyate ca yat |
namo rudrāya sūryāya tvām ahaṃ śaraṇaṃ gataḥ ||
pracetase namas tubhyaṃ namo mīḍhuṣṭamāya te |
namo namas te rudrāya tvām ahaṃ śaraṇaṃ gataḥ ||
hiraṇyabāhave tubhyaṃ hiraṇyapataye namaḥ |
ambikāpataye tubhyam umāyāḥ pataye namaḥ ||

You alone are the multifold world, and also that which is born, existent as well as not yet existent. Obeisance to Rudra, Sūrya! I have taken refuge in you. Obeisance to you as Pracetas, you as Mīḍhuṣṭama! Obeisance to Rudra! I have taken refuge in you. Obeisance to you as Lord Golden-hand, the Lord of Gold! Obeisance to you as the Lord of Ambikā, the Lord of Umā!

namo 'stu nīlagrīvāya namas tubhyaṃ pināķine |
vilohitāya bhargāya sahasrākṣāya te namaḥ ||
namo haṃsāya te nityam ādityāya namo 'stu te |
namas te vajrahastāya tryambakāya namo 'stu te ||
prapadye tvāṃ virūpākṣaṃ mahāntaṃ parameśvaram |
hiraṇmayaṃ gṛhe guptam ātmānaṃ sarvadehinām ||

Obeisance to the Lord with blue neck! Obeisance to you as the bearer of Pināka bow! Obeisance to you as the lord of deep-red complexion,

[9] The most possible interpretation of *kāraṇatraya* is Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Maheśvara.

of radiance, and thousand eyes! Constant obeisance to Haṃsa, obeisance to you Āditya! Obeisance to you holding a Vajra in the hand, Obeisance to you Tryambaka! I approach you Virūpākṣa, the great supreme lord, the golden self hidden at home inside all embodied beings!

namasyāmi paraṃ jyotir brahmāṇaṃ tvāṃ parāṃ gatim |
viśvaṃ paśupatiṃ bhīmaṃ naranārīśarīriṇam ||
namaḥ sūryāya rudrāya bhāsvate parameṣṭhine |
*ugrāya *sarvabhakṣāya*[10] *tvāṃ prapadye sadaiva hi* ||

I bow to you the supreme light, Brahman, the ultimate destination! To Viśva, to the Lord of cattle, to the terrible, to the one who has a body combining man and woman! Obeisance to Sūrya to Rudra, to the Luminous, to the Outstanding! I always approach you Mighty, Devouring all!

etad vai sūryahṛdayaṃ japtvā stavam anuttamam |
prātaḥ kāle 'tha madhyāhne namaskuryād divākaram ||

This is the Heart of the Sun-god, an excellent praise. Having recited this either in the morning or the noon, one should bow to the Sun-god.

The Balinese *Vedaparikrama* and the *Saurasaṃhitā*

Although the worship of the Sun as deity in a temple seems to have come into India from outside in the middle of the first millennium,

[10] The Kashiraj Trust edition of the text (Gupta 1971: 484) reads *sarvabhaktāya* which in my opinion is the least possible reading found apparently only in 6 out of 21 manuscripts he consulted. The majority of manuscripts, as Gupta reported read *sarvabhakṣāya*. The Asiatic Society edition (Mukhopadhyaya 1890: 579) accepts *sarvvatakṣāya* found in four Devanāgarī manuscripts it consulted but reports that two Bengali manuscripts read *sarvvabhakṣāya*. As an epithet of Rudra or Agni, *sarvabhakṣa* is attested in older sources, *sarvatakṣa* not, and confusion of *bha* and *ta* is common in many Indian scripts.

veneration of the sun god at sunrise and sunset is an integral part of Vedic religion at all times, and Brahmins from the Vedic cultural milieu continued with this custom. But the Sun god is normally equated with Viṣṇu, the deity of the competing tradition of Vaiṣṇavism who mounts on the golden eagle, the sunbird, betraying his solar nature. Therefore, a tradition that promoted the identity of the Sun god as Śiva did not survive independently for long in the mainland. To find such a religious tradition continued down to modern times, we need to go to Bali where Siva and Surya are combined and worshipped as Paramaśivāditya.

In 1933 Sylvain Lévi published the text of the Balinese *Vedaparikrama*[11] ritual which provided details of such a combined worship. Lévi (1933: xix) did not fail "to perceive the evidently Tantric character of the whole ritual," but he was unable to find any trace of a Sanskrit Indian original text of the Sandhyā worship combining Sūrya and Śiva as Parama Ādityaśiva or Parama Śivāditya," as our text does. As Lévi states: "the Vedaparikrama in the Balinese ritual, is another name of the madhya pūjā, that is the only form of cult practised in the daily worship."

In the spirit of inclusivist amalgamation that is common in Bali, as it is in Nepal, the *Vedaparikrama* combines the cult of Śiva-Sūrya with the cults of Paśupati, the Lord of Bound Souls, and Mṛtyujit, the Conqueror of Death, and adapts other Śaiva ritual practices like *amṛtīkaraṇa* for the sake of production of holy water. It also widely uses the *mūlamantra*, *hrāṃ hrīṃ saḥ*, and the special heart *mantra*, *haṃ khaṃ khaṣolkāya*, which in Balinese tongue have become *hraṃ hriṃ saḥ* and *haṃ/aṃ kaṃ kasolkāya* respectively. It also creates a hierarchy of seven deities and equates them with *śūnyātman*, *niṣkalātman*, *antyātman*, *nirātman*, *paramātman*, *antarātman*, *ātman*. However, as Lévi states (1933: xxix), the sun-worship of the *Vedaparikrama* is "a regular part of the morning ceremonies on holidays. When the priest is about to recite it, a fire is

[11] According to Lévi (1933: xviii) this title "is probably an alteration of Sk. parikarma, in the special meaning of 'cult, adoration,' as found in Bhāgavata Purāṇa." However, it is quite possible that the word is here used in the sense of procedure like the words *paripāṭī* and *vidhi*.

lit so that all attendants may be informed that the time has come to present offerings to Sūrya...."

At this juncture, one may argue that since the *Vedaparikrama* might not be borrowing directly from the *Saurasaṃhitā*, because the former includes a number of components that are not found in the latter. But among Balinese texts I have traced a set of four verses recognised and used as a *Sūryastava*, a praise, which appear directly taken from the *Saurasaṃhitā*. These verses provide visualizations of the Sun god and other heavenly bodies. The name Skanda in the vocative case is still there in the versified text, which proves that the original source of these verses is the *Saurasaṃhitā*, a text presented in the form of a dialogue between Maheśvara Śiva and Kartikeya Skanda. Otherwise, to invoke Skanda in the verses of praise dedicated to the Sun god and other heavenly bodies is redundant. Here below I compare the Balinese *Sūryastava* with the relevant verses from the *Saurasaṃhitā* and underline the syllables or words read differently in the former:

Saurasaṃhitā 2.48cd--54ab:
raktavarṇamahātejaḥsitapadmoparisthitam ||
sarvalakṣaṇasaṃyuktaṃ sarvābharaṇabhūṣitam |
dvibhujam ekavaktraṃ tu somapaṅkajadhṛkkaram ||
vṛtte tejasthabimbe tu madhyasthaṃ raktavāsasam |
ādityasya tv idaṃ rūpaṃ śucisnāto jitendriyaḥ ||
trikālaṃ yaḥ smaret skanda ekacitto vyavasthitaḥ |
so 'cirād bhavate loke vittena dhanadopamaḥ ||
mucyate sarvarogais tu tejasvī balavān bhavet |
hṛdayaṃ ca śiraś caiva śikhāvarmāstralocanam ||
raktavarṇā ime saumyāḥ sarvābharaṇabhūṣitāḥ |
varadāḥ padmahastāś ca dhyātavyāḥ sādhakena tu ||
vidyutpuñjanibhaś cāstro durgadaṃṣṭrākarālinam |

Sūryastava (Goudriaan and Hooykaas 428):
oṃ raktavarṇa<u>ṃ</u> mahātejaṃ <u>śve</u>tapadmoparisthitam |
sarvalakṣaṇasam<u>pannaṃ</u> sarvābharaṇabhūṣitam ||
dvibhujaṃ ekavaktraṃ ca <u>saumy</u>apaṅkajadhṛtkaram |
<u>varttule tejo</u>bimbe tu madhyasthaṃ raktavāsasam ||

ādityasya tv idaṃ rūpaṃ śucisattvo jitendriyaḥ |
trikālaṃ yaḥ smaret skanda[12] *ekacitte vyavasthitaḥ ||*
so 'cirād bhavati loke vittena dhanadopamaḥ |
mucyate sarvarogais tu tejasvī balavān bhavet ||
hṛdayañ ca śiraś caiva śikhāvarmāstralocanāḥ |
raktavarṇās tv ime saumyāḥ sarvābharaṇabhūṣitāḥ ||
varadapadmahastās ca dhyātavyāḥ sādhakena tu |
vidyutpuñjanibhaṃ stotraṃ ugradaṃṣṭrakarālinam ||

At the end, the *Saurasaṃhitā* is a little-known but important text that identifies the Sun god with Śiva. What is special in the *Saurasaṃhitā* is the fact that the cult of Śiva-Sūrya has lost its independence existence in South Asia, whereas in Bali it has not only maintained its independent but also taken central stage. This transfer of Indic ritual practice to Bali was not an isolated case. There are many examples of such transmissions. Scholars, such as T. Goudriaan in the past and Andrei Acri more recently, have traced a number of verses anonymously cited in Tutur texts from Bali in Siddhānta Śaiva scriptures. This illustrates the huge distances that Indic traditions have travelled and the importance of adopting a transnational perspective.

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[12] Lévi reads *kenda* here, but as Goudriaan and Hooykaas report, one of their manuscripts identified as PPQ reads *skandaḥ* and all other manuscripts read *kandaḥ,* and they emend it. On the basis of manuscript evidence the *Saurasaṃhitā* parallel I think we should read *skanda.*

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Editing the Manuscripts of Forgotten Sanskrit Texts[1]

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We are aware that most of the major Sanskrit texts are available in the form of their manuscripts, their diplomatic, semi-critical or critical editions and translations. Still there is a good mass of manuscripts of unpublished texts lying unnoticed in various manuscripts collections. It is often said that what we find is just a tip of an iceberg and that the major portion of manuscripts is still hidden, waiting to see the light of day. There are hundreds of Sanskrit texts that are not available so far. There are some texts that we know only from their titles mentioned in some other texts. There are certain texts that are known by their names and the passages cited in other works. By the word 'forgotten', I however refer to those Sanskrit texts that were almost unknown to the world of Sanskrit scholars until their discovery. The texts I refer to are not such texts as had been known through their mention or quotations found in other texts. The examples of this latter type could be given as the Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* or Bhāsa's plays. These works had been mentioned in ancient Sanskrit literature but the manuscripts were discovered in the

[1] I have dealt with a similar topic previously; see Bahulkar 2007: 33 – 62 and Bahulkar 2021: 9-41.

beginning of the 20th century. They cannot be called forgotten texts. The 'forgotten' texts are like the caves of Ajanta or Ellora or excavations of archaeological sites that had been unknown to the world until they came to light due to the efforts of scholars. The manuscripts of the forgotten texts were lying unnoticed in various manuscripts collections and later on identified as the manuscripts of the texts hitherto unknown.

The manuscripts were written in various scripts in various regions and at various periods of time. They have now been deposited in a number of manuscripts collections owned by institutions and individuals in India, Nepal and other countries. These manuscripts may be considered a rich heritage that is common to Hindus, Buddhists, and Jains. To this treasure of manuscripts are added the manuscripts discovered in various places in India, Nepal, Gilgit, Central Asia, China, (including the autonomous region of Tibet) and Japan, some of which, such as the Central Asian manuscripts, are mostly in fragments. A particular mention may be made of the Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts, a majority of which are still unpublished. It is a daunting task to edit them critically. There are numerous difficulties in reading these manuscripts, most of which are found in a wretched condition. First, the scribes did not know Sanskrit fairly well; they made numerous blunders. The scripts were difficult to read. One is likely to read the clusters of consonants in a wrong way. It is difficult to read the manuscript properly, if the reader is not familiar with the subject matter. It is often observed that the readings in most of the manuscripts are extremely corrupt. These difficulties are in no way unique to the Buddhist manuscripts; but the number of such manuscripts is quite high in respect of these manuscripts. While most of the Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts were discovered in Nepal, the treasure of many a rare Sanskrit manuscript is still preserved in Tibetan monasteries. It is almost impossible to obtain copies of those manuscripts. There are a few fortunate scholars who succeeded in getting them and worked on the texts in collaboration with Chinese scholars.[2]

[2] See, Luo 1985, 2009; Matsuda 2016: 223.

The credit of the discovery of the Sanskrit manuscripts in Tibet goes mainly to Mahāpaṇḍita Rahul Sankrityayan who made four tours to Tibet in search of Sanskrit manuscripts, the first in 1929-30, the second in 1934, the third in 1936 and the last in 1938. He realized the importance of the Sanskrit manuscripts, and, overcoming a number of hurdles in his endeavour, brought to India photographs of several manuscripts. His aim was not to collect any geographical data or recreation, but to study the Buddhist texts properly and collect the historical and religious material related to Indian Buddhism. In the beginning, he wanted to stay there for about three years but could stay only for fifteen months because of financial constraints. In his first tour he did not succeed in finding the Sanskrit manuscripts and was rather frustrated, thinking that he would no longer find any original Sanskrit manuscript in Tibet. However, in the Shalu monastery, he was presented with a palm-leaf manuscript. It was the text called the *Vajraḍākārṇavatantra*, written in the Kuṭila script. I should mention here that Pt. Sankrityayan was a polyglot, knew a number of languages: Indian classical languages and modern European ones. He knew many ancient scripts. He could read the Kuṭila script of that manuscript and discover that it was a Buddhist Tantric text. The text had been translated into Tibetan and had been included in the Kanjur section of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka. It was translated by the Indian Pundit Kāyastha Gadādhara from Vaishali. He made the translation in collaboration with a Tibetan monk from the Shalu monastery. The precious gift indicated the possibility of the existence of Sanskrit manuscripts in Tibet. During his four tours to Tibet, Rahul ji was able to see in all 380 manuscripts but could photograph or copy only 80 of them. He brought all the material to India and presented it to the Bihar Research Society in Patna. This collection is known in the scholarly world as Mahāpaṇḍita Rahul Sankrityayan Collection. In 1980s, Prof. Gustav Roth bought a set of the photographs and deposited it in the Göttingen University, Germany. An excellent descriptive catalogue of this collection has been prepared by Bandurski and others. It has thus become much easy to identify many rare manuscripts and get a digitized copy.[3]

[3] For details, see, Bandurski *et al* 1994; Sankrityayan 1935, 1937 and 1938.

In Tibetan monastic universities, the student monks studied a number of subjects, besides the Buddhist philosophical works. They studied Sanskrit poetry, poetics, grammar, lexicons, prosody and so on. Some of the works on these subjects had been translated into Tibetan as well. For translation activities, the Sanskrit manuscripts had been taken to Tibet and were preserved in the monasteries. Rahul ji's list of manuscripts includes the manuscripts of some works on Sanskrit grammar mostly authored by Buddhist Pundits: vyākaraṇa (?) by unknown author, Sarvadhara's *Tyādyantaprakriyā* based on the Kalāpa Vyākaraṇa, Prajñāvarman's commentary on some grammatical work, Jinendrabuddhi's *Kāśikāvivaraṇapañjikā*, Subhūticandra's *Kavikāmadhenu* (or *Kāmadhenu*), a commentary on the *Amarakośa*, Utsavakīrti's *Kalāpavyākaraṇaṭīkā*, *Triliṅgaprakaraṇa* of Mañju…, *Chandoratnākara* of Ratnākaraśāntipāda, *Rasaprakāśamārtaṇḍa* of Govindanātha Nāgarī, *Subhāṣitaratnakośa* of Bhīmārjunasoma, Candragomin's *Cāndravyākaraṇavṛtti,* and so on[4]. Most of these works were totally forgotten. On the basis of Rahul ji's photographs, some of the texts have been or are being edited by several scholars from various countries.

There are some texts composed by Buddhist Pundit poets. They can be of much interest for Sanskritists, for the students of Sanskrit literature and Sanskrit poetics.

I may here give an example of the two Mahākāvyas of Aśvaghoṣa, namely, the *Buddhacarita* and the *Saundarananda*. If we admit that this poet belonged to the 1st century CE, we should consider the two Mahākāvyas as the first available Mahākāvyas composed in the period earlier than that of Kālidāsa. We are aware that there are striking similarities between these two works of Aśvaghoṣa and Kālidāsa's Mahākāvyas, namely the *Raghuvaṃśa* and the *Kumārasambhava*.[5] We come across a number of verses from Kālidāsa's poems quoted in the traditional works on Sanskrit poetics;

[4] Sankrityayan 1935: 27-43.
[5] For more information, see Johnston 1936: lxxxi and note no. 3 thereon.

we do not find quotations from Aśvaghoṣa except a few ones.[6] Was he totally forgotten or ignored even in the period when Buddhism spread all over India, when there was a good inter-action between the Buddhist and other Pundits and poets, and particularly in the 6th century CE, when the King Harṣa, a patron of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, embraced Buddhism and composed the play *Nāgānanda* based on a Buddhist theme? The two Mahākāvyas of Aśvaghoṣa were thrown into oblivion for many centuries and reappeared only when modern scholars such as Johnston and Cowell edited and translated them and brought them to light.[7] The *Buddhacarita* available in Sanskrit is incomplete and can be read fully only in its Chinese and Tibetan translations. I think it is unfortunate that Indians were unable to relish the *rasa*s of that poem through its Sanskrit original version. There are some more works ascribed to Aśvaghoṣa. The *Śāriputraprakaraṇa* is possibly the oldest available Prakaraṇa, one of the ten forms of Rūpaka. The incomplete manuscript of this text was first edited by H. Lüders. [8] The *Vajrasūcī* attacks the casteism based on the discrimination of four Varṇas and has much common with the Vajrasūcikopaniṣad.[9] The *Gaṇḍistotragāthā*[10] is a stotra in praise of the gong that is beaten by the monks in a monastery. The poet says that it calls the monks for lunch just as a mother her children. Another work ascribed to Aśvaghoṣa is the *Sūtrālaṅkāra* or *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*.[11] The authorship of these works, other than those

[6] Johnston 1936: lxxix – lxxx.

[7] "As regards the question of why Aśvaghoṣa has been ignored almost completely (there are one or two references by the writers of Sanskrit poetics), my guess is that *Śānta* (quietitude) was recognised as a *rasa* at a very late stage, *Śṛṅgāra* was given greatest importance in the tradition of Sanskrit literature and its criticism, and by the time the illustrations from other poets began to be incorporated in the works of Vāmana and others beginning with the 8th century A. D., Aśvaghoṣa was practically forgotten. One might even say that even predecessors of Vāmana like Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Udbhaṭa and others who composed their own poems to illustrate principles of criticism did not take notice of Aśvaghoṣa's poems, as none of them gives any place to the poetry of *Śama* that Aśvaghoṣa wrote nor recognises its special features in the definitions of poetry." Dwivedi 1986: 263.

[8] Lüders 1911.

[9] Mukhopadhyaya 1950.

[10] Stael-Holstein 1913.

[11] Lüders 1926.

of the two Mahākāvyas is doubtful. However, it should be noted that there is no reference to these works in Sanskrit literature. There are many Mahāyāna works that are available in manuscripts and not yet published. They pertain to Mahāyāna religious traditions, Buddhist philosophy, logic and so on. Some of the texts are written in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, i.e. the Sanskrit mixed with Prakrit. The Buddhist tantric literature is written in a typically Buddhist Tantric language; in Snellgrove's words, "the language need not be graced by the term Buddhist Sanskrit. It is just bad Sanskrit."[12] I have spent some years in studying the manuscripts and editing them, mostly while working as Chief Editor and Head of the Department Rare Buddhist Text Research of the Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies at Sarnath and am fully aware of the textual problems of those texts as well as my limitations. There are still many more Buddhist Tantric works that are not yet published; some of them are being edited in India, Italy, Germany, China and Japan.

There are many Sanskrit works in the Hindu and the Jaina traditions that need to be edited. I am not much familiar with them and therefore keep them aside at this moment.

In the present lecture, I propose to speak on some forgotten Sanskrit works that have been made available in recent years. I focus mainly on some Buddhist Sanskrit texts, some of which are not typically Buddhist and may be of interest for some scholars. On this occasion, I fondly remember the Late Prof. Michael Hahn, Professor Emeritus of Sanskrit and Indology at the Philipps University, Marburg, Germany, my senior friend and a teacher with whom I spent the last two years of his active life (2012 – 2014) along with my students and colleagues, in revising the edition of an interesting work, namely, Jñānaśrīmitra's *Vṛttamālāstuti*. Here it will not be out of context to say a few words about the work and Hahn's sustained efforts to bring out its critical edition.[13]

[12] Snellgrove 1959: XI.

[13] Hahn 1967. Detailed information about this work will be found in my article to be published shortly. See, Bahulkar 2021: 9-41.

During his search, Hahn found among many hitherto unknown works, a work on Sanskrit prosody, namely, the *Vṛttamālāstuti* by Jñānaśrīmitra, a Buddhist Pundit who is otherwise known for his several works on Buddhist philosophy. The manuscripts of his works were photographed by Rahul Sankrityayan during his tours to Tibet in search of Sanskrit manuscripts. They were subsequently edited by Anantlal Thakur and published from Patna.[14] When Anantlal Thakur edited these works, under the title *Jñānaśrīmitranibandhāvalī*, it was not known that the Buddhist Pundit had also composed a work on prosody.

The *Vṛttamālāstuti* is one of the works on Sanskrit metres composed by Buddhist scholars, not mentioned in any traditional works on Chandaḥśāstra.[15] The *Vṛttamālāstuti* is a unique work; it is a hymn in praise of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, in 150 different Sanskrit metres. At the same time, every verse includes the name of the metre, gives the definition of that metre and mentions the caesura (*yati*) in each *pāda*. The composition evinces Jñānaśrīmitra's command on the Sanskrit language, grammar and prosody. Since this work was available only in its Tibetan translation, it was extremely difficult to find the exact name of the Sanskrit metre from its Tibetan translation.

Hahn worked on this text for his Ph.D. At that time, in 1967, the manuscript of the Sanskrit text was not available. He started his work on the basis of the Tibetan translation only. It was not an easy job to understand the Tibetan and the name of the metre translated into Tibetan. Hahn reconstructed the names of all 150 metres. After some time, he could obtain a manuscript of a commentary on that work, namely, Śākyarakṣita's *Vivṛti* where he could find the names of the metres and their double meaning. To his pleasant surprise, he noticed that all the names he had reconstructed were totally correct. From my own experience, I should say that the reconstruction of the names of the metres was not an easy job. The reconstruction evinces Hahn's

[14] Thakur 1987.
[15] Hahn also discovered another work, namely, *Chandoratnākara* of Ratnākaraśānti, another Buddhist scholar who composed works on Buddhist Tantras (Hahn 1982).

mastery over the Sanskrit and the classical Tibetan languages, in-depth knowledge of Sanskrit prosody and his insight into the subject.

Hahn left no stone unturned to understand the meaning of the verses and to identify exact metres with their definitions. Fortunately he found that the commentary on this work existed in a single manuscript from Nepal. He then tried to reconstruct all the 154 verses in Sanskrit on the basis of the commentary and the Tibetan translation. It should be noted that Jñānaśrīmitra uses all his scholarship and talent to praise the deity and at the same time to describe the metre, for which he has to use, at times, certain devices, one of them being the figure of speech called *śleṣa*. For example, in the case of a metre called Meghavisphūrjita "the rumbling of clouds", he splits the word into two, i.e. me + aghavisphūrjita. These two words give appropriate meaning "the visible manifestations of my bad deeds", when construed in the double reading in praise of Mañjuśrī. The reconstruction of the verses in different Sanskrit metres shows the depth of Prof. Hahn's knowledge of Sanskrit prosody. For example, he reconstructs a verse that was originally in the Bhujaṅgaprayāta metre:

***manohārihārāvalīramyam īdṛk**

***kva te nātha rūpaṃ surūpādhirāja**|

***kva tac cātidurdāntasattvapraśāntyai**

***sphuradbhīmabhūṣābhujaṅgaprayātam**|| *Vṛttamālāstuti ||62 ||**

Commentary*: he **nātha manohāriṇyā hārāvalyā ramyaṃ tava kved-ṛśaṃ rūpam** | **surūpādhirāje**ty anena rūpābhimānivinayanārtham | tādṛṅ mahārājalīlādinirmāṇaṃ darśitam iti darśayati | **kva cāti**śayaṃ **durdāntasattvānāṃ praśamārthaṃ sphurantaś** calanto **bhīmā** bhayānakā **bhūṣā**rthaṃ ye **bhujaṅgās** taiḥ **prayātaṃ** āśritaṃ yamāryādirūpam | ativismayakaraṃ rūpadvayaṃ tavety arthaḥ | vṛttapakṣe **jagatyāṃ bhujaṅgaprayātaṃ** |

Later on, Hahn also obtained a copy of the work edited by Yogi Naraharinath and published from Varanasi in 1956, on the occasion of the completion of 2500 years since the birth of the Buddha.

In 2012, we decided to work with Hahn on the revision of the text with its commentary. It was indeed a thrilling experience to read the manuscript of the commentary with Hahn, to go through his diplomatic edition of the texts, to fill up the lacunae in the text, and to discuss various issues related to Sanskrit grammar and prosody. While going through this material, Hahn realized that there was still some scope to revise the text he had earlier established. This materialized into the first semi-critical edition of the text and the commentary in the Roman script. It was published in two parts in the South Asian Classical Research Journal no. 8 and 9, released in 2013 and 2014 respectively from Japan. Despite his deteriorating health, Hahn worked with us meticulously, gave a patient hearing to our comments, appreciated good suggestions on our part, and simply rejected the unacceptable ones. Hahn entrusted me with the task of going through the manuscripts, the Tibetan translation, his semi-critical edition and asked me to make suggestions and improvements. He accepted most of my suggestions and incorporated them in his proposed revised edition. He could revise the second part of the semi-critical edition that was yet to be published. However, we could discuss only the first thirty verses of the first part. Hahn left this world on July 12, 2014, leaving the remaining work to us to complete it. We decided to bring out a Devanāgarī edition incorporating all the improvements. We noticed some new problems in the earlier edition. This made it necessary to go through the manuscript of the commentary once again and to present a new edition in a revised form. We spent two more years in revising the text and finally, in 2016, brought out a critical edition of the *Vṛttamālāstuti* with Śākyarakṣita's *Vivṛti*. It was the first publication in the Studia Indo-Buddhica Series of Aditya Prakashan, Delhi, in collaboration with Deshana Institute of Buddhist and Allied Studies, the Institute we founded under the valuable guidance of Hahn. We propose to bring out important publications including some of Hahn's works that are

under preparation, namely Ravigupta's *Āryākośa* and *Mahajjātakamālā*.

Besides the work mentioned above, Hahn has discovered some other forgotten Buddhist Sanskrit texts.

Candragomin's *Lokānandanāṭaka*: The *Lokānandanāṭaka* is a dramatization of the Maṇicūḍa story. Its different versions and their relationship are studied in the introduction. Hahn claims that there were two recensions, a shorter and a longer one, the latter being used by Candragomin for his play. Hahn argues that Candragomin was a predecessor of Harṣa and that his work inspired the latter to compose the *Nāgānanda*.[16]

Haribhaṭṭa and Gopadatta: Hahn also discovered two *Jātakamālās*, namely those of Haribhaṭṭa and Gopadatta. In his article on these two authors, Hahn reported that ten of Haribhaṭṭa's legends have survived in anonymous Sanskrit manuscripts from Nepal. He also pointed out that not only the Saptakumārikāvadāna is by Gopadatta but there exist sixteen other legends that have been transmitted anonymously.[17] Hahn argues that the *Jātakamālās* are the oldest form of Campū genre. In the Preface to his edition of Haribhaṭṭa's *Jātakamālā*, he says:

"Haribhaṭṭa returns to India" – this would be the most suitable motto for the present book because it brings back to its country of origin not only one of the finest pieces of early classical Sanskrit poetry but also a most elegant and precious specimen of the *campū* genre, the artistic combination of elaborate prose and a great variety of aptly chosen metres. Being familiar with Haribhaṭṭa's work for 45 years, I dare to make the bold claim that his poetic genius does not fall behind that of his predecessors Aśvaghoṣa and Āryaśūra and his contemporary. Kālidāsa, despite Haribhaṭṭa's own modest self-assessment expressed in the introductory stanzas of his work. I leave it to my colleagues

[16] Hahn 1974.
[17] Hahn 1992: 15.

inside and outside India to form their opinion on the basis of the 17 legends edited in this publication." (Hahn 2011: v)

Between 1971 and 1980, Hahn started editing and translating the legends from this work on the basis of their Tibetan translation. In 1973, he discovered that ten of Haribhaṭṭa's legends (plus the spurious Śākyasiṃhajātaka) had survived in the manuscripts in Nepal, however without mentioning the name of the author. He continued editing some of the Jātakas. Then, for more than 30 years he searched for other parts of the work, however in vain. In 2004 he got Photostat copies of a fragmentary manuscript, presumably from Tibet which contained almost seventy per cent of the work. Together with the Nepalese manuscript, the legends formed seventy-eight per cent of Haribhaṭṭa's *Jātakamālā*.

Haribhaṭṭa, most likely a poet from Kashmir, wrote his *Jātakamālā* in the fifth century CE. His work continued to gain popularity almost for 800 years in India and Central Asia. Fragments of his work were found in Afghanistan, Kashmir and along the Silk Road; translations and adaptations of Haribhaṭṭa's legends exist in Uigur, Tocharian and Khotanese. Dieter Schlingloff, the leading expert in the study of the Ajanta painting, has shown that at least one of them is based on Haribhaṭṭa's work. Yet the poet has fallen into almost oblivion in India, apart from the quotation of a few stanzas in the anthologies of Jalhaṇa and Vallabhadeva. Only two countries that were spared the ardent destructive fervour of a fanatic religion preserved his work, Nepal and Tibet: the former only partly, the latter in its original Sanskrit and Tibetan translation (Hahn 2011: v).[18]

Hahn also edited and translated some legends from the other work, namely, Gopadatta's Jātakamālā. It was not difficult to identify Haribhaṭṭa's legends on the basis of their Tibetan translation. The

[18] A critical edition of Haribhaṭṭa's *Jātakamālā* has been prepared by our friend Martin Straube and is now published in the Pune Indological Series started by the Department of Pali of the Savitribai Phule Pune University (Straube 2019). This work has been translated into English by Peter Khoroche on the basis of Hahn's edition of the Sanskrit text and its Tibetan translation (Khoroche 2017).

case of Gopadatta's Jātakamālā was different. The only reference to Gopadatta's work can be found in Kṣemendra's *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*. Somendra, Kṣemendra's son, says in the preface to his father's work:
ācāryaGopadattādyair avadānakramojjhitāḥ |
uccityoccitya vijitā gadyapadyaviśṛṅkhalāḥ||
ekamārgānusāriṇyaḥ paraṃ gāmbhīryakarkaśāḥ|
vistīrṇavarṇanāḥ santi jinajātakamālikāḥ||[19]

In 1933, G. Tucci obtained a fragmentary manuscript of Gopadatta's *Jātakamālā*. On the basis of the material obtained, Hahn draws the following conclusions:

1. Gopadatta's *Jātakamālā* seems to have been modelled after the *Jātakamālā* of Āryaśūra and Haribhaṭṭa and contained 34 legends; and
2. Gopadatta seems to be latest of the three authors of *Jātakamālās* and closest to Kṣemendra and Somendra and more popular than his predecessors.

Until recently, Gopadatta's work was not known. Lobsang Dargay published the Tibetan translation of the *Saptakumārikāvadāna* with its German rendering and a study of the legend. This legend is included in the Tibetan Tanjur as an independent work. No other legend of Gopadatta's *Jātakamālā* can be found there. There is only one very late and corrupt manuscript of this legend preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris). A metrical adaptation of this legend occurs in the *Aśokāvadānamālā*, an unpublished collection of legends. Hahn published the *Saptakumārikāvadāna* in Roman transcription in his monograph Haribhaṭṭa and Gopadatta, mentioned above, and planned a critical edition and an English translation on the basis of material he had collected. He entrusted me with the English translation of the text. I had completed the

[19] Hahn 1992: 13.

English translation of almost half of the text but had to suspend my work owing to other commitments.

Avadānasārasamuccaya: Ratna Handurukunde critically edited and translated into English five Buddhist legends from this work. This edition is based on the manuscripts collected from the Cambridge University, Tokyo University, Ryukoku University and the National Archives, Kathmandu[20].

Kapphiṇābhyudaya: Śivasvāmin, a 9th century poet from Kashmir, lived during the reign of king Avantivarman of Kashmir (855/6-883 CE). Kalhaṇa mentions him along with other poets who also lived in the same period.

muktākaṇaḥ śivasvāmī kavir ānandavardhanaḥ|
prathāṃ ratnākaraś cā'gāt sāmrājye'vantivarmaṇaḥ|| Rājataraṅgiṇī 5.34

Śivasvāmin was an ardent follower of Śaivism but got interested in the legend of Kapphiṇa, a Buddhist king. The theme of this Mahākāvya is neither Puraṇic nor epic unlike that of most of other Mahākāvyas, nor is it historical unlike the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* or *Navasāhasāṅkacarita*. It is based on the legend that appears in the Pāli Tipiṭaka[21] and Sanskrit *Avadānaśataka*[22]. Śivasvāmin follows the path of late Sanskrit poets and his composition has all the merits and the demerits of Sanskrit ornate poetry. He appears to have been influenced by Ratnākara's Haravijaya and has a scheme of the poem similar to that of Haravijaya. The poem is extremely difficult to understand due to the terse style, use of difficult vocabulary, use of the words in the sense not frequently known, long and difficult compounds and so on. A special characteristic of the canto XIX is that it is a bilingual composition, in Sanskrit mixed with Prakrit which can be read as a Sanskrit as well as a Prakrit version. This kind

[20] Handurukunde 1984.
[21] See, Mahā-Kappina Thera, Malalasekara 1938: 473 – 475.
[22] Vaidya 1958: 219 – 223.

of composition is called *bhāṣāśleṣa* used by Bhaṭṭi in the canto XIII of his *Rāvaṇavadha* and by Ratnākara in the stanzas like 4.35 in his Haravijaya. This type has been explained by Rudraṭa in his *Kāvyālaṅkāra* (4.10, 16) where he speaks of two types of *bhāṣāśleṣa* and by Mammaṭa in his *Kāvyaprakāśa* (119C). The task of understanding this poem becomes much more difficult as no commentary of this poem is available so far. The *editio princeps* of this work was prepared by Gauri Shankar and published from Lahore in 1937. However, due to the World War II, the partition of India and subsequent political turmoil in 1947, the stock of this edition was burnt, preventing a proper circulation of the edition. Seeing the scarcity of that edition and more over the shortcomings occurring in it, Hahn brought out in 1989 a reprint of that edition with his elaborate postscript. He discovered the most important manuscript of this work, obtained through the Nepal-German Manuscripts Preservation Project (NGMPP), designated as N. The missing folios 17-21 were discovered among the collections of manuscripts in Ryukoku University, Japan. In 2007, Hahn reproduced this manuscript as a facsimile edition, along with its diplomatic edition in the Roman script.[23]

Seeing the difficulties in understanding this poem mentioned above, we, at the Department of Pali of the Savitribai Phule Pune University, planned an intensive workshop under the guidance of Hahn from January 28 to February 8, 2013. Ten scholars joined the workshop and presented an English translation of the cantos assigned to them. The participants were Hahn, Radhavallabh Tripathi, M. G. Dhadphale, Saroja Bhate, Shrikant Bahulkar, Pradeep Gokhale, Mahesh Deokar, Lata Deokar, Shilpa Sumant and Shreenand Bapat. This was the first attempt at establishing an English translation of the poem (except cantos VIII and XX that had already been translated by Hahn).

[23] Hahn 2007.

After the workshop was held, Hahn proceeded to bring out a new edition of this poem with several useful appendices. It was published in 2013 by Aditya Prakashan, Delhi[24].

As Hahn rightly says, even the latest edition of this poem cannot be regarded as final. The portion missing in the manuscript N amounts to nine per cent of the text. Here one has to rely on sources that have glaring mistakes. Three of the twenty cantos (VI, XVIII and XIX) are abound in puns and exhibit the typical traits of citrakāvya. These cantos can be understood only with the help of a commentary. In the case of these cantos, even the correct separation of a word is difficult. Hahn reports that a manuscript of a commentary on the *Kapphiṇābhyudaya* by a certain Tathāgatendra survives in Tibet. Hahn tried his best to visit China and check the manuscript only for the passages he identified as difficult and cannot be understood independent of the commentary. He wanted to visit China for that purpose but had to cancel his plan. We hope that in future some scholar will be able to consult the manuscript in order to understand the text better.

Subhūticandra's *Kavikāmadhenu*: This is an encyclopaedic commentary on the *Amarakośa* written by Subhūticandra, a Buddhist Pundit from Bengal who lived in the 12th century CE and composed the commentary between 1110 and 1140 CE. There are about eighty commentaries on the *Amarakośa*; among them, there are eight major commentaries. Subhūticandra's *Kavikāmadhenu* is one of the earliest and the most influential commentaries on this lexicon. This commentator has been quoted by a number of subsequent commentators, such as Ujjvaladatta, in his *Uṇādisūtravṛtti,* a commentary on Pāṇini's *Uṇādisūtras*, Kavirāja Suṣeṇaśarman in his *Kalāpacandrikā*, a commentary on the Kātantra grammar, authors of some commentaries on the *Amarakośa*, namely Mallinātha (*Amarapadapārijāta*), Rāyamukuṭa (*Padacandrikā* or *Amarakośapañjikā*), Bhānuji Dīkṣita (*Ramāśramī* or *Vyākhyāsudhā* or *Subodhinī*) and Bommagaṇṭi Appayārya (*Amarapadavivaraṇa*).

[24] Hahn 2013.

Subhūti has been quoted by commentators from various parts of India. It also crossed the boundaries of India and reached Tibet, Myanmar and Sri Lanka. There are canonical Tibetan translations made by two great Tibetan translators, namely, Yar lungs Lo tsa ba and Grags pa rgyal mtshan and are included in the Narthang, Derge, Cone, Peking and Golden Palace editions of the Tibetan Tanjur. Besides, Si tu Paṇ chen, a great Tibetan scholar also translated this commentary. The canonical translations of this commentary are faulty. This fact probably led Si tu Paṇ chen translate the *Kavikāmadhenu*. While the canonical translations are faulty, the translation made by Si tu Paṇ chen is also not free from blunders. The *Abhidhānappadīpikā-ṭīkā*, a Pali commentary composed in Myanmar, heavily draws upon the *Kavikāmadhenu* without mentioning the source. These passages, if rendered into Sanskrit, can be traced back almost *verbatim* to the *Kavikāmadhenu*. These sources can play role of testimonia, besides the manuscripts of the *Kavikāmadhenu*. Some modern scholars have also tried to highlight the significance of this work and felt the necessity of a critical edition of *Kavikāmadhenu*.

It is a matter of great pleasure to inform that the Sanskrit portion of this commentary along with its Tibetan translations has been critically edited by my colleague Lata Deokar and has been published in two parts in *Indica et Tibetica*, vols. 55 (2014) and 56 (2018). It should be mentioned that Lata received guidance from Michael Hahn in his last days and could make considerable revision in the light of his suggestions and corrections. The edition is based on the two incomplete Sanskrit manuscripts and the Tibetan translations of the text. The special characteristic of this encyclopaedic commentary is that it quotes from numerous Sanskrit texts, some of which are totally unknown. For the first time, we come across the names of the texts and the quotations through *Kavikāmadhenu*.

Hahn had written a foreword to the first volume of the commentary edited by Lata Deokar. Unfortunately, he passed away before he could finalize it. In this unfinished foreword he wrote:

> "… In my opinion, her partial edition of the Sanskrit text and its Tibetan translation by Si tu Paṇ chen as well as her introductory study is one of the greatest achievements in the field of Indo-Tibetan philology, in particular Indo-Tibetan lexicography. I have not seen much of a similar philological acumen appearing in India during the last decades. … The introduction contains a wealth of well-chosen information about the *Amarakośa*, its commentaries, especially the Kāmadhenu, as well as their reception, study, and preservation in Tibet. … The copious footnotes to the introduction and the two texts illustrate how familiar Dr. Deokar is with Sanskrit grammar and lexicography and how expertly she has dealt with many difficult questions. Her work enables us to see how intensively Tibetan scholars studied various fields of Sanskrit literature even after the direct contact with Indian pundits had been interrupted. … I sincerely wish this excellent work the attention and reception it deserves."[25]

Subhūticandra's *Subantaratnākara*: one of the other works ascribed to Subhūticandra is *Subantaratnākara*, a work primarily giving the declensions of words, like the *Śabdarūpāvalī* being taught in the traditional Sanskrit pāṭhaśālās. There are altogether ten manuscripts bearing the title *Subantaratnākara* recorded in the catalogue prepared under the aegis of the Nepal German Manuscript Cataloguing Project. Out of these ten, only four manuscripts preserve the beginning of the text (A 1211-03, A 1311-05, B 0035-23, C 0054-

[25] Personal communication with Dr. Lata Deokar. Somehow, this foreword could not be included in the said book.

07). In one of the manuscripts (A 1211-03), it is mentioned that it is a commentary on the *Rūpāvatāra* of Dharmakīrti. The remaining three manuscripts begin with the declension of the word *vipra-* and then proceed to the word *hāhā-*. Lata Deokar has published a paper on this work in the Proceedings of a workshop held in Cambridge some years ago and plans to work on this text.[26]

The above discussion will point to the fact that there is vast scope for acquiring the manuscripts of forgotten Sanskrit texts and editing them on the basis of all possible helpful sources. Instead of treading the conventional paths, young scholars should attempt to take up new subjects based on the study of the manuscripts of unknown or forgotten Sanskrit texts.

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[26] Deokar 2017: 655 – 693. This is a revised version of her earlier paper on this topic. See Deokar 2013: 137 – 155.

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Vimarśa: The Concept of Reflexivity in the Philosophy of Utpala and Abhinavagupta

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The "Recognition" (*pratyabhijñā*) philosophy of Utpala (900-950 CE) and Abhinavagupta (950-1016 CE) considers consciousness as reflexive. What does this mean is that consciousness does not rely on either a higher or a second order consciousness for the manifestation of its primary mode. This is a much broader issue of whether what is meant by the equivalents for consciousness in this school is the same as what we generally understand by the word 'consciousness.' I am interested here to advance conversation on the basis of semblance, or on the basis of some similarities rather than distinguishing *cit*/*citi*/*caitanya*/ *saṃvid*/*anubhūti*/*anubhava*/*prajñā* on the one hand and consciousness on the other. Consciousness is generally identified in the school of 'Recognition' as having two roles: to illuminate objects which can be internal such as pain, or external such as pot; and to reflexively cognize, or be aware of the very act of illumination, not just the illumined object. This primary polarity of consciousness manifests as an entity reflexively aware of its manifestation, described here in terms of *prakāśa* and *vimarśa*. The claim that consciousness manifests itself opens several internal

conflicts and diverging arguments, even within classical Sanskrit literature or within Hindu or Buddhist schools confronting what it means for consciousness to be reflexively aware of itself. It is therefore reasonable to ask, what is in it that makes the 'Recognition' treatment of reflexivity unique to a broader discourse on consciousness, since this issue has been debated for almost three millennia, starting with the *Jyotirbrāhmaṇa* (BĀU IV.3).

To begin with, Abhinavagupta's philosophy grounds the issue of reflexivity in the platform of a critical dialogue with Dharmakīrti's (6^{th}-7^{th} C) Sautrāntika-Yogācāra. He rejects the momentary aspect of consciousness while accepting its reflexivity and in this process, he seems to have accepted some arguments while critically rejecting others. Even though the Advaita of Śaṅkara (700 CE) does accept luminosity of consciousness while distinguishing the mental modes or *vṛttis* with consciousness, Abhinavagupta rejects this model of consciousness, primarily because Abhinava's consciousness is dynamic and free while Śaṅkara's model lacks these attributes. The crux is, making consciousness inherently lacking dynamism and equating consciousness with the self translates into making the self inherently passive and intrinsically lacking aspects such as volition (*icchā*). Even though there have been some arguments in contemporary scholarship regarding reflexivity of consciousness in the School of Pratyabhijñā, the particular mode of dialogue that led to Abhinava's concept of *vimarśa* requires further analysis.

The problems with engaging with the concept of *vimarśa* are twofold. For one, the term is loosely defined by Utpala who used it in a philosophical context first; and two, contemporary attempts to understand the concept has added more misconceptions than helped making it clear. In all accounts, our problems come from broad generalization, a common problem of most of the contemporary studies. Rather than taking contemporary understandings for granted, I therefore prefer to returning to the definitions from the classical authors. Nevertheless, we confront the same problems as we are not reading the classical texts in their own language in their own cultural milieu. Ours is a hermeneutic challenge, as we are engaged

translating concepts not just from one language to the other but also from one culture in the remote past to the modern cosmopolitan culture. We sure will be soon exhausted if the quest is to find a single translation or a single interpretation of the term, and we can learn over this issue from Raffaele Torella's observations.[1] To add further, while K. C. Pandey translated *vimarśa* as "consciousness" (Pandey 1963, 329) and explained it as "the capacity of the self to know itself" (Pandey, 1963, 324), Alper translated it as "judgement."[2] Isabelle Ratie criticizes this particular understanding:

Vimarśa is the pre-conceptual and pre-reflexive act through which consciousness is always already grasping *itself* as having a specific form (whether objective or subjective), and it can only grasp itself in an objective form because all cognitive events ultimately rest on the subjective realization in which consciousness apprehends itself as a pure "I" (See Ratie, Le Soi et l'Autre, 160n115. Translation, Ratie 2016, footnote 50).[3]

Adding to the list of new interpretations, Ratie translates *vimarśa* as [dynamic] realization. The limitation with this translation, though, is *vimarśa* is not a distinctive category of consciousness. Ratie explains the inherent reflexivity of consciousness in terms of *prakāśa*. What we cannot overlook while discussing *vimarśa* is it always complements *prakāśa*: while these two terms define two properties, two aspects of consciousness but are never isolated from each other. If we take the separate terms applied for the sake of analysis as actually imposing metaphysical difference, we would create a dichotomy within consciousness. In my reading, *vimarśa* as a category only describes a specific function of consciousness, just like *prakāśa*. Therefore this is not the case that there are some instances of consciousness to be identified as "*prakāśa*" and the other to be addressed as "*vimarśa.*" Applying Alper's definition of *vimarśa* as "judgment," consciousness reflexively cognizes its luminosity and

[1] In his lengthy footnote, Torella 2002 (page xxiv, fn. 32) outlines various readings of *vimarśa* in contemporary literature.
[2] Alper 1987, 176–241.
[3] Ratie, 2017, 437-468.

this is shared in various modes of consciousness. But again, if this 'judgment' is to be understood the way analytical philosophy does, we will face the same problem, making two ontological orders within consciousness. Utpala, for example, explains inference in relation to *vimarśa* in the following terms:

pūrvāvabhātāntaḥsthita eva arthe nāntarīyakārthadarśanavaśāt tattaddeśakālādiyojanayā vimarśanam anumānam | ĪP Vṛtti I.5.8.

Contingent upon perceiving an invariable entity, inference is an act of reflection (*vimarśana*) by synthesizing distinctive modes of time and space corresponding the entities that have already been manifest [to consciousness] and are [therefore] immanent (*antaḥsthita*).

We need to keep in mind that it is due to *vimarśa* that the *prakāśatā* of *prakāśana*, or the being illuminated aspect inherent with illumination is given to consciousness. And this reflexive confirmation functions not just in perception but in every other mode of consciousness. So if we were to expand upon the idea of *vimarśa* embodying "judgment," the term explains reflexivity at the immanent level while also expanding its function as consciousness articulates itself in different cognitive modes. Abhinavagupta says:

vikalpanaviśeṣa eva cānumānam | anumānam anābhāte viṣaye na bhavati vikalparūpatvāt | anābhāte hy arthe bhavad apūrvasaṃvedanaṃ nirvikalpaṃ bhavet, tadviruddhañ cedam . . . na ca vimarśanamātram anumānam – apitu prāptipravṛttiyogya-vastuniścayarūpam | ĪPVV, Vol. II, p. 156.

Inference is a particular type of conceptualization. We cannot infer something that has never been experienced since it is of the character of conceptualization. If [inference] were to occur on the object that has not been experienced before, this would be non-judgmental, and this is contradictory to non-judgmental consciousness (*tat*). . . Furthermore, inference is not merely reflexive consciousness. On the contrary, this is of the character of the judgment of an entity that is fit

to be attained [by judgmental consciousness] and [appropriate] for orientation.

When Abhinava rejects in the above passage that inference is merely a reflexive mode of consciousness, he is not rejecting the reflexivity that defines the function of immanent consciousness. On the contrary, this relates to the consciousness of what is given in the present mode of consciousness, with what was an object of the past mode of experience. That is, the scope of *vimarśa* mirrors the domain of *pratyabhijñā.* If this were not to be the case, it would contradict with the premise under which Utpala has used the terminology of *vimarśa* where he establishes that the manifestation of an entity is of the character of reflexivity:

vimarśaś ca yathāgnir dhūme iti bhavati, tathā saṃskṛtasya pramātur asya dhūmasyāgniḥ kāraṇam asya dhūmaḥ kāryam ity api bhavati – ity evam ekātmatāpattiparyanto 'vabhāsana-vyāpāro 'rtheṣu jñānānām, na tu parasparasaṃlagnatā prakāśamātrāt parisamāpyate | parasparaviśeṣaṇaviśeṣyabhāvaparāmarśa evānekaikatārūpasaṃbandhaparāmarśaḥ | Saṃbandhasiddhi of Utpala, p. 8.

And this reflexivity is just as in the case of 'if there is smoke there is fire,' it also occurs for an accultured subject in the form that {*iti*} the fire is the cause of this smoke and the smoke is its effect. And thus (*evaṃ*) consciousness has its operation of manifestation that culminates with the actualization of synthesis (*ekātmatā*) [or, being identical with the self qua consciousness]. The interdependence [between object and consciousness] does not culminate merely with [their] illumination. The reflexive awareness (*parāmarśa*) of the synthesis of the manifold is the reflexive awareness that [they are] mutually linked as a qualifier and the qualified.

It is evident in the above discussion that *vimarśa* explains the act of consciousness that synthesizes what is immediately given. That is, instead of synthesis being a subsequent process, it is simultaneous to perception. The argument then is, consciousness is given as a flash, it is sudden, and is not given in a linear temporal structure. It also

confirms that synthesis is at the heart of all forms of cognition. In perception, we synthesize all the horizons or aspects given discretely in different modes of time and through different angles in different subjective conditions. Utpala identifies this as "attaining homogeneity" (*ekātmatāpatti*) which combines two key terms of *ekātmatā*: "being in the state of a single essence" and *āpatti*: "the mode of incurring, attaining a particular state." There is a sense of coming-together-ness in this application, although the same term in other contexts could refer to an "undesired consequence."

The singularity of the event of conscious experience, in the context of perception, relates to the consciousness described in terms of object, or noema in Husserl's terminology, merging back to its active effulgence. The act of consciousness, or the mode of being conscious – noesis – in turn, becomes one with the consciousness that constitutes itself as the subject. It is not, therefore, in grasping object as object, but in total recognition that "I know this," consciousness makes a full circle or illuminating aspect of consciousness and reflexive modes are merged. And it is in this mode that the subjectivity of the subject is also manifest. In other words, the subject discovers or reconfirms their subjectivity in this act of consciousness. If we read along these lines, 'recognition' is imprinted in every mode of consciousness. And if *vimarśa* is inextricable mode within consciousness and if consciousness were to manifest in different modalities, even the instance of inference or analogy would bear the same mark. This is to say that the same mechanism applies to inferential consciousness, where manifestation of objects is described in terms of *vimarśa* or reflexivity. In the case of inference, there is reflexive consciousness of fire when perceiving smoke, and by means of tracing, the subject employs memory, establishing the invariability of smoke with fire, which culminates in awareness of the fire from the smoke.

It is now evident that *vimarśa* is not one among the modes of consciousness but an essential aspect embedded within every mode of conscious experience. Along these lines, it explains the function of synthesis that is at the heart of any conscious experience. *Vimarśa*,

therefore is more than reflexivity of consciousness in confirming its own mode, as it is a crucial factor of enabling perception and inference and it also gives rise to veridical knowledge. The operation that makes an instance of knowledge veridical, in Abhinavagupta's thesis, results in reflexivity. It is due to this reflexivity that an instance of consciousness becomes a veridical means of knowledge:

ato vimarśa eva phalaṃ tadbalena bodhaḥ pramāṇam | ĪPVV, vol. III, p. 72.

Therefore, reflexivity is the result [of this cognitive process] and the awareness is considered the means of [veridical cognition] on the force of this reflexivity (tad).

And the same thesis is confirmed elsewhere:

vimarśalakṣaṇasya pramitivyāpārasya ekaikaśabdavācye 'rthe pravṛttes tadanusāritvāc ca pramāṇasya | ĪPV, vol. I, p. 232.

It is because the operation in the form of *pramiti* or veridical knowledge that has the character of reflexivity, corresponds to the entities that are expressed by each and every word, and because the means of veridical knowledge corresponds to the operation (*tat*).

This now has been clear from the above conversation that *vimarśa* as an aspect of consciousness is used as a device to explain its reflexive role. This *vimarśa* is what makes it possible for consciousness not just to gaze itself but also to transcend itself. It is in this reflexivity that consciousness does not merely grasp consciousness as consciousness but also introduces something new, an object that reflects within. It is in this very reflexive mode that the sense of transcendence is construed, and it is due to reflexivity that consciousness grasps an object as "outside" of itself. At the same time, it is due to *vimarśa* that the inward reflexive gaze makes immanence possible wherein consciousness is reflexively gazing upon itself. It is because consciousness can transcend itself, it also recognizes its immanence, that is, reflexively gazing itself. It is in

this event that self-awareness is imprinted within consciousness. The transcendental mode is what allows for externality and the possibility of the manifold. In the means of cognition, for instance perception or inference, it is by means of reflexivity, that synthesis of either discrete horizon renders non-judgmental instances of consciousness coherent. It creates inferential knowledge by revealing the causal link between the probans and the probandum. An entity can be revealed on the basis of contiguity, association, or relation to what else has been revealed. For instance, consciousness of the presence of fire foregrounded apprehension of smoke.

To move forward, Torella translates the term *vimarśa* as "reflective awareness" (Torella xxiv, fn. 32). On the same note, Torella also points out that the terms *āmarśa* and *pratyavamarśa* are largely synonymous to *vimarśa*. The problem here though, is that no distinction has been made between the reflexive consciousness that instantaneously grasps itself and the post-experiential act of grasping consciousness, identified in terms of *anuvyavasāya*. Paul Williams (1998)[4] notes a similar problem while translating the Buddhist term, *svasaṃvedana*.[5] Noteworthy in this context is that Williams avoids using "reflective" or other terms and prefers self-reflexive or reflexive to describe *svasaṃvedana.* This avoids conflating the "*sva*" in the terms *svasaṃvedana* with the "*sva*" of the metaphysical self. I prefer the same terminology, because, as we can see, the conversation on reflexivity of consciousness and the self-aware nature of the self converges in *pratyabhijñā*. This, however, does not mean that the issues inherent to these two systems are the same. The ease I have felt in adopting the terminology of reflexivity comes from my reading that even when there exists a metaphysical self in the paradigm of *pratyabhijñā*, this is not something external or additional to consciousness. On the other hand, if we were to read *vimarśa* along the lines of Pandey, it buttresses the metaphysical arguments for the self but it makes no attempts to erase the underlying

[4] See in particular, Williams 1998: page 10 and page 235 for discussions on "reflective" versus "reflexive" modes of consciousness.
[5] Also noteworthy is the use of the term *svasaṃvedana* in *pratyabhijñā* literature.

misconception that makes a distinction between consciousness and the self. It is precisely this reason that leads me to concur with Williams' observation that "reflectivity" does not preclude the mirroring or reflecting nature. The readings that explain *vimarśa* in ontological terms, dividing consciousness in terms of *prakāśa* and *vimarśa*, failing to recognize these two as two properties or aspects of the same event, in my opinion, either end up buttressing the arguments in defense of second-order consciousness, as in the case of *anuvyavasāya,* or a higher order consciousness manifesting the lower modes of consciousness, or *vṛtti* consciousness, as in Advaita Vedanta.

Returning to the issue of translating *vimarśa*, I do not believe that any term will do the just, as any reductive interpretation of the category will result in proliferating misunderstandings. Just like many other philosophical categories, the term comes with complex philosophical background and we cannot grasp it without addressing various nuances. It is not only because the concept is too wide and explains various aspects of consciousness. It is also because even the concept of reflexivity does not explain the same phenomenon if we compare it even strictly within the frameworks of Descartes and Husserl. I am therefore in no rush to give an equivalent and be satisfied. I would rather like to offer the parameters in which the term is applied. And in doing so, I would like to highlight the aspects that have been mostly overlooked. In my understanding, filling this lacuna offers a new paradigm for addressing the philosophy of *pratyabhijñā*, identifying its unique position while distinguishing it from other philosophical models that also consider consciousness as reflective/reflexive.

There are, I argue, five distinct features of *vimarśa* that make the model of reflexivity unique to the *pratyabhijñā* system:

1. *Vimarśa* has a volitional domain. It is not just illumination, or passive reflection, but an active gaze, the gaze of a subject with will to be and with volition to actualize its manifold. This is explicit in the following verse:

svāminaś cātmasaṃsthasya bhāvajātasya bhāsanam|
asty eva na vinā tasmād icchāmarśaḥ pravartate || ĪP I.5.10.

Even for the absolute consciousness [or the absolutely free agent], there lies the manifestation of all the existents that are immanent. In its absence, the reflexive consciousness in the form of volition [such as I would like to make a jar] would not be possible.

Noteworthy here is that Utpala's Vṛtti: *pratibhāsamānārthaikaviṣayo nirmātṛtāmayo vimarśa icchārūpaḥ* explains: "the reflexivity in the form of volition, which has the character of the creator, has as its object only the entity that is being manifest [by consciousness]." That is, reflexivity of consciousness is equated with volition as mechanism of the externalization of the entities that are being immanently manifest.

Action, which explains temporality, embodiment, materiality, inter-subjectivity, among other philosophical concepts, is an expressed or manifest form of volition in this system. Therefore, to have volition is also to have action in its seminal form. And it is in action that freedom is actualized. Therefore, the issue of freedom or *svātantrya* is intertwined with the issue of volition. We can find all of these issues interspersed in Abhinavagupta's following treatment of *vimarśa*:

prakāśarūpatā jñānaṃ tatraiva svātantryātmā vimarśaḥ kriyā, vimarśaś ca antaḥkṛtaprakāśaḥ | . . . sarvathā tu vimarśa eva jñānaṃ tena vinā hi jaḍabhāvo 'sya syāt | ĪP Vimarśinī, pp. 433-34. (Jñānādhikāra 8.11).

Consciousness has the form of illumination, and the action identified as reflexivity that has the character of freedom lies inherently within it. Reflexivity is the illumination that has been reflexively internalized. . . In all accounts, consciousness is the very reflexivity, as consciousness would be insentient in its absence.

2. The *vimarśa* that describes reflexivity of consciousness also simultaneously describes the agentive action of the autonomous subject:

anullasitapūrvasya vimarśalakṣaṇasya pramātṛvyāpārasyollāsanāt | (ĪPVV, III, p. 180).

Because the operation of an agent that has the character of reflexivity comes to manifestation that had not been manifest before.

In other words, it is not sufficient to say that consciousness manifests itself or that it does not require something else for its manifestation. To adhere to this position also implies that the self is inherently active, that there is no consciousness that is expunged of its dynamism and there is no self in isolation of the power of action, described in terms of *kriyā śakti*.

3. *Vimarśa* or reflexivity cannot be conceived in isolation of *svātantrya,* or freedom that is inherent to consciousness.

In this account, volition is intrinsic to consciousness and action is merely its expressed and actualized form; action is a blossomed state of volition. As a consequence, consciousness or the self is never entirely expunged of activity, nor is therefore bereft of agency. This is where the freedom of consciousness lies, that it's power of action is never completely negated even in its most immanent or self-confined mode. This freedom of consciousness is described in terms of *vimarśa*.

4. *Vimarśa* also has a domain of speech, the *vāc*.

Since consciousness is never expunged of its self-expression, and since *vāc* is expressed as the power in the form of action, *vimarśa* incorporates the most subtle expressive aspect of consciousness, identified as *vāc*. This is to say that self-reflexivity also encompasses self-expression by means of speech. Since *vāc* incorporates the most subtle domains of consciousness before it manifests as articulated

speech, this relates to the expressive nature that is in the foundation of consciousness. To be conscious, in this paradigm, is to embody the desire for self-expression. The status given to speech by Bhartṛhari is relevant in this context. It is also worth mentioning at this juncture that the transcendence (*parā*) of consciousness (*citi*) in relation to speech that is self-seeing (*paśyantī*), as found in Somānanda's critique, eventually subsides in Abhinavagupta's philosophy. Torella has pointed out that Bhartṛhari moves to the center through the works of Abhinavagupta. My argument here is that while Abhinavagupta is relatively closer to Bhartṛhari than his predecessors, Abhinava doesn't blur the lines between a grammarian's understanding of speech and his own model of consciousness. *Vimarśa* helps negotiate this ground where the expressive aspect of consciousness is not compromised, and in this sense, there is no consciousness expunged of *vāc*. Furthermore, a holistic reading of philosophies helps us understand that rather than different schools being separate islands, they are different territories with open boundaries. They evolve through an overlapping space and this common ground enables philosophies to sustain dialogue. In this sense, it is organic for Abhinava to develop his own philosophy on the basis of what was given to him, i.e., Bhartṛhari's philosophy of speech. There is no conceptualization, Bhartṛhari proclaims, without it being interspersed by speech.[6] When we combine this insight with the early concept of Bhartṛhari that speech in its subtle form is self-seeing (*paśyantī*), we glean all the necessary aspects to give us a fully blossomed form of *vimarśa* in the philosophy of Utpala and Abhinava. This interconnectedness of reflexivity and speech is vividly outlined in the following lines:

vimarśabalena ca yataḥ pramāṇaṃ vimarśaś ca śabdajīvitaḥ, śabdaś cābhāsāntarair deśakālādi-rūpair anāmṛṣṭe ekatraivābhāsamātre

[6] Compare the position of Abhinava with the following passage from Bhartṛhari: *na so 'sti pratyayo loke yaḥ śabdānugramād ṛte | anuviddham iva jñānaṃsarvaṃ śabdena bhāsate* || VP I.115 [123]. *vāgrūpatā ced utkrāmed avabodhasya śāśvatī |na prakāśaḥ prakāśeta sā hi pratyavamarśinī* || VP I.116 [124].
In particular: *yāpy asañcetitāvasthā tasyām api sūkṣmo vāgdharmānugamo 'bhyāvartate* | Vṛtti upon VP I.116 [124].

pravartate ghaṭa iti lohita iti tato deśakālābhāsayoḥ svalakṣaṇatvārpaṇapravaṇayor anāmiśraṇāt sāmānyāyamāne ābhāse pramāṇaṃ pravartate | ĪP, Vimarśinī, Vol II, p. 75.

The veridical means of knowledge depends on the force of reflexivity. Reflexivity relies on speech. And the speech functions corresponding to the mere manifestation in a singular substrate that is not contaminated by any other manifestations in the forms of time, space and so on. Therefore, the veridical means of knowledge functions, corresponding to manifestation that is being homogenized, as the manifestation of time and space which function by projecting their characters [of particularization] that are not interspersed.

Along these lines, *vāc* or the speech in its various forms of expression penetrates not just the everyday commonsense reality but also the absolute that is yet to be determined in terms of space and time. Apparently, the *vāc* that penetrates the absolute in its immanence cannot be the speech that we are accustomed of, that is referential, and has objective horizon. Nevertheless, this same *vāc* has expressed domains that relate to spatio-temporal object. Accordingly, just as particularization is the specific function of time and space, generalization is a necessary function of speech, as speech has, as its object, the universal as its domain. Yet again, whether the reference of speech is a particular or universal or whether its function is in affirming the object or negating the other is a broader issue for us to discuss here. For the current purpose, suffices to say that most philosophers from the classical Hindu paradigm accept both the particular and the universal as the domains of speech. Buddhists have broadly accepted the nominalist position, explaining the scope of speech in terms of negation. The primary function of speech, in the philosophy of Abhinava is homogenization/universalization. In other words, entities in themselves are particularized. However, the speech that objectifies the particulars functions by means of generalization.

There is no pre-synthetic state of consciousness. In other words, the very moment we are aware of something or are aware of our own reflexive nature, consciousness is given as integral. If we divide

consciousness as *nirvikalpaka* or pre-judgmental and *savikalpaka* or judgmental, even the consciousness in the pre-judgmental state is either already given as an integral whole or is not given at all and something that is not manifest does not qualify to be called consciousness. This is only to confirm that there is subtle form of synthesis by means of *vimarśa* even in its most immediate and immanent mode. This, however, is not to deny that there exists synthesis of consciousness. Quite the contrary. The synthetic role consciousness plays remains unchallenged as we are confronted to address the scope of *vimarśa* in meaning-generation. Abhinavagupta explains, upon the synthesis of multiple references where each word is discretely corresponding to different entity, that there emerges a field of co-referentiality. In this account, some instances of consciousness are subsumed under the others, bringing to consciousness a distinct concept wherein all the discrete meanings of each words are synthesized together in generating integral meaning.[7] It is at this juncture that the concept of *vimarśa* becomes crucial:

taṃ sāmānādhikaraṇyābhāsaṃ samanuprāṇayati yo vākyātmā vākyārthaparāmarśarūpo vimarśaḥ "iha idānīm eva ghaṭo 'sti" ity evaṃrūpaḥ | ĪP, Vimarśinī, vol II, p. 202.

The reflexive awareness in the form of comprehending the meaning of a sentence as a synthesis (*parāmarśa*) is of the essence of sentence and it is what sustains the manifestation of co-referentiality and this has the structure of "this jar exists now in this location."

Now the question is, if this objectivity is explained as an inherent impulse of consciousness, whether or not this division fits within the prism of the act of consciousness identified in terms of *vitti* and the object of consciousness addressed as *vedya*. In other words, is the division of the act of cognition and its reference object or the division in terms of Husserl as noesis and noema applicable in explaining

[7] *ābhāsānāṃ miśraṃ yad rūpaṃ tatrāvaśyaṃ kaścid ābhāsaḥ pradhānatvenānyābhāsānāṃ viśrāntipadīkāryaḥ sa teṣāṃ samānādhikaraṇam* | ĪP, Vimarśinī, Vol. II, p. 101.

consciousness? If we look into the accounts, we confront the fact that the very act of consciousness not only finds itself in the objective forms, it also becomes the cognizing agent. The conversation on expressive and expressed domains of consciousness appear in the context of addressing speech. For Abhinava, the aspects of *prakāśa* and *vimarśa*, as it relates to the two aspects of consciousness, determine speech in terms of expressive and expressed aspects of the same reality. The real question, then, is how does the manifestation of the object combined with speech function in revealing the object as it is? Abhinava responds:

tathā hi prakāśamayatvād arthasya prakāśasya ca vimarśajīvitatvād vimarśātmakatve 'py
arthasyāpratiniyataśabdamelanaparighaṭitaśabdanātmakavimarśaviśeṣaprabodhe saṅketa-grahaṇapaṭīyaḥ
svāhitamanaskārasaṃskārasahitaḥ so 'rtho vyāpriyate, na śuddhaḥ | ĪPVV, Vol II, p. 236.

Even though the object [that is cognized] is of the character of reflexive awareness, since an object is of the character of illumination, and since [this aspect of] illumination is dependent upon reflexive awareness for its being, the entity that comes to transaction is the one that is interspersed with attention and the karmic imprints *(saṃskāra*), that is skilled in grasping the agreement (*saṅketa*) [between sign and reference] when there emerges the reflexive awareness, characterized by verbalization, composed of the words that have not been already regulated, and not the pure one [not interspersed by any].

There are more questions to follow if the position is that reflexivity is inherently embedded with speech: Is there any distinction between this reflexivity and conceptualization? The reason being, conceptualization is interspersed with imagination and for reflexivity to incorporate imagination would mean that veridical knowledge expunged of imagination would be impossible. Abhinava responds to this objection by saying that in relation to every new or subsequent mode of cognition, the earlier state is as if expunged of

conceptualization. This gives us a picture of reflexivity that is both devoid of imagination and interspersed with it:

uttarottarāpekṣayā ca pūrvapūrvasya saṃvartitaśabdabhāvanārūpatvād avikalpatvam ucyate saty api vimarśaviśeṣātmakavikalparūpatve | ādyaṃ tu yad aham iti aham idam iti ca rūpadvayaṃ tatra kevalaṃ śuddhaiva vimarśarūpatā, na tu vikalpātmakatvam . . . | ĪPVV, Vol. II, p. 226.

Since the formation by means of speech is contained, relatively prior in a sequence in relation to the next [of an instance of consciousness] is considered non-conceptual even though it is of the character of conceptualization in the form of a particular reflexivity. With regard to two initial forms as "I am" and "I am this," there lies pure reflexivity not characterized by conceptualization.

This is to say that it is just a matter of convention than of the fact to credit imagination in the act of synthesis. Every new mode of cognition is integrating new aspects from memory etc. and is therefore interspersed with imagination. However, the first instance being expunged of imagination stands valid only in relation to the subsequent instance of cognition. In other words, consciousness expunged of imagination applies in degree rather than in kind. In other words, if imagining is an inherent character of consciousness, it is latently there even when it is not phenomenologically given in the expressed modes of consciousness. When it comes to speech, this has been already discussed that speech (*vāc*) intersperses even the most pristine forms of experience, as in the case of experiencing pure subjectivity or recognizing one's own subjectivity, the speech becomes one with pure reflexivity. It is when temporality and spatiality intersperse with what is given to consciousness, that pure reflexivity transforms into conceptualization. This position is still vague regarding the status of conceptualization and its demarcation from reflexivity. Keeping this in mind, Abhinava says:

prāgvāsanopajīvī ced vimarśaḥ sā ca vāsanā ||

Prācyā ced āgatā seyaṃ prasiddhiḥ paurvakālikī |Tantrāloka, Ch. 35, verse 9cd-10ab.

If an instance of reflexivity is contingent on prior karmic imprints (*vāsanā*), and if that imprint is recalled (*āgatā*) as corresponding to the past, then this manifestation belongs to the past.

The distinction between pre-judgmental and judgmental modes of consciousness then rests on memory: if immediate experience is interspersed with memory, this is filled with the past conditioning. On this basis, we can conclude that the pure experience that does not give active presence of the past is what describes reflexivity. In other words, reflexivity describes immediate experience. Accordingly, conceptualization (*vikalpa*) is interspersed with the past modes of experience.

What we need to address, then, is the role speech plays in liminal states of consciousness, in the hazy states with very little attention to what is being cognized, or where concepts are not properly formed. This conversation assists us in determining the judgmental and pre-judgmental modes of consciousness. Utpala and Abhinava maintain that reflexivity is an inherent aspect of consciousness and so it is not possible for consciousness to be expunged of reflexivity, the single most quality that it has to define itself, even if the state is that of liminal consciousness. Even though reflexivity is a wide thesis shared among several philosophical schools, what is unique here is that this reflexivity is interwoven with speech. This leads to the conclusion that there is no mode of consciousness that is expunged of speech or *vāc*. As a consequence, even in the direct mode of experience, there is reflexivity embedded within and there also is the presence of speech.

On the basis of the salient features of speech in relation of consciousness as has been identified above, we can glean the following conclusions:

a. Speech or *vāc* stands for the articulated or expressed form of consciousness that is applied communication where the words correspond to our concepts (the primary sense in which speech is used).

b. The veridical modes of consciousness in terms of perception, inference or semantic comprehension are all endowed with speech. What makes speech inherent to these modes of the expression of consciousness is that they all function abiding by the law of sign reference relation, or X (for instance concepts) signifying Y (for instance the external objects).

c. The most intricate mode of consciousness, the experience per se before this gets interspersed with imagination, also has speech as its domain. This is the very reflexivity identified as speech or this is where *vimarśa* and *vāc* become synonymous.

And, in all of these modes of consciousness, reflexivity manifests in distinctive modes. This is why Abhinava says:

śabdanarūpaṃ [8] *vimarśanaṃ yad āntaraṃ citsvabhāvasya antaraṅgaṃ rūpaṃ pratyakṣāder api jīvitakalpaṃ tena yat vimṛṣṭaṃ tat tathaiva bhavati* | ĪPVV, vol III, p. 84.

Reflexivity in the form of verbalization is the immanent structure of consciousness and this is what sustains even [veridical modes] such as perception, and so whatever is reflexively touched (*vimṛṣṭa*) by this, that assumes its form.

The above conversation reaffirms that reflexivity of consciousness is embedded with speech, even though what is meant by speech or *vāc* is not always the same. Even though we are accustomed to apply the terminology of 'speech' for articulated or expressed forms, the domain of *vāc* is much wider in this paradigm and if consciousness is

[8] While the edited version reads *śabdanarūpatvaṃ*, I have followed Rastogi's (2013) reading.

the most foundational entity, it is the speech or *vāc* that defines its foundationality. In other words, all that exists has as its inherent nature the expressive potency and all that exists can be reduced to some form of expression. This, of course, is not the propositional semantic structures that we analyze when we discuss language but rather the basic pulsation that encloses the totality. This is only to say that all that exists is circumscribed by the relationship of the manifesting and the manifested. This expressive nature of consciousness that compels Abhinava to assign *vāc* in consciousness and equate *vāc* with *vimarśa* is so fundamental that Abhinavagupta assigns this even in our sensory modes of experience.

So far, we have observed that the role *vimarśa* plays in inference is just as crucial as in perception. That is, it is not about reflexivity that determines consciousness but also the act of consciousness that reflexively determines the objects of consciousness is what *vimarśa* explains. If such is the case, *vimarśa* should also play role in verbal cognition as it is as valid a mode of consciousness as any other. Keeping this in mind, Abhinavagupta says:

dṛḍhavimarśarūpaṃ śabdanam āgamaḥ | ĪPVV, III. P. 85

What amounts to *āgama* or the testimony by means of language is the very verbalization in the form of consolidated reflexivity.

This is not all that Abhinava has to say when it comes to linking *vimarśa* with verbal cognition. He adds further:

It is the very reflexivity that is *āgama* in the primary sense, and since the mass of words is instrumental in the genesis of reflexivity, it is also called *āgamas* in the figurative sense." [9]

Whether consciousness is manifest by means of perception or verbal cognition, the inherent nature of consciousness as having two aspects

[9] *Tataḥ sa eva vimarśa āgama iti ucyate mukhyatayā, tadupayogitayā tu upacāreṇa tajjanako 'pi śabdarāśiḥ* | ĪPVV, III, p. 84.

of illumination (*prakāśa*) and reflexivity (*vimarśa*) remains the same. It is only that what is reflexively derived differs in each mode, as reflexivity does not stand in this paradigm of mere affirmation of consciousness as consciousness but of the confirmation of the consciousness as directional, as grasping something. In both accounts, there is something to be illumined, and that which has been illumined needs to be reflexively given to consciousness. And this is not in a temporal sequence but rather in the very mode of illumination that is embedded with the instantaneous activation of reflexivity.[10] This intricate relation of *prakāśa* and *vimarśa* appears marred as consciousness externalizes itself and finds itself in the midst of conceptualization.

As has been maintained above, in both perception and inference, there are unique ways that the illuminating aspect of consciousness identified as *prakāśa* collaborates with the reflexive mode of *vimarśa.* Abhinava explains how this coordination between these two modalities makes veridical consciousness possible:

pratyakṣe hi prakāśadvāreṇa vimarśo 'sty anyatra tu viparyayaḥ | anumāne nāntarīyakavastvantaraprakāśavimarśāpekṣe 'numeye prakāśavimarśayoga iti sāpekṣatvād dūreyaṃ pramitiḥ prameyāt | tatrāpi ca nāntarīyakatājñānaṃ durlabham ity uktam | na ca vācyāgame 'pi śabdavimarśanapūrvakam arthavimarśanam iti tatrāpi sāpekṣatādi bhaved iti| na hi śabdavimarśanād aparam arthavimarśanaṃ kiñcit śabdasya svaparavimarśātmakatvāt | ĪPVV, III. P. 104.

While in the case of perception, reflexivity exists by means of illumination. However, this is reversed in other cases. [Reflexivity is] contingent in the case of inference, since illumination and reflexivity are united in the object of inference that is contingent upon reflexivity, by relying on the illumination of some other object that is invariable. Therefore, [in the case of inference] veridical

[10] *Pratyakṣāgamayor yat prakāśyaṃ vimṛśyaṃ ca, tat yathākramaṃ prakāśavimarśamukhenānyā-pekṣāśūnyam* | ĪPVV, III. 103-104.

consciousness is far removed from the object that is cognized. It has also been said that the consciousness of invariability is rare there [for the rise of inferential knowledge]. One should, however, not argue that even in the case of verbal cognition, there is the reflexive awareness of corresponding meaning after having the reflexive awareness of the word. There is contingency. This is because since the word is of the character of reflexively cognizing itself as well as the other, the reflexive awareness of meaning is not distinct from the reflexive awareness of the word.

A question emerges, if this reflexivity is what confirms consciousness, is there something else, the reflexivity of reflexivity, to confirm itself? The easy response from the position of reflexivity would be to not consider second order reflexivity. It is nonetheless contextual to ask whether the reflexivity that confirms consciousness is the same reflexivity that also confirms consciousness as reflexive. Abhinava rejects the argument that there is a distinctive mode of reflexivity that confirms the reflexive act of consciousness:

dīpaḥ svaparadīpanaḥ, śabdaḥ svaparaśabdanātmakaḥ, jñānaṃ svaparaprathārūpam, vimarśas tu svaparavimarśarūpo na pṛthag gaṇyate | ĪPVV, II. P. 248.

A lamp illumines itself as well as the other. Speech brings to verbal cognition the other while also presenting itself. Consciousness manifests itself and the other. However, reflexivity being reflexively aware of itself and the other, is not counted separately.

I have discussed above that Utpala and Abhinava have occasionally used *vimarśa* and *pratyavamarśa* synonymously. The embedded counter-orientation, re-direction or inward directionality of consciousness is all the more clear in the second term, as the prefix "*prati*" is used to refer to "facing towards" or "facing towards the self" or "reverse order." The second prefix, "*ava*" explains the synthesizing role of consciousness, as it refers to "all around" or "over" among many other meanings. The following line of Utpala is noteworthy on this background:

sākṣātkāralakṣaṇe jñāne 'pi cito 'rthapratyavamarśo 'sti sūkṣmaḥ | ĪP, Vṛtti I.5.6.

Even in the consciousness of the character of direct experience, there is a subtle form of reflexive awareness of the manifestation of an entity.

I have so far demonstrated that issue of reflexivity is intertwined with that of speech. Noteworthy in the philosophy of Abhinava is that what he means by consciousness is not a mental act but a metaphysical process of which mentation is just an iceberg. Consciousness, in this platform, is a foundation for both the mind and the matter. This is not that there is no mind or that there is no matter but that what they meant by caitanya/citi or synonymous words is something that permeates the both. This is the metaphysical foundation for all that exists and even in its most external objectified state, materiality does not contradict with having consciousness as its intrinsic nature. Abhinava takes this one step further and argues that the faculty of speech is not merely inherent to consciousness in its luminous form but even in its objectivized external form:

atra tu darśane viṣayasyāpi vimarśamayatvād abhilāpamayatvam eva vastutaḥ | ĪP, Vimarśinī, Vol. I, page 288-289.

In this philosophy, since even the external object is of the character of reflexive awareness, this is in fact comprised of speech.

Conclusion

The concept of *vimarśa* is foundational to the philosophy of Pratyabhijñā for multiple reasons. It is not just to confirm the reflexivity of consciousness that *vimarśa* occurs in this school. It is in this reflexivity that recognition as a fundamental character of consciousness is inscribed. Furthermore, it is due to *vimarśa* that the mirroring of consciousness is not just self-mirroring but also mirroring the other, the object that it grasps, and it is in this mirroring that consciousness synthesizes different modes, having synthesis its intrinsic nature. While the emergence of consciousness is depicted as

non-temporal and non-sequential, the sudden emergence of consciousness underlies the synthesis of different modalities, making conscious event as both non-temporal and temporal, non-object directed and in that sense immanent and transcending its own horizon and reaching out to objects. The reflexivity established in this philosophy is not that of momentary consciousness, neither is it the consciousness that is separated from modifications and conceptualizations. This is in the very mode of expression, whether expressed in perceiving, inferential, or verbal modes of recognition, *vimarśa* plays a distinctive role to make those aspects of consciousness possible. Furthermore, speech remains at the heart of this reflexivity and this speech or *vāc* is not merely internal mechanism of consciousness as it penetrates even the externalized objects.

What I have addressed so far does not cover all aspects of *vimarśa* though. If we closely explore ĪPVV I.5.11-13, we will encounter two additional domains of *vimarśa:* that it has an embodied aspect, and also that *vimarśa* is linked with amazement, *camatkāra,* a central category in Abhinavagupta's aesthetics. The first aspect makes embodiment central to consciousness. Accordingly, the duality based on body and mind or matter and consciousness is flimsy as it does not stand the paradigm of Pratyabhijñā where corporeality is embedded within the concept of *vimarśa.* Accordingly, *vimarśa* is not a mere passive reflection, and not even a mere reflexive self-affirmation, but rather an immersion, a rapture, a blissful expression, an effulgence, that escapes the immanence of consciousness and discovers its externality and transcendence. It is in this rapturous domain that *vimarśa* gives an orgasmic account of materiality, a fulfilment of consciousness expressing itself in myriad forms and actualizing all those forms within its immanence.

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Two Mirrors of Literature in Sanskrit and Chinese: On the Intersections of Literary Theories from Premodern Asia

Shenghai Li

Asian literary theories from the premodern periods have been a subject of considerable interest as it provides valuable views on how literature is to be studied, analyzed, and appreciated from the Asian traditions' own perspectives. Important work has been done especially in the literary theories of South Asia and East Asia,[1] but it appears that we are still far from even beginning to consider these developments collectively to reflect on Asian literary theories in general or to understand cross-cultural interactions that might have existed. One rare foray into the cross-cultural encounter between South Asia and East Asia in the domain of literary thought is a study published by Victor Mair and Tsu-Lin Mei (1991), in which they argued that Recent Style Prosody (近體詩) was developed in China based on the knowledge of certain Sanskrit literary ideas. The present study confines its scope to poetics proper and will therefore neither venture into prosody nor offer any assessment of the cogency of Mair

[1] Publications on the literary theories of East Asia and South Asia are far too extensive to list here. For general works, see Owen (1992), on the East Asian side, and Gerow (1977) and Pollock (2016), on the South Asian side.

and Mei's argument in that subfield of literary thought. Nevertheless, in their thought-provoking essay Mair and Mei also reveal that there is a significant overlap between Indian and Chinese theories of literary defects, a subject with which both traditions have occupied themselves. These shared aspects of literary defects will be revisited as our starting point. From there we will move on to ideas about the nature, varieties, and modes of the figurative language, and it will be argued that it is here that Indian and Chinese traditions share many penetrating insights into refined literary expressions.

In attempting this study of South and East Asian literary thought, my overall approach is comparative, carried out by using ideas from one tradition as a lens through which to gaze at the parallel ideas from the other as a way of bringing them into focus. Possible travel of literary knowledge will only be suggested in the concluding remarks by way of a brief account of the historical circumstances that may have enabled the spread of the ideas surveyed.

From the early seventh to the early eighth century, the Indian tradition developed and crystallized earlier ideas into a coherent theory of literature with a central emphasis on literary figures, which they call ornaments (*alaṅkāra*). In East Asia, Chen Kui's (陳騤) twelfth-century work *Rules of Literary Composition* (*Wen Ze* 文則) is recognized as a milestone that brings together many areas of rhetoric (修辭學), including figures of speech, between the covers of a single treatise. Many earlier works that focused more on Chinese poetry, rather than the prose texts of Chinese Classics which Chen Kui specialized in, had already assembled important observations on rhetorical figures, though that subject was not made the central topic of their study. With their systematicity, broad vision, and deep acumen, Indian works on rhetoric seem to offer an ideal vantage point from which the East Asian insights into figurative speech can be gauged and appreciated.[2]

[2] Rhetoric as a modern Chinese discipline was founded by applying a preexisting Western model. That the Indian model may also be useful for the study of the premodern history of Chinese rhetoric is supported, among other things, by the fact that India and China shared a connected history of Buddhist literature.

For such an exercise, reading side by side two theoretical works that are both called "mirror of literature" will prove productive as the two texts that come from a comparable age epitomize the achievements in literary thought which were made by their respective traditions. The Indian mirror is the *Mirror of Literature* (*Kāvyādarśa*) composed by the poet and theorist Daṇḍin around the turn the eighth century. The East Asian counterpart is the *Mirror of Literature and Treasury of Mysteries* (文鏡秘府論 *Bunkyō hifuron*) written in Classical Chinese by the Japanese monk and anthologist Kūkai, who wrote this work more than a decade after he took a journey to China between the years 804 and 806, during which he collected works of literary criticism and poetry.

Defects of Literature

The Indian concept of defect (*doṣa*) harks back to Bharata's earlier work *Treatise on Dramaturg* (*Nāṭyaśāstra*), but it was further developed in the early seventh century by Bhāmaha, who stipulated inter alia a set of ten defects that were also adopted by Daṇḍin.[3] In the *Bunkyō hifuron*, Kūkai summarized earlier Chinese discussions and presented them in a list of twenty-eight literary defects (病).[4] Within Kūkai's list, defects 1–10 and 13 deal with prosodic rules governing the Chinese regulated verse.[5] Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, on the other hand, only specified broken meter (*bhinnavṛtta*) as one of the defects and left its details to specialists in the field of metrics.[6] The rules related to phonology apparently hark back to an earlier stage of

[3] For a historical survey of defects in Indian literary thought, see Jha (1965).

[4] See *Bunkyō hifuron* in Lu's (2015) edition (hereafter abbreviated as BH), 2:842–1128. For an English translation of the section, see Bodman 1978: 261–361.

[5] These defects are: 1. Level head (平頭); 2. Raised tail (上尾); 3. Wasp's waist (蜂腰); 4. Crane's knee (鶴膝); 5. Major rhyme (大韻); 6. Minor rhyme (小韻); 7. Side knot (傍紐); 8. Direct knot (正紐); 9a. Muddy water (渾水); 10a. Extinguished fire (火滅); 9b. Dried wood (枯木); 10b. Cracked metal (金缺); 13. Dissonance (齟齬).

[6] See *Kāvyālaṅkāra* 4.25–26 in Śarmā and Upādhyāya's (1981) edition, hereafter abbreviated as BKA, and *Kāvayādarśa* 3.156–158 in Thakur and Jha's (1957) edition, hereafter abbreviated as KĀ. For a translation of the *Kāvyālaṅkāra*, see Sastry (1970). Full English translations of the *Kāvyādarśa* include Belvalkar (1924) and Sastrulu and Panda (2008).

Chinese speculations about literary defects.[7] In addition to these defects, several other items in Kūkai's list also concern the literary practice of parallelism—a topic that we will return to later—which are also specific to Chinese poetry and, to some extent, prose and therefore have no Indian counterparts.[8]

Beyond stipulations that deal with China-specific issues, the Chinese theory of defect also expands into the territories that are covered by the Sanskrit concept of defect. A series of defects recorded in Kūkai's *Bunkyō hifuron* (nos. 15, 16, 17, and 18) concern themselves with conventions of propriety. The Chinese examples that Kūkai selects illustrate usages offensive to the state, political authority, and one's own parents. The transgression of propriety encoded in Bhāmaha's several blemishes—offensiveness to the ear (*śrutiduṣṭa*), faulty meaning (*arthaduṣṭa*), and faulty conception (*kalpanāduṣṭa*)—and warned against in Daṇḍin's discussion of vulgarity (*grāmyatā*) involve indecent language and often the subject of sexuality.[9] Although the Sanskrit and Chinese groups in this area differ in substance, both traditions agree that deviation from social propriety could tarnish literary taste.

An even stronger form of parallel between the two Asian traditions can be found in an area that can be designated by the descriptive term "meaning." Four defects in Kūkai's list (nos. 12, 22, 27, and 28) bear slightly different shades of meaning when various interpretations, sources, and illustrative poems are taken into account; but all of them share the general sense of redundancy. The equivalent Sanskrit blemish is discussed by Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin and in the

[7] The historian of Chinese literary criticism Luo Genze (2015: 196) speaks of defects of sound, form, and meaning. He recognizes the earlier age of the sound related defects.

[8] The defects dealing with parallelism are 11. Missing spouse (闕偶) and 21. Disjointed (支離). Three more stipulations against monotony in structure and the use of words in the same category also seem to be largely related to the practice of parallelism: 14. Clumped together (叢聚); 19. Succession of cinches (長撷腰); and 20. Succession of loose stirrups (長解鐙). The fact that these rules are Chinese specific undermines Mair and Mei's opinion that "every one of the Chinese defects from the eleventh on can easily be traced to Indian forerunners in name, function, or spirit" (1991: 439).

[9] BKA 1.48–52 and KĀ 1.62–67.

much earlier *Treatise on Dramaturgy*, where it is given the same name of *ekārtha* or tautology.[10] Kūkai's "contradiction" (no. 26) is a defect where ideas expressed in a literary composition contract each other. The perfect match in the Sanskrit is "contradictory meaning" (*vyartha*), another one of the ten defects shared between Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin.[11] A special case of contradiction also finds similar elaboration in the two traditions: Bhāmaha's and Daṇḍin's "contradiction in time" (*kālavirodhi*) focuses on the contradiction that has to do with season, while Daṇḍin also includes the example of confusion with the time of the day.[12] The Chinese defect is simply called "out of season" (no. 23). The emphasis on season is suggested by its name, although contradiction with regard to the time of the day as well the flaw of deviation from the intended topic are also demonstrated in the explanations and examples.

A defect in Kūkai's system that cannot be classified with other groups is "out of order" (no. 24), which concerns itself with the wrong sequence of the lines of a poem. The Sanskrit blemish "wrong order" (*apakrama*) treated by Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, on the other hand, describes the confusion caused when two matching enumerations do not follow the respective order.[13] The Chinese defect and its Sanskrit counterpart echo each other in name but not in substance, although both address the question of proper sequence. The partial agreement between Kūkai's twenty-eight types of literary flaws and the early Sanskrit conceptualization of defect can be tabulated as follows in Figure 1.

[10] BKA 4.12–16; KĀ 3.135–138; Śivadatta and Parab (1894: 176) and in Ghosh's *Nāṭyaśāstra* translation (1951: 316).
[11] BKA 4.9–11 and KĀ 3.131–134.
[12] BKA 4.31–32 and KĀ 3.167–169ab.
[13] BKA 4.20–21 and KĀ 3.144–147.

Figure 1: Groups of Literary Defects in *Bunkyō hifuron* with Their Sanskrit Parallels

Groups	**Defects in *Bunkyō hifuron***	**Sanskrit Defects**
Meaning	12. Verbosity (繁說) 22. Mutual excess (相濫) 27. Repetition (相重) 28. Joined toes (駢拇)	Tautology (*ekārtha*) (*Nāṭyaśāstra*, Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin)
	26. Contradiction (相反)	Contradictory meaning (*vyartha*) (Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin)
	23. Out of season (落節)	Contradiction in time (*kālavirodhi*) (Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin)
Conventions of propriety	15. Taboo (忌諱) 16. Suggestiveness (形跡) 17. Tangential reference (傍突) 18. Reversed words (翻語)	Offensiveness to the ear (*śrutiduṣṭa*), faulty meaning (*arthaduṣṭa*), faulty conception (*kalpanāduṣṭa*) (Bhāmaha); vulgarity (*grāmyatā*) (Daṇḍin)
Miscellaneous	24. Out of order (雜亂)	Wrong order (*apakrama*) (Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin)

This overview of the resemblances between the Indian and East Asian theories has highlighted the fact that both traditions have

placed an emphasis on the literary flaws concerning meaning. In India, the preoccupied with meaning began with the *Treatise on Dramaturgy*, where more than half of Bharata's earliest set of blemishes deal with meaning, including tautology, incoherence, saying what is incongruous, circumlocution, crudeness, and unrelatedness when juxtaposed.[14] Most of Bharata's deficiencies in meaning continue in one way or another in Bhāmaha's and Daṇḍin's discourses, where the new flaws of contradictory meaning (*vyartha*) and doubtfulness (*saśaṃśaya*) are also added.[15] While Daṇḍin created no new defects that had not been enumerated before, his major innovation consists in the idea that virtually all of the defects can be transformed into virtues (*guṇa*) in the hand of virtuosos. On his part, Kūkai has also described a fair number of situations in which various flaws may cause no harm.[16]

Rhetorical Figures with Binary Structures

While discussions of defects emphasize pitfalls and blunders that spoil good literature, analyses of rhetorical figures furnish tools to enhance literary beauty and impart insights into the expressive power of language. Common ideas articulated by the South and East Asian traditions in the latter domain are indeed many. Key shared observations can be stated in more general terms as those concerning literary devices that display binary structures of correspondence or symmetry. In this area of comparison, our Indian examples will mostly come from Daṇḍin's Indian mirror, as his deep analyses and vision significantly improved the state of the Sanskrit field.

A natural place to start is obviously metaphor, also a binary device, due to its embeddedness in our languages and thought. In this context, what brings the two elements of a metaphor together is the relationship of resemblance that exists between a metaphor's tenor

[14] Śivadatta and Parab (1894: 175–76) and Ghosh (1951: 316–17). The meaning related flaws are *ekārtha*, *arthahīna, arthāntara, gūḍhārtha, bhinnārtha,* and *abhiplutārtha*.

[15] Bhāmaha also has his own meaning related flaws. See Jha (1965: 14–70) for an overview of Bharata's, Bhāmaha's, and Daṇḍin's theories of blemish. Lists and short explanations are conveniently provided in Mair and Mei (1991: 466 and 467–69).

[16] BH 2:890, 906, 951, 954, 961, 962, 965, 977, 979, 987, 997, 1092, and 1105.

(*upameya*) and its vehicle (*upamāna*). Here, a comparison can be made between Daṇḍin's elaborate treatment of the topic and a later Chinese discussion found in Chen Kui's *Wen Ze*.[17] Both authorities find it necessary to distinguish between similes, in which various words that mean "like" or "just as" making the comparison explicit are stated,[18] and metaphors in which the act of comparison is concealed. For Chen Kui, the latter is implied metaphor (隱喻), where "although its language is unclear, its meaning is traceable."[19] Daṇḍin, on the other hand, calls the second kind of comparison metaphorical identification (*rūpaka*), defined as "nothing but a simile where the difference" between the tenor and vehicle "is obscured."[20] He also goes on to delineate *rūpaka*'s many subtypes. Further parallels can be found in the analyses of metaphor's subtypes recognized by the two traditions. A common interest, for instance, exists in metaphors that exhibit extended structures. Chen Kui's elaborate metaphor (博喻) and Daṇḍin's simile involving multiple comparisons (*bahūpamā*), for instance, treat the same kind of analogy where a subject is compared to several standards. Chen Kui's metaphor involving interrogation (詰喻), on the other hand, can be compared to Dandin's simile through doubt (*Saṃśayopā*) as both highlight the epistemological aspect of comparison.[21]

While Chen Kui is the Chinese critic who has ventured more into the anatomy of metaphor, in the centuries leading to the composition of *Bunkyō hifuron* more energy was directed to the study of parallelism, as the need to define a form of Chinese poetry newly emerged entails that parallelism, which figures prominent in this poetic form, also has to be clearly described.[22] The practice of parallelism requires that two paired lines of poetry or prose echo each

[17] An introduction to Chen Kui's *Wen Ze* is available in Kirkpatrick (2005).
[18] Daṇḍin's long list of Sanskrit expressions occupy KĀ 2.57–65, while Chen Kui gives four or five such Chinese words, in Liu (1988: 40–41).
[19] Ibid. 41.
[20] KĀ 2.66ab: *upamaiva tirobhūtabhedā rūpakam uccyate/*.
[21] For Chen Kui's ten kinds of metaphors, see Liu (1988: 40–47). *Bahūpamā* and *saṃśayopamā* are treated in KĀ 2.43–45 and 2.26.
[22] For a brief exposition of Chinese rhetoric, including figures such as parallelism, see Kao (1986).

other, creating a matching syntax as well as orderly alignment of characters occupying the same positions of the two lines. The matching characters, often themselves words, are expected to take on the same part of speech and fall into the same semantic categories. An example of two paralleled poetic lines that Kūkai provides is the couplet: "Sun and moon illuminate the virtues of the heaven; mountain and river adorn the residence of the emperor."[23] Paralleled Chinese words may echo one another through such relationships as synonymity and antonymity, but possible relations of association between the paired linguistic units are more nefarious, making parallelism a more general binary structure of correspondence. That Kūkai's parallelism may be considered to some degree as the counterpart of Daṇḍin's ornament more generally is strengthened by the fact that the former describes parallelism as what makes literature beautiful, much like what the latter says about ornament.[24]

Although parallelism as such has never been recognized as an ornament in the Indian tradition, it does not mean that the phenomenon does not exist in Indian literature. The Buddhist poet Mātṛceṭa, whose Sanskrit poem *A Hymn in One Hundred and Fifty Stanzas* (*Śatapañcāśatka*) was translated into Chinese around the time of Daṇḍin, was, for instance, a master of symmetrical structures that remind us of parallelism. His lines of poetry contain numerous instances of syntactical symmetry, antithesis, and, in short, parallelism. The following stanza is a good illustration.

> Envying not the distinguished,
> despising not the lowly,
> competing not with equals
> you attained pre-eminence in the world.[25]

[23] BH 2:652: 日月光天德，山河壯帝居.

[24] BH 2.631 and KĀ 2.1. Kūkai's presentation of parallelism in the Book of East of *Bunkyō hifuron* is edited in Lu (2015: 2:631–806) with supplementary materials. A helpful study of the subject in Chinese is Man (2008).

[25] *Śatapañcāśatka* 27. I reproduce the translation from Shackleton Bailey (1951: 157). The Sanskrit reads: *akṛtverṣyāṃ viśeṣeṣu hīnān anavamanya ca/ agatvā sadṛśaiḥ spardhāṃ tvaṃ loke śreṣṭhatāṃ gataḥ//* (Ibid. 54).

The first three lines of the stanzas, first of all, parallel each other structurally. Not seeking to elevate oneself above others, the means described here contrast with the result stated in the fourth line: the object of praise becomes the best. The antithesis is marked by the negative and positive verbal forms used. More specifically in the Sanskrit, "Not having gone" (*agatvā*) to competition and having "gone" (*gataḥ*) to pre-eminence in the last two lines form another contrasted pair semantically.

The critic Daṇḍin has also displayed a frequent interest in paralleled structures in the expositions and exemplifications of Sanskrit ornaments' many types and subtypes. One ornament that addresses paralleled structures more specifically is "speaking respectively" (*krama*),[26] where two associated lists are enumerated in the same sequence. A sample verse illustrating the simile on the level of sentence meaning (*vākyārthopamā*) is just one of many more poems exhibiting paralleled structures that can be adduced.

> Your face shines with flashing eyes
> and the beaming light of its exposed teeth,
> like a lotus with bees hovering around it,
> whose filaments are in clear display.[27]

In designs like this, in addition to the correspondence between paralleled structures, members on each side of the paralleled pair could further interact with one another. A similar effect is achieved with Kūkai's parallelism of mutual support (互成對). In this form, a paralleled pair is formed in the first place by two juxtaposed characters, a variation on the general practice of matching words with their counterparts in the corresponding line. This unusual pairing generates the new sense between them, hence the name

[26] KĀ 2.271–272.

[27] KĀ 2.44. *tvadananam adhīrākṣam āvirdaśanadīdhiti/ bhramadbhṛṅgam ivālakṣyakesaraṃ bhāti paṅkajam//*. Cf., for instance, the illustration of congruous identification (*yuktarūpaka*) provided in KĀ 2.77. KĀ 2.45 continues the extended simile started in 2.44 and adds more complexity to it. Daṇḍin's simile on the level of sentence meaning (*vākyārthopamā*) can be compared with Chen Kui's "class metaphor" (類喻), found in Liu (1988: 43).

"mutual support" or mutual constitution. When the pair is answered by its mirror image in the opposing line, as required by the general principle of parallelism, two structures in orderly parallel is made visible.[28]

As stated above, whereas metaphor is generally confined to a binary relation of similarity, parallelism accommodates a broader variety of relationships between two parts of a binary device. However, similarity may still define the most elementary form of parallelism. Indeed, Daṇḍin and Kūkai share some similar ideas about similarity and difference. Kūkai begins his examination of parallelism with its most basic form—precise parallelism (的名對)—where paralleled words match each other by belonging to the same narrow semantic category.[29] In that sense, precise parallelism is defined by a relationship of similarity between two paired linguistic elements. Even when other forms of parallelism transcend the strict requirement of precise parallelism, they often achieve their effects by setting themselves in relief against the latter's expectation of narrow matching.

Dandin, too, begins with the most quintessential of his ornaments. The importance of simile as the foundation of many other ornaments is highlighted by virtue of its positioning at the head of all nonfactual ornaments—crooked devices that are not meant to convey straightforward representation of the reality—only behind factual statement (*svabhāvokti*). In both traditions, we also see a particular way of building a modified figure by combining a form with its antithesis. Dandin uses this principle in different contexts but achieves its best effect in the ornament distinction (*vyatireka*),[30] where he introduces the idea of difference against the backdrop of similarity—the perception of which defines simile, the foundational

[28] See Man 2008: 117–120.

[29] Words in precise parallel with each other belong not only to the same part of speech but the same narrower category as well. Many closely paralleled words, such as heaven and earth, east and west, and coming and going, and closely paralleled couplets are provided in BH 2:651–664 as illustrations. See the analysis in Man (2008: 80–99).

[30] KĀ 2.178–196.

ornament—to create nuance and complexity. The following simple example applies distinction as an aesthetic principle.

> Both you and the ocean are deep;
> you both do not cross boundaries.
> While the ocean is dark as ink,
> You have the complexion as splendid as gold.[31]

The form of parallelism that explores the same principle is the parallelism constructed by words from different categories (異類對). In this form of parallelism, the mirroring of words by those belonging to mutually distant semantic categories, though still taking on the same part of speech, creates the perception of difference against the expectation created by the model of precise parallelism.[32] An illustration of this form of parallelism is the couplet, "The wind weaves characters inside a pond; a worm carves words on a leaf." Kukai's comments speak about the tacit harmony in spite of the difference in the matching words' semantic categories.[33] He also adds that similar effects can be achieved when consonantal alliteration and internal rhyming are matched, or when double-pointing is paired with *huiwen*. What makes parallelism by words from different categories similar to the Sanskrit ornament distinction, then, is the marking of difference in the background of similarity. In the final analysis, both the Sanskrit and Chinese devices achieve their effects by including

[31] KĀ 2.181: *abhinnavelau gambhīrāv amburāśir bhavan api/ asāv añjanasaṃkāśas tvaṃ tu cāmīkaracchaviḥ//*. Concerning the second line, the Tibetan commentator Khams sprul Bstan 'dzin Chos kyi nyi ma explains that ocean's tidal waves come without transgressing the appointed time (others also explain that the ocean is confined by the boundary of its water). The king, the object of the verse's praise, does not overstep felicitous laws and traditions. See Khams sprul (1986: 340–341).

[32] Man (2008: 124–25) shows that the bottom line of the parallelism by words from different categories is that paired words partake the same part of speech.

[33] BH 2.689: 風織池間字，蟲穿葉上文. Man (2008: 122–23) clarifies that wind is a natural phenomenon, whereas a worm is an insect; a pond is an architectural specificity, while a leaf is a part of a plant. Despite such mismatch in semantic category, the common element 虫 is present in the written symbols of both "wind" (風) and "worm" (蟲); moreover, the consonants of the two Chinese verbs, "to weave" and "to carve," are close to each other in pronunciation.

both similarity and difference in the same frame for aesthetic purposes.

Syllabic Repetition

Another intersection between South and East Asian theories of rhetoric is found in the analysis of the patterns of syllabic repetition. The repetition of linguistic unit in this instance forms a binary relation of identity. While the Sanskrit tradition acknowledges these techniques by detailing specific figures that make use of sound repetition, Kūkai discusses the phenomenon only when it is used in conjunction with parallelism, where employing syllabic repetition is reckoned as certain types of parallelism.[34] Both the Sanskrit and Chinese traditions distinguish between partial and full syllabic repetitions. For Kūkai, partial repetition takes the form of consonantal alliteration (雙聲) or internal rhyming (疊韻), while full repetition is called character repetition (重字). Early Indian theorists such as Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, on their part, have described two literary devices of *anuprāsa* or alliteration, which performs partial repetition, and *yamaka*, a term that means inter alia a pair of twins. As a form of full repetition, *yamaka* is the repetition of a string of phonemes, where the string sharing the same form has different meanings in different places.[35] A variety of devices involving syllabic repetition are discussed or exemplified by Kūkai, who does not give the impression that he regards all of them to belong to the same class. Their underlying unity, however, is visible when they are considered against the backdrop of the spectrum of *yamaka* discussed in the early Sanskrit tradition.

Daṇḍin's definition of *yamaka* shows the organizing principles according to which many of its varieties are enumerated.

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[34] Compounded figuration is widely employed in Sanskrit poetry, and it figures preeminently in Daṇḍin's methodology, who often create a given ornament's subtypes by combining it with other ornaments.

[35] The understanding that the string takes on different meanings when repeated has been in place at least since the time of Bhāmaha. See BKA 2.17. This condition is not a requirement in Chinese syllabic repetition, where it is only met occasionally.

> The repetition of a cluster of letters,
> either continuous or interrupted, is *yamaka*.
> It may occur in the beginning,
> middle, or end of a line."[36]

Kūkai similarly recognizes that different ways of positioning linguistic elements of repetition in relation to one another or in a line create variation. Within the context of enumerating types of parallelism, those employing continuous and interrupted repetitions are called parallelism of joint brocade (聯錦對) and double-pointing parallelism (雙擬對) respectively. The former type of syllabic repetition may be illustrated by the couplet: "When I behold *the mountain*, *the mountain* is as high and steep as ever." The latter variety is exemplified by the lines, "should you discuss the *moon*, her eyebrow puts the *moon* to shame."[37] In another context, Kūkai also makes an effort to show how character repetition can be placed in the "beginning," "belly," or "end" of a line.[38]

Daṇḍin has authored a lengthy study of *yamaka*, in which many varieties of the figure are illustrated, partly by methodically demonstrating how syllabic repetition, continuous or interrupted, can be placed in different positions of the verse.[39] Kūkai's observations of syllabic repetition remain more in the principles than in exemplifying possible structural arrangements and combinations.[40] Even so, Kūkai has illustrated or described two additional kinds of syllabic formation that belong to the forms of *yamaka* which Daṇḍin

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[36] KĀ 3.1: *avyapetavyapetātmā vyāvṛttir varṇasaṃhateḥ/ yamakaṃ tac ca pādānām ādimadhyāntagocaram//.*

[37] BH 2:676: 看山山已峻; ibid. 2:671: 議月眉欺月.

[38] BH 2:697.

[39] Overviews of the patterns of Daṇḍin's *yamaka* section, which itself is covered in the first seventy-seven verses of KĀ's third chapter, are available in Eppling (1989: 200–220) and Dimitrov (2011: 2:733–737).

[40] In his study of parallelism on the level of stanza (隔句對), Kūkai offers an example that shows how more forms of syllabic repetition can be accommodated within the scope of an entire verse rather than a couplet, the space to which parallelism is more commonly confined. See BH 2:664.

regards as difficult.[41] One of these forms, called *pratilomayamaka* in the Sanskrit tradition, is an unusual form of repetition where the complete reversal of the syllables in poetic lines form new lines that also make good sense. Treated at the very end of his *yamaka* section, one of Daṇḍin's illustrations of this *yamaka* presents two couplets that are mirror image of each other in reverse.

> *nādino 'madanā dhīḥ svā na me kā cana kāmitā/*
> *tāmikā na ca kāmena svādhīnā damanodinā//.*[42]
> As I am immersed in the sacred sound,
> my own mind is devoid of intoxication and independent,
> and I have no desire whatsoever; nor is there anxiety
> caused by desire that drives away self-control.

The Chinese example is to be constructed by putting together two couplets that are said to illustrate repetitions at the beginning and end of a line, each of which is constituted by the backward reading of the other.

> 裹裹樹驚風，曬曬雲蔽月。月蔽雲曬曬，風驚樹裹裹.[43]
> As they are *shaken*, the trees startle the wind;
> as they *are exposed to light*, the clouds cover the moon.
> The moon conceals the clouds as it *shines*;
> the wind startles the tree as it *blows gently*."

There is, apparently, intricate design behind what may appear to be just a coincident. To make the reversal possible, the adverb consisting of two identical characters *niaoniao* 裹裹 can describe either the state of being shaken or the blow of a gentle breeze. The phrase *shaishai* 曬曬, for its part, can mean either shedding strong light on something or being exposed to light.

[41] Difficult *yamaka*s begins after KĀ 3.38.
[42] KĀ 3.75, in Dimitrov 2011: 1:182.
[43] BH 2:697.

The second case of artful repetition is where the syllables or characters at the end of each line of a poem or text is reused at the beginning of the subsequent line. Daṇḍin's term for the Sanskrit *yamaka* employing this formation is *saṃdaṣṭa* or "bitten." He composes the following stanza to illustrate the design.

> upoḍharāgāpy abalā *madena sā madenasā* manyurase*na yojitā*/
> *na yojitā*tmānam an*aṅgatāpitāṅgatāpi tā*pāya mamāsa neyate.[44]
> Though her passion was engendered by intoxication, that lady,
> by reason of my offense, was consumed by the piquancy of fury.
> She does not join herself [with me] though in a powerless state of torment by the god of love; that[, however,] did not lead me to so much anguish.

This form of *yamaka* is answered by a verse that Kūkai uses to illustrate parallelism by way of *huiwen* (迴文對).

> 情親由得意，得意遂情親。新情終會故，會故亦經新.[45]
> *Love* turns *intimate* on account of *fulfillment*;
> *fulfillment* leads to the *intimate* feeling of *love*.
> *New love* eventually *ages*;
> when it *ages* one also experiences something *new*.

Huiwen literally means circulative text. Though it has been translated as palindrome, its playful and, sometimes even, pictorial designs are too vast to be accommodated by a straightforward translation. With these unusual techniques being demonstrated, Daṇḍin and Kūkai turn repetition into circular and revolving movements. The dynamisms of

[44] KĀ 3.52.
[45] BH 2.713.

the bodies of literature that they endeavor to describe and teach also come alive in the reflection of their mirrors.

Pun and What Lies Behind an Entire Work

As it should be clear by now, many points of convergence in the key Sanskrit and Chinese figures of speech we have seen so far are found in the domain of literary devices that is defined by the display of a binary structure. Kūkai's master figure parallelism and a significant portion of Daṇḍin's ornaments—citing another case (*arthāntaranyāsa*), condensed speech (*samāsokti*), causation (*hetu*), setting an example (*nidarśana*), to mention only a few of those which we have not explored—explore the aesthetics of different kinds of binary relationships. To turn to a somewhat different case, a double-entendre opens itself up into a pair of two meanings, although the duo is nested in a single linguistic form. The Sanskrit version of a double-entendre or pun is *śleṣa* or "embrace," which Daṇḍin defines as "the speech that is one in form but multiple in meaning."[46] Although the duality of meaning tends to dominate the field of examples, note that multiplicity is acknowledged as well. From the first sample verse, Daṇḍin's experiment with double meaning is already intricate and complex. Here, in one reading the king (*rājā*) who has a circle of devoted followers (*raktamaṇḍalaḥ*) achieves his success (*udayam ārūḍhaḥ*), and he winning the hearts of people with his light taxes (*mṛdubhiḥ karaiḥ*). In another reading, the moon (*rājā*) with a red disk (*raktamaṇḍalaḥ*) rises to the top of the eastern mountain (*udayam ārūḍhaḥ*), captivating others with its soft light rays (*mṛdubhiḥ karaiḥ*).[47]

Among the varieties of parallelism that Kūkai has catalogued, a cluster of three forms stand out in sharing the kind of word play that underlies the Sanskrit ornament *śleṣa*. The first kind is character parallelism (字對), which achieves the intended effect by taking advantage of the fact that different meanings—in fact, separate Chinese words—inhabit the same visual form. An illustration of this

[46] KĀ 2.308ab: *śliṣṭam iṣṭam anekārtham ekarūpānvitaṃ vacaḥ*/.
[47] KĀ 2.309: *asāv udayam ārūḍhaḥ kāntimān raktamaṇḍalaḥ/ rājā harati lokasya hṛdayaṃ mṛdubhiḥ karaiḥ*//.

type is the pair "Kwai Muk oar" (桂楫) and "bearing dagger-axe" (荷戈).[48] At first glance, there is nothing that ties the two phrases together. Nevertheless, the same character *he* (荷) functioning as a verb that takes the ancient weapon as its object in the second phrase has an additional meaning of "lotus." When it assumes that nominal sense, though not how it should be taken here, it indeed parallels the wood from the Kwai Muk tree by which the oar is made.

If the fact that different Chinese words could share the same visual character—often different themselves phonetically, as is the case with the verb *hè* and the noun *hé*—contrasts with the aural nature of Sanskrit, sound parallelism (聲對) moves a step in the Indian direction by pairing expressions that can be regarded as parallels only when a character is replaced by its homonym. The next form, part parallelism (側對), returns back toward the written symbol, though not away from *śleṣa*'s playfulness, as parallelism is formed only when an element in a written character mirrors what is contained in its counterpart.[49]

Kūkai's parallelism by intention (意對) is unique in that it leaves behind formal aspects of parallelism. Localized word matching is no longer the concern; rather, deep parallel in the poetic idea emerges in the large picture.[50] The focus on the idea emphasized in this kind of parallelism echoes the Sanskrit ornament *bhāvika* or integration. According to Daṇḍin, "Integration is declared to be the quality taking the whole composition as its field. What integrates is the poet's authorial intention which sustains till the end of the work."[51] What is unique about this ornament is that it manifests in a large literary work, where the parts work together to constitute the integration.[52]

[48] BH 2:734.
[49] While Sanskrit alliteration and the appearance of two Chinese characters that share the same consonant or vowel are partial repetition of sound, part parallelism involves partial repetition in the written symbol.
[50] See modern interpretations in Man (2008: 137–39) and Lu (2008: 2:722n1).
[51] KĀ 2.361.
[52] KĀ 2.362–363.

In addition to parallelism by intention, Kūkai's final form of parallelism, called parallelism [characterized] by the overall lack of parallel (總不對對) also resembles integration in Daṇḍin's system. Although the idea of overall lack of parallel seems to have been discussed earlier, the recognition of it as a kind of parallelism is considered to be an original contribution made by Kukai,[53] who regards it as the "most excellent."[54] Whereas parallelism by intention relates to integration because they both emphasize intention or poetic idea, parallelism characterized by the overall lack of parallel is similar to Daṇḍin's integration by virtue of their common concern with a whole composition. Transcending formal aspects of parallelism, parallelism characterized by the overall lack of parallel is illustrated by a full eight-line poem.

Dandin presents integration at the very end of ornaments of meaning (*arthālaṅkāra*), a class of figures that are contrasted with ornaments of sound (*śabdālaṅkāra*)—devices like *yamaka* which are dependent on the play with sound effects. In Kūkai's system of parallelism, that which is characterized by the overall lack of parallel also stands at the very end. The distance that separates precise parallelism, the very first kind in Kūkai's list, and the overall lack of parallel is the greatest in the progression from exactitude to global vision,[55] mirroring a similar contrast between factual statement (*svabhāvokti*) and integration as the two ends of Daṇḍin's spectrum of the ornaments of meaning. The similarity in how the two studies begin and end establishes a structural resemblance between Kukai's parallelisms and the core contents of Dandin's Sanskrit ornaments.

Parallelism through the overall lack of parallel is hardly about binary structure; nor is integration. In fact, Daṇḍin says nothing about how the parts of a literary composition work together to serve the authorial intention. Nor does Kūkai explain how the details of a poem contribute to the parallelism that transcends formal parallelism. Both forms are far from average figures that perform their functions through well-defined mechanisms, and yet the two theorists share the

[53] BH 2:785–87n1; Man 2008: 190.
[54] BH 2:785. Note that Daṇḍin too has elevated certain ornaments in similar terms.
[55] BH 2:787.

belief that there is a form of literary ornamentation or refinement which operates on the level of totality.

Epilogue

East Asian and South Asian traditions of literary thought have distinctive ways of theorizing literatures written in their own languages. However, as we have demonstrated here, we can find shared conceptual schemes and a considerable amount of common observations regarding pitfalls of literature and the nature of figurative language. Valuable insights can be gained by looking at one tradition through the perspective of another. At other times, the two traditions contribute different points of view to shed light on the same issues. To use alliteration and syllabic repetition again as an example, Daṇḍin observes that alliteration—though many of specific points may only be applied to the Indian literature—contributes to the quality of sweetness through sound harmony when used appropriately;[56] *yamaka*s apparently also contribute to sweetness, even though they do not do so exclusively.[57]

Kūkai, on the hand, has shed light on the experience of reading when character repetition is interrupted by other elements. Commenting on the couplet we saw earlier, "should you discuss the *moon*, her eyebrow puts the *moon* to shame 議月眉欺月," he writes that this "line lays out the two 'moon' characters, which are interrupted by their shaming by the eyebrow . . . Though the character is read again, the expression appears unaccompanied. The pointing is accomplished by two characters, thus this name [doubt-pointing] is acquired."[58] Here the experience of encountering the same character anew and the two characters' pointing and therefore highlighting of the intervening element are described. In these two passages, each critic points out something different. Collectively, they show that the seemingly banal phenomenon of syllabic repetition contains aesthetic pleasures as well as surprises.

[56] KĀ 1.52–60.
[57] KĀ 1.61.
[58] BH 2:671.

The fact that Sanskrit and Chinese theorists converge on a fairly large number of ideas about literature may also point to historical contacts between the two traditions. Kūkai was the Japanese patriarch of the esoteric Shingon Buddhism who studied both Sanskrit and Chinese literary thought. During his stay in the then Chinese capital of Chang'an, he studied with the Indian Buddhist monk Bore (般若), who was an expert in Buddhist doctrines as well as Indian cultural knowledge in the domains of five sciences (*vidyāsthāna*).[59] Kūkai's *Bunkyō hifuron* anthologizes earlier Chinese treatises on literature, many of which were composed during the seventh and eighth centuries, a period during which Buddhist missionaries and pilgrims traveled intensely between India and China. Some of the Chinese authorities whom Kūkai relied on, such as Shangguan Yi (上官儀) and Jiaoran (皎然), were themselves Buddhists. Even if the vast majority of the materials collected in the *Bunkyō hifuron* came from earlier critics, Kūkai clearly left his own marks on this important source of literary criticism. For instance, he has contributed the title containing the words "mirror of literature," the recognition of the overall lack of parallel as a form of parallelism, and the structure of the section on the varieties of parallelism. There is a distinct possibility that some of the overlaps between South and East Asian literary traditions surveyed in this study are traces of their historical encounters.

Regardless of the extent to which the intersections of the two traditions can or cannot be attributed to cultural borrowing, the fact that the shared insights are applicable to literatures written in very different languages elevates them ipso facto to the height of theoretical principles. Indeed, much more lie between the covers of Indian *alaṅkāraśāstra*s and Chinese books of literary criticism awaiting further explorations into similar and mutually complementary views on figures of speech and other domains of

[59] Biographical sources on Bore are found in Takakusu and Watanabe (1924–1932): no. 2157 LV 891c4–896b15 and no. 2061 L 722a26–b9.

rhetoric.[60] These explorations will open new ways to articulate and theorize literatures of Asia and elsewhere.

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试论梵语声字在般若经典中的形态与功能
On the Form and Function of Sanskrit Akṣara in Prajñā-pāramitā-Sūtras and Śāstras

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内容提要

梵语“阿剎罗”（akṣara）一词在印度古代文化背景中具有哲学、语言学两个方面的意义。从哲学层面言之，akṣara 一词具有不灭、不朽之义，因而用来指称常住不灭的终极存在；就语言学层面而言，其义项为不可分析、不可拆分之义，通常指音节、字母，即梵语言文字最根本的拼读、书写单位。在汉译佛典中，“阿剎罗”通常被译作声字、字、字本、字母，以陀罗尼、真言、明、咒、秘密语等形式，在以《般若经》为代表的大乘佛教经典中有广泛应用。

《般若经》是出现最早的大乘佛典，是大乘佛教成立的标志；自公元前后起般若类经典一直在不断地增广，到十三世纪前后仍有相应的新经典产生，堪为大乘佛教发展演变的活化石。在早期般若经典中，声字是以陀罗尼的形式出现的。其中最根本、最典型的陀罗尼，即是被称为陀罗尼门的四十二字门。从其语言学属性来看，四十二字是犍陀罗语的根本字母或字母表，这种字母最初是用佉卢文来书写的；从义理层面来

看，四十二字门诠表的法义是初期大乘佛教义的浓缩与集粹。六、七世纪以后，随着秘密佛教的兴起，梵语声字在新出现的般若类经典中应用的更为普遍，其形态也更为多样，其功能也越来越丰富。在初期的密教经典《金刚大道场经》中，编纂者将此期依据般若类经典发展出的印咒法门都为一集。伴随着佛教秘密化倾向的加剧，七、八世纪出现了依般若经成立的秘密经法，如理趣经法、仁王经法等。在理趣经法中，梵语声字以多种形态出现，如陀罗尼、真言、种子字、字门、字轮、布字、曼陀罗等，几乎遍及整个秘密行法的各个环节。从梵语声字的前后变化中，可以看出它在般若经典的形态经历了一个由简单到复杂、由单一到多样化的过程，其功能与属性也经历了一个由方法到本体，即由方便到究竟的过程。

关键词：声字、《般若经》、陀罗尼、真言、种子字、曼荼罗

Summary

The Sanskrit ‘akṣara’ is loaded with both philosophy and linguistics significances in the ancient Indian culture. Philosophically ‘Akṣara’ means immortality, and thus is used to refer to the ultimate existence of immortality. From a linguistic point of view, it means‘unanalyzable’ and ‘inseparable’, usually referring to syllables or letters, which are the most fundamental units of spelling and writing in Sanskrit. In the Chinese Buddhist scripture translations, ‘akṣara’ is usually translated into “声字“（phonetic words/sabda-varna?), “字”（words/varna）, “字本”（fundermental letters）, and “字母”（letters/ mātṛkā-varṇa）. In the Mahayana Buddhist scriptures represented by Prajñā-pāramitā-Sūtras, akṣara is widely used in the form of dhāraṇī, mantra, vidyā, spells, guhyavāc, etc. *Prajñā-pāramitā-Sūtra* is the earliest Mahayana Buddhist scriptures and symbolizes the establishment of Mahayana Buddhism. From around the A.D., this kind of scriptures have been continuously enlarged until around the 13th century. *Prajñā-pāramitā-Sūtras* deserve to be considered as the fossils of the development of Mahayana Buddhism. In the early *Prajñā-pāramitā-Sūtras*, akṣara appeared in the form of the dhāraṇī. The most fundamental and

typical dhāraṇī is the ‘forty-two dhāranī-mukha’(四十二字门), which is generally called dhāranīmukha（陀罗尼门）. From the perspective of its linguistic attributes,‘forty-two dhāranīmukha’ is the component letters, or alphabet, of Gandhari，which were originally written in Kharosthi. Regarding Buddhist theory, the doctrines interpreted by ‘forty-two dhāranīmukha’ represents the genesis and essence of the early Mahayana Buddhist doctrines. After the 6th and 7th Centuries, akṣara was more commonly used in the emerging Prajñā-pāramitā-Sūtras with the prosperity of Esoteric Buddhism. Its forms were more diversified and its functions became more and more abundant. In the early Esoteric Buddhist scripture Vajra-mahābodhimaṇḍala-sūtra, the compilers integrated all mūdra and spells (印咒法门 mudra-mantra-dharma-paryāya) into one volume, which were developing during this period according to Prajñā-pāramitā-Sūtras. Along with the intensification of the tendency of Buddhist secretization, 秘密经法 established on Prajñā-pāramitaā-Sūtras like “理趣经法“、“仁王经法”appeared in the 7th and 8th centuries. In Prajñā-pāramitā-nayaśata-pañca-śatikā-kalpa/viddhi, the akṣara appears in various forms, such as dhāraṇī, mantra, bīja, the Word Wheel，nyāsa, maṇḍala, etc., and they are present almost throughout the entire esoteric practices. From the evolution of the akṣara, it can be seen that it has gone through a process from simplicity to complex, from singularity to diversification. And its functions and attributes have also gone through method to the ontology, from convenient methods(upāya) to ultimacy(satya).

Keywords: Akṣara, Prajñā-pāramitā-Sūtra, Dhāraṇī, Mantra, Bīja, Maṇḍala

引 言

《般若经》在佛教史上具有非常重要的地位。它是最早成立的大乘佛典，是大乘佛教成立的标志。它又是成立时间跨度最久的佛典，从早期的八千颂般若到晚出的《一字般若》，其时间跨度或达一千二、三百年。它还是规模最大的佛典，此经总有十六会，其汉译本达六百卷，除此之外，尚有《了义般若》《帝释般若》《小字般若》《佛母般若》等多种，是卷帙浩博的丛书式佛典。它更是义理最为丰富的大乘经典，明末憨山大师说，不读华严不知佛家之富贵，我们也可以说不读般若则不知佛家之汪洋幽玄。缘于般若经典的上述特点，要完整、准确把握其教义体系，殊非易事，因此全面探究般若经典教义体系的著述非常有限，在汉传佛教史上仅有明代藕溢智旭《阅藏知津》般若部、清代葛鼒《般若纲要》作提要钩玄，近人欧阳渐《大般若波罗蜜多经叙》述其要旨，本文试图从梵语声字在般若经典中的形态、功能与应用入手，揭示佛教语言文字观念的变化、般若经典的发展，乃至整个佛教的趋势。

这里所说的声字指的是梵语“阿剎罗”（akṣara）一词。在印度古代文化背景中，这个词语具有哲学、语言学两个层面的意义。从哲学层面言之，阿剎罗一词具有不灭、不朽之义，因而用来指称常住不灭的终极存在；就语言学层面而言，其义项为不可分析、不可拆分的梵语言文字单位，即音节、字母等。

在印度宗教文献中，这两种义项往往是统一的， 比如对印度弥曼差派、吠檀多派中的声论学派或称声常住论者（Śabdanityatāvādin）而言，世界的本源即来自 oṃ 这个音，它被称为声梵（śabdabrahman）,是最重要的声字，又是创生世界的终极实在。因此，ekākṣara 一词既可以理解为不灭的唯一，也可以指代单音节。对声论者而言，oṃ， śabdabrahman，ekākṣara，praṇava（圣音）四个词语所指的皆为创生世界的终极之音。

声字这种声义互举的情形也见于佛教经典中。如《大乘大般涅槃经》（*Mahāyāna-Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*）“文字品”（varṇa/akṣara parivarta）即运用声字的语言与教理的双重属性，诠表涅槃之义：

> 迦叶菩萨复白佛言：世尊！所言字者，其义云何？善男子！有十四音名为字义。所言字者，名曰涅槃，常故不流，若不流者，则为无尽。夫无尽者，即是如来金刚之身。是十四音名曰字本。”[1]

经文中所说的不流（常）、无尽（金刚）、字、字本、音都可以从 akṣara 的双重义项中获得准确地理解。唐代惟谨《大毘卢遮那经阿阇梨真实智品中阿阇梨住阿字观门》有云：“梵有二音，一名阿剎啰，是根本字，亦名不动义，不动者是菩提心义。”[2]这也是对声字双重义项的准确解释。

在汉译佛典中，阿剎罗通常被译作声字、音、字、字本、根本字、字母等，以陀罗尼、真言、明、咒、秘密语等形式，在以《般若经》《华严经》《大般涅槃经》等为代表的大乘佛教经典中有广泛应用。不过，其形态、属性、功能与应用在不同的经典、不同的时期都有显著的差别，本文拟就声字在不同时期的大乘般若经典的形态与功用作些讨论。

一、早期般若经典中的陀罗尼与四十二字门

在早期般若经典中，声字是以陀罗尼的形式出现的。《大般若经》开篇即以陀罗尼门、三摩地门作为大乘菩萨所具备的功德或修习的法门，故《大般若波罗蜜多经》卷第一“初分缘起品”第一之一开篇即云：

> 如是我闻：一时，薄伽梵住王舍城鹫峯山顶，与大苾刍众千二百五十人俱，皆阿罗汉，……复有无量无数菩萨摩诃萨众，一切皆得陀罗尼门、三摩地门，住空、无相、无分别愿，已得诸法平等性忍。[3]

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[1] 《大般涅槃经》“文字品”第十三，《大正藏》第 12 册，第 653 页。

[2] 唐惟谨《大毘卢遮那经阿阇梨真实智品中阿阇梨住阿字观门》，《大正藏》第 18 册，第 193 页。

[3] 玄奘译《大般若波罗蜜多经》卷第一“初分缘起品”第一之一，《大正藏》第 5 册，第 1 页。

在接下来的经文中，与十方诸佛对谈的十位菩萨，即普光、离忧、行慧、胜授、离尘勇猛、莲花手、日光明、宝胜、莲花胜、喜授，从诸佛教赐，请往堪忍世界，观礼、供养释迦牟尼如来及菩萨众，得无碍解陀罗尼门、三摩地门神通自在。从这些记述中，可以看出陀罗尼门与三摩地门是菩萨修行中必备的基本功德。龙树《大智度论》在解释这段文字时即明确指出“以得诸陀罗尼、三昧及忍等诸功德故，名为菩萨摩诃萨”。《大般若波罗蜜经》卷五十六“初分赞大乘品”第十六之一更把三摩地、陀罗尼门作为大乘佛法的重要标志：“复次，善现！如是大乘当知即是三三摩地，乃至十八佛不共法。复次，善现！如是大乘当知即是文字陀罗尼等一切陀罗尼门。”[4]

何谓陀罗尼门？何谓三摩地门？二者在早期般若经中具于什么地位与作用？

陀罗尼，梵文作 dhāraṇī，dhāriṇī，来自梵文词根 √dhṛ（执持、拿着），意译总持、能持、能遮。龙树《大智度论》卷五释云：“云何陀罗尼？答曰：陀罗尼，秦言能持，或言能遮。能持者，集种种善法，能持令不散不失，譬如完器盛水，水不漏散。能遮者，恶不善根心生，能遮令不生，若欲作恶罪，持令不作。是名陀罗尼。”[5]根据龙树的解释，可以把陀罗尼理解为摄持佛教正法、遮持不善法的慧念（smṛti）之力。[6]

在早期的佛典中，与陀罗尼类似的词已出现。巴利藏《毗奈耶经》载：“学文字，学忆持，为守护而学咒文，……不犯。”[7]此处的“持”，或译执持、总持，音译为陀罗那，梵语作 dhāraṇa，是一种淬练心智的修行法门。在此之前，或与之同时，印度六派哲学中的瑜伽派把“持”或“忆持”视为瑜伽八支之一，把它与禅那（dhyāna）、三摩地（samādhi）视为八支中的

[4] 《大正藏》第 5 册，第 319 页。

[5] T25/95c，[印度]龙树：《大智度论》卷五。

[6] 窥基《大般若波罗蜜多经般若理趣分述赞》卷第二：“陀罗尼者，此云总持，以念慧为性。”（《大正藏》第 33 册，第 38 页）

[7] 《比丘尼分别》“波逸提法”第 49，元亨寺版《汉译南传大藏经》第。

内三支，即精神层面的修行法门，称为“总御”（samyama）。[8]在瑜伽修行实践中，这三种法门是依次递进的观想法门，陀罗那是第一步，即摒除外界干扰，将注意力集中到所要观想的对象上面。其对象或为一种，或为多种，注意力集中于对象之上，心不散乱，故言总持。第二步为禅那，或译为禅，义作止寂，静虑，观想者的注意力集中于对象的某一点上，注意力进一步集中，是更深层次的观想状态。最后的三摩地，或称三昧，义作等持、定，是最深层次的观想。在这种状态下，观想者与对象达到平等一如的无分别状态，无观者，无所观，即所谓物我两泯的深层入定状态。[9]或有论者从观想（我）与所观（境）的关系阐述三者的差别，即陀罗那是有我之境，禅那是无我之境，三摩地是无我无境的俱泯状态。

与瑜伽派的修行实践相类，《般若经》也把陀罗尼门、三摩地门并举，作为大乘菩萨修行的标志性法门，而且把陀罗尼、三摩地、忍等作为由浅入深的修行次第。龙树认为，就其法性而言，陀罗尼法门“或心相应，或心不相应，或有漏，或无漏，无色，不可见，无对，一持，一入，一阴摄，法持，法入，行阴，九智知(丹注云：除尽智)，一识识(丹注云：一意识)”10，尚处于心智修行的初始阶段。三摩地门，即三昧，包括空、无相、无作三种三昧，“思惟近涅槃故，令人心不高不下，平等不动”，为“第一实义实利，能得涅槃门”[11]，是陀罗尼法门的深化与提升。简单地说，陀罗尼法通染静，三摩地门迹近涅槃，二者是方便与解脱的关系。[12]

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[8] [印]钵颠阇利著、毗耶娑疏：《瑜伽经注疏》，黄宝生译，北京：商务印书馆 2016 年版。

[9] 参《印度教百科全书》第 3 卷“陀罗纳”条，第 422 页

10 T25/95c，[印度]龙树：《大智度论》卷五。

[11] T25/96c，[印度]龙树：《大智度论》卷五。

[12] 无著在《显扬圣教论》卷三指出，陀罗尼门“分别开演一切种染净之义”，三摩地门是“诸声闻独觉不达其名，此诸三摩地悉能建立十方世界一切三摩地所作之事”。（《大正藏》第 31 册，第 492 页）《大智度论》卷二十八：“陀罗尼，如《赞菩萨品》中说。门者，得

就陀罗尼的外在相状而言，陀罗尼通常是以不同的声字组合形式出现，如无著《显扬圣教论》（*Prakaraṇāryavācā-śāstra*）卷三谓："若欲略说陀罗尼相者，谓诸菩萨成就字类，通达于名句文身，如意自在，得如是种类念持之力。"[13]因此，《般若经》在言及陀罗尼的命名时，往往从音声、言语与文字着眼，如闻持陀罗尼、入音声陀罗尼等："若人欲得所闻皆持，应当一心忆念，令念增长，……所闻皆持不忘，如是等名闻持陀罗尼门。复次，菩萨闻一切音声语言，分别本末，观其实相，……是名入音声陀罗尼。"[14]更有以声字之数划分其类别，"一字门者，一字一语，如地名浮。二字门者，二字一语，如水名阇蓝。三字门者，如水名波尸蓝，如是等种种字门"。[15]《大般若波罗蜜多经》卷第三百八十一"初分诸功德相品"第六十八之三亦详列不同字数的陀罗尼门："善男子！汝应善学引发诸字陀罗尼门，谓应善学一字、二字、三字、四字、五字、六字、七字、八字、九字、十字，如是乃至二十、三十、四十、五十、六十、七十、八十、九十、若百、若千乃至无数，引发自在。"[16]

在《般若经》中的所有陀罗尼中，最为重要、最为根本的则是被称为文字陀罗尼门的四十二字门。四十二字门的相关内容分别见于《般若经》卷第五十三"初分辩大乘品"第十五之三、卷第四百一十五第二分念住等品第十七之二、卷第四百九十第三分善现品第三之九，即十六会《大般若经》中的初会、二、三会，系世尊为须菩提（善现，subhūti）分辨大乘空义，所讲的内容基本相同，都把四十二字门作为"诸菩萨摩诃萨大乘相"之一，通过对四十二字受持、读诵、通利、解说，悟入诸法空

陀罗尼方便诸法是，如三三昧名解脱门。"（《大正藏》第 25 册，第 268 页）

[13] 《大正藏》第 31 册，第 492 页。

[14] 龙树造，鸠摩罗什译《大智度论》卷二十八，《大正藏》第 25 册，第 268 页。

[15] 《大正藏》第 25 册，第 366 页。

[16] 《大正藏》第 6 册，第 969 页。

义。为了对四十二声字及其诠表教义有相对清晰地了解，今列其经文如下：

复次，善现！菩萨摩诃萨大乘相者，谓诸文字陀罗尼门。尔时，具寿善现白佛言：世尊！云何文字陀罗尼门？佛言：善现！字平等性、语平等性，言说理趣平等性入诸字门，是为文字陀罗尼门。世尊！云何入诸字门？

善现，若菩萨摩诃萨修行般若波罗蜜多时，以无所得而为方便。

入哀字门（a），悟一切法本不生（anutpanna）故。

入洛字门（ra），悟一切法离尘垢（rajas）故。

入跛字门（pa），悟一切法胜义(paramartha)教故。

入者字门（ca），悟一切法无死生(cavana)故。

入娜字门（na），悟一切法远离名相(nāma)无得失故。

入砢字门（la），悟一切法出世间(lokottīrṇa)故，爱支因缘(tṛṣṇālatā-hetu-pratyaya)永不现故。

入柁字门（da），悟一切法调伏寂静真如平等无分别故(dānta-damatha-paricchinna)。

入婆字门（ba），悟一切法离系缚(bandha)故。

入荼字门（ḍa），悟一切法离热矫秽(ḍama)得清净故。

入沙字门（ṣa），悟一切法无罣碍(ṣaṃga)故。

入缚字门（va），悟一切法言音道(vākpatha-ghoṣa)断故。

入頞字门（ta），悟一切法真如(tathatā)不动故。

入也字门（ya），悟一切法如实(yathāvat)不生故。

入瑟咤字门（ṣṭa），悟一切法制伏任持相(stambha)不可得故。

入迦字门（ka），悟一切法作者(kāraka)不可得故。

入娑字门（sa），悟一切法时平等性(samatā)不可得故。

入磨字门（ma），悟一切法我及我所性(mamakāra)不可得故。

入伽字门（ga），悟一切法行取性(gagana)不可得故。

入他字门（stha），悟一切法处所(sthāna)不可得故。
入阇字门（ja），悟一切法生起(jāti)不可得故。
入湿缚字门（śva），悟一切法安隐性(śvāsa)不可得故。
入达字门（dha），悟一切法界性（dharmadhātu）不可得故。
入舍字门（śa），悟一切法寂静性(śamatha)不可得故。
入佉字门（kha），悟一切法如虚空性(kha-samata)不可得故。
入羼字门（kṣa），悟一切法穷尽性（kṣara）不可得故。
入萨頞字门（sta），悟一切法任持处非处令不动转性不可得故。
入若字门（jña），悟一切法所了知性(sarvajña)不可得故。
入辣他字门（rtha），悟一切法执着义性（artha）不可得故。
入呵字门（ha），悟一切法因性(hetu)不可得故。
入薄字门（bha），悟一切法可破坏性(bhaṅga)不可得故。
入绰字门（cha），悟一切法欲乐[Skt. chanda?]覆性不可得故。
入飒磨字门（sma），悟一切法可忆念性(smaraṇa)不可得故。
入嗑缚字门（hva），悟一切法可呼召性(āhvāna)不可得故。
入蹉字门（tsa），悟一切法勇健性(utsāha)不可得故。
入键字门（gha），悟一切法厚(ghana)平等性不可得故。
入搋字门（ṭha），悟一切法积集性（）不可得故。
入拏字门（ṇa），悟一切法离诸喧诤(raṇa),无往无来行住坐卧不可得故。
入颇字门（pha），悟一切法遍满果报(phala)不可得故。
入塞迦字门（ska），悟一切法聚积蕴(skandha)性不可得故。
入逸娑字门（ysa），悟一切法衰老性相不可得故。

入酌字门（śca），悟一切法聚集足迹（Skt. caryā）不可得故。

入咤字门（ṭa），悟一切法相驱迫（ṣṭaṃkāṛa）性不可得故。

入择字门（ḍha），悟一切法究竟处所(ḍhaṃkāra)不可得故。

略如上列，四十二字门是以四十二个声字（音节）依次悟入种种法义，诸种法义皆以无所得而为方便，故皆以遮诠的方式，诠表种种不可得之义，以悟入法空边际，即大乘空义。声字与所诠法义的关系，是建立在每一法义中的关键词中都含有相应的声字，即所谓“因字有语，因语有名，因名有义”。[17]这种通过声字（音节）——关键词——文句的表述方式，在以口耳相承为主要经典传承方式的印度，有非常久远的传统。早在吠陀时代，传承经典的婆罗门祭司通常把吠陀经典析为单个的声字，通过声字符串联起经典语句，记住了这些声字，也就能够持念相关的经典。在《奥义书》中，就有很多通过声字联贯经典文句的例子。继之而兴起的弥曼差学派，更把单个的声字（varṇa）而非完整的句子，作为经典传承的基本单位，因之此派又称为“声论学派”或“字本论派”（varṇavāda）。因此，四十二字门的这种音义（声字与教法）诠表关系应该是印度相沿已久的传统。

对四十二字门的语音性质，龙树《大智度论》载云：“四十二字是一切字根本，因字有语，因语有名，因名有义。菩萨若闻字，因字乃至能了其义，是字初阿后荼，中有四十。”从龙树的释文中可以推测，作为一切字根本的四十二字应该是派生言语文字的根本字母。玄奘译《大般若波罗蜜多经》卷第四百七十第二分《众德相品》的一段经文中，即明确称之为“本母字”

[17] 龙树造，鸠摩罗什译《大智度论》卷第四十八，《大正藏》第 25 册，第 408 页。

（mātṛkā-varṇa）。[18]意谓以此为母，可以拼合派生出种种语句。因此，四十二字应该是一种字母表。不过，对四十二字母的流行地域与应用情形，古今论者颇有争议。龙树在解释四十二字诠表的教义时，常以南印度的方言，如“若闻荼字，即知诸法不热相。南天竺荼阇他，秦言不热”（majjhamda=G Dhp. ṇajamaṇa），“若闻他(土荼反)字，即知诸法无住处。南天竺他那，秦言处”（Pkt.ṭhāṇa=Skt.sthāna）。因此，近人印顺法师由此判断，四十二字门应出自南印度，是南印度方音系统，相应的二万五千颂《般若经》也应该编撰于南印度地区。近代以来，欧美佛教研究者利用中亚与西北印度出土的种种写本，对四十二字母的来源问题作过不少研究，目前已经达成相对一致的认识，即由美国华盛顿大学专门研究犍陀罗语（佉卢文）的邵瑞祺（Richard Saloman）所提出的，四十二字母出自古代西北印度的犍陀罗地区，主要以佉卢文书写。他利用在犍陀罗及中亚地区发现的佉卢文与于阗文写本，尤其是师徒教授佉卢文 arapacana 的雕塑，证实四十二字门作为犍陀罗语根本字母或字母表的可靠性。[19]

就四十二字门诠表的教义而言，基本都按照“入某字门，悟一切法……故”，尤其是“入某字门，悟一切法……性不可得故”式的套语，即通过字门（声字）悟入一切法的性相或性相不可得为方便，悟入般若空义。[20]四十二声字诠表的四十二教理之间

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[18] 玄奘译《大般若波罗蜜多经》卷第四百七十：“又应善学一字能摄四十二本母字，四十二本母字能摄一字。”

[19] Richard Salomon, New Evidence for a Gāndhārī Origin of the Arapacana Syllabary, Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 110, No. 2 (Apr. - Jun., 1990), pp. 255-273；An Additional Note on Arapacana, Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 113, No. 2. (Apr. - Jun., 1993), pp. 275-276.详参王邦维《四十二字门考论》，《中华佛学学报》第十二期，页17-24。

[20] T5/302b-303a,唐玄奘译《大般若波罗蜜经》卷五十三《初分辩大乘品》：“善现，如是字门是能悟入法空边际。除如是字，表诸法空更不可得。何以故？善现，如是字义，不可宣说，不可显示，不可执取，

是否有内在关联、次第抑或内在的逻辑，尚不清楚。值得注意的是，经文在通过遮诠的方式对诸法性相的列举后，指出佛法过一切名字，为无字法，即所谓言音道断，不着言语文字。这种藉声字言语悟入实相与真际的方式，在《蛙氏奥义书》（Māṇḍūkya Up.），亦有类以的诠表方式，如对 oṃ 音节中蕴含的奥义亦作了形而上的阐发，指出“oṃ 是一切，一切是梵，梵是自我，自我四足”，从四个方面探求其形上奥义。

	四足	意识状态	名称	音素	释义
Om	第一足	觉醒	一切人	a	或出于获取（āpti），或出于位居第一（ādimattva）；明乎此，可以获得一切愿望，成为第一。
	第二足	睡梦	光明	u	或出于提高（utkarṣa），或出于双重性（ubhayatva）；明乎此，可以提高智慧，成为平等者
	第三足	熟眠	具慧	m	或出于建立（miti），或出于淹没（apīti）；明乎此，可以建立一切，淹没一切

不可书持，不可观察，离诸相故。善现，譬如虚空是一切物所归趣处，此诸字门亦复如是，诸法空义皆入此门方得显了。”

	第四足	第四	第四		不可言说，灭寂戏论，吉祥不二。

其中的第一、二、三足皆通过 a、u、m 三字诠表相应的法义，其第四足则通过无声之字诠表 oṃ“不可言说，灭寂戏论，吉祥不二”的真如之义。《蛙氏奥义书》产生的年代约在公元前后，与二万五千颂《般若》出现的年代相近。[21]

如上所言，藉四十二字门可以悟入法空边际，诸法空义或称诸法实相亦借此字门方得显了。除此之外，通过受持、读诵、解说此四十二字门，可以获得二十种殊胜功德：

> 谓得强忆念，得胜惭愧，得坚固力，得法旨趣，得增上觉，得殊胜慧，得无碍辩，得总持门，得无疑惑，得违顺语、不生恚爱，得无高下、平等而住，得于有情言音善巧，得蕴善巧、处善巧、界善巧，得缘起善巧、因善巧、缘善巧、法善巧，得根胜劣智善巧、他心智善巧，得观星历善巧，得天耳智善巧、宿住随念智善巧、神境智善巧、死生智善巧，得漏尽智善巧，得说处非处智善巧，得往来等威仪路善巧。善现，是为得二十种殊胜功德。善现，若菩萨摩诃萨修行般若波罗蜜多时，以无所得而为方便，所得文字陀罗尼门，当知是为菩萨摩诃萨大乘相。 (T7/489b-490a)][22]

上述二十种功德主要立足于言语、心智，以及诸种法相的觉悟与种种心智的善巧。

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[21] 《蛙氏奥义书》，黄宝生译《奥义书》，北京：中国社会科学出版社，第 308-310 页。

[22] 玄奘译《大般若波罗蜜多经》卷第五十三“初分辨大乘品第十五之三”，《大正藏》第 5 册，第 302–303 页。

二、陀罗尼与咒语的合流及结集

八千颂《般若经》中盛赞般若波罗密多时，即称其为大明咒、无上咒与无等等咒：

> 佛言：如是，如是！憍尸迦！般若波罗蜜是大明呪，般若波罗蜜是无上呪，般若波罗蜜是无等等呪。何以故？憍尸迦！过去诸佛，因是明呪，得阿耨多罗三藐三菩提。未来诸佛，亦因是呪，当得阿耨多罗三藐三菩提。今十方现在诸佛，亦因是呪，得阿耨多罗三藐三菩提。[23]

也就是说，在《般若经》刚成立时，经文即以种种咒语比况般若波罗密多之盛德，在后出的其他各品中亦多次出现类似的内容。之所以用咒语比况般若波罗密多之功德，显然与在印度源远流长、功德甚著的咒语即曼陀罗传统密不可分。藉助今存梵语写本佛典，《小品般若》中的大明咒（mahāvidya-mantra）、无上咒（anutara-mantra）、无等等咒（asamtya-mantra）中的咒皆为梵语 mantra 一词的义译。在后出的汉译佛典中，mantra 通常音译作曼怛罗，或意译作真言。

从字源学角度来看，mantra，由动词词根√man 与后缀-tra 组成。√man 意为思想，思考，思虑，观想等。后缀-tra，作为一个中性词，表示工具，或事件发生的处所。将词根与后缀合起来，即是思考或思维的工具。在吠陀时代，真言指吠陀本集中婆罗门祭祀唱诵的韵文。在婆罗门看来，真言具有至高无上的地位，认为它与梵天等同，常住不变，是世间万物的起源，是婆罗门与神灵交流的工具，具有超世间的威力（sakti）。在原始佛教及部派佛教时期，佛教对婆罗门教所推崇的真言教法是持排斥态度的，禁止佛门僧徒学习婆罗门声论学派的种种梵语念诵法与相关伎艺。只是从大乘佛教兴起的公元前后，也就是《小品》般若兴起的时期，才开始对以真言为代表的婆罗门教(尤其是弥曼差派)的声论传统予以关注，将其作为传播佛教的方便法门,此举正好开启了佛教融摄、吸收婆罗门教声论传统的先

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[23] 鸠摩罗什译《小品般若经》卷二“摩诃般若波罗蜜明呪品”第四，《大正藏》第 8 册，第 227 页。

声。龙树在解释以明咒譬况般若的原因时，也指出大乘佛教是为随顺、超越婆罗门教即外道圣人的权宜之法：

问曰：释提桓因何以故名般若为大明呪？

答曰：诸外道圣人有种种呪术，利益人民。诵是呪故，能随意所欲使诸鬼神。诸仙人有是呪故，大得名声，人民归伏。贵呪术故，是以帝释白佛言，诸呪术中，般若波罗蜜是大呪术。何以故？能常与众生道德乐故。余呪术乐因缘，能起烦恼，又不善业故，堕三恶道。

复次，余呪术能随贪欲、瞋恚自在作恶；是般若波罗蜜呪能灭禅定、佛道、涅槃诸著，何况贪、恚粗病！是故名为大明呪、无上呪、无等等呪。复次，是呪能令人离老、病、死，能立众生于大乘，能令行者于一切众生中最大，是故言大呪。能如是利益故，名为无上。先有仙人所作呪术，所谓能知他人心呪，名抑叉尼；能飞行变化呪，名揵陀梨；能住寿过千万岁呪，于诸呪中无与等。[24]

抑叉尼咒(yakṣiṇī-mantra？)[25]、揵陀梨咒（Gandhārī-mantra，持地咒）都是婆罗门教功效显著、影响巨大、流传久远的咒语。尽管如此，《小品》中的般若咒术也仅仅是譬喻的说法，事实上早期般若经典对婆罗门教的持咒、行咒之法仍是排斥的，如《般若经》第一会即上品般若中仍对咒术、占相之法持反对态度：

复次，善现！若不退转位菩萨摩诃萨，成就无上菩提作意，常不远离大菩提心，为净命故不行呪术、医药、占卜诸邪命事，不为名利呪诸鬼神令着男女问其凶吉，亦不呪禁男

[24] 龙树造、鸠摩罗什译《大智度论》释劝受持品第三十四(卷五十八)，《大正藏》第 25 册，第 469 页。

[25] 玄奘译《大般若波罗蜜多经》卷第八十一“初分诸天子品”第二十三之一：尔时，会中有诸天子窃作是念：诸药叉等言词呪句，虽复隐密而尚可知，尊者善现于此般若波罗蜜多虽以种种言词显示，而我等辈竟不能解。（《大正藏》第 5 册，第 454 页）

> 女、大小、傍生鬼等现希有事，亦不占相寿量长短、财位、男女诸善恶事，……何以故？善现！是菩萨摩诃萨知一切法自相皆空，自相空中不见有相，不见相故远离种种邪命、呪术、医药、占相，唯求无上正等菩提，究竟利乐诸有情类。[26]

咒语出现并广泛应用于佛典中大约是在公元三到五世纪间的事情，其时约当印度的笈多王朝时代，梵语文学的创作、传承与研究达到前所未有的高峰，弥曼差派的声论传统，尤其是以伐致柯利（Bhartrihari）为代表的梵语学者，从本体论意义探讨梵语言文字的真实常住属性，即所谓声常住论，在当时产生非常重要的影响。以无著世亲为代表的佛教徒对真言咒语亦融摄吸纳，将真言经咒应用于佛教经论之中，也就是佛教经论中开始出现种种不同形式咒语，其中最为典型的即是陀罗尼咒语（dhāraṇī-mantra）的出现，并成为陀罗尼四大部类之一：

> 云何菩萨妙陀罗尼？当知如是妙陀罗尼略有四种：一者法陀罗尼，二者义陀罗尼，三者呪陀罗尼，四者能得菩萨忍陀罗尼。……云何菩萨呪陀罗尼？谓诸菩萨获得如是等持自在，由此自在加被，能除有情灾患，诸呪章句，令彼章句悉皆神验，第一神验无所唐捐，能除非一种种灾患。是名菩萨呪陀罗尼。[27]

在《瑜伽师地论》中，大乘佛教中的种种陀罗尼明确被分为法、义、咒、忍四部，意味着陀罗尼在佛教中的应用，以及佛教僧众对陀罗尼的认识（诸如其形态、功能与类别），都已达到相对成熟的阶段。在早期般若经典中，虽然提及为数甚多的陀罗尼，比如常见的四十二文字陀罗尼、闻持陀罗尼、分别知陀罗尼、入音声陀罗尼等，略说有五百陀罗尼，广说则有无量陀罗尼。28法义呪忍四类陀罗尼分类法的出现，标志着大乘佛教

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[26] 玄奘译《大般若波罗蜜多经》卷第三百二十七"初分不退转品"第四十九之三，《大正藏》第 6 册，第 674 页。

[27] 《瑜伽师地论》卷四十五，《大正藏》第 30 册，第 542-543 页。

28 龙树造，鸠摩罗什译《大智度论》卷第五:问曰：是陀罗尼有几种？答曰：

的陀罗尼开始与婆罗门教或印度教徒使用的咒语融和，这是新兴起的大乘瑜伽学派为应对笈多王朝时代印度教的全面复兴，尤其是针对以伐致柯利为代表的声论者所推动的宗教语言神学的勃兴而做出的革新。受此风习影响，般若经典中亦开始出现多种形式的陀罗尼咒语，如月婆首那所译《胜天王般若经》卷五“无所得品第八”所载般若波罗蜜神呪法门，即有如是陀罗尼：

> 多侄他　阿吼罗(理我反，下悉同)吼罗婆(蒲我反，下悉同)底(都履反，下悉同)厚罗拏(弩假反，下悉同)莎臼茶(杜假反)　柘柘柘柘柘　祢(宁履反，下悉同)富拏簁多(覩饿反，下悉同)叉多　叉延多叉也莎摩(暮舸反，下悉同)　奢摩祢柯罗呕楼呕楼婆底杞(枯履反)罗婆底金(季侵反)　阿毘(彭履反)奢底祢莎罗祢杜阇杜杜摩底　阿婆柂祢婆柂跋多跋多羯莎履裒多羯悉蜜履底　提婆多羯悉蜜履底。[29]

此陀罗尼又称大神咒，能使龙、夜叉、干闼婆、阿修罗、迦楼罗、紧那罗、摩睺罗伽，一切众生皆得安隐，消灭怨贼恶难魔障。

到公元六世纪中期出现的《金刚大道场经》，即把《般若经》中的陀罗尼咒都为一处，编集成立“般若部”，收录编排当时般若经典中的种种咒语。《金刚大道场经》或称《金刚大道场神咒经》，是大明咒藏之少分，被称为“总持三昧神呪法印坛等秘密法藏”（《陀罗尼集经》卷十二），是后来各系秘密成就法

是陀罗尼多种。一名闻持陀罗尼，得是陀罗尼者，一切语言诸法耳所闻者皆不忘失。是名闻持陀邻尼。复有分别知陀罗尼，得是陀罗尼者，诸众生诸法大小好丑分别悉知，如偈说：诸象马金，木石诸衣，男女及水，种种不同，诸物名一，贵贱理殊，得此总持，悉能分别。复有入音声陀罗尼，……分别诸法地陀罗尼，明诸法义陀罗尼。如是等略说五百陀罗尼门，若广说则无量，以是故言诸菩萨皆得陀罗尼。（《大正藏》第 25 冊，第 96 页）

[29] 大正藏》第 5 冊第 713 页。Tad yathā, ā hula hula bati / hularaṇā / sakuṣṇa / ca ca ca ca ca/ niṣuraṇā / kṣuta kṣata / kṣaya akṣaya /śama śamanikaṛā / hā hula hula bati / bilabati / kina abhiśiti /nissaraṇī / ja ja ja ja mati / abaṭa / bartabartānusāriṇi / bhutanu smṛti / hemānuṣānu smṛti / ho devānusmrti/ ho nāgānāṃ/ yakṣṇāṃ / gandharvānāṃ / mahorāgānāṃ / svastir bhavatu.

门的基础。它所宣说的内容被称为“陀罗尼印坛法门”，为 “众经之心髓，引万行之导首。宗深秘密，非浅识之所知；义趣冲玄，匪思虑之能测。密中更密，无得称焉”[30]。《金刚大道场经》所载各系密法包括了咒法、印法与坛法三项基本要素，即陀罗尼法、母陀罗法与曼荼罗法。可以说，正是此三种法门的相互结合，互为表里，才摧生了秘密佛教的诞生。

从唐代阿地瞿多（Atikūṭa 无极高）据《金刚大道场经》编译的《陀罗尼集经》卷第三《般若波罗蜜多大心经》中可见其仿佛。经文中收录了九种咒法，依次为其一为般若无尽藏印呪、大神呪、般若波罗蜜多聪明陀罗尼、般若大心陀罗尼、般若小心陀罗尼（两种，内容有别）、般若心陀罗尼、般若闻持不忘陀罗尼、请十六药叉大将真言。这些般若经咒的分类编排标志着，在公元六世纪前后，般若经典也随着大乘佛典的秘密化倾向，出现了不同形式的般若印咒法门。

三、般若理趣经法中的梵语声字

继《金刚大道场经》之后，各种形式的陀罗尼印咒法门得到空前的发展，其数量、规模与体系愈益繁复细密，并在七世纪发展出《大毗卢遮那成法神变加持经》与《金刚顶经》，学界通常把这两部经典的成立作为秘密佛教自觉与独立的标志。公元八世纪中期，不空在其《总释陀罗尼义赞》明确以“波罗蜜道”与“真言道”，以“显教”与“真言密教”，来区分大乘佛法与秘密佛法，大小乘佛教与秘密佛教：“于大乘修菩萨道二种修行，证无上菩提道，所谓依诸波罗蜜修行成佛，依真言陀罗尼三密门修行成佛。……如上陀罗尼、真言、密言、明，义依梵文，复于显教修多罗中称说，或于真言密教中说。”[31]此后秘密佛教作为与既往的大、小乘佛教迥异的教法体系迅速发展壮大，推陈出新，形成不同体系的秘密教法。其中以早期陀罗尼密典为经典

[30]玄楷：《佛说陀罗尼集经翻译序》，《大正藏》第十八册，第 785 页。

[31]不空：《总释陀罗尼义赞》，《大正藏》第十八册，第 898 页。

依据，以相应本尊为崇拜中心，具有息灾、增益、降伏、呼召等特定功用的秘密经法，即是其重要类型。这类经法将佛教早期的陀罗尼经典与新兴的密教行法结合起来，形成特定的密教仪轨。仪轨（kalpa、vidhi），或称秘密仪轨、密轨、供养法等。自古吠陀时代起，印度人即将礼拜诸神的方法，称为kalpa，秘密佛教沿袭这一传统，将有关佛菩萨诸天之造像、念诵、迎请、灌顶、供养、遣散等系列行法与轨则，称为仪轨。七、八世纪之交，先前在佛教内部流传的各种陀罗尼经典也发展出系统化的修习体系，出现了配合这类经典的仪轨、念诵法与陀罗尼释，形成经典与仪轨相结合的秘密修行法门，如孔雀明王经法、佛顶尊胜经法等，仁王经法、理趣经法、金刚经法则是由般若类经典发展出的秘密行法。其中，般若理趣经法是最能体梵语声字在后期般若经典的形态与功能。此种经法是《般若理趣波罗密百五十颂》（*Prajñā-paramitā-naya-śatapañcāśatikā*）为根本经典，以金刚萨埵、大日如来、降三世、观自在等为本尊，通过真言（mantra）、坛场（maṇḍala）、印法（mudrā）、供养（pujā）、布字（nyāsa）、护摩（homa）、灌顶（abhiṣeka）等种种密教事相，修习灭罪、息灾、敬爱等成就法门的统称。

《般若理趣经》的翻译虽从玄奘开始，但经末咒文已由波颇密多罗（626 年来华）传与玄模（见《法苑珠林》〈咒术篇〉）。又《理趣经》末的经咒也已收入阿地瞿多的《金刚大道场经》抄译本《陀罗尼集经》中，可以推知《理趣经》成立的时间应该在七世纪之前。从目前《大正藏》的处理方式来看，《般若理趣经》的经文属般若部，依次有如下六种

1、玄奘译《大般若波罗蜜多经》卷第五百七十八第十般若理趣分

2、菩提流志译《实相般若波罗蜜经》一卷

3、金刚智译《金刚顶瑜伽理趣般若经》一卷

4、不空译《大乐金刚不空真实三么耶经》一卷

5、施护译《佛说徧照般若波罗蜜经》一卷

6、法贤译《佛说最上根本大乐金刚不空三昧大教王经》七卷

上述前五经的内容基本一致，但经文之间有不少出入，当系不同时期、不同传本的差异所致。宋代法贤所译有七卷篇幅，经题以"大教王经"（Mahārājatantra）即怛特罗命名，是《理趣经》不断秘密化的结果，属瑜伽怛特罗经典。

其行法属密教的《金刚顶》类经典，计有不空译《大乐金刚不空真实三昧耶经般若波罗蜜多理趣释》二卷、《般若波罗蜜多理趣经大乐不空三昧真实金刚萨埵菩萨等一十七圣大曼荼罗义述》一卷，《金刚顶瑜伽他化自在天理趣会普贤修行念诵仪轨》一卷，以及宋施护译《佛说金刚场庄严般若波罗蜜多教中一分》一卷，前后共三种。就其行法而言，《理趣经》的行法是属于《金刚顶经》的第六会还是第十三会？从说法地点、内容来看，似乎与第六会相应："第六会名大安乐不空三昧耶真实瑜伽，于他化自在天宫说。此经中说普贤菩萨曼荼罗，次说毘卢遮那曼荼罗，次后说金刚藏等，至金刚拳菩萨及外金刚部，说般若理趣。一一尊具说四种曼荼罗，各说引入弟子仪，授理趣般若波罗蜜多法及受四种印法，品中各说求世间出世间悉地法。"[32]而且不空所译《金刚顶瑜伽他化自在天理趣会普贤修行念诵仪轨》的内容也与《般若波罗蜜多理趣经大乐不空三昧真实金刚萨埵菩萨等一十七圣大曼荼罗义述》所述十七尊相通，但不空译《般若波罗蜜多理趣经大安乐不空三昧真实金刚菩萨等一十七圣大曼荼罗义述》一卷载："如是等大菩萨十七清净三摩地智，依文广述，有无量名义、体用、理事成证之门。今但粗举纲目而已，出《金刚顶经》第十三会大三昧耶真实瑜伽略钞大意"，[33]明确说此理趣经法出第十三会大三昧耶真实瑜伽。总体说来，笔者目前尚未厘清现存般若理趣经法的体系与源流。

在理趣经法中，梵语声字以更为丰富的形式，诸如陀罗尼、真言、密言、明、字轮、种子字等；其功能也更具多样化，计有息灾、增益、降伏、呼召等种种成就；其在秘教事相中的应用也更为广泛，诸如真言念诵、身印标帜、曼荼罗的布置、本

[32] 《金刚顶经瑜伽十八会指归》，《大正藏》第十八册，第 286 页。

[33] 同上注，第 287 页。

尊观想等各个环节等。今选择其中的三种主要类型、功能与应用分列于下。

（一）、陀罗尼真言

陀罗尼真言或称陀罗尼咒，是般若理趣经法中最常见的声字形式。在施护译《佛说徧照般若波罗蜜经》中，遍照如来为白金刚手大秘密主宣说二十五种般若波罗蜜秘密法门，每种秘密法门都是以真言的形式出现：

尔时，世尊遍照如来白金刚手大秘密主言：“我今复说二十五种般若波罗蜜秘密法门。汝今谛听！真言曰：

唵（小字注：引)曩谟萨哩嚩（小字注：二合)没驮冒地萨埵喃（小字注：引)；

唵(小字注：引)冒地唧多嚩日哩(小字注：二合)；

唵(小字注：引)稣啰多娑怛鑁(小字注：三合)；……

尔时，世尊说此真言已，告金刚手菩萨言：如是印呪，能破一切罪暗，能作一切吉祥，一切如来金刚秘密最上成就。若人得此，持诵听闻，是即名为持金刚清净如来。若有众生于此般若波罗蜜经，受持读诵随喜听闻，是人已曾于无量佛所，种诸善根植众德本。

（二）、种子字与字轮

种子字（bījākṣara），又作种字、体字，是真言的浓缩，是真言修习者修习观行的对象。作为佛教经咒中最简单的形式，它或为单个的音节，或为单个的字母。之所以被称为种子字，是因为它具有含藏、出生与本具等义项，意谓种子字含藏本尊智慧，能够生出本尊功德，具足本尊之根性，与本尊一体不二。另外，种子字又具有“自一字可生多字，多字复可赅摄于一字”的语文属性。种子字具有字义与字相，字义即种子字诠表的佛法义理，字相是种子字在观想、书写时显示的形色。修行者悟解其字义后，即观想其字相，由此字相再转生出本尊。念诵真言要具备五个步骤，依次为供养（puja），念诵(japa)，献祭

(tarpaṇa)，护摩(homa)，劝慰(samārādhana)，这些环节出了问题，真言就难以产生功效。

在不空译《大乐金刚不空真实三么耶经》首章说十七清净句义之后，诸本尊即次说三么耶心明（心咒），即各自的种子字，如金刚胜萨埵说大乐金刚不空三么耶心—吽(引)，毘卢遮那如来说一切法自性平等心—悉(引、重呼)，金刚手大菩萨说金刚吽迦囉心—吽(短)等。

将种种心明依次布列，成旋转无碍曼荼罗，即成为字轮(akṣaracakra)，在宋法贤译《佛说最上根本大乐金刚不空三昧大教王经》卷第二“金刚字轮三昧大仪轨分”，即有对相关字轮的记载：“（文殊）从定出已，说转字轮三昧曼拏罗法：若建此曼拏罗者，当于外曼拏罗中，依法画八辐轮，于此轮围中，次第书心明（种子字）。后四方四隅分列八位，于其中位安妙吉祥菩萨。”

（三）、法智印与法曼陀罗

依据不空编译《大乐金刚不空真实三昧耶经般若波罗蜜多理趣释》，理趣经法的行法（或称羯磨法）系以本经初始的十七清净句作为菩萨，每位菩萨都有相应的种子字（bīja）。种子字是本尊的标帜（mudrā）或法智印（jñāna-mudrā），与本尊一体不二。依十七清净句、十七本尊、十七种子字为本，依次说其供养念诵次第，即成十七会曼荼罗。

十七种子字、本尊、法智印	十七会曼荼罗
ॐ(oṃ) 唵字者，金刚萨埵法智印明也。	大日尊会
म(ma) 么字者，欲金刚法智印明也。	金刚萨埵会
हा(hā) 贺字者，金刚悦喜法智印明也。	毗卢遮那会

सु(su) 苏字者，爱金刚法智印明也。	降三世会
ख(kha) 佉字者，慢金刚法智印明也。	观自在菩萨般若理趣会
व(va) 嚩字者，意生金刚法智印明也。	虚空藏菩萨会
ज्र(jra) 日啰字者，金刚髻离吉罗法智印明也。	金刚拳理趣菩萨会
स(sa) 娑字者，爱金刚法智印明也。	文殊师利理趣菩萨会
त्व(tva) 多嚩字者，金刚傲法智印明也。	才发心转法轮菩萨会
जः(jaḥ) 弱字者，春金刚法智印明也。	虚空库菩萨会
हूं(hūṃ) 吽字者，云金刚法智印明也。	摧一切魔菩萨会
वं(vaṃ) 鑁字者，秋金刚法智印明也。	金刚手菩萨会（降三世教令轮会）
होः(hoḥ) 縠字者，冬金刚法智印明也。	摩醯首罗天会（外金刚会）

सु(su) 苏字者，色金刚法智印明也。	七母天会
र(ra) 啰字者，声金刚法智印明也。	三兄弟会
त(ta) 多字者，香金刚法智印明也。	四姊妹集会
स्त्वं(stvaṃ) 萨多鑁字者，味金刚法智印明也。	五部具会

依据不空的解释，上列十七声字为十七清净句（十七本尊）的种子字真言，或称法智印。以之为基础，将各会的主尊及其眷属的种子字依次
排列，各书本位，则成为各会的法曼荼罗（dharma-maṇḍala），如第二会的金刚萨埵法曼荼罗即为如下所示。



四、结 语

略如上述，梵语声字是梵语语言学中的一个基本单位，又是印度宗教学中的一个重要概念，缘于印度古代语言与宗教之间纷繁复杂的诠表关系，声字在大多数情况下兼具语言与教义双重功能而应用，由此在很多印度古代宗教文献中，声音与义旨之间形成互为诠表的修辞效果。

在早期般若经典中，声字是以陀罗尼的形式出现的。其中最根本、最典型的陀罗尼即是被称为陀罗尼门的四十二字门。它一方面沿袭了婆罗门教的梵语声字传统，四十二字门诠表的法义，是初期大乘佛教义的浓缩与集粹。另一方面又是不同文化交流的产物，四十二字实为犍陀罗语的根本字母或字母表，这种字母最初是用佉卢文来书写的。陀罗尼虽为大乘佛教所专有，但就其渊源来看，作为大乘佛教训练心智的重要法门，它与当时六派哲学中的瑜伽派的修习实践或有相通之处。

公元四至六世纪的笈多王朝是梵语文化发展的高峰期，陀罗尼在新出现的般若类经典中应用的更为普遍，其形态也更为多样，其功能也越来越丰富，法义咒忍四部陀罗尼分类法的出现标志着陀罗尼与真言咒语出现合流。六世纪上半叶，在初期的密教经典《金刚大道场经》中，编纂者将此期依据般若经发展出的印咒法门都为一集，是为般若陀罗尼印坛法门。

伴随着佛教秘密化倾向的加剧，出现了依般若经成立的秘密经法，如理趣经法、仁王经法等。在理趣经法中，梵语声字以多种形态出现，如陀罗尼、真言、种子字、字门、字轮、布字、曼陀罗等，几乎遍及整个秘密行法的各个环节。

从梵语声字的前后变化中，可以看出它在般若经典的形态经历了一个由简单到复杂、由单一到多样化的过程，其功能与属性也经历了一个由方法到本体，即从“总持无文字，文字显总持”，到以方便为究竟、一一声字皆具实相的言语观念转变。在这一过程中，佛教自身也经历了从载之空言到兼及行事（教相与事相）的转变，即从波罗蜜道到真言道的转变。康德说，人的最后文明是实践的，是伦理的，大乘学派的谈空（中观）说有

（瑜伽行）最终向具体的行事与仪式的转型，即是一个很好的例证。

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Textual Study on the Relationship between Season and Disease: with special reference to *Vyādhipraśamanaparivarta* of *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*

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Abstract: The relationship between season and disease is briefly described in *Vyādhipraśamanaparivarta* of *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* (henceforce SBh). This description differs significantly from that contained in Ayurvedic classics though the theory of season and disease is generally belonged to Ayurveda. Moreover, the details in SBh are different from that of other medical texts attributed to Buddhist authors. This essay clarifies the distinction between Sanskrit texts and different translations of SBh, between SBh and Ayurvedic classics in the content of season and disease. In addition, the essay also shows that all these descriptions are based on the same solar calendar system, i.e. they follow the same solar-terrestrial relationship. The months mentioned in this system should be treated as solar months and can not be regarded as lunar months. Being

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aware of this point is beneficial to infer the dates of some historical materials of ancient India.

Keywords: Indian calendar; Ayurveda; chronomedicine; *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*;

Suvarṇaprabhāsa Sūtra or *Suvarṇbhāsottamasūtra* (henceforth SBh) is an important Mahāyāna Buddhist text. It has been translated into several languages such as Chinese, Tibetan, etc. Two editions of the Sanskrit text based upon manuscripts had been published, i.e. Bunyiu Nanjio edition and Nobel edition. Besides, manuscripts of different editions of Chinese and Tibetan versions are found in the treasury of *Dunhuang* Grottoes (henceforth DH). There is one complete Tibetan version of SBh which consists of 21 chapters with storage No.IOL Tib J vol.44 (henceforth ITJ44) which is one of the two versions translated by a translating group headed by *Jinamitra*. Its content is close to Nobel edition of SBh.

The chapter named *Vyādhipraśamana* (i.e. Elimination of Disease, henceforth VP) can be found in exant Sanskrit text and in all the complete versions in different languages of SBh. Major and minor variations can be found in different Sanskrit editions and versions. Two kinds of season system are mentioned in VP of both Sanskrit editions and versions of Chinese and Tibetan. In the first system one year is divided into four equal phases or seasons and each of them consists of three months. The second system divides one year into six equal phases or seasons (*ṛtu*), with each consisting of two months (*māsa*). The four season's names in VP are given sequentially as *varṣā/varṣa, śārada/śarad, hemānta/hemanta and grīṣmika/grīṣma*.[3] In DH mss of Chinese and Tibetan versions of SBh, these names of four seasons are translated as 夏 དབྱར་ཁ (summer), 秋 རྟྭེན་ཁ (autumn), 冬 དགུན་ཁ (winter) and 春 དཔྱིད་ཀ (spring) in sequence. The term of *ṣaḍṛtu* (six seasons) is mentioned in VP, but names of six seasons and

[3] Bunyiu Nanjio, Hokei Idzumi, *The Suvarṇaprabhāsa Sūtra*, The Eastern Buddhist Society, Kyoto, 1931, pp.163-165. Johannes Nobel, *Suvarnabhāsottamasūtra*, Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig, 1937, pp.179-180.

twelve months are not given in VP. In other words, VP adopted four season system when it described the relationship between disease and seasons. According to Ayurveda, the disorders of three *dhātu* (*doṣa*, humor) dominated by humor (*dhātvadhikāra*) separately or combinedly correlate with seasonal variation. Though each of *dhātu* has three states i.e. *sañcaya* (accumulation), *prakopa* (aggravation), and *praśamana* (subsidence), only *prakopa* is mentioned in VP which is based upon four season system. (see Table 1)

Table 1. Four seasons and their influences on disease according to VP

ṛtu (season)				dhātu (humor)
Nanjio.17[4]	Nobel.16[5]	ITJ44[6]	S.2221[7]	dhātuprakopa[8]
varṣā/ varṣa	varṣa	དཔྱིད།	夏	vātādhikāra/ vātādhika
śārada/ śarad	śārada/śarad	སྤྱིད།	秋	pittaprakopa/ pittādhika/ pittavivardhana
hemānta/ hemanta	hemanta	དགུན།	冬	saṃnipāta
grīṣmika /grīṣma	grīṣmika/grīṣma	དཔྱིད།	春	kaphādhikāra/ kaphādhika

[4] Bunyiu Nanjio, Hokei Idzumi, *The Suvarṇaprabhāsa Sūtra*, The Eastern Buddhist Society, Kyoto, 1931, pp.163-165.

[5] Johannes Nobel, *Suvarnabhāsottamasūtra*, Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig, 1937, pp.179-180.

[6] The British Library, Northwest University for Nationalities, Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House, *Tibetan Documents from Dunhuang and Other Central Asian in the British Library*, ⑨, Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House, Shanghai, 2017, p.214.

[7] 英藏敦煌汉文文书《金光明经》, Website of IDP (国际敦煌项目网站).

[8] See note 4 and 5.

The theory of season and disease narrated in VP above is different from the one from Ayurveda, and Ayurveda always represents Hindu medicine. In fact, the four season calendar had not been employed in classical Ayurvedic texts such as *Bṛhattrayī*[9] (i.e. three great works of Ayurveda), etc. According to Ayurveda one year (*vatsara*) consists of six seasons (*ṣaḍṛtu*), and each consists of two months. *Suśrutasaṃhitā* (henceforth SS), the foremost one among the *Bṛhattrayī,* lists names of six seasons and twelve months in chapter 6 of *Sūtrasthānam* (henceforth Sū.). For example, *Varṣa*, the first season, consists of *nabhas* (*śrāvaṇa*) and *nabhasya (bhādrapada).* Furthermore, a year is divided into two equal phases, i.e. *Dakṣiṇāyana* (the southern course of sun) and *Uttarāyana* (the northern course of sun). The former consists of three seasons from *varṣa* to *hemanta*, or six months from *nabhas* (*śrāvaṇa*) to *sahasya* (*pauṣa*). The latter consists of three seasons from *śiśira* to *grīṣma*, or six months from *tapas (māgha) to śukra* (*āṣāḍha*).

Besides, this SS gives another instruction in which *śiśira* is replaced with *vasanta*, and between *grīṣma* and *varṣā* the *prāvṛṣ* is inserted. Three seasons of *Uttarāyana* are *vasanta, grīṣma*, and *pravṛṣ*. The first month of *Dakṣiṇāyana* changed to *bhādrapada* (*nabhasya*). So the summer solstice is postponed to *bhādrapada* (*nabhasya*). No explanation has been given on the reason of this difference in text itself. Some commentator suggests that the former one is based on *Kālacakra*, while the latter one is based on Ayurveda.[10] He confuses the former with the latter obviously. It is the former one generally admitted by Ayurveda. *Siddhasāra* (Abstract as SiS below) also adopts six season system. The *varṣā* and *grīṣma* in SS are respectively replaced with *prāvṛṣ* and *nidāgha* in SiS. (see table 2.)

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[9] *Bṛhattrayī* includes *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, *Carakasaṃhitā* and *Vāgbhaṭasaṃhitā*. The last one is *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā*, or sometimes denotes to *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgrahā* which were both authored by *Vāgbhaṭa*.

[10] G. D. Singal, etc. *Suśruta-saṃhitā: Ancient Indian Surgery*, vol.1, Chaukhanmba Sanskrit Pratishthan, Delhi, 2nd ed., p.55.

Table 2. *ṣaḍṛtu* and *māsa* in *Bṛhattrayī* and *Siddhasāra*[11]

south/north solstice	order	*Caraka*(Sū.6.)[a] /*Suśruta*(Sū.6.6)[b] / *Vāgbhatasaṃhitā*(Sū.3.)[c]		*Siddhasāra*[d]		*Suśrutasaṃhitā* (Sū.6.10)[e]		south/north solstice
		māsa	ṛtu	Māsa	ṛtu	Māsa	ṛtu	
Dakṣiṇāyana or visarga kāla	1	nabhas(śrāvaṇa)	varṣā	nabhas	prāvṛṣ	(śrāvaṇa)	(prāvṛṣ)	(Uttarāyaṇa)
		nabhasya(bhādrapada)	求降雨时	nabhasya		bhādrapada	varṣā	Dakṣiṇāyana avisarga kāla
	2	iṣa (āśvina)	śarad	iṣa	śarad	aśvayuja		
		ūrja (kārtika)	欲熟时	ūrja		kārtika	śarad	
	3	saha (mārgaśīṣa)	hemanta	mārga	hemanta	mārgaśīṣa		
		sahasya (pauṣa)	寒冻时	pauṣa		pauṣa	hemanta	
Uttarāyaṇa or Udagayana	4	tapas (māgha)	śiśira	māgha	śiśira	māgha		Uttarāyana or Udagayana
		tapasya (phālguna)	大雪时	phālguna		phālguna	vasanta	
	5	madhu (caitra)	vasanta	caitra	vasanta	caitra		
		mādhava (vaiśākha)	暄暖時	vaiśākha		vaiśākha	grīṣma	
	6	śuci (jyeṣṭha)	grīṣma	śuci	nidāgha	jyeṣṭha		
		śukra (āṣādha)	种作时	śukra		āṣādha	prāvṛṣ	
(Dakṣiṇāyana)		(śrāvaṇa)	(varṣā)	(nabhas)	(prāvṛṣ)	śrāvaṇa		

[a] Vaidya Jadavaji Trikamji. *Carakasaṃhitā of Agniveśa Elaborated by Caraka and Dṛḍhabala with the Āyurveda-dīpikā Commentary by Cakrapāṇidatta*. Chaukhamba Surbharati Prakashan, Varanasi. 2008. pp.44-48.

[b] Vaidya Jadavaji Trikamji. *Suśrutasaṃhitā of Suśruta with the Nibandhasaṅgraha Commentary of Śrī Dalhanāchārya and the Nyāyachandrikā Pañjikā of śrī Gayadāsāchārya on Nidānasthāna*. Chaukhamba Surbharati Prakashan, Varanasi. 2008. p.24.

[c] Hari Sadāśiva śāstrī Paradakara. *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya of Vāgbhata with the Commentaries: Sarvāṅgasundarā of Arunadatta & Āyurvedarasāyana of Hemādri*. Chaukhamba Surbharati Prakashan, Varanasi. 2010. pp.37-39.

[d] R. E. Emmerick. *The Siddhasāra of Ravigupta*, vol.1: The Sanskrit Text. Franz Steiner Verlag GMRH, Wiesbaden. 1980. p.17.

[e] Vaidya Jadavaji Trikamji. *Suśrutasaṃhitā of Suśruta with the Nibandhasaṅgraha Commentary of Śrī Dalhanāchārya*. Chaukhamba Surbharati Prakashan, Varanasi. 2008. p.25.

[11] The names of six seasons are translated into Chinese by *Narendrayaśa* (那连提耶舍) in his Chinese version of *Mahāvaipulyamahāsamghātasūtra* (《大方等大集经》). The Chinese names of twelve months i.e. the lunar mansions are listed in transliteration in *Dvādaśa-nidāna-jātaśrī-sūtra* (《十二缘生祥瑞经》).

Among the *Bṛhattrayī,* the author of *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* is *Vāgbhaṭa* (or *Vāhaṭa*) who is said to be a Buddhist. *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* and its commentaries had been translated into Tibetan and collected in *bstan-vgyur*(བསྟན་འགྱུར།). According to Tibetan tradition, the author of *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* is *Aśvaghoṣa* (ཨ་ཤྭ་ག྄ྷོ་ཥ་ 马鸣). SS also has some relation with Buddhist because its compiler and redactor *Nāgārjuna* is believed by some as the founder of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Besides, some medical texts such as *Yogaśatakam, Jīvasūtram* etc. also were attributed to a Buddhist author named *Nagārjuna*. Like the common Ayurvedic texts, all above medical texts by Buddhist authors adopt six seasons. So, it is clear that SBh's theory on season is different from Ayurvedic and Buddhist medical texts. Medical system of SBh and Ayurveda are similarly based upon theory of tridoṣa (three humors), so they generally belong to the same system.

According to *Bṛhattrayī* we may determine the date of the north solstice or summer solstice on the first day of *nabhas,* or according to SS on first day of month *bhādrapada.* These two different systems above are solar calendar system. The months should be treated as solar months though they are entitled with names of asterisms or constellations originally according to lunar mansions. The rhythmic variation of *dhātu* alone or combined within one day and one year is mainly related to solar-terrestrial relationship. (see Table 3.)

Table 3. Relation of humors and seasons in *Bṛhattrayī*

southern/ northern course	order	Caraka/ Suśruta/ Vāgbhaṭa				
		ṛtu	māsa	saṅcaya	prakopa	praśamana
Uttarāyana or Udagayana	1	śiśira/ vasanta	māgha	kapha		
			phālguna			
	2	vasanta/ grīṣma	caitra		kapha	
			vaiśākha			
	3	grīṣma/ prāvṛṣ	jyeṣṭha	vāta		kapha
			āṣāḍha			
Dakṣiṇāyana or visarga kāla	4	varṣā	śrāvaṇa	pitta	vāta	
			bhādrapada			
	5	śarad	aśvayuja		pitta	vāta
			kārtika			
	6	hemanta	mārgaśīrṣa	kapha		pitta
			pauṣa			

According to Tibetan version of *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* and SiS, as well as to a recent version of *Carakasaṃhitā* we get to know the transforming relationship of four seasons and six seasons. Nevertheless it could be better to convert these two system according to solstice. Chinese calendar is a complex system in which solar calendar system and lunar calendar system are combined together. So the four seasons in Chinese calendar belong to solar calendar system. Two solstices are situated in middle of summer and winter, while two equinoxes are situated in middle of spring and autumn respectively.(see Table 4) In Indian calendar, the winter solstice is on the 1st day of posterior half of *pauṣa*, while the summer solstice is on the 1st day of posterior half of *śukra* (*āṣāḍha*). Obviously in both calendars these solstices are 15 days earlier than those in *Bṛhattrayī, and 45 days* earlier than those of second system in SS. Besides these, according to *Abhidharmakośa*, from 9th day of the posterior half of 2nd month of season *prāvṛṣ*, the length of night begins to increase day by day, and similarly from 9th day of end of the posterior half of 4th month since *hemanta* the length of night begins to decrease day by day. The length of day ia changing on the contrary of night. [12] Here *Abhidharmakośa* tries to fix solstice in lunar months is an improper and impossible mission.

[12] 《阿毗达磨俱舍论》卷第十一分别世品第三之四. CBETA 电子佛典集成 2016 版.第 59 页. S. D. Śastri ed., *Abhidharmakośa & Bhāṣya of Ācarya Vasubandhu*, with Sphutārthā Commentary of Ācārya Yaśomitra, Bauddha Bharati, Varanasi, 1987. p.519.

Table 4. Months and seasons in *Siddhasāra* (Sanskrit[13] and Tibetan[14])

māsa		ཟླ་བ།	ṛtu	དུས་ཏུག	ཚོགས་བཅས།	solar term (equinox & solstice)	southern/ northern course
nabhas (śrāvaṇa)		དཔྱིད་ཟླ་ཐ་རྒྱལ།	pravṛṣ (varṣā)	དཔྱིད་ཀ།	དཔྱིད་ཟླ་ཐ་རྒྱལ།	11th-12th solar term	
nabhasya (bhādrapada)		ཕྱོགས་ཟླ་ར་བ།			ཕྱོགས་ཟླ་ར་བ།	13th-14th solar term	dakṣiṇāyana
iṣa (āśvina)	1st half	ཕྱོགས་ཟླ་འཕྲིང་པོ།	śarad	ཕྱོགས།	ཕྱོགས་ཟླ་འཕྲིང་པོ།	15th solar term	
	2nd half					Autumn equinox	
ūrja (kārtika)		ཕྱོགས་ཟླ་ཐ་རྒྱལ།			ཕྱོགས་ཟླ་ཐ་རྒྱལ།	17th-18th solar term	
mārga(mārgaśīrṣa)		དགུན་ཟླ་ར་བ།	hemanta	དགུན་ཀ།	དགུན་ཟླ་ར་བ།	19th-20th solar term	
pauṣa	1st half	དགུན་ཟླ་འཕྲིང་པོ།			དགུན་ཟླ་འཕྲིང་པོ།	21st-22nd solar term	
	2nd half					Winter solstice	
māgha		འཕྲིང་པོ་ཐ་རྒྱལ།	śiśira	དགུན་ཐུད།	དགུན་ཟླ་ཐ་རྒྱལ།	23rd -24th solar term	uttarāyana
phālguna		དབྱིན་ཟླ་ར་བ།			དབྱིན་ཟླ་ར་བ།	1st -2nd solar term	
caitra	1st half	དབྱིན་ཟླ་འཕྲིང་པོ།	vasanta	དབྱིན་ཀ།	དབྱིན་ཟླ་འཕྲིང་པོ།	3rd solar term	
	2nd half					Spring equinox	
vaiśākha		དབྱིན་ཟླ་ཐ་རྒྱལ།			དབྱིན་ཟླ་ཐ་རྒྱལ།	5th -6th solar term	
śuci (jyeṣṭha)		དཔྱིད་ཟླ་ར་བ།	nidāgha (grīṣma)	ཚེས་ཀ།	དཔྱིད་ཟླ་ར་བ།	7th -8th solar term	
śukra (āṣādha)	1st half	དཔྱིད་ཟླ་འཕྲིང་པོ།			དཔྱིད་ཟླ་འཕྲིང་པོ།	9th solar term	
	2nd half					Summer solstice	dakṣiṇāyana

[13] R. E. Emmerick. *The Siddhasāra of Ravigupta*, vol.1: The Sanskrit Text. Franz Steiner Verlag GMRH, Wiesbaden, 1980. pp.17-18.

[14] R. E. Emmerick. *The Siddhasāra of Ravigupta*,Vol.2: The Tibetan Version with Facing English Translation. Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, Wiesbaden, 1982. pp.14-16.

Based on the materials above we may compare the difference regarding the seasonal influence on disorder of *dhātu* between SBh and Ayurveda. (see Table 5) The duration of aggravation of *dhātu* is 3 months in four season system while in six season system it is 2 months. The starting time of aggravation of *kapha* and *pitta* in the former is one month earlier than that in the latter, while *vāta* starts two month earlier and ends one month earlier than latter. The difference is obvious.

Table 5. The seasonal influence on *dhātu* in *Kālacakra*, Ayurveda and SBh

	Suśrutasaṃhitā (Sū.6.6)		*Suśrutasaṃhitā* (Sū.6.10)		SBh	
māsa	ṛtu	prakopa	ṛtu	prakopa	ṛtu	prakopa
māgha	śiśira		(hemanta)		Winter 3rd month	(saṃnipāta)
phālguna			vasanta	kapha	Spring 1st month	
caitra	vasanta	kapha			Spring 2nd month	kaphādhikāra
vaiśākha			grīṣma		Spring 3rd month	
jyeṣṭha	grīṣma				Summer 1st month	
āṣāḍha			pravṛṣ		Summer 2nd month	vātādhikāra
śrāvaṇa	varṣā	vāta			Summer 3rd month	
bhādrapada			varṣā	vāta	Autumn 1st month	
aśvayuja	śarad	pitta			Autumn 2nd month	pittādhikāra
kārtika			śarad	pitta	Autumn 3rd month	
mārgaśīrṣa	hemanta				Winter 1st month	
pauṣa			hemanta		Winter 2nd month	saṃnipāta

Conclusion

1. SBh mentioned two kinds of season systems but adopted the four seasons only. The reason of this choice is also not explained in SBh. It is questionable why SBh mentioned two but chose only one. Anyhow it is different from that of Ayurveda and closer to that used in Chinese calendar and Tibetan calendar. This difference might indicate the complex and multilayered textual history of SBh. It may also be due to the differences of authors and compilers.

2. Apart from SBh, most of other medical texts composed by Buddhist scholars follow the same season system as found in the Ayurveda. Therefore, with respect to the season system, SBh differs not only from the Ayurveda but also from the other Buddhist medical texts.
3. The seasonal-humor relation theory of SBh has not been admitted by practitioners of Ayurveda.
4. The study of the differences between SBh and the Ayurvedic texts, on the one hand, and the Buddhist medical texts, on the other, helps us to better understand the genesis and formation of SBh as well as the development and diversification of Buddhism and Indian civilization. 5. Besides Chinese and Tibetan versions of SBh, there are versions translated into other languages which need to be studied.

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Some observations on the linguistic situation in the Tarim Basin oasis towns during the first millennium of the Common Era

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Abstract

During the first millennium of the Common Era, Indo-Aryan (Niya Prakrit), Iranian (Khotan Saka) and Tokharian (Kentum Indo-European) languages were spoken in the oasis towns at the edge of the Tarim Basin. Many of the speakers of those languages were Buddhists and many written documents in these languages address Buddhist topics. The aim of the article is twofold. First: to show that the representatives of the three language families (Niya, Sakian, Tokharian) displayed tendencies towards a linguistic area. This concerns mainly certain phonetic trends but also some shared vocabulary and perhaps the morphological feature of an *l*-past grammeme shared by Tocharian and several Indo-Aryan languages. Second: to show that some of those phonetic trends must originate in dialects of Old Indo-Aryan that were different from Vedic Sanskrit. The second topic is closely related with the theory of a distinction between Outer and Inner Languages in Indo-Aryan. Niya Prakrit, closely related Gāndhārī and the modern Dardic and Nuristani languages are all part of the Outer Languages as against Inner

Languages like Vedic Sanskrit or Hindi. It seems that for some time texts in Gāndhārī language were brought to China, where they were translated into Chinese before the same happened with Buddhist texts in Sanskrit. Niya Prakrit, on the other hand, was particularly a language of administration and perhaps nobody's mother tongue. However, its use as a lingua franca must have facilitated the flow of Buddhist literature from India to China.

Keywords: Linguistic area of Tarim Basin, Gāndhārī language, Niya Prakrit, Khotan Saka, Tocharian, Outer and Inner Languages.

Preliminaries

Among the main cultural links between China and India, one finds Buddhism and Sanskrit as momentous components. A large part of Buddhist scriptures came to China in Sanskrit language, even though many Sanskrit texts on other topics followed the same routes. Conversely, not all Buddhist scriptures moved to China in Sanskrit language but, especially during earlier phases, in Middle Indo-Aryan languages like Pali and Gāndhārī. After all, the Bauddha Dharma Cakra started in a Middle Indo-Aryan language. The earliest documented translations of Buddhist texts into the vernacular languages of Serindia [1] postdate by five centuries the arrival of Buddhism and, in the Tarim Basin, the beginning of literacy in Indian languages: fourth-fifth century for Bactrian, sixth century for Sogdian, [2] fifth century for Khotanese, somewhat earlier for

[1] The word Serindia was coined by Aurel Stein (see Stein 1921) and is a term composed of *Seres* (China) and India and refers to the part of Asia, which is also known as Xinjiang (Sinkiang), Chinese Turkestan, Kashgaria, Chinese Central Asia or by several other names.

[2] Both languages have been handed down in writing for centuries. However, since the heartlands of Bactrian and Sogdian were outside the Tarim Basin, since the number of Bactrian and Sogdian texts found in the oasis cities is rather limited and since they do not seem to show the same or similar language area features as Khotan Saka, they are not further considered in this article.

Tocharian. Apparently, the necessity to have Buddhist texts translated did not appear at once. It was often surmised that Gāndhārī preceded Sanskrit as sacred language. This assumption is not supported by the evidence. To be true, Gāndhārī and the Kharoṣṭhī script documents represent the older layer and fell into disuse centuries before Sanskrit. But the oldest Kucha manuscripts, of Kuṣāṇa date, are in Sanskrit, and a great part of Indian literacy introduced to Central Asia (such as medical texts or grammars) probably never existed in Gāndhārī. Between ca. 150 and ca. 650 CE, Serindian Buddhism in Bactria and in the Tarim Basin used Gāndhārī and Sanskrit. In the Tarim Basin, Gāndhārī or rather Niya Prakrit outlived by three centuries its demise in Gandhāra (4th century).[3] This is the result of the fact that it was the chancellery language, and chancelleries are notoriously conservative. In any case, the languages of Serindian Buddhism were at first Indian ones, and manuscripts came from India. The missionaries, whether they went to Bactria or to the Tarim Basin and further to China, departed from India.

The question I try to briefly discuss here is the following: In order to understand the linguistic situation in the Tarim Basin oasis towns during the first millennium I need to say in a nutshell (a) a few words on the relationship between Old Indo-Aryan (OIA, Vedic Sanskrit) and Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA, Gāndhārī and Niya), and (b) a few words on the linguistic prehistory of North India (that is, before the arrival of OIA speakers), a prehistory which was dominated by Austro-Asiatic (AA) languages.

This procedure is necessary to put across the central thesis of my article, which is: The observable common phonetic features shared by Iranian Khotan Saka and Indo-Aryan Niya Prakrit (and perhaps to a very small degree also by Tocharian) are largely the result of influences of prehistoric ‘indigenous’ languages and to a lesser degree of Austro-Asiatic languages on so-called Outer Languages of Indo-Aryan which include Gāndhārī and closely related Niya.

[3] See Fussman 1989a.

Theory of Outer and Inner Languages

To understand why I speak of a strong influence of prehistoric indigenous and of Austro-Asiatic languages on Outer Languages, at least a brief sketch of the underlying theory is to be called for, even though the details of the theory are of considerable complexity. The theory claims that the immigration of speakers of Old Indo-Aryan into South Asia was not a singular event and that this more than one-time immigration event has left traces even in the New Indo-Aryan languages. The theory goes back to a publication of the missionary and linguist August Friedrich Rudolf Hoernle (1880) but has remained very controversial to this day. It was accepted by Abraham Grierson (1927a, *Linguistic Survey of Indi*a 1.1: 116–118 and his article 1931-33), but decidedly rejected by S. K. Chatterji (1926), after almost 100 years revived by Franklin Southworth (2005a) and defended now by me in some already published articles and in a forthcoming comprehensive book (see literature). I maintain that the theory stands or falls with linguistic data confirming or failing to confirm two propositions:

1. Especially geographically and socially peripheral New Indo-Aryan languages must show evidence for OIA and Proto-Indo-European (PIE) features neither found in Vedic nor in Classical Sanskrit.[4]

[4] This proposition entails the prediction that if there were (at least) two different immigrations of two different OIA languages/dialects into South Asia (one of them the Vedic language) then their mutual mingling must have required many centuries before the first Outer Language features surfaced in the MIA phase of the koinés (i.e. more or less transregional languages like Sanskrit or the Prakrits). Here to be noted is also that besides many linguistic features distinguishing Outer Languages (for instance Nuristani, Dardic and West Pahāṛī) from the Inner Languages (Vedic Sanskrit and its daughter languages like Hindi), some of the modern Outer Languages have preserved some phonological features closer to the Proto-Indo-Iranian stage than Vedic Sanskrit. So far, such features were believed to be characteristic of Nuristani only, but my forthcoming book contains linguistic evidence which proves that Nuristani is not unique here.

2. South Asia has long since been recognized as constituting a linguistic area (*Sprachbund*). Its formation is usually ascribed to interactions between Indo-Aryan and Dravidian. Influence through Munda is regarded as less important and even less important is the influence through Tibeto-Burman. This situation makes it safe to assume that before the arrival of Old Indo-Aryan, a substantially different type of linguistic landscape characterized northern India. Hence, the second proposition predicts that the earlier immigration – namely of the ancestor of the Outer Languages – must have experienced a *strong* impact from linguistic features of the prehistoric linguistic area, and which has left clear traces in the modern Outer Languages, whereas the later Vedic language immigration led to a *weak* impact on Vedic and its follow-up languages like Hindi.

A shibboleth distinguishing Outer from Inner Languages

Whether one assumes geographically different immigration routes and subsequent different dispersion areas (like Hoernle, Grierson and Southworth) or whether one assumes different temporal immigration periods but not different routes (like this author),[5] there cannot be any doubt that in subsequent centuries the different immigration groups with their different Indo-Aryan dialects must have intermingled, as pointed out above. A revealing yet highly contested example concerns the origin of the Middle Indo-Aryan suffix *-alla/illa/ulla-* on which I can say here just a few words.[6]

There has been a number of attempts for the explanation of this suffix from Grierson to Southworth – for instance continuing a PIE adjectival suffix **-lo-* or resulting from a grammaticalized verb stem – none of which found acceptance also because *-l-* and *-ll-* were

[5] Whereas for instance Grierson and Southworth assume that Outer and Inner Languages cover adjacent yet separate geographical spaces, I argue that both immigration waves covered almost the same geographical space but occurred during different periods. For more details see Zoller (2016: 104ff.).

[6] A detailed discussion is found in Zoller forthcoming.

not always clearly kept apart in the arguments.[7] I propose that *-alla/illa/ulla-* indeed is related with PIE **-lo-*, however because of its geminate character, has a more complex origin with a precise parallel in Tocharian B.

According to Iván Igartua (2014: 306f.) "… the [adjectival Proto-Indo-European] suffix **-lo-* could be extended by means of different preceding vowels, thereby yielding secondary formations …" The following forms have been reconstructed for PIE: **-ulo-*, **-elo-*, **-ilo-*, **-ālo-* (< **-ah₂-lo-*), **-ē-lo-* (< **-eh₁-lo-*). From among them, only **-ulo-* is found in OIA as e.g. in *bahulá-* 'thick, ample' (Greek *παχυλοζ* 'thickish') and in many other adjectives. However, the reconstructed PIE suffixes resemble strikingly the three MIA suffixes *-illa/alla/ulla-*.[8] Moreover, this **l*-class of Indo-European *adjectives* became *verbal* in Slavic, Armenian and Tocharian, but not in Vedic. Apparently the first Middle Indo-Aryan grammarian who described this suffix was Vararuci who might have flourished between the 3rd and 5th Century CE.[9] According to Richard Pischel (§ 595), the MIA grammeme corresponded grammatically with OIA *-mat* and *-vat*, but there are already also examples for present participle function as in MIA *sāsilla-* 'breathing' (OIA *śvāsin-*). However, the first documentation for the use of the suffix in past function is found only a few hundred years later in Mahārāṣṭrī. Southworth (2005b: 170) observes a "… lack of evidence for the *-l-* past … before about the eighth century CE at the earliest."

As I proposed in 2016 (pp. 93ff.), the MIA suffix has a parallel in Tocharian B. According to Don Ringe (1996: 116), the Tocharian B suffixes *-lye* and *-lle* derive from a combination of the Proto-Indo-European suffix **-lo-* (see above) plus adjective suffix

[7] In those NIA languages in which OIA *-l-* and *-ll-* are reflected as *-ḷ-* and *-l-*, it is always *-l-* appearing as past/perfect marker. This means for instance that NIA *-l-* past/perfect markers cannot go back to a lexeme and, of course, there is also no OIA grammeme containing an *-ll-* geminate.

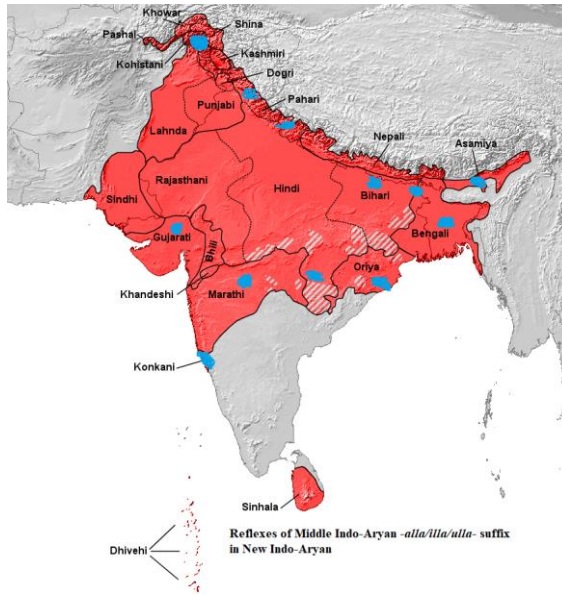
[8] There is no other Prakrit suffix with three different initial vowels which makes the suggested PIE origin of *-illa/alla/ulla-* even more likely.

[9] This has been suggested e.g. by Nalini Balbir (2017: 24), but the date is still quite uncertain. According to Andrew Ollett, Vararuci's grammar *Prākṛta prakāśa* is quoted for the first time by Abhinavagupta (2017: 149).

*-*yo*- which is reflected in Sanskrit as the gerund suffix -*ya*-.[10] The regular outcome of OIA -*l*- plus -*y*- is MIA -*ll*-. The following map shows in form of light blue dots the areas of the NIA languages with a past/perfect function.[11] They form almost a circle around ancient *Madhyadeśa*, the center of Vedic civilization, where the suffix is not found. This type of geographical manifestation makes it very unlikely that the suffix came into being only around the time of Vararuci. Much more plausible is the assumption that it is an old Outer Languages formation that slowly spread over centuries until it was taken note of by medieval Indian grammarians. However, as much as I can see, the suffix is unknown in the extant Gāndhārī and Niya texts. This may be an indication that the parallel developments of this suffix in Tocharian and in Outer Languages occurred independently from each other.

[10] In earlier Sanskrit, -*ya*- was only added to verb stems with an *upasarga* preposition (e.g. *āgamya*- 'having come'). But this rule disappeared in later Sanskrit and anyway it seems that the rule probably did not apply to all OIA dialects.

[11] A detailed list of languages with examples is in Zoller forthcoming. Here just one example: Dardic Indus Kohistani aorist *sΛ́ỹ karìl*^{i} 'he did (s.th.)'.



Geographical distribution of -alla/illa/ulla- suffix

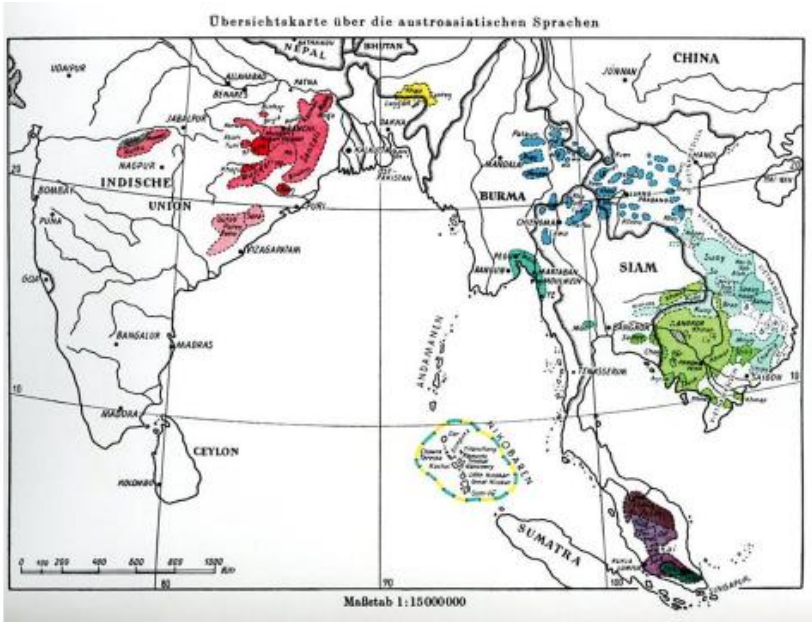
Old Indo Aryan auxiliary BHŪ *'become' plus* -alla/illa/ulla

-

In his article, Igartua points out the morphological similarity between ancient Lydian and Slavic auxiliaries and he writes (2014: 312): "[C]f. for example Lyd. *esl* 'was' and OCS [Old Church Slavic] *bulъ* '(has) been', coming from different roots of the verb 'to be'." The Slavic auxiliary has of course a parallel in OIA *BHŪ* 'become' (Proto Indo-European **bheu*(h_x)- 'be'). Sanskrit does not have a past form with the MIA suffix, but it is found in Prakrit and in several modern Outer Languages: Prakrit *bhaïla* 'became; produced' (probably < older **bhaïlla*-, see the *Pāia-Sadda-Mahaṇṇavo* and below Shina), Dardic Shina *billé* 'have become' and Palūla *bhílu* perfective marker, West Pahāṛī Kiūṁṭhalī *bhūlā* 'was' and Bihari *bhela* 'became'. Here again the best explanation for these linguistic facts is intrusion of an Outer Languages form into the realm of Inner Languages during the Middle Indo-Aryan phase.

Ending this section “Theory of Outer and Inner Languages” I must point out that it had the function to provide the reader with the necessary background (first proposition) for understanding the following data from languages of the Tarim Basin. Their peculiar shapes are the effect of an early and intensive encounter with the prehistoric language-scape of North India, which had exerted the very same effect on Proto-Munda, which itself had arrived in North India even before the arrival of Indo-Aryan speakers (second proposition).

Prehistoric North India



Present distribution of Austro-Asiatic languages

There is plenty of evidence not only in Outer Languages but also in the many small Tibeto-Himalayan languages and even in language isolate Burushaski that the dominant language family spread over

large parts of prehistoric North India was Austro-Asiatic.[12] However, like intruding Old Indo-Aryan, also Austro-Asiatic was once intruding into South-Asia (long before the Indo-Aryans and probably coming from the area of the Mekong Valley, see Sidwell and Blench [2011]). This, in turn, raises the question regarding the nature of the linguistic landscape of North India before the arrival of speakers of Austro-Asiatic. We face here a largely unexplored and arcane world about which pro tempore very little can be said. However, indirect conclusions about characteristic features of the languages at that deep prehistoric level can be derived from a series of features found in both Outer Languages and Munda languages but not (or rarely ever) in Inner Languages and Mon-Khmer languages. When the ancestors of the Munda languages migrated into North India, their languages were influenced in specific ways by aboriginal languages of North India. Therefore, Paul Sidwell can suggest convincingly regarding the origin of Austro-Asiatic "a stable long-term presence in Indo-China, probably centered on the Mekong River. The most geographically distant branch – the Munda of India – is treated as a highly innovative outlier …" (2010: 118). In other words, the Munda languages got 'Indianized' in ways which have no parallels in Mon-Khmer languages (see Kuiper 1965). Basically, the same 'Indianizing' features are amply testified in Outer Languages but absent, or found only rarely, in the Inner Languages. However, for the time being the question remains unresolved whether the Outer Languages received those influences directly from the aboriginal languages or via contact with Munda languages.

Selection of shared Munda – Outer Languages features

1. dental ~ retroflex consonants
2. voice and aspiration fluctuation
3. aspiration fronting
4. 'spontaneous' aspiration
5. 'spontaneous' affricatization

[12] According to traditional taxonomy, divided into the two main branches Mon-Khmer and Munda.

6. devoicing (and deaspiration)
7. loss/weakening of initial consonants
8. sesquisyllabic word structures
9. pronunciation of retroflex nasal consonants as nasalized vowel plus oral flap
10. peculiar pronunciation of velar nasal consonants
11. alternations between aspiration *h* and glottal constriction *ʔ*
12. sound change *h* > *v*

With reservation and provisionally I may say that from among the twelve linguistic features, eight appear to have had their origin in indigenous prehistoric languages of North India (1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 9, 10, 12), one feature (8) is clearly of Austro-Asiatic origin and in case of the remaining three features (5, 6, 11) the origin is not (yet) clear.

1a Retroflexion (and aspiration) of dental Austro-Asiatic consonants13

Proto-Mon-Khmer	**Munda 1**	**Munda 2**	**Indo-Aryan**
**ktaat* 'to cackle'	Bondo *kɔtkɔteŋ-*	Santali *khaʈkhaʈao*	Marāṭhī *kaṭkaṭṇẽ*
**giit* 'to scratch'	Sora *gɪd-ged*	Juang *geḍ-geḍ*	Gaṛhwāḷī *gadoṛnu*

2a Voice and aspiration fluctuation

Meaning	**Munda**	**Indo-Aryan**
'to drizzle'	Santali *jıbır jıbır = jhıbır jhıbır*	West Pahāṛī Deogārī *chiṛbiṛ chiṛbiṛ*
		Dardic Kalami *khum* 'ground, bottom' < OIA *gambhan-* 'depth'

[13] Note that in Austro-Asiatic studies linguistic data are frequently presented with the International Phonetic Alphabet.

3.a Aspiration fronting

Korku (Munda) *dhẽa* 'yoghurt' ← OIA *dádhi-* 'thick sour milk'

Santali (Munda) *bhaph* 'steam, vapour' ← OIA *bāṣpá-* 'vapour' (Pali *bappa-*)

Khowar (Dardic) *kh'anj* 'wall' < OIA **kanthya-* 'pertaining to wall' (CDIAL2722)

Jaunsārī (Pahāṛī) *jhữga* 'moustache' < OIA **juṅgha-* 'beard, moustache' (CDIAL 5254)

Gujarātī *haji* 'still' < OIA *adhyadhi-* 'on high'

Mārwāṛī *bharữmaṇ* 'a Brahmin'

Marāṭhī *ghos* 'bouquet; a bunch or cluster' < OIA *guccha-* 'bunch of flowers'[14]

Assamese *phisa* (*phica*) 'tail of a fish' < OIA *piccha-* 'tail-feather'

4a$_1$ 'Spontaneous' aspiration in Munda

Santali *ɟhik* 'porcupine' – cf. Mon-Khmer Jahai *ɟkɨs* 'porcupine (type of)'; Kharia *ˈbhulu* `thigh' – Proto-Mon-Khmer **bluuʔ* 'thigh'. Also in borrowings from Indo-Aryan and English: Santali *bhucəṛ* 'butcher' and *ɖhismis* 'dismiss', Kharia *ʈibhi* 'TV' (cf. Kumaonī *ṭelibhijan* 'television'), Mundari *kandhar* 'cave' borrowed from OIA *kandará-* 'cave', etc.

4a$_2$ 'Spontaneous' aspiration in Outer Languages

There exist hundreds of examples, here just a few: Dardic Palūra *ghā'v* 'cow < OIA *gava-* `cow', West Pahāṛī Sirājī of Ḍoḍa *bhõsrī* 'flute' (also Mārwāṛī *bhữsri* and Panjabi *bãjhlī* 'flute') < OIA *vaṁśī-* 'flute', Jaṭkī *hanjh* 'tear' < OIA *áśru-*, Sindhī *pirbhu* 'festival' (OIA *parva-*), Rājasthānī *bhāṭo* 'stone' < OIA **varta-* 'stone', Marāṭhī

[14] With dentalization of the aspirated affricate and subsequent deaffricatization.

pā̃ḍhrā ‘white < OIA *páṇḍara-* ‘white’, Bengali and Assamese *ṭhēṅ* ‘shin, leg’ < OIA lex. *ṭaṅga-* ‘leg’, etc.

5a₁ ‘Spontaneous’ affricatization in Munda and Mon-Khmer

Santali (Munda) *cha* ‘tea’ (cf. Hindi *cāy*), *sãe sãe ~ chãe chãe*
‘hissing sound’, *chakmak* ‘a flint’ ultimaltely ← Turkish *çaqmaq*
Proto-Mon-Khmer **sil* ‘to peel’ has affricatized reflexes in Sre[15] *chil* ‘to peel’ and Stieng[16] *chul* ‘to peel’, but the trend is also found in borrowings like Nyah Kur *chəbúu* ‘soap’ which cf. e.g. with West Pahāṛī Bangāṇī *ċhabēṇ* or Assamese *chaban* both ‘soap’ all of which are borrowed from Arabic *ṣābūn* (but actually spread into many languages through Portuguese expansion).

5a₂ ‘Spontaneous’ affricatization in Outer Languages

This process – e.g. *š* > *čh* – is certainly much less common than for instance spontaneous aspiration. But it appears again to be largely limited to Outer languages. It is not clear whether the tendency was already prehistoric ‘North Indian’ or whether it was an Austro-Asiatic import. Here follows a small selection:

Waigalī (Nuristani) *čičil* ‘soft’ < older **šr̥čila-* < OIA **śr̥thilá-* ‘loose, slack’ (CDIAL 12601)
Indus Kohistani (Dardic) *ċhiçáṽ* ‘to learn’ < OIA *śíkṣate* ‘learns’
Bangāṇī (West Pahāṛī) *ċoċiṇɔ* ‘to think, ponder’ < OIA *śocyate* ‘is made to feel pain’
Rājasthānī *chūnch* ‘crocodile’ < OIA *śimśuka-* ‘an aquatic animal; porpoise’

[15] Spoken in Vietnam.
[16] Spoken in Vietnam and Cambodia.

Bengali *chikal* ‘chain’ < OIA *śr̥ṅkhala-* ‘chain’

6a Devoicing (and deaspiration) in Outer Languages[17]

Also here only a few examples can be presented even though the phenomenon is widespread in Outer Languages:

Kati (Nuristani) *tar-* ‘to place, to put’ < OIA *dhāráyati* ‘holds’

Kalasha (Dardic) *khas* ‘grass’ < OIA *ghāsá-* ‘food, pasture grass’

Kumaunī (Central Pahāṛī)[18] *sə̃s* ‘twilight’ (also Koṅkaṇī *sont* ‘eve’) < OIA *saṁdhyắ-* ‘twilight’

7a Loss/weakening of initial occlusive

Meaning	**Munda**	**Indo-Aryan and others**
‘son’	Kurku *kɔn* = Santali *hɔn*	
‘horse’		Nuristani Prasun *irí* or *‘īri* < OIA *ghoṭa-*
‘five’		Prasun *vuč* < OIA *páñca-*
‘saw’		Dardic Shina *haráçi* and isolate Burushaski *haríçi* < OIA *karapattra-* or *krakaca-*

8a Sesquisyllabic word structures

Sesquisyllabic words are an important characteristic of Austro-Asiatic languages. Their specific structure has left deep marks in

[17] Glottal stops (and pre-glottalized) consonants are Proto-Austro-Asiatic heritage. Since they appear also frequently in word-final environments, there is the impression that in Austro-Asiatic languages word-final tenuis are much more common than mediae.

[18] Examples for Kumaunī exist only word medially and finally.

different Indo-Aryan language groups (especially Nuristani, Dardic and West Pahāṛī varieties). Sesquisyllabic words consist of two syllables, whereby an initial unstressed syllable is followed by a stressed full syllable. This word pattern has largely disappeared from the Munda languages (apparently due to prehistoric influence of indigenous languages), but has survived in various Outer Languages. Two examples from Austro-Asiatic:

PAA	**Mon-Khmer**		**Munda**	
**blu:ʔ* 'thigh'[19]	Palaung	*blu*	Sora	*bulu-*
			Kharia	*bhulu*
**priəl* 'hail'	Bahnar	*prɛl*	Gtaʔ	*bire:l*[20]
	Khasi	*phria*	Gorum	*are:l*

Some examples from north-western Indo-Aryan languages:

Waigalī (Nuristani) *pšík* 'cat' < OIA **puśśi-* (8298)
Indus Kohistani (Dardic) *kʌžʌ́l* 'collyrium'[21] < OIA *kajjala-* 'lamp-black' (but Hindi *kājal*)
Himachali (West Pahāṛī) *rgāṇu* 'to color' (cf. Hindi *raṅgānā*)

An example with preservation of sesquisyllabic structure also in Munda:

Burushaski (language isolate) ġaḍaġaḍáp 'sound of horse's hooves', Shina (Dardic) gaṛáp 'ditto', Indus Kohistani (Dardic) gʌṛʌ́p-gʌṛʌpʰ 'sound of clatter (of horses)' —

[19] For a fuller presentation of this lemma see Sidwell (2010: 124).
[20] Here we have a case of deletion or weakening of an initial consonant. This is a characteristic of Munda which has affected Outer Languages to some extent.
[21] Practically the same pronunciation with an emphasis on the second syllable is widespread all over the north-west and includes Pashto. The word is possibly of Munda origin because of Sanskrit lexicographic *ajjhala-* 'coal' with loss of initial consonant.

Santali (Munda) kaṭaʔp kaṭaʔp ‘clattering (sound of hoofed animals walking; of wooden clogs)’[22]

9a Pronunciation of retroflex nasal consonants as nasalized vowel plus oral flap

In *Acta Orientalia* 2016 (p. 87f.) I wrote: “Josef Elfenbein states about Pashto and IA ‘Lahndā’[23] (1997: 745): ‘There is also, as in Lhd, a spontaneous change of *ṇ* to *ṽṛ*, e.g. *rũ̄ṛ* < *rūṇr* < **rūxšna-*.” Exactly the same phonetic phenomenon of shift of [+nasal] from a consonant to a preceding vowel – thus VN → ṼC – is known from Nuristani, from Dardic languages like Indus Kohistani, and quite frequently it is also found in other Outer Languages like poetic Ṭihriyāḷī dialect of Gaṛhvālī *ɔ̃ṛɛ lɐgɛ* (Hindi *āne lag gaye*) ‘(they) started to come’, Braj-Awadhī as in *kã̄ṛī* ‘a long deep basket’ < OIA *káraṇḍa-* ‘basket’, Nepālī, Bihārī, Bhojpurī, Bengali as in *rã̄ṛ* ‘widow’ < OIA *raṇḍa-*‘maimed’, in Assamese as e.g. in *kãr* (*kã̄r*) ‘arrow’ < OIA *kā́ṇḍa-* ‘arrow’, and, significantly, in (North) Munda languages as e.g. in Kharia *hãṛiya ~ haṇiya ~ haṇḍiya* ‘pots for holding rice beer’ which has a parallel in Bengali *hã̄ṛī* ‘pot’.[24] The Kharia and Bengali words are connected with OIA **hāṇḍa-* ‘pot’ (14050) and Chatterji wonders (1926: 553) about its possible relationship with OIA *bhāṇḍa-* ‘pot’ (9440), but loss of word-initial consonants or of word-initial closure is found in various Outer Languages[25] and in Munda, but it is almost unknown in OIA.”

10a Peculiar pronunciation of velar nasal consonants

[22] The ‘sesquisyllabic nature’ of this lemma is characterized in Burushaski and Dardic by accentuation of the second syllable, and in Munda by the glottal stop also in the second syllable.
[23] This is an outdated term for Hindko and Siraiki.
[24] In the Chittagong dialect of Bengali, the parallel is *àri* ‘earthen saucepan’, i.e. here [+nasal] has completely disappeared and initial *h-* has changed into a tone.
[25] Perhaps the most notorious case is Nuristani Prasun.

Also here we observe the same pronunciation opposition between Inner Languages on the one hand and Munda and Outer Languages on the other. In *Acta Orientalia* 2016 (p. 88) I wrote:[26] "A velar nasal consonant is articulated in two different ways in northern South Asia: [ŋ] (-*ṅ*[-]) or [ŋg] (-*ṅg*[-]). The latter pronunciation is found in Old Indo-Aryan and in an Inner Language like Hindi, e.g. OIA *áṅga-* and Hindi *aṅg* 'limb'. The former pronunciation is found in Nuristani, in some Dardic languages, in Burushaski and at the other end of the IA world, e.g. in Assamese. The former pronunciation is also a typical characteristic of Munda/Austro-Asiatic. Since the phenomenon is found at the western and the eastern fringes of IA (the pronunciation may also be found in some IA languages in-between, but at the moment I am not aware of one), it is most likely an example of the *strong* impact of Munda/Austro-Asiatic on the first wave of OIA language immigration. Examples: Nuristani *aṅust'a* 'finger-ring' but OIA *aṅguṣṭhya-* 'pertaining to thumb or big toe', Dardic Pashai *aṅ* 'arm' < OIA *áṅga-* 'limb', Burushaski *aṅáro* 'Tuesday' borrowed < OIA *aṅgāraka-* 'the planet Mars', Assamese *āṅuli* 'finger' < OIA *aṅgúli-* 'finger', Munda Santali *baṅ baṅ* 'gaping hole' and *aṅ* 'body' (borrowing of *áṅga-*).

11a Alternations between aspiration h and glottal constriction ʔ

There are just a few of such alternations within one lemma, still it is likely that a glottal stop phoneme belonged to (some of) the languages of prehistoric North India. However, it is most likely that also in Gāndhārī initial vowels were preceded by an etymologically unmotivated glottal stop or an unmotivated aspiration. Graphemically, they are identified by an initial aleph which, according to Stephan Baums (pers. comm.), must have phonetically been either an initial glottal stop or a voiced aspirate. Thus Pali *imasmiṁ* 'in this' ~ Gāndhārī *himaspi* pronounced as [ʔiməspi] ~ [ɦimaspi]. This is a case of a pre-aspiration or pre-glottalization on the 'closure' (actually 'narrowing') position of the segment. This seems to be supported by H. W. Bailey's observation (1946: 783)

[26] Here quoted with a few small changes.

that intervocalic *-t-* was sometimes written with an aleph as e.g. in *sagami caʾudiśami* 'in the sangha of the four quarters'. This, in turn suggests, that occasionally intervocalic *-t-* was not weakened to a fricative [ɸ] but changed into a glottal stop as is e.g. known from British English dialects. Whether 'spontaneous' initial 'aspiration' found in several Khotan Saka words (examples follow below) has a similar background is, however, not clear to me. The interrelation between glottalization (also called by some laryngealization) and aspiration is clear from a phonological point of view regarding the laryngeal features 'space between the vocal folds' and 'tension in the folds'.

Glottalization vs. aspiration as distinctive features:

[-constricted]	[-constricted]	[+constricted]
[+spread]	[-spread]	[-spread]
'aspirated'	'plain'	'glottalized'
[p^h]	[p]	[$p^ʔ$]

West Pahāṛī *gāhṛ* 'brook and *gāhḍ* 'depth' — Kannaurī (Western Himalayish[27]) *gaʔḍ* 'rivulet' — Kharia (Munda) *gaʔḍha* (*ḍhoṭha*[28]) 'stream, brook' — cf. OIA **gaḍḍa-* 'hole, pit' (CDIAL 3981).

12a Sound change of v > h

Compared with the above-listed phonetic and phonological phenomena, this process is limited to some Nuristani, Dardic and Pahāṛī languages and in addition to Khotan Saka (there with just one known example). However, whereas in these three languages groups there are traces of more comprehensive alternations of the type *h ~v ~*

[27] Western Himalayish is a branch of Tibeto-Burman.
[28] Echo word.

y there seem in Khotan Saka only traces of the simpler process *v* > *h*. Details of the origins of these alternations are unknown. Examples:[29]

> Kalasha *bišahúr* 'city of Peshawar', *duvdúv* ~ *duhudúhu* 'hot to touch' < OIA *dūyate* 'is burned', Pashai *yīm* 'snow' < OIA *himá-* 'snow', Kati *gŕóv* 'cupped handful' < OIA *grāha-* 'seizing', Palūla *lōvīṣṭ* 'male of Himalayan pheasant' < OIA **lohiṣṭa-* 'very red'

Languages and religions around the Tarim Basin



Findspots of material written in Kharoṣṭhī (© Andrea Schlosser 2016: 8)

The dominant religion in the settlements around the Tarim Basin was for many centuries Buddhism. However, in an apparent multicultural place like medieval Turfan lived also communities following Manicheism as well as Zoroastrian and Nestorian Christian communities. J. P. Mallory notes that an early 20th Century German expedition brought back text documents in 17 different languages (2010: 44), whereby it is clear that some languages were intrusive like Turkic Uyghur whereas others were indigenous (i.e. documented since the Bronze Age). According to Mallory, Eastern Iranian "Sogdian, whose homeland is west Central Asia, was employed not

[29] Except Nuristani Kati, all examples are from Dardic languages.

only by merchants but also for the religious documents of Buddhists, Manicheans, and Nestorian Christians … [whereas] Buddhists in the region of Krorān (Chinese Loulan) … employed an Indic language, Prakrit, in administration.[30] [Indo-European Kentum language] Tocharian was used both to translate Buddhist texts and as an administrative language, which suggests that it was spoken by a wider range of people than exclusively monks. Another major language was Khotanese Saka, the language spoken in the south of the Tarim Basin at the site of Khotan as well as at northern sites such as Tumshuq and Murtuq and possibly Qāshqār, the western gateway into the Tarim Basin" (2010: 45f.).[31] Tocharian is subdivided into two (by some into three) languages Tocharian A and B (and C). "The documents, dating from the 6th to the 8th centuries CE, suggest that Tocharian A was by that time probably a dead liturgical language [of Buddhism], while Tocharian B was still very much in use" (Mallory [2010: 48]).

With regard not only to a linguistic area but also a common cultural area (a long time dominated by Buddhism), Doug Hitch notes (2009: 11) that "[t]here are key similarities in structure, phrasing and even vocabulary in legal documents from several of the medieval Tarim areas. This seems to indicate that these areas share a common legal tradition." Against the obvious argument that this might be due to Chinese influence, Hitch argues that recently found Bactrian contractual documents rather suggest longer-lasting political control from the west (p. 11f.). Mainly based on numismatic evidence, Hitch argues (p. 13) "… that there was a close relationship between Khotan and the Kushans, from the time of Kujula Kadphises, 30-80 AD, to that of Kanishka, 127-147 AD …" And p. 14: "Both powers, Kushan and Chinese, would have been interested in controlling the lucrative trade routes. Kushan control may have begun with Kujula Kadphises and continued past Kanishka, with

[30] Mallory adds p. 49: "The Kroränian documents [in north-western Prakrit] date to ca. 300 CE and provide our earliest evidence for the use of Tocharian" (because of many loanwords from a Tocharian language perhaps different from A and B).

[31] Doug Hitch ponders the possibility that in medieval times there existed "… a Saka language arc, stretching from Khotan through Yarkand and Kashgar to Tumshug" (2009: 5).

interruptions by the Chinese and possibly by periods of local independence. With the Kushans came the Northwest Prakrit, written in Kharosthi script, as a lingua-franca for government, trade and Buddhism. It is well known from documentary and numismatic evidence that the ancient Tarim kingdoms of Kroraina (Loulan), and Khotan used a form of the Northwest Prakrit language and Kharoṣṭhī script for administration and probably Buddhism from about the first to the fourth centuries. It is at long last now confirmed that there have been finds of civil documents in Prakrit and Kharoṣṭhī also from the Kucha region." And p. 15: "The documentary evidence of Prakrit usage on both north and south rims of the Tarım Basin indicates Kushan control of most of the basin. The language and script probably remained as the vehicle of administration throughout the Tarim after Kushan control waned, possibly lasting in Kucha until the seventh century." He adds (ibid.) that the first texts from India reaching China were not in Sanskrit but in Prakrit.

The following data show that the type of Prakrit used in the Tarim Basin was close to Gāndhārī of north-western India. Therefore, it also shows several of the features also characterizing modern Outer Languages and Munda languages as results of a strong encounter with the prehistoric language-scape of North India. From among the above twelve linguistic features, only five (2, 4, 5, 6,[32] 12) seem to be identifiable in the written Niya and Khotan Saka documents. No Austro-Asiatic influence is detectable.

2b₁,4b₁ 'Spontaneous' aspiration and voicing (or devoicing) in Niya[33]

d > **dh** or **t**

OIA *dattá-* 'given' either > *dhitu, dhida* or > *tita-, tida-* (with *a* > *i* also found in other Prakrits, see Pischel § 101)

dv > **bh**

OIA *dvitī́ya-* 'second' > *bhiti* (*dviti, biti*)

k > **gh**

[32] However, devoicing in Tarim Basin Saka and Niya may very well be due to Tocharian influence.

[33] Note that the below Niya words show only spontaneous aspiration with mediae.

OIA *saṃkal-* 'to drive, put to flight' > *saṃghalida*
ch > **c** or **j**
OIA *chinna-* 'cut off' > *ciṃnita* or *jinida*

2b₂ Voicing of surds in Khotan Saka

chada ← OIA *kṣata-* 'hurt, wound'
gyagarrä 'liver' related with Av. *yākar-* 'liver'
magarāmala 'dolphin standard ← OIA *makara-* 'crocodile'
maṃdra 'formula, spell' ← OIA *mantra-*

4b₁ 'Spontaneous' word-initial aspiration in Niya

he'ḍi 'sheep' < OIA *eḍa-* 'a kind of sheep' (CDIAL 2512, according to Turner a borrowing from Dravidian) has an almost exact parallel in West Pahāṛī Chināli *huḍ* 'ewe'.

4b₁ 'Spontaneous' word-initial aspiration (or glottal stop?) also in Gāndhārī
himaspi (or *ʔimaspi*) 'in that' corresponds with Pali *imasmin*
hidria 'organ of sense' < OIA *indriya-*
hirdhaa 'one of the four constituent part of supernatural power' < OIA *ṛddhipāda*

4b₂ 'Spontaneous' word-initial aspiration in Khotan Saka

haṵ 'oats, or similar grain' is compared by Bailey with Av. *avō-* 'fodder' and is also quoted by Mallory and Adams (2006: 166) as *hau* 'some form of cereal' who derive it < PIE **h$_a$ewis* oats'[34]

[34] This derivation is regarded by some as doubtful and the lemma is rather regarded as a substrate word.

handara$_1$ ‘another’ < Av. *antara-*

handara$_2$ ‘within, interior' < Av. *antarə-* ‘within, between’

hana ‘blind’ < Av. *anda-*

hāma ‘raw, unbaked, uncooked’, OIr. *om* < PIE **h$_2$omós* ‘raw, uncooked’ (OIA *āmá-*), also with initial aspirate Arm. *hum*

hamau ‘bowl, goblet, vessel’ may perhaps be compared with OIA *ámatra-* ‘drinking vessel, bowl’ and further with Arm. *aman* ‘vessel’ and Greek *ámē* ‘water bucket, pail’ which are derived by Mallory and Adams < PIE **h$_2$em-* ‘hold, contain’ (but rejected by Beekes)

haṃgari ‘part of the body’ is interpreted by Bailey as reflex of Av. **angara-* which would be cognate with OIA *áṅga-* ‘limb’ which itself might be cognate with OIA *aṅgúri-* ‘finger, toe’ (see EWA)

haṃguṣṭa ‘finger, finger-mark, signature’ < Av. *angušta-* ‘finger, toe’

hays- ‘to drive, conduct, transact, make’ < Av. *az-* ‘to drive, conduct’ (with devoicing)

häysä ‘skin, hide’ and Bal. *hī(n)z* ‘goatskin bag for ghee or butter’ < Av. **izyaka-* (Elfenbein et al. [2003: 105] sub Psht. *žay* ‘leather bag’) (cf. Av. *izaēna-* ‘made of skin’)

hala ‘half’ < Av. *arda-* ‘side, half’

hälšti ‘spears’ < Av. *aršti-* ‘spear’

haṣṭa ‘eight’ < Av. *ašta-* but also with initial aspirate Orm. *hăšt,* Wkh. *hat,* NPers. *hašt*

haskä ‘tusk of elephant’; Bailey: “from *as-* ‘be sharp’, Av. *tiži:asūra-* ‘sharp-tusked’” (OIA *áśri-* ‘edge, corner’)

hīśśana ‘iron’, cf. also with initial aspirate dialectal Av. *haosafnaēna-* ‘made of iron’ < PIE **h$_2$eyes-* ‘a metal’

hīsa ‘envy, jealousy’ (Konow [1932: 144]) is a borrowing from a Prakrit language which cf. with reflexes of MIA **ǐrissā-* (itself a reflex of OIA *īrṣyā́-* `envy' [CDIAL 1615]) like L. and P. *hirs* ‘greed’

hū-duva 'both' (with first syllable < older **huvā*-) and Par. *hu-* in *huddi* 'both' < Av. *uba-, uva-* (OIA *ubhá-* 'both')
hurā 'the circle of hair between the Buddha's brows' ← OIA *ū́rṇā-* `wool'

5b 'Spontaneous' affricatization in Niya

satsara- < OIA *saṁsāra-* 'undergoing transmigration'; *maṃtsa-* 'meat' not directly < OIA *māṁsá-* 'flesh' but < OIA **mắćha-*; whose reflex is still found in Shina "*motz*" 'meat' (Leitner 1985 (1893]: 5); *saṃcaya-* 'doubt' < OIA *saṁśaya-* 'danger'.

6b$_1$ Devoicing (and deaspiration) in Niya

g > **k**
OIA *glānā-* 'feeling aversion' > *kilane* (Prakrit *gilāni-*)
d > **t**
OIA *divya-* 'divine' > *tivya-*
bh > **p**
OIA *bhóga-* 'enjoyment'[35] > *poǵa-*[36]

6b$_2$ Devoicing of sonants in Khotan Saka[37]

utāra ← OIA *udāra-* 'exalted'
upāta ← OIA *utpāda-* 'rising, origin'
ttaṇḍa ← OIA *daṇḍa-* 'punishment'
daśa- (but Gāndhārī *dhvaya-* 'flag') ← OIA *dhvaja-* 'flag,

[35] Note: Whereas devoicing of single consonants is quite widespread in north-western Outer Languages, this takes place less often in case of voiced aspirated stops. Whereas *bh* > *p* as in Niya *poǵa* has well-known parallels in modern Panjabi (cf. dialectal P. *kár* 'house' [Bhīlī *khēr* 'house'] < OIA *ghara-*), in Kalasha the aspiration is always preserved, e.g. in *khas* 'grass' < OIA *ghāsá-*.
[36] The transliteration grapheme *ǵ* is probably a voiced velar fricative.
[37] The quoted forms are partly from Konow 1949 and partly from H. W. Bailey 1979.

banner'

pata ← OIA *pada-* 'a quarter stanza'

pūśā' ← OIA *pūjya-* 'to be worshipped'

praysāta ← OIA *prasāda-* 'benevolence, favour'

bāysua < Av. *bāzu-* 'arm'

vaśära ← OIA *vajra-* 'thunderbolt' (cf. Gāndhārī compound *vayirasaṃghana-* 'adamant agglomeration')

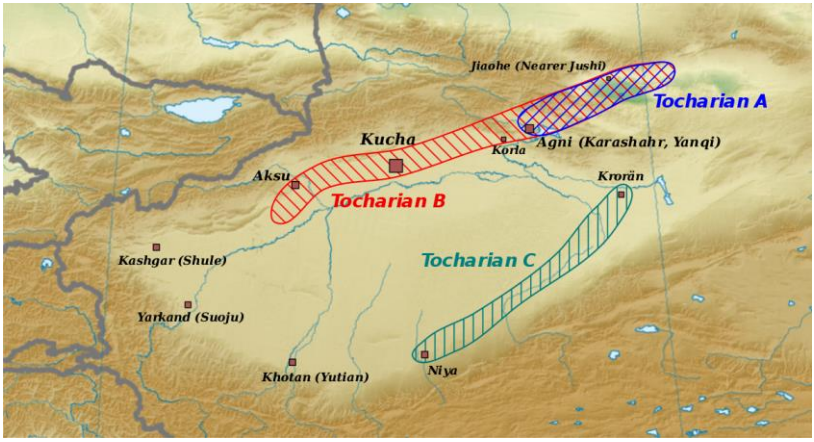
vaysaṃbatā 'initiation' ← OIA *upasaṃpadā-* 'the act of entering into the order of monks'

haṃdrūṣṣa 'quarrel' < Av. *ham* and *druž-* 'deceive'

12b Sound change of v > h

Khot. *huṣṣ-* 'to grow' < Av. *vaxš-*, *uxš-* which is cognate with OIA *VAKṢ* 'to grow' (see also EWA).

Some parallels in Tocharian



Location of Tocharian languages

From among the above twelve linguistic features, only two (6, 9) seem to be identifiable in the written Tocharian documents. No

Austro-Asiatic influence is detectable. The exact reasons for the remarkable similarity between the Tocharian B suffix *-lle* and the Middle Indo-Aryan *-alla/illa/ulla-* suffix still wait for an explanation.

6c Devoicing (and deaspiration) in Tocharian

Devoicing plus loss of aspiration is well-known from Panjabi and partly from varieties of Romani and Dardic Kalasha,[38] but both are found as a tendency also in many other languages in north-west South Asia. Here are just two examples of perhaps chance parallels with Tocharian:

Toch.B *kerccī* 'palace' is said by some to be not cognate with OIA *gr̥há-* 'house' and thus with PIE **g^{h}órd^{h}os* 'enclosure' and, according to Adams, the etymology is uncertain. However, one finds also for this Tocharian word the slightly different suggestion for reconstruction PIE **g^{h}órd^{h}ijo-*. Apart from this, also relationship between *gr̥há-* and *ghara-* 'house' is uncertain. Despite these uncertainties note P. *kār* 'house' and Rom. *kher* 'house'

Kal. *pharék* 'to put a load on one's back < OIA *bhāráyati* 'causes to bear', Rom. *pharo* 'heavy' — Toch.B *pär-* 'to bear (away), carry (off); take up; wear' < PIE **bher-* 'carry'

Kal. *phážik* 'to divide' < OIA *bhajati* 'distributes', Rom. *phago* 'broken' < related *bhagna-* — Toch.B *pkante** 'obstacle, hindrance; something put crosswise' is, according to Adams, "… probably (as if) from PIE **bhegn̥to-*, a derivative of PIE **bheg-* 'break'

[38] It seems that in Kalasha aspirated sonants get either devoiced (as in *khas* 'grass' < OIA *ghāsá-*) or they lose their aspiration (as in *bandék* 'to teach' < OIA **bhandati* 'orders' [CDIAL 9385]).

9c Pronunciation of retroflex nasal consonants as nasalized vowel plus oral flap

Partly similar to above linguistic feature 9., Don Ringe notes (1996: xxi): "… the phoneme /n/ is reflected as *ṃ* (i.e. nasalization of the preceding vowel) when word-final or followed by a tautosyllabic sibilant." Whether this partial similarity is accidental is difficult to say. If not, this could entail the possibility of very early contacts of Tocharians with t North Indian linguistic world.

Conclusions

Before the arrival of Indo-Aryan in northern South Asia, the area was dominated by Austro-Asiatic – i.e., Munda- and Mon-Khmer-related – languages. The most comprehensive evidence is found in the Tibeto-Himalayan languages (Zoller 2016), especially in Western Himalayish and in Kham and Chepang (the latter two languages spoken in Nepal). In more general terms, one can say that there is clear evidence for Austro-Asiatic traces from Nuristani (spoken in the Hindu Kush) to Apatani in Arunachal Pradesh. The Niya dialect of Gāndhārī was used as an administrative language roughly between 150 and 650 of the CE in the kingdom of Shan-Shan. Its use in this very border area of Serindia must have been related to the spread of Buddhism towards Central and East Asia, but there are still many open questions.

Signs and abbreviations

→ borrowed into ← borrowed from
< deriving from
> deriving to
A. Assamese
AA Austro-Asiatic
Arm. Armenian
Av. Avestan
B. Bengali
Bal. Balūčī
Bng. Bangāṇī (West Pahāṛī)
CDIAL see Turner
EWA see Mayrhofer
Gaw. Gawar-Bati (Dardic)
IA Indo-Aryan
Ind. Indus Kohistani (Dardic)
Kal. Kalasha (Dardic)
Kho. Khowar (Dardic)
Khot. Khotan Saka (Iranian)
Lhd Lahndā
Lyd. Lydian
MIA Middle Indo-Aryan
NIA New Indo-Aryan
NPers. New Persian
Niy. Niya Prakrit
OAv. Old Avestan
OIr. Old Iranian
Orm. Ōrmuṛī (Iranian)
OCS Old Church Slavic
OIA Old Indo-Aryan
P. Panjabi
PAA Proto-Austro-Asiatic
Par. Parachi
PIE Proto-Indo-European
PMK Proto-Mon-Khmer
Psht. Pashto
Rj. Rājasthānī
Rom. Romani
Wg. Waigalī (Nuristani)
Wkh. Wakhi (Iranian)

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轮回里的变形记
A Metamorphosis in the Saṃsāra: The Structure of Jalavāhana Story

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提要：
流水故事是《金光明经》里的自成一体的典型印度故事，它的结构精巧复杂，反映着印度特有的轮回观念和时空观。它在人物在过去、现在和未来三者中间不断升华变形，不断脱胎换骨，最终达到觉醒，成为觉者。而后声称所有众生都会经历这种觉悟的变形。
本文从分析该故事的结构入手，逐步指出时空之环的进入下一时空的关键节点，进而发现三世变形的螺旋结构，得出印度求解脱的轮回思维方式以故事而进入非轮回信仰世界的结论。

Jalavāhana plot is a self-consistent typical Indian story in *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra* which is a quaint finesse expressing of the characteristic Indian Saṃsāra and time-space idea. The figures subliming transform through the past, present and future, are self-enlightened, reborn as an awakening person or a Buddha. And the

sūtra declaims that all life or sattvas would past this sort of metamorphosis.
This essay explores the structure of this story, pointing the moments between time-spaces' circle and unveiling the secret of helical structure of three lives or trayodhvanas in eternal cycle or Saṃsāra, and concludes that the Indian Saṃsāra idea would be the same as the warriors in stories of the Trojan horse that was smuggled into the un-Saṃsāra-believing world.

关键词

轮回 Saṃsāra 变形记 metamorphosis **流水** Jalavāhana **本生故事** jātaka **金光明**经 *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra* **佛教文学** Buddhist literature

大乘佛经《金光明经》里存在着流水和舍身饲虎两个独立的本生故事[1]，分别阐释了施与舍[2]的佛教观念。流水故事还把因果报应[3]的观念融合在对施的叙述里。

与舍身饲虎故事不同，流水长者子故事迄今只出现在《金光明》及其相关文献、壁画、放生仪式等衍生物中，但却以治病、放生和报恩等主题在古代汉传、藏传佛教中，尤其在广义汉文化圈里广为人知。

流水故事的主人公是释迦牟尼某个前世名叫流水（Jalavāhana）的长者[4]之子（śreṣṭiputra），称作"流水长者子"。他的故事存在于《金光明经》的授记、除病和流水长者子三品当中，其中授记品就是个引子，而除病品主要是一份印度医学

[1] 故事梵语与巴利语为 jātaka，又译本起、本缘、本生谭、本生谈，略称生，音译阇多伽、阇陀伽、社得迦，是佛典分类中九部经或十二部经之一，主要讲述觉者释迦牟尼过去转生为不同的生命形态而行菩萨道的故事。本生故事一般是部派佛教或曰小乘的作品，而它们在此出现在大乘经中，非同寻常。

[2] 施，即布施，梵語为 dāna，音译檀那，来自词根√dā，给予。

[3] 报应是印度因果律的佛教表达，做了什么，就有什么结果，所谓"善有善报，恶有恶报"。释迦牟尼的苦集灭道四圣谛是两重因果。集是因，苦是果，这是说的世间现状。道是因，灭（涅槃）是果，行道则苦灭，这是说的解脱之法。

[4] 佛经常以"长者"翻译豪族巨贾中有声望者。

总纲，可以视为插话，主体故事则基本都在流水长者子品中。其基本情节[5]如下：

有一万名天神之子（devaputra，古译为天子）来到正在做授记[6]的觉者（buddha，音译佛陀，佛）释迦牟尼这里。释迦牟尼也授记他们做未来世的觉者，引起了菩萨道场女树神的好奇，于是他就说了以下的故事：

在无数世代以前，宝髻佛住世时，有位流水长者子。那时其国内疾病流行，流水心生悲悯，遂在父亲教导下精通了医道，治好了一国之民，名闻遐迩。

此后，一次他在路上遇到一个干涸的大池子，里面有一万条鱼正要死去。他心生慈悲，便折枝遮荫。这时，一位女树神出现，启发他找来水救活了它们，弄来食物让他们吃饱，再为它们说了十二因缘法，并念诵宝髻佛号，使其往生天界。

这些天神之子忆起生天因缘，就下凡报恩，现出种种祥瑞。国王和国人诧异，得知真相后，皆大欢喜。

最后，释迦牟尼说：流水就是当初的我啊。然后又把故事里的角色一一指认为当下的诸位，并断言一切众生都终将在轮回里以授记获得觉悟，成为觉者。

有说有听，方成故事。流水故事是三重听与说结对儿生成的立体环形结构：

第一重，阿难和信众。传统认为阿难凭记忆诵出了释迦牟尼佛的毕生所说，所以总是以“如是我闻”开始。阿难是第一叙述者，叙述对象是听众或读者。

第二重是释迦牟尼对发问的女树神说的故事，听众还有一万神子和其他在场者。

第三重是流水向一万条鱼讲述的过去佛宝髻的法门。

这三重故事重重相套，其中第二重是故事主体。这重故事是倒叙的。首先出现的是结果：授记，然后被提问并讲述往世的一个关于行善布施、生天报恩的因果业报故事，最后揭开谜

[5] 流水故事在各种版本中细节略有出入，但情节一致。

[6] 梵语原文为 vyākaraṇa，即对被授记者将来成为觉者（佛陀）的预言和应许。该词另一常用意思是语法。

底，古今人物对应，又回到授记现场。这样，起始和结束、过去和现在合拢，成为一个前世今生的时空之环。

但这个时空之环并不是圆的：授记是应许和预言，它既和过去相连，又指向未来。过去、现在的环，向未来开放，形成呈螺旋上升的故事结构。在这个上升的方向上，主体故事的门也向第一重故事打开，因为授记也是对阿难的听众或读者的应许。

空间之环的另一次打破，是女树神对流水名字的点拨：流水正心生慈悲以树枝为鱼遮荫，女树神从树上现出半身来[7]，并告诉他，名叫流水就注定要运水救鱼。流水和鱼的相遇，并非无缘无故。

这个故事有个不言自明的前提：众生平等。既然众生都将觉醒，那么，众生都是潜在的觉者。但觉醒的先后造成了先进帮后进的施与受落差，连环交错的变形故事便造就了人物间的缘分：

生在人道的施主流水救助畜生道的诸鱼，并以重复他听到的宝髻佛法，便活着见证了受施诸鱼生于天道的奇迹，并受报扬名。这是众生对众生所作的善业，一场法布施使受者在六道轮回里越级转生[8]。这是一个回合。

此后，又经过了无数世代的转世，流水的本体终于跳出轮回，成为觉者，叫释迦牟尼。这时候，鱼转生的一万神子因缘具足，当面聆听觉者释迦牟尼说法。这是第二回合。

觉者具备判断并授记的资格和能力，觉者释迦牟尼为还是众生的神子说法、授记，预言将来他们也会觉醒、说法、为其他众生授记。这是被预言的第三回合。

在这一个个身份不断超越升级的时空里，布施者与受施者反复相遇，而每次相遇都须“刮目相看”。轮回中世代交错，时过境迁，惊奇之感刷新着听者或读者的眼界和感受，情节之

[7] 《梵语佛经读本》，页 549，中国社会科学出版社，2014 年 5 月。

[8] 印度佛教认为轮回有地狱、畜生、饿鬼、人、天、阿修罗六种依次降级的趋向，称为“六道”（ṣaḍ-gati）。从畜生道转世为天道，属于明显的越级。这是对“法力无边”的强调。

谜吊着人的胃口。随着故事深入，谜底解开，那些艰深的道理便在人心里自然地生根发芽。

故事仿佛是反复缠裹的包装纸，层层打开后，呈现的是核心机密：法（dharma）。这是第三重故事里流水对鱼布施的宝髻佛的法。它既包括理性的教诲：十二因缘的因果理论推演，也包括感性的虔信秘义：称诵觉者宝髻的名号[9]。这一理性一感性的法力组合拳，被认为是变形记的力量源泉。它们最终使畜生道的鱼脱胎换骨，离苦得乐，再生天道。

法的威力称为法力，威力一词梵文原文为 anubhāva，词根是√bhū，意谓“成为”，前缀 anu 意谓“跟着”。所以威力一词强调的是一种存在成为另一种的变形。诸鱼成神子的巨大的转变虽然只是第一步，却为再次听法变形，成为觉者打下了基础。而这种变形的过程，遵循的是印度古老的因果律：

因（hetu）由于外在的缘（pratyaya），引发业（karman，即行动，做）在另一个时空成熟为果（phala）。果是因变形成熟后在另外时空的存在，所以又叫做异熟（vipāka，旧译果报）。

施者流水和觉者释迦牟尼，受者十千鱼和十千天子，当时的女树神和道场女树神以及所有对应的角色，都是相同的本体在不同时空的异熟存在。以一万条鱼为例，它们本身是因，在缺水濒死、流水慈悲等条件（缘）下，因为流水的种种布施等所做的业，而成了一万神子，随后又被应许未来成为觉者。本生（过去）是因，今世是果，又是来世的因。觉者释迦牟尼也与众生一样，以这样的方式先一步觉悟。

轮回（saṃsāra）是这个因果律的逻辑基础。只有在轮回中，主人公的前世今生才是可能的，因果业报的演出才能开场。轮回潜身于整个故事之中，就像灵魂充满身体一样，未置片语，无处不在。也唯有轮回的存在，阿难口中的释迦牟尼才能既是讲述人，又是主角，穿梭于时空和叙述场域之间，自由

[9] 印度传统上认为声音是永恒的，是比其他物质更本质的存在，力量存在于声音中，这也是印度文化的特质之一。所以觉者的名号里蕴含着他的力量，而力量的意思就是成为其他的状态，亦即变形。所以称诵觉者名号将鱼转世成神子的变形记，恐怕也只在印度的文化的背景下，才是顺理成章的。

开启“上帝视角”，在确信轮回的逻辑基础上，既令人体感身受，又具理性的可信，合情合理，引人入胜。

因此，故事里每个角色是自己同时都又是别人，人的存在就是所作业的结果。随着时空转换，前世今生，因果业报，每个“我”都不是“我”，每一个看似不变的生命，也不过都是随着业而变形不止的“三生石上旧精魂”。而释迦牟尼授记的故事现场就是在轮回里、觉醒之路上的又一次因缘际会。

人作为生命本体，通常都会贪生惜命，渴望不死。唯独印度人眼界不同，视生为苦。生命永世轮回是他们观察世界的基础。这是印度文化的底色。既然生命再生都成了规律，永生就是生死疲劳。能够指望的，也就是从这生死的无穷轮转中解脱（mukta），佛教称为“涅磐”（nirvāṇa），意谓“吹灭”，也就是彻底的死去。在印度，无论是正统还是异端，解脱是任一个思想传统的目的，佛教也不例外。解脱的线性倾向打破轮回之环，建构了古印度人繁复奇巧的螺旋状心理世界，而印度故事就从它的沃土上破土而出。

流水本生故事是典型的印度故事，故事里套着故事。它简短精炼，却跨越数个时空，曲折而幽深。这个变形记本身就是轮回、慈悲、布施、因果业报、授记、法和觉悟等道理的透彻阐释。

思维习惯的差异导致文化间的理解困难，何况印度文化这个另类。但是它所产生的文学，却能用其动人的魅力把印度文化不动声色地铺满的人类的大地。像流水故事这样以因果律转换的变形记，勾起受众的好奇，又用惊讶进行满足，就像被特洛伊人当战利品拉回去的木马，最后把以轮回为首的全副印度观念送进了异文化的城中。

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Chen Yinke's Contribution to Buddhist Philological Study with reference to Sanskrit texts

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Introduction

Chen Yinke (陳寅恪 1890-1969) one of the most influential historian in modern China, is well known for his outstanding research of Chinese medieval history--mainly between 6th and 9th in academia. Aside from it, it is worth noticing that he is the first Chinese scholar who introduced the methodology and status of oriental studies in western world into China, and also the first one who used non-Chinese Buddhist literature, such as Sanskrit, Pāli or Tibetan to do comparative studies. As he said, his philological study could be described as a Buddhist term-- "*srotāpanna*" 預流果 (who has entered the stream leading to Nirvāṇa) which means applying the new material to study new problems of academic circle.[1] More precisely, here the stream, or the new problem refers to the trend of oriental studies in Europe, especially in Berlin. Such academic inclination is deeply influenced by his experience of studying in western world.

[1] See Chen Yinke 1930a, p. 266.

Chen Yinke first went to Germany in 1910, studying in Berlin University. Unfortunately, due to lack of materials, we cannot make certain his studying information of the university during that time. Two years later he returned home to cure illness.[2] Then in 1919 January he arrived in America, enrolling in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of Harvard University as the postgraduate of first year. In autumn semester of the year, he took the courses of Elementary Greek, Indic philology 1a and 1b. The latter two courses were taught by the famous Indologist, Professor Charles R. Lanman who was then the director of the department of Indian philology. In 1920, as the third year of postgraduate, he continued to study the courses of Greek and Indic philology series including Pāli, philosophical Sanskrit and Sanskrit conference. According to the record of Harvard University, Chen Yinke was given B level of Lanman's course in the first semester, and then A in all courses of Sanskrit and Pāli.[3] Because of the change of his study plan, he embarked for Germany in the summer of 1921. He enrolled again in Berlin University, studying Sanskrit in the school of philosophy. Unfortunately, there is neither the record of the courses which he selected nor his scores since the document was missing during the second world war. According to his notes and papers, he has widely studied ancient Indian and Middle Asian languages, including Sanskrit, Pāli, Uigur, Sogdian, Mongolian, etc., and attended the courses concerning Buddhist and Monichean literature.[4] He himself mentioned that he learnt oriental philology from Professor Heinrich Lüders when he was studying in Germany.[5] And his knowledge of Uigur and Mongolian literature seems to benefit from Professor Friedrich Müller and Erich Hänisch.[6]

Chen Yinke left Germany in 1925 and later was appointed as Professor of Tsinghua University. At the beginning of his teaching, his courses included *the Bibliography of Oriental studies of Western Scholars*, *Sanskrit Grammar* and *Buddhist Literature of Translation*.

[2] See Chen Huaiyu 2013, p. 22.
[3] See Lin Wei 2012, p. 144.
[4] See Ji Xianlin 1989, p. 79.
[5] See Chen Yinke 1927, p. 234.
[6] See Zhang Guogang 2000, pp. 216-218.

His publications between 1926 and 1937 mainly concerned the comparative study between Chinese Buddhist translations and Indian languages, as well as the communication between the nations of Middle Asian, Northwestern and Chinese.[7] Both obviously imply his background of German oriental studies. But it is worth noticing that his research differs from that of traditional Indologists who contributed to Vedic studies, Sanskrit manuscript or paleography. His focus was always on the influence of foreign culture on Chinese, and the knowledge of oriental philology is his tool to be applied to solve the problems of Chinese culture and literature.

Since the beginning of 1930s he gradually changed his academic concern to Chinese medieval history. He has gained such tremendous achievement in this field[8] that he was recommended and appointed to be Sinology Professor of Oxford University in 1938. Due to the interruption of the traffic during the second world war and his eye disease, he cannot successfully assume his post in Oxford.[9] In 1944 his nomination of Corresponding Academician of British Academy was accepted, which was also on account of his study on the history of Tang dynasty (AD 618-906).[10]

Compared to the well-known achievement of historiography, Chen Yinke's earlier research on Buddhist philology has been rarely noticed in western academia.[11] Wang Bangwei (王邦維) points out that European scholars who study Buddhism of western region hardly know Chen Yinke, nor could they cite his work in their books even though they have done excellent research.[12] In spite of the pioneering views of Buddhist translations and the history of Buddhism proposed in his articles, very little is known about the value and significance of them in the western world. We assume that the ignorance of his

[7] See Yu Yingshi 1997, p. 3.
[8] His several articles concerning research of medieval history were translated by James Ware into English, see Chen Yinke 1936, pp. 39-43; 1938, pp. 9-16.
[9] With regard to the whole story, see Cheng Meibao 2000, pp. 152-164.
[10] With regard to his election and other honorary title of western academic, see Chen Huaiyu 2013, pp. 132-162.
[11] Only in Demiéville's eulogy of Chen Yinke, he mentioned some words of his study in this field, but without detailed introduction of the research results. See Demiéville 1971, pp. 136-143.
[12] See Wang Bangwei 2000, pp. 373-374.

Buddhist philological studies is mainly due to his special field of comparative studies, which, as we have mentioned, did not draw much attention of oriental or Buddhist philological studies. However, such circumstance has gradually changed. Recently, the textual comparison between different versions has been extensively applied in resolving problems of the development of Buddhist scriptures,[13] the language of Chinese translation,[14] the formation of Chinese Buddhist thought.[15] Therefore, it is worth noting Chen Yinke's Buddhist philological studies and reexamining his arguments with reference to present material and academic research result, which could introduce and remark his contribution to Buddhist philological studies on one hand; on the other hand, offer us inspiration on the points of view or the methodology of comparative studies.

Chen Yinke's Buddhist philological studies

As we have mentioned above, during his first academic period Chen Yinke's main concern is on Buddhist philological studies. His research result of this field could be divided into five categories: first, the interpretation or analysis of Chinese Buddhist understanding of Sanskrit texts; second, sinicization of Chinese Buddhist translation which means the translator's intentional change of the original text in order to adapt to the interest of Chinese audience, for instance, the famous case study of the legend of nun called Utpalavarṇa (who has the beauty as lotus);[16] third, the influence of Buddhist literature on Chinese literature, for example, Indian origin of the story of Cao Chong 曹沖 (prince of Wei kingdom, 196-208) measuring the elephant in The Records of Three Kingdoms;[17] fourth, Chinese adaption or fiction with reference to Buddhist scriptures, such as the fiction of Vimakīrti's family;[18] fifth, the identification and textual criticism of Buddhist manuscript written in Tangut, Uighur, Mongolian or Turkish. Considering the subject of Sanskrit and the

[13] See Harrison 2008 (2010), pp. 205-49.
[14] See Karashima 1992.
[15] See Fan Muyou 2016 (2018), no.1, pp. 57-81.
[16] See Chen Yinke 1932.
[17] See Chen Yinke 1930c.
[18] See Chen Yinke 1930d, pp. 203-211.

limitation of space, the main concern of the article will be with the first and second categories enumerated above.

Interpretation of Chinese Buddhist understanding

Huiyuan 慧遠 (334-416), the most outstanding masters of the southern Saṃgha at the beginning of the fifth century,[19] wrote letters to Kumārajīva (344-413),[20] one of the greatest translators, who was then invited by the emperor Yao Xing 姚興 (366-416) to translate Buddhist scriptures in Chang'an. The former asked a series of philosophical problems of Mahāyāna in letters which were replied elaborately by the latter. Later their correspondence was composed as *Dacheng Dayi Zhang* 大乘大義章 (General Idea of Mahāyāna)[21] which is believed by Chen Yinke to be the reservoir of Buddhism of that period.[22] In his comment on it, he took Sanskrit as reference to illuminate three important concepts Xitan 悉檀 (supreme achievement), Puti 菩提(enlightenment) and Dao 道(way) in Chinese Buddhism and criticized Chinese monks' misunderstanding of them.

Xitan 悉檀 is a particularly important term in Chinese Buddhism. It is interesting that there are two kinds of understandings of it. In the explanation of the founder of Tiantai school, Zhiyi 智顗 (538-597), Xitan 悉檀 means Bianshi 遍施 (giving alms extensively). He takes the term as a combination of a Chinese word Xi 悉 (extensively) and a Sanskrit transliteration 檀 which, according to him, originates from Tanyue 檀越 (donor), referring to giving alms. Differing from Zhiyi, Huiyuan takes reference to the commentary on the *Lañgāvatāra* and gives the interpretation of Xitan 悉檀 as the achievement or the principle.

[19] For the English translation of his biography, see Zürcher 1972, pp. 240-253.

[20] For his biography, see the *Chu sanzang jiji* 出三藏記集 (Collection of Notes Concerning the Translation of the Tripiṭaka; T 2145) by Sengyou 僧佑 (445–518) and the *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (Biographies of Eminent Monks; T 2059) by Huijiao 慧皎 (497–554).

[21] With regard to the correspondence, see Wagner 1971, pp. 28-48; Robinson 1967, pp. 181-195.

[22] See Chen Yinke 1930b, p. 181.

Chen Yinke traces the Sanskrit origin of Xitan 悉檀 to *siddhānta* (supreme achievement) and that of 檀 in Zhiyi's interpretation to the verb root *dā* (give). He affirms Huiyuan's interpretation and criticizes Zhiyi's misunderstanding.[23]

In the earlier Chinese translations one of the most important Buddhist terms *bodhi* (enlightenment) was always translated into a typical Taoist term Dao 道 (way) which refers to the untold, mysterious principle, in accordance with nature. But the actual meaning of Puti 菩提 (enlightenment) in Buddhism cannot be identified with Dao 道 (way). Such translation often arises the confusion. Chen Yinke notices that the famous translator Xuanzang (602-664) also encountered such problem. Xuanzang was demanded by the emperor Taizong (598-649) to translate Taoist classic Daode Jing 道德經 into Sanskrit in order to transmit it into west region and India. He proposes to render the core concept of Taoism Dao 道 with Sanskrit word Mojia 末伽. However, Taoist priests disapprove of such rendering claiming that traditionally Dao 道 (way) is identified with Puti 菩提. Xuanzang replies that Puti 菩提 means enlightenment rather than way. A Taoist priest even argues that Fotuo 佛陀 and Puti 菩提 correspond to enlightenment and way respectively. To clarify such misunderstanding Xuanzang particularly points out that Fotuo 佛陀 means the person who attains awakening, while Puti 菩提 refers to the *dharma* (element)--enlightenment. Moreover both do not correspond to Dao 道 (way) but Mojia 末伽 is appropriate to be the rendition of it.[24]

Chen Yinke adds a supplement to Xuanzang's argument to interpret the three terms. He identifies the Sanskrit origin of Fotuo 佛陀 and Puti 菩提 as *Buddha* and *bodhi* of which the root is the same, namely, *budh*. He further suggests that Mojia 末伽 is the

[23] *Ibid*, p. 182.

[24] With regard to the whole argument, see Daoxuan 道宣 (596-667), *Ji Gujin Fodao Lunheng* 集古今佛道論衡 (The Collection of Disputes between Buddhists and Taoists Past and Present) (T 2104, 386b25-386c21).

transliteration of Sanskrit *mārga* (way) which is believed by Xuanzang to be the accurate rendering for Dao 道.[25]

Huiyuan also discusses with his disciples about the confusion between Puti 菩提 and Dao 道. His disciple asks why Puti 菩提 is translated into Dao 道 since the supreme truth is called Puti 菩提 or Dao 道 or Niepan 涅槃. Huiyuan's interpretation is that the terms referring to Dao 道 are more in foreign languages than in Chinese, such as Puti 菩提 (*bodhi*) and Mojia 末伽 (*mārga*). Therefore there is only one Chinese translation Dao 道. He further suggests that the supreme truth called Dao 道 should be Mojia Dao 末伽道 and the one called Puti 菩提 be Puti Dao 菩提道. Since both terms have the name 道, they can be translated into Puti 菩提.[26]

Chen Yinke argues that since Buddhism was transmitted into China, the translations of Buddhist terms were made with reference to Taoist terminology in order to be understood more easily. Later when Buddhist thought was introduced more comprehensively, the terms of earlier translation seem to be inappropriate in expressing the accurate meanings. Under such circumstance the transliteration Puti 菩提 of *bodhi* is used to replace the earlier translation Dao 道, which is caused by the change of the time. Such replacement is also one of many instances of the difference between the old translation during six dynasties and the new translation of Tang dynasty.[27]

Another representative case is his investigation of Zhi Mindu 支愍度's doctrine. Zhi Mindu is the founder of the theory called Xinwu Yi 心無義 (non-existence of the mind) which is one of the six schools of early Chinese Buddhism. The term "school", as Zürcher suggests, more appropriate is the word Yi 義 (theory) .[28] All these theories were in fact different branches of the Xuanxu 玄學 (mysterious learning) interpretation of the Mahāyāna doctrine of universal emptiness [29] which is expounded deliberately in

[25] Chen Yinke 1930b, p. 183.
[26] *Ibid.*
[27] *Ibid*, pp. 183-184.
[28] See Zürcher 1972, p.100.
[29] *Ibid.*

Prajñāpāramitā (perfection of wisdom) scriptures. The doctrine of emptiness refers to non-existence of own nature (*svabhāva*) of all phenomena, in other words, the illusory nature of phenomena. Due to its resemblance with the term Wu 無 (non-being) of mysterious learning, the doctrine of emptiness draws great interest of Chinese exegetes. But it is difficult for them to confirm whether the emptiness belongs to the nature of things of the outer world or to the mind of the sage. Zhi Mindu seems to have chosen the second interpretation.[30] He believes the emptiness refers to the mind of the sage which is non-being, whereas he affirms the real existence of Se 色 (matter).

Chen Yinke argues that Zhi Mindu's misunderstanding of the doctrine of the emptiness immediately derives from his misreading of the translation of the *Prajñāpāramitā* scripture. He made a trilingual textual comparison to present the meaning of the passage in the *Aṣṭasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* which is related to his theory. The comparison could be briefly shown as follows:

Sanskrit: tac cittam acittam prakṛtiś cittasya prabhāsvarā |[31]

That mind is no mind. Since the nature of mind is transparently luminous.[32]

Tibetan:'di ltar sems de ni sems ma mchis pa ste | sems kyi raṅ bźin ni 'od gsal ba lags so

That mind is no mind. The nature of mind is transparently illuminating.

Chinese:

Lokakṣema 支娄迦谶

有心無心。(T 224, 425c25-26)

There is the mind (which is) no mind.

Zhi Qian 支謙

是意非意，淨意光明。 (T 225, 478c21)

That mind is not mind because the pure mind is bright.

Kumārajīva 鸠摩罗什 (344-413)

[30] *Ibid*, p.102.

[31] According to Chen Yinke, his Sanskrit text is cited from Raj Mitra's edition, see Mitra 1888.

[32] All of the translations except for specially noticing are made by the writer herself.

是心非心，心相本净故。 (T 227, 537b14)

That mind is no mind since the characteristics of the mind is originally pure.

Xuanzang 玄奘 (602-664)

心非心性，本性淨故。 (T 220, 763c18)

That mind is not the nature of mind since the original nature is pure.

Chen Yinke suggests that in terms of the Sanskrit text and other translations Lokakṣema's translation Youxin Wuxin 有心無心 may correspond to the Sanskrit phrase "cittam acittam" in which Xin 心 (mind) and Wuxin 無心 (no mind) refer to *cittam* (mind) and *acittam* (no mind) respectively. Therefore Wu 無 (non-being) could be connected with the following Xin 心 (mind) rather than being attached to the former Xin 心. And Wuxin 無心 can be understood as a word. On the contrary, Xinwu 心無 does not make sense as a word. Whereas Zhi Mindu may falsely take Xinwu 心無 as the adjective to modify the following Xin 心. Hence, the translation Youxin Wuxin 有心無心, according to Chen Yinke, is misread by Zhi Mindu as there is the mind which has non-existence of the mind. Depending on the interpretation of such misreading, he established the theory of the non-existence of the mind.

Furthermore, Chen Yinke proposes that the theory does not only originate from the misreading of the translation, is also influenced by the trend of Geyi 格義 (matching the meanings) of contemporary Buddhism.[33] Geyi 格義, refers to matching the meanings of Buddhist and secular scriptures, which used to be popular during the period of the beginning of the fourth century.[34] Chen Yinke does not only identify the implication of Geyi 格義 which is mainly used to draw an analogy between numerical categories, such as five aggregations (*pañcaskandha*), five discipline (*pañcaśīla*), etc., and the concepts of Taoist or Confucian scriptures, but also illustrates the impact of the method during the period under discussion. Through the comparison

[33] See Chen Yinke 1933, pp. 164-166.
[34] See Zürcher 1972, p. 184.

between Zhi Mindu's theory and the statement of Taoist scriptures, including *Daodejing* and *Yijing* he points out that the former's theory is a presentation of Buddhist interpretation with reference to Taoist idea of non-being which is fundamental in Taoism and exerts great influence on the theories regarding to the interpretation of the emptiness.[35]

Sinicization of Chinese Translations

As we have mentioned above, the sinicization of Chinese Buddhist translations refers to the change of the content or expressions of the Indian text in order to make the translations acceptable for Chinese audience. Chen Yinke treats two problems of the sinicization. One is concerned with the influence of Chinese custom and ethics on the translation of the legend of the conversion of Utpalavarṇa to Buddhism; the other is related to Kumārajīva's change of the literary form and terms of the Sanskrit text in his translation of the *Kalpanāṇḍitikā dṛṣṭānta.*

Chen Yinke's study of the legend of the nun Utpalavarṇa focuses on the evil retributions that she suffered due to her bad deeds in former life. He notices that the number of seven retributions appears several times, however, the elaborate descriptions of them only account to six. He believes that such inconformity is caused from the intentional excision of one retribution and the oversight of correcting the number of seven into six. With reference to the Pāli text of Upplavaṇṇā in the *Therīgāthā*,[36] Chen Yinke points out that the deleted retribution is likely to be the mother and her daughter marrying the same husband. The content concerning the incest and other sexual actions are hardly unseen in Buddhist scriptures of which the attitude strongly challenges conservative Confucian ethics. Deeply influenced by the ethics even Chinese Buddhists cannot accept such content. Therefore, Chen Yinke suggests that the missing retribution is intentionally made in order to be accepted by Chinese audience.[37]

[35] See Chen Yinke 1933, pp. 167-173.
[36] See Oldenberg and Pischel 1966, p. 188.
[37] See Chen Yinke 1932, pp. 172-174.

The second case concerns the sinicization of Kumārajīva's translation called *Da Zhuangyan Lunjing* 大莊嚴論經 (The Scripture of the Commentary on Great Adoration). In the introduction of the referential literature, Chen Yinke particularly mentioned his German teacher Heinrich Lüders and his study on newly discovered Sanskrit manuscript of the *Kalpanāṇḍitikā dṛṣṭānta*[38] which is just the parallel of the *Da Zhuangyan Lunjing* 大莊嚴論經. According to the record of Kumārajīva's disciple Sengrui 僧叡 (352-436)[39]and Xuanzang 玄奘,[40] Chen Yinke concludes several features of Kumārajīva's translation. First, Kumārajīva always abridged the repetitions of Indian originals; Second, his translation did not accord with the original style of writing; Third, sometimes he changed the expression or the meaning of the originals.[41]

Then he offers instances through the comparison between the Sanskrit text and Chinese translation of the *Kalpanāṇḍitikā dṛṣṭānta* to certify the features. The first instance concerns the omissions of the translation. The comparison shows that the last section of the tenth volume and that of the eleventh volume are omitted. The second refers to two prose sections of the Sanskrit text which are translated into verses in Chinese version. The third is the application of the renderings which do not entirely accord with Sanskrit word but are more familiar to Chinese audience than original ones. And there are two examples to present the discrepancies between the Sanskrit words and the Chinese renderings. The first reads as follows:

諸仙修苦行，亦復得生天。(T 201, 265c1)

All of the celestials cultivate tough practice, and they will also be reborn in the heaven.

Chen suggests that the words Zhuxian 諸仙 (All of the celestials) should be the rendition of the Sanskrit word *Kaṇva*, a particular name

[38] See Lüders 1926.
[39] See Huijiao 慧皎, *Gaoseng Zhuan* 高僧傳 (The Biography of Eminent Monks), (T 2059, 364b2-6).
[40] See Yancong 彥悰, *Datang Daciensi Sanzang Fashi Zhuan* 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 (The Biography of The Master versed in Tripiṭaka of Cien Temple of Tang Empire), (T 2053, 276a1).
[41] See Chen Yinke 1927, p. 237.

of an Indian God which seems quite unfamiliar to Chinese. Thus, Kumārajīva adopts the more acceptable expression, namely, Zhuxian 諸仙 (All of the celestials) rather than a faithful transliteration Ganpo 干婆.[42]

The second refers to the translation of Xumi Shan 須彌山(sacred mountain):

汝如蟻封而欲與彼須彌山王比其高下。(T 201, 277c14-15)

You seem like a mound guarded by the ants, willing to compete with the king of mountain *Sumeru*.

猶如蚊子翅，扇於須彌山。(T 201, 288a16-3)

Just as the wing of the mosquito flapping on the mountain *Sumeru*.

Chen Yinke believes both Xumi Shan 須彌山 correspond to Sanskrit *Mandara* and *Vindhya* respectively. Both are sacred mountains in India. But compared to *Sumeru*, the central mountain of the cosmos described in Buddhism, Chinese audiences are definitely alien to the names of *Mandara* and *Vindhya*. Therefore, Kumārajīva used the term Xumi Shan 須彌山 as the replacement. Though the renderings applied by Kumārajīva are somewhat unfaithful for the Sanskrit text, Chen Yinke argues that they are the translator's effort and technique to make the translation easily accepted, which should be affirmed.[43]

Conclusion

Chen Yinke is a typical scholar of Republican period (1912-1949), accepting traditional education of reading classics in his youth and later being educated in western world. Thus, he is provided with expound knowledge of Chinese classics as well as the western thought and academic research method. Though he has studied oriental philology in western countries, he exerted his much effort on the comparative study between Indian Buddhist texts and Chinese translations rather than traditional philological studies of his contemporary western scholars.

[42] See Chen Yinke 1927, p. 238.
[43] See Chen Yinke 1927, pp. 238-239.

Though we have only presented case studies of two categories of Chen Yinke's Buddhist philological studies, we can still see his application of the materials, the insight that reveals the underlying cultural impact and the historical background through the analysis of the development and the differences of texts, as well as the method that consists of Chinese traditional philology, western linguistics, philological means, which are still inspiring and worthy of being discussed.

Firstly, the combination of textual comparison with the culture influence is used to explore the discrepancies of texts. For example, Chen Yinke used the Confucian morals that strongly stand against incest to interpret the omission of one retribution in the translation of the legend of Utpalavarṇa. He firstly points out the underlying cultural factor that impacts the adaption of the original Buddhist scriptures and Buddhist transmission. Such pioneering claim of the sinicization of Chinese translation also suggests us to explore the underlying cultural element in treating the discrepancies between different texts.

Secondly, the translators' personal features of translation are taken as reference in dealing with the sinicization of their translations. For instance, before he uses the evidence of textual comparison to confirm that Kumārajīva intentionally changed the expressions of the Sanskrit text in order to make the translation more familiar to Chinese audience, he has made an investigation of the features of his translations which include the deletion of the repetitions and the improvement of the expressions. His attention to translator's personal style also reminds us of noticing the possible influence of the translator's personal literary or philosophical inclination on the translations.

Thirdly, the analysis of historical and philosophical context is complementary to the textual comparison in the investigation of Chinese Buddhists' misunderstanding of the terms and the thought conveyed in Indian texts. For example, in the illustration of the confusion between Puti 菩提 and Dao 道, after having traced the Sanskrit origin of the Chinese terms and interpreted the commentary by Xuanzang and Huiyuan, he reveals the historical factor that Chinese Buddhist terminology has experienced the development

from loaning terms of Taoism to using the transliteration or new coined terms which pertains to the extent of Chinese understanding of Buddhist thought during the process of its transmission. In other words, the application of the transliteration as Puti 菩提 implies the more accurate understanding of the meaning of the term than that of the earlier Taoist term. Therefore, the confusion between two terms actually reflects the significant development from the earlier to later Buddhist translations and its relation to contemporary Buddhist thought. The second case refers to Zhi Mindu's misunderstanding of the doctrine of emptiness. Similarly, the textual comparison between Sanskrit and Chinese text is followed by the analysis of Chinese Buddhist tradition of Geyi 格義 (matching meanings) in which the implication of it and its deep influence on the thought in the early Six dynasties (222-589 AD) have been elaborately observed.[44] Chen Yinke believes that under such context the theories of the interpretation of the emptiness in Prajñāpāramitā scriptures are unlikely to bear no influence of the popular trend Geyi 格義. The analogy between Zhi Mindu's doctrine and the statement of Taoist scriptures, such as *Daode Jing* and *Zhuangzi* further testifies of such influence. It seems that the observation of Zhi Mindu's doctrine is taken as a mirror by Chen Yinke to reveal the influence of the contemporary philosophical context on Chinese Buddhist understanding.

Of course, due to the limitation of the time and complicated background, some of Chen Yinke's research result or method may seem problematic seen from our present knowledge and academic perspective.

The first problem concerns the relation between the Sanskrit and Chinese versions. Now we are aware that Buddhist scriptures always experience a long development which naturally causes the differences of the content between the earlier and later texts. Briefly speaking, the later texts are longer and richer in content than the earlier ones. Thus, if the earlier Chinese translation is compared with the later Sanskrit text, it is most likely that the content of the former seems to be missing. Such missing, of course, could not be attributed

[44] See Chen Yinke 1933, pp. 167-172.

to the translator's intention. However, during the last century most of scholars have not realized the development of Sanskrit texts. Instead they believed the later Sanskrit texts are almost identical to the one on which the earlier Chinese translations are based. And the discrepancies between them are sometimes thought to be the unfaithfulness of the Chinese translation to the Sanskrit original.[45] Furthermore, due to the discovery of new Gāndhārī Buddhist manuscripts[46] and the recent study on the language of earlier Buddhist scriptures,[47] it seems that the Indian texts on which the earlier Chinese translations rely are not written in Sanskrit but in Gāndhārī or other Middle Indic languages. Compared to the later Sanskrit texts, the Gāndhārī manuscripts could be more identical to the earlier Chinese translations. Thus, Chen Yinke's textual comparison between the Sanskrit texts and Chinese translations and the conclusions based on it may worthy of being reconsidered.

Finally, aside from his academic research, his courses concerning oriental studies and Buddhist literature has inspired great interest of his students. One of them, Ji Xianlin (季羡林, 1911-2009), later studied Indology in Germany, obtaining Doctor degree from professor Ernst Waldschmidt. Then he came back to China and established the first Department of Indian studies in Peking University, opening Sanskrit course and training students. He and his students have inherited and improved the tradition of oriental philological studies established by Chen Yinke.

This year is just the fiftieth anniversary of the death of the great scholar Chen Yinke. His contribution to Buddhist studies and oriental philological studies cannot be over-emphasized, for it has been a source of inspiration throughout the later development.

[45] For instance, Conze argues that Kumārajīva's translation of the *Vajracchedikā* is not faithful to the Sanskrit text. See Conze 1957, pp. 1-2.

[46] For the introduction and study of new discovered Gāndhārī Buddhist manuscripts, see Allon 2001; Glass 2007; Salomon 1999; 2000.

[47] For the representative study, see Karashima 1992; 1994; 2013.

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“七例八转”辨
Buddhists’ Razor: How Many Vibhaktayaḥ are there?

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佛经翻译是中国历史上第一次大规模翻译活动。隋唐时期，翻译佛经的原文本语言转胡为梵，译场主译除了胡人、印度人，也有了从印度留学归来的汉僧。在主要由中国僧人参与的译场中，必然需要至少部分中国僧人懂得梵语。然而汉译佛经中并不包含任何一部完整的梵语语法文献，中国古代僧人了解的梵语语法知识，只能通过汉文佛经特别是佛经注疏中的相关内容来考察。

在这些只言片语中间，“七例八转”是一组经常出现的概念。“七例八转之音，三声六释之句，皆尽其微，毕究其妙”[1]一句，常用于赞扬玄奘梵语水平高。而“七例”一词的译介，也与玄奘有着极大的关系。

一、“例句”“转声”与 vibhakti

[1] 靖迈《古今译经图纪》卷四，T55, no. 2151, p. 367a2-3. 亦见于《开元释教录》、《佛祖统纪》等。

Buddhists' Razor: How Many Vibhaktayaḥ are there?

Abstract: Chinese materials which transmit Sanskrit grammatical knowledge are extremely meager in comparison with the huge collection of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, the majority of which is originally in Sanskrit, Pāli, and other Prakrits. This poses a special problem for extracting and explaining the technical terms scattered in related texts. In the example of the term vibhakti, there are two common translations "例句" and "转声" which seem to be interchangeable. However, revisiting the usage of the two translations in Xuanzang's translation of the *Yogācārabhūmi* and other related texts based thereupon shows that "转声" was a purely linguistic concept while "例句" was tinged with a philosophical nuance. While the number of "转声" in the records could be seven or eight arbitrarily, the number of "例句" was always seven with only one exception in the term "八例" used by Yijing, which indicates, presumably, his lack of awareness of the subtle distinction between "例句" and "转声."

Keywords: vibhakti; 例句; 转声.

玄奘所译"七例"出自《瑜伽师地论》卷二：

> 又有七言论句，此即七例句，谓补卢沙、补卢衫、补卢崽拏、补卢沙耶、补卢沙頞、补卢杀娑、补卢铩，如是等。[2]

此段中"七例句"对应的梵本是 sapta vibhaktayaḥ。其中 sapta 是七，而 vibhakti 是梵语语法文献中的一个概念，是表示形态变化的术语。

在《迦丹多罗》语法（Kātantravyākaraṇa，以下简称 K.）中[3]，vibhakti 表示的是名词格尾。

[2] T30, no. 1579, p. 289c1-3.

K.2.1.2. tasmāt parā vibhaktayaḥ. 在它之后是名词格尾。

DV. 在它之后的，即在有意义的名词词基之后的 si 等属于名词格尾的概念。

在梵语语法文献中，名词格尾实际上有 21 个，在波你尼《八章书》（Aṣṭādhyāyī，以下简称 A.）中有一句经文列出了所有格：

A.4.1.2. svaujasamauṭchaṣṭābhyāṃbhisṅebhyāmbhyas-ṅasibhyāṃbhyasṅasosāmṅyossup.[4]

那么为什么《瑜伽师地论》中会说七例句而不是二十一例句呢？原因在于名词格尾表达两重意义：

K.2.4.17. prathamā vibhaktir liṅgārthavacane. 第一格格尾表示名词词基的意义和数。

除了表达词基本身的意义，名词格尾同时还表达数，在梵语中这指的是单数、双数和复数三种。因此除去数的因素，21 个名词格尾就成了七组，也就是《瑜伽师地论》中所说的七例句。上文所引 K.2.4.17. 同时也显示了这七组格尾的名称，第一格格尾称为 prathamā vibhakti，简称 prathamā，其余六组也分别用第二到第七的序数词阴性形式（与 vibhakti 词性相同）来表示。

在汉文佛经中讨论名词格尾变化的意义与数的，还有慧立、彦悰《大唐大慈恩寺三藏法师传》卷三，这大概也是玄奘所传：

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[3] 梵语语法文献有不同的系统，各个系统术语的范畴有时会有区别。《旃陀罗记论》中 vibhakti 概念的范围接近于 K.，波你尼系统中 vibhakti 概念包括名词格尾和动词语尾，本文不再赘述。

[4] 在 K. 中，并没有像 A. 中一样用一条经文列出所有格尾，而是在 K.2.1.2. 的 DV. 中列举出来。与 A. 相比，只有两个词尾在符号上有区别，单数第一格 K. 为 si、A. 为 su，双数第二格 K. 为 au 、A. 为 auṭ，其他都一样。

苏漫多声二十四啭者，谓言总有八啭，于八啭中一一各三。谓说一、说二、说多，故开为二十四。于二十四中一一皆三：谓男声、女声、非男非女声。言八啭者：一诠诸法体，二诠所作业，三诠作具及能作者，四诠所为事，五诠所因事，六诠所属事，七诠所依事，八诠呼召事。且以男声寄丈夫上作八啭者，丈夫印度语名布路沙。体三啭者，一布路杀，二布路笴，三布路沙。(去声。)所作业三者，一布路芟，二布路笴，三布路霜。作具作者三者，一布路铩拏，二布路諚，(音鞞僣反，下同。)三布路铩鞞，或言布路铩呬。所为事三者，一、布路厦(沙[5]诈反。)邪，二布路沙諚，三布路铩韵。(鞞约反，下同。)所因三者，一布路沙哆，(他我反。)二布路铩諚，三布路铩韵。所属三者，一布路铩諵，(子耶反。)二布路铩諚，三布路铩謯。(安咸反。)所依三者，一布路膗，(所齐反。)二布路杀谕，三布路铩鐩。(所刍反。)呼召三者，一系布路杀，二系布路稍，三系布路沙。略举一二如此，余例可知，难为具述。[6]

所谓“苏漫多”（subanta），即以 sup 为末的，也就是名词。sup 是波你尼系统用以指代名词格尾变化的符号，即上文所引 A.4.1.2.中列出的 21 个名词格尾。这一段中的例词与上引《瑜伽师地论》一样，都是 puruṣa，只是音译用字不同，而且此处直接列出了全部 24 种名词变格形式，也就是前述七组再加上呼召三声。对于名词格尾，中国僧人与梵语语法文献的认识方式其实有着微妙的不同。梵语语法文献先讨论 21 个名词格尾，然后再

[5] 孙毓棠等校本沙字原为玅字，依校注信息及实际发音修订为沙。

[6] [唐] 慧立，彦悰著，孙毓棠，谢方点校 2000, pp. 76-77.

区分意义和数两个层次，是对实际语言现象的描述。而中国僧人先说三类八啭，再列二十四种词形，是从意义角度出发的概括。

不过此段用以讨论名词格尾变化的概念不再是“例句”，而是“啭声”，在汉文佛经中也常写作“转声”。从“转声”一词的用法看，它同样用来表示梵语的形态变化。例如慧琳《一切经音义》卷二十一“摩竭提国”词条列出各种不同的音译形式之后，解释说“此之多名由依八转声势呼召致异，然其意义大略不殊。[7]”可见“转声”概念描述的是梵语同一词汇的不同发音，也就是不同的屈折变化形式。因此一般认为，“转声”一词所对应的梵语原文也是 vibhakti[8]。

这样 vibhakti 一词在汉传佛经中就有了两个译名，瑜伽论单说七例，慈恩传只讲八转，虽然举例均用 puruṣa，但音译用字并不相同。“例句”与“转声”二者之间的关系，在窥基《瑜伽师地论略纂》卷一有比较详细的解释：

> 七例句者，即八转声除第八呼。泛声有三：一男，二女，三非男女。一一各有八：一体，二业，三具，四为，五从，六属，七依，八呼。今此即是男声中之一声，诠目丈夫之七啭声，如次配属体业具等。如枢要说，第八泛声醢[9]补卢沙，更无别义，今但说七。[10]

此段列出八转声的内容“一体，二业，三具，四为，五从，六属，七依，八呼”，正是现今学习梵语时常见的八个格。语言学意义上的“格”也是主要表示形态的概念，不同的格在句中各有句法或语义功能。梵语八格所表示的句法或语义功能在上引慈恩传例中有所说明，也大致可由上述格的名称概括。

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[7] T54, no. 2128, p. 434b1-2.

[8] 例如段晴 2001, p. 71.

[9] 大正藏原字为醓，依《成唯识论掌中枢要》及实际发音修订为醢。

[10] T43, no. 1829, p. 18c2-7.

"七例句者，即八转声除第八呼。"也就是说，七例句和八转声，区别仅仅在于是否列入呼格，这也是上文 21 个名词格尾和二十四啼的区别由来。而所谓呼格，形式与第一格大致相同。在梵语语法文献中，只讲七组名词格尾，而不将呼格列为第八，原因在于它们的分析方式是：第一格可以表示呼唤的意义，而在表示这种意义的时候，会有一些与正常第一格略有不同的形式，这些不同的形式又作为例外列举出来。而汉文佛经的记述说明了中国僧人的不同理解：呼格与前七者不同，并不在于意义差别，而是因为形态不同。这是因为中国僧人将发语词 he（即本段中醯字）算作整个词的一部分，导致呼格"醯补卢沙"与第一格"补卢沙"差了一个字，形态上有了明显的区分。

到这里问题好像已经解决，"例句"与"转声"均对应梵语语法文献中出现的 vibhakti 概念，而之所以"七例"而"八转"，只是因为分析语言时对于形态和语义层面概念划分不同而已，是一个语言学问题。以往的研究对涉及梵语名词变格的问题往往只是简单列举材料[11]，对于这两个译名也均合并处理，认为两者都是表示梵语名词形态变化，除了"七"和"八"两个数字之外并无区别。

二、"七例"与《瑜伽师地论》

然而如果将涉及"七例""八转"的材料仔细分析，可以发现其中还有另一条线索。系统讨论"例句"概念的，除了上述窥基《瑜伽师地论略纂》，还有两类文献，一类与《瑜伽师地论》相关，例如遁伦《瑜伽论记》卷一，基本是照抄窥基：

> 七例句者，则八啼声除第八呼。泛声有三：一男，二女，三非男女。一一各有八：一体，二业，三具，四为，五从，六属，七依，八呼。今此则是男声中之一声，诠目丈夫之七啼

[11] 例如孙良明 1999，王昆吾等 2001.

> 声，如次配属体业具等。第八泛声醯补卢沙，更无别义，今但说七。[12]

窥基《瑜伽师地论略纂》与遁伦《瑜伽论记》都对七例句有详细解释，举例用词均为 puruṣa，音译用字也沿袭玄奘译《瑜伽师地论》。二者是围绕《瑜伽师地论》而作的注疏，其中说法与之相同理所应当。

系统讨论“例句”概念的另一类文献，是《华严经》相关的注疏，首先是智俨《华严五十要问答》卷二：

> 七例声，一补嚧沙沙，此名俗作业声，如说树木等声。二补嚧私，所发至教业声，如说故思造业等声。三补嚧崽拏，业具声，如说刀杖能成等。四补嚧沙耶，所为声，如说助伴等。五补嚧沙頞，所因主声，如说王主父母等。六补嚧杀娑，属主声，如说奴仆等。七补嚧嘧，所呼依声。如说音声名味句等。[13]

这一段中 vibhakti 术语对应的译名没有用“例句”，而是使用了“例声”。虽然仍然有 puruṣa 出现，然而用法并不像是举例用词，而是将 puruṣa 各格梵语音译直接作为七例声的名称来使用，音译用字也与玄奘不同。此外，在真正举例的部分，使用的例词并不统一，而是有树木、刀杖等等不同的词汇意译，并未直接体现词形不同。智俨的梵语学自二梵僧[14]，他笔下“七例声”大概源自印度，但 puruṣa 作为例词用来解说名词格尾变化，并不见于时代相近的梵语语法文献注释之中，也许会与《瑜伽师地论》有些关系，或者至少与印度佛教僧人学习梵语所用材料相关。

译名不统一另一个可能的原因，是《华严五十要问答》写成之时，《瑜伽师地论》也许玄奘还未译完，缺少一个标准汉

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[12] T42, no. 1828, p. 331a23-28.
[13] T45, no. 1869, p. 535c3-10.
[14] 《华严经传记》卷三：“后属二梵僧来游至相，见俨精爽非常，遂授以梵文，不日便熟。” T51, no. 2073, p. 163b27-28.

文本作为参考。因为到了法藏笔下，译名不统一的现象就没有了。例见《华严经探玄记》卷三：

> 第十八声者，依西国法，若欲寻读内外典藉，要解声论八转声法，若不明知必不能知文义分齐。一补卢沙，此是直指陈声，如人斫树，指说其人。二补卢私，是所作业声，如所作斫树。三补卢崽拏，是能作具声，如由斧斫。四补卢沙耶，是所为声，如为人斫。五补卢沙頞，是所因声，如因人造舍等。六补卢杀娑，是所属声，如奴属主。七补卢铄，是所依声，如客依主。瑜伽第二名上七种为七例句，以是起解大例故，声论八转更加徵补卢沙，是呼召之声。[15]

法藏是智俨弟子，而又参与过玄奘译场的翻译活动，虽然“后因笔受证义润文见识不同而出译场”[16]，但他有关七例八转的解释实际综合了智俨与玄奘的说法。vibhakti 术语称为“例句”，puruṣa 音译用字，均与玄奘一致。puruṣa 作为七例句的名称使用，以及对各格的解释与举例，则是与智俨相近。玄奘译《瑜伽师地论》和智俨《华严五十要问答》中都没有出现的声论“八”转则可能与玄奘弟子的各种注疏有关。

又如澄观《大方广佛华严经随疏演义抄》卷五十：

> 瑜伽等说有八转者，疏文但举其唐言之名，今兼显梵音。西域国法，若欲寻读内外典籍，要解声论此八转声方知文义分齐。一补卢沙，此是直指陈声，如人斫树，指说其人，即今体声。二补卢衫，是所作业声。如所作斫树，故云业也。三补卢崽拏，是能作具声，如由斧斫，故云具也。四补卢沙耶，是所为声，如为人斫，故云为也。五补卢沙頞，是所从声，如因人造舍等，故云从也，从即所因故。六补卢杀婆，是所属声，如奴属主，故云属也。七补卢铄，是所于声，如客依主，故云于也，于即依义。瑜伽第二名上七种为七例句，

[15] T35, no. 1733, p. 149a28-b9.

[16] 《宋高僧传》卷五，T50, no. 2061, p. 732a16-17.

以是起解大例故。唯有梵语声论八转，更加醯补卢沙，是呼召之声，故云呼也。[17]

这一段内容与法藏所说大同小异，因此这基本可以代表华严一系对于梵语名词变格的认识。澄观说到“八转”时直接指向瑜伽疏文，可知本段参考资料来自玄奘弟子的注疏。值得注意的是法藏与澄观提到“例句”概念时均注明来自“瑜伽第二”，可见所指原文均为上引玄奘《瑜伽师地论》译文。

不论是《瑜伽师地论》注释系列还是《华严经》注释系列，使用“例句”这一概念归根结底都是出自《瑜伽师地论》卷二。而在其他经论注释中，即使也是在系统讨论梵语名词格尾变化，但可以发现没有“例句”，只有“转声”。

例如慧沼《成唯识论了义灯》卷一：

疏言，依大般若八啭声中释世间云是世间出故名世间者，以五蕴体即是世间，非是五蕴别从世间而出，以五蕴体是世间故，五蕴自现之时名世间出，如世说言圣人出故，准八啭声即体声也。造世间故者，以从蕴上起诸烦恼，烦恼生业造作当果名造世间，即业声也。由世间者，以烦恼等是五蕴具能造五蕴，蕴从彼具故名由世间，即具声也。为世间者，以为蕴体堕在世间故名世间，即为声也。因世间故者，过去惑业体是世间，从彼招感因于彼故名因世间，即从声也。属世间故者，系属世间故，即属声也。依世间者，以剎那生灭后依于前而得起故名依世间。一切诸法皆七转声之所目故。第八呼声以召彼故，更无别义故略不说。[18]

这一段解释中虽然单列了呼格，有“七”“八”不同的意识，然而并没有使用七“例句”八“转声”这样不同的概念，而是都称转声。段中提到的《大般若波罗蜜多经》玄奘译本对应段落在第四百九十八卷：

[17] T36, no. 1736, pp. 395c20-396a5.
[18] T43, no. 1832, p. 674a10-25.

世间者，谓彼六种波罗蜜多，是世间故，名为世间；造世间故，名为世间；由世间故，名为世间；为世间故，名为世间；因世间故，名为世间；属世间故，名为世间；依世间故，名为世间。[19]

根据慧沼上文的解释，这一段也是在讨论梵语名词格尾变化。但是般若经中只有七种分别，这与上文提到的《瑜伽师地论》卷二“七例句”以及智俨大概来自印度的“七例声”说法一致。为什么慧沼在解释的般若经的时候不引用与此相近的“七”例句之说，而是要说依大般若“八”啭声呢？

慧沼的说法，大概来源于他的老师窥基，而他其实引用了《瑜伽师地论》。汉文佛经中有关例句转声最长的一段论述，大概是窥基《成唯识论掌中枢要》卷一的这一段：

然依苏漫多声说，即是八啭也。一你利(上二字合声)提势(此云体声，亦云泛说声)，二鄔波提舍(书我反)泥(此云业声，亦云所说声)，三羯咥(都诘反)唎(上二字合声)迦(上声)啰(上啭舌)泥(奴皆反，此云能作具声，亦云能说声)，四三钵啰(上二字合声)陀你鸡(居梨反，此云所为声，亦云所与声)，五褒(补高反)波陀泥(此云所从声)，六莎弭婆(上声)者你(平声，此云所属声)，七珊你陀那(长声)啰梯(上二字合声此云所依声)，八阿曼怛罗(上二字合声)泥(放皆反，此云平声)。上说总八啭，此中各有一言、二言、多言之声，合有二十四声。又有男声、女声、非男非女声，更各有二十四。合总别有九十六声。男声八啭者，一婆(上重声读之下皆准此)婆那，二婆婆那担，三婆婆多，四婆婆羝，五婆婆多褒，六婆婆那多阿，七婆婆底(都耳反)，八于初啭上加醯字则是。女声八

[19] T07, no. 220, p. 535a28-b3.

哧者，一婆婆那帝(底音读之)，二婆婆那底摩，三婆婆那底夜(上二字合声羊鹅反)，四婆婆那帝，五婆婆那底夜(二字合)褒，六婆婆那底夜(二字合)阿，七婆婆那底夜(二字合)摩，八于初哧上加醯字即是。非男非女声八哧者，一婆婆多，二婆婆頞，第三哧下稍近男声，既无别字所以不出。脚注上字等者依四声呼之，注返者以翻字法读之，注二合者两字连声读之，注轻重者随轻重声读之，其间亦有全声半声，恐烦不迷，但是婆字皆上声读之。

然瑜伽第二卷，七哧声亦名七例句，依一男声中唯诠一丈夫之七哧故，除第八呼。前是男声中总目一切，故此不同。彼论亦名七言论句，一补卢沙(夹夫体)，二补卢衫，三补卢崽拏，四补卢沙耶，五补卢沙頞，六补卢杀婆，七补卢铩，第八迦呼声，云醯补卢沙。若云迷履底是别女声体，若云纳蓬(去声呼之)索迦是别非男非女声体。

然有别目但唯七哧，第八乃是泛尔呼声，更无别诠。[20]

这些内容在原文中属于一段，但内容比较繁杂，大致可分三个层次，即此处所分三个小段。第一段讲“苏漫多”，也就是与慈恩传中说法类似，讲名词格尾变化，此时用的术语是“哧声”，而且是八哧，使用的例词是 bhavant。第二段讲《瑜伽师地论》卷二中的说法，这时出现了术语“例句”，只有七例，例词是 puruṣa。第三段讲另有一种分类，术语又变成了“哧声”，这里的“别目”大概就是慧沼注中所指的《大般若波罗蜜多经》，因为有关七八不同的解释二者相似。也就是说，虽然都在讨论语法问题，但只有引用《瑜伽师地论》卷二时才会用到“例句”这种说法。

[20] T43, no. 1831, pp. 613c03-614a5.

第一段中“九十六声”一说，大概出于概念混淆[21]，此处不再赘述。然而同样论及“九十六声”的还有窥基《瑜伽师地论略纂》卷六：

> 先俗所传苏漫多声中，有此三类。一八补卢沙，是男声体义。二悉底履，是女声体义。三如纳蓬(去声)素迦，是非男非女声体义。复有总声，如涅履题势。此之四种各有八啭，一一啭中，皆有一名二名多名，如是合有九十六声，如别抄说。[22]

遁伦《瑜伽论记》卷五与此相差不多：

> 先俗所传苏漫多声中有此三类，一补卢沙是男声体义，二悉底履是女声体义，三如纳逢(去声)素迦是非男非女声体义。复有稳声如涅履题势。此之四种各有八转，一一转中皆有一名二名多名，如是合有九十六声。[23]

虽然这两段同样出自《瑜伽师地论》相关论述，然而在这些讨论“苏漫多”，也就是讨论梵语语法知识的段落之中，有关名词格尾变化，所用的术语都是“转声”，而转声有八，这说法都是类似的。

其他注疏也情况类似，例如普光《俱舍论记》卷一：

> 言八转声者，一体，谓直诠法体。二业，谓所作事业。三具，谓作者作具。四为，谓所为也。五从，谓所从也。六属，谓所属也。七依，谓所依也。八呼，谓呼彼也。依声明法，凡唤诸法，随其所应有八转声。[24]

又如法宝《俱舍论疏》卷一：

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[21] 参见张雪杉 2014, pp. 35-36.
[22] T43, no. 1829, p. 95b10-15.
[23] T42, no. 1828, p. 414a9-15.
[24] T41, no. 1821, p. 23a24-28.

> 八转声者，一体，谓直诠法体。二业，谓所作事业。三具，谓作者作具。四为，谓所为也。五从，谓所从也。六属，谓所属也。七依，谓所依也。八呼，谓呼彼也。依声明法，凡呼诸法，随其所应有八转声。[25]

这两段内容几乎完全一样，然而都没有出现“七例句”的说法，而是只讲“八转声”。玄奘翻译《阿毗达摩俱舍论》，是在翻译《瑜伽师地论》之后。如果以上各段都是讨论梵语语法问题，为什么玄奘弟子在此处做注之时，不引用瑜伽论中的说法呢？

众多有关七例八转的论述放在一起，我们终于可以解释“例句”与“转声”的区别。在中国僧人，特别是玄奘弟子的理解中，“转声”讨论的是梵语名词格尾的变化，是梵语语言问题。而“例句”的来源只有《瑜伽师地论》卷二那一段叙述，虽然说那一段本身讨论的也是语言问题，但其他人即使为了讨论语言问题而引用到它，也成了特定经文中的理论问题。《瑜伽师地论》是大乘经典，在其他大乘经典讨论时引用它没有问题，而《阿毗达摩俱舍论》属于小乘有部，即使讨论语言问题也不能带入大乘术语。“例句”是佛经中的教理问题，所以七例句决不能变成八例句，而“转声”只是语言问题，虽然来源印度的佛经中讨论名词格尾变化均为七种，然而既然玄奘解释苏漫多时说八转声，《大般若波罗蜜多经》又列出七种形式，那么讨论语言问题时究竟八转声还是七转声就可以方便行事，没有那么死板了。

还有一位僧人可以为此论作证，那就是吐蕃僧人法成，他在《瑜伽师地论分门记》卷一中提到例句：“七例之句，若不善解，言论不明，而有讹机，教令善解。”[26]而他翻译以帮助中国僧人学习梵语的口诀却命名为《八啥声颂》。

[25] T41, no. 1822, p. 483b20-24.
[26] T85, no. 2801, p. 810a21-22.

三、义净“八例”

正如梵语语法文献的编排体系是规则加例外、例外又套例外，事情总是有例外的，义净在《南海寄归内法传》卷四讲说梵语语法时，就说到了“八例”：

> 言七例者，一一声上悉皆有之，一一声中，各分三节，谓一言二言多言，总成二十一言也。如唤男子，一人名补噜洒，两人名补噜稍，三人名补噜沙，此中声有呼唤重轻之别。于七例外，更有呼名声，便成八例。初句既三，余皆准此，恐繁不录，名苏盘多声(总有三八二十四声)。[27]

义净的说法和其他人不同，这要从他的经历讲起。义净出家的寺庙是离家不远的土窟寺，位置现已不可考，想必在当时也规模不大。土窟寺中的师傅应该都是普通僧人，义净在寺中感兴趣的是戒律而非经论。虽然在他外出游学期间学习了《对法》、《摄论》、《俱舍》、《唯识》等论，但并未记录他接近过著名的老师。在义净西行求法之前，他的佛教理论水平与我们前面提到的诸位僧人应该有一定的差距，与西行之前已经遍访名师的玄奘相比更是如此。

玄奘西行是从西域陆路前往，沿路讲经论法，到达那烂陀寺先听《瑜伽》、《显扬》、《对法》等诸多典籍之后，后来才听习因明、声明。而义净西行求法，路线是南下乘船，途经室利佛逝、耽摩立底，学习的重点都是声明，也就是前后至少花了一年半时间学习梵语，到达那烂陀寺才开始听习各种佛教经典。在汉文佛经之中，《南海寄归内法传》之中记录的有关梵语语法的内容最为详尽，可见义净梵语语言水平应该是相当高。

义净在那烂陀寺学习时间超过了玄奘，二师都曾在该寺听讲《瑜伽师地论》，理解本应不殊。然而义净游学期间，汉地唯识、俱舍、华严诸宗已围绕玄奘的译本发展出了自己独特的术语用法，这是他由于西行反而错过的。归国之后，义净最初

[27] [唐] 义净著，王邦维校注 1995[2009], p. 192.

参加了实叉难陀的华严译场，然而职务是与印僧菩提流志共同宣读梵本，可见对于义净而言，梵本倒是比汉文更为熟悉。义净对 vibhakti 概念的理解也很可能更多来自对梵语语法文献的学习，而在译名选择的时候，虽然知道 vibhakti 有“例句”与“转声”两种译法，却不知二者在佛教宗义内的微妙差异，因此将不涉及《瑜伽师地论》卷二的“转声”也与“例句”通用，导致了“八例”这样用法上的特例。

正如义净慨叹“古来译者梵轨罕谈，近日传经但云初七，非不知也，无益不论。”[28]梵语语法内容在汉地少见，大概也与僧人的实用主义学习风格有关。表示名词格尾的 vibhakti 原本只是一个语言学上的概念，它之所以能够进入汉文佛经的语境，很可能只是因为《瑜伽师地论》之中有所讨论，使之成为了佛教理论的一部分。然而为了区分教内教外、瑜伽俱舍，一个术语分化出了两个功用不同的译名，两个译名的使用方法又仅在各个宗派对于佛教经典的阐释与传承之中传递，身处宗派传承之外的人即使是梵语很好的义净也难以掌握其中的奥秘。然而即使语言知识变成了佛教义理，“例句”一词也必然随着法相宗、瑜伽论研习的退潮而逐渐消失，梵语语法在汉地终究还是鲜有学习者。

缩略词

K. Kātantrasūtra.
A. Aṣṭādhyāyī.
DV. Durgasiṃhavṛtti.
SSK. Sārasiddhāntakaumudī.
T. 大正新修大藏经.

[28] T54, no. 2125, p. 228b10-11.

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Kashmiri Paṇḍitas and the Transmission of Madhyamaka: Patshab's and Sūkṣmajana's Translation of the *Catuḥśataka* and the *Bodhisattvayogācāracatuḥśatakatīkā*

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As Buddhism spread to different regions of India, Buddhist *sūtras* were transmitted and preserved in different regional languages. At some point, monastic communities chose to render the Buddha's *sūtras* into a common scriptural language. In some of these communities, perhaps because of influence of Sanskrit grammatical works, such as Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, this scriptural language became progressively more sanskritized. Evidence from the inscriptions found at Buddhist sites in Mathurā, Śrāvasti, and Sārnāth, indicate that this sanskritization process was already underway by the first century C.E. This growing influence of Sanskrit led unknown authors to incorporate Sanskrit vocabulary and grammatical forms into Buddhist scriptures. The composition of early Mahāyāna *sūtras* coincided with the development of Buddhist Sanskrit, a hybrid literary language, in which Sanskrit and Middle Indic forms co-exist. These early Mahāyāna *sūtras*' verses retain vestiges of Middle Indic forms more often than their accompanying prose sections and more often than the Mahāyāna *śāstra*s of

Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva, (fl. late 2nd to early 3rd century CE) which integrate these *sūtras* into their systematic Madhyamaka philosophy.

Buddhist missionaries from India followed the trade routes across Central Asia to China and brought with them Buddhist teachings and texts written in Sanskrit. Later, Chinese and Tibetan Buddhist pilgrims followed these trade routes back to India. For these pilgrims, India was the holy land, home to the Buddha's relics and Buddhist monasteries, where his word could be studied. Some pilgrims studied Sanskrit with monastic scholars, became proficient, and worked at translating *sūtras* and *śāstras* into Tibetan. In this paper I will explore the work of one eleventh century Tibetan pilgrim and translator, Pa tshab Nyi ma grags and his Kashmiri collaborator, the Sanskrit *paṇḍita* Sūkṣmajana. Their joint efforts resulted in translation of Āryadeva's *Catuḥśataka* (CŚ) and Candrakīrti's commentary on the CŚ, the *Bodhisattvayogācāracatuḥśatakatīkā* (CŚṬ) into Tibetan. This paper's primary focus is on the eighth chapter since more of its Sanskrit text has been preserved.

The first transmission of Buddhism (*sngar dar*) into Tibet came about through the collaborative efforts of the Indian and Tibetan scholars who translated Buddhist texts in Sanskrit into Tibetan. The *Chos 'byung* (*History of the Dharma*) of Bu-ston (1290-1394), the *Annals of Ladakh,* and the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* record that the regent Srong brtsan sGam po (618-650), sent one of his ministers, Thonmi Sambhoṭa, to Kashmir to study Sanskrit grammar and Indian systems of writing. When Thonmi Sambhoṭa returned to Tibet, he brought back Sanskrit grammatical texts and devised a script for Tibetan based on Indic models. Two Tibetan grammatical texts, the *Sum cu pa, and the Rtags kyi 'jug pa* are attributed to him.[1] The royal patronage of Srong rtsan sGam po and his successors, Khri srong lde brtsan, (742-798), Sad na legs (r.799-815) and Ral pa can (r.815-836), supported the translation of Buddhist scriptures from Sanskrit and other Indic languages into Tibetan. Since these early translations, composed in an artificial religious language (*chos skad),* followed no standardized method for translating Buddhist Sanskrit vocabulary,

[1] Naudon (1980: 43- 47); Kapstein (2003: 753).

later ninth century translation teams revised these older translations for accuracy. Sad na legs gathered together a group of Indian and Tibetan scholars that developed grammars and bilingual lexicons of Buddhist technical terms, the *Mahāvyutpatti* and the *Mahāvyutpatti*, to simplify and standardize translations.[2] The introduction to the *Mahāvyutpatti* explains that these Tibetan and Indian scholars developed catalogs and lexicons and devised guidelines for translations that would accurately reflect the teachings of Indian Buddhist preceptors, be in accord with grammatical conventions, and be easy to understand. Earlier translations had:

> coined many terms of religious language that were unfamiliar in Tibetan among which some accord with neither doctrinal texts nor the conventions of *vyākaraṇa*. Those that would be inappropriate to leave uncorrected should be corrected. Having augmented them with all those terms of language of which we are fond, and remaining in accord with the original texts of the Greater and Lesser Vehicles and with the explanations of the great former preceptors, Nāgārjuna and Vasubandhu, and with the conventions of language as they are. Established according to *vyākaraṇa*, write them down in a text, explaining those that are difficult to understand logically and word-by-word. In translating the Dharma, without departing from the order of the Sanskrit language, translate it into Tibetan in such a way that there is no deviation in ease of relationships between meaning and word. If ease of understanding is brought about by deviating [from the phrase order of the original] whether in verse there be four lines or six, translate by rearranging both word and meaning according to what is easy.[3]

Translation teams consisted of at least one Indian scholar (*paṇḍita)* and at least one Tibetan translator (*lo tsā ba*) who worked together to translate Indian Buddhist texts into Tibetan. The Indian *paṇḍitas*

[2] Kramer (2007), 47-49; Ruegg (1998); Scherrer-Schaub 1999.
[3] Kapstein 2003: 775-56; see also Braarvig (2018: 429-34).

answered questions about the Indian source text and gave advice on how best to interpret the material to the Tibetan translators, who translated it into Tibetan. "This arrangement," D. Seyfort Ruegg writes, "was doubtless intended to ensure both the faithful accuracy and the fluency of the translation. The Indian *paṇḍita* could also certify the Indian origin of the text being translated and very possibly vouch for the authenticity of its lineage of explanation."[4] When Ral pa can died in 838, his brother, Lang darma, (r.838-842) ended all royal support for monasteries and translation work ceased in central Tibet.

After more than one hundred years of suppression, the later transmission (*phyi dar)* of Buddhism began in the late tenth century when Tibetans once again traveled to Kashmir to study. Kashmiri *paṇḍitas* educated their Tibetan students in the study of Sanskrit grammar, literature, philosophy and trained them how to interpret Indian Buddhist texts. Tibetan historical texts record that the Buddhist king of the western Tibetan kingdom of mNga ris. Ye shes 'od (947-1024), sent twenty-one young Tibetans to Kashmir to study Indian languages and Buddhism in Kashmir's monasteries. Most did not survive; only two, Rnog Legs pa'i shes rab and Rin chen bzang po (958-1055) returned to Tibet in 978. Rinchen bzang po, the "great translator (*lo chen*)", studied with many *paṇḍitas* during his multiple trips to Kashmir. Among them was Ratnavajra, the patriarch of a multigenerational family of lay scholars, namely, his son Mahājana, his grandson, Sajjana, and his great-grandson, Sūkṣmajana, all involved in the transmitting their knowledge of Buddhism and translation skills to scores of Tibetans.[5] According the *Rgya gar gyi chos 'byung (History of Indian Buddhism)* of Tārānātha (1575-1634) Ratnavajra studied in Kashmir as a lay practitioner (*upasaka*) until at age thirty when he traveled to Magadha for further studies, perhaps at the great Buddhist university Vikramalaśīla, where he later would

[4] Ruegg (2016: 213).
[5] Naudou (1980: 61-163, 216-221).

teach Tantra, logical texts, and Maitreyanātha's works before he returned to Kashmir.[6]

Tibetan historical works provide a few details of Pa tshab Nyi ma grag's life. The earliest of these, Bu-ston's *Chos 'byung*, briefly describes the significant events of his life: "Pa tshab Nyi ma grags studied in Kashmir for twenty-three years, invited the scholar Kanakavarman [to Tibet], and translated and explained Madhyamaka texts."[7] The *Blue Annals* (*Deb ther sngon po*) of 'Go lo tsā ba (1492-1481) provides considerably more information about his activities in Kashmir and Tibet. He was born in the central Tibetan district of sPa tshab district of 'Phan-yul in 1055.[8] In his youth he travelled to Kashmir; though his age on leaving Tibet is not specified, it is likely that he, like his contemporary Rngog Lo ts tsā ba (1059-1109), was in his late teens when he arrived in Kashmir. His fellow translator, Rnog Lo-tsā-ba seems to have arrived before Pa tshab since he had studied with the Kashmiri *paṇḍitas,* Sajjana and Parahita, while Pa tshab received oral teachings on Buddhist texts from Sajjana's sons, Parahita's student, Mahāsumati.[9] "Pa tshab Nyi ma grags," Anne MacDonald writes, "like numerous others involved in the second dissemination, must have been prompted by the renown of the intellectuals inhabiting Kashmir's monasteries and news of the Buddhist works amassed in them to undertake the journey there from his home district of 'Phan yul."[10] Mahāsumati was renowned for his knowledge of Buddhist doctrine and for his skill in logic; Pa tshab

[6] Tāranātha (1970: 301-302)
[7] Buston (2013:302)
[8] MacDonald (2015:262 fn13) "Rāhula Sāṃkrtyāyana, in his Hindi travel report *Merī jīvan yātra* (Vol. 2, p. 254), reports that in 1934 he visited the village "Pāchab" while travelling through the Phempo Valley on his way north from Lhasa to search for Sanskrit manuscripts in Reting Monastery. He was told that this village was Pa tshab Nyi ma grags' birthplace and was shown the "Translator's Monastery" situated on the site of a mountain, a short way from the village. He records that a stupa at the monastery was reputed to contain Pa tshab's body. At the time of his visit, 20–25 monks and nuns were residing in the monastery."
[9] Kramer (2007:40); MacDonald (2015:261
[10] MacDonald (2015: 261-262).

describes him a great logician (*mahātārikika*)[11]who was remembered for his spirited defense of Buddhist doctrine against Brahmanical opponents. Not long after Pa tshab arrived in Anupamapura, the Incomparable City" (*grong khyer dpe me*d), he witnessed a public debate:

> Harṣa(deva) was the king. Because the [king] knew [Sanskrit] grammar well and was also good at logic, many scholars gathered and had minor debates. At that time Somabhadra was also the judge. A rich brahmin became this Somabhadra's patron and learned Buddhist teachings [from him]. Then the four great [scholars] including Hasu arrived. "Many minor [debates] occurred. The two, i.e., the [spiritual] son of the brahmin and Hāsu, debated with each other, with Somabhadra as a judge. This [judge] declared unbiasedly that Hāsu won."[12]

After Pa tshab had mastered Sanskrit—traditionally said to require twelve years of study--his remaining years in Kashmir were spent working with Mahāsumati and other *paṇḍitas* at Anupamapura's Ratnaguptavihāra, "the most active monastery of the 11th century", translating Buddhist texts into Tibetan. Many of these texts were Madhyamaka works; some had been translated previously. Patshab and Mahāsumati revised Jñanagarbha's and Klu'i rgyal mtshan's ninth century translation of Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamakakārikās* (MMK) and translated Candrakīrti's commentary on it, the *Prasannapadā* (Pr). With Tilakakalaśa, Pa tshab revised an earlier eleventh century translation of Candrakīrti's *Madhyamakāvatāra* and its auto-commentary, the *Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣa* made by Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita and Lo tsā ba Tshul khrims rgyal ba (b.1011). Sūkṣmajana and Pa tshab collaborated in producing the first translation of Āryadeva's CŚ, and Candrakīrti's CŚṬ. The colophon also notes that the work was done in Ratnaguptavihāra during the reign of the Kashmiri king Harṣa (1089–1101). Since no colophons of works translated by Pa tshab refer to Harṣa's successor Uccala, it

[11] MacDonald (2015:264).
[12] Yoshimiziu (2016a:356).

is likely that he must have left Kashmir by the time Uccala became king in 1101.[13]

Since conditions in India for Buddhist monks declined as the eleventh century progressed, many translations begun in Kashmir were not completed there. "Once these translators arrived home," Ronald Davidson writes, "most of these translators had access to little more than "the minimal supplies of ink and paper and a manuscript copy of the *Mahāvyuttpati*"[14]. When Pa tshab, returned home to Tibet, Kanakavarman and Tilakakalaśa, two *paṇḍitas* he had worked with in Kashmir, accompanied him. Later in Lhasa, Pa tshab began translation work at Ramoche monastery, which held a large collection of Sanskrit manuscripts, Pa tshab and Kanakavarma revised Pa tshab's earlier translation of the Pr based on their comparison of the Kashmiri manuscript with a second manuscript of the Pr brought from the "eastern borderland."[15] While Pa tshab is primarily known as a translator, he also seems to have composed his own treatises on Madhyamaka texts. It is not known whether these treatises were composed during his stay in Kashmir or written later after his return to Tibet. Facsimiles of these manuscripts, which were found in Drepung monastery, were recently published. One of these manuscripts is a compilation of three Madhyamaka texts. Georges Dreyfus notes that the first text, a commentary on Nāgārjuna's *MMK* seems to have been composed on the basis of oral instructions of an Indian scholar since its author often uses expressions derived from Sanskrit without translating them into Tibetan. The colophon indicates that the text contains the explanation of Mahāsumati, the scholar with whom Pa tshab worked with in Kashmir. Dreyfus argues that that this strengthens the case for attributing the text to Pa tshab since it is unlikely that anyone else would write a text said to contain Mahāsumati's views. While text's colophon does not claim that Pa tshab wrote the text; underneath this manuscript's title an unknown hand, presumably a monk's, writes that the text was written by the translator Pa tshab and not Candrakīrti. The second and third texts

[13] Lang (1990) 134-135); MacDonald (2015:263-264,); Vose (2009:48-49.
[14] Davidson (2005: 127).
[15] Yoshimizu (2016b: 654).

contain Pa tshab's views on the relation between the Chapters of the MMK and his explanations of difficult points in the Pr. All three texts, Dreyfus concludes "not original expositions of the Madhyamaka view, but exegetical glosses with a few doctrinal discussions,"[16] A fourth text the *bzhi brgya pa'i bsdus don* (Essence of the *Catuḥśataka*) also is attributed to Pa tshab who is identified in the colophon as a great translator (*lo tsa ba chen po)* and Buddhist monk (*shākya'i dge slong).* The brevity of these four texts, as well as Pa shab's stated reliance on Mahāsumati's views might suggest that these texts are the equivalent of a professor's lectures, perhaps intended for the instruction of the first students Pa tshab taught upon his return to Tibet. Pa tshab continued to teach Candrakīrti's works for many years, until he was well into his eighties.[17]

It is unknown whether Pa tshab and Sūkṣmajana used more than one Sanskrit manuscript in preparing their translation. The Sanskrit scholar, H. P. Shastri located in Nepal an incomplete palm leaf manuscript of the CŚṬ written in an 11th century Newari script. Shastri and his colleague, S.C. Vidyabhusana, compared the wrongly numbered twenty-three leaves of the surviving Sanskrit manuscript with a Tibetan translation, put the leaves in proper order, and published their edition of the Sanskrit fragments in 1914.[18]

Pa tshab, proficient in Sanskrit grammar, adopted a Tibetan translation style that followed Sanskrit syntactical patterns. It is probable that he utilized the *Mahāvyutpatti* lexicon in selecting Tibetan equivalents for Sanskrit terms. Pa tshab and his collaborator, Sūkṣmajana, however, were sensitive to meaning and context of words and phrases and avoided producing mechanical translation as clumsy and as barely intelligible as a modern Google Translate product. Jacques May, a modern French translator of the Pr, who had access to several Sanskrit manuscripts, describes Pa tshab's translation as "extremely remarkable for the precision and exactitude

[16] Dreyfus and Tsering (2010:388-393)
[17] 'Gos Lo-ts-ba (1976: 341-343).
[18] Suzuki (1994: ix).

taken to render the nuances and terminology of the original Sanskrit."[19]

Pa tshab does not try to make his translation read as if it were originally written in Tibetan, With the intention of making a readable translation, he deviates from the word order to translate "in a pleasing manner" and in accord with "good Tibetan usage", as the *Mahāvyutpatti* prescribes. For example, CŚ 8:5 in which Āryadeva claims that even doubt about the doctrine of emptiness breaks the cycle of death and rebirth.

> *asmin dharme 'lpapuṇyasya saṃdeho 'pi na jāyate /*
> *bhavaḥ saṃdehamātreṇa jāyate jarjarīkṛtaḥ //*
> Even doubt about this teaching does not occur to someone of little merit.
> Mere doubt smashes to pieces [the cycle of] existence *(bhava*).

The word order in Sanskrit poetry is far more variable than in prose; metrical patterns may take precedence over the normal syntactical patterns and what the writer most wishes to emphasize may come first. In CŚ 8:15ab the subject "doubt" and the verb with its negation "does not occur" are relegated to the second half of the *pāda*. The object of the doubt, "this teaching" comes first. Perhaps Āryadeva wants to emphasize here "this teaching" since, as Candrakīrti's commentary clarifies, this teaching is the teaching of emptiness (*asmin śūnyatādharme*).

> *bsod nams chung ngus chos 'di la // the tshom za bar yang mi 'gyur ////*
> *the tshom za ba tsam zhig gis // srid pa hrul por byas par 'gyur //*
> Someone with little merit does not even doubt this teaching.
> Mere doubt rips to shreds [the cycle of] existence.

[19] Naudou (1980: 212 n.33.)

Tibetan is an ergative language, with a subject-object-verb (SOV) word order. In Pa tshab's Tibetan translation, the subject "someone with little merit," marked by the ergative *-kyis,* comes first, followed by the object "this teaching" and ending with the verbal construction "does not doubt". Although the Tibetan translation places its emphasis on the person with little merit, the meaning of 8.15ab is clear in both languages. A person who lacks merit, he explains, is an ignorant person *(avidvān, mi mkhas pa)* who believes that the teaching of the emptiness of inherent nature *(svabhāvaśūnyatopadeśam, stong pa nyid nye bar ston pa*) is like a dangerous abyss since that person's mental stream (*cittasantāna, sems kyi rgyu)* lacks the virtuous roots (*dge ba'i rtsa ba, kuśalamūla)* which are cause for confidence (*adhimukti, lhag par mos pa*) in emptiness. The word order again diverges in 8:15cd. The Sanskrit text adopts a passive construction: "[The cycle of] existence by mere doubt breaks into pieces;" while the Tibetan retains its standard SOV order: "Through mere doubt [the cycle of] existence is ripped to shreds." Both convey equally well the sense that mere doubt destroys cyclic existence. The Sanskrit "broken into pieces *(jarjarīkṛtaḥ*) seems to suggest a destruction as complete as a pot broken into many shards; the Tibetan "rips to shreds (*hrul por byas par 'gyur)* suggests the total destruction of cloth ripped into shreds.

Although the incomplete Newari manuscript does not include CŚ 8:15, Candrakīrti in his commentary on MMK 18.6. quotes Āryadeva's verse on the gradual stages of the Buddhist teaching:

> *vāraṇaṃ prāg apuṇyasya madhye vāraṇam ātmanaḥ /*
> *sarvasya vāraṇaṃ paścād yo jñānīte sa buddhimān //*
> An intelligent person understands first, the rejection of what is immoral;
> next, the rejection of the self; and finally, the rejection of all.

"All" in this connection refers to the five aggregates (*skandha*), the twelve sense bases (*āyatana)*, and the eighteen elements (*dhātu).* The Buddha's statements about these aggregates, sense bases and elements, serve the same pragmatic purpose as his statements about

the self. First, teachings on ethics can motivate people out of self-interest to reject any immoral behavior that might lead to an unpleasant rebirth. Next, teachings that analyze the self and break it down into a series of impermanent parts, lead to the rejection of the self. Finally, the best students capable of understanding the Buddha's profound teachings, reject all phenomena. Pa tshab's Tibetan translation of this verse has a different reading for the fourth *pāda* both in the Pr *–phyi nas lta zhig kun bzlog pa*--and in the CŚ *phyis nas lta ba kun bzlog pa*: finally, the rejection of all views. While it is possible that Pa tshab may have had a Sanskrit manuscript with the variant reading, none of the extant manuscripts of the Pr that Louis de La Vallée Poussin consulted in the preparation of his edition of the text or the manuscript found by Guiseppe Tucci that J.W. De Jong viewed in preparing his text critical notes on the Pr consulted had such a reading. Andrew McGarrity writes that "all views" could have been implied and the Sanskrit *sarvasya vāraṇaṃ* an abbreviation for metrical reasons of *sarvadṛṣṭīṇāṃ vāraṇaṃ,* though he thinks that it is more likely the rejection of all things (*sarvabhavānāṃ vāraṇam)* is meant. Candrakīrti in the CŚṬ understands rejection of "all" to be the rejection of "all things" (*dngos po thams cad*) without any mention of "all views." Pa tshab, McGarrity concludes, "emerges as the common link between the two texts in which the alteration from "all things" to "all views" occurs." [20]

Why would Pa tshab choose to render the 8.15's last *pāda* as the rejection of all views? The four hundredth and final verse of the CŚ (16:25) might have influenced Pa tshab's belief that all philosophical views should be rejected.

> *sad asat sadasac ceti pakṣo na vidyate /*
> *upālambhaś cireṇāpi tasya vaktum na śakyate //*
> *yod dang med dang yod med ces // gang la phyogs ni yod mi pa //*
> *de la ni ring po na'ang / klan ka brjod par nus ma yin //*

[20] McGarrity (2009):151-153).

> No criticism can be leveled against someone who does not hold a thesis, whether [the thesis is about] existence, non-existence, or [both] existence and non-existence, even [trying] for a long time.

Āryadeva concludes that no logical argument can ever succeed against someone who holds no thesis, (*pakṣa*), regardless of whether it is based on the positions of existence, non-existence, or both. Pa tshab adopts what has come to be known as the Prāsaṅgika Madhyamaka position that no independent thesis is necessary to counteract an opponent's thesis. An opponent's defeat is ensured through exposing the contradictions and absurd consequences (*prasaṅga*) in their theses. Dreyfus compares Pa tshab's approach to that of the skeptic Pyrrho "for whom philosophy is a cure for our excessive tendency to constantly judge things by asserting them or denying them. Both attitudes are extreme and lead to dissatisfaction, restlessness and strife. Hence, they are to be overcome by the suspension of judgment, the refusal to assert or deny anything."[21] The Prāsaṅgika Madhyamaka rejection of all views, the refusal to hold any thesis, makes all their opponents' rejoinders futile. Although Madhyamaka texts entered Tibet during the first transmission of Buddhism, the distinction, Svātantrika versus Prāsaṅgika or its Tibetan equivalents (*rang-rgyud, thal-'gyur*), was unknown before the twelfth century. While it is uncertain if Pa tshab was first to use these terms, before his translation and teaching of Candrakīrti's three most important commentaries, the MABh, Pr and CŚṬ, there was no foundation for making these distinctions. James Apple's recent study of a twelfth century Tibetan manuscript on Madhyamaka, finds these distinctions used in this manuscript, which he persuasively argues was written by one of Pa thab's disciples and collaborators, Khu ston Mdo sde 'ba sometime after Pa tshab returned to Tibet.[22]

[21] Dreyfus (2011).
[22] Apple (2018:945-950).

The eighth chapter's last verse (8.25) concludes with the observation that rebirth ends when its causes cease

> *yathā bījasya dṛṣṭo 'nto na cādis tasya vidyate /*
> *tathā kāraṇa-vaikalyāj janmano 'pi na sambhavaḥ //*
> *ji ltar sa bon mtha' mthong zing // de la thog ma yod min ltar //*
> *de bzhin rgyu ni ma tshang phyir // skye ba'ang 'byung bar mi 'gyur ro //*
> Just as the end of a seed is seen but its beginning is not, because the cause is insufficient, birth also will not occur.

Candrakīrti explains that although a seed has no beginning and the causes and effects that enable the continuity (*santāna*) of the seed to persist over time cannot be seen but we can see its end when fire destroys it. Similarly, (re)birth, which has consciousness as its seed, continues due to a succession of causes and effects. He further explains:

> *kleśāpekṣaṃ hi karma janmakṣeptuṃ paryāptam / te ca kleśā jñānatejaḥsparśād*
> *abhavaṃ gatās tad ayam asamarthaṃ karma sahāyābhavāj janmakṣeptum/*
> *nyong mongs pa la ltos pa'i las ni skye ba [tshar phyin pas]['phen par nus la /*
> *nyong mongs pa de dag kyang ye shes kyi mes bsreg pa la dngos po med par*
> *[nye bar 'gro ste] de'i phyir grogs med pas las kyi skye ba 'phen par mi nus so //*
> Sanskrit: Karma in dependence on the afflictions is able to generate birth but these afflictions cease upon contact with the fire of knowledge. This karma is unable to generate birth because of the absence of the accompanying [afflictions].
> Tibetan: Karma in dependence on the afflictions is able to produce birth since it has reached completion but these afflictions burnt by the fire of knowledge cease,

> consequently, karma is unable to generate birth because of the absence of the accompanying [afflictions].

The Sanskrit manuscript's reading of *tad ayam* is probably a copyist's grammatical mistake for *tad idam,* used here for emphasis; the Tibetan translation has nothing that corresponds to *ayam* and seems to translate *tad* with the meaning of "consequently" (*de'phyir*). In place of the compound *jñānatejaḥsparśa* (touched by the fire of knowledge), the Tibetan *ye shes kyi mes bsreg pa* (burnt by the fire of knowledge) which makes a stronger statement. Pa tshab's Tibetan translation follows the Sanskrit word order for the most part, though he adds some words that have no Sanskrit parallels, perhaps following the *Mahāvyutpatti's* advice on making the translation easier to follow.

Candrakīrti ends this chapter by citing quotations from the *Upāliparipṛcchasūtra*, the *Vajracchedikā*, and a verse from Nāgārjuna's *Ratnāvalī.* The Sanskrit manuscript lacks these citations but it seems that Pa tshab has followed the "cut and paste" method MacDonald has identified in his translation of the Pr:

> Pa tshab tended to follow a practice that can be determined to have been relied upon by certain other translators, that is, of utilizing previously translated root texts when translating Sanskrit commentaries that have their root text embedded in them; more precisely, Pa tshab did not translate the commentary's citations of the root text but would instead locate an existing Tibetan translation of it and incorporate this as required into the translation of the commentary.[23]

While there is no information on whether the citations were inserted when Pa tshab was in Kashmir or after he had returned, MacDonald speculates that much of the citation copying was carried out in the Ratnaguptavihāra He might have relied on translated source texts copied or loaned out from the personal books of visiting or resident

[23] MacDonald (2015:266).

Tibetan scholars or consulted source texts in a collection of Tibetan translations held in a section of the monastery's main library.

Countless Kashmiri *paṇḍitas* passed on to Tibetan students their knowledge of Sanskrit and Buddhist texts. The collaboration of these Kashmiri *paṇḍitas* and Tibetan *lo tsa bas* resulted in translation of thousands of texts now preserved in the Tibetan canon. Pa tshab Nyi ma-grags passed Prāsangika Madhyamaka teachings that he had learnt from several Kashmiri scholars to his student and his student Zhang Thang sag pa transmitted them to his students. The lineage of the Thang-sag-pas includes several Kashmiri scholars: Ratnavajra, Parahita, and Mahāsumati. The first Tibetan name on this list is Pa-tshab Nyi ma grags.

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ཧྲིད་པ་བསྡུས་པའི་འཆད་ཉན་པོད་དུ་དར་ཚུལ་གསལ་བར་བཀལ་བ་མིག་ཡིད་ནོ་བའི་དགའ་སྟོན།[1]

The Compendium of the Essence of the Eight Branches and Its Tibetan Translation Errors, Mistranslation, and Intentional Changes

དབྱངས་དགའ། (Yang Ga)
བོད་ཕྱོངས་བོད་ལྷགས་གསོ་རིག་སློབ་ཆེན། ཟླ་ས། ༧༥༠༠༠

ཡན་ལག་བཀྲད་པའི་ཧྲིད་པ་བསྡུས་པ་ནི་རྒྱ་གར་ཆེ་ཡི་རིག་བྱེད་ལྷགས་གལ་ཆེན་པོ་ཞེག་རེད། གཞུང་འདི་དང་། ཪ་ར་གའི་བསྡུས་པ། ལེགས་ཐོས་བསྡུས་པ་བཅས་ལ་ཆེ་ཡི་རིག་བྱེད་ལྷགས་ཆེན་པོ་གསུམ་ཞེས་གྲགས་སོ། ཪ་ར་གའི་བསྡུས་པ་ནི་གཙོ་པོ་ཁོང་ནང་སྐོར་ཡིན།[2] གཞུང་དེ་ཉིད་ཐུར་བོད་སྐད་དུ་བསྒྱུར་སྐྱོང་མཁས་དབང་རགས་རྗེ་བློ་བཟང་བསྟན་འཛིན་དང་བློ་བཟང་ཚེར་ཏུ་ཤྲཱི་རྣམ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ལོ་ཤས་སྟོན་ནས་བོད་སྐད་བསྒྱུར་བའི་ལས་འཆར་དབུ་བརྩམས་ཤིང་། དེ་བས་ཕྱི་ལོ་ཉིས་བཅུ་ཙམ་གཅིག་ཀྱིས་ལོ་ཤས་སྟོན་ནས་བོད་སྐད་བསྒྱུར་བའི་ལས་འཆར་དབུ་བརྩམས་ཤིང་། གཙོ་བོ་རྣམ་པ་སྐོར་བསྟན་པོད།[3] ད་བར་བོད་སྐད་དུ་ཆ་ཚང་བསྒྱུར་སྒྲུབ་མེད་པས། བོད་ཀྱི་གསོ་དཔྱད་སྦྱ་བ་ཤལ་མོ་ཆེས་མཐའ་འབྲི་གོ་སྐབས་བྱུང་མེད་ཅིང་རྒྱས་མངའ་ཡང་ཆེར་མེད་མོད། ལག་བཀྲད་པའི་ཧྲིད་པོ་བསྡུས་པ་ནི་འཆོ་བྱེད་སྤྱི་ལ་མཚོ་བའི་གཞུང་ཞེག་ཡིན་པར་འདོད།[4] གཞུང་དེ་ནི་བོད་སྐད་དུ་བསྒྱུར་ནས་

[1] ཆེད་རྩོམ་འདི་ནི་ཀྲོད་ཀྱི་གསོ་རིག་གཞུང་ཆེན་རྒྱུད་བཞི་པི་ཏྲ་ཀུལ་དང་འཆད་ཉན་ཚོ་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ཞེས་པའི་ཁྱབ་བསྡུས་ཤིག་ཚོགས་རྒྱབ་ཀྱིས་གྲུབ་པའི་མཐུན་རྐྱེན་ཡིན། （藏医经典《四部医典》的形成与传承史研究：18VJX072）ཞེས་པའི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཚན་རིག་རྩལ་གྲུབ་མཐའ་མཉམ་ལས་ཁག་ནས་གྲོས་བསྟུན་ཞུས་ཏེ་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཀྱི་ཐོག་ནས་ཕྱག་རྟགས་གནང་བ་ཡིན།

[2] Sharma 1992:175; Ninivaggi 2008: 18-9.

[3] Sharma 1992:175; Ninivaggi 2008: 18-9.

[4] Sharma 1992:175.

མི་ཚེ་ཆིག་སྟོང་ཙམ་སོང་ཤིང་བོད་ཀྱི་གསོ་རིག་ལ་ཤུགས་རྒྱབ་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཆེན་པོ་ཞེབས་ཡོད་སྐབས་དེས་ཐུན་ཙམ་ཡིན་ཏེ་ཁོང་པའི་སྙིང་པོ་བསྡུས་པ་བོད་ཡུལ་དུ་དར་ཚུལ་སྐོར་ལ་ངོ་སྤྲོད་སྙན་རིས་འདོད་དོ། །

དང་པོ། རྩོམ་པ་པོ་དང་བརྩམས་པའི་དུས་ལ་དཔྱད་པ།

བོད་ཀྱི་ཚེ་རྒྱས་ཡིག་ཆ་དང་གསོ་རིག་ཁོག་དབུབ་ཕལ་ཆེ་ཆའི་ནང་དུ་གཞུང་འདི་འི་རྩོམ་པ་པོ་ནི་སྐབས་དཔལ་བོའམ་རྟ་དབྱངས་ཞེས་སུ་གྲགས་པ་དེ་ཉིད་ཡིན་པར་འདོད་དགེ་ཆེར་རྟེ་ཞིག་བོས་གསལ་ཡོད།[5] ཆེར་རྟེས་མཛད་པའི་ཁོག་དབུབ་འདི་ནི་དུ་བར་དུའེ་རྒྱུན་བཞུགས་པའི་གསོ་རིག་ཁོག་དབུབ་ནང་ནས་སྡེ་ཚོས་གྲས་ཤིག་ཡིན་པར་སྣང་། བྱང་ཏིའི་ཤེས་བྱ་རབ་གསལ་ལས།སྐོབ་དཔོན་དཔའ་བོས་མཛད་པའི་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་སྙིང་པོ་བསྡུས་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ནི་ཁ་ཅེ་རྒྱ་སྐྱོགས་ཀྱི་ལུགས་ཡིན་ཞེས་བསྟན།[6] ཆོས་སྐྱང་མཁས་པའི་དགའ་སྟོན་ལས་ཀྱང་།སྐོབ་དཔོན་དཔའ་བོས་སྣན་དཔྱད་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པ་ཅེན་པོ།ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པ་ལ་འདུག་པ། ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་སྙིང་པོ།ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པ་བསྡུས་པ་སྟེ་བཞི་མཛད་ཅིང་།ཁྱད་པར་དུ་སྙིང་པོ་བསྡུས་པ་རྩོམ་ཚེས་གསུམ་དག་ལེགས་འབྱུང་བ་ཡི།།དེག་བའི་ཤུས་ནི་སྐ་ཚོགས་སྐྱང་།།ཞེས་བཤད།[7] སྒེ་སྲིད་ཀྱི་ཁོག་དབུབ་དང་སོང་དགྱེས་པའི་དགའ་སྟོན་ལས་ཀྱང་། ཏ་དབྱངས་ལ་རྟེ་བཙུན་སྒོམ་ལུང་བསྟན་པ་ཤུར་ལུས་ཀྱི་ཐིག་བཤགས་སུ་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པ་ཅེན་པོ་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པ་ལ་འདུག་པ་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་སྙིང་པོ་བསྡུས་པ་ཉིད་ཟེས་ཁ་ཅིག་ཏུ་བཀའ་སྩལ་ཡོད།[8]

འདེ་ཚོ་ཆོ་དབང་ཀུབ་ཀྱིས་བྱམ་ཅེ་ཏ་དབྱངས་སམ་སྒོམ་དཔོན་མ་ཁོལ་ཞབས་ནི་འཕགས་པ་ཀླུ་སྒྲུབ་ལས་ཐུ་བཞམ་དུས་མཉམ་ཙོམ་བྱང་བ་དང་།སྒོམ་དཔོན་འདི་ནི་རྒྱ་གར་བྱང་ཕྱོགས་སུ་འཁྲུངས་པ་བྱམ་ཅེ་ཏ་སྐབས་ཡིན་པར་བཤད་པ་ལས་སྣན་པའི་རིགས་མིན་པའི་ཕྱིར། སྣན་པའི་བདག་པོ་དག་འདུན་གསང་བའི་ཐ་ཚོང་ཁོལ་ནི་གོང་སྒོས་མཁས་པ་དེ་མིན་པར་འདོད།ཡང་འདེ་ལོས་ཁྲབ་རྒྱུ་ལག་པའི་ཤ་ཀི་ཙི་ཏ་ཀྱི་ཆོས་འབྱུང་ཕལ་ཆེ་ཆ་ནས་ཀྱི་ཆོས་ཚར་བཅད་པ་དེ་ཡིན་པར་འདོད།ཅེ་ནི་ཆོས་འབྱུང་ཁག་ཏུ་ཁྲབ་པ་ཡིན་པར་བཞེད་པ་ཤུར་ན།ཁྲམ་ཅེ་མཚན་ཉིད་པ་ནི་སྣན་པ་ཁྱེད་སོལ་མེད་པས།ཡག་འགྱུར་པའི་རང་འགེལ་ལས། སྣན་

[5] ཆེར་རྟེ་ཞང་སྟོན་ཞིག་པོ། ཟིས་མ། 12a-25b

[6] བྱང་ཏི་དཔལ་ལྡན་འཚོ་བྱེད། 2005ལོར། ཤོག 70

[7] དཔའ་བོ་གསྟོག་ལག་ཁྱེད་བ། 1986ལོར། ཤོག 1451

[8] སྒེ་སྲིད་སངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱ་མཚོ། 1982ལོར། ཤོག 141

བའི་བདག་པོ་དགེ་འདུན་གསང་བའི་ཐ་ཚིལ་ཞེས་སྨན་རྒྱུད་པ་ཡིན་པར་གསུངས་ཕྱིར་འདི་དང་གཅིག་པ་ཡིན་མིན་ཡང་ཤེས་པར་དཀའ་ཞེས་གསུངས། །[9]

ཡང་འབེ་ལོ་ཚེ་དབང་ཀུན་ཁྱབ་ཀྱིས། “.....ཕྱི་ནང་གི་གྲུབ་མཐའ་ལ་རྟོད་མེད་ཀྱི་མཁས་པ་ཆེན་པོ་གང་དེས་ཚངས་པས་བཤད་པའི་གསོ་དཔྱད་འདུམ་པ། རྒྱུན་ཤེས་ཀྱི་བུས་བྱས་པའི་ཚངས་པས་བཤད་པ་ལས་བསྟུས་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ། མཐོ་བཙུན་ཙ་ར་ཀ་ལ་སོགས་པ་དྲང་སྲོང་གི་སྨན་ཁྲོད་མཐའ་དག་ལས་ཉེར་མཁོ་བསྟུས་ཏེ་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་སྙིང་པོ་བསྡུས་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་སྨན་དཔྱད་ཀྱི་བསྟན་བཅོས་ལེའུ་བརྒྱ་དང་ཉི་ཤུ་ཡོད་པ་སྙིགས་དུས་ཀྱི་འགྲོ་བ་ལ་ཕན་ཐོག་བསྟེ་བས་རྟོག་གསུམ་དགེ་ལེགས་འགྱུར་པ་ཡི། དགེ་བའི་རྩས་ནི་སྨ་ཚོགས་བྱང་། །”[10] ཞེས་གསུངས། །

བོད་འགྱུར་མའི་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་སྙིང་པོ་བསྡུས་པའི་མཇད་བྱང་དུ། “སྨན་པའི་བདག་པོ་དགེ་འདུན་གསང་བ་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་ཏུ་སྨན་པ་ཆེན་པོ་ཐ་ཚིལ་ཞེས་བྱ་བས་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་སྙིང་པོ་མཇད་....”ཅེས་གསུངས། །[11]

དེང་སང་མཇལ་དུ་ཡོད་པའི་ལེགས་སྨྱར་གྱི་མ་དཔེའི་མཇད་བྱང་དུ་སིཾ་ཧ་གུཔྟ་(सिंहगुप्त)ཞེས་པའི་ཏུ་ཤཱན་ཏ་(वाग्भट)ཡིས་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་སྙིང་པོ་བསྡུས་པ་མཇད་ཅེས་གསལ། །[12]

དེང་སང་ཤིང་ཅང་ཡུ་གུར་རང་སྐྱོང་ལྷོངས་ཀྱི་ཁོངས་སུ་གཏོགས་པའི་ཀུ་ཚ་(Kucha, 龟兹)ཞེས་པའི་ས་ཚ་ཐུ་རྐུ་འཁྲུངས་པའི་ཚོ་ནུ་བ་ཆེན་པོ་རིག་འཛིན་ ཀུ་མཱ་ར་ཇི་ཝ་(कुमारजीव,鸠摩羅什)[13]ཡིས་རྒྱ་སྐད་དུ་བསྒྱུར་གནང་བའི་རྟ་དབྱངས་(Aśvaghoṣa)ཀྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་དང་འཕགས་པ་རྟའི་རྣམ་ཐར་དུ་འཕགས་པ་རྟ་ཡིས་རྟ་དབྱངས་རིག་པས་ཚམ་ལ་ཕབ་ཚུལ་འཁོད་མེད། རྣམ་ཐར་དེ་ཉིད་དུ་རྟ་དབྱངས་ནི་ཐོག་མར་ཕྱི་རོལ་བའི་གྲུབ་མཐའ་ཞུགས་པ་དང་། ཕྱིས་དགེ་སློང་པུཥྱ་(Pārśva, 长老胁)དང་རྟོད་པ་རྒྱབ་ནས་ཕམ་ཉེས་ཤོར་རྗེས། དགེ་སློང་པུཥྱ་ཡི་སྐོབ་མར་ཚགས་ཏེ་ནང་བའི་གྲུབ་མཐའ་རྣ་ཞུགས་ནས་མཁས་པའི་གོ་འཕང་བརྙེས་ཚུལ་འཁོད་ཡོད། །[14]

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[9] འབེ་ལོ་ཚེ་དབང་ཀུན་ཁྱབ། 2013 པོད། ཤོག 107-112

[10] འབེ་ལོ་ཚེ་དབང་ཀུན་ཁྱབ། 2013 པོད། ཤོག 114

[11] ཐ་ཚིལ། 1989 པོད། ཤོག 765

[12] Murthy vol.3.2009: 431. སིཾ་ཧ་གུཔྟ་ཞེས་པ་ནི་བོད་སྐད་དུ་བསྒྲུབ་ན་སེང་གེ་སྐྱས་པ་ཞེས་བྱ།

[13] མཁོན་པོ་རྒྱལ། 1983 པོད། ཤོག73-5 རིག་འཛིན་རྣམ་ཐར་རྟའི་རྣམ་ཐར་མདོར་བསྡུས་ཤེག /རྒྱ་ནག་ཚོས་འཕེལ་ཀློང་འབུག

[14] 2046 50.P0183 马鸣菩萨传 (1卷)〖后秦鸠摩罗什译〗, 2048 50.P0186 提婆菩萨传
(1卷)〖姚秦鸠摩罗什译〗: http://www.dzj.fosss.org/dzz/16?start=20

ཐང་ཟན་ཙོང་གིས་མཛད་པའི་ ཥཆེན་པོ་ཐང་གུར་དུས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་གར་ཞིང་གི་བཀོད་པའི་དཀར་ཆག་ལ་ཞེས་པའི་ནང་དུ། སྒོག་དཔོན་སྐུ་སྒྲིག་དང་། འཕགས་པ་སྐུ། རྟ་དབྱངས་བཅས་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཐར་ཐོར་འགོད་ཡོད་ཀྱང་། དེ་དག་གི་ནང་དུ་འཕགས་པ་སྐུས་རྟ་དབྱངས་རིག་པས་ཚར་བཅད་ཚུལ་ཡོད་པར་མ་མཐོང་། །[15]

མཁས་མཆོག་འདེ་ལོ་ཆེ་དབང་གུན་ཁྱབ་ཀྱིས་གསུང་པ་སྐར། ཐུབ་རྒྱལ་ནག་པོ་དང་། མ་ཀྱི་ཁོ་ཏྲ། མ་ཁོལ། རྟ་དབྱངས་སོགས་གང་ཟག་གཅིག་ཡིན་པའི་ངེས་པ་མེ་འདུག་ཅིང་། དེ་དག་ནི་གཞུང་འདི་ཉེད་རྟོམ་མཁན་གྱི་ཕ་ཁོལ་དང་གང་ཟག་གཅིག་ཡིན་པའི་དཔང་རྟགས་ཀྱང་གསལ་ཡོར་མ་མཐོང་། དེས་ན་གཞུང་འདི་ནི་སོ་ཀ་གྱཱུ་ཞེས་པའི་ཁུ་སྐྱབས་ཀྱི་ཕ་ཁོལ་ཞེས་པ་ཚེ་ཡི་རིག་རྒྱལ་དཔོན་པ་ཞིག་གིས་བརྩམས་པ་ཙམ་ལས། དམ་པ་དེ་ཉེད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཞིབ་ཅིང་ཐུག་ཡིད་རྟོག་ཅེར་བ་ཞིག་ནི་རེ་རེ་ཞིག་རྟོགས་པ་རེད་ཟེར། ཁ་ཅིག་གིས་ནི་མྱ་སྐེགས་པ་རེད་ཟེར། ཡང་ཁ་ཅིག་གིས་ཐོག་མར་མྱ་སྐེགས་པ་ཡིན་ཡང་། ཕྱིས་སངས་རྒྱས་པ་ཞིག་ཏུ་འགྱུར་བར་འདོད་དུ། །[16]

སྒོག་དཔོན་ཀྱི་སྒྲིག་ཀྱི་སྒོག་མ་ཤུཊྚ་དེ་ཤས་ཐུབ་རྒྱལ་ནག་པོའམ་རྟ་དབྱངས་རིག་པས་ཚར་བཅད་རྗེས་ཕ་ཁོལ་ཞེས་སྤུ་གྲགས་ཚུལ་དང་། དེས་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་སྙིང་པོ་བསྡུས་པ་བརྩམས་ཚུལ་སོགས་བཀོད་པ་ནི། གཞུང་འདི་ཉེད་ནང་པའི་གྲུབ་མཐའ་ཞུགས་པའི་མཁས་པ་ཞིག་གིས་བརྩམས་པ་ཡིན་པར་སྒྲུབ་པའི་ཚེད་དུ་རྟོག་བཟོ་བྱས་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཤིག་ད་བར་མ་དག་རྒྱུན་འབྱམས་སུ་སོང་བ་མིན་ནམ་སྐམ། །

ནུབ་ཕྱོགས་དང་རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་དེད་རབས་མཁས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་གཞུང་འདི་ཉེད་བརྩམས་པའི་དུས་ལ་བཤད་སྲོལ་མི་འདྲ་བ་སྣ་ཚོགས་པར་བགོད་ཡོད། དེ་ཡང་ཁ་ཅིག་གིས་གཞུང་འདི་ནི་སྒྲི་ལོ་སྟོན་གྱི་དུས་རབས་དང་པོ་ནས་གཉིས་པའི་བར་བརྩམས་པར་འདོད།ཁ་ཅིག་གིས་དུས་རབས་ལྔ་པའམ་དེའི་ལྔ་རོལ་དུ་བརྩམས་པར་འདོད།ཁ་ཅིག་གིས་དུས་རབས་བདུན་པའི་ཐོང་དུ་བརྩམས་པར་འདོད།དེའི་བཞིན་དུས་རབས་བདུན་པའི་སྐོང་དང་།དུས་རབས་བརྒྱད་པ་ནས་བརྒྱད་པ་ནས་བརྒྱད་པའི་བར།དེ་ཉེ་བའི་བཞིན་དུས་རབས་བརྒྱད་པ། དུས་རབས་བརྒྱད་པའམ་དགུ་པ། དུས་རབས་བརྒྱད་པ་ནས་བཅུ་པའི་བར། དུས་རབས་དགུ་པ། དུས་རབས་བཅུ་གཉིས་པའི་སྐད་ནས་བཅུ་གསུམ་པའི་བར་དུ་བརྩམས་པར་འདོད་པ་སོགས་བཤད་སྲོལ་མི་འདྲ་བ་མང་དུ་སྐང་།[17] རང་གི་ཟློ་ངོར་དུས་རབས་བདུན་པའི་ནང་དུ་བརྩམས་པ་མིན་ནམ་སྐམ། །

གཉིས་པ། བོད་སྐད་དུ་ཇི་ལྟར་བསྒྱུར་ཚུལ་ལ་དཔྱད་པ།

ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་སྙིང་པོ་བསྡུས་པ་བོད་སྐད་བསྒྱུར་བ་ནི་བོད་ཀྱི་གསོ་རིག་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཐོག་གི་དོན་ཚེན་གལ་ཆེ་ཤོས་ཤིག་ཡིན་པར་འདོད། གཞུང་དེ་ཉེད་བོད་སྐད་དུ་བསྒྱུར་བ་ནས་བཟུང་དེ་ཉེད་ཀྱིས་བོད་

[15] 董志翘 2016: 468-75

[16] Meulenbeld 1999：602-613.

[17] Meulenbeld 1999：635.

ཀྱི་གསོ་དཔྱད་གཞུང་ལུགས་ཁག་ལ་ཤུགས་ཆུབ་ཟབ་མོ་ཞེས་ཡོད། འོ་ན་གཞུང་དེ་ཉིད་ལོ་པཉ་སྐུ་ཞེག་གིས་དུས་ཚོད་གང་དུ་བསྒྲུབ་བ་རེད་སྙམ་ན། གཞུང་འདི་ནི་བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཆེན་པོ་རིན་ཆེན་བཟང་པོ་དང་ཁ་ཆེའི་པཎྜི་ཏ་ཇོ་ནོར་དུ་ནི་[18] གཉིས་ཀྱིས་དུས་རབས་བསྡུ་གཅིག་གི་དུས་འགོར་བོད་སྐད་དུ་བསྒྲུབ་བར་མཛད། བོད་ཀྱི་ཆོས་འཕྲུང་དང་རྒྱལ་རབས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཕལ་མོ་ཆེའི་ནང་དུ་རིན་ཆེན་བཟང་པོ་ནི་ལོ་ཙྪ་བ་ཆེའི་ཡིག་པར་བཤད་པ་ལས་སྨན་པ་ཡིན་ཚུལ་གསལ་ཁ་དེ་ཙམ་མེད། འོན་ཀང་གསོ་རིག་ཁོག་དབུབ་ཁག་ཏུ་ཁོང་ནི་སྨན་པ་ཡིན་པའི་སྐོར་བཤད་པར་མ་ཟད། རྒྱ་གར་ཚོ་ཡི་རིག་བྱེད་ལུགས་དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་འཛད་ཉན་ཀྱི་རྒྱུན་བོད་ཁྲལས་སུ་ཐོག་མར་སྒེལ་མཁན་ཡིན་ཚུལ་གསལ་བར་བསྒྲུབ་ཡོད། །

ཉང་ཉེ་མ་འོད་ཟེར་ལྔ་བུ་ཝོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སྐུ་བ་ཁ་ཤས་ནས་ལོ་ཆེན་གྱིས་སྨན་དཔྱད་ཀྱི་གཞུང་བསྒྲུས་ཚུལ་མདོར་བསྡུས་ཙམ་བསྒྲུབ་ཡོད། [19] དེ་བྱིངས་ཆོས་འབྱུང་དང་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཁག་ཏུ་དེའི་སྐོར་ཞིབ་ཞིང་ཐ་ཤས་ཀྱི་ཁྱད་ཆོས་ཡོད་པ་ལས། སྤྱིར་ལོ་ཆེན་གྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་ཁ་ཤས་མང་རྒྱུ་ཡོད་པ་ལས། ཐུ་ཤོས་ནི་འགོས་ལོ་གཞོན་ནུ་དཔལ་གྱིས་དེབ་སྒོན་དུ་བསྒྲུབ་པའི་ཁྲི་ཐང་རྩྭ་གསོད་པའི་རྣམ་ཐར་ཞེས་པ་དེ་ཡིན་པར་འདུག [20] འོན་ཀང་རྣམ་ཐར་དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ནང་དུ་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་སྙིང་ཡོ་བསྡུས་པ་བསྒྲུབ་ཚུལ་གསལ་ཁ་མ་མཆིས། [21]

བང་ཀི་དཔལ་ལྡན་འཚོ་བྱེད་དང་། ཟུར་མཁར་བློ་གྲོས་རྒྱལ་པོ(1509-?)། རྗེ་སྲིད་སངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་སོགས་ཀྱིས་མཐོད་པའི་གསོ་རིག་རིགས་དབྱད་ཁག་ཏུ་ཚེ་ལོ་ཆེན་གྱིས་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་སྙིང་ཡོ་བསྡུས་པ་སོགས་འཁས་ཀྱིས་མཐོད་པའི་ཐོག་ཏུ་དཔལ་ལྡན་ཚེ་དབང་ཕྱུག་ཏུ་ཡང་ཁས་ལེན་པ་ཡིན་པར་འདུག [22] རང་རེས་ཞིབ་མོས་བློ་ཡིས་བརྟག་ན་ཇེ་སྲིད་ཚོག་དབུག་ཏུ་འཚོད་པའི་ཚ་ཆེན་གྱིས་སྨན་དཔྱད་བསྒྲུབ་ཚུལ་སྐོར་ནི་ཟུར་མཁར་བའི་ཚོག་དབུབ་ལ་གཞིར་བཞག་པར་གསལ་ཡོར་མཐོང་ཐུབ་མཁར་བའི་ཚོག་དབུབ་ཏུ་གསལ་བ་རྣམས་ནི་བྱང་ཀི་རྒྱ་རིས་ཤེས་བྱ་རབ་གསལ་དང་ཞང་སྐོན་གྱི་དོན་ཁྱིགས་གསལ་བྱེད་ལས་བྱང་ཡིན་པར་རྩོམ་གསལ་ཐུབ། [23] ཚོ་བོས་ད་བར་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱས་པའི་མཇུག་འཕྲས་ལ་གཞིགས་ན། ཥོ་ནོ་ཁྱིགས་གསལ་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ཅས་པ་ནི་ལོ་ཆེན་གྱིས་བསྒྲུབ་ཚུལ་འགོད་ཐུབ་ཨོ་ཅོག་ཚ་ཡིན་པར་འདོད། དེ་ནི་མཁས་པ་ཆེར་རྣེ་ཞོན་སྐོན་ཞིག་ཡོས་མཛད་པའི་གཞུང་ཞིག་ཡིན། མཚན་ཚ་ཚང་ལ་ཥིང་ཡོ་བསྡུས་པ་ལ་འཇུག་པའི་ཀི་ཀ་དོན་ཁྱིགས་གསལ་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ཅས་བྱ། གཞུང་དེ་ཉིད་

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[18] ཆེར་རྣེ་ཞོན་སྐོན་ཞིག་ཡོ། བྱས་མ། 26a ཪ་ནར་དུ་ན་ཞེས་གསལ། ཕ་ཚོལ། 2013ལོར། ཤོག375 རྟོ་ན་ར་དུ་ན་ཞེས་གསལ། ཕ་ཚོལ། 2016ལོར། ཤོག 1109 ཪ་ནར་རྩ་ན་ཞེས་གསལ། འདིར་རེ་ཞིག་ཪ་ནར་དུ་ན་ཞེས་བཀོད།

[19] ཉང་ཉེ་མ་འོད་ཟེར། 2012ལོ། ཤོག 429

[20] འགོས་ལོ་གཞོན་ནུ་དཔལ། 1985ལོ། ཤོག 94

[21] ཁྲི་ཐང་རྩྭ་ན་ཁྲི། ཤོག 1-25

[22] བང་ཀི་དཔལ་ལྡན་འཚོ་བྱེད་དང་། ཟུར་མཁར་བློ་གྲོས་རྒྱལ་པོ། 2001ལོར། ཤོག 300-302 རྗེ་སྲིད་སངས་རྒྱས་ཆུ་མཚོ། 1982ལོར། ཤོག176-7.

[23] ཟུར་མཁར་བློ་གྲོས་རྒྱལ་པོ། 2001ལོར། ཤོག 300-302 རྗེ་སྲིད་སངས་རྒྱས་ཆུ་མཚོ། 1982ལོར། ཤོག176-7

ཀྱི་མཛོད་བྱང་དུ། "གསོ་བ་རིག་པའི་གཞུང་།སྙིང་པོ་བསྡུས་པ་ལ་འཇུག་པའི་ཏེ་ཀ དོན་ཁྲིགས་གསལ་བྱེད་ཅེས་བྱ་བ་སྒྲུང་པོ་ཞང་སྟོན་གྱིས།ཁམ་སྨན་དམག་རྗེའི་དོན་དུ་ཤིང་མོ་བྱའི་ལོ་སྦྱིད་ཟླ་ར་བ་ལ་ཙུང་པ་གླིང་པོར་བཀོད་པ་ལགས་སོ།"[24] ཞེས་གསུངས། གཞན་ཡང་གཞུང་དེ་ཉིད་ལས། "སློབ་དཔོན་ཚ་ལུང་སྟོད་སྟོན་ནམ་གཡུ་ཐོག་པ་ལ་སོགས་ཀྱི་ལུགས་ཀྱིས་གླེང་གཞི་བསྟན་པ། དགོས་པ་བརྗོད་པ། དོན་གྱི་ཁོག་དབུག་པ། དཀྱུས་ཀྱི་ས་བཅད་པ། ཚིག་གི་འབྲུ་གཉེར་བ་དང་ལྟར་འདོད་དོ།"[25] ཞེས་གསུངས། ཞང་སྟོན་ཞིག་པོས་ཚ་ལུང་སྟོད་སྟོན་ནམ་གཡུ་ཐོག་པའི་སྐོར་བཀོད་འདུག་པ་དེ་ལ་གཞིགས་ན། ཁོང་བྱོན་པའི་དུས་ནི་གཡུ་ཐོག་མགོན་པོའི་རྗེས་ཙམ་ཡིན་པར་འདུག་སྙམ་པས། ཁོང་ནི་དུས་རབས་བཅུ་གསུམ་དུ་བྱོན་པའི་མཁས་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པར་སྣང་། དེས་ན་འདིར་ཤིང་མོ་བྱ་ཞེས་པ་ནི་ཕལ་ཆེར་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༢༢༥ལོ་ལ་ཟེར་བ་མིན་ནམ་སྙམ། །

ཁོག་དབུབ་འདི་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ནང་དོན་མདོ་ཕྱོལ་གྱིས་དྲིལ་ན། གསོ་བ་རིག་པ་ཇི་ལྟར་བྱུང་བའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དང་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་རང་བཞིན་གཏན་ལ་དབབ་པ་གཉིས་སུ་འདུས་སོ། ཁོག་དབུབ་དེ་ཉིད་དུ་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པ་བོད་སྐད་དུ་བསྒྱུར་ཚུལ་འདི་ལྟར་གསུངས་ཏེ། "ཁ་ཆེ་ཛ་ནར་ད་ན་ཞེས་བྱ་བ། རིག་པའི་གནས་ལྔ་ལ་མཁས་ཤིང་། ཁྱད་པར་དུ། སྒྲ་དང་གསོ་བ་རིག་པ་མཁས་པ་གཅིག་བཞུགས་པའི་དུས་སུ། ལོ་ཙྪ་བ་རིན་ཆེན་བཟང་པོ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ། སྦྱངས་པའི་སྟོབས་ཀྱིས་རིག་པའི་རྩལ་དང་ལྡན་པ། སྔོན་ལམ་དབང་གིས་དམ་པའི་ཆོས་དང་འཇལ་བ། ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོས་འགྲོ་བའི་དོན་ལ་དགོངས་པ། མདུན་པའི་རྩལ་གྱིས་སྒྲ་སྐད་ལ་མཁས་པ་དེས། ཆོས་འཚོལ་པའི་ཕྱིར་དུ་རྒྱ་གར་ཤར་ནུབ་ཀུན་ཏུ་བྱོན་ནོ། མཁས་པ་ཆེན་པོ་ཛ་ནར་ད་ལ་འཇལ་ནས། སྒྲ་ལ་མཁས་པར་བསླབས་སོ། ལོ་ཙྪ་བས་བློ་སྦྱོང་ཚར་ནས་མངའ་རིས་སྟོད་དུ་བཞུགས་པའི་ཚེ། པཎྜི་ཏས་ལོ་ཙྪ་བ་བསོད་ནམས་ཆེ་བར་གསན་ཏེ་སྔར་པུ་རངས་སུ་བྱོན་ནོ། དེར་ལོ་ཙྪ་བས་ཞུས་པ། བླ་མ་ལགས་ཁྱེད་ཁྱད་པར་དུ་ཆོས་གང་ལ་བྱང་ཞེས་དྲིས་པས། ང་ནི་ཆོས་ཐམས་ཅད་སྒྲ་ཡིས་འཆད་པ་ཡིན། ཁྱད་པར་གསོ་བ་རིག་པ་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་སྙིང་པོ་བསྡུས་པ་བྱ་བ་ལ་མཁས་ཞེས་གསུངས། ལོ་ཙྪ་བས་གསོ་དཔྱད་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པ་རྩ་འགྲེལ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་གཅིག པཎྜི་ཏ་ཛྙཱ་ཤྲཱི་བར་མ་དང་། ལོ་ཙྪ་བ་སྨྲི་བོར་དགེ་སློང་དབྱིག་གི་རིན་ཆེན། མར་ལོ་རིག་པ་གཞོན་ནུ། དབྱིག་གུ་དགེ་སློང་ཤཱཀྱ་བློ་གྲོས་དང་གསུམ་གྱིས་བསྒྱུར་བ་གཅིག་ཐུར་ཡང་བཞུགས་ཏེ་ཕན་མི་ཆེ་བས་འདི་ཞུ་དགོས་ཞེས་ནན་གྱིས་ཞུ་བ་ཕུལ། པཎྜི་ཏས་ཀྱང་གནང་བར་ཞལ་གྱིས་བཞེས་སོ། བསྒྱུར་ཡོན་གསེར་སྲང་བརྒྱ་འབུལ་བར་བྱས་ཏེ། དཔེ་ལེན་པ་ལ་ཨ་ཙ་ར་གཉིས་ཁ་ཆེར་གཏང་། ལོ་ཙྪ་བས་ལྷ་བླ་མ་བྱང་ཆུབ་འོད་ལ་བོད་ལ་ཕན་པས་ཡོན་བདག་མཛོད། ཅེས་ཞུ་ཕུལ་བས། བསྒྱུར་ཡོན་གསེར་སྲང་ལྔ་བཅུ་ཕུལ་ལོ། དེ་ནས་པུ་རངས་ཀྱི་སྨན་པ་མི་བཞི་འདུས་ཏེ་གསེར་སྲང་ལྔ་བཅུ་ཕུལ་ལོ། མི་བཞི་ནི་སྨྱུང་འདས་སེང་གེ་སྒྲ། ཤག་ཁྲི་ཡེ་ཤེས་འབྱུང་གནས། ཨོ་སྨན་ཨ་མེས། མང་མོ་སྨན་བརྩོན་དང་བཞིའོ། སྟག་གི་ལོ་བསྒྱུར་ཞེས་གྲགས་སོ། ལོ་པཎ་འདི་གཉིས་སྒྲ

[24] ཆེར་རྗེ་ཞང་སྟོན་ཞིག་པོ། ཁྲིས་མ། ཤོག 65b-66a

[25] ཆེར་རྗེ་ཞང་སྟོན་ཞིག་པོ། ཁྲིས་མ། ཤོག 42b

ལ་མཁས་པས་འགྲུར་ལ་སྐྱ་དོན་གྱི་ཉེས་པ་གང་ཡང་མེད་དེ་ཕུལ་དུ་ཕྱིན་པ་ཡིན་ནོ།”[26] ཞེས་གསུངས་སོ། བྱང་ཀིའི་ཤེས་བྱ་རབ་གསལ་དུ་ཞང་སྟོན་གྱི་གསུང་ཚུལ་དང་ཐལ་ཆེར་འདྲ་བ་ཞིག་འཚོད་ཡོད། མི་འདྲ་བ་ཞེག་ནི། “པཉྩེ་ཏྲས་བོད་ན་ཡོ་སྟ་བ་གདུལ་བྱ་དང་སྐུ་བསོད་ཆེ་བར་གསན་ནས།པཉྩེ་ཏ་བོད་དུ་གསེར་སྐོང་བ་ལ་བྱོན་.....བསྐུར་ཡོན་གསེར་སྣང་བཀུ་དགོས་གསུངས།འདུལ་བར་བྱས་ཏེ་ཁ་ཆེར་ཀུ་དེའི་ལེན་དུ་བཏང་།”ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་དེ་ལགས་སོ། །[27]

གུ་གེ་མཁན་ཆེན་ངག་དབང་གྲགས་པས་མཛད་པའི་མངའ་རིས་རྒྱལ་རབས་ལས། “འཕོར་རེའི་སྐས་བསྐྱན་སྟོང་ཅོག་རེ། ཚང་བ་ཚ་ལ་སྦེ་ནག་ཡོ་འཇུམ་མེད། ཕྱ་སྦེ་བཀུ་ཤིས་བཙན་ཡང་ཟེར། ཁོང་ནི་གཅིག་ཏུ་དགོན་མཆོག་ལ་དད་ཅིང་། མཆོད་པ་བསྐུར་སྟེ་ཆེར་མཛད། གཉིས་སུ་ཚབ་འོག་གི་འབའ་ཞིག་ལ་བྱམས་ཤིང་ཞི་དུལ་ཆེ། གསུམ་ལ་ཡང་མཆོད་རྟེན་ལ་གུས་ཤིང་ཆེད་ཀ་ཆེ། ཁྱད་པར་དུ་ཁ་ཆའི་པཉྩེ་ཏ་ཅོ་ནར་དུ་ན་སྦྱན་དྲངས་ནས་ཡོ་ཙ་ཏ་རིན་ཆེན་བཟང་པོས་ཡོ་སྟ་བྱས་ནས། ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་གཞུང་རྒྱས་པའི་ཐུབ་དབང་དང་བཅས་པ་དང་། རྟའི་སྐན་སྦྱད་བསྐྱར། ཁ་ཆར་རིན་ཆེན་བརྩེགས་པའི་བསྟོག་ལག་ཁང་དང་། འཇམ་དཔལ་གྱི་དཀྱལ་སྐུ་ཆེན་པོ་བཞེངས་ཏེ། མཆོད་པའི་ཇེན་མང་པོ་བསྟོགས་སོ།”[28] ཞེས་གསུངས། གུ་གེ་པཉྩེ་ཏ་གྲགས་པ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་མངོད་པའི་ཉེ་མའི་རིགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་རབས་ལས། ཕྱ་སྦེ་བཀུ་ཤིས་བསོད་ནམས་ཆེ་བ་ཡིན་ཚུལ་དང་། དེས་པཉྩེ་ཏ་ཪོ་ནར་དུ་ན་སོགས་མཁས་པ་རྣམས་སྦྱན་དྲངས་ཤིང་། རིན་ཆེན་བཟང་པོས་ཡོ་སྟ་མངོད་ནས་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་གཞུང་དང་། དེའི་འགེལ་བ་རྣ་ཆེར་སོགས་སོང་བསྐྱར་ཚུལ་བསྟན་ཡོད། །[29]

བྱང་ཀིའི་གསུངས་ཚུལ་ཤུར་ན། ཁ་ཆའི་པཉྩེ་ཏ་ཪོ་ནར་དུ་ན་སོང་དུ་ཤེབས་པའི་དམིགས་ཡུལ་ནི་གསེར་འཚོལ་བའི་ཆེད་དུ་ཡིན་པར་གསལ་བར་བསྟན། གུ་གེ་མཁན་ཆེན་ངག་དབང་གྲགས་པས་ནི་རྒྱལ་པོས་གདན་དྲངས་ནས་ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི་ཕ་རོལ་ཏུ་ཕྱིན་པ་ཉི་ཁྲི་དྲུག་བསྐྱར་བར་ཁ་ཆད་བྱས་རྗེས། དུས་ཆ་ལེན་པ་ལ་ཨ་ཙ་ར་གཉིས་ཁ་ཆེར་བཏང་ཚུལ་བཤད་འདུག་པས། པཉྩེ་ཏ་སོང་དུ་མ་ཤེབས་པའི་ཐ་རོལ་དུ་གཞུང་དམིགས་ཡུལ་གཙོ་བོ་ནི་གསེར་འཚོལ་བའི་ཆེད་དུ་མིན་ནམ་སྙམ།

དེ་ཤུར་ཐ་བྱ་མ་བྱང་ཚུང་འོང་དང་ཐུ་རངས་ཀྱི་སྣན་པ་མི་བཞིས་སྤྱིན་བདག་མཛད་ནས། སོ་ཆེན་རིན་ཆེན་བཟང་པོ་དང་པཉྩེ་ཏ་ཪོ་ནར་དུ་ན་ཟུང་ནས་ཪ་ཁོལ་གྱིས་མངོད་པའི་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་

[26] ཆེར་ཇེ་ཞང་སྟོན་ཞེག་པོ། བྱིས་མ། ཤོག 26a-b

[27] བྱང་ཀི་དཔལ་ཤུན་འཚོ་བྱེད། བྱིས་མ། ཤོག 31b-32a

[28] གུ་གེ་མཁན་ཆེན་ངག་དབང་གྲགས་པ། 1996སོར། ཤོག 61.

[29] གུ་གེ་པཉྩེ་ཏ་གྲགས་པ་རྒྱལ་མཚན། 2013སོར། ཤོག 150-1

སྐྱིང་པོ་བསྡུས་པ་དང་ཉེའི་ཚོག་དོན་རྒྱས་པར་འགྲེལ་བ་ཟླ་བའི་འོད་ཟེར་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ཁ་ཅེ་ཟླ་བ་ལ་མངོན་པར་དགའ་བས་མཛོད་པ་སོགས་ལེགས་པར་བསྡུར་ཅིང་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ། ।[30]

དེ་ཡང་བསྡུས་པ་དང་ཟླ་ཟེར་དུས་ཚོད་གང་དུ་བསྡུར་བའི་སྐོར་ལ་ནུབ་ཡྻོགས་སུ་ཐོག་མར་དཔྱད་པ་བྱེད་མཁན་ནི་ཡོ་རོབ་ཀྱི་མཁས་པ་ཝོ་སྒེལ་(Vogel)ཞེས་པ་དེ་ཡིན་པར་སྣང་། ཁོང་གི་འདོད་པ་ཤར་ན་གཞུང་དེ་དག་ནི་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༦༦རྗེས་༡༦༤ཁང་བོད་རྐང་དུ་བསྡུར་བར་འདོད་[31] ཁོང་གིས་སྐྱིང་པོ་བསྡུས་པ་དང་ཟླ་ཟེར་གཞིས་བསྡུར་བའི་དུས་ཚོད་ནི་སྤྱམ་པའི་ཚེས་འབྱུང་ལ་གཞིར་བཞག་པར་སྣང་། ।[32]

ཞེམ་རིག་ཁེ་(R.E.Emmerick)ནི་འཛར་མན་གྱི་སྐད་ཀྱགས་ཅན་གྱི་བོད་རིག་པ་མཁས་ཅན་ཞིག་དང་། ཪམས་ཞིང་པ་མཁས་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན། ཁོང་གིས་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་སྐྱིང་པོ་བསྡུས་པ་དང་སྒྲུབ་ཚོག་དབར་ཕན་ཚུན་བསྡུར་བ་བྱས་ཏེ་ཪམས་ཞིད་ལེགས་པར་བྱས་ཡོད། འོན་ཀྱང་ཁོང་གིས་ཁྱོ་སྐྱོས་བཤད་པའི་དུས་ཚོད་དེ་དང་ལེན་བྱས་པ་ཙམ་ལས། ཁོང་རང་ནས་དཔྱད་པ་བྱས་ཡོད་པར་མ་མཐོང་།[33] ཏན་མར་ཞིན་(Dan Martin)གྱིས་ནི་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པ་ནི་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༧ཡོར་བོད་སྐད་དུ་བསྡུར་བར་འདོད་[34]ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པ་དང་ཟླ་ཟེར་གྱི་དཔར་མ་དང་བྲིས་མ་ཐལ་མོ་ཆེའི་ནང་དུ་སྡུར་མཁན་ཡོ་བ་ཅ་གྱི་མཚན་ཙམ་ལས། དུས་རྗེ་ཙམ་དུ་བསྡུར་བའི་སྐོར་གསལ་བོར་འགོད་མེད། ཇེ་ཆར་བོད་སྒོངས་གསོ་རིག་སྒོབ་ཆེན་ནས་དཔར་སྒོག་རྒྱུ་བའི་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་བྲིས་མ་མཆན་དང་བཅས་པའི་མཇུག་བྱང་དུ། “སྐག་གི་ལོ་ལ་བསྡུར་ཞེས་གྲགས་སོ་”[35] ཞེས་གསལ། ཞང་སྐོན་ཞིག་བོས་དོན་ཁྲིགས་གསལ་བྱེད་དུའང་། “སྐག་གི་ལོ་བསྡུར་ཞེས་གྲགས་སོ་”[36]ཞེས་གསྒངས། ।

ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་མཇད་བྱང་དང་དོན་ཁྲིགས་གསལ་བྱེད་གཞིས་ཀ་ཏུ་སྐག་གི་ལོ་ལ་བསྡུར་ཞེས་པ་ཙམ་ལས། ས་སྐག ཆུ་སྐག མེ་སྐག ཤུང་སྐག་སོགས་འབྱུང་ཁམས་གང་ཡིན་གསལ་བར་མ་བསྐྲན་པས། ལོ་གྲངས་གང་གི་དུས་སུ་བསྡུར་མེན་གསལ་ཁ་མེད་མོད། ।

གོང་དུ་བསྐྲན་པ་ཤར་གྱ་གེ་མཁན་ཆེན་དག་དཔང་ཀྱགས་པས་ཤ་སྟེ་བཀྱ་ཤིས་བཙོན་གྱི་རྒྱུས་སུ་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པ་རུ་འཁྱིལ་བསྡུར་བར་བཤད།ཤ་སྟེ་བཀྱ་ཤིས་བཙོན་ནི་འཁོར་རིའི་སྐས་ཆུང་བ་

[30] བང་ཏི་དཔལ་ལྡན་འཚོ་ཕྱེད། ཟིས་མ། ཤོག 32a; ཟུར་མཁར་ཆོ་གོས་རྒྱལ་པོ། 2001ལོར། ཤོག 302 ཤེ་སྡིང་ཁངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱ་མཚོ། 1982ལོར། ཤོག177

[31] Vogel 1965: 15, 21.

[32] Vogel 1965: 20.

[33] Emmerick 1977: 1136.

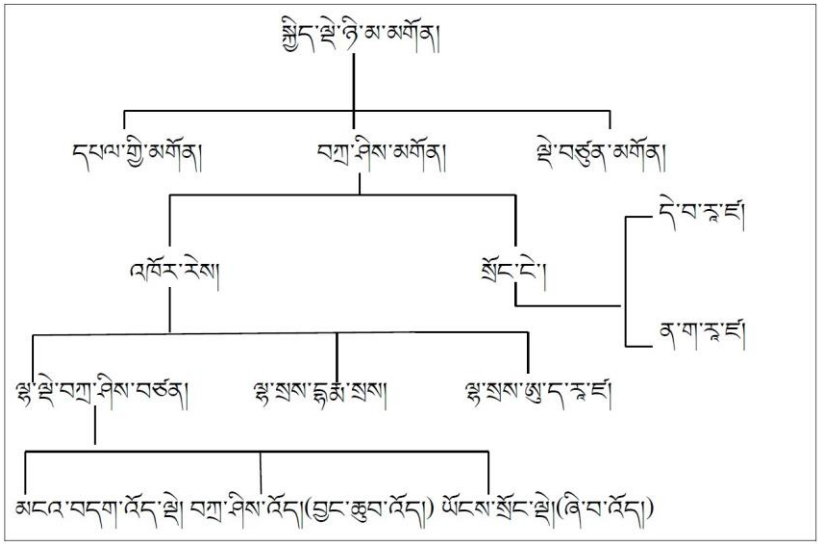
[34] Martin 2007: 311.

[35] ལ་ལོག 2013ལོར། ཤོག375

[36] ཆེར་རྩེ་འཁོར་སྐྱོན་ཞིག་པོ། ཟིས་མ། ཤོག 26b

ཡིན། [37] གོང་དུ་བཤད་པ་ཤར་ཞང་ཞང་སྐོན་ཞེག་པོས་ནི་ཤ་ཟླ་མ་བྱང་ཚུབ་འོད་ཀྱིས་གཞུང་འདི་བསྒྲུབ་བའི་ཡོན་བདག་མཛད་ཚུལ་འགོད་ཡོད། བྱང་ཚུབ་འོད་ནི་ཤ་སྟེ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་བཙན་ཀྱི་སྐབས་ཡིན་སྐབས། གཞུང་འདི་བསྒྲུབ་བའི་དུས་ནི་ཤ་སྟེ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་བཙན་ཀྱི་སྐུ་ཚེའི་དཀྱིལ་དང་བྱང་ཚུབ་འོད་ཀྱི་སྐུ་ཚེའི་སྐོང་ཙམ་ཡིན་པར་སྣང་།

གུ་གེ་མཁན་ཆེན་ཀྱི་ཚོས་འབྱུང་བྱ། “བར་པ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་འོད་ནི་དཀྱང་ལོ་བཞི་བཅུ་པ་ཆུ་ཕོ་ཕག་གི་ལོ་ལ་རབ་ཏུ་བྱང་ནས།ཕོ་བྲང་བྱང་ཚུབ་འོད་དུ་མཚན་གསོལ་ཉཀྱང་ལོ་ཟླ་བཅུ་རྩ་བཞིར་ཐུགས་དམ་མངོད་ནས་བསྐན་པ་བསྒྲུབས་སོ།” ཞེས་གསུང་།[38] ལོ་ཆོགས་དེ་དག་ལ་དབྱངས་ན། ཕོ་བྲང་བྱང་ཚུབ་འོད་ནི་སྨྱི་ལོ་ཀ་ཤོ་ཡོར་འཁྲུངས་ཤིང་།ཉ་ལ་ཏ་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་ལ། ཀ་ཤ་ལོར་གཅེག་པར་སྐང་བས།ཕོ་བྲང་བྱང་ཚུབ་འོད་རབ་ཏུ་མ་བྱང་གོང་སྐེ་སྨྱི་ལོ་ཀ་ཤ་ལོའི་ཐོང་ལ་གཞུང་རྩ་འཛེལ་འདི་གཉིས་བསྒྲུབ་དགོས་པར་སྐང་བས། སྐག་གི་ལོ་ཞེས་པ་ནི་ཚུ་སྐག་སྐེ་སྨྱི་ལོ་ཀ་ཤ་ལོ་ཀ་ཤ་ཤ་དང་། ཤིང་སྐག་སྐེ་སྨྱི་ལོ་ཀ་ཤ་ཀ་ལྔ་བོང་རྡོག་ལ་ཤོ་དགོས་པར་འདུག་སྐམ། །



ཤ་ཟླ་མ་ཡེ་ཤེས་འོད་ཀྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་རྒྱས་པ་བྱ། ལོ་ཆེན་རིན་ཆེན་བཟང་ཐོའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་བཤད་བའི་སྐབས་སུ། “ལུགས་ཀྱི་བསྐྱེན་ཆོས་དང་། སྒེན་སྒྲུབ་ཀྱི་གཞུང་། ཐུགས་དང་། མཚན་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ཞེག་པའི་ཚོས་

[37] གུ་གེ་མཁན་ཆེན་ངག་དབང་གྲགས་པ། 1996ལོར། རྩོག 61.
[38] གུ་གེ་མཁན་ཆེན་ངག་དབང་གྲགས་པ། 1996ལོར། རྩོག 62

སྐོར་མང་དུ་བསྟུགས་ཤིང་། བཤད་ཉན་གྱིས་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ།”[39] ཅེས་གསུང་པ་ལ་དཔག་ན། ལོ་ཆེན་གྱིས་བསྒྱུར་བའི་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པ་རྩ་འགྲེལ་འཆད་ཉན་བྱེད་སའི་སྨན་གྱི་སློབ་གྲྭ་བསྟུགས་ཡོད་པར་ཤེས་ཐུབ། །

གསུམ་པ། འཆད་ཉན་གྱི་དར་རྒྱུད་དེ་ལྟར་བྱུང་ཚུལ་ལ་དཔྱད་པ།

ཆེར་རྗེ་དང་། གཡུ་ཐོག་དང་། མི་ཉག་མི་བསྐྱོད་རྡོ་རྗེ། ཚ་ལུང་པ་སྟོད་སྟོང་དཀོན་ཅོག་སྐྱབས། ཞང་གཟི་བརྗིད་འབར་སོགས་ནས་འཆད་ཉན་དེ་ལྟར་དར་ཚུལ་འཆད་པར་བྱ་བ་ལ། །

༡ ཆེར་རྗེ་ནས་དེ་ལྟར་བརྒྱུད་ཚུལ།

སློབ་དཔོན་བྱམས་པ་འཕྲིན་ལས་མཆོག་གིས། ཆེར་རྗེ་ནི་མང་མཁར་གྱི་གཞུང་ནས་ཡིན་ཞིང་དེར་ཆེར་རྗེའི་གུང་ཞེས་པའི་མཁར་དང་བཅས་ཡོད་ཅེས་གསུང་།[40] མང་མཁར་ནི་དེང་སང་ལྷ་རྩེ་རྫོང་ཁོངས་ཀྱི་ས་ཆ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པས་ཆེར་རྗེའི་མི་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་བཞུགས་གནས་གཙོ་བོ་ནི་བོད་ལྗོངས་གཞིས་རྩེ་གྲོང་ཁྱེར་ལྷ་རྩེ་རྫོང་ཁོངས་ཡིན་པར་ཤིན་ཏུ་གསལ།འོན་ཀྱང་ད་ལྟ་མི་རྒྱུད་བཞུགས་ཡོད་མེད་རྩད་ཆོད་བྱེད་མ་ཐུབ་པས། རེ་ཞིག་བཏང་སྙོམས་སུ་འཇོག་པ་ལས་ཐབས་གཞན་མ་རྙེད། །

༼དོན་ཁྲིགས་གསལ་བྱེད་༽ལས། “རིགས་ལྡན་བོད་ཀྱི་བརྒྱུད་ཚུལ་ནི།ལོ་ཙཱ་བས་བོད་ཀྱི་སྨན་པ་མི་བཞི་ལ་བཤད།དེའི་ནང་ནས་ཀྱང་མང་སོ་སྨན་བཙུན་མཁས་པ་ལགས་ཏེ།ཐུགས་རྗེས་གསོ་དཔྱད་འདི་དར་བར་བཞེད་ནས།དབུས་གཙང་གི་སྨན་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སར་འགྲིམས།ཆེར་རྗེ་ཏི་པང་དང་འཛམ་ནས།གཞུང་འདི་གསུངས།ཏེ་པང་གི་སྲས་བྱང་ཆུབ།ཤུ་ལང་།དགྲ་ལྷ་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་གསུམ་ལ་གསུངས།བྱང་ཆུབ་ནི་སྐུ་ཚེ་ཡང་ཐུང་མཁས་པའི་ཚོད་དུ་ཡང་མ་གྱུར།ཤུ་ལང་ནི་གཞུང་གདམས་པ་ཕྱག་བཞེས་གཉིས་ཀ་ལ་ཡང་མཁས་ཏེ།ཤུ་ལང་བཀྲ་ཤིས་མཁར་གྱིས་གཅེན་པོའི་སྲས་དཔོན་རྗེ་བཀྲ།དཔོན་གཡུང་དྲུང་།དཔོན་རྗེ་བཙན་དང་གསུམ།གཅུང་པོའི་སྲས་ཆེར་རྗེ་འབྲོ་ཚ།དེ་ལྟར་དཔོན་པོ་བཞི།སྲས་ཆེར་རྗེ་སྙིང་པོ་དང་།ཆེར་རྗེ་བློ་བ་གཉིས་ཏེ།ཡབ་མཆེད་པོ་དྲུག་ལ་གསུངས་ཏེ།དཔོན་ཆེན་པོའི་ཞལ་ནས་ངས་བུ་ཚ་དང་དང་ཚ་བོ་ལ་ཁྱད་བྱས་པ་མེད་དོ།འདྲ་སྙམ་ལ་གཡུང་དྲུང་རང་གཞུང་ལ་བྱང་ཆེ་ཆེ་ཙམ་དུ་ཡོད་དོ་གསུང་།དེ་ལྟར་ཡབ་མཆེད་པོ་དྲུག་གིས་ཏ་རྟོག་རྒྱལ་པོ།ཆེར་རྗེ་འཕན་ཕྱུག།ཆེར་རྗེ་རྗོ་ནག་དང་གསུམ་ལ་གསུངས་པ་ལགས།དེ་གསུམ་ཀྱང་གྲགས་པ་ཏ་རྟོག་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆེ།ཁྱད་པ་དུ་རྡེའུ་ལ་མཁས་གསུང་།སྨན་དཔྱད་ཀྱི་ལུང་རྒྱུས་ལྷ་རྗེ་རྗོ་འཕན་ཆེ་གསུང་།གཞུང་གདམས་པ་ཕྱག་བཞེས་གསུམ་དུ་འགྲེལ་བ་རྗོ་ནག་མཁས་པར་གདའ།དེ་གསུམ་ལ་ཞང་སྟོན་བདག་གིས་ཚུལ་བཞིན་དུ་ཞུས་པས།བདག་ལ་བློ་བཟང་ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་ཡོན་ཏན་ཤེས་ཡོང་གསུང་ནས།ཐུགས་ལ་བཏགས་ནས་གནང་བ་ལགས་སོ།”[41] ཞེས་གསུངས། གོང་གསལ་ཆེར་རྗེའི་གདུང་རབས་དེ་ཉིད་ལྷ་སློག་བདེ་བའི་ཆེད་དུ་རེའུ་མིག་གི་ལམ་ན་བཀོད་ན་འདི་ལྟ་སྟེ།

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39 ཀུ་གེ་པཎྜི་ཏ་གྲགས་པ་རྒྱལ་མཚན། 2013ལོར། ཤོག 17

40 བྱམས་པ་འཕྲིན་ལས། 1996ལོར། ཤོག 22

41 ཆེར་རྗེ་ཞང་སྟོན་ཞིག་པོ། བྲིས་མ། ཤོག 26b-27b

ཚེར་རྩེ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་ཇི་ལྟར་བརྒྱུད་ཚུལ་གྱི་རེའུ་མིག

ཚེར་རྩེ་ཞེས་པ་བོད་སྐད་མཁས་པ་མི་དགུ་འམ་བྷ་སྐད་མི་དགུའི་ཡ་གྱལ་ཡིན་མིན་སྐོར་ལ་བཤད་སོལ་མི་འདུ་འགའ་ཞིག་མཚས་པ་ལས།

ཚེར་རྩེ་ཞེས་པ་མཁས་པ་མི་དགུའི་ཡ་གྱལ་ཡིན་པའི་སྐོར་ལ་བྱང་ཀི་འཇམ་དཔལ་བཟང་ཡོས་འདི་ཉར་གསུངས་ཀེ། “བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་ཡོ་ཁྲི་སོང་ལྡེ་བཙན་མངའ་(ཐང་)དར་བའི་དུས་སུ། ཉ་རྩེ་ལ་ཐུ་བ། མཁས་པ་མི་དགུ་བྱ་བ་བྱང་སྟེ། དེ་ཡང་སྐོང་ན་ཚེར་རྩེ་འཁྲབ་པ་དེ་ཇི་གསུམ། བར་མི་ཤག་དང་གཡུ་ཐོག་བྱང་ཀི་གསུམ། སྨད་ན་སྐོང་དང་། མཐའ་བཞི། ཉ་དང་གསུམ་བྱ་བར་ཀྱགས་པའི་ནང་ནས་”ཞེས་ཚེར་རྩེ་ནི་ཁྲི་སོང་ལྡེ་བཙན་སྐུ་དུས་སུ་བྱང་བའི་མཁས་པ་མི་དགུའི་ཡ་གྱལ་དུ་འདོད། ।[42]

ཚེར་རྩེ་ཞེས་པ་བྷ་སྨན་ཚེན་པོ་དགུའི་ཡ་གྱལ་ཡིན་ཚུལ་ནི་བྱང་ཀི་དཔལ་ལྡན་འཚོ་བྱེད་གྱིས་འདི་ཉར་གསུངས་ཀེ། “བྷ་སྨན་ཚེན་པོ་དགུ་ནི་སྐོང་ན་པི་ཅི། ཚེར་རྩེ། འཁྲ་པ་གསུམ། སྨད་ན་སྐོང་དང་། ཉ་དང་། མཐའ་བཞི་གསུམ། བར་ན་གཡུ་ཐོག་བྱང་ཀི་མི་ཤག་གསུམ། དེ་ཤར་དགུ་པོ་བཙན་པོ་བརྒྱུད་ནས་བརྒྱུད་གྱི་བྷ་སྨན་དུ་དབང་བསྐུར་”ཞེས་ཚེར་རྩེ་ཞེས་པ་ནི་བྷ་སྨན་དགུ་ཡི་ཡ་གྱལ་ཡིན་པར་བཤད།[43]རབྟ་མིང་ཅན་གྱིས་མཛད་པའི་ཁོག་དབུབ་ནང་དུ་ཡང་ཚེར་རྩེ་ཞེས་པ་ནི་བྷ་སྨན་ཚེན་པོ་དགུ་ཡི་ཡ་གྱལ་ཡིན་པར་བཞེད། [44] འོན་ཀྱང་བྱང་ཀི་དཔལ་ལྡན་འཚོ་བྱེད་དང་རབྟ་མིང་ཅན་གཉིས་ཀས་ཚེར་རྩེ་ཞེས་པ་མཁས་པ་བྱེ་བག་སུ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པར་ངོས་འཛིན་གསལ་བར་མ་མཛད། ।

ཞོང་གི་བཤད་སོལ་དེ་དག་ལ་ཟུར་མཁར་བློ་གོས་རྒྱལ་པོས་འདི་ལྟར་དགག་པར་མཛད་དེ། “རྒྱལ་པོའི་བྷ་སྨན་དགུ་ཞེས་ཟེར་བ་དག་ཀྱང་བབ་ཅོལ་དུ་སྨྲས་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། པི་ཅི་མཐའ་བཞི་བྱང་ཀི་དང་བཅས་པ་འགའ་ཞིག་དེ་སྐབས་སུ་ཡོད་དུ་ཆུག་ཀྱང་། གཞན་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཐ་སྙད་ནི་དུས་ཕྱིས་བྱུང་བ་ཡིན་ལ་”ཞེས་ཚེར་རྩེ་ཞེས་པ་ནི་བོད་བཙན་པོའི་སྐབས་ཀྱི་བྷ་སྨན་ཡིན་པར་དགག་པར་མཛད་དོ། ।[45]

དཔའ་བོ་གསུམ་ལགས་ཤེང་བས། “རྒྱལ་པོའི་བྷ་སྨན་དགུ་ཡང་སྐོང་ན་པི་ཅི་ཚེ་ཤུགས་པ་[འགྲ་བ]གསུམ། སྨད་ན་གཤད་དང་སྐོང་དང་མཐའ་བཞི་གསུམ། བར་ན་གཡུ་ཐོག་བྱང་ཀི་མི་ཤག་གསུམ་ཟེར་ཡང་འདི་ཐམས་ཅད་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་དུས་ན་དུས་མཤམ་ཡོད་པ་མིན་ལ་ཕྱིས་རིམ་པས་བྱུང་བ་ཡིན་ནོ།”

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[42] བྱང་ཀི་འཇམ་དཔལ་བཟང་ཡོ། ཤེས་མ । ཤ1b.

[43] བྱང་ཀི་དཔལ་ལྡན་འཚོ་བྱེད། ཤེས་མ། ཤ31a

[44] རབྟའི་མིང་ཅན། 2005 ལོར། ཤོག 17

[45] ཟུར་མཁར་བློ་གོས་རྒྱལ་པོ། 2001ལོར། ཤོག285

[46] ཞེས་བླ་སྨན་དགུ་ཞེས་པ་དེ་དག་ཐམས་ཅད་ཆོས་རྒྱལ་དུས་སུ་བྱུང་ཡོད་ཅེས་པའི་བཤད་སྲོལ་ལ་དགག་པར་མཛད། །

མི་དབང་སངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ཞལ་སྔ་ནས། "བོད་འབངས་ཀྱི་བྱིས་པ་བློ་རྗེ་བ་དགུ་ལ་གསོ་བ་རིག་པ་བསླབ་ཏུ་བཅུག་པས་སྟོད་ན་ཆེར་རྗེ་ཞིག་པོ། ཙུག་པ་ཆོས་བཟང་། བེ་ཆེ་[བི་ཇི་]ལེགས་མགོན་གསུམ། བར་ན་གཡུ་ཐོག་མགོན་པོ། མི་ཉག་རོང་རྗེ། ཐང་ཏི་རྒྱལ་བཟང་གསུམ། སྨད་ན་གཉའ་པ་ཆོས་བཟང་། མཐའ་བཞི་དར་པོ། སྟོང་པ་གྲགས་རྒྱལ་ཏེ་བོད་སྨན་མཁས་པ་མི་དགུར་གྲགས་པ་བྱུང་།" [47]ཞེས་ཆེར་རྗེ་ཞིག་པོ་ནི་ཁྲི་སྲོང་ལྡེ་བཙན་གྱི་སྐབས་སུ་བྱུང་བའི་བོད་སྨན་མཁས་པ་མི་དགུའི་ཡ་གྱལ་ཡིན་པར་ཞལ་གྱིས་བཞེས། །

འབེ་ལོ་ཚེ་དབང་ཀུན་ཁྱབ་ནས་སྡེ་སྲིད་ཀྱིས་གསུང་པའི་མཁས་པ་མི་དགུ་དེ་དག་ཕལ་ཆེ་བ་ཕྱི་དར་གྱི་སྐབས་སུ་བྱུང་བ་ཡིན་པ་དང་། ཁྱད་པར་ཆེར་རྗེ་ཞིག་པོ་ནི་ལོ་ཆེན་རིན་བཟང་གི་སློབ་བརྒྱུད་ཡིན་པར་བཤད། །[48]

ཀོང་སྤྲུལ་རིན་པོ་ཆེས་ཤེས་བྱ་ཀུན་ཁྱབ་མཛོད་དུ། "བོད་སྨན་མཁས་པ་མི་དགུ་ཆོས་རྒྱལ་གྱི་དུས་སུ་བྱུང་བར་འཆད་པའམ་ཤིན་ཏུ་ནོར་ཏེ་དེ་དག་ཕལ་ཆེར་བསྟན་པ་ཕྱི་དར་སྐབས་སུ་བྱུང་བ་ཡིན་ལ།" [49] ཞེས་ཚིག་ཐག་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཆོད་པོའི་སྒོ་ནས་དགག་པར་མཛད་དོ། །

ཞུ་ལང་བཀྲ་ཤིས་མཁར་གྱི་སློབ་མ་གཙེན་པོའི་སྲས་གསུམ་དང་། གཅུང་པོའི་སྲས་གཉིས།རང་གི་སྲས་གཉིས་ཏེ་དྲུག་པོ་དེ་དག་དང་ཞང་སྟོན་གྱི་སློབ་དཔོན་དུ་གྱུར་པའི་རྡ་རྟོག་རྒྱལ་པོ། ཆེར་རྗེ་འཕན་ཕྱུག ཆེར་རྗེ་རྫོ་ནག་དབང་མི་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་འབྲེལ་བ་ཇི་ལྟར་ཡིན་ཚུལ་ཞང་སྟོན་རང་གིས་གསལ་པོར་བསྟན་མེད། གསེར་བྲི་ཆེན་མོ་ལས་ཆེར་རྗེ་རྫོ་ནག་ནི་ཆེར་རྗེ་བླ་བའི་སྲས་ཡིན་པར་བསྟན་ཡོད། [50] དེ་བྱིངས་གཉིས་པོ་དང་གོང་སྨོས་ཞུ་ལང་གི་སློབ་མ་དྲུག་བར་གྱི་འབྲེལ་བ་ནི་ཇི་ལྟར་ཡིན་ཚུལ་གསལ་པོར་མ་རྟོགས་སོ། །

ཟུར་མཁར་བའི་ཤེས་བྱ་སྒྲི་ཡི་ཁོག་དབུག་ཏུ་ཞང་སྟོན་གྱིས་གསུང་པ་དང་ཕལ་ཆེར་མཐུན་པར་བསྟན་ཡོད། [51] གཞན་ཡང་། ཁོག་དབུག་དེ་ཉིད་དུ་ཏི་པང་གིས་བརྒྱུད་པའི་དོན་བསྡུས་དང་། ཞུ་ལང་

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[46] དཔའ་བོ་གཙུག་ལག་ཕྲེང་བ། སྨད་ཆ། 1986 ལོར། ཤོག1525

[47] སྡེ་སྲིད་སངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱ་མཚོ། 1982ལོར །ཤོག174

[48] འབེ་ལོ་ཚེ་དབང་ཀུན་ཁྱབ། 2013ལོར། ཤོག 140-1

[49] ཀོང་སྤྲུལ་ཡོན་ཏན་རྒྱ་མཚོ། 1985ལོར། ཤོག590

[50] ཐང་ཏི་དཔལ་ལྡན་རྒྱལ་མཚན། 2005ལོར། ཤོག 54

[51] ཟུར་མཁར་བློ་གྲོས་རྒྱལ་པོ། 2001ལོར། ཤོག 302-3 ལོ་ཆེན་དེ་ལ་གསོ་རིག་གི་བརྒྱུད་པ་འཛིན་པའི་སློབ་མ་མང་དུ་ཡོད་ཀྱང་། ཡོངས་སུ་གྲགས་ཆེ་བ་ནི་སྨྱུ་རངས་ཀྱི་སྨན་པ་མི་བཞི་ཟེར་ཏེ།སྤུང་འདུས་སེང་གེ་སྒྲ། ཤཱཀ་ཁྲི་ཡེ་ཤེས་འབྱུང་གནས། ཨོང་སྨན་ཨ་ནེ། མང་པོ་སྨན་བཙུན་ཡིན་ནོ།དེའི་ནང་ནས་ཀྱང་མང་མོ་སྨན་བཙུན་མཁས་ཤིང་ཕྲིན་ལས་ཆེ་བ་ཡིན་པས། དབུས་གཙང་གི་སྨན་པ་ཕལ་ཆེར་གྱིས་མཇལ། སློབ་སུ་ཆེར་རྗེ་ཏི་པང་ལ་གཞུང་བླ་ཟེར་དང་བཅས་པ་རྫོགས་པར་གནང་།ཏི་པང་གིས་རང་གི་སྲས་བྱང་ཆུབ།ཞུ་ལང་བཀྲ་ཤིས་མཁར།དགྲ་ལས་རྒྱལ་པོ་གསུམ་ལ

གིས་ཁོག་དབྱབ་ལ་སོགས་པ་མང་པོ་ཚུལ་འཁོད་ཡོད་ཀྱང་།[52] གཞུང་དེ་དག་ནི་ད་བར་མཐལ་བའི་གོ་སྐབས་མ་རྙེད། ཞང་སྟོན་དང་ཁོང་གི་སློབ་བསྡུད་སྐོར་གྱི་ལ་རྒྱས་མ་བཏབ་བས་འདི་ཕུར་གསུངས་ཏེ།"དེ་གསུམ་གा་ལ་ཆེར་རྗེ་ཞང་སྟོན་ཞིག་ཡོས་ཞུས་ཏེ་མཐར་ཐྱེན་ཏམ། ཤེས་བྱ་ཀུན་ཁྱེའི་ཁོག་དབྱབ་པ་ལ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་རྩེ་མེས། ས་བཅད་དོན་ཁྱིགས་འཕྲེད་པའི་རྗེ་མེག དཀའ་ཚོམས་གེགས་སེལ་གནམ་སྟུགས་འཁོར་ལོ། ཚོག་དོན་ཞིབ་རྒྱས་སུ་འགེལ་བ་མུ་ཏྲེག་གི་འཁྲུལ་དྲྭ་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཟབ་པ་རྒྱས་བསྡུས་གཉིས། ལག་ལེན་དམར་ཁྱིད་ཏཏ་ཨོ་མཚྭོབ་ཀྱི་ཚུལ་དུ་འཛད་པ་བདུད་རྩི་ཐིགས་པ་རྣམས་བརྩམས་ཀཱཏྱཱ་ལ་ནག་མཆན་ཞིན་ཏུ་གསལ་བའི་ཚན་འཁྲབ་ཀྱི་ཐུན་ཚོགས་ཤིན་དུ། བསྟན་བཅོས་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པ་ལ་ནག་མཆན་དང་མཚལ་མཆན་གཉིས་ཀ་ཡོད་པ་ཞིག་ཡོད་ཅིང་མཚལ་མཆན་གྱི་མཚན་གཞི་ཁུ་འདི་ཉར་གསལ་ལ།"མཚལ་མཆན་འདི་ཚེར་རྗེ་ཞིག་ཡོས་བཏབ་པའི་ཚན་འཁྲབ་མེད་ཡིན་ཏེ། ཚན་འདི་ཉིད་ལས། ཁོ་ཡོས་རྟོགས་པའི་རང་ཡུགས་ནི་བདུད་རྩི་ཐིགས་པ་ཉར་བཟུང་བྱའོ་ཞེས་པས་གསལ་ལོ། མཚལ་ཚན་འདི་ཚེར་རྗེ་ཞིག་ཡོའི་ཕྱག་དཔེ་ལ་ཕྱི་མོ་བྱས་ནས་མང་ཡུལ་ལན་སྟེ་སྒང་ལུང་ཕུག་ཏུ་བྱིས་ཞེས་པའི་ཕྱི་མོ་ལས་ཞལ་བཤད་པས་བྱས་པ་ཡིན་པས་ཀུན་གྱིས་ཐུགས་ཆེས་པར་མངོ་དུ། གཞན་ཡང་ཚེ་རྗེའི་ཚན་ལ་ཡིན་ཟེར་བའི་དཔེ་དག་པ་ནི་མས་ལའང་ཞུ་དག་ཀྱང་ལེགས་པར་བགྱིས་པ་དག་གོ།"[54] ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་ཉར་ན། མཚན་འདི་ནི་གོང་དུ་སྨོས་པའི་ཚེར་རྗེས་བཏབ་པའི་ཚན་འཁྲབ་ཡིན་པ་ཤིན་ཏུ་གསལ་ལོ། །

ཚེར་རྗེ་ཞང་སྟོན་ཞིག་ཡོ་ལ་སློབ་མ་གཙང་སྟོང་དར་མ་མཚོན་ཡོ། ཕྱ་རྗེ་དགེ་བ་འབྱམ།[55] མི་ཚེན་པ་རིན་ཆུལ། ཁྲི་སོ་ཕྱ་རྗེ་ཐུག་ན་རྡོ་རྗེ།[56] བདེ་བ་དཔལ། ཡོན་ཏན་ཆུ་མཚོ་ལ་སོགས་མང་དུ་བྱུང་བ་ལས། དར་མ་མཚོན་པོ་མཁས་པར་ཐུབ་ནས་སློབ་མའི་དོན་དུ་ཟིན་ཏིག་དང་། བྱའི་དོན་དུ་ཡང་ཏིག་ཅེས་པའི་བསྟན་བཅོས་བརྩམས་ཤིང་དར་ཁུལ་ཐིན། ཁོང་གི་བཀྲུད་འཛིན་ནི་བོ་དོང་རོག་ཚོའི་སྐོར་ན་མང་ངོ་ཞེས་གསུངས།[57]

གསུངས། དེའི་ནང་ནས་ཐུ་ལང་ནི་གཞུང་འགེལ་ལགा་ལེན་ཀུན་ལ་མཁས་པས་འཚོ་བྱེད་ནའོའ་ནའ་ཐུའི་སྐུལ་པར་ཐག་ཅོན་ཐུ་ལང་། དཔོན་ཚོ་བཙན་དང་གསུམ། རང་གི་ཐས་ཆེར་རྗེ་ཟླ་བ་དང་། ཆེར་རྗེ་ཤྲིང་པོ་གཉིས། གསུང་གི་ཐས་ཆེར་རྗེ་འཕྲོ་ཚང་དྲུག་ལ་གསུངས་པ་དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱང་། རང་གི་ཐས་ཀྱག་ཏོ་ཀུལ། འཕན་སྐུལ། ཚོ་ནག་གསུམ་ལ་བརྟའ་གསུམ་ལ་ཐག་ཅོད་པའི་ཐུ་ལང་། ཁོང་གི་བསྐུལ་འཚོན་ནི་བོ་ཅོང་རོག་ཚོའི་སྐོར་ན་མང་ངོ་ཞེས་གསུངས།

[52] ཟུར་མཁར་ཐོ་གོས་ཀུལ་པོ། 2001ལོར། ཤོག274

[53] ཟུར་མཁར་ཐོ་གོས་ཀུལ་པོ། 2001ལོར། ཤོག303

[54] ཤ་ལོག 2016ལོར། ཤོག 1109

[55]ཕྱ་རྗེ་དགེ་འབྱམ་བ་འབྱམ་གྱི་ལོ་ཀུས་སྐང་ཀུས་པ་འོག་ཏུ་གསལ།

[56] བྱམས་པ་འཕེན་ལས། 2000 ལོར། 270-1

[57] ཟུར་མཁར་ཐོ་གོས་ཀུལ་པོ། 2001ལོར། ཤོག303

དང་མ་མགོན་པོས་མཛད་པའི་གཞུང་ཆུང་ཟད་མ་ཚང་བ་ལེའུ་སོ་གཉིས་ཅན་ཡོད་པར་མཐོང་།[58] སྤྱིར་གཞུང་དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ནང་དུ་འཁོད་པའི་ལེའུ་རེ་རེ་ལ་མཚན་སོ་སོར་ཡོད།གཞུང་དོན་ཉིལ་པོ་ལ་དཔྱེ་ན་དུམ་བུ་ཆེན་པོ་གཉིས་ཡོད་དེ། དེ་ཡང་དུམ་བུ་དང་པོ་ལ་ ཥཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་སྐྱིང་པོ་བསྡུས་པའི་དགའ་ཚོམས་གེགས་སེལ་གནམ་སྐྱགས་འཁོར་འོས་ཞེས་བྱ་ཞིང་། དུམ་བུ་ཕྱི་མ་དེ་ལ་ ཥཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་བསྡུས་བདུད་རྩི་རྒྱ་མཚོ་འོད་ཀྱི་རིམ་པ་ཞེས་བྱ། ཐ་མ་ནི་གཙོ་བོར་གཞུང་ལུགས་རྣོར་དང་ཕྱི་མ་ནི་ལག་ལེན་རྣོར་འགོད་འདུག །

ཥགཙང་སྐོང་ཟེན་ཐིག་དང་ཡང་ཐིག་ཀེ་ཅས་པའི་དེབ་གཟུགས་སུ་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་བྱས་པའི་ནང་གི་རྒྱུང་ནད་གསོ་བའི་མཇུག་ཏུ། སྐབ་བརྒྱུད་ཡི་གེ་ཁྲིས་པ་འདི། །བཟང་འོད་བྱ་ལ་གང་མས་པ་ཡིན། །ཞེས་འགོད་ཡོད།[59] གཞན་ཡང་གཞུང་དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ལེའུ་མང་པོ་ཞིག་གི་ནང་དུ་བཟང་འོད་སྐྱ་རྟེའི་དོན་དུ་ཡི་གེར་བཏབ་ཚུལ་ཁྲིས་འདུག་པས། བཟང་འོད་སྐྱ་རྟེ་ཞེས་པ་ནི་དར་མ་མགོན་པོའི་སྐས་ཡིན་པར་མངོན།[60] སྒོབ་དཔོན་བྱམས་པ་འཕྲིན་ལས་མཆོག་གིས་ཀྱང་། དར་མ་མགོན་པོ་ལ་སྐས་མཁས་པ་བཟང་འོད་དང་ཉེ་འོད་གཉིས་ཡོད་ཅིང་། ཕྱི་མའི་སྐས་ཆོས་སྐྱོང་ཐང་པོ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ཁྱོད། དེ་མན་ཆད་སྐན་རྒྱུད་ནི་ཆད་ལ། མི་རྒྱུད་གཅིག་གཉིས་ཡོད་ཅེས་གསུངས།[61] གོང་གསལ་བཤད་སྒོལ་དེ་དང་འགལ་ཏུ་འཁོད་པ་དེ་དག་ནི་སྐུ་ཞབས་བྱམས་པ་འཕྲིན་ལས་མཆོག་གིས་མངའ་རིས་འཚོ་བྱེད་ཆོས་སྐྱོང་བཟང་པོས་མཛད་པའི་གསོ་རིག་ཆོས་འབྱུང་ལས་བསྡུས་ཏེ་བགོད་འདུག་པས། ཡིད་ཆེན་ཟང་བ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པར་མེམས་སོ། །

དར་མ་མགོན་པོས་སྒོ་བོ་བསམ་རྩོང་དུ་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་འཚང་ཁན་བསྒོགས།[62] སྒོ་བོ་བསམ་རྩོང་ནི་དེང་སང་ནེ་པུ་ལ་མནའ་འབྲེལ་སྤྱི་མཐུན་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཀྱི་མངའ་གོངས་སུ་གཏོགས་པའི་སྒོ་སྐོན་ཐང་གི་ས་ཆར་ཡོད། །

ཇེ་སྲིད་ཚོག་དབུག་ལས། “གངས་ཅན་ཀྱི་ལྷོངས་ནས་ཀྱང་གྲ་ཕྱི་སྐྱོད་ཡུགས་པ་གནས་ལུགས་ཆེད་ཀྱིས་བོས་ཏེ་ཕི་ཏ་རོ་ཀེ་དང་བོད་ཡུགས་ཀྱི་མེག་འབྲེད། གཙང་སྐྱོད་དར་མགོན་གྱི་བརྒྱུད་པ་དག་སྒོང་གཞན་སྐྱིང་པོ་བསྡུས་པ། ཟེན་ཏེག་གཅེས་བསྡུས། གསེར་ཟེ། བྱང་པ་རིགས་ཤན་ནམ་རྒྱལ་གྲགས་བཟང་གི་བཤད་རྒྱུད་འགེལ་ཆེན་སོགས་ལུང་མན་ངག་དུ་མ། གཉའ་ནང་ནམ་མཁའ་སྐར་གྲུབ་ཐོབ་ཚུལ་པ་ལུགས་ཀྱི་དཔྱལ་ཆུ་གཅོ་བཀྲ་རྣམས་དར་མེ་སྨན་རམས་པ་དང་སྐག་བསམ་གཉིས་གཅོར་གྱུར་ཀྱི་གཤེག་མར་གནས་པ་རྣམས་ལ་འགྲོ་ཁན་ཀྱི་ཆེད་སྒོང་ཀུ་འདྲག་པ་གནང་།”[63] ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་སྐར་ན།

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[58] དེའེ་རྒྱིང་འདི་ཉིད་ནི་གོང་ཐྲོངས་གསོ་རིག་སྒོབ་ཚན་གྱི་རྟེན་མཛོད་ཁང་དུ་བཞུགས་ཡོད། ཐུན་ནས་སྤྱི་ལོ་༢༠༡ལོར་གཞུང་དེ་ཉིད་དཔར་སྒོག་རྒྱབ་པ་ཞེག་མཐའ་བའི་གོ་སྐབས་ཐོབ།

[59] གཙང་སྐྱོད་དར་མ་མགོན་པོ། 2006 ལོ་རྩོག17

[60] གཙང་སྐྱོད་དར་མ་མགོན་པོ། 2006 ལོ་རྩོག11 17 38 39 52 65 81 100 106

[61] བྱམས་པ་འཕྲིན་ལས། 2000 ལོར། 270-1.

[62] བྱམས་པ་འཕྲིན་ལས། 2000 ལོར། 270-1.

[63] ཇེ་སྲིད་ཁངས་རྒྱལ་རྒྱ་མཚོ། 1982ལོར། ཤོག371-2.

གཞོང་སྟོང་དར་མ་མཐོན་པོ་ནས་བརྒྱད་པའི་སྐྱིང་པོ་བསྡུས་པའི་ཁྲིད་ཡུང་གི་རྒྱན་ནི་དུས་རབས་བཅུ་བདུན་བར་དུ་བཞུགས་ཡོད་པར་ཤེན་ཏུ་གསལ་བས། དར་མ་མཐོན་པོའི་སློབ་རྒྱུད་ནི་མ་མཐར་ཡང་དུས་རབས་དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་བར་དུ་བཞུགས་ཡོད་པར་སྣང་། །

སྨན་བླ་རྩ་བའི་སྨན་པ་བཙུ་ཞེས་གྲགས་པའི་ནང་ཚན་རྩ་རྩེ་དགེ་བ་འབྱམ་ནི་འཁྲུངས་ཡུལ་སྐྱིད་ཤོད་ནས་ཡིན་པར་བྱང་ཏིའི་སྤྱི་དོན་ཤེས་བྱ་རབ་གསལ་དང་། སྲེ་སྟིང་ཁོག་འབུགས་སོགས་སུ་བསྟན་ཡོད། [64] འོ་ན་སྐྱིད་ཤོད་ཀྱི་ཆེ་ཟག་ཡུལ་གང་དུ་འཁྲུངས་པ་ཡིན་ནམ་སྙམ་ན། རྩ་རྩེ་དགེ་བ་འབྱམ་པའི་རྣམ་ཐར་ལས། འཁྲུངས་ཡུལ་ནི་སྲངས་[65]མདའ་ས་སྐད་[66]རིས་པར་ཡིན་ཞེས་གསུང་། སྲངས་ཞེས་པའི་ས་ཆ་ལ་དབྱེ་ན་སྲངས་ཐུ་དང་སྲངས་སྐད་གཉིས་ཡོད་པ་ལས་སྲངས་སྐད་ནས་ཡིན་པས། དེ་ནི་དེང་སང་རྩ་ག་ཙོང་ཁྲེར་ཆུ་ཤུལ་རྩོང་གནམ་ཤང་གི་ཁོངས་སུ་གཏོགས་སོ། །

བོོན་པའི་དུས་ཚོད་ནི། རྣམ་ཐར་དེ་ཉིད་ལས་འཕན་ཡུལ་རྒྱལ་རྩ་ཁང་གིས་མེས་བསྲེགས་པའི་དུས་སུ་བོོན་ཡོད་ཚུལ་བསྟན། [67] དེ་ནི་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༡༩༣ལོར་ཞེལ་ཡོད། གཞན་ཡང་རྣམ་ཐར་དེ་ཉིད་ལས། གུང་ཐང་བརྒྱ་མ་ཞང་(1122-1193)ནི་རྩེ་འདི་པའི་སློབ་དཔོན་ཡིན་པར་གསལ་བས།ངེས་ཏེ་བརྒྱ་མ་ཞང་མ་འདས་པའི་ཐུ་རེལ་སྐེ་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༡༩༣ལོའི་ཚོང་དུ་འཁྲུངས་ཡོད་པ་ཐེ་ཚོམ་མེད།དུས་ཚོགས་ཚོང་འོག་དེ་དག་ལ་དཔྱད་ཚེ་ཞུ་རྩེ་དགེ་འབྱམ་ནི་དུས་རབས་བཙུ་གཉིས་པའི་སྐབས་ནས་དུས་རབས་བཙུ་གསུམ་པའི་དུས་དཀྱིལ་དབར་དུ་བྱོན་ཡོད་པར་ཚོད་དཔག་བྱེད་ཐུབ། །

རྣམ་ཐར་དེ་ཉིད་དུ་ཁོང་ལ་སྟོང་ཐྱོགས་སུ་ཐེངས་མང་པོ་ཕྱིན་ནས་ཞང་སྟོན་ཞེག་པོ་མངལ་བའི་ཡོ་རྒྱས་ཡོད་ཅེང། ཞང་སྟོན་ཀྱི་དྲུང་ནས་སྐར་རྩེས་དང་། [68] རྩ་རྒྱུང་ཐེག་ལེའི་གདམས་པ། [69] སྨན་དཔྱད་[70]སོགས་གསན་ཚུལ་འཁོད་ཡོད། །

གཞན་ཡང་གུང་ཐང་བརྒྱ་མ་ཞང་(1122-1193)དང་། [71] རྒྱལ་བ་ཡོ་རས་པ་(1187-1250) [72] དང་། རེ་ཁྲོད་རས་པ་[73]སོགས་ཀྱང་བརྒྱ་མར་བསྟེན་ཡོད། །

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[64] བྱང་ཀྱི་དཔལ་ཆན་འཚོ་ཟེད། 2005ལོར། ཤོག 89 ཆེ་ཐིད་གངས་རྒྱལ་རྒྱ་མཚོ། 1982ལོར། ཤོག 305

[65] འཇི་སྲོལ་གཞན་འཛིང་དང་ལྡང་ཞེས་པའང་ཡོད།

[66] དཔལ་འབྱུམ། ཐིས་མ། ཤོག 17མདུན།

[67] དཔལ་འབྱུམ། ཐིས་མ། ཤོག 35མདུན།

[68] དཔལ་འབྱུམ། ཐིས་མ། ཤོག 6རྒྱབ།

[69] དཔལ་འབྱུམ། ཐིས་མ། ཤོག 15 རྒྱབ།

[70] དཔལ་འབྱུམ། ཐིས་མ། ཤོག 31མདུན།

[71] དཔལ་འབྱུམ། ཐིས་མ། ཤོག 14 མདུན། 29མདུན། 14 མདུན།

[72] དཔལ་འབྱུམ། ཐིས་མ། ཤོག 15མདུན་15རྒྱབ།།

[73] དཔལ་འབྱུམ། ཐིས་མ། ཤོག 15རྒྱབ། 31མདུན།

རྩེ་ཐིད་ཁོག་འབྲུགས་ལས། “ཤ་རྩེ་དཀྱེ་འབྲུམ་སྐྱན་ཆོས་ཟུང་འཛེལ་དར། །”[74]ཞེས་པ་ཤ་རྩ། ཤ་རྩེ་དཀྱེ་འབྲུམ་ནི་སྐྱན་དཔྱད་དང་སատས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ཆོས་ལུགས་གཉིས་ཟུང་འཛེལ་བྱས་ཏེ་འགྲོ་དོན་གཅང་ཡོད་པར་མཚོན་ཡོད། གོང་དུ་བསྟན་པ་ཤ་ཤ་རྩེ་དཀྱེ་འབྲུམ་གྱི་གསོ་དཔྱད་ཀྱི་སྐོབ་དཔོན་ནི་ཆེར་རྩེ་ཞེས་ཞྭ་བཤད་ཅིག་ཡོད་པས་ཤ་རྩེ་ཞེས་ཀྱང་བཤད་པ་ཡིན། ཁོང་གི་གསོ་དཔྱད་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད་པ་ནི་ཚེ་རིན་ཆེན་བཟང་པོ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་དར་བའི་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་སྙིང་པོ་བསྡུས་པའི་རྒྱུད་པ་ལ་ཐུགས་ཡོད་པར་ཚོད་དཔག་ཅིང་ཐུབ། །

ཆོས་རྒྱལ་སྲོང་བཙན་སྒམ་པོ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་བྱུང་བར་གྲགས་པའི་སྒྲུབ་རས་གཟིགས་ཀྱི་སྐྱབས་སྐོར་ནི་ཤ་རྩེ་དཀྱེ་འབྲུམ་ཀྱིས་ཉེན་ཀྱུ་ཡུལ་གཙོ་བོར་ཡིན་ཞིང་། དེ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་ཆོས་སྡོམ་ཀྱི་ཐོག་དོན་གནང་ཡོད་པར་སྔང་སྒེ། དེབ་ཐེར་སྡོད་པ་དང་ཆོས་བྱང་མཁས་པའི་དགའ་སྟོན་གཉིས་ཀའི་ནང་དུ་སྒྲུབ་རས་གཟིགས་ཀྱི་སྐྱབས་སྐོར་གཏེར་དུ་སྐས་པ་གྲུབ་ཐོབ་དངོས་གྲུབ་ཀྱིས་བཏོན་རྩེས། ཤ་རྩེ་དཀྱེ་འབྲུམ་སོགས་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་དར་ཁྱབ་ཅིན་རྒྱལ་འགོད་ཡོད། །[75]

ཤ་རྩེ་དཀྱེ་བ་འབྲུམ་ནས་ཤ་ལྷན་སྐྱེས་པའི་གསྲོག་ལཱ་ཁང་དང་རྒྱ་སྐྱ་ར་མོ་ཆའི་གསྲོག་ལཱ་ཁང་རྣམ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་ཁེབས་བརྩེས་པ་དང་། ཤེང་ཆ་ཚག་སྐྱོན་དུ་ཤོར་བ་རྣམས་བརྩེ་ཏོ་བསྐྱོན་གནང་ཡོད་[76]པར་མ་ཟད་ཤ་ནའི་ཆུ་རཏས་ ཞེངས་མང་རྒྱ་གནང་མཛད་ཡོད། །[77]

༢ གཡུ་ཐོག་ནས་ཇི་ཤྲར་བརྒྱུད་ཚུལ།

གཡུ་ཐོག་རྒྱ་གར་རྗོ་རྗེའི་གོང་ལ་ཁྱིམ་རྒྱུད་དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ཏུས་མེང་ལ་འཁྱེ་འཚ་འཁྱེ་ཞེས་བྱ། རྒྱ་གར་རྗོ་རྗེ་རྒྱ་རགས་ཀ་བ་ཐུང་ངུ་གནས་པའི་གཞི་བདག་གི་སྐྱན་པ་མཚོད་པས། གཞི་བདག་དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་བྱ་དགའ་ཅུ་ཁྲུད་མེད་ཀྱི་རོ་གཡུ་རྒྱུན་ཉིན་ཏུ་འཆོར་བས་སྐྱས་པ་ཞེག་ཕྱལ་བར་གྲགས། གཡུ་དེ་རྣམས་ཁང་ཐོག་ཏུ་སྐམས་པ་ལས་གཡུ་ཐོག་པ་ཞེས་པའི་མཚན་ཐོགས་པར་གྲགས། རྒྱ་གར་རྗོ་རྗེ་ལ་སྐས་བརྟེད་པོ་དང་། གྲགས་མེང་། ཁྱུང་པོ་སྐེ་གསྲོམ་བྱང་བ་ལས། བརྟེད་པོ་ལ་སྐས་འཁྱམ་མེང་མཆེད་གཉིས་བྱང་ཞིང་། གྲགས་མེང་ལ་སྐས་མ་བྱང་། ཁྱུང་པོ་ལ་སྐས་གཡུ་ཐོག་ཡོན་ཏན་མཐོན་པོ་འཁྱངས། གཡུ་ཐོག་ལ་སྐས་ཐྲ་བྱང་ཞེས་བཤད་ཀྱང་། མཚན་དངོས་སུ་གསལ་བ་ནི་ཉེ་མ་དང་། འཁྱམ་མེང་གཉིས་ཡིན། །[78]

ཡང་ལོ་ཆེན་རེན་ཆེན་བཟང་པོའི་སློབ་མ་ཞང་ཁྱང་པ་ཤེས་རབ་འོད་ཀྱིས་རྒྱ་སྐྱེན་པ་གྲགས་པ་ཤེས་རབ་ལ་གསུངས། དེས་གཡུ་ཐོག་རྒྱ་གར་རྗོ་རྗེར་བཤད། ཁོང་གིས་ས་བཅད་ཡི་གེར་བགོད། དཀའ་འཕྲང་དུས་ཆུང་ངུ་བྱས། དོན་མགོ་སྐོང་ཐུན་དུ་སྐེབས། འཁྲུགས་འཆེད་དང་ལགཔ་ལེན་རྣམས་ཡིག་ཆུང་དུ་བྱས་

[74] སྐྱ་ཐིད་ས་ཁ་ཆུས་རྒྱ་མཚོ། 1982ལོར། ཤོག 303

[75] འགོས་ལོ་གཞོན་ནུ་དཔལ། 1985ལོར། ཤོག 1174 དཔའ་བོ་གསྲོག་ལགཔ་སྐེང་བ། 1986 ལོར། ཤོག 449

[76] དཔལ་འབྱུམ། ཐིས་མ། ཤོག 2མདུན-3རྒྱུ 31 ཆུ 8 མདུན། 9 ཆུ 10 མདུན། སྐོ་བཅང་རྒྱ་མཚོ། 1987ལོར། ཤོག 34

[77] དཔལ་འབྱུམ། ཐིས་མ། ཤོག 3 ཆུ 10 མདུན།

[78] རྒྱར་མཁར་སྐོ་གོས་ཆུལ་ཏོ། 2001ལོར། ཤོག 313-4

ཧེ་ཪྻོགས་སྣ་བར་བཅོས་ཞེས་གསུངས་ཀྱང་། རྒྱ་གར་ཪྗེ་རྗེས་མཛད་པའི་ཡིག་ཆ་དེ་དག་ནི་འདྲེན་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་དུ་མ་གྱུར། ཁོང་གིས་གཡུ་ཐོག་བརྗིད་པོ་ལ་བཤད། དེ་ཉིད་ནས་གཡུ་ཐོག་ཁྱུང་པོ་ལ་བཤད། དེས་གཡུ་ཐོག་མགོན་པོ་ལ་བཤད་ཅེས་གྲགས། །[79]

ཞང་ཞུང་པ་ཤེས་རབ་འོད་ཀྱིས་ཪྗོག་གྲོང་སྨན་ལ་བཤད། དེས་གྲོང་སྨན་གཡུང་དྲུང་འོད་ལ་བཤད། དེས་གཡུ་ཐོག་གྲགས་སེང་ལ་བཤད། དེས་གཡུ་ཐོག་མགོན་པོ་ལ་བཤད་ཅེས་ཟུར་མཁར་བའི་ཁོག་དབུག་ཏུ་གསལ།[80] མི་དབང་སྡེ་སྲིད་མཆོག་གིས་འཁོར་ལོ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ནི་ཞང་ཞུང་ཤེས་རབ་འོད་ཀྱི་མཚན་གྱི་རྣམ་གྲངས་ཡིན་པར་བཞེད། །[81]

གཡུ་ཐོག་རྒྱ་གར་ཪྗེ་རྗེས་པཎྜི་ཏ་བ་རེན་ཏྲ་དུ། ཙི་དང་འབུམ་ཕྲག་གསུམ་པ་ལ་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པ་རྩ་འགྲེལ་གསན་ནས་གཡུ་ཐོག་ཁྱུང་པོ་ལ་གནང་། དེས་གཡུ་ཐོག་མགོན་པོ་ལ་གནང་། །[82]

སྟོད་སྟོན་དཀོན་ཅོག་སྐྱབས་ཀྱིས་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པ་ལ་མཆན་བུ་བཏབ་ནས་གཡུ་ཐོག་ཡོན་ཏན་མགོན་པོ་ལ་གནང་། དེའི་སྐོར་རྒྱས་པ་ནི་འོག་ཏུ་གསལ། །

དེ་ལྟར་གོང་དུ་བསྟན་པ་ལྟར་གཡུ་ཐོག་ཡོན་ཏན་མགོན་པོ་ལ་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་བཤད་སྲོལ་མི་འདྲ་བ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་བཀའ་བབས། རྒྱ་གར་དུ་ཐེངས་དྲུག་ཕེབས་པར་མཛད། །

གཡུ་ཐོག་ཡོན་ཏན་མགོན་པོས་མཛད་པའི་《ཤོག་དྲིལ་སྐོར་གསུམ་ལས་གསེར་གྱི་ཐུར་མའི་ལྡེ་མིག་རྣམ་དྲུག》ལས། གཡུ་ཐོག་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་ཤ་ར་ཏྣ་སེར་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པ་དང་། རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཁབ་ཏུ་བསྟན་བཅོས་བརྒྱད་པ་གསན་ཚུལ་བཤད། ཡང་དཀྱུང་ལོ་སུམ་ཅུ་སོ་བཞི་པ་ལ་རྒྱ་གར་དུ་ཕེབས་ནས་མཁའ་འགྲོའི་གཙོ་མོ་དཔལ་ཕྲེང་དངོས་སུ་མཇལ་ནས་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པ་གསན་ཚུལ་བཤད།[83] གཡུ་ཐོག་སྙིང་ཐིག་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དགེ་བའི་ལྕགས་ཀྱུ་[84]དང་ཟུར་མཁར་བའི་ཁོག་དབུག་ཏུའང་གསུང་དེ་དག་ལུང་འདྲེན་མང་དུ་བྱས་ཡོད། [85] ཟུར་མཁར་བློ་གྲོས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ནས་གཡུ་ཐོག་མགོན་པོས་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་མཁའ་འགྲོ་མ་དཔལ་ལྡན་ཕྲེང་བ་ལས་དངོས་སུ་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པ་གསན་ནས་《བརྒྱད་པའི་ཡན་ལག་བསྡུས་པ》ཞེས་བྱ་བ་དང་། མདོ་གནས་ལེའུ་དང་པོའི་འགྲེལ་པ་མཐོང་བ་མི་ལོང་ལ་སོགས་པའི་བསྟན་བཅོས་མང་དུ་མཛད་ཅིང་། ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་སྙིང་པོ་བསྡུས་པ་ལ་དམར་མཆན་བཏབ་ནས་སློབ་མ་མང་དུ་བསྐྱངས་པར་འདོད།[86] གོང་དུ་བཤད་མ་ཐག་པའི་གངས་ལྗོངས་སྨན་རྩིས་རིག་མཛོད་ཆེན་མོའི་ནང་དུ་བསྡུས་

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[79] ཟུར་མཁར་བློ་གྲོས་རྒྱལ་པོ། 2001ལོར། ཤོག 303
[80] ཟུར་མཁར་བློ་གྲོས་རྒྱལ་པོ། 2001ལོར། ཤོག 303
[81] སྡེ་སྲིད་སངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱ་མཚོ། 1982ལོར། ཤོག 179
[82] ཟུར་མཁར་བློ་གྲོས་རྒྱལ་པོ། 2001ལོར། ཤོག 303-4
[83] གཡུ་ཐོག་ཡོན་ཏན་མགོན་པོ། 2010 ལོར། ཤོག303-4
[84] གཡུ་ཐོག་གསར་མ་ཡོན་ཏན་མགོན་པོ། 2007ལོར། ཤོག 382-3
[85] ཟུར་མཁར་བློ་གྲོས་རྒྱལ་པོ། 2001ལོར། ཤོག 315-20
[86] ཟུར་མཁར་བློ་གྲོས་རྒྱལ་པོ། 2001ལོར། ཤོག 307

པའི་ནག་མཆན་དང་མཚལ་མཆན་གཉིས་ལྡན་གྱི་བསྟན་བཅོས་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་གཞུང་གི་ནད་ཀྱི་ཐང་ཡིག་ཏུ་ཡོད་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ལ། དེའི་རྒྱུ་མཚན་ཀྱང་། གོང་གི་ནག་ཆན་ལས་ཚོ་བོས་བྱས་པའི་ལེའུ་དང་པོར་བསྟར་བར་བྱའོ་ཞེས་གསུངས་པས་གསལ་ལོ།”[87] ཞེས་འགོད། མཆན་འདི་ནི་གོང་དུ་བསྟན་པའི་དམར་མཆན་ཞེས་པ་ཡིན་པར་སྣང་། དེ་ནས་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་ལུང་བཤད་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད་པ་ནི་འབལ་སྣན་ཉེ་མ་དཔལ། གཡུ་ཐོག་འཇམ་དཔལ། བྱང་ཀྱི་འཇམ་དཔལ་བཟང་པོ། བྱང་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་བ་བཟང་པོ། བྱང་ཀྱི་དཔལ་ལྡན་འཕྲོ་ཁྲིད། བྱང་ཀྱི་དཔལ་ལྡན་ཟླ་གོས། ཀུན་དགའ་བཟང་པོ། དཔལ་འབྱོར་རྒྱལ་མཚན། རྗེ་རྗེ་དཔལ་བཟང་། ཚོས་རྒྱལ་བག་ཡིས། ཀུན་དགའ་དོན་གྲུབ་རྣམ་རིམ་པར་བརྒྱུད་ནས་དར་བ་དང་། མཐར་ཟུར་མཁར་བློ་གོས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ནས་ཀྱང་ལུང་ཁྲིད་ཞུས་པ་ཡིན་ཞེས་གསུངས།[88] ཟུར་མཁར་བའི་ ཥཏོ་རིང་མཇོས་ཁྲེད་ཀྱི་དེས་ལན་རྟན་པོའི་ཁ་ཆེམས་མཚན་མོ་མུན་ནག་གི་གློག་འོད་ཕྱེ་བྱེ། ཞེས་པ་ལས། “སྨྱལ་ལོའི་མཇུག་ཏུ་འཁྲམ་ནད་ཀྱིས་མནར། དེ་དུག་པ་དང་ས་སྐྱ་སྨན་གོང་དུ་བང་ཏིའི་ཞལ་ངོ་ཡབ་སས་ལ་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པ་དང་དེའི་རང་འགེལ། འགེལ་བ་ཟླ་ཟེར། རྒྱུད་བཞི་ཚ་ལག་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་དཀར་ཚག་གི་ནང་བཞིན། སྨན་གོང་ཁ་རང་གི་གདམས་ངག་གསེར་ཟེ་དང་དཀྱུལ་ཟེ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ལུང་ཞུས།”ཞེས་གསུངས།[89] འདིར་བྱང་ཏི་ཞལ་ངོ་ཡབ་སྐས་ཞེས་པའི་ཡབ་ནི་ཕལ་ཆེར་ཀུན་དགའ་དོན་གྲུབ་ལ་ཞེས་པ་མིན་ནམ་སྙམ། ।

གོང་སྨན་དཀོན་མཆོག་བདེ་ལེགས་ནི་བྱང་ཏི་དཔལ་མགོན་རྗེ་རྗེ་དང་། གོང་སྨན་ཆོས་ཀྱི་མཚན་ཅན་གཉིས་ཀྱི་སྒོར་མ་ཡིན། གོང་སྨན་དཀོན་མཆོག་བདེ་ལེགས་ཀྱི་སྒོར་གྲ་ནི་གོང་སྨན་དཀོན་མཆོག་འཕན་དར་ཡིན་མོད། དཀོན་མཆོག་འཕན་དར་གྱིས་ཨ་ཕ་འཚོ་བྱེད་རབ་ཏུ་འགོར་དང་བཅས་པ་ལ་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་ལུང་གདམས་པ་ཐུག་ལེན་དང་བཅས་པ་གནང་སྐབས་ཁྱོད་ཡོང་།[90] གོང་དུ་བསྟན་པ་སྐར། བྱང་ཀྱི་ལས་བརྒྱུད་པའི་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་འཚད་ཉན་གྱི་རྒྱུན་ནི་གཡུ་ཐོག་པ་ལ་ཐུག་ཡོང་པར་གསལ། ।

དེ་སྐར་གཡུ་ཐོག་ཡོན་ཏན་མགོན་པོ་ནས་བརྒྱུད་པའི་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་ལུང་བཤད་ཀྱི་རྒྱུན་ནི་དུས་རབས་བཅུ་དྲུག་གི་བར་དུ་བཞུགས་ཡོད་པ་ནི་ཤིན་ཏུ་གསལ། ।

༢ མི་ཉག་མི་བསྒོད་ངོ་རྟེ་ནས་ཇི་སྐར་བརྒྱུད་ཚུལ།

[87] པ་ཚེལ། 2016སོར། རྒྱག 1109

[88] ཟུར་མཁར་བློ་གོས་རྒྱལ་པོ། 2001སོར། རྒྱག 307-8

[89] སྒེམ་པ་ཆོ་དབང་སོགས། 2007སོར། རྒྱག 202-3

[90] ཚ་རོང་དཔལ་ལྡན་རྒྱལ་མཚན་སོགས། 2008སོར། རྒྱག 18

མི་ཉག་མི་བསྐྱོད་རྡོ་རྗེ་ཡིས་ཁོག་འདུགས། ལེ་ཏེགཁ་སྦེལ་བ་སྐུ་ཏིག་འཕེང་བ། གཞུང་བཤད་ཐབས་ཀྱི་ཡན་ལག་གསུམ། ཚོས་འཁྱུང་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་སྒྲས་ཕྱེང་བཅུ་གསུམ། དོན་གནད་དུ་བསྡུན་པའི་སྐོང་ཁྱན་བཅུ་གཉིས། དོན་བསྡུས་ཀྱི་སྐོང་ཁྱན་ཐ་མོ་བཞི། ངོ་མཚར་ཆེ་བའི་དཔྱད་དག། ནད་འདུ་མེན་ཀྱི་འཐང་བཅོ་ལྔ་མངོན་བརྗོད་གསལ་ལེའུ་ཀྱི་སྒྲ་སྒྱོར། འབྲུ་འགེལ་པར་ཁབ་གསེར་འཕེང་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་བསྡུན་བཅོས་རྣམས་བརྒྱས་པར་ཐུགས་ཀྱང་། [91] དུ་བར་ཡིག་ཆ་དེ་དག་མཇལ་བའི་གོ་སྐབས་མ་རྙེད་ཅིང་མི་ཉག་མི་བསྐྱོད་རྡོ་རྗེའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱང་འཁོད་པའི་ཡིག་ཆ་མ་མཐོང་བས། རེ་ཞིག་དེ་ཙམ་ཀྱིས་འཁྲུས་པར་བྱས། །

༤ ཚ་ལྱང་པ་སྐོང་སྐྱོན་དཀོན་ཅོག་སྐྱབས་ནས་ཇི་ཤྲར་བརྒྱུད་ཚུལ།

ཚ་ལྱང་པ་སྐོང་སྐྱོན་དཀོན་ཅོག་སྐྱབས་ནི་འཁྲུངས་ཡུལ་མང་མཁར་གཞུང་,[92] ནས་ཡིན་པས། མང་མཁར་ཚ་ལྱང་འཚོ་བྱེད་དཀོན་མཆོག་སྐྱབས་ཞེས་གྲགས།[93] ཁོང་རྒྱ་གར་དུ་བྱོན་ཞིང་སྐྱིགས་དུས་ཀྱི་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་པར་གྲགས་པ་ཤཀྱེ་པ་ཕྱི་མ་དང་མཉམ། གསོ་དཔྱད་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པ་རྩོགས་པར་གསན་ནས་བོད་དུ་ཕེབས། གཞུང་དབུས་ཞབས་ཀྱི་ས་བཅད་བསྡུས་དོན་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་དྲ་བ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བརྒྱམས་ཤིང་ཁྲིད་ལ་མཆན་བྱ་བཏབ་ནས་གཡུ་ཐོག་ཡོན་ཏན་མགོན་པོ་ལ་གནང་ངོ་ཞེས་རྒྱར་མཁར་ཁོག་དབུགཁྲ་གསལ།[94] “རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་མཛོད་ཅེས་བྱ་བ། ཚ་ལྱང་བསྐོང་ཀྱི་སྐོན་པ་དཀོན་མཆོག་སྐྱབས་ཀྱི་མཛད་པ་བཞུགས་སོ།”ཞེས་པའི་གཞུང་ཞིག་གོའི་བོད་ཡུགས་གསོ་རིག་རྩ་ཆེའི་དཔེ་རྙིང་ཀུན་བཏུས་སྒེགས་བམ་དགུ་པའི་ནང་དུ་བགོད་འདུག འདི་ནི་གཞུང་རྩ་འགྲེལ་གཉིས་ལས་གྲུབ་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ཞིང་། གཞུང་རྩ་ནི་ཚོགས་བཅད་དང་། འགྲེལ་པ་ནི་ཚོགས་ཤུགཔེའུ་བཞུ་བཞིའི་བདག་ཉིད་ཅན་ཞིག་གོ །[95]

༥ ཞང་གཅི་བརྩིད་འབར་ནས་ཇི་ཤྲར་བརྒྱུད་ཚུལ།

ཞང་སྐོན་གཅེ་བརྩིད་འབར་ནི་དུས་རབས་བཞུ་གཅིག་ནང་བྱུང་བའི་བོད་ཀྱི་གསོ་དཔྱད་མཁས་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན། ཁོང་ནི་སྐུལ་པའི་འགྲོ་དོན་མཛད་པའི་སྐབས་པ་བཞུ་ཞེས་གྲགས་པའི་ནང་གི་གསོ་རིག་ཡིན་ཞིང་ཁོང་ནི་ཤཱཀྱ་ཐུབ་པའི་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་སྐུ་ཤ་ཆེན་པོ་ཞིག་ཏུ་འདུག།

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[91] རྒྱར་མཁར་བློ་གྲོས་རྒྱལ་པོ། 2001ལོར། ཤོག 306

[92] མང་མཁར་གཞུང་ནི་བོད་སྐྱོང་ས་གཞིས་རྩེ་གོང་ཁྱེར་ཤུ་རྩེ་རྫོང་ཁོངས་ཤུ་ཡོད།

[93] རྒྱར་མཁར་བློ་གྲོས་རྒྱལ་པོ། 2001ལོར། ཤོག 265

[94] རྒྱར་མཁར་བློ་གྲོས་རྒྱལ་པོ། 2001ལོར། ཤོག 306

[95] ཚ་ལྱང་པ་སྐོང་སྐྱོན་དཀོན་མཆོག་སྐྱབས། 2013ལོར། ཤོག 205-11

ཞང་སྟོན་གཟི་བརྗིད་འབབ་ནི་རྒྱས་ཞང་དང་། སྒོས་མཚན་རྟ་ཡོང་[96] བྱ་བའི་མི་རིགས་ལས་འཁྲུངས་ཞེས་གསུངས།[97] སྤྱིར་སྤུར་རྒྱལ་བཙན་ཡོའི་བསྟན་མོ་བྱེད་རྒོང་ཡོད་པའི་མི་རྣུབ་ལ་ཞང་ཞེས་རྒྱས་མིང་ཐོགས་སྨོལ་ཡོད། བྱེ་བྲག་ཏུ་ཡོང་ཞེས་པའི་མི་རྣུབ་ལས་སྤུར་རྒྱལ་བཙན་ཡོའི་བསྟན་མོ་ཁ་ཤས་བྱུང་བར་མངོན་ཏེ། དེ་ཡང་སྤུར་རྒྱལ་ཁྱི་ཐོག་རྩེ་ཐོག་བཙན་གྱིས་ཏུ་ཡོང་བཟའ་སྟོང་རྒྱལ་མོ་མཆོ་ཁབ་ཏུ་བཞེས། དེ་ལ་སྲས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཐོ་རེ་གཉན་བཙན་འཁྲུངས།[98] སྨོང་བཙན་སྤྲམ་ཡོས་བསྟུན་མོ་རྟ་ཡོངས་བཟའ་རྒྱལ་མོ་བསྟུན་ཞེས་པ་ཞིག་ཁབ་ཏུ་བཞེས་ཚུལ་འཁོད་ཡོད། དཔའ་བོ་གསུག་ལག་ཤེང་བས་རྟང་ཡོང་བཟའ་ཞེས་པ་ནི་མི་ཉག་རྒྱལ་ཡོའི་སྲས་མོ་ཡིན་པ་དང་།[99] སྤྲུལ་ཁྲིད་གསལ་པོ་མ་མཐོང་བས། དེ་གཉིས་གང་ཟག་ཐ་དད་མིན་ནམ་སྐམ་མངའ་བདག་སྐུ་ནེ་བཙན་ཡོས་ཀྱང་བསྟུན་མོ་རྟ་ཡོངས་བཟའ་མངོ་རྒྱལ་ཞེས་པ་ཁབ་ཏུ་བཞེས་ཚུལ་འཁོད་འདུག[100] རྟ་ཡོང་ཞེས་པའི་མི་རྒྱུད་ལས་སྤུར་རྒྱལ་བཙན་ཡོའི་བསྟུན་མོ་ཉང་མཐར་ཡང་སྐུལ་ཙོག་སྐྱོང་ཡོང་སྐྱབས། ཕྱིས་སུ་ཞང་ཞེས་པའི་རྟགས་མིང་ཐོགས་པར་སེམས་སོ། དེ་སྐྱ་བྱའི་མི་རྒྱུད་ལྷད་དུ་འཕགས་པ་དེ་ལས་ཞང་སྐོར་གཟི་བརྗིད་འབབ་འཁྲུངས། །

འཁྲུངས་ཡུལ་དངོས་ནི་ཡར་ཀླུངས་ནས་ཡིན་པར་རྩོད་མེད་ཡོངས་གྲགས་ཡིན་མོད། འོན་ཀྱང་ས་ཚ་ཁྱེ་བག་གང་དུ་འཁྲུངས་ཚུལ་ཐད་ལ་བཤད་སྟོལ་མི་འདུ་ཁ་ཤས་སྣང་སྲིད། བྱང་ཏིའི་ཤེས་བྱ་རབ་གསལ་བྱེས་མ་ཞིག་ཏུ། “ཡར་སྟོང་ཀྱི་ཞང་སྟོན་གཟི་བརྗིད་འབྱེད་ལ་སོགས་པ་ལེགས་བཤད་བསྟན་བཅོས་མང་དུ་བའི་སྣན་པ་ཐུ།”[101] ཞེས་ཡར་སྟོང་ནས་ཡིན་པར་བཤད། ཁོག་འབུབས་བེའུརྒྱའི་ཚུ་རྒྱུན་དུ། “གཡོར་སྣང་ཡར་མདའི་ཞང་སྟོན་གཟི་བརྗིད་འབྱེད་འབར།”[102] ཞེས་གཡོར་ཏོ་སྣང་དང་ཡར་ཀླངས་སྟོང་ཀྱི་ཚར་ནས་ཡིན་པར་བཤད། གསོ་རིག་ཁོག་འབྲུགས་དྲང་སྲོང་དགྱེས་པའི་དགའ་སྟོན་ལས་ཡུལ་ཡར་ཀླངས་གང་པ་སྟེང་དུ་འཁྲུངས་པར་བཞེད། །[103]

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[96] ཞང་གཟི་བརྗིད་འབབ་སོགས།2016ལོར། རྩོག 168-9 གསོ་དཔྱད་དྲི་ཞིད་གཟི་བརྗིད་ཀྱི་འགྲེལ་བཏུ་ཞིད་འབྲོད་གཅིག་ལས་ཏུ་སྐྱོང་ཞེས་བྱ་བའོ།

ཡོབ། དཔའ་བོ་གསུག་ལག་ཤེང་བ། ཥཱིང་ཆེ།1986ལོར། རྩོག 217རྩོག 240 ཏུ་ཡོངས་ཞེས་པའི་འཕྲི་སྒོལ་གཞན་ཡང་ཡོད།

[97] རྒྱར་མཁར་བློ་གྲོས་རྒྱལ་པོ།2001ལོར།ཤོག304

[98] མཁས་པ་ཇེའུ། 1987ལོར། རྩོག 249 དཔའ་བོ་གསུག་ལག་ཤེང་བ། ཥཱིང་ཆེ།1986ལོར། རྩོག 166

[99] དཔའ་བོ་གསུག་ལག་ཤེང་བ། ཥཱིང་ཆེ།1986ལོར། རྩོག 217རྩོག 240

[100] དཔའ་བོ་གསུག་ལག་ཤེང་བ། ཥཱིང་ཆེ།1986ལོར། རྩོག 404

[101] བྱང་ཀྱི་དཔལ་ལྡན་འཚོ་ཆེད། བྱིས་མ། རྩོག33A

[102] ཐུ་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་མཚོ།2013ལོར། རྩོག 51

[103] ཇེ་ཐིང་སངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱ་མཚོ།1982ལོར།ཤོག180

ཞང་སྟོན་གཟི་བརྗིད་འབངས་རྒྱ་གར་དུ་བྱོན་པའི་ལམ་དུ་རྩོག་རྩྭ་ཤ་ཤེས་རབ་དང་མཇལ་ནས་ལེགས་སྦྱར་སྐད་ཡིག་མཁས་པར་སྦྱངས་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལ་གཞིགས་ན། [104] ཞང་སྟོན་ནི་རྩོག་ལོ་ནཱ་བ་རྩྭ་ཤ་ཤེས་རབ་(1060-1109)དང་དུས་མཉམ་ཡིན་པར་ཤེས་ནུས། རྩོག་ལོ་བྱོན་པའི་དུས་ཚོང་ལ་དཔལགས་ནས་ཞང་སྟོན་ནི་དུས་རབས་བཅུ་གཅིག་པའི་སྐད་དུ་བྱང་བའི་མཁས་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པར་རྗེས་དཔག་བྱེད་ཐུབ། ཁོང་གི་ཡབ་ཀྱི་མཚན་ལ་དགེ་བརྟེས་བསོད་ནམས་དབང་ཕྱུག་དང་། ཡུམ་ལ་མེར་བཟའ་འཚུམ་སྐྱིད་ཅེས་ཟེར་ཏྱི་ཡོད་པར་ཐེ་སྟིད་ཁོག་འབུགས་སུ་གསལ། [105]

ཞང་སྟོན་གཟི་བརྗིད་འབངས་ནི་གཅུགས་སྟིང་ཏོ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ལས་རབ་ཏུ་བྱང་། སྐུ་གཞོན་ནུས་དུས་སུ་ཆོས་འདུལ་བ་མང་དུ་གསན། དེ་ནས་ཚང་ཏུ་དགོན་པར་དགེ་བརྩེས་ནས་སྒོམ་པ་ལ་སྤྱོད་ཚུགས་དང་བསྟབ་ཚུགས་མ་ལུས་པར་གསན། སྔོན་མར་གཙོང་དུ་བྱོན་ནས་དགེ་བརྩེས་བྱང་ཏེ་དར་མ་གྲགས་[106]ལས་བྱམས་པའི་ཆོས་ལྟ་གསན། སྔན་དཔྱད་ཀྱང་ཁ་ཡར་ཞུས་ཟེར།[107] སྔན་དཔྱད་སྤྲོབ་པའི་ཀུན་སྤྲོང་རྗེ་ཤུར་བྱང་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་ལུང་། གསོ་དཔྱད་དྲི་མེད་གཟི་བརྗིད་བརྩེ་ཀྱི་འགྲེལ་བ་དྲི་མེད་འོད་གསལ་ལས། འཕྲོ་བ་སེམས་ཅན་ཀྱི་དོན་བྱེད་པ་ལ། སྔན་དཔྱད་འདི་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཤན་ཆེ་བར་དགོངས་ནས་རིག་པ་འདི་སྩང་བའི་དབུ་བརྙམས་པར་འདོད། [108] ཟུར་མཁར་དང་སྟེ་སྟིད་གཞིས་ཀས་ཕྱམ་རར་རི་བོང་བྱང་བ་ལ་རྗོ་བརྒྱབ་པས་ཤང་པ་ཚག རྒྱགས་བསྐུར་ནས་གསོས་པས་རི་བོང་སྔན་པར་གྲགས། དེས་བོད་ཁ་ཉེ་པ་ཉ་ཁྱས་སྔན་དཔྱད་སྤྲོབ་པའི་བློ་སྐྱེས་ནས་ཆོས་ཀན་པའི་འཕྲོ་ལ་སྔན་བསྟབས་པར་འདོད། [109] བཤད་སྟོལ་འདི་ནི་མ་དག་རྒྱུན་འབྱམས་ལུ་སོང་བའི་བཤད་སྟོལ་ཞེག་མེན་ནམ་སྙམ། ཕྱ་རྩེ་སྟོང་སྔན་ཚན་ཪ་[110]ལ་གང་མས་ངག་ཞུས། ཪོག་མར་ཞལ་ཀྱིས་བཞེས་ཀྱང་། ཁོང་རྣམ་གཞིས་ཡུལ་གཅིག་པར་ཀྱུར་ལ་དང་། ཞང་སྟོན་ཤེས་རབ་ཚ་ལ་སྙིང་རྗེ་ཡང་ཚ་བས། གཞན་ལ་སྟེལ་ཀྱིས་དོགས་ནས་གང་མས་ངག་ངན་པར་མ་གནང་། གང་མས་ངག་ཤེས་པའི་སྔན་པ་ས་ཚ་གཞན་ལ་ཡོད་དོ་སྣམ་ནས་བཙལ་ལ་རྒྱུ་བ་སྟོང་སྔན་རང་གི་སྟོབ་མ་མཁས་པ་སྙིང་རྗེ་ཚ་གཅིག་ཡོད་པས། དེ་ལ་སྟོང་སྔན་ཀྱི་གང་མས་ངག་

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[104] ཟུར་མཁར་སྒོ་གོས་རྒྱལ་པོ།2001ལོར།ཤོག305 རྗེ་སྟིད་སངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱ་མཚོ།1982ལོར།ཤོག181

[105] རྗེ་སྟིད་སངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱ་མཚོ། 1982ལོར། ཤོག 180

[106] ཐང་ཀྱི་དར་མ་སྙིང་པོ་དང་གང་ཟག་གཅིག་མེན་ནམ་སྙམ།

[107] ཞང་གི་བརྩེ་འབངས་སོགས།2016ལོར། ཤོག 168

[108] ཞང་གཟི་བརྗིད་འབངས་སོགས།2016ལོར། ཤོག 168-9

[109] ཟུར་མཁར་སྒོ་གོས་རྒྱལ་པོ།2001ལོར།ཤོག304 རྗེ་སྟིད་སངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱ་མཚོ།1982ལོར།ཤོག180

[110] ཀུ་རོ་ཕྱག་རྟྭམ།1982ལོར། 625 ཟེའུ་བྱམ་ནག་པོའི་གཙ་འཁྲུགས་བཅོས་པའི་ཟེའུར། སྐན་བརྒྱུད་ཟེའུ་བྱམ་ནག་པོ་ལས། ཚུ་རྒྱན་སྒྲིལ་བྱ་མེ་སྐ་དེས། ཁྲོང་སྐན་སྐག་ཚུང་མ་ཡིན་པ། ཀཱཞན་ལ་གཅར་བ་གཅིག་ཀྱང་མེད། ཉིས་ཀྱང་བྱ་གཅིག་མ་གཏོགས་པ། ཀཱཞན་ལ་བྱིན་ནས་མ་བྱིན་སྟོས། ཁོས་བ་གཞན་ལ་མེད་དེ་ཡོང་དམ་མེད། ཡང་ཅག་པར་ཤེ་ཙ་ཀ། ཡང་ཡི་བཅོས་ལུགས་འདི་འང་མ། ཀཱཞན་ཕྱིས་ཤེས་ཁམ་མི་ཤེས་སྟོས། ཉིས་ན་གཞན་ལ་མེད་དོ་གསུངས། ཞེས་པ་དེས་སྟོང་སྐན་སྐག་ཚུང་ནི་ཁེ་ཚུ་ཁྱན་ནས་བྱོན་པའི་སྐྱིས་ཀུ་མེ་སྐ་ཁྱི་ཤ་སྐན་ཚུང་ནས་བྱོན་པའི་སྐྱིས་ཀུ་མེ་ཤ་ཁྱི་སྐན་མ་ཡིན་པ་མཚོའི་ཤ་ཡིན་པ་ཞེས་ཟེར་ཏེ་སྐན་སྐག་ཚུང་ནི་ཁེ་ཚུ་ཁྱན་ནས་བྱོན་པའི་སྐྱིས་ཀུ་མེ་ཤ་ཁྱི་སྐན་མ་ཡིན་པ་ཞེས་ཟེར་ཏེ་ཁོ་ཚོ་ཤ་ཁྱི་ཡིན་ཞེས་པ་ཞུས་མཁྱེན།

རྣམས་ཞུས་པས་གནང་བར་གྲགས། [111] སྐབས་དེ་དུས་དབུས་གཙང་ན་མཁས་པ་མི་དགུ་བྱེ་བ་ཡོད་པ་རྣམས་ལ་གཏུགས་ཏེ་ཐེ་ཚོམ་ཆོད་པར་བྱ་བར་དམ་བཅས་ནས། ཐོག་མར་སྣྲད་ཀྱི་མཁས་པ་གཡོ་རུའི་གཡའ་གྲོང་པོ། སྟོད་ལུང་གི་ལྷ་རྗེ་སུམ་སྣད། དབུ་རུའི་མཐའ་བཞི་རྣམས་བསྟེན། ཡིག་སྣ་རེ་རེ་གཉིས་གཉིས་ཙམ་ཞུས། རྣམ་རྟོག་ཚིམས་པའི་བློ་ཁ་རྫོགས་པ་མ་བྱུང་། དེ་ནས་གཡུ་ཐོག་རྒྱ་གར་ཇོ་རྗེ།མི་ཉག་ཟླ་གྲགས།བྲང་ཏི་རྒྱལ་པོ་སོགས་ལས་གསོ་དཔྱད་གསན་ཀྱང་སྔོན་མ་ལྟར་གྱུར།དེ་ནས་སྟོད་ཀྱི་བི་ཇི་ལྷུན་ནེ།འུག་པ་ཚོས་སེང་།ཚེ་རྗེ་སྟག་ལ་དགའ་གསུམ་ལ་རིམ་བཞིན་གཏུགས་པས་ཆ་ལག་མང་ལ་གདམས་ངག་ཆུང་བར་མཐོང་། དབུས་གཙང་གི་མཁས་པ་མི་དགུ་བསྟེན་ཡང་ཡིད་མ་ཆེམ་སྟེ་རྒྱ་གར་རང་ལ་འགྲོ་བར་བྱའོ་སྙམ་པའི་དགོངས་པ་ཤར། །[112]

བལ་ཡུལ་དུ་པཎྜི་ཏ་ཆེན་པོ་ཁ་ཆེ་དཀར་པོ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་རིག་པའི་གནས་ལྔ་ལ་མཁས་པ་ཞིག་དང་། སྒྲ་སྒྱུར་གྱི་ལོ་ཙྪ་བ་མཁས་པ་རིན་ཆེན་བཟང་པོ་གཉིས་འགྲོགས་ནས་བཞུགས་ཡོད་པར་ཐོས་ནས་ལོ་པཎ་དེ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་དྲུང་ནས་གསོ་དཔྱད་ཞུས་ཚུལ་གསོ་དཔྱད་དྲི་མེད་གཟི་བརྗིད་ཀྱི་འགྲེལ་བ་དྲི་མེད་འོད་གསལ་དུ་འཁོད་ཡོད། [113] འདིར་བསྟན་པའི་ལོ་ཙྪ་བ་རིན་ཆེན་བཟང་པོ་ཞེས་པ་ནི་ལོ་ཆེན་རིན་ཆེན་བཟང་པོ་(958-1055)དང་གང་ཟག་གཅིག་ཡིན་མིན་ཆ་མ་འཚལ། ལོ་ཚིགས་ལ་གཞིགས་ན་ཞང་སྟོན་དང་། རྗོག་ལོ་ཙྪ་བ་བློ་ལྡན་ཤེས་རབ། ལོ་ཆེན་རིན་བཟང་བཅས་དུས་མཉམ་དུ་བྱོན་པའི་ཐེ་མི་སྣང་བས། སྐབས་འདིར་བསྟན་པའི་ལོ་ཙྪ་བ་རིན་ཆེན་བཟང་པོ་ཞེས་པ་དེ་ལོ་ཆེན་རིན་བཟང་དང་གང་ཟག་གཅིག་ཡིན་པར་དཀའ་འོ་སྙམ། །

གསེར་མང་དུ་བསྒྲུབས་པ་བསྣམས་ཏེ་རྒྱ་གར་དུ་བྱོན། ལམ་དུ་རྔོག་བློ་ལྡན་ཤེས་རབ་དང་མཇལ། སྒྲ་ལ་མཁས་པར་སྦྱངས། རིམ་གྱིས་བགྲོད་དེ་དཔལ་ན་ལེནྡྲ་ཕེབས། ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་སྨན་པ་སུ་མཁས་དྲིས་པར། དྲང་སྲོང་ཙནྡྲ་བི་བྱ་བ་མཁས་ཟེར་བར་ཁ་མཐུན། དེར་དྲང་སྲོང་འཛག་མའི་སྤྲེལ་བུ་ན་བཞུགས་པའི་དྲུང་དུ་ཕྱིན། སྔོར་ཞག་བདུན་གྱི་བར་དུ་བསྟེད་པས་ཁྱོད་དེ་ཙམ་དོན་དུ་ཅི་གཉེར་གསུངས། སྨན་དཔྱད་ཤེས་པར་འདོད་པའི་རྒྱུ་མཚན་ཞུས་པས། ཐུགས་ཐོགས་ནས་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པ་ཚར་གཅིག་གནང་། ལོག་པར་བརྩམས་པས་དེས་མི་འཁྲུལ་བས་ད་དུང་ཤོག་ཅིག་གསུངས། སླར་བོད་ནས་གསེར་སྒྲུབ་སྟེ་ཕྱིན་ནས་ཞུས་པས་དཔེ་ཐོག་ནས་གཞུང་ཚར་གཅིག ཁོག་དབུགས། མན་ངག་ལག་ལེན་དང་བཅས་རྫོགས་པར་གནང་བར་གྲགས། [114] ཞང་སྟོན་རྒྱ་གར་དུ་བྱོན་པའི་སྐབས་སུ་ཕྱག་རོགས་སྤྲུག་སྟོན་རྒྱ་གར་རྣ་ཛ་ཞེས་པ་དེ་ཡོད་ཚུལ་འགྲེལ་བ་དྲི་མེད་འོད་གསལ་དུ་གསལ། །[115]

[111] ཞང་གཟི་བརྗིད་འབར་སོགས།2016ལོར། ཤོག 169

[112] ཟུར་མཁར་བློ་གྲོས་རྒྱལ་པོ།2001ལོར།ཤོག 304-5 སྡེ་སྲིད་སངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱ་མཚོ།1982ལོར།ཤོག 180-1

[113] ཞང་གཟི་བརྗིད་འབར་སོགས།2016ལོར། ཤོག 169-70

[114] ཟུར་མཁར་བློ་གྲོས་རྒྱལ་པོ།2001ལོར།ཤོག305 སྡེ་སྲིད་སངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱ་མཚོ།1982ལོར།ཤོག181

[115] ཞང་གཟི་བརྗིད་འབར་སོགས།2016ལོར། ཤོག 170

དྲང་སྲོང་ཙཱརྟ་དེ་ཡིས་ཡིག་སྣ་རྩོམས་ལ་འགྲོ་བན་རྒྱ་ཆེ་བར་གྱིས་ཤིག་བཀའ་སློབ་ཕེབས་པ་ཉར། བོད་དུ་བྱོན་ནས་སློབ་མ་བསྒྲངས། གཞུང་དྲི་མེད་གཅིག་བརྙེད་ལེའུ་བཞི་པ། དེ་འགྲེལ་པ་ཉེ་མའི་འོད་ཟེར་དུ་ཡེ་གཙང་གྱི་ཟེང་ག་ལས་གཏུམ་གྱི་དོན་དུ་ལེགས་པར་བརྩམས། དེ་ནས་གཙམས་པ་སུམ་ཅུ་པ་དང་། སྐོང་འགྲེལ་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་སྣར་ཁག། སྒང་འགྲེལ་རྒྱལ་པོའི་བང་མཛོད་རྣམས་རྩོམ་འཕོར་བཞག་པ་སྤྱིས་སྐོན་རྒྱ་གར་གྱིས་ཟུ་མཐུང་པར་ཐག་གས། ཤོགས་བ་རིག་པའི་བསྟན་ཚོས་དྲི་མེད་གཅིག་བརྙེད་ཀྱི་གཞུང་ལེའུ་བཞི་ཡི་བདག་ཉིད་ཀེ། ཅེས་བྱ་བའི་མཛད་བྱང་ལས། “ཅེས་པ་འདི་ཤཱཀྱའི་དགེ་སློང་ཞང་གཅིག་བརྙེད་འབར་གྱིས། ཡུལ་ཡར་ལུང་གང་པ་སྟེང་གི་ས། རྟེན་སྐོང་ཕུག་བརྒྱ་པའི་མཚོད་རྟེན་གྱི་དྲུང་དུ། དགུན་ཟླ་ར་བའི་ཚེས་བརྒྱད་ཤར་མ་དང་། གཟའ་ཟླ་བ་དར་བའི་ཉིན་སྐྱར་བ་སྟེ། ཞུ་པ་པོ་ཡང་སྐུག་སྐོན་རྒྱ་གར་ར་ཙ་དང་། བལ་སྐོན་ཤེས་རབ་ཁྱི་འབུམ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཞུས་དོར། བསྟན་བཅོས་དྲི་མ་མེད་པའི་གཅིག་བརྙེད། གང་མས་པ་སུམ་ཅུ་པ་ཙ་དང་བཅས་པ་མཛད་པའོ། །” [116] ཞེས་དྲི་མེད་གཅིག་བརྙེད་དང་གང་མས་པ་སུམ་ཅུ་གཉིས་ཀ་སྐུག་སྐོན་དང་བལ་སྐོན་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ཞུས་ངོར་ཞང་གཅིག་བརྙེད་འབར་ཀྱིས་མཛད་ཡོང་པར་གསལ་པོར་བསྟན་ཡོད་ཀྱང་སེམས་གཅིག་ཏུ་ཞེས་གཅིག་བརྙེད་ཙཱ་བ་ནི་༢༠༡༥ལོར་བོད་སྐོང་སྐན་ཚེས་ཁང་དཔར་དུ་བསྒྲུབས། མ་དཔེ་ནི་སྐེ་དགེ་སྐན་ཚེས་ཁང་དུ་བཞུགས་ཡོད་སྐད། [117] གང་མས་པ་སུམ་ཅུ་པ་མ་བྱུ་ཞེས་པ་ནི་ཙ་ཤ་བྱའི་ལེའུ་ཐ་དད། ཡལ་གཤ་བྱ་བྱུ་ལེའུ་སུམ་ཅུ་ལས་བྱས་པ་ཞེས་ཡིན། གཞུང་དེ་ཉིད་ཐོག་མར་༡༠༡༤ལོར་བོད་སྐོང་གསོ་རིག་སློབ་གྲྭ་ཚན་མོ་ནས་དཔར་དུ་བསྒྲུན། [118] དེ་རྗེས་མ་དཔེ་དེ་ཉིད་གཞིར་བཞག་ནས་སྤྱི་ལོ་༢༠༡ཀལོར་མཚོ་སྐོན་ཞེང་ཚེན་བོད་ཀྱི་གསོ་རིག་རིའུ་འཁྲག་ཁང་ནས་སྐུགས་དཔར་བཏུབ། [119] སྤྱི་ལོ་༢༠༡༥ལོར་བོད་སྐོང་སྐན་ཚེས་ཁང་ནས་སྡེ་དགེ་སྐན་ཚེས་ཁང་དུ་བཞུགས་པའི་མ་དཔེར་གཞིར་བཞག་ནས་དཔར་དུ་བསྒྲུན། [120]

ཞང་ལ་སློབ་མ་ཆུང་གསུམ་དང་རོག་དང་བཞི། ཉེ་གནས་སྤྱོགས་དང་ཐུ་བྱུང་བ་ལས། ཐུ་སའི་བལ་ཆུང་ལ་ཕྱི་སྐོར་ནང་སྐོར། འོལ་ཁའི་སྐང་ཆུང་ལ་ཁོག་སྐྱིང་དང་འབྲ་བའི་དཀྱུས་བགོོང་རྣམ་གསུམ། གཉལ་གྱི་རོག་ཆུང་ལ་གང་མས་པ་སུམ་ཅུ་པ། ཉེར་གནས་སྤྱོགས་ཤེས་རབ་ཁྱི་ལ་དྲི་མེད་གཅིག་བརྙེད་མ་དུ་རྣམས་སོ་སོར་གནང་། དེ་ཐུར་ཞང་གི་སློབ་མ་བཞི་དང་སྐོང་སྐན་ཐུགཁུང་གི་སློབ་མ་དང་སྐན་ཐུ་ལ་དོོལ་པ་རིང་མོས་ཞུས། གང་མས་པ་སུམ་ཅུ་པའི་ཞལ་ཤེས། ཚད་འཕང་བཅུ་གསུམ། གང་མས་ཐུན་གཉིས་དང་། དྲི་མེད་གཅིག་བརྙེད་ལ་ས་མ་འགྲེལ། འབྲུ་འགྲེལ་སྐོང་ཐུན། ཚད་པ་གལ་འགག་གི་གཅེར་ཆེན་སོགས་

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[116] ཞང་གཅིག་བརྙེད་འབར་སོགས།2016ལོར། ཤོག 19-20

[117] ཞང་གཅིག་བརྙེད་འབར་སོགས།2016ལོར།

[118] ཞང་གཅིག་བརྙེད་འབར། 2013ལོར།

[119] ཞང་གཅིག་བརྙེད་འབར།[1][2] 2017ལོར

[120] ཞང་གཅིག་བརྙེད་འབར། [ཤོང་༡༡] 2016ལོར།

བརྟགས་ཞེས་ཀྱགས་ཀྱང་། ཞང་གི་སློབ་མ་དེ་དག་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དང་གོང་སྨོས་ཡིག་ཚ་རྣམས་མཇལ་བའི་གོ་སྐབས་མ་རྙེད། ।[121]

བཞི་པ། སྐྱིང་པོ་བསྡུས་པ་དང་རྒྱུད་བཞིའི་དབང་གྱི་འཛེལ་བ།
། གནའ་དེང་མཁས་པའི་བཞེད་སྲོལ།

མཁས་པ་ཁ་ཅིག་གིས་རྒྱུད་བཞི་དང་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་བར་འདུ་བའི་ཚ་དུ་མ་ཡོད་པར་མཛོང་རྟེས་རྒྱུད་བཞི་ནི་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་བྱང་བ་ཡིན་པར་ངོས་འཛིན་གྱི་ཡོད། དཔེར་ན་སྐུག་ཚང་ལོ་རྩྭ་བས། ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་སྐྱིང་པོ་བསྡུས་པ་ལ་བརྩེད་བྱ་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་དང་རྩོད་རྒོལ་གནས་དུག་དང་ལེའུ་བརྒྱ་དང་ཉི་ཤུ་ཡོད་པ་ལས། དེ་དག་ལ་རྟ་བའི་རྒྱུད་དང་། བཤད་པའི་རྒྱུད། ཕྱི་མའི་རྒྱུད་དེ་རྒྱུད་གསུམ་གནས་ཡོད་པར་འདོད། དེ་དག་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད་བཞི་ལའང་རྟ་རྒྱུད། བཤད་རྒྱུད། མཉ་ངག་རྒྱུད། ཕྱི་མ་རྒྱུད་ཅེས་བྱ་བར་གྲགས་པ་འདོད། མདོར་ན་ཁོང་གིས་ནི་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་སྐྱིང་པོ་བསྡུས་པ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་རྒྱུད་བཞི་བྱང་བར་བཞེད་ཀྱི་ཡོད་ཀྱང་། རྒྱུད་བཞི་དངོས་སུ་སྟེལ་མཁན་ནི་གཡུ་ཐོག་སོགས་ཡིན་པར་འདོད་དོ། ।[122]

ནུབ་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་མཁས་པ་ཞལ་མོ་ཆེ་ནི་ཨེམ་རིག་ལེ་(R.E.Emmerick)ཡི་རིག་གཞུང་ལྟ་ཚུལ་གྱི་ཤུགས་རྐྱེན་ཤེའམས་པས། རྒྱུད་བཞིའི་ནང་དོན་ཞལ་མོ་ཆེ་ནི་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་སྐྱིང་པོ་བསྡུས་པ་ནས་བྱང་བར་ངོས་འཛིན་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ཡོད། ।

རྒྱ་གར་མཁས་པ་བྷ་ག་ཤྭན་ཏུ་ཤས་ (Bhagwan Dash)ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པ་དང་འཛེལ་བ་ཆེ་བའི་རྒྱུད་ཚོག་ཁག་གཅིག་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་རྒྱུད་བཞི་ནི་དེའི་རྒྱུན་ཚད་ཟིན་པའི་ལེགས་སྒྲུབ་ཀྱི་གཞུང་ལུགས་ཤེག་ཡིན་པར་ཁ་ཚོན་བཅད། འོན་ཀྱང་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་སྐྱིང་པོ་བསྡུས་པ་དང་རྒྱུད་བཞི་གང་ཞིག་སྔོན་དུ་བྱུང་ཡོད་མེད་རྐོར་རྒྱལ་བཞིན་ཤེས་ཀྱི་མེད་ཅེས་བཤད།[123] ཕྱིས་སུ་ནུབ་ཕྱོགས་སུ་བཤད་སྲོལ་དེ་དག་གི་རྗེས་སུ་འབྲང་མཁས་རེ་ཟུང་ཡང་མཆིས་སོ། ।[124]

ཞེམ་རིག་ལེ་**ཡིས**་རྒྱུད་ལེའུ་གསུམ་པ་དང་།མན་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་བརྩེད་ལྡེད་དང་ཏཱ་ཐོར་བའི་ལེའུ་སོགས་བོད་ཡིག་ནས་དབྱིན་ཡིག་ཏུ་བསྒྱུར་ཞིང་། ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་སྐྱིང་པོ་བསྡུས་པ་དང་རྒྱུད་ཚོག་དབར་ཁག་ཚུན་བསྡུར་བ་ལྟས་ཏེ་ཁ་ཅིག་ཞལ་རྒྱུད་བཞི་དང་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་ནང་དོན་དབར་འདུ་བ་ཚ་ཡོད་པར་མཉན་སྲོལམས་ལྟས་ཡོད། ཕྱག་པར་དུ་ཁོང་གིས་མཛོད་པའི་རྒྱུད་བཞིའི་འབྱུང་ཁུངས་(Sources of the *Rgyud-bzhi*)ཞེས་པའི་ཚེའུ་རྩོམ་ནང་དུ་དཔལ་ལྡན་རྒྱུད་བཞིའི་ནང་དུ་རྒྱ་ནག་གསོ་རིག་གི་ནང་དོན་ཁག་གཅིག་ཡོད་པར་ངོས་འཛིན་ལྟས་ཤིང་། རྒྱ་མཚན་

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[121] ཟུར་མཁར་སྐོ་གོས་རྒྱལ་པོ། 2001 ལོར། ཤོག 305-6 ཉེ་ཞིང་ཁང་རྒྱལ་རྒྱ་མཚོ། 1982 ལོར། ཤོག 181-2

[122] སྐྱག་ཚང་ལོ་རྩྭ་ཤེས་བབ་རིན་ཆེན། 2007 ལོར། ཤོག 6-8

[123] Dash 1975: 99.

[124] Clifford 1990: 171.

དེ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་རྒྱུད་བཞི་ནི་བོད་དུ་བརྩམས་པའི་བསྟན་བཅོས་ཤིག་ཡིན་པར་ཁས་ལེན་བྱས་ཤིང་ལེགས་སྦྱར་ནས་བསྒྱུར་བའི་གཞུང་ཞིག་ཡིན་པའི་བཤད་སྲོལ་ལ་དགག་པ་རྒྱབ་ཡོད། ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་སྙིང་པོ་བསྡུས་པ་ནི་རྒྱུད་བཞིའི་འབྱུང་ཁུངས་གལ་ཆེན་ཞིག་ཡིན་པར་ངོས་འཛིན་བྱས་ཡོད། [125] གཞན་ཡང་ཁོང་གིས་གཡུ་ཐོག་སྙིང་མའི་རྣམ་ཐར་ཞེས་པ་དེ་ཉིད་ཁུངས་ལྡན་གྱི་གསོ་རིག་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡིག་ཆ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པར་བརྩིས་ནས། རྒྱུད་བཞི་ནི་གཡུ་ཐོག་སྙིང་མ་དང་འབྲེལ་བ་ཡོད་ཤག་བྱས། ཁོང་གིས་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ནང་དུ་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་ནང་དོན་ཇི་སྙེད་ཅིག་ཡོད་པར་མངོན་སུམ་དུ་མཐོང་དུས། རྒྱུད་བཞི་དང་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པ་སྙིང་པོ་བསྡུས་པའི་བར་འབྲེལ་བ་དམ་ཟབ་ཡོད་པར་སྒྲུབ་པའི་ཆེད་དུ། ལོ་ཆེན་རིན་ཆེན་བཟང་པོ་གཉིས་ཡོད་པར་ངོས་འཛིན་བྱས་ཤིང་། གཅིག་གིས་དུས་རབས་བརྒྱད་པའི་སྐབས་སུ་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་སྙིང་པོ་བསྡུས་པ་བོད་སྐད་བསྒྱུར་བ་དང་། ཅིག་ཤོས་ཀྱིས་དུས་རབས་བཅུ་གཅིག་གི་ནང་དུ་ཟླ་ཟེར་བསྒྱུར་ཡོད་པར་ཚོད་དཔག་བྱས་ཡོད། །[126]

༢ གཞུང་གཉིས་ཀྱི་འབྲེལ་བ་དངོས་བཤད་པ།

བསྟན་བཅོས་འདི་ལ་མདོའི་གནས་དང་། ལུས་ཀྱི་གནས། ནད་གཞིའི་གནས། གསོ་བའི་གནས། ལུས་གསོ་བའི་ཚོ་ག་གྲུབ་པའི་གནས། ཕྱི་མའི་གནས་ཏེ་གནས་དྲུག་ཡོད། གནས་དྲུག་པོ་དེ་དག་བསྡོམས་པས་ལེའུ་བརྒྱ་དང་ཉི་ཤུ་ཡོད། དང་པོ་མདོའི་གནས་ལེའུ་དང་པོ་ཚེ་རིང་བར་འདོད་པའི་ལེའུས་བརྗོད་བྱ་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད། ནད་ཀྱི་ངོ་བོ། སྨན་སྨན་པ། ནད་པ་ནད་གཡོག སྤྱིའི་རྣམ་གཞག ལེའུ་བརྒྱ་ཉི་ཤུའི་གྲངས་རྣམས་བསྟན་པས་ནང་དོན་ཆ་ནས་རྩ་རྒྱུད་དང་ཕལ་ཆེར་མཚུངས། ལེའུ་གཉིས་པས་ཉིན་རེའི་སྤྱོད་པ།གསུམ་པས་དུས་སྤྱོད།བཞི་པས་ནད་མེད་བྱ་བ་ལྔ་པས་བཏུང་བའི་རྫས།དྲུག་པས་ཟས་ཀྱི་མཚན་ཉིད།བདུན་པས་ཟས་བསྡམ་ཚུལ།བརྒྱད་པས་ཟས་ཚོད་ཟིན་པ།དགུ་པས་སྨན་ལ་སོགས་པའི་ཚད།བཅུ་པས་རོ་རྣམས།བཅུ་གཅིག་པས་ནད་ཚུལ།བཅུ་གཉིས་པས་ནད་ཀྱི་བྱེ་བྲག བཅུ་གསུམ་པས་ནད་གསོ་བ།བཅུ་བཞི་པས་གསོ་ཐབས་རྣམ་པ་གཉིས།བཅོ་ལྔ་པས་སྦྱང་བ་སོགས། བཅུ་དྲུག་པས་སྨུམ་བཅོས།བཅུ་བདུན་པས་དུགས།བཅོ་བརྒྱད་པས་ན་ཁྲུས།བཅུ་དགུ་པས་མས་བཏང་།ཉི་ཤུ་པས་སྣ་ནས་བཏང་བ།ཉེར་གཅིག་པས་དུད་པ།ཉེར་གཉིས་པས་མཁུར་བཀང་སོགས། ཉེར་གསུམ་པས་མིག་སྨན་བླུགས་པ།ཉེར་བཞི་པས་མིག་གསོ་བ།ཉེར་ལྔ་པས་ཆ་བྱད།ཉེར་དྲུག་པས་གཏར་དཔྱད།ཉེར་བདུན་པས་གཏར་ག་གདབ་པ།ཉེར་བརྒྱད་པས་ཟུག་རྔུ་དབྱུང་བ།ཉེར་དགུ་པས་གཏར་ཁའི་ལས།སུམ་ཅུ་པས་ཐལ་སྨན་ཇོན་པོ་དང་མེ་བཙའི་ཚོ་ག་བཅས་ལེའུ་སུམ་ཅུ་ཡོད། །[127]

[125] Emmerick 1977: 1135-6.
[126] Emmerick 1977: 1141.
[127] པ་ཁོལ། 1989 ལོར། ཤོག112-254

གནས་འདི་ནི་བཤད་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་གླུབ་པ་ལུས། འཕེལ་འགྲིབ་ནད། བྱ་བ་སྨྱོད་ལམ། འཚོ་བ་ཟས། སྐྱེར་བ་སྐན། གསོ་བྱེད་ཐབས་སོགས་དང་། ཕྱི་མ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་སྨྱོང་བྱེད་ལས་ཀྱི་མདོ་དང་ཚ་བྱད་དཔྱད་ཀྱི་མདོ་ཡི་གནས་འཆྱང་ཁྲངས་གལ་ཆེན་པོ་ཞེག་རེད། སྐམ། །

གནས་གཉེས་པ་ལུས་གནས་ལ་ལེའུ་དང་པོས་མངལ་དུ་འཇུག་པ་སོགས་གཉེས་པས་དེའི་ནད་གསུམ་པས་ཡན་ལག་གི་བྱེ་བག བཞི་པས་ལུས་ཀྱི་གནད་ཐུར་པས་ལུས་ཀྱི་འགྱུར་བ་རྣྱག་པས་ཕོ་ཉ་སོགས་ལེའུ་དྲུག་ཡོད། འདི་ནི་བཤད་རྒྱུད་གླུབ་པ་ལུས་ཀྱི་འཆྱང་ཁྲངས་གལ་ཆེན་པོ་ཞེག་ཡིན་པར་སྐང་། །[128]

གནས་གསུམ་པ་ནད་གཞིའི་གནས་ལ་ལེའུ་དང་པོས་ནད་གཞི་གཉེས་པས་རིམས་གསུམ་པས་ཁྲག་མཁྲིས་ལུད་པ་བཞི་པས་དཀྲུགས་མི་བདེ་ཐུར་པས་སྐོ་གཙོང་ཟད་བྱེད་སོགས་རྣྱག་པས་ཚང་ནད་བདུན་པས་གཞང་འབྱམ་པརྒྱད་པས་ཚད་འཁྱུ་དང་ཕོ་བའི་ནད་གཞི་དགུ་པས་གཅིན་གཅིན་པས་ཁོང་འཁས། རླུ་ནྱགས་དང་སྐན་པས་གཉེས་པས་དམུ་རྩེང་།བཅུ་གསུམ་པས་སྐྱ་རྣབ་འོར་མེ་དབལ་བཅུ་བཞི་པས་མཇོ་ཤ་བཀྲ་སྙིན་ཁྲག་ཅོང་ཁྲག་པས་ཀུ་ལེའུ་བཅུ་དྲུག་པས་ཏེ་ག་ནད་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ནད་དམིགས་ཏེ་ལེའུ་བཅུ་དྲུག་བསྡུན་ཡོད། གནས་འདི་ནི་མན་ངག་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་འཛེལ་ཡོད་ལེའུའི་འཁྱུད་ཁྲངས་ཀྱས་ཤིག་ཡིན་པར་སྐང་། །[129]

གནས་བཞི་པ་གསོ་བའི་གནས་ལ་ལེའུ་དང་པོས་རིམས་གསོ་བ་ཁ་ཅིས་པས་ཁྲག་མཁྲིས་ལུས་པས་ལུད་པ་བཞི་པས་སྐྱིགས་བྱ་དང་དཀྲུགས་མི་བདེ་བ་ཐུར་པས་གཙོང་ཆེན་ཟད་ཅྱེད་རྣྱག་པས་སྨིན་ནད་དང་སྐྱིང་ནད་བདུན་པས་ཚང་ནད་འཁྱུད་པས་གཞང་འབྱམ་པརྒྱ་པས་འཁྱུ་ནད་པས་ཕོ་བ་གཅུག་གཅིག་པས་གཅིན་འགག་ལུས་གཅིག་པས་གཅིན་སྐྱི་ཟ་ཁྲལ་བཅུ་གསུམ་པས་ཁོང་འཁས་པས་སྐན་པས་ཐུར་ཐུ་ཁ་ཅིས་པས་དམུ་ཐྱེང་བཅུ་དྲུག་པས་སྐྱ་རྣབ་བཅུ་བདུན་པས་འོར་ནད། བཙོ་བཏུང་པས་མེ་དབལ་བཅུ་དགུ་པས་མཇོ་ཤ་བཀྲ་ཤ་བཀྲ་དང་སྦེན་ཁྲག་གཅིག་པས་ཆུང་ནད་ཤ་གཅིག་པས་ཅྱེད་ཤ་གཅིག་པས་ཅྱེག་ནམས་གཙོ་བ་སྐྱེ་ལེའུ་ཀྱི་ཤ་རྩ་རྒྱ་དང་སྦེན་ཁྲག་གཅིག་པས་ནད་ཀུན་ཤ་གཅིག་པས་ཤ་ཁ་ཅིས་ཀྱི་ལེའུ་ཡོད་ཚོད། གནས་འདི་ནི་མན་ངག་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་འཛེལ་ཡོད་ལེའུའི་བཙོས་ཐབས་དང་འཛེལ་བ་ཁྱང་ཟད་ཡོད། །[130]

གནས་ཕྱ་པ་ཆོ་གྲ་གླུབ་པ་ལ་ལེའུ་དང་པོས་སྐྱགས་སྐན་གཉེས་པས་བཀུ་སྐན་གསུམ་པས་སྐྱག་སྐན་དང་བཀུ་སྐན་གླུབ་པ་བཞི་པས་མས་གཏོང་ཐུར་པས་མས་གཏོང་གླུབ་པ་རྣྱག་པས་སྐན་གྱི་ཆོ་གྲ་བཙས་ལེའུ་དྲུག་བསྡུན་ཡོད། གནས་འདི་ཡི་ནང་དོན་ལ་དཔྱད་ན་ཕྱི་རྒྱུད་སྨྱོང་ཁྲིད་ལས་ཀྱི་མདོ་དང་འཁྲིལ་བ་དེ་ཙམ་མེད་པར་སྐང་། །[131]

གནས་དྲུག་པ་ཕྱི་མའི་གནས་ལ་ལེའུ་དང་པོས་བྱིས་པ་ཉེར་སྨྱོད་གཉེས་པས་ཁྱིས་པའི་ནད་གསུམ་པས་ཁྱིས་པའི་གདོན་ཏེ་ཁྱིས་པར་ལེའུ་གསུམ་བཞི་པས་འཁྱུང་དོའི་གདོན་ཐུ་པས་དེ་གསོ་བྱེད་པས་སྨྱོ་

[128] ཨ་ཁོལ། 1989 ཤོར། རྩོག255-303
[129] ཨ་ཁོལ། 1989 ཤོར། རྩོག303-372
[130] ཨ་ཁོལ། 1989 ཤོར། རྩོག372-538
[131] ཨ་ཁོལ། 1989 ཤོར། རྩོག538-565

ཕྱིད།བདུན་པས་བརྟེད་ཕྱིད་གསོ་བ་སྟེ་འཕྱང་ཡོར་ལེའུ་བཞི།བརྒྱད་པས་མིག་ཆུའི་ནད་དམིགས།དགུ་པས་དེ་གསོ་བ།བསྡུ་པས་མིག་འབྲས་དཀར་ནག་གི་ནད་དམིགས།བསྡུ་གཅིག་པས་དེ་གསོ་བ།བསྡུ་གཉིས་པས་མཐོང་བར་ཕྱིད་པའི་མིག་ནད།བསྡུ་གསུམ་པས་རབ་རིབ།བསྡུ་བཞི་པས་དེ་གསོ་བ།བཅོ་ལྔ་པས་མིག་ནད་སྐ་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་དམིགས།བསྡུ་དྲུག་པས་དེ་རྣམས་གསོ་བ་བཅས།ལྷས་སྐོང་མིག་ལ་ལེའུ་དགུ བསྡུ་བདུན་པ་རྣ་བའི་ནད་དམིགས།བཅོ་བརྒྱད་པས་དེ་གསོ་བ།བསྡུ་དགུ་པས་སྐ་ནད་ཀྱི་དམིགས།ཉི་ཤུ་པས་དེ་གསོ་བ།ཉི་ཤུ་རྩ་གཅིག་པས་ཉ་ཀ་ཤ་ཡི་ནད་ཀྱི་དམིགས།ཉི་ཤུ་རྩ་གཉིས་པས་མཁོ་ནད་ཀྱི་དམིགས།ཉི་ཤུ་རྩ་གསུམ་པས་མགོ་ནད་ཀྱི་དམིགས།ཉི་ཤུ་རྩ་བཞི་པས་དེ་གསོ་བ་བཅས།ལྷས་སྐོང་གཞན་ལ་ལེའུ་བརྒྱད་དེ་ཁྱོན་ལྷས་སྐོང་ལ་ལེའུ་བསྡུ་བདུན།ཉེར་ལྔ་པས་རྣ་རྔ་སྐྱེང་བ།ཉེར་དྲུག་པས་རྣ་གསར།ཉེར་བདུན་པས་ཤ་ཁྲང་ལག་ཆག་གྱུགས།ཉེར་བརྒྱད་པས་མཚན་བར་རྩོལ་བ།ཉེར་དགུ་པས་ཆེན་ཏུ་ཐོར་ཏུ་ཤ་ཁྲང་འབབ་འཕས་སོགས་ཀྱི་ནད་དམིགས།ལྷུམ་སྐུ་བས་དེ་རྣམས་གསོ་བ།སོ་ཐའི་ནད་དམིགས།སོ་ཐ་ཡི་ནད་ཀྱི་ནད་དམིགས།ཉི་ཤུ་རྩ་ལྔ་པས་ཁ་ཚ་ཞིང་ཁ་ཡི་ནད་ཀྱི་ནད་དམིགས།ཉི་ཤུ་རྩ་དྲུག་པས་སྐྱུལ་དུག་སོགས་གསོ་བ།སོ་བདུན་པས་སྲིན་ཏུ་དང་བ་དུག་གསོ་བ། སོ་བརྒྱད་པས་ཀྱི་བ་དང་ཚ་ལངས་པའི་དུག་གསོ་བ།བཅས་དུག་ལ་ལེའུ་བཞི།སོ་དགུ་བས་བསྡུང་ལེན།བཞི་བཅུ་པ་རོ་ཙ་བ་སྟེ་ཏ་སོགས་གསོར་ལེའུ་གཉིས་དང་ཕྱི་མར་བཞི་བཅུ་བཅས་བློན་ལེའུ་བརྒྱ་ཉི་ཤུ་ཡོད།ཁ་ཏོན་ཁ་སྟེ་ཏ་སོགས་སྐབས་བདུན་ཀྱི་འཕྱང་ཁུངས་གལ་ཆེན་པོ་ཡིན་པར་འདོད། ।[132]

ཕྱན་ནས་ ཥད་པལ་ལྷན་རྒྱུད་བཞིའི་འཕྱང་ཁུངས་ལ་དཔྱད་པ་མ་གསང་དྲང་གཏམ། ཞེས་པའི་ནད་དུ་བསྟན་པ་ལྟར། དེ་ཡང་དཔལ་ལྷན་རྒྱུད་བཞི་གང་ལས་འཕྱང་བའི་ཁུངས་གལ་ཆེ་ཤོས་གཉིས་ཙམ་ཡོད་པ་ལས། གཅིག་ནི་གསོ་དཔྱད་ལྟ་དར་སྐབས་ཀྱི་ཡིག་ཆ་ཁག་ཡིན། ཅིག་ཤོས་ནི་གོང་དུ་བཤད་པ་ལྟར་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་སྙིང་ཏོ་བསྡུས་པ་ཡིན་མོད། རྒྱུད་བཞི་དང་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་སྙིང་ཏོ་བསྡུས་པའི་བར་བསྡུར་བ་བྱེད་སྐབས། བཤད་རྒྱུད་རྒྱུད་ཚོག་དངོས་ཀྱི་བཞི་ཆ་གཅིག་ཙམ་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པ་དང་མཚུངས་ཤིང་། མན་ངག་རྒྱུད་ཚོག་དངོས་ཀྱི་བརྒྱ་ཆ་བདུན་ཙམ་དང་ ཕྱི་རྒྱུད་རྒྱུད་ཚོག་དངོས་ཀྱི་བརྒྱ་ཆ་གསུམ་ཙམ་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པ་དང་མཚུངས་པ་ཡིན། རྒྱུད་བཞི་ཁྱོན་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་བརྒྱ་ཆ་བཅོ་ལྔ་ཙམ་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པ་དང་མཚུངས། རྒྱ་མཚན་དེ་དག་ལ་བརྗེན་ནས། ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་སྙིང་ཏོ་བསྡུས་པ་ནི་དཔལ་ལྷན་རྒྱུད་བཞི་གང་ལས་འཕྱང་བའི་ཁུངས་གལ་ཆེ་བ་གཞན་ཞིག་ཡིན་ཞེས་ཁ་ཚོན་གཅོད་ཟུབ་པ་མ་ཐུབ། དཔྱད་ཞིབ་ཀྱི་ཐབས་ཤེས་ཀྱིས་ཁྱད་པར་ཅི་ཡོད་ཀྱང་ཡིད་ཆེས་ཤིང་ཐེ་ཚོམ་ཟ་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། ।

ཕྱི་ལོ་1989 ལོར། ཟོག565-765

[132] གཡུ་ཐོག་མགོན་པོ།2003ལོར།

[133] གཡུ་ཐོག་གསར་མ་ཡོན་ཏན་མགོན་པོ།2005ལོར།

དག་ནི་གཡུ་ཐོག་མགོན་པོས་རྒྱུད་བཞི་མ་མཛད་གོང་གི་བརྒམས་ཚོས་ཡིན། གཞུང་ལྟ་མ་དེ་དག་གི་ནང་ཅུ་གསོ་རིག་ལྟ་དང་དུས་སུ་བྱུང་བའི་གཞུང་གི་ནང་དོན་ཡོང་བར་མ་ཟད། ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་སྙིང་པོ་བསྡུས་པའི་ནང་དོན་ཡང་མང་ཌ་ཡོད། དེ་ཉར་གཡུ་ཐོག་མགོན་པོས་བརྒམས་པའི་གཞུང་ལྟ་མ་རྣམས་དང་རྒྱུད་བཞི་དབར་ཁན་ཆུང་བར་བསྡུས་བར་བྱས་པའི་ཚེ། གཡུ་ཐོག་མགོན་པོས་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་བརྒམས་པའི་གཞུང་ལྟ་མ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་རྒྱུད་བཞི་བརྒམས་ཡོང་པའི་ངེས་ཤེས་གཏིང་ནས་སྐྱེ་ཐུབ། །

རྒྱུད་བཞིའི་ནང་ཌ་རྩེ་བསྡོན་གཡུ་ཐོག་མགོན་པོས་བརྒམས་པའི་གཞུང་ལྟ་མ་རྣམས་ལུ་མ་གསལ་བའི་གསོ་དཔྱད་སྟ་དང་དུས་སུ་བྱུང་བའི་གཞུང་གི་ནང་དོན་དང་། ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་སྙིང་པོ་བསྡུས་པའི་ནང་དོན་ཡང་རྒྱས་པ་ཞིག་ཡོད་པས། རྩེ་བསྡོན་གཡུ་ཐོག་མགོན་པོས་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་སྟབ་ནས་བརྒམས་ཟིན་པའི་གཞུང་ལུགས་རྣམས་ཐྱེ་མོ་བྱས་ནས། གསོ་དཔྱད་སྟ་དང་གྱི་གཞུང་དང་། ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་སྙིང་པོ་བསྡུས་པ་སོགས་ཀྱི་ལེགས་ཆ་རྣམས་སྐར་ཡང་བསྡུ་ལེན་མཛད་ནས་དཔལ་ལྡན་རྒྱུད་བཞི་བརྒམས་ཡོད་པར་ཚོད་དཔག་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ཡོད། །

ཐུ་པ། མཇུག་བསྡུ་པ།

བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡིག་ཆ་དང་གསོ་རིག་ཁོག་དབུབ་ཚལ་མོ་ཆའི་ནང་ཌ་གཞུང་འདིའི་རྩོམ་པ་པོ་ནི་སྒོང་དཔོན་དཔའ་བོ་ཡིན་པ་དང་། ནང་པའི་གྲུབ་མཐའ་ལ་མ་ཞུགས་གོང་ཌ་ཐུབ་རྒྱལ་ནག་པོ་དང་། རྟ་དབྱངས། མ་ཏི་ཙི་ཏྲ། མ་ཁོལ་སོགས་མིང་གི་རྣམ་གྲངས་མང་ཌ་ཡོད་པར་འདོད་ཀྱང་། དེ་དག་ནི་གང་ཟག་གཙིག་ཡིན་པའི་སྐྱབས་ཀྱིད་གསལ་པོ་མེད། གཞུང་འདི་ཉིད་ཀྱི་རྩོམ་པ་པོ་དངོས་ནི་སྤ་སྒྲ་ཏ་སྡེ་པ་ཁོལ་ཞེས་སུ་གྲགས་པ་དེ་ཡིན་པར་འདོད། །

ཤ་བྷ་མ་བྱང་ཆུང་འོད་དང་ཐུ་རངས་ཀྱི་སྐན་པ་མི་བཞེས་སྤྱིན་བདག་མཛད་ནས། ལོ་ཆེན་རིན་ཆེན་བཟང་པོ་དང་པཎ་ཆེ་ན་ར་ད་ན་ཟུང་ནས་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་སྙིང་པོ་བསྡུས་པ་གོང་སྐང་ཏུ་བསྒྲུར་བའི་རྗེས་སུ། ལོ་ཆེན་ཀྱིས་འཆད་ཉན་ཀྱི་རྒྱུན་སྤེལ་ནས་ཆེར་རྗེ་དང་། གཡུ་ཐོག་སོགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད་པ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་མ་མཐའ་ཡང་དུས་རབས་བསྟུ་བདུན་བར་དུ་འཆད་ཉན་ཀྱི་རྒྱུན་མ་ཆད་པར་བཞུགས་ཡོད། །

གཞུང་དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་གོད་ཀྱི་གསོ་དཔྱད་ཀྱི་གཞུང་ལུགས་ལག་ལ་ཤུགས་རྒྱན་ཆེན་རོ་ཞེས་ཡོང་ཚིང་། གཞུང་དེ་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་ཡིག་ཆ་ཡང་གྲངས་ལས་འདས་པ་རྣོམ་བསྒིགས་མཛད་ཡོད། གཞུང་འདི་ནི་དལ་ལྡུར་བཞིའི་རྒྱབ་རྟེན་ཀྱི་ཡིག་ཆ་གལ་ཆེན་རོ་ཞིག་ཆགས་ཡོད། ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་སྙིང་པོ་བསྡུས་པས་རྒྱུད་བཞི་ལ་ཞེས་པའི་ཤུགས་རྒྱན་གཙོ་བོ་ནི་གཞུང་ལུགས་ཀྱི་སྐོར་རྣམས་ཡིན། ནང་གཞིའི་བརྟག་ཚོས་སྐབས་སུ་ཞེས་པའི་ཤུགས་རྒྱན་གཙོ་བོ་ནི་རྒྱུ་རྒྱན་དབྱེ་བ་རྟགས་སོགས་ལས། བཅོས་ཐབས་སྐོར་ལ་ཤུགས་རྒྱན་དེ་ཙམ་ཞེས་མེད། ལྷག་པར་དུ་རྒྱུད་བཞིའི་ནང་ཌ་འཁོད་པའི་སྨན་སྦྱོར་ཐལ་མོ་ཆེ་ལ་ཤུགས་རྒྱན་ཞེས་མེད་པར་ཤེན་ཏུ་གསལ། །།།

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[135] གཡུ་ཐོག་ཡོན་ཏན་མགོན་པོ།2013ལོར།

དཔྱད་གཞིའི་ཡིག་ཚ།

ཀོང་སྐྱལ་ཡོན་ཏན་རྒྱ་མཚོ། ཤེས་བྱ་ཀུན་ཁྱབ། ལེ་ཅིང་། མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་། སྤྱི་ལོ1985ལོར་དཔར་དུ་བསྐྲུན།

སྐྱེམ་པ་ཚོ་དབང་སོགས། རྗོ་རིང་མཇོས་བྱེད་ཀྱི་དྲིས་ལན་རྣམ་པོའི་ཁ་ཆེམས་མཚན་མོ་སྐྱན་ནག་གི་སྒོག་འོད་ཟླ་བྱ། ཥཱཾ་དབང་བཀྲ་ཤིས། མན་ངག་ཀུན་གྱི་སྙིང་བསྡུས། རྗོ་རིང་མཇོས་བྱེད་ཀེ། ནང་དུ་བསྡུས། པེ་ཅིན། མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་། སྤྱི་ལོ 2007ལོར་དཔར་དུ་བསྐྲུན། 199-257

ཁྱེ་ཐང་རྡོ་ན་ཤྲི། སྐྱེས་མཆོག་རིན་ཆེན་བཟང་པོའི་རྣམ་ཐར་ངོ་མཚར་བ། ཥཱི་ཆེན་རིན་ཆེན་བཟང་པོ་དང་། ཚག་ལོ་ཙྪ་བ་ཆོས་རྗེ་དཔལ། རྩོག་ལོ་ཙྪ་བ་བློ་ལྡན་ཤེས་གསུམ་གྱི་རྣམ་ཐར། ཞེས་བའི་ནང་དུ་བསྡུས། ལྷ་སා། ས་ཤ་གསུངས་ནང་བསྟན་དཔེ་རྙིང་འཚོལ་བསྡུ་སྒྲིགས་སྤྱིག་ཁང་། ཨོག 1-25

མཁས་པ་ཇེའུ། ཇེའུ་ཆོས་འཕྲུང་རྒྱས་པ། ལྷ་སා། བོད་ཕྱོངས་མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་། སྤྱི་ལོ1987ལོར་དཔར་དུ་བསྐྲུན།

གུ་གེ་མཁན་ཆེན་ངག་དབང་གྲགས་པ། གུ་གེ་མཁན་ཆེན་ངག་དབང་གྲགས་པས་མཛད་པའི་མངའ་རིས་རྒྱལ་རབས། རྒྱ་སྐ། ཐོ་ལིང་དཔལ་དབེ་མེད་ལྷུན་གྱིས་གྲུབ་པའི་གསུང་ལག་ཁང་ལོ་ཀ་ཀཀཀའོར་བའི་རྗེས་དྲན་མཛད་ཁྲིའི་གོ་ཐྲིག་ཆོགས་ཆུང་། སྤྱི་ལོ1996ལོར་དཔར་དུ་བསྐྲུན།

གུ་གེ་པཎྜི་ཏ་གྲགས་པ་རྒྱལ་མཚན། ཤ་ཐྲ་མ་ཡ་ཤེས་འོད་ཀྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་རྒྱས་པ། བོད་ཕྱོངས་མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་། སྤྱི་ལོ་2013ལོར་དཔར་དུ་བསྐྲུན།

གུ་གེ་པཎྜི་ཏ་གྲགས་པ་རྒྱལ་མཚན།ཉི་མའི་རིགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་རབས་དང་ཟླ་བའི་རིགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་རབས། བོད་ཕྱོངས་མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་། སྤྱི་ལོ་2014ལོར་དཔར་དུ་བསྐྲུན།

འགོས་ལོ་གཞོན་ནུ་དཔལ། དེབ་ཐེར་ཕྱོན་པོ(སྟོད་ཆ་དང་སྨད་ཆ)། ཁྲེན་ཀུ། སི་ཁྲོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་། སྤྱི་ལོ་1985ལོར་དཔར་དུ་བསྐྲུན།

མགོན་པོ་སྐྱབས། རྒྱ་ནག་ཆོས་འཕྲུང་། ཁྲེན་ཀུའུ། སི་ཁྲོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་། སྤྱི་ལོ1983ལོར་དཔར་དུ་བསྐྲུན།

ཞོ་ས་ཆོགས་གཉིས་རྒྱ་མཚོ།(རྩོམ་པ་པོ་ཚགས་པ་ཆོས་འཕེལ་ཞེས་བགོངྡ་འདུག་ཀྱང་། ནོར་བ་ཡིན་པས་བཙོས།) ཁོག་འབྲུབས་བཟློའུ་ཚུ་རྒྱུན་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བློ་མ་དམ་པའི་ཞལ་གྱི་གདམས་པ། ཥཱ ཁོག་འབྲུབས་བཟློའུ་ཚུ་རྒྱུན། གསོ་བ་རིག་པ་རྒྱུན་གྱི་མེ་ཏོག དུག་འཇོམས་བདུད་ཚིའི་ཚུ་རྒྱུན། ནང་དུ་བསྡུས། པེ་ཅིན། མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་། སྤྱི་ལོ 2013 ལོར་དཔར་དུ་བསྐྲུན། ཨོག 1-108

ཆེར་རྗེ་ཞང་སྐོན་ཞིག་པོ། སྐིང་པོ་བསྡུས་པ་ལ་འདུག་པའི་ཀེ་ཀ་དོན་ཁྱིགས་གསལ་བྱེད། བྱིས་མ་དཔར་སློག་རྒྱབ་པ།

ཤང་ཀེ་མ་འོད་ཟེར། ཆོས་འབྱུང་མེ་ཏོག་སྐིང་པོ་སྦུང་རྩིའི་བསྡུད། ཤ་སྟ། བོད་སྐོངས་བོད་ཡིག་དཔེ་སྐིང་དུས་སྒྲན་ཁང་། སྨྱི་ལོ་2012ལོར་དཔར་དུ་བསྒྲུན།

སྐག་ཚང་ལོ་ཙྪ་བ་ཤེས་རབ་རིན་ཆེན། སྐག་ཚང་ལོ་ཙྪ་བ་ཤེས་རབ་རིན་ཆེན་གྱི་གསུང་འཕྲལ་བོད་དང་པོ། ཅེ་ཅིན། ཀྱང་གོའི་བོད་རིག་པ་དུས་སྒྲན་ཁང་། སྨྱི་ལོ2017ལོར་དཔར་དུ་བསྒྲུན།

སྟེ་ཐིང་སངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱ་མཚོ། དཔལ་ལྡན་གསོ་བ་རིག་པའི་ཁོག་འཕྲགས་ལེགས་བཤད་བེའུརྒྱའི་མེ་ལོང་དྲང་སྲོང་དགྱེས་པའི་དགའ་སྟོན། ལན་ཀྱབོ། ཀན་སྒཱུ་མི་རིགས་དུས་སྒྲན་ཁང་། སྨྱི་ལོ་1982ལོར་དཔར་དུ་བསྒྲུན།

དཔའ་བོ་གཙུག་ལག་ཤེང་བ། ཆོས་བྱང་མཁས་པའི་དགའ་སྟོན། (སྟོང་ཆ་དང་སྣང་ཚ) པེ་ཅིང་། མི་རིགས་དུས་སྒྲན་ཁང་། སྨྱི་ལོ 1986 ལོར་དཔར་དུ་བསྒྲུན།

དཔལ་འབྱམ། ཤ་རྩེ་དགེ་བ་འབྱམ་པའི་རྣམ་ཐར་བཞུགས་སོ། དཔུ་མེད་བིས་མ་དཔར་སློག་རྒྱབ་པ། ཚ་ཁོལ། ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་སྐིང་པོ་བསྡུས་པ། ཁགསོ་བ་རིག་པའི་རྩ་འཕེལ་བདམ་བསྒིགས།། ནང་དུ་བསྡུས། པེ་ཅིང་། མི་རིགས་དུས་སྒྲན་ཁང་། སྨྱི་ལོ1989ལོར་དཔར་དུ་བསྒྲུན། ཤོག112-765

ཚ་ཁོལ། གསོ་སྦྱང་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་སྐིང་པོ་བསྡུས་པ།ཁཀྱང་གོའི་བོད་ལུགས་གསོ་རིག་རྩ་ཆེའི་དུས་ཆིང་ཀུན་བཏུས།། ཕྱེགས་བམ་གཉིས་པའི་ནང་དུ་བསྡུས། ཤ་སྟ། བོད་སྐོངས་མི་དམངས་དུས་སྒྲན་ཁང་། སྨྱི་ལོ 2013ལོར་དཔར་དུ་བསྒྲུན།

ཚ་ཁོལ། ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པ་བཀའ་མཆན་ཅན།།ཁགངས་སྐོངས་སྐན་རྩིས་རིག་མཛོད་ཆེན་མོ།། གསོ་རིག་བོད་བཅུ་པའི་ནང་དུ་བསྡུས། པེ་ཅིན། ཀྱང་གོའི་བོད་རིག་པ་དུས་སྒྲན་ཁང་། སྨྱི་ལོ 2016ལོར་དཔར་དུ་བསྒྲུན།

འབེ་ལོ་ཚེ་དབང་ཀུན་ཁྱབ། གསོ་བ་རིག་པའི་ཁོག་དབུབ་ཀུན་གྱི་ཐུ་ཡིག་སྒོ་བརྒྱ་འབྱེད་པའི་ཉེ་མིག ཁབེ་ལོ་ཚེ་དབང་ཀུན་ཁྱབ་ཀྱི་གསུང་ཐོར་བྱའི་སྐོར།། ཞེས་པའི་ནང་དུ་བསྡུས། ཤ་སྟ།བོད་སྐོངས་བོད་ཡིག་དུས་སྐྱེ་དུས་སྒྲན་ཁང་། སྨྱི་ལོ2013ལོར་དཔར་དུ་བསྒྲུན།ཤོག70-174

བྱམས་པ་འཕེན་ལས། ཀྱང་གོའི་བོད་ཀྱི་གསོ་བ་རིག་པ། པེ་ཅིན། ཀྱང་གོའི་བོད་ཀྱི་ཤེས་རིག་དུས་སྒྲན་ཁང་། སྨྱི་ལོ་1996ལོར་དཔར་དུ་བསྒྲུན།

བྱམས་པ་ཕྱིན་ལས།གང་ཤྲོངས་གསོ་རིག་བསྡུན་པའི་ཉེན་རྩེད་བྱེད་རིམ་བྱོན་ཀྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་ཡོགས་བསྒིགས། པེ་ཅིན། མི་རིགས་དུས་སྒྲན་ཁང་། སྨྱི་ལོ་2000 ལོར་དཔར་དུ་བསྒྲུན།

བང་ཀྱི་དཔལ་ལྡན་རྒྱལ་མཚན། བང་ཀྱི་ཤ་རྩེ་རིམ་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་མན་ངག་གསེར་ཐེ་ཆེན་མོ། ཤ་སྟ། བོད་ཤྲོངས་མི་རིགས་དུས་སྒྲན་ཁང་། སྨྱི་ལོ2005ལོར་དཔར་དུ་བསྒྲུན།

བྱང་ཀྱི་འཇམ་དཔལ་བཟང་པོ། ལག་ལེན་གྱིས[ཀྱི་]སྙིང་པོ་སྡོད་ཚུང་གི་འཁྲིལ[འགྲེལ་]པ་བཞུགས་སོ། །ཀྱགས་རྟོར་དཔེའོ། བིས་མ།

བྱང་ཀྱི་དཔལ་ལྡན་འཕྲོ་བྱེད། བདུད་རྩི་སྙིང་པོ་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པ་གསང་བ་མན་ངག་གི་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་དོན་ཤེས་བྱ་རབ་གསལ་རྒྱས་པ། དབུ་མེད་བྱེས་མ་དཔལ་སྒོག་རྒྱབ་པ།

བྱང་ཀྱི་དཔལ་ལྡན་འཕྲོ་བྱེད། བདུད་རྩི་སྙིང་པོ་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པ་གསང་བ་མན་ངག་གི་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་དོན་ཤེས་བྱ་རབ་གསལ། རྗེ་ལི། བཀྲ་ཤིས་སྣང་བཀྲ་ཤིས་གཡང་འཁེལ། སྤྱི་ལོ2005ལོར་དཔར་དུ་བསྒྲུན། སྒོ་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོ། ལྷ་ལྡན་སྤྱལ་པའི་གསྲོག་ལག་ཁང་གི་དཀར་ཆག་ཤེལ་དཀར་མེ་ལོང་། ལྷ་སྣ། བོད་ལྗོངས་མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་། སྤྱི་ལོ1987ལོར་དཔར་དུ་བསྒྲུན།

སྐྱ་རོ་ཕྱག་རྡུམ། ཁུ་ཚུར་འབྲུམ། ཥའབྲུམ་ཁུ་ཚུར་། ཁུ་ཚུར་འབྲུམ། བེའུ་བྲུམ་ནག་པོཀེ་ ནང་དུ་བསྡུས། པེ་ཅིན། མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་། སྤྱི་ལོ་2006ལོར་དཔར་དུ་བསྒྲུན།

ཚ་ལུང་པ་སྡོང་སྡོན་དགོན་མཆོག་སྐྱབས། རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་མཛོད་ཅེས་བྱ་བ། ཚ་ལུང་བསྡོང་གྱི་སྡོན་པ་དགོན་མཆོག་སྐྱབས་ཀྱི་མཛད་པ་བཤགས་སྒོ། ཥཀྱང་གོའི་བོད་ལུགས་གསོ་རིག་ཚེ་དཔེ་རྙིང་ཀུན་བཏུས།ལྷག་བཅས་དགུ་པའི་ནང་དུ་བསྡུས། ལྷ་སྣ། བོད་ལྗོངས་མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་། སྤྱི་ལོ 2013ལོར་དཔར་དུ་བསྒྲུན། 205-11

ཚ་རོང་དཔལ་ལྡན་རྒྱལ་མཚན་སོགས། གོང་སྨན་དགོན་མཆོག་འཕན་དང་གྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་སྙིང་གི་མྱན་སེལ། ཥདགོན་མཆོག་འཕན་དང་གྱི་རྣམ་ཐར། ཀོང་སྨལ་ཡོན་ཏན་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་རྣམ་ཐར།ནང་དུ་བསྡུས། པེ་ཅིན། མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་། སྤྱི་ལོ 2008ལོར་དཔར་དུ་བསྒྲུན། 1-34

ཞང་གཟི་བརྗིད་འབབ་སོགས། དྲེ་མེད་གཟི་བརྗིད་རྣ་ཀ་འགྲེལ།ཥགངས་ལྗོངས་སྨན་རྩིས་རིག་མཛོད་ཚེན་མོཀེ་གསོ་རིག་བོད་སོ་བཞི་པའི་ནང་དུ་བསྡུས། པེ་ཅིན། ཀྱང་གོའི་བོད་རིག་པ་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་། སྤྱི་ལོ 2016ལོར་དཔར་དུ་བསྒྲུན།

ཞང་གཟི་བརྗིད་འབབ། སྒོན་གསལ་གདམས་པ་སྡུམ་རྩ་པ་མ་བྱ།ཥགངས་ལྗོངས་སྨན་རྩིས་རིག་མཛོད་ཚེན་མོཀེ་གསོ་རིག་བོད་སོ་གསུམ་པའི་ནང་དུ་བསྡུས། པེ་ཅིན། ཀྱང་གོའི་བོད་རིག་པ་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་། སྤྱི་ལོ 2016ལོར་དཔར་དུ་བསྒྲུན།

ཞང་གཟི་བརྗིད་འབབ། གསོ་བ་རིག་པའི་བསྡུན་བཅོས་སྒྲིན་མ་གསལ་བ། ཥཀྱང་གོའི་བོད་ལུགས་གསོ་རིག་རྩ་ཚེའི་དཔེ་རྙིང་ཀུན་བཏུས།ལྷག་བཅས་དང་པོའི་ནང་དུ་བསྡུས། ལྷ་སྣ། བོད་ལྗོངས་མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་། སྤྱི་ལོ 2013ལོར་དཔར་དུ་བསྒྲུན། 60-164

ཞང་གཟི་བརྗིད་འབབ།[1] གསོ་དཔྱད་སྒྲིན་མ་གསལ་བ། ཥབསྡུན་བཅོས་ཆེན་པོ་ཡན་ལག་ཉི་ཤུ་པ་དང་གསོ་རིག་བསྡུན་བཅོས་སྒྲིན་མ་གསལ་བའི་གངམས་པ་སྡུམ་རྩ་པ།ི ནང་དུ་བསྡུས། པེ་ཅིན། མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་། སྤྱི་ལོ 2017ལོར་དཔར་དུ་བསྒྲུན། 228-58

ཞང་གཟི་བརྗིད་འབར།[2] གསོ་བ་རིག་པའི་བསྟན་བཅོས་སྒྲོན་མ་གསལ་བའི་གདམས་པ་སྡུམ་རྩུ་བ།ཤ་སྟག་ཆེན་པོ་ཡན་ལག་ཉི་ཤུ་པ་དང་གསོ་རིག་བསྟན་བཅོས་སྒྲོན་མ་གསལ་བའི་གདམས་པ་སྡུམ་རྩུ་བ།ེ ནང་དུ་བསྡུས། པེ་ཅིན། མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་། ཕྱི་ལོ 2017ལོར་དཔར་དུ་བསྐྲུན། 259-504

ཟུར་མཁར་བློ་གྲོས་རྒྱལ་པོ། སྨན་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་མི་ཤེས་སུ་མི་བྱང་བའི་ཤེས་ཕྱ་ཕྱིའི་ཚོགས་དབུལཁས། ཁྲེན་ཏུར། སི་ཁྲོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་། ཕྱི་ལོ2001ལོར་དཔར་དུ་བསྐྲུན།

གཡུ་ཐོག་མགོན་པོ། ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱད་པའི་གཞུང་ལས་བསྡུས་པ་ནོར་བུའི་འཕྲེང་བ། ཁྲེན་ཏུ། སི་ཁྲོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་། ཕྱི་ལོ2003ལོར་དཔར་དུ་བསྐྲུན།

གཡུ་ཐོག་གསར་མ་ཡོན་ཏན་མགོན་པོ། དུ་དོན་མ། པེ་ཅིན། མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་།ཕྱི་ལོ2005ལོར་དཔར་དུ་བསྐྲུན།

གཡུ་ཐོག་གསར་མ་ཡོན་ཏན་མགོན་པོ། གཡུ་ཐོག་སྐྱིང་ཐིག པེ་ཅིན། མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་ ཕྱི་ལོ་2007ལོར་དཔར་དུ་བསྐྲུན།

གཡུ་ཐོག་ཡོན་ཏན་མགོན་པོ། གཡུ་ཐོག་སྒྲུབ་ཡིག་ཚོགས་བསྒྲིགས། པེ་ཅིན། མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་ ཕྱི་ལོ་2010ལོར་དཔར་དུ་བསྐྲུན།

གཡུ་ཐོག་ཡོན་ཏན་མགོན་པོ། རྒྱུད་ཆུང་བདུད་རྩི་སྙིང་པོ། ཥཚ་ལག་བཅོ་བརྒྱད།ེ ནང་དུ་བསྡུས། པེ་ཅིན། མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་། ཕྱི་ལོ 2013ལོར་དཔར་དུ་བསྐྲུན། ཤོག534-744

ཁ་ཆུའི་མིང་ཅན། གསོ་བ་རིག་པའི་ཁོག་ཕྲུབས་ལེགས་བསྡུས་ཞིག་དང་རྩ་བ་ཕྲུགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་འཁྲིལ་པ་འབྲུ་སྡོན་ཤིན་ཏུ་ལེགས་པ། རྗེ་ཕེ། བཀྲ་ཤིས་སྤྲང་བཀྲ་ཤིས་གཡང་འཛེལ། ཕྱི་ལོ 2005 ལོར་དཔར།

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Tibetan Expertise in Sanskrit Grammar (4): *Kātantra* Commentaries by Zha lu Chos skyong bzang po (1441-1527) and Karmapa 8 Mi bskyod rdo rje (1507-1554).[1]

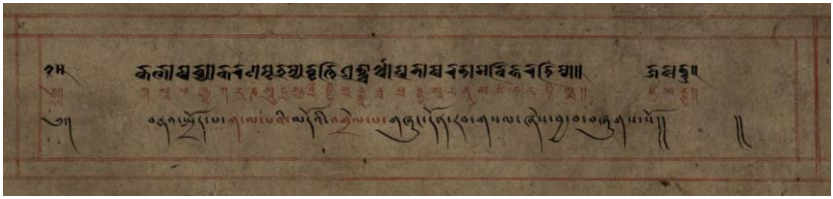
Peter C. Verhagen
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1. The *Ka lā pa'i gzhung don rab gsal* by Zha lu lo tsā ba Chos skyong bzang po (1441-1527).

Among the numerous contributions to the field of Indo-Tibetan linguistics by the renowned translator and philologist Zha lu lo tsā ba Chos skyong bzang po, also known by the Sanskrit version of his name Dharmapālabhadra (1441-1527), quite a few were addressing Sanskrit grammar.[2] In this field four translations by his hand were included in the *Bstan 'gyur* canon,[3] and he authored an even greater number of treatises on *vyākaraṇa*, not all of which appear to have been preserved. One of his own writings on this topic will be the first focal point of our attention here.

[1] This article is in fact an excerpt –a taster if you will— from my forthcoming monograph entitled *What's In a Word. Indo-Tibetan Reflections on Language*. This exposé formed part of my presentation at the 'Sanskrit in China International Conference 2019: Sanskrit on Paths', Sichuan University, Chengdu in April 2019.
[2] HSGLT 1: 110-114; 125-128; 146-151; HSGLT 2: 102-103; 142-144.
[3] HSGLT 1: CG 26, 27, 41, 42.

He wrote a lengthy treatise entitled *Brda' sprod pa ka la pa'i mdo'i grel pa gzhung don rab gsal zhes bya ba*, 'Commentary on the *sūtra*s of *Kalāpa* [i.e. *Kātantra*] grammar, entitled "Highest Clarification of the Meaning of the Basic Text".'[4]
This commentary has been preserved in an elegantly executed *dbu med* manuscript, totaling 106 folios.[5] The scribe's colophon, at the very end of the manuscript identifies the scribe as a '*Śākyabhikṣu*, expert of linguistics and epistemology, Mkhas btsun dbang po'.[6] I have not been able to establish the identity or date of this Mkhas btsun dbang po.



Caption to illustration 1: Zha lu lo tsā ba's Brda' sprod pa ka la pa'i mdo'i grel pa gzhung don rab gsal zhes bya ba, title page (1r), Tibetan manuscript, unknown date; BDRC: W3CN2902.

This commentary by Zha lu lo tsā ba has also come down to us in its sub-commentary by Karma pa 8 Mi bskyod rdo rje (1507-1554) (see below).
The author's colophon dates the text to 1495 (*shing mo yos*)[7] and specifies that the work was completed in E waṃ Chos 'khor,[8] that is,

[4] The (re)constructed Sanskrit version of the title: *Kalāpa-vyākaraṇa-sūtrasya vṛtti granthārtha-prabhāsvara-nāma* (BDRC: W3CN2902: 1r1-2).
[5] BDRC: W3CN2902.
[6] BDRC: W3CN2902 106r4: *ces bya ba 'di ni yi ge pa'i tshigs su bcad pa ste / shākya'i dge slong sgra tshad pa mkhas btsun dbang pos / 'dren pa'i sa de nyid kyi phyag bris 'byar zhing 'chad nyan kyang mang du gnang ba'i glegs baṃ las dag par bris pa 'di yang / 'gro ba mtha' dag rang rang gi skad las dpal de kho na nyid kyi ston rtogs pa'i rgyur gyur cig.*
[7] BDRC: W3CN2902 106r1: *me mkha' rgya mtsho la 'das lo drug cu pa phrag bdun dang ma longs pa nyag zhe brgyad bsre ba shing mo yos kyi lo'i snron gyi zla ba'i dkar phyogs kyi tshes bcu'i nyin.*
[8] BDRC: W3CN2902 106r1: *dben gnas daṃ pa dpal e waṃ chos 'khor du grub par bgyis pa.*

almost certainly, the E waṃ Chos sde of Ngor monastery,[9] and was composed at the behest of the local king Kun dga' bsod nams rin chen.[10]



Caption to illustration 2: Zha lu lo tsā ba's Brda' sprod pa ka la pa'i mdo'i grel pa gzhung don rab gsal zhes bya ba, folio 105r, Tibetan manuscript, unknown date; BDRC: W3CN2902.



Caption to illustration 3: Zha lu lo tsā ba's Brda' sprod pa ka la pa'i mdo'i grel pa gzhung don rab gsal zhes bya ba, folio 105v, Tibetan manuscript, unknown date;BDRC: W3CN2902.



Caption to illustration 4: Zha lu lo tsā ba's Brda' sprod pa ka la pa'i mdo'i grel pa gzhung don rab gsal zhes bya ba, folio 106r, Tibetan manuscript, unknown date;BDRC: W3CN2902.

The full text of the author's colophon (105v4-106r1):
legs par sbyar ba skad kyis brda sprod pa'i bstan bcos ka lā pa'i mdo rgya gar gyi skad dang bod skad sbyar ba 'bru 'joms kyi tshig gsal ba dper brjod dang bcas pa gsal zhing nyung bar sbyar ba 'di / bde bar gshegs pa'i gsung rab la rnam par dkar ba'i mkhyen spyan mchog tu yongs pa'i sa skyong kun dga' bsod naṃs rin chen dbang gi

[9] HSGLT 1: 104, 159-160.
[10] BDRC: W3CN2902 105v5: *bde bar gshegs pa'i gsung rab la rnam par dkar ba'i mkhyen spyan mchog tu yongs pa'i sa skyong kun dga' bsod naṃs rin chen dbang gi rgyal po pa'i bkas bskul*. Kun dga' bsod nams rin chen is also mentioned as the patron of Zha lu lo tsā ba's 1491 translation of the *Cāndra uṆādi-sūtra* (CG 27) preserved in *Bstan 'gyur*; HSGLT 1: 113-114; 151; 279-280.

rgyal po pa'i bkas bskul nas / legs par sbyar ba'i skad kyi brda sprod pa'i gtsug [supralinear addition: *lag*] *phyogs tsam rig pa'i zha lu lo tsa ba dge slong dharma pā la bha dra zhes bya bas / me mkha' rgya mtsho la 'das lo drug cu pa phrag bdun dang ma longs pa nyag zhe brgyad bsre ba shing mo yos kyi lo'i snron gyi zla ba'i dkar phyogs kyi tshes bcu'i nyin dben gnas daṃ pa dpal e waṃ chos 'khor du grub par bgyis pa'o*.

It is primarily a commentary on the *Kātantra sūtra* text as transmitted in the Tibetan *Bstan 'gyur* version[11] by Dpang lo tsā ba Blo gros brtan pa (1276-1342),[12] here designated as 'the third Blo gros brtan pa' in the verse colophon of his translation,[13] and identified as Dpang lo tsā ba by our author in his gloss to that verse.[14]

The text is particularly interesting as it is bilingual in so far as it includes also the Sanskrit of the *sūtra* text throughout. The *Bstan 'gyur* version by Dpang lo tsā ba offers only the translation. Zha lu lo tsā ba's insertion of the Sanskrit text shows he had access to (one or more) Sanskrit manuscript(s), perhaps the same as used by Dpang Blo gros brtan pa for his translation. He may have worked with, for example, the manuscript of Durgasiṃha's commentary kept in Ngor monastery[15] or the three manuscripts of Trilocanadāsa's subcommentary kept in Sa skya monastery,[16] which were documented by Sāṅkṛtyāyana in the 1930s.

In this manuscript the scribe followed the convention of writing the words of the text commented on in red. Indeed all passages from the Tibetan translation of the basic *sūtra* text are written in red ink.[17] It is worth noting that he did not also write the Sanskrit original of the *sūtra*s, which is given in every instance, in red. Throughout the

[11] HSGLT 1: CG 10.

[12] HSGLT 1: 88-92.

[13] BDRC: W3CN2902 105v4: *tshul 'di dpal ldan sa skya ru / blo gros brtan pa gsum pa yis / durga singha'i 'grel pa la / brten nas sgra don ji bzhin bsgyur*; HSGLT 1: 247 colophon B.

[14] 1 BDRC: W3CN2902 05v4: *zhes pa dpang lo tsa ba blo gros brtan pa'i zhal snga nas kyis 'gyur mdzad pa'i tshigs bcad do*.

[15] HSGLT 1: 67, n. 96.

[16] HSGLT 1: 67, n. 98.

[17] Note that supralinear graphs (primarily the three supralinear vowel graphs but also the *anusvāra* graph) are written in black.

manuscript we encounter interlinear glosses and emendations to the body of the text written in minuscule.
The basic division of the commentary is fourfold, following the structure of the *sūtra* text:
1. Chapter on *saṃdhi*, consisting of 5 *pāda*s (2r3-9r1)
2. Chapter on nominal declension, consisting of 6 *pāda*s (9r1-39v2)
3. Chapter on verbal conjugation, consisting of 8 *pāda*s (39v2-75r5)
4. Chapter on primary nominal derivation, consisting of 6 *pāda*s (75r5-105v2)



Caption to illustration 5: Zha lu lo tsā ba's Brda' sprod pa ka la pa'i mdo'i grel pa gzhung don rab gsal zhes bya ba, folio 1v, Tibetan manuscript, unknown date; BDRC: W3CN2902.



Caption to illustration 6: Zha lu lo tsā ba's Brda' sprod pa ka la pa'i mdo'i grel pa gzhung don rab gsal zhes bya ba, folio 2r, Tibetan manuscript, unknown date; BDRC: W3CN2902.



Caption to illustration 7: Zha lu lo tsā ba's Brda' sprod pa ka la pa'i mdo'i grel pa gzhung don rab gsal zhes bya ba, folio 2v, Tibetan manuscript, unknown date; BDRC: W3CN2902.

The *incipit* of the manuscript:[18]
[1v1:] *swasti pra dzā bhyaḥ*
bla ma dang 'jam pa'i dbyangs la gus pas phyag 'tshal lo /

[18] BDRC W3CN2902; Red lettering indicates syllables written in red in the manuscript.

rgyal ba kun dngos 'dren pa mkhyen brtse'i gter / dpal ldan indra nī la'i sa 'dzin dbang / gser bzang 'khri shing gzhon nus khyab 'dra ba / khyab [1v2:] *bdag bla mas rtag tu dge legs stsol /*
gang zhig shes na mkhas pa'i gnas thob cing / mthar thug kun mkhyen go 'phang bde blag bgrod / gzhung lugs kun la thogs med 'jug pa'i sgo / brda sprod rig gnas bstan bcos rnam dbye bgyi / [1v3:] *de yang 'dir legs par sbyar ba'i skad kyis brda' sprod pa'i bstan bcos ka lā pa'i gzhung gi don la 'jug par bya ste /*
rgya gar skad du / ka lā pa sū tra / zhes pa ni bod skad du / ka lā pa'i mdo / zhes pa'o /
bstan bcos rtsom pa dang bsgyur ba dang yi [2r1:] *ger 'god pa'i sngon du 'dod pa'i lha la phyag 'tshal ba ni / gnyis su med par gsung ba sangs rgyas la phyag 'tshal lo / zhes pa ste / de dag ni bstan bcos bsgyur ba sogs kyis bkod pa'o /*
gzhung dngos la / rnam 'gyur gtso bor ston [2r2:] *pa mtshams sbyor / ming las tshig tu sgrub pa ming le / byings las tshig tu bsgrub pa kun bshad / byings ming du bsgrub pa kṛt kyi le'u ste bzhi las /*
dang po la yang ming dang brda bshad pa / dbyangs kyi mtshams sbyor / gsal byed kyi mtshams sbyor gsum [2r3:] *las*
dang po ni // siddho warṇa [supralinear addition: *sa*] *mamnā yaḥ* [= *Kātantra* 1.1.1] *'jig rten na grags shing grub pa'i yi ge ā li ka li rnams rang bzhin dang rkyen dang rnam 'gyur la sogs pas legs par 'dus byas te rtogs dka' ba'i don bde blag tu rtogs par byed pa'i yang dag pa'i man ngag bshad par bya'o /* (…).

2. The *Ka lā pa'i spyi don gsal ba'i snying po* by Zha lu lo tsā ba Chos skyong bzang po (1441-1527).

The *Gzhung don rab gsal* is not the only treatise that Zha lu lo tsā ba wrote on *Kātantra vyākaraṇa*. Some twenty-five years later he authored the *Legs par sbyar ba'i skad kyi brda sprod pa'i bstan bcos ka lā pa'i spyi don brda sprod gsal ba'i snying po*, briefly referred to as (*Ka lā pa'i*) *Spyi don gsal ba'i snying po*, 'Heart [i.e. essence] of the clarification of the general meaning [or contents] of *Kalāpa* [i.e. *Kātantra* grammar]'.[19] This is dated to the 'iron-male-dragon year' i.e. 1520[20] and was written in the 'Gtsug [lag] khang called Grwa thang', that is the *Sa skya pa* monastery of Gr(w)a thang.[21]

It has been preserved in a 25 folio blockprint[22] and a 32 folio *dbu med* manuscript, the latter unfortunately not accessible.[23] The xylograph print of the *Spyi don gsal ba'i snying po* was struck from blocks carved at Lhun po sgang,[24] of unknown date, now kept at Jo nang monastery (Rtag brtan phun tshogs gling).[25] Yar stod Rab brtan Lhun po sgang was also the printing house responsible for blocks of Zha lu lo tsā ba's well-known *Za ma tog bkod pa* dictionary[26] and it

[19] HSGLT 2: 143-144 (1.3.2.3); correct my tentative identification of the two there.

[20] 25r1: *rnam gnon zhes bya ba lcags pho 'brug gi lo dbyar zla ra ba'i nyi shu bdun gyi nyin.*

[21] 25r1: *grwa thang zhes bya ba'i gtsug khang*; HSGLT 1: 162.

[22] Full title: *Legs par sbyar ba'i skad kyis* [emend: *kyi*] *brda sprod pa'i bstan bcos ka lā pa'i spyi don brda sprod gsal ba'i snying po*: ff. 1-25r7 (folio 23 is missing) = BDRC W1KG9085 p. 3-51.

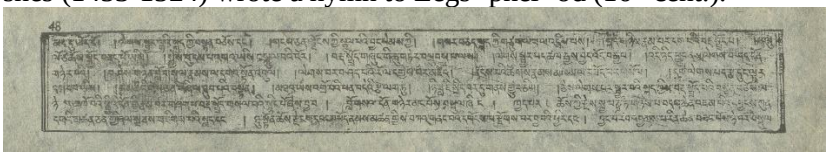
[23] HSGLT 2: 143 note 570.

[24] BDRC W1KG9085 25r2: *lhun po sgang du par du legs par bsgrubs*.

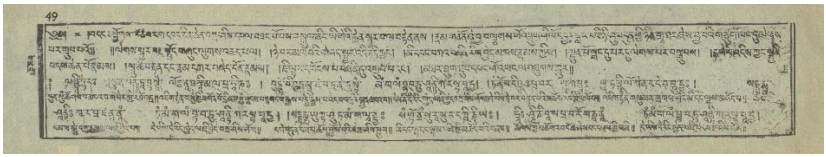
[25] Of the two texts brought together in BDRC W1KG9085 (catalogued in BDRC as *Ka lā pa'i spyi don brda spyod* [= *sprod*] *gsal ba'i snying po dang byings kyi tshogs*) the latter, the *Lung ston pa ka lā pa'i byings kyi tshogs* (ff. 1-20r3 = BDRC W1KG9085 p. 53-91; HSGLT 1: CG 22 (cf. also CG 21), a *Dhātupāṭha* translation by Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290-1364), specifies in the colophon that the blocks were carved at Dga' ldan phun tshogs gling (f. 20r3).

[26] BDRC W25159: 49-102: colophon: *yar stod rab brtan lhun po sgang du par du bzhengs pa'i tshe / chos la 'jug pa'i skad gnyis shan sbyor ba dang mchan bu 'debs pa'ang gyis shig ces bkas bskul te / skad dod dang brda gsar rnying sbyor 'os sogs kyi mchan bu 'ga' zhig 'debs pa dang / sngar gyi rtsom pa la snon 'brid dang bsgyur ba ci rigs pa'ang zha lu lo tsā ba rang nyid kyis / mi zad pa'i (me pho khyi ste rang lo brgyad cu rtsa drug pa'i) lo la bsam grub sde chen du bgyis pa ni dga' ldan phun tshogs gling du par du bsgrubs pa'o*.

was the place where the fourth Zhwa dmar Karmapa Chos grags ye shes (1453-1524) wrote a hymn to Legs 'phel 'od (16th cent.).[27]



Caption to illustration 8: Zha lu lo tsā ba's Ka lā pa'i spyi don gsal ba'i snying po, folio 24v, Tibetan blockprint, unknown date; BDRC: W1KG9085.



Caption to illustration 9: Zha lu lo tsā ba's Ka lā pa'i spyi don gsal ba'i snying po, folio 25r, Tibetan blockprint, unknown date; BDRC: W1KG9085.

The full author's colophon (24v4-25r2): *ces legs par sbyar ba'i skad kyis* [sic] *brda sprod pa'i bstan bcos la nye bar mkho ba'i spyi'i don gyi rnam par gzhag pa brda sprod gsal ba'i snying po zhes bya ba / blo gsal don gnyer mang pos bskul zhing / khyad par / chos kyi rje sa skya paṇḍi ta gnyis pa bdag chen 'jam pa'i dbyangs kun dga'i mtshan can gyi zhal sna nas gzigs pa'i slad dang / thu ston chos rje ngag dbang bsod nams mtshan gyis bka' gnang ba'i dgongs pa rdzogs par bya ba'i phyir dang / byang pa rab 'byams pa rin chen bzang pos nye bar bskul ba dang / skyogs lo tsa ba ngag dbang rin chen bkra shis dpal bzang po pas bskul zhing yi ge'i rkyen sbyar ba la brten nas / rnam gnon zhes bya ba lcags pho 'brug gi lo dbyar zla ra ba'i nyi shu bdun gyi nyin grwa thang zhes bya ba'i gtsug khang du legs par grub pa'o /.*

[27] BDRC W1KG4876_4: 243: colophon: *lha lde gtsug brtan rnam rgyal grags pa dbang gi rgyal pos / dpa' ldan bla ma dam pa legs 'phel 'od kyi bstod pa brtan bzhugs 'dod don gyi smon lam dang bcas pa dgos shes bskul ba'i ngor / shākya'i dge slong zhwa dmar cod pan 'dzin pa bzhi pas / shing pho spre'u lo zla ba bzhi pa'i tshes bco lnga la yar stod lhun po sgang du sbyar ba'o*. For Legs 'phel od, see BDRC P1D120172.

Its title (*snying po*, 'heart' i.e. the most condensed form, the essence) as well as the dates and comparative size of the two works suggest this may be an epitome of the same author's *Ka lā pa'i gzhung don rab gsal*. This would stand to reason as the *Gzhung don rab gsal* commentary is indeed a lengthy and highly technical treatise on an extremely abstruse topic; we can readily picture that in the period of twenty-five years between their dates of composition quite a few readers have requested Zha lu lo tsā ba to give a summary thereof. Indeed the colophon refers to numerous requests (*blo gsal don gnyer mang pos bskul*, 24v5) to the author to write this work and he specifies explicit and personal requests to this effect by four masters: 'the second Sa skya paṇḍi ta' 'Jam pa'i dbyangs kun dga',[28] Thu (?) ston Ngag dbang bsod nams,[29] Byang pa rab 'byams pa Rin chen bzang po,[30] and, not surprisingly, Skyogs ston Ngag dbang rin chen bkra shis (ca. 1495-after 1577),[31] the latter a personal disciple of the author and a renowned Sanskritist in his own right (24v5-25r1). I have, however, not found any passage where the text explicitly identifies itself as a summary or epitome of the *Gzhung don rab gsal*.
In fact, the *Spyi don gsal ba'i snying po* does not qualify as a commentary specifically on the *Kātantra* system or its *sūtra* text at all, but rather as a compendium offering a survey of major themes and topics in Sanskrit grammar (not only in *Kātantra*!).
It structures its discourse on two sets of three basic linguistic concepts, specifically the 'common' (*thun mong*) Buddhist triad of :[32]
1. 'letter/phoneme' (*yi ge*; Sanskrit **varṇa*),
2. 'word', (*ming*; Sanskrit **nāman*), and
3. 'phrase', (*tshig*; Sanskrit **pada*)

and the 'particular' (*thun mong ma yin*) grammarians' triad of:[33]
1. 'basic form' (*rang bzhin*, Sanskrit **prakṛti*),
2. 'suffix' (*rkyen*, Sanskrit **pratyaya*), and

[28] Unidentified.
[29] Unidentified.
[30] Perhaps the 16th-century second Drung pa reincarnation of that name belonging to the *Jo nang pa* tradition; BDRC: P8923.
[31] HSGLT 1: 151-152; HSGLT 2: 102-104, 408-409; BDRC: P1440.
[32] BDRC W1KG9085 4r4-16v6.
[33] BDRC W1KG9085 16v6-24v1.

3. 'formation' (*rnam 'gyur*, Sanskrit **vikāra*).

It refers *passim* not only to (and often quotes from) a wide spectrum of treatises within the two major Buddhist schools of Sanskrit grammar, *Kātantra* and *Cāndra*, but also to other quite diverse Indian and Tibetan sources that speak of language in general and the Sanskrit language in particular, ranging from *Abhidharma* to Tantric treatises. Its broad scope is perhaps most clearly shown by its inclusion of issues from indigenous Tibetan grammar (*Sum rtags*) as well: e.g. the phonology of Tibetan is discussed (8r5-9r2), quoting from the two seminal treatises *Sum cu pa* (8r5; 8v5) and *Rtags kyi 'jug pa* (8v1-2; 8v4), as well as from less mainstream works such as Sa skya Paṇḍita's *Mkhas pa'i kha rgyan* (9r1).[34]

The *Ka lā pa'i spyi don gsal ba'i snying po* is therefore, notwithstanding its title, not as much a commentary on *Kātantra*, as rather an epitome of Indo-Tibetan theories on language and systems of linguistic description. One may even speculate that the labeling as a *Kātantra* text does not go back to the author but is actually a later (erroneous?) editorial addition, seeing that the longest version of the title, as given in the author's colophon, slightly variant from the one given on the title page, does not contain the terms *Kalāpa* or *Kātantra* at all.[35]

In the introductory section it recounts the –largely mythical, ahistorical-- narratives on the prehistory and inception of the traditions of indigenous Sanskrit grammar in India which were commonly transmitted in Tibetan historiography. Zha lu lo tsā ba probably based this section on the related accounts in the *Chos 'byung* of Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290-1364) and in the *Kātantra* commentary *Legs sbyar rab gsal snang ba* by Sa bzang Mati Paṇ chen (1292-1376).[36]

Arriving on more solid historical ground, the author offers an informative listing of Tibetan translators and their translations of *Kātantra* treatises (3r2-3r5):

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[34] See chapter 3.2.4 in my forthcoming monograph.

[35] BDRC W1KG9085 24v4: *legs par sbyar ba'i skad kyis brda sprod pa'i bstan bcos la nye bar mkho ba'i spyi'i don gyi rnam par gzhag pa brda sprod gsal ba'i snying po zhes bya ba.*

[36] HSGLT 1: 166-202; HSGLT 2: 91-98.

1. Byang chub rtse mo and 'his pupil' Nam mkha' bzang po: translation of *Śiṣyahitā* commentary.[37]
2. Dpang lo Blo gros brtan pa: translation of twelve chapters of Durgasiṃha's *Vṛtti* commentary.[38]
3. Bu ston Rin chen grub: complete translation of Durgasiṃha's *Vṛtti* commentary.[39]
4. Bo dong pa Shes rab dpal: translation of the *Rācchātra* (?) commentary. [40]
5. Bo dong pa (= Shong ston) Rdo rje rgyal mtshan: translation of Durgasiṃha's commentary on *uṆādi-sūtra*.[41]
6. Bo dong pa (= Shong ston) Rdo rje rgyal mtshan: translation of Sarvadhara's *Ty-ādy-anta-prakriyā-vicaritā*.[42]
7. Dpang lo Blo gros brtan pa: translation of Mañjuśrīkīrti's *SY-ādy-anta-prakriyā*.[43]
8. Bu ston Rin chen grub: translation of Trilocanadāsa's *Pañjikā* subcommentary on Durgasiṃha's *Vṛtti*.[44]

The author also lists major Indic treatises on *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa*, without, however, referring to any Tibetan translations (4r1-4). For Dharmadāsa's *Cāndra-vṛtti* we have only a partial translation by Dpang Blo gros brtan pa (1276-1342).[45] The last two works seem, as far as I can tell, never to have been translated into Tibetan.

1. Candragomin's main grammatical works: the *Cāndra* (*Vyākaraṇa*) *sūtra*s, [46] the *Varṇa-sūtra*s, [47] the *UṆādi*(*-vṛtti*), [48] the *Viṃśaty-upasarga-vṛtti*[49] and the *TiṄ-anta*[50] (4r1).

[37] HSGLT 1: CG 14.
[38] HSGLT 1: CG 11A.
[39] This translation appears not to have been preserved: HSGLT 1: CG 13; 95, n. 235.
[40] *rātstshā tra'i 'grel pa*; this work has defied identification and its translation appears not to have been preserved.
[41] HSGLT 1: CG 34.
[42] HSGLT 1: CG 23.
[43] HSGLT 1: CG 15.
[44] This translation too appears not to have been preserved; HSGLT 1: 95, n. 237-238.
[45] BDRC W2PD17532 vol. 3 section 1 p. 3-291 = f. 1r-146r5.
[46] HSGLT 1: CG 1.
[47] HSGLT 1: CG 3-4.
[48] HSGLT 1: CG 27; CG 35-36.
[49] HSGLT 1: CG 2.
[50] HSGLT 1: CG 8.

2. Siṃhabhadra's commentary on case formation: *Vibhakti-kārikā*[51] (4r2).
3. Sūryagarbha's *Saṃbandha-siddhy-abhidhāna*[52] (4r2).
4. Subhūticandra's *Kāmadhenu Amarakośa* commentary[53] (4r2).
5. Dharmadāsa's *Cāndra-vṛtti*[54] (4r2-3).
6. Ratnamati's subcommentary[55] (4r3).
7. Pūrṇacandra's subcommentary[56] (4r3-4).

A brief overview of selected passages of specific interest from *Ka lā pa'i spyi don gsal ba'i snying po*:

(a) In its elaborate exposé on phonological subdivisions (*yi ge'i dbye bsdu*; 6r3-10r2), in addition to discussing the *Kātantra* and *Cāndra* models (6r3-7v4), the author also summarizes the views on these matters in four other contexts, namely (1) *Tantra* (7v5-6), (2) Smṛtijñānakīrti's *Smra sgo*[57] (7v6-8r2) , (3) Sanskrit metrics (8r2-5), and (4) Tibetan indigenous grammar (*Sum rtags*) (8r5-9r2).

(b) It offers an exposé on the morphophononemic categorization and manipulation in *mantra*s, *bīja*s, and symbols in the *Kālacakra Tantra* tradition (9r2-10r2).

This section contains *inter alia* a fascinating excursus on the grammatical formation of the term / symbol *evaṃ* (9v1-9v5).[58]

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[51] HSGLT 1: CG 6.
[52] HSGLT 1: CG 25 (cf. also CG 18 and CG 39).
[53] HSGLT 1: 148, n. 189.
[54] HSGLT 1: 54, 174, 186, 191.
[55] HSGLT 1: 55, n. 39; 77 n. 142; 174; 191.
[56] HSGLT 1: 55 n. 40; 77 n. 143; 174; 191.
[57] HSGLT 2: 37-53.
[58] BDRC W1KG9085: 9v1-5: *de thams cad bsdu na e waṃ du 'dus te / dus 'khor rtsa rgyud las / thig le zla ba khu ba sku / / rnam par gcad bya rdul nyi gsung / / a yig mun can thugs rab brjod / / mkha' khams e la rnam par gnas / / ces gsungs pa ltar / thig le phyi rol tu zla ba dang / nub tu khu ba dang / gzhan du sku mtshon pa yin no / / rnam gcad nyi ma dang / rdul gsung / a ni sgra can dang bar do'i shes pa dang thugs so / / de la sgrub tshul ni / a yig dag gi bar du u'o / / u'i yi ge wa'o / / gsal byed dbyangs med pha rol gyi yi ger drang ngo / 'jig rten pa'i nye bar spyod pa las thig le nga ror song / brten pa'i ched du / gzhi la bdun pa'i sa / ngi byin / ngi smin 'os khyad don phyis / srog gi a yig bzhag / a'i yi ge i'i yi ge la e'o / / pha rol phyis / e waṃ / / u'i yi ge la o'o mi zer ba ci zhe na / a ni don dam pa'i bden pa mtshon pas na 'gyur ba med de / dus 'khor 'grel chen las / don dam pa'i bden pa las yon tan med do / / zhes gsungs pa'i phyir ro /*

It envisages the formation of *evaṃ* as starting from the basic sequence *a* + *u* + *a*:

a + *u* + *a*
a + *v* + *a*
a + *v* + *a* + *ṃ*
[*a* + locative] + *v* + *a* + *ṃ*
[*a* + *Ṅi*] + *v* + *a* + *ṃ*
e + *v* + *a* + *ṃ*

An important parallel (and perhaps antecedent?) to this type of discussion of *evaṃ* can be found in the *Kālacakra Bshad thab*s entitled *Sgra rig mkhas pa'i rgyan* by Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290-1364). [59] Bu ston describes the *prakriyā*, i.e. the procedure of derivation of the term *evaṃ* from a hypothetical basic form **asaṃ*, in accordance with rules from *Cāndra* grammar.[60]

a	*s*	*a*	*ṃ*		
Cāndra	6.3.98	*a*	*rU*	*a*	*ṃ*
Cāndra	5.1.119	*a*	*u*	*a*	*ṃ*
Cāndra	5.1.74	*a*	*v*	*a*	*ṃ*
Cāndra	2.1.1	*a-Ṅi*	*v*	*a*	*ṃ*
Cāndra	5.1.82	*e*	*v*	*a*	*ṃ*
			evaṃ		

No such derivation of *evaṃ*, or anything remotely like it, is attested in *Cāndra Vyākaraṇa* or elsewhere in Indic indigenous grammar since *evaṃ* is traditionally introduced as such in the *cādi gaṇa* of indeclinable particles. This type of derivation could therefore justly be termed 'para-grammatical' or perhaps (somewhat more judgmentally?) 'pseudo-grammatical'.
Both Bu ston and Zha lu incorporate the notion of *va*(*ṃ*) being located <u>in</u> *e*, which is found in Tantristic exegesis on this term

[59] HSGLT 1: 96; HSGLT 2: 79-81.
[60] See chapter 1.10 in my forthcoming monograph.

evaṃ,[61] and give it a grammatical basis, so to speak, by introducing the locative case (*Cāndra* 2.1.1) when they interpret the initial syllable *e* as a locative singular of the single vowel *a*.

At one point in the derivation procedure the sequence *a* + *u* would suggest as the next step substitution by the *guṇa* vowel *o*. Bu ston as well as Zha lu reject this possibility, quoting as their authority the *Vimalaprabhā*, the prime commentary on *Kālacakra Tantra*: 'In the Absolute no qualities (Skt. *guṇa*) exist', which they apparently take to mean that no grammatical *guṇa* substitution can take place there either.[62]

This specific highlighting of the *Kālacakra Tantra* system resonates with the opening formula of the text, an homage to the Buddha Kālacakra: *namaḥ śrīkālacakrāya* (1v1) which is uncommon in the Indo-Tibetan grammatical literature where usually such homages are addressed to deities more evidently associated with language and linguistics such as Mañjuśrī or Sarasvatī. Elsewhere I have signaled the common factor of involvement in the *Kālacakra* transmissions among Tibetan experts in the field of Sanskrit grammar in this period.[63]

(c) An exposé on Sanskrit nominal compounds (13r6-14v1)

(d) An exposé on Sanskrit metrics (14v1-16v6).[64]

(e) The author repeatedly refers (e.g. 4v5, 17r1, 19r4) **t**o two influential works, both epitomes of linguistics authored by Dpang Blo gros brtan pa (1276-1342), namely the *Brda sprod pa'i gzhung gi snying po gsal ba*[65] and the *Tshogs gsum gsal ba*.[66]

The *incipit* of the blockprint:[67]

[1v1:] // *na maḥ shrī kā la tsa krā ya /*

[61] Kölver (1992) is a thought-provoking article on the graphical representation of *eva ṃ*; see also Martin (2007: 217, n. 39).

[62] Bu ston 2r3-4 and Zha lu: 9v5: *don dam pa'i bden pa las yon tan med do*; see chapter 1.10 in my forthcoming monograph.

[63] HSGLT 1: 212-213.

[64] With subsections on *lus* (14v2-16r5); *rgyan* (16r5-16v4); and *skyon sel ba* (16v4-16v6?).

[65] HSGLT 2: 70-75; 375-385.

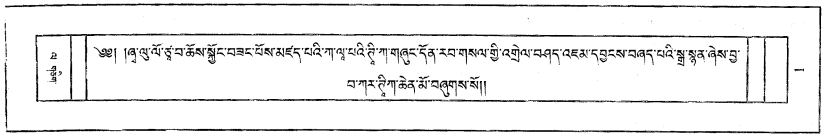
[66] HSGLT 2: 75-79.

[67] BDRC W1KG9085 1v1-1v5.

/ gang gi sku ni kha dog bral yang gdul bya'i don du sna tshogs kha dog rnam par bkra /
/ gang gi gsung ni brjod dang bral yang 'gro ba'i snying la rang rang skad bzhin rnam par 'jug [?] /
[1v2:] */ gang gi thugs ni rnaṃ rtog bral yang rnam mang gdul bya'i bsam pa so sor kun nas mkhyen /*
/ thams cad mkhyen pa 'gro ba'i bla ma mnyam med de la lus ngag yid gsum dang bas 'dud /
/ kun mkhyen go 'phang 'dod pa'i blo [?] [1v3:] *ldan gyis /*
/ rig pa'i gnas lnga dag la brtson bya zhes /
/ rgyal dang rgyal sras rnams kyi gzhung las 'byung /
/ de slad brda sprod rgya mtshor 'jug pa brtsam /
/ legs par sbyar ba'i skad kyis brda sprod [1v4:] *pa'i bstan bcos ka lā pa'i spyi don la / sgra'i lo rgyus dang / spyi don dngos gnyis / dang po la sgra spyi'i lo rgyus dang / ka tsan gyi lo rgyus gnyis las dang po ni /*
thog mar sum cu rtsa gsum du sarba dznya zhes [1v5:] *pa'i sgra mkhan cig byung / des lha'i dbang po brgya byin la bslabs / des drang srong phur bu la bslabs te / lha rnams la sgra ston pa'i slob dpon du bskos so /* (…).

3. The *'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i sgra snyan* by Karmapa 8 Mi bskyod rdo rje (1507-1554).

In the final, twenty-sixth volume of the Lhasa xylograph edition of the collected works of the illustrious eighth in the lineage of the *Zhwa nag Karma pa* hierarchs, Mi bskyod rdo rje (1507-1554), we find a voluminous treatise on Sanskrit grammar.[68] In fact, its 248 folios occupy this entire volume of his *Gsung 'bum.*



Caption to illustration 10: Mi bskyod rdo rje's Kātantra commentary, folio 1r, Tibetan blockprint, unknown date; BDRC: W8039_26.

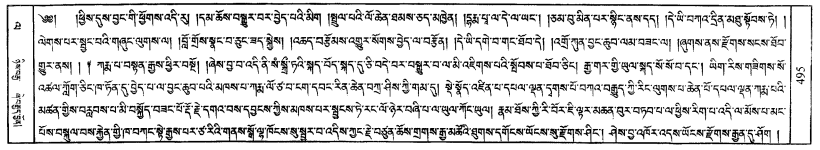
Its title is: 'the 'Kar[ma pa's] Great Ṭīkā [commentary]' (*kar ṭīka chen mo*) entitled the 'Pleasant Voice of the Smiling Mañjughoṣa' (*'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i sgra snyan*), being a sub-commentary (*'grel bshad*) on the commentary on *Kalāpa* [i.e. *Kātantra*] (*ka lā pa'i ṭī ka*) entitled *Gzhung don rab gsal* written by Zhwa lu lo tsā ba Chos skyong bzang po'.[69]

As the title indicates it is indeed a sub-commentary on the *Gzhung don rab gsal* commentary on *Kātantra* by Zha lu lo tsā ba Chos skyong bzang po (1441-1528), which I have described above. It incorporates therefore the canonical translation of the *Kātantra sūtra* text by Dpang lo tsā ba Blo gros brtan pa (1276-1342) which was already part of Zha lu lo tsā ba's commentary.

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[68] BDRC W8039_26.

[69] *zhwa lu lo tsā ba chos skyong bzang pos mdzad pa'i ka lā pa'i ṭī ka gzhung don rab gsal gyi 'grel bshad 'jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i sgra snyan zhes bya ba kar ṭīka chen mo,* BDRC W8039_26 1r1-2; the concluding phrase of the xylograph: *ka lā pa'i gzhung don rab gsal gyi 'grel bshad 'jam dbyangs bzhad sgra snyan zhes bya ba kar ṭīk. chen mo rdzogs so,* BDRC W8039_26 14bv1.



Caption to illustration 11: Mi bskyod rdo rje's Kātantra commentary, folio 248r, Tibetan blockprint, unknown date; BDRC: W8039_26.

In the colophon Mi bskyod rdo rje states that he wrote this work in 'his twenty-fourth year', [70] i.e. 1530 (some 35 years after the completion of *Gzhung don rab gsal* in 1495), 'in the presence of' (i.e. together with?) 'Karma lo tsa ba Ngag dbang rin chen bkra shis',[71] that is Skyogs ston Ngag dbang rin chen bkra shis (ca. 1495-after 1577), a personal disciple of Zha lu lo tsā ba and a contemporary of Mi bskyod rdo rje.

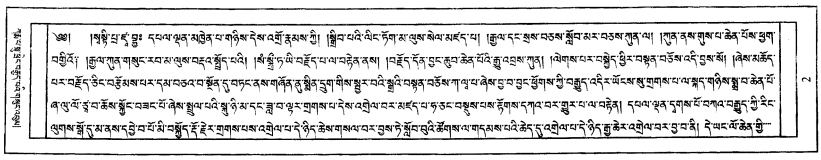
The full text of Mi bskyod rdo rje's colophon:[72]

zhes bya ba 'di ni saṃskṛta'i skad bod skad du ci bde bar bsgyur ba la mi 'jigs pa'i spobs pa thob cing / rgya gar gyi yul skad so so ba dang / yig ris gzigs so 'tshal klog cing kha ton du byed pa la byang chub pa'i mkhas pa karma lo tsa ba ngag dbang rin chen bkra shis kyi gam du / sde snod 'dzin pa dpal ldan dwags po bka' brgyud kyi ring lugs pa chen po dpal ldan karma pa'i mtshan gyis brlabs pa mi bskyod bzang po rdo rje dga' bas dbyangs kyis mkhas par sbyangs te rang lo nyer bzhi pa la yul kong yul / rnam thos kyi ri bor ji ltar mchan bur btab pa la phyis rig pa 'di la mos pa mang pos bskul bas rkyen gyi kha bkang ste rgyas par tsa ri'i gnas sgo lha khongs su sbyar ba.

[70] BDRC W8039_26 248r5: *rang lo nyer bzhi pa*.

[71] BDRC W8039_26 248r4: *byang chub pa'i mkhas pa karma lo tsa ba ngag dbang rin chen bkra shis kyi gam du*.

[72] BDRC W8039_26 248r3-6.



Caption to illustration 12: Mi bskyod rdo rje's Kātantra commentary, folio 1v, Tibetan blockprint, unknown date; BDRC: W8039_26.

The *incipit* of the blockprint:[73]

[1v1:] */ / swasti pra dzā bhyaḥ*

dpal ldan mkhyen pa gnyis des 'gro rnams kyi / / sgrib pa'i ling tog ma lus sel mdzad pa / / rgyal dang sras bcas slob mar bcas kun la / / kun nas gus pa chen pos phyag [1v2:] *bgyi'o /*

/ rgyal kun gsung rab ma lus brda' sprod pa'i / / saṃ skṛ ta yi brjod pa la brten nas / / brjod don byang chub chen po'i rgyu 'bras kun / / legs par bskyed phyir bstan bcos 'di byas so /

/ zhes mchod [1v3:] *par brjod cing brtsoms par dam bca' ba sngon du btang nas gzhon nu smin drug gis sbyar ba'i sgra'i bstan bcos ka lā pa zhes bya ba byang phyogs kyi brgyud 'dir yongs su grags pa la skad gnyis smra ba chen po* [1v4:] *zha lu lo tsā ba chos skyong bzang po zhes sprul pa'i sku nyi ma dang zla ba ltar grags pa des 'grel bar mdzad pa ha cang bsdus pas rtogs dka' bar gyur pa la brten / dpal ldan dwags po bka' brgyud kyi ring* [1v5:] *lugs sgo du ma nas dbye ba po mi bskyod rdo rjer grags pas 'grel pa de nyid ches gsal bar byas te slob bu'i tshogs la gdams pa'i ched du 'grel pa de nyid rgya cher 'grel bar bya ba ni / de yang lo chen gyi* [2r1:] *'grel pa nyid kyi tshig ma nyams par bkod nas 'grel bar bya ba 'di la / mchod par brjod cing brtsom par dam bca' ba / mtshan bsgyur cing 'gyur gyi phyag smos pa / mdo'i gzhung don la 'jug pa* [2r2:] *'gyur byang smos pa'o /*

/ dang po ni / bla ma dang 'jam pa'i dbyangs la gus pas phyag 'tshal lo /

/ rgyal ba kun dngos 'dren pa mkhyen brtse'i gter / / dpal ldan indra nī la'i sa 'dzin dbang / / gser bzang 'khri shing [2r3:] *gzhon nus khyab 'dra ba / / khyab bdag bla mas rtag tu dge legs stsol /*

[73] BDRC W8039_26 1v1-2r6.

/ gang zhig shes na mkhas pa'i gnas thob cing / / mthar thug kun mkhyen go 'phang bde blag bgrod / / gzhung lugs kun la thogs med 'jug [2r4:] *pa'i sgo / / brda sprod rig gnas bstan bcos rnam dbye bgyi /*
/ zhes so /
/ gnyis pa ni / de yang 'dir legs par sbyar ba'i skad kyis brda' sprod pa'i bstan bcos ka lā pa'i gzhung gi don la 'jug par bya ste / rgya gar skad [2r5:] *du / ka lā pa sū tra / zhes pa ni / bod skad du / ka lā pa'i mdo zhes pa'o /*
de ji ltar bsgrub na ka la cha shas la'o byings / a ts.'i rkyen / tsa dbyangs don / byings mtha'i a brjod don / dbyangs drangs pas ka la ā pḷ [2r6:] *khyab / ḷ brjod don / ā mtshungs 'dra / byings mtha'i a brjod don / a tsa'i rkyen tsa dbyangs don phyis te a tsa'i a drangs pas ka lā pa zhes pa cha bsags kyi mdo zhes pa brjod bya legs pa'i cha rnams bsags pa'o /* (…).

4. Concluding Observations.

It is fascinating to observe the careful attention that was paid to the intricacies of Sanskrit grammar in the 15th and 16th centuries in Tibet. The focus on this area by Zha lu lo tsā ba and the eighth *Zhwa nag* Karma pa that we have seen here shows the significance they attached to this Indo-Tibetan grammatical interface, constituting, as they saw it, some form of 'gateway' to the primordial Indic scripture which contained the actual words of the Buddha.

In the dedicatory verses to his *Kātantra sūtra* translation Dpang Blo gros brtan pa had already insisted that all sentient beings should come to comprehend the meaning of the words of the Buddha, though basically ineffable, each in their own language.[74]

Zha lu Chos skyong bzang po advocates the knowledge of grammar as 'the gate of unhindered entrance to all traditions of scripture, leading easily to the ultimate state of omniscience'. [75] He also acknowledges that the words of the Buddha should reach and be

[74] *'dir 'bad dge bas 'gro ba kun / / rang rang skad las gsung rab don / / brjod med de nyid legs rtogs nas / / ngag gi dbang phyug nyid gyur cig.*

[75] *Ka lā pa'i gzhung don rab gsal*, 1v2-3: *mthar thug kun mkhyen go 'phang bde blag bgrod / gzhung lugs kun la thogs med 'jug pa'i sgo / brda sprod rig gnas bstan bcos.*

internalized by each in his / her own language,[76] and that 'discerning individuals aspiring for the state of omniscience [i.e. Buddhahood]' should master the five branches of science / knowledge (Skt. *vidyāsthāna*, Tib. *rig gnas*)', prime of which is grammar.[77]
Note also that Karma pa 8 Mi bskyod rdo rje eulogizes Zha lu Chos skyong bzang po as 'the eye of the translator of the *Saddharma*, the omniscient great translator in the northern region (i.e. Tibet)'.[78]
I should also mention the role, or at least the communal factor of Skyogs ston Ngag dbang rin chen bkra shis (ca. 1495-after 1577). He was a pupil of Zha lu lo tsā ba, in fact one among those who had requested him to write *Ka lā pa'i spyi don gsal ba'i snying po*. And he was also involved in some manner –perhaps he was a background co-writer, perhaps he was only an inspiring presence-- in Karma pa 8's sub-commentary on Zha lu's *Ka lā pa'i gzhung don rab gsal*. This evinces a continuation of the transmission of Sanskrit grammatical studies in Tibet, which I had schematized earlier,[79] well into the 16th century with Karma pa 8 Mi bskyod rdo rje (1507-1554).

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[76] *Ka lā pa'i spyi don gsal ba'i snying po*, 1v1: *gang gi gsung ni brjod dang bral yang 'gro ba'i snying la rang rang skad bzhin rnam par 'jug*.
[77] *Ka lā pa'i spyi don gsal ba'i snying po*, 1v2-3: *kun mkhyen go 'phang 'dod pa'i rtogs ldan gyis / / rig pa'i gnas lnga dag la brtson bya*.
[78] *'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i sgra snyan*, 248r1: *phyis dus byang gi phyogs 'di ru / / dam chos bsgyur bar byed pa'i mig (/) / sprul pa'i lo chen thams cad mkhyen*.
[79] HSGLT 1: 324-325.

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How to make and make sense of *kṛt*? — The interpretation, translation, and transmission of *kṛt* in Guṇaprabha's *Vinayasūtra*

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Abstract

Guṇaprabha's (6th cent. CE) *Vinayasūtra* (VS) is arguably the only Buddhist *śāstra* written in a typical Brahmanic genre, namely, *sūtra*, which demands extreme conciseness and the interpretation of which presupposes a considerable degree of familiarity with the explanatory devices adopted to achieve the conciseness. Our observation on the Tibetan translations and interpretations of *kṛt*, a term defined in VS 1.104 and 105, highlights the problems which the genre posed on the commentators and translators and their successful and sometimes unsuccessful solutions. This is the first of a series of articles dealing

[1] The first draft of this article was a presentation for the international workshop "Translating and Educating: the Transmission of Indian and Buddhist Texts and Thought" (March 1–2, 2019, Tsukuba). My thanks go to Prof. Yoshimizu Chizuko for her kind invitation and to the comments received from the participants. My research on this subject is financed by Sichuan University in the context of the project SKSYL201814. I thank China Tibetology Research Center (中国藏学研究中心) for supporting my study on Guṇaprabha's *Vinayasūtra*.

with the interpretation, translation and transmission of technical terms of the VS in Tibetan context.
Keywords

Guṇaprabha · *Vinayasūtra* · *kṛt* · *bzhag bkol* · *bkri bkol*

The technical term *kṛt* defined in Guṇaprabha's (6th cent. CE) *Vinayasūtra* (henceforth, VS),[2] it seems, is a proper name easily misunderstood[3] and scarcely addressed[4] by modern scholars, yet, as shown below, it was probably a rather important topic among the Tibetan commentators of the VS. To elaborate on the definition of *kṛt* and trace its transmission from Sanskrit to Tibetan, especially the latter, shall be our main focus.

The term *kṛt* is given, a bit unusual, in two *sūtra*s, VS 1.104 and 105:[5]

> [The Upādhyāya] should ask one who comes with an intention of going forth: "You are not a heretic, are you?" Similarly, those who confer ordination.[6]

[Those who confer ordination (*upasaṃpādakāḥ*)][7] should neither initiate nor ordain a heretic whose mind has not been tamed, except for those from the Śākya clan and the fire worshippers with matted hair.[8]

[2] For the relationship between Guṇaprabha and the VS, see Luo 2019: 198–199.
[3] For instance, Negi (124) mistakes *kṛtaḥ* as the original stem.
[4] Except for the discussion in Bapat 1971, which did not take into consideration the related Tibetan materials, and a brief mention in Luo 2011.
[5] The text and the translation are quoted from Luo *forthcoming*.
[6] *māsi tīrthya iti pravrajyārtham upasaṃkrāntaṃ pṛcched upasampādakāś ca* | VS 1.104
[7] Supplied from VS 1.104.
[8] *nānārādhitacittam utsṛjya śākyam āgneyaṃ ca jaṭilaṃ tīrthyaṃ pravrajayeyur upasaṃpādayeyur vā* | *kṛd etat tīrthyānārādhitāditīrthyāntavarjanam* | VS 1.105

The [term (*ming*/* *saṃjñā*)][9] *kṛt* [refers to] the [formula (*ming can*/* *saṃjñin*)][10] [as reflected in VS 1.104 and 105,] with "*tīrthyaḥ*" [in VS 1.104,] and [the words in VS 1.105] which begin with "*anārādhita*[*cittam*]" and end with "*tīrthyam*" excluded.[11]

The Auto-Commentary explains:

The definition is: "The [designation] *kṛt* [refers to] the [formula,] with '*tīrthya*ḥ' and [the words] which begin with '*anārādhita*[*cittam*]' and end with '*tīrthyam*' excluded." Therefore, having excluded the previous "*tīrthyaḥ*" [in VS 1.104;] and having excluded "*anārādhitacittam utsṛjya śākyam āgneyaṃ ca jaṭilaṃ tīrthyam*" [in VS 1.105,] i.e., having excluded "[the words in VS 1.105] which begins with '*anārādhita*[*cittam*]' and ends with '*tīrthyam*,'" that which is formulated [in VS 1.104–105:] "*māsi*" and so forth is the designee of *kṛt*.[12]

To illustrate, *kṛt* signifies, with those in italics excluded, the following words in VS 1.104 and 105:

> māsi *tīrthya* iti pravrajyārtham upasaṃkrāntaṃ pṛcched upasampādakāś ca, [VS 1.104] na + *anārādhitacittam utsṛjya śākyam āgneyaṃ ca jaṭilaṃ tīrthyaṃ* pravrajayeyur upasaṃpādayeyur vā. [VS 1.105]

With the words in italics left out, the formula with blanks to be filled in individual cases is:

> *māsi {} iti pravrajyārtham upasaṃkrāntaṃ pṛcched upasampādakāś ca, na {} pravrajayeyur upasaṃpādayeyur vā.*

---

[9] VSṬ has *ming, kṛtsaṃjña*/*ming du btags pa* is attested in the VSS.
[10] VSṬ has *ming can*, the Sanskrit equivalent of which is attested in VSS 1.118.
[11] *kṛd etat tīrthyānārādhitāditīrthyāntavarjanam |*
[12] *kṛd etad tīrthyānārādhitāditīrthyāntavarjanam iti śabdāt pūrvatīrthyaśabdaṃ varjayitvā, 'anārādhitacittam utsṛjya śākyam āgneyaṃ ca jaṭilaṃ tīrthyam' ity etac ca, anārādhitaśabdāditīrthyaśabdāntaṃ varjayitvā yad etan 'māsī'tyādy uktaṃ tat kṛtsaṃjñaṃ veditavyam.* (VSS 105)

The first application of the above formula takes place a few *sūtra*s after VS 1.105:

> Kṛt, a slave.[13]

The formula in this case becomes:

> [Upādhyāya] should ask the one who comes with an intention of going forth: "You are not a slave, are you?" Similarly, those who confer ordination. [Those who confer ordination] should neither initiate nor ordain a slave.[14]

As VS 1.128,[15] a governing *sūtra*, shows, the application of the *kṛt* formula is valid till VS 1.147.[16] Thus, indeed, the definition helps to achieve the *sūtric* conciseness. However, there seems to be another version of *kṛt* as reflected in the following *pratīka*s in the canonical commentaries on the VS:[17]

> *kṛd etat tīrthyānārādhitāditīrthyāntavarjanam* |
>
> *bkol ba de ni mu stegs can dang shā kya la sogs pa'i mjug*[18] *gi mu stegs can bkol ba'o* || VS
>
> *bkol ba de ni mu stegs can dang shākya la sogs pa'i mjug gi mu stegs can bkol ba'o* || VSS
>
> *bkol ba de ni mu stegs can dang shākya la sogs pa'i mjug gi mu stegs can bkol ba la'o* || VSṬ

[13] *kṛd dāsaḥ* | VS 1.118
[14] *māsi {dāsa} iti pravrajyārtham upasaṃkrāntaṃ pṛcched upasampādakāś ca, na {dāsaṃ} pravrajayeyur upasaṃpādayeyur vā.*
[15] *kṛt prāk praṇihitāt* | VS 1.128
[16] *nābhyupagato nimittaviparyayaṃ praṇihitaṃ pravrajyopasaṃpadoḥ karaṇam* | VS 1.147 Bapat (1971: 61) somehow did not notice the occurrence of the wording *praṇihita* in VS 1.147, thus misinterpreted VS 1.128, which is numbered 1.127 by him.
[17] The *pratīka*s are quoted from Luo *forthcoming*.
[18] mjug (anta) P: 'jug D

de dag la mu stegs can dang | śākya la sogs pa mu stegs can zhes pa'i bar du ma gtogs pa khrid | VSVy

krid ces de dag la mur 'dug dang ma rangs pa la sogs pa mur 'dug gi bar du ma gtogs | VSV

It is surprising that the *pratīka* in the VSV alone corresponds literally with the extant Sanskrit text,[19] the word *ma rangs pa* translates *anārādhita*. The reading as reflected in all the other textual witnesses, which agree with each other, seems to suggest:

kṛd etat tīrthyaśākyāditīrthyāntavarjanam.

A problematic reading. With this reading, we would then have the following formulation:

*māsi {} iti pravrajyārtham upasaṃkrāntaṃ pṛcched upasampādakāś ca, na + **anārādhitacittam utsṛjya** {} pravrajayeyur upasaṃpādayeyur vā.*

This version does not seem to work well, the words in boldface are disturbing. Take again VS 1.118 as an example:

māsi {dāsa} iti pravrajyārtham upasaṃkrāntaṃ pṛcched upasampādakāś ca, na + anārādhitacittam utsṛjya {dāsaṃ} pravrajayeyur upasaṃpādayeyur vā.

[Upādhyāya] should ask the one who comes with an intention of going forth: "You are not a slave, are you?" Similarly, those who confer ordination. Those who confer ordination should neither initiate nor ordain a slave except for one whose mind has been tamed.

[19] The significance of the divergences between the VSS and the VSV has not been systematically investigated. Yet, the instances so far collected suggest that further observation with a special focus on the issue of Mūlasarvāstivāda and Sarvāstivāda traditions might be extremely interesting and highly rewarding, see Luo *forthcoming a*.

A slave cannot be accepted by the community, whether he has tamed the mind or not is basically irrelevant. This version of *kṛt* is dubious. How did the translators make it and how could we make sense of it?

Dharmamitra's elaboration on *kṛt* proves to be very helpful:

> Now the individual words of this *sūtra* are to be explained. The word "*tīrthya*-", [the first constituent element of "*tīrthya-anārādhitādi-tīrthyānta-varjanam*",] refers to the "*tīrthyaḥ*" which occurs before "*māsi*" in the last *sūtra*, [i.e., VS 1.104.] The word "-**śākyāditīrthyānta*-" represents the following words in the second *sūtra*, [i.e., VS 1.105:] "*anārādhitacittam utsṛjya śākyam āgneyaṃ ca jaṭilaṃ tīrthyam*" The compound "-**śākyādi*-" is a *bahuvrīhi*: that word which has "*ādi*" is "-**śākyādi*-" The compound "-*tīrthyānta*-" is also a *bahuvrīhi*: the words where "*tīrthya*" is the last is "-*tīrthyānta*-" Thus, the compound "-**śākyāditīrthyānta*-" is again a *bahuvrīhi*: it represents the words which have "*śākya*" and so forth, and in which "*tīrthya*" is at the end. Furthermore, a *dvandva* compound "**tīrthyaśākyāditīrthyānta*-" is built up with "-**śākyāditīrthyānta*-" and the "*tīrthya*" in the last *sūtra*, it represents "*tīrthya*-" as well as "-**śākyāditīrthyānta*-" It should be clear that the formula named [*kṛt*] (*ming can*/**saṃjñin*) is what remains after the exclusion of it, [i.e., "**tīrthyaśākyāditīrthyānta*"][20]

[20] *da ni yan lag gi don brjod par bya ste | mu stegs can dang (tīrthya-) zhes bya ba ni | mdo snga ma la ma yin nam (māsi) zhes bya ba'i gong na mu stegs can (tīrthyaḥ) zhes bya ba'i sgra 'dug pa dang sbyar ro || shā kya la sogs pa'i mjug gi mu stegs can (-*śākyāditīrthyānta-) zhes bya ba ni | mdo gnyis pa la shā kya dang me pa ral ba can ma gtogs pa sems mgu bar ma gyur ba'i mu stegs can (anārādhitacittam utsṛjya śākyam āgneyaṃ ca jaṭilaṃ tīrthyaṃ) zhes bya ba'i sgra 'dug pa dang sbyar ro || shā kya la sogs pa'i (-*śākyādi-) zhes bya ba ni tshigs gang la sogs pa (ādi) zhes bya ba yod pa de ni shā kya la sogs pa'i (-*śākyādi-) 'o || mjug gi mu stegs can (-tīrthyānta-) zhes bya ba ni | mu stegs can (tīrthyaṃ) zhes bya ba'i sgra 'di tshigs gang gi mjug (-anta-) na yod pa'i tshig de'i mjug na mu stegs can yod pa'o || de ltar ni tshig de ni shā kya la sogs pa yang yin la | mjug na mu stegs can yod pa yang yin bas | shākya la sogs pa'i mjug gi mu stegs can yod pa (-*śākyāditīrthyānta-) yin no || yang mdo snga ma las mu stegs can (tīrthyaḥ) zhes smos pa'i sgra dang cig car gcig gi tshig tu yang bsdu par bya ste | mu stegs can dang zhes bya ba yang tshig de yin la shā kya la sogs pa'i mjug gi mu stegs can zhes bya ba yang de yin pas na | mu*

As we can see in the VSṬ that the referent of the hypothetic "-**śākyāditīrthyānta-*" is in fact the same as that of "-*anārādhitāditīrthyānta-*" The new reading, namely, the reading shared by the VS, the VSS, the VSṬ, and the VSVy may in fact be a step further from the reading in the VSV, which translates literally the same Sanskrit text. In other words, the reading in the four texts would have been a revision of the now single reading in the Tibetan translation of the VSV.[21] How and why?

The key keywording in the Tibetan translation of VS 1.105 as quoted in the above passage reads: *shā kya dang me pa ral ba can ma gtogs pa sems mgu bar ma gyur ba'i mu stegs can*, the Sanskrit text it translates reads: *anārādhitacittam utsṛjya śākyam āgneyaṃ ca jaṭilaṃ tīrthyaṃ*, the same semantic unit, in Sanskrit begins with *anārādhitacittam*, rendered into Tibetan, it begins with *shā kya*. The shift has no substantial consequence on semantic level, it does, however, as a skillful handling of the translators, increase the readability of the Tibetan translation. They made it and it makes good sense.

We may thus end our discussion here were it not for the interesting, informative, and insightful interrelation of *kṛt* in mTsho sna ba Shes rab bzang po's (13th cent. C.E.) *'Dul ba mdo rtsa'i rnam bshad nyi ma'i 'od zed legs bshad lung gi rgya mtsho* (henceforth, Nyi 'od). mTsho sna ba's interpretation supplies details unknown to the Indian materials, and indicates that misunderstanding of this term might have already occurred in Tibet before him.

mTsho sna ba's general interpretation (*spyi don*) of *kṛt* consists of two parts, first, an explanation of the purpose of *kṛt* (*dgos pa'i don*), which is, obviously, to secure the conciseness required by a *sūtra* text, secondly, an elaboration on *kṛt* (*bsdus pa'i don*), which is further divided into four segments: 1 Specification of the designation *kṛt* and its designee (*bkol pa ming dang ming can du sbya ba*), 2 Determination of the domain of the application of *kṛt* (*bkol pa sbyar ba'i phyogs ngos gzung ba*), 3 Clarification of the application and

stegs can dang shā kya la sogs pa'i mjug gi mu stegs can te | de bkol ba'i lhag ma ni ming can yin par rig par bya'o || (Luo *forthcoming*)

[21] For the archaic features of the *pratīka*s in the VSV, see Luo 2009: 327–333.

non-application of *kṛt* (*bkol pa sbyar mi sbyar gyi 'thad pa*), 4 Etymological gloss of *kṛt* (*bkol pa'i sgra bshad*). Items 2 and 3 show how to apply *kṛt*. Item 2 refers to, albeit, does not list, twenty-two obscurations which may hinder a candidate's admission to the community, fourteen are found in the [*Pravrajyā*]*vastu*, and eight in the *Kṣudrakavastu*.[22] Item 3 subsumes the obscurations under three rubrics: a. the obscurations which hinder both initiation and ordination, and which are to be inquired in a single way, b. the obscurations which hinder only one of these two, and which are to be inquired in different ways, c. the obscurations which, though hinder both, are to be inquired in different ways. Items 1 and 4 will retain our attention.

> Secondly, the summary consists of four topics. First, specification of the designation *kṛt* and its designee. If asked: 'The so defined *kṛt* is a designation of which?' [Answer:] The designation *kṛt* is defined for the following six expressions: (1) The question for one who comes with an intention of going forth: 'Are you not …?' (2) Those who confer admission inquire: 'Are you not …?' (3) The question for one who comes with an intention of receiving ordination: 'Are you not …?' (4) Those who confer ordination inquire: 'Are you not …?' (5) 'Should not initiate!' (6) 'Should not ordain!' Thus, *kṛt* is the designation and the six expressions are the designee. (As prescribed in the concise commentary, [i.e., the *Vinayasūtravṛtti,] kṛt* refers to the following expression: to ask "Is there obscuration?" and, "if there is, it is improper."[23])[24]

[22] Both are named in the VSS as scriptures where *kṛt* is applied.

[23] *krid ces pa ni bar chad med dam zhes dri ste bar chad yod na mi rung zhes bya ba'i tshig go* |

[24] *gnyis pa bsdus pa'i don la bzhi las* | *dang po bkol pa ming dang ming can du sbyar ba ni* | *bkol pa zhes ming btags pa 'di* | *gang gi ming yin zhe na rab tu 'byung ba'i phyir nye bar 'ongs pa la ma yin nam zhes dri* | *rab tu 'byin par byed pa dag gis ma yin nam zhes dri* | *bsnyen par rdzogs pa'i phyir nye bar 'ongs pa la ma yin nam zhes dri* | *bsnyen par rdzogs par byed pa dag gis ma yin nam zhes dri* | *rab tu dbyung bar mi bya* | *bsnyen par rdzogs par mi bya zhes tshig drug la ming bkol pa zhes btags te* | *bkol pa zhes pa de ming yin la* | *tshig drug po de ming can yin (tshig de rnams ni ming can yin te* | *'grel chung las bkol ba zhes pa ni bar chad med dam zhes dris te bar chad yod na mi rung zhes bya ba'i tshig go zhes so) no* || (Nyi 'od 146)

The sixfold presentation is a reiteration of *kṛt*, yet, obviously, with further reifications. As it is clear that, as also shown by the above quotation from the VSV, *kṛt* consists of two basic elements, an inquiry of a negative cause and the consequences it incurs once confirmed, this is perhaps the most direct and the most natural reading of *kṛt*. Further reifications make sense, but may or may not help the understanding of *kṛt*.

Yet, the increase of the number of the constituent elements of *kṛt* is but one further development of, or digression from, the original idea of this proper name. The interlinear gloss of the fourth segment attests to yet another one. The fourth segment by itself reads:

> The fourth subject, the etymological gloss of *kṛt*: Take (out) 'heretic (**tīrthya*)' from the previous *sūtra* [which begins with *rab tu 'byung ba'i phyir nye bar 'ongs pa la* (*pravrajyārtham upasaṃkrāntam*),] and take out the [following] three [words:] 'one who belongs to the Śākya clan (*śākyam*)', 'the Fire-worshipper with matted hair (*āgneyaṃ ca jaṭilam*)', and 'the heretic whose mind has not been tamed (*anārādhitacittam … tīrthyam*)' from the latter *sūtra* (which begins with *śākya dang me ba ral pa can* (*śākyam āgneyaṃ ca jaṭilam*).) Because [*kṛt* refers to] that which remains after (the four words) of 'heretics' etc. being taken out, it is designated as *kṛt* /the Set-Aside. In the *Vinayasūtraṭīkā* [it is explained] that that which remains after the taken-out of the words 'heretics' etc. is defined as *kṛt* /the Set-Aside.[25]

Before investigating the interlinear gloss, we shall clarify the following two questions: What does *kṛt* mean by itself? How did the Tibetan translators deal with *kṛt*?

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[25] *bzhi pa bkol ba'i sgra bshad pa ni | (rab tu 'byung ba'i phyir nye bar 'ongs pa la |) mdo snga ma las mu stegs can zhes pa de (logs shig tu |) bkol zhing | (śākya dang me ba ral pa can zhes |) mdo phyi ma las śākya dang me ba ral pa can dang sems mgu bar ma gyur pa'i mu stegs can dang gsum bkol te | mu stegs can la sogs pa (bzhi po) de dag (logs shig tu) bkol ba'i lhag ma nyid yin pas na bkol ba zhes bya ste | ṭīkā las | mu stegs can zhes bya ba'i sgra de dag bkol ba'i lhag ma ni bkol ba zhes bya zhes so* || (Nyi 'od 146)

As a *dhātu*,[26] *kṛt* means:

kṛt is a verb root of the sixth class, it means "to divide".[27]

In our context, it means "to carve out," namely, to extract the essential expressions from VS 1.104 and 105. As for the Tibetan translation of *kṛt*, as shown above, three equivalents are found: *bkol ba* in the VS, the VSS, and the VSṬ, *khrid* in the VSVy, and *krid* in the VSV. The latter two are different transliterations for *kṛt*. The word *bkol pa* translates *kṛt*, *bkol pa* means "to put aside," and this befits well what is intended by *kṛt*. The translators made it, and made it in different ways.

Now we proceed to mTsho sna ba's remarks embedded inter interlinearly in the Nyi 'od:

It is improper to propose two semantic explanations of *kṛt*: the positive Take-Out (*bzhag bkol*) and the negative Taken-Out (*bkri bkol*),[28] because it is clarified as follows:[29]

[On the one hand,] the semantic explanation of *kṛt* can not be applied to the four [words] taken out and put aside, because they are not the designee of *kṛt*. They are not the designee of *kṛt*, because this is established on the authority of Dharmamitra's *Vinayasūtraṭīkā*.

[On the other hand, it is] somewhat confusing to apply the semantic explanation of the negative Taken-Out to the six words, the designee [of *kṛt*], because while *kṛt* (*krid*) is in fact (*sor bzhag*)[30] a Sanskrit word, it is mistaken as a Tibetan word.

[26] *kṛt* as a technical term in grammatical literature is basically irrelevant to our discussion.
[27] *kṛtī chedane* (PDh 6.141).
[28] The intended reading might be *bri bkol*.
[29] The following quotation is in verse. It is not clear whether these are composed by mTsho sna ba himself or he quoted from other sources.
[30] The reading in edition is *song bzhag*, which does not make sense.

> [Furthermore,] in the concise commentary, [i.e., the *Vinayasūtravṛtti*,] *kṛt* is interpreted as "to take out" (*bkol ba*), [thus it is clear that] '*kṛt'* is a Sanskrit word and '*bkol ba*' is a Tibetan word.[31]

The interlinear gloss is targeting a wrong view, which further divides the term *kṛt* into *bri bkol* and *bzhag bkol*. The division, according to the Nyi 'od, is baseless, because the unnamed advocator mixed up the Sanskrit original and its Tibetan equivalents. mTsho sna ba's criticism makes sense. Nowhere in the direct textual witnesses of VS 1.104–105, Sanskrit and Tibetan, is *dbri bkol* found, nor is its supposed counterpart, *bzhag bkol*.

Where do they come from? Though *bzhag bkol* is difficult to trace, its opposite *bri bkol* is a well attested term. While arguing, convincingly, that the term "*dbri bkol*" in Avalokitavrata's (8th cent. CE) *Prajñāpradīpaṭīkā* means "exclusion, deletion, or exception,"[32] as a further textual support, Nishiyama quoted one passage from the VSṬ.[33] The case discussed by Nishiyama is different from ours, yet, it is relevant in that the term *dbri bkol*, possibly an equivalent of *vyudāsa*, is redolent with the origin of *bri bkol*.

Put simply, the semantic similarity between *kṛt* and *vyudāsa*, both involve differentiation and exclusion, might have caused the usage of *dbri bkol* in place of *bkol ba*, the translation of *kṛt*, and *khrid* or *krid*, transliterations of *kṛt*. One intermediate stage might have also contributed to the misusage. We assume that a combination of transliteration and translation of *kṛt*: *krIt bkol*, where *krIt*

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[31] *bzhag bkol dang bkri bkol zhes 'dir sgra bshad gnyis 'chad pa ni mi rigs te | bkol te bzhag pa bzhi po la || bkol ba'i sgra bshad ma 'jug ste || bkol ba'i ming can ma yin phyir || ming can ma yin 'grel pas grub ||*

bkol ba'i ming can drug po la || bkri bkol sgra bshad cung zad 'khrul || krid ces rgya skad sor (song ed.) bzhag la || bod skad yin par bshad phyir ro ||

zhes smras so ||

krid ces 'grel chung las bkol ba'i sgra don du byung ste | krid ces pa rgya skad yin la | bkol ba zhes pa bod skad yin no || (Nyi 'od 145–146)

[32] Nishiyama 2012: 115.

[33] Nishiyama 2012: 116.

transliterates *kṛt* (the capitalized "*I*" denotes the reversed *gi gu*, together with *r*, it represents ṛ) was in circulation, later corrupted to *bri bkol* due to the paleographical similarity between *kri* and *bri*,[34] and finally super-corrected to *dbri bkol*, which is a well established term in the VSṬ.

Once *dbri bkol* is accepted, the further fabrication of its opposite *bzhag bkol* becomes possible and understandable. Etymologically speaking, the dichotomy makes good sense. That which is common to every obscuration is *kṛtyate* and set aside as an empty formula to be recirculated, and that which is valid only in a particular case is also *kṛtyate*, but discarded. The term *kṛt* can address both perspectives of the procedure. The two dimensions embedded in *kṛt* might be the cause behind the categorization described and criticized in the interlinear gloss of the Nyi 'od. The semantic multiplicity is also the reason why this term is left untranslated in our discussion.[35]

Our discussion is now accomplished, we have clarified the different ways the Tibetan translators and their Indian cooperators adopted to interpret the term *kṛt*, and we have put forth an assumption concerning the transmission of this technical term in Tibetan context.[36] Tentatively, we have, on behalf of the *skad gnyis smra ba*s and their indigenous exegetes, answered the question they faced: How to make and make sense of *kṛt*?

[34] This may be applicable to the transmission of the name of the Nepalese princess Bhṛkuṭī, she is called in Tibet Khri btsun (Bod rgya: 280), *khri* is perhaps a corruption from the transcription of *bhṛ*, which is combined with *btsun*, a honorific title for privileged personages.

[35] The Japanese equivalent "函數的表現" (VSS: 108) is innovative and acceptable, it catches the essence, but it does not convey the etymological suggestion.

[36] A modified version of *kṛt* is given in VS 1.119, this does not affect our assumption, though the *pratīka*s of this *sūtra* in the VSVy and the VSV, it seems, are problematic.

Abbreviations and sigla

VS Guṇaprabha's *Vinayasūtra*

VSS Guṇaprabha's *Vinayasūtravṛttyabhidhānasvavyākhyāna* (The Pravrajyāvastu and its Vṛtti (5) — Sanskrit Text and Japanese Translation". Vinayasūtra's Pravrajyāvastu Study Group, *Annual of the Institute for Comprehensive Studies of Buddhism*, Taishō University (31) Tokyo, Taishō University, 2009: 83–125.)

VSṬ Dharmamitra's *Vinayasūtraṭīkā*

VSVy Prajñākara's *Vinayasūtravyākhyāna*

VSV Guṇaprabha's *Vinayasūtravṛtti*

Nyi 'od mTsho sna ba Shes rab bzang po, *'Dul ba mdo rtsa'i rnam bshad nyi ma'i 'od zed legs bshad lung gi rgya mtsho*. (*'Dul Ṭīk nyi ma'i 'od zer legs shad lung gi rgya mtsho*, Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, Beijing, 1998)

Negi *Bod skad dang legs sbyar gyi tshig mdzod chen mo (vols. 1-16)*. Tshig mdzod sde tshan, Wā ṇa dbus bod kyi ches mtho'i gtsug lag slob gnyer khang, Varanasi, 1993–2005.

Bod rgya *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*. Zhang yisun et al (eds.) Beijing, 1998.

PDh *Pāṇini Dhātupāṭha. (Pāṇini's Grammatik*. Otto Böhtlingk, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Private Limited, Delhi, 1998, vol 2, 61–94)

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Issues in digital Sanskrit philology and computational linguistics

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Abstract

A brief historical review of the development of text-encoding, its purpose in separating semantic encoding from display, and in developing common procedures to permit data-sharing and general software development culminates in the development of the Extensible Markup Language (XML) and the Text-Encoding Initiative (TEI). TEI provides methods to precisely describe divisions in texts from major sections to individual morphemes, to associate various versions with each other, and to standardize reference to particular passages. The employment of TEI guidelines for Sanskrit text encoding, dictionary markup, manuscript cataloguing, and critical editing, and the development of software to automate the creation of TEI documents and transform them for digital display and print provides a prudent and sustainable channel to transition Sanskrit heritage to the digital medium. The result will be a large repository of digital Sanskrit texts that can furnish text to the Sanskrit Heritage parser and the University of Hyderabad's

parser and syntax analyzer to allow passages parsed and analyzed for dependency structure to be interlinked with their originals.

The formalization of the Pāṇinian linguistic system in XML facilitates the longevity of a precise analysis of the system and its computational implementation independent of a specific programming language. The Indian cognitive linguists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries described the cognition that arises from speech forms from whole sentences down to the level of morphemes. Their analysis reveals a dependency structure of semantic objects which may be projected onto the corresponding speech forms to provide an extremely precise and detailed analysis of verbal relations. By projecting the complex multi-dimensional relations in the realm of thought onto the relatively simple single dimension of speech, theory is able to more efficiently characterize syntactic relations in highly inflected languages with freer word order. An automation of the generation of speech forms in accordance with Pāṇinian rules can generate Sanskrit speech forms with internal dependency relations intact and with external dependency relations in the form of expectancies. This information would be highly useful in developing a Sanskrit parser and refining existing Sanskrit parsers.

1. XML and TEI

The design of artifacts expressing knowledge vary with the predominant mode of expressing knowledge and exchanging information. When oral production was the predominant mode of expressing knowledge, each articulation was unique and was heard immediately by listeners. When hand-written documents were the predominant mode of expressing knowledge, each manuscript had its own format determined by the author and scribe and was read subsequently by other individuals. When the print medium replaced manuscripts, presses produced multiple copies of individual productions in standardized formats designed for readers. At the outset of the digital age, as Scharf and Hyman (2011: 2) and Scharf (2014: 16) noted, presentation of individual productions imitated the print medium. Document creators and software engineers still created works to present knowledge to human readers.

Beginning in 1969, however, researchers realized the advantages of separating document content from document format and of structuring documents to be processed programmatically for display in different formats on different devices. As Scharf (2018b) described, Goldfarb, Mosher, and Lorie at International Business Machines Corporation (IBM) developed the Generalized Markup Language (GML) in 1969, and with others in the next decade Standard Generalized Markup Language (SGML) to describe documents according to their structural and other semantic elements, such as prose, header, list, table, etc., without reference to how such elements should be displayed. By separating document content from how it is presented, one could specify a display profile without changing the document itself and thereby enable software to format the documents variously for various devices, such as printers and display screens. Thus while the Hyper-Text Markup Language (HTML) specifies the display format of a text, SGML describes the inherent structure of a document which "allows coded text to be reused in ways not anticipated by the coder" (Goldfarb 1990: xiii).

The eXtensible Markup Language (XML) is an open-source meta-language consisting of a stripped-down version of SGML structured from just seven characters: <, >, /, =, ", ', ␣. Since being formally adopted as a standard by the World Wide Web Consortium (W3C) in 1998, XML has become the single most important standard format for document structure and data interchange. Microsoft began replacing its binary .doc format with the international XML standard for its Word software in 2007. XML allows industries to define platform-independent protocols for the exchange of data, and to deliver information to user agents in a form that allows automatic processing after receipt.

As an extremely simple metalanguage, XML allows users to develop markup languages of an unlimited variety. In order to facilitate interchange of textual documents, the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) developed a community-based standard for the representation and encoding of texts in digital form. The TEI Guidelines for Electronic Text Encoding and Interchange define and

document a markup language for representing the structural, renditional, and conceptual features of texts. They focus (though not exclusively) on the encoding of documents in the humanities and social sciences, and in particular on the representation of primary source materials for research and analysis. The Text Encoding Initiative also makes the Guidelines and XML schema that validate them available under an open-source license. TEI has become the most important standard for the XML markup of textual documents. Hence to facilitate the interchange, cross-reference, and unanticipated use of digital Sanskrit text, it is imperative that digital archives of Sanskrit texts make their texts available encoded in XML in accordance with the TEI Guidelines.

2. Sanskrit digital archives and the use of TEI

Images of Sanskrit printed texts and manuscripts available on the internet provide access that is limited exclusively to being read by a human being. Even software that approximates the location of passages in digital images and highlights regions merely produces displays for a human reader and does not permit subsequent automated processing.

Most of the digital editions of Sanskrit texts available on portable digital storage media and the Web that consist of machine-readable character data are also intended just to provide access to human readers, either by sequential reading or by searching. The Göttingen Register of Electronic Texts in Indian Languages (GRETIL) lists about eight hundred such Sanskrit texts. While these digital editions are openly available for download so that others may subject them to various sorts of linguistic processing such as metrical, morphological, and syntactic analysis, the editions vary greatly in the specification of metadata and in the manner of numbering passages. GRETIL editions vary in the employment of capitalization, the encoding of diphthongs versus contiguous vowel sequences, punctuation, etc. Texts available from other sources vary in the use of Devanāgarī Unicode, different ASCII meta-encodings, or legacy pre-Unicode fonts. Scharf and Hyman (2011) and Scharf (2014) dealt with the issues regarding character encoding, and Scharf (2018b) with higher-

lever text and document structure encoding. Only two sites, the Thesaurus Indogermanischer Text- und Sprachmaterialien (TITUS) and the Search and Retrieval of Indic Texts project (SARIT) encode their texts in accordance with the TEI standard. The latter site (http://sarit.indology.info) currently houses sixty Sanskrit TEI documents made available under a Creative Commons license and provides clear instructions for how to mark up Sanskrit texts in accordance with TEI.[1]

3. TEI training

I have conducted several workshops to train participants in how to create a TEI edition of a Sanskrit text. Some of these also included instruction in how to create a TEI edition of a dictionary, and a descriptive catalogue entry of a manuscript.

1. 8–12 February 2010, for SARIT at the Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan's Jaipur campus.
2. 2 January 2017, Manipal University (half a day)
3. 1–20 May 2017, Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan's Ganga Nath Jha campus in Allahabad, with Anuja and Tanuja Ajotikar.
   •Ten encoded texts delivered the next month.
4. 19–25 February 2018, Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan's Ganga Nath Jha campus in Allahabad.
5. 12 October 2018, Department of Sanskrit and Lexicography, Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, with Tanuja Ajotikar.

During the workshop, we trained students to analyze the structure of a plain text data-file with Sanskrit text in numbered lines or verses and to construct regular expressions to recognize strings of text with fixed numbers of syllables. We constructed regular expressions to recognize a few common verse patterns and had the students submit

[1] https://sarit.indology.info/sarit-pm/docs/encoding-guidelines-simple.html https://sarit.indology.info/sarit-pm/docs/encoding-guidelines-full.html

the verses found to the Sanskrit Library's meter analyzer produced and described by Melnad, Goyal and Scharf (2015, [n.d.]). Once we knew that verses with a certain number of syllables were typically in a certain metrical pattern, we constructed replacement expressions to transform the recognized pattern to well-formed TEI line group elements (lg) with subordinate line (l) and segment elements (seg) for each verse quarter (*pāda*) and to insert type, analysis, and metrical pattern attributes (type, ana, met) in the (lg) tag. The replacement expressions inserted the enumeration provided by the source document in (n) and (xml:id) attributes in the (lg) tag, and typed and lettered the verse quarters as well. Where complex numbers compiled the numbers of text divisions, subdivisions, and passages within subdivisions, the regular expression placed just the last in a separate group, and the replacement expression inserted that number in the value of the n attribute while putting the whole number in the value of the xml:id attribute. For example, the regular expression and replacement expression shown in Figure 1 was primarily responsible for transforming the following verse of the *Bhagavadgītā* (in Sanskrit Library ASCII encoding) to the well-structured TEI (lg) element with its subsidiaries shown in Figure 2:

> 06024070a ApUryamARam acalapratizWaM;
> samudram ApaH praviSanti yadvat
> 06024070c tadvat kAmA yaM praviSanti sarve; sa
> SAntim Apnoti na kAmakAmI

I say, "primarily responsible," because in fact the leading zeroes on the number of the verse were captured by this regular expression so that '070' was inserted in the value of the n attribute; an additional regular expression removed them.

Figure 1
Regular expression and replacement expression to transform a plain text verse in Triṣṭubh meter to TEI
Find:

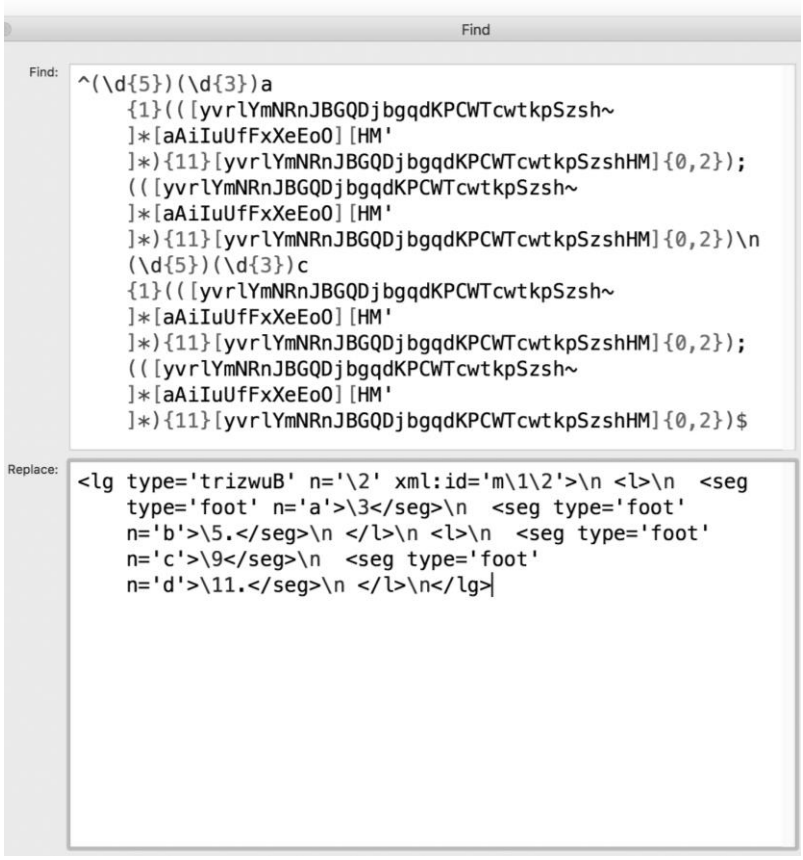
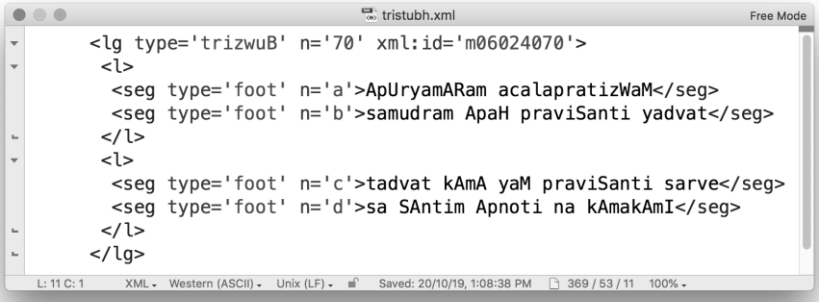


Figure 2
Bhagavadgītā 2.70 in Triṣṭubh meter

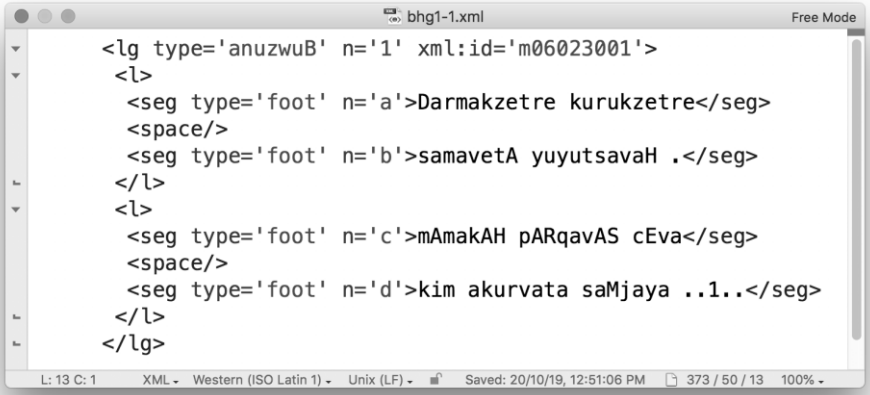


Now one will notice that the original text document conveniently indicated the break between the two verse quarters in each line of a Triṣṭubh verse by a semicolon and space. This indication allowed the regular expression to group just the text of each verse quarter without leading or trailing spaces. However, no such indication was given for the break between verse quarters in an Anuṣṭubh verse because there is frequently no word-break at the pāda boundary of the ubiquitous śloka. One would want to preserve the information whether or not there is a word break there, yet would not want a pāda to begin with a space. Hence after a regular expression inserted each verse quarter in a seg element, subsequent regular expressions moved leading spaces, where found, from the beginning of the second seg to a space element after the end of the first and set the second verse quarter on a separate line. Thus the first verse of the *Bhagavadgītā*,

> 06023001a Darmakzetre kurukzetre samavetA yuyutsavaH
> 06023001c mAmakAH pARqavAS cEva kim akurvata saMjaya

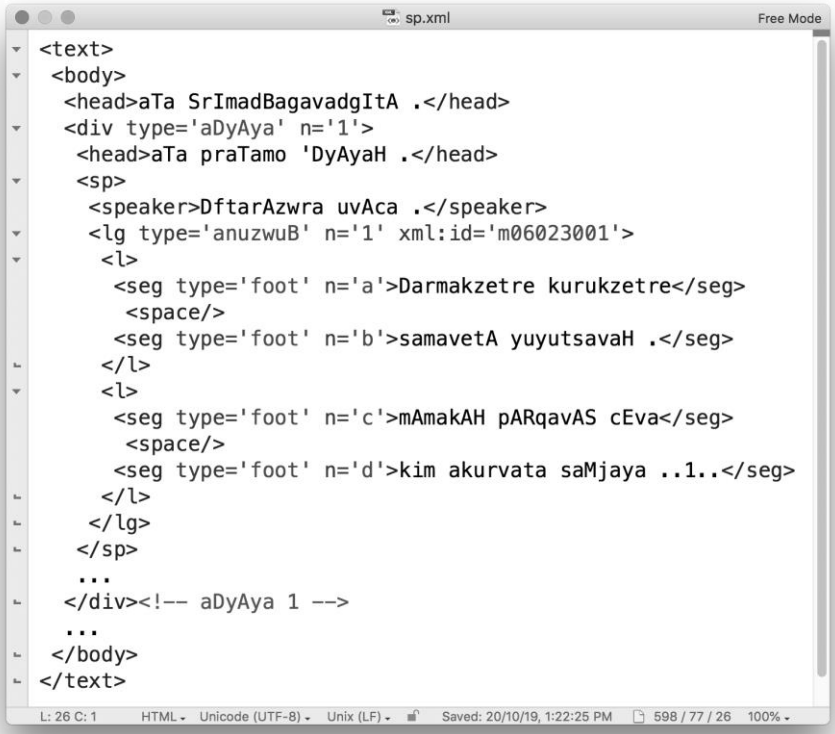
was marked up in TEI and reformatted as shown in Figure 3 with each verse quarter in a separate seg element, and a space element after the first and third verse quarters.

Figure 3
Bhagavadgītā 1.1 in Anuṣṭubh meter



We also trained students in the workshop to compose regular expressions to capture the speaker lines such as *Dhṛtarāṣṭra uvāca* that introduce speeches and to compose replacement expressions to put these in speaker elements. Similarly, we taught them to mark up prose sentences and paragraphs in s and p elements, to put speeches in sp elements, to insert head and trailer elements, to locate and capture enumeration of divisions, to insert div elements, to insert the whole in body and text elements, to insert page and line break elements, and to mark up bibliography. We then had them insert these elements in a teiHeader template in the TEI element, and to validate the complete TEI document. Figure 4 shows the first short speech of the *Bhagāvadgītā* with the speaker element in the context of parent sp, div, body, and text tags, and leading head tag.

Figure 4
TEI markup of a speech in the context of head, division, body, and text elements



4. TEITagger software

Ralph Bunker, the technical director of the Sanskrit Library, and I created software, called TEITagger, to process a series of pairs of regular and replacement expressions that matched specified parameters of the format of a plain text file containing lines of Sanskrit text and transform it to well-structured TEI. For example, by creating a regular expression that counted the correct number of

syllables per pāda we could convert every such verse to proper TEI markup in lg elements, with each line in an l element, and each pāda in a seg element. At the same time we could number the verse in an n attribute, insert an xml:id, and insert the meter name and metrical pattern in a type attribute.

TEITagger also includes the feature to submit a segment of text that matches a certain regular expression to our meter identification software that identifies the meter of a verse, verse line, or verse quarter by checking the passage against a database I created of classical metrical texts. The database includes all of the metrical patterns defined by Velankar (1949) with the exception of certain length constraints on open-ended daṇḍaka meters consisting of "any number of" specific patterns. An iterative command permits matching verses of *n* syllables, where *n* is a range. If a match is found, TEITagger automatically inserts the meter name, general type, and metrical pattern in type, ana, and met attributes of the lg element. To simplify the regular expression formulation in the command driver file, we composed macros to represent vowels, consonants, syllables, syllable codas, and the typical terms used in the lines that introduce speeches. These and other details of the TEITagger program are described by Scharf (2018b).

5. Philological use of the TEITagger software

Distinct patterns of textual composition may indicate composition by different authors and reveal insertions of segments in a text. For instance, metrical analysis of the *Mahābhārata* has revealed different patterns of metrical composition that suggest different authorship and insertion of certain sections. Edgerton (1939) distinguished regular versus irregular varieties of Triṣṭubh and Jagatī meters that were significantly divided between the *Virāṭaparvan* and *Sabhāparvan* respectively and thereby demonstrated separate composition and probably subsequent insertion of the *Virāṭaparvan* in the text of the *Mahābhārata*. Fitzgerald (2006) analyzed a database of the Triṣṭubh and Jagatī verses in the *Mahābhārata* he assembled over the past couple of decades. He distinguished standard varieties of Triṣṭubh and Jagatī that contrast with less standard varieties. Fitzgerald

(2009) isolated two measurable variables: (1) the degree of uniformity among the pādas of the Triṣṭubh stanzas, and (2) the set of major Triṣṭubh features that were eliminated in the creation of the classical standard Triṣṭubh. He measured the uniformity of these types of verses within certain sections of the text to help to locate discontinuities in composition that might signal different periods of composition of the passages. Fitzgerald ([n.d.]) argued, "if we are able to make reasonable arguments about historical fissures in the text, we thereby enrich our understanding of the text's possible meanings … by distinguishing multiple voices, dialogical tension, and innovation within the otherwise synchronic, unitary, received text." Using this method in his careful unpublished study of the episode of the dice match, he was able to conclude that "this whole episode, the Upajāti passage of chapter 60 in which Duḥśāsana drags Draupadī into the sabhā by the hair, is likely later than most or all of the rest of this episode."

The automation provided by TEITagger vastly simplifies the sort of work that Edgerton and Fitzgerald have done with careful evaluation of statistics gathered with great effort over a long time. I tagged the entire critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* within a week. A driver file of pairs of regular expressions and replacement expressions matched every possible combination of the syllable counts per pāda, triple-line and single line verses as well as the normal double-line verses, and sent verses, and where these were not identified, of individual lines, and quarters to our meter analyzer. The specific results were reported by Scharf (2018b).

The success and ease of applying TEITagger to analyze the metrical patterns in the *Mahābhārata* demonstrate the capacity of computational methods like this to reveal detailed information about a massive work and to mark up the results in a way that permits computational compilation so that these results may be presented to scholars in ways that may inspire further insight.

6. Other philological work utilizing TEI encoding

The Text-Encoding Initiative provides guidelines to create descriptive catalogue entries of manuscripts and to organize a critical apparatus in a critical edition. For the purpose of conducting projects to create digital catalogues of Sanskrit manuscripts at Brown University, the University of Pennsylvania and Harvard University, I created a template that employs encoding practices outlined in the Text Encoding Initiative's (TEI) Manuscript guidelines while incorporating the comprehensive cataloguing parameters developed by the American Committee for South Asian Manuscripts. The projects are described on the Sanskrit Library website under Projects (https://sanskritlibrary.org/projects.html), and the details of the TEI mark-up used and procedures employed are described by Scharf (2015, 2017b, 2018a, Forthcoming c).

The Sanskrit Library developed software to format the information provided in the base TEI document automatically in an HTML display. The extensive markup used in the Sanskrit Library manuscript catalogue template allows catalogue entries to be indexed by numerous criteria in order to provide an extremely versatile catalogue index interface that provides access to manuscripts by way of a number of parameters including author, title, scribe, place, and text contained in passages transcribed. (See https://www.sanskritlibrary.org/catindex.html). Each catalogue entry contains a section of links to all images of the manuscript. Transcription of incipits, explicits and any other segments of the manuscripts includes TEI encoding of text structure such as verses, paragraphs, headings, rubrics, final rubrics, and colophons, and of document structure such as folio numbers, indications of recto and verso, and line numbers. From the single transcription, two views are created programmatically: one that shows the text structure with bibliographic references to corresponding editions, and one that shows the page and line structure of the text in the manuscript. The latter includes links to the image of each manuscript page transcribed while the former includes links to corresponding passages in digital editions of the text, where available. I mapped the information encoded in XML elements in accordance with the TEI-Ms. guidelines

in catalogue entries to the standard MaRC records used by libraries, and Bunker, the software engineer for the project, used this mapping to write code to transform the TEI-conformant XML catalog records to standard MaRC-XML records for inclusion in the online catalogs of the University of Pennsylvania and Harvard University.

Besides providing encoding standards for cataloguing manuscripts, TEI provides standards to create a critical apparatus. Ajotikar, Ajotikar, and Scharf (2018) use these standards to organize and tally variants reported by commentators on the *Kāśikāvr̥tti*. Wherever commentators adopt or report a reading, the reading accepted in the text as edited by Sharma and Deshpande (1969, 1970) is recorded in a `lem` (lemma) element and commentators who support the reading in its `wit` (witness) attribute. Where a commentator has or reports a different reading, it is recorded in a `rdg` (reading) element, again with the commentators who support the reading in its wit attribute. If the reading is reported but not accepted by the commentator, the type attribute is used to classify how the commentator characterized the reading. The `lem` and `rdg` elements related to each passage are collected in an `app` (apparatus) element in which a `loc` (location) attribute specifies the location of the lemma in the base text. For example, a lemma supported by both commentaries is encoded as follows:

```
<app loc='A1.1.1'>
        <lem wit='ny pm'>vfdDiSabdaH</lem>
</app>
```

A lemma for which each commentator has given a different reading like this:

```
<app loc='A1.1.2'>
        <lem>jayanti</lem>
        <rdg wit='ny'>paWanti paWan</rdg>
        <rdg wit='pm'>pacanti jayanti</rdg>
</app>
```

A lemma supported by Jinendrabuddhi's principal text and partially supported by Haradatta's, yet for which Jinendrabuddhi remarks that the reading in another manuscript is incorrect is encoded in this way:

```
<app loc='A1.1.30'>
        <lem wit='ny'>tvayakA kftam</lem>
        <rdg wit='ny' type='apapAWa'>tvakayA</rdg>
        <rdg wit='pm' type='partial'>tvayakA</rdg>
</app>
```

This organization of data allows easy tallying of reported variants and serves as a model of how digital philological techniques assist in representing data in ways that facilitate new insights. In this case, Ajotikar, Ajotikar and Scharf (2018) reported significantly that ten percent (10%) of the readings gleaned from the commentators in *A.* 1.3 support a change in the text as established by Sharma and Deshpande (1969, 1970).

7. Communication between TEI files and linguistic software

As mentioned in §1, one of the principal benefits of encoding Sanskrit texts using TEI XML is to fulfill the need to coordinate directly, without human intervention, with software developed by others, possibly in ways not anticipated. In particular, by encoding Sanskrit texts in TEI we anticipate coordinating a large repository of digital Sanskrit texts with parsers and syntax analyzers, such as the Sanskrit Heritage parser and the University of Hyderabad's संसाधनी. TEI provides robust standardized methods to coordinate various versions of texts and to refer to particular divisions and segments within a text so that parsed and syntactically analyzed passages may be interlinked with their originals. Scharf (2018b) described these methods in detail. The highest level of coordination identifies the repository that houses the original file from which a passage is taken and submitted to a linguistic analysis tool on another site. For example, using the International Standard Identifier for Libraries and Related Organizations (ISIL), ISO 15511, an attribute value pair repository='US-RiPrSl' identifies the Sanskrit Library as the repository. Collection and item identifiers or filenames identify the

file within the repository. Scharf (2018b) also discussed standard designation of various degrees of analysis including one or more varieties of each of the following:

1. continuous text (*saṁhitā-pāṭha*)
2. sandhi-analyzed text (*pada-pāṭha*)
3. morphologically analyzed text
4. lexically and morphologically analyzed text
5. syntactically analyzed text

Once a file containing the version of a text with a specific degree of analysis is identified, TEI provides standardized machine-readable methods to refer to particular sections and passages. Scharf (2018b) demonstrated how the `tagsDecl` element is used to document the usage of specific tags in the text, and how the `refsDecl` element describes the reference system used in the text. The former additionally can specify exactly which elements and attributes contain Sanskrit text, how it is encoded and whether it is to be transcoded to Unicode Roman, Devanagari, or another Indic Unicode encoding for display. These elements provide all that is necessary to extract Sanskrit text from the encoding for display in HTML, for specifying text divisions in menus, and for submission as a unit to metrical, morphological and syntactic analysis software.

The reference declaration describes the pattern of canonical references formally in a manner amenable to machine processing. A regular expression describing the pattern of the canonical reference is paired with a replacement expression that describes the path to the attributes that contain the reference numbers in elements encoding various levels of text sections and passages. These elements and attributes directly provide an unambiguous method to resolve canonical references to particular passages, and, processed in the opposite direction, a means to compose canonical references from section and passage numbering attributes.

The results of linguistic analysis of passages in an archive of texts encoded in TEI as described above, whether that analysis is

produced manually or by linguistic software, are also accurately encoded in standardized ways by TEI. TEI adds elements subordinate to those containing the original passage. Each word in a passage in which sandhi is analyzed is inserted in a w (word) element. Each morpheme in a passage subjected to morphological analysis is inserted in an m (morpheme) element subordinate to a w element. The TEI lemma attribute of a w element contains the stem of the word. The type attribute may house the lexical identifier and the subtype attribute the inflectional identifier. Figure 5 shows our TEI mark up of the sandhi analysis of the first verse of the *Bhagavadgītā*, *MBh.* 6.23.1, and Figure 6 shows our TEI mark up of the lexical and morphological analysis of the same verse.

Figure 5
TEI mark up of the sandhi analysis of *MBh.* 6.23.1, the first verse of the *Bhagavadgītā*

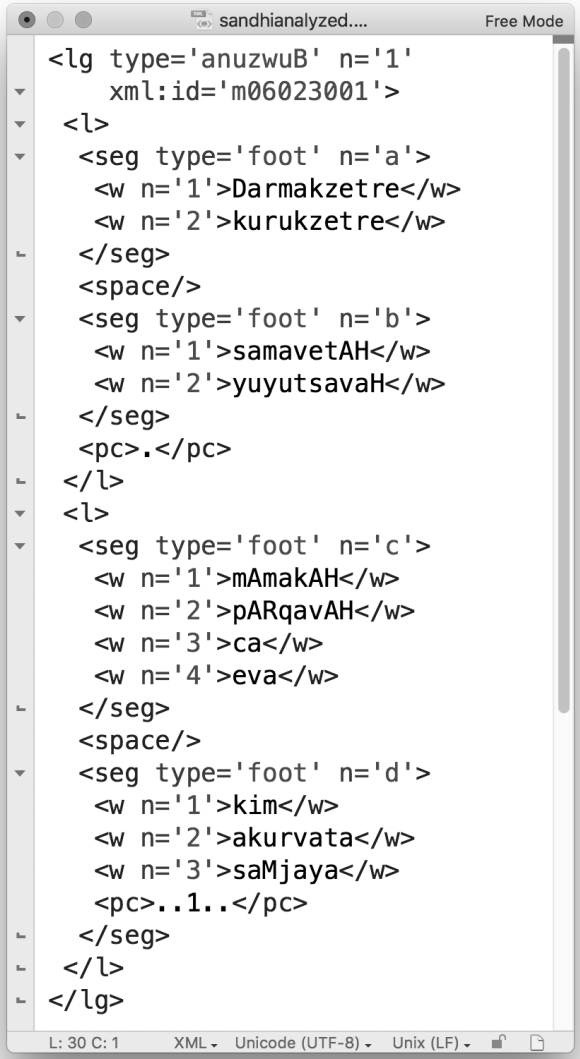


Figure 6
TEI mark up of the lexical and morphological analysis of *MBh.* 6.23.1, the first verse of the *Bhagavadgītā*


lexmorph.xml

```
<lg type='anuzwuB' n='1' xml:id='m06023001'>
 <l>
  <seg type='foot' n='a'>
   <w n='1' lemma='Darmakzetra' type='noun' subtype='m7s'>Darmakzetre
    <m n='1' type='noun'>Darma</m>
    <m n='2' type='noun'>kzetra</m>
   </w>
   <w n='2' lemma='kurukzetra' type='noun' subtype='m7s'>kurukzetre
    <m n='1' type='noun'>kuru</m>
    <m n='2' type='noun'>kzetra</m>
   </w>
  </seg>
  <space/>
  <seg type='foot' n='b'>
   <w n='1' lemma='samaveta' type='ppp' subtype='m1p'>samavetAH</w>
   <w n='2' lemma='yuyutsu' type='adj_desid' subtype='m1p'>yuyutsavaH
    <m type='root'>yuD</m>
   </w>
   <pc>.</pc>
  </seg>
 </l>
 <l>
  <seg type='foot' n='c'>
   <w n='1' lemma='mAmaka' type='adj' subtype='m1p'>mAmakAH</w>
   <w n='2' lemma='pARqava' type='noun_patronymic' subtype='m1p'>pARqavAH
    <m type='noun'>pARqu</m>
   </w>
   <w n='3' lemma='ca' type='pcl_conj' subtype='i'>ca</w>
   <w n='4' lemma='eva' type='pcl' subtype='i'>eva</w>
  </seg>
  <space/>
  <seg type='foot' n='d'>
   <w n='1' lemma='kim' type='pron_int' subtype='n2s'>kim</w>
   <w n='2' lemma='kf' type='vt5am' subtype='pre[5]_a3p'>akurvata</w>
   <w n='3' lemma='saMjaya' type='noun_pn' subtype='mvs'>saMjaya</w>
   <pc>..1..</pc>
  </seg>
 </l>
</lg>
```

L: 41 C: 1 XML Unicode (UTF-8) Unix (LF) Saved: 20/10/19, 12:34:48 PM 1,797 / 312 / 43 100%

The standardized coordination of markup and reference between Sanskrit text archives and Sanskrit computational software allows HTML displays showing the unanalyzed version of a verse to include a set of links to various analyzed versions for the convenience of students and scholars of Sanskrit. Conversely, displays of the results of analysis of a passage could provide links to the unanalyzed source.

8. Computational use of XML

While TEI provides numerous standards, guidelines, and suggestions for encoding documents, the XML metalanguage permits an unlimited variety of tags and attributes. This flexibility of XML permits one to create data structures and languages for various purposes. The robustness and world-wide use of XML suggests that even novel uses of XML will be sustainable. Hence when the Pāṇinian sandhi program I wrote in Pascal, in which each rule was modeled in a separate subroutine, became obsolete, Malcolm Hyman and I divided the labor of implementing sandhi according to Pāṇinian rules: I modeled the rules in XML, and he wrote a Perl program to interpret the rules programmatically and rewrite them in Perl. We gradually expanded the same approach to model Pāṇinian rules of declension, conjugation, and participle formation. Then I created an XML data structure of the *Dhātupāṭha* as in the *Mādhavīya Dhātuvṛtti* which Jim Funderburk used to create the Sanskrit Library's Canonical Index described by Scharf (2009) is accessible on the Sanskrit Library website at https://www.sanskritlibrary.org/Sanskrit/Vyakarana/Dhatupatha/index2.html along with the index itself. Finally in 2013 I began a project to model Pāṇini's entire *Aṣṭādhyāyī* in XML, called *Paitāmbarī*, described by Scharf (2016b) and completed in July 2017. Rules encode the entire process of derivation from initial semantic conditions, to the organization of semantic conditions in categories by the introduction of technical terms, to the introduction of affixes in addition to the morphophonemic and phonetic changes once the underlying string reflecting the deep structure (*alaukikavigrahavākya)* is assembled.

As anyone who has written software or even used a computer

knows, machines demand exactitude. Utilizing digital methods to assist in analysis, whether of humanities disciplines or linguistic systems, brings an unforgiving rigor to the process that forces one to be systematic. Undertaking the process of formalizing *Pāṇini*'s linguistic system itself, carried out with the assistance of Tanuja and Anuja Ajotikar, by forcing us to look systematically at every detail of Pāṇini's system, brought to light a number of interesting issues, many of which had been completely overlooked by the entire tradition of commentary for the past two and half millennia since Pāṇini's original composition. Some of these issues are discussed by Ajotikar, Ajotikar and Scharf (2016). Others by Scharf (2010, 2016a, 2013, 2017a, Forthcoming a, Forthcoming d), and by Ajotikar, Kulkarni and Scharf (2016).

Computational implementation of the formalization of Pāṇini's linguistic system allows one to generate Sanskrit forms according to Pāṇinian rules while tracking the derivational sequence and preserving the semantic and cooccurrence conditions of each form. For instance, based on the formalization of Pāṇini's rules for the introduction of ātmanepada and parasmaipada verbal terminations in *A.* 1.3, Scharf, Goyal, Ajotikar and Ajotikar (2015) tracked all of the specific conditions that specify which verbs occur in the active or middle voice, in which meanings they do so, with which preverbs they do so, and whether they do so when transitive or intransitive.

I am currently developing a computational implementation of *Paitāmbarī* that will produce a comprehensive Pāṇinian lexicon of Sanskrit. This lexicon will evince complete Pāṇinian derivations of words and phrases with all their semantic and cooccurrence conditions which will serve as a formal semantic analysis of the Sanskrit strings so derived. The Pāṇinian lexicon will serve as the core of a lexical table that coordinates headwords of the forty-five lexical resources in the Sanskrit Library's integrated dictionary. The Pāṇinian analysis contained in the lexicon will also serve to constrain homophonous speech forms in Sanskrit parsing software.

The structure of verbal cognition described by Indian cognitive scientists in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in particular Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa's works, will serve as a model according to which to formalize semantic relations that can be projected onto syntax for use in computational syntactic analysis. Scharf (Forthcoming b) describes how cognitive structure is projected onto language. Figure 7 shows the cognitive dependency tree for the verbal cognition of the sentence

(1) देवदत्त ओदनं पचति।
devadatta odanaṁ pacati.
Devadattaḥ odanam pacati.
m1s m2s pre_a3s
'Devadatta cooks rice.'

Figure 8 shows morphemes mapped to this cognitive dependency tree. Because the semantic conditions specified in Pāṇini's rules detail the dependency relations described by Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa, the comprehensive Pāṇinian lexicon produced by the computational implementation of *Paitāmbarī* will be enriched with the representation of internal dependency relations and with external dependency relations in the form of expectancies. The result will facilitate the precise dependency analysis of Sanskrit sentences, and the development of a Sanskrit parser that constructs cognitive dependency trees.

Figure 7
The cognitive dependency tree for sentence (1) according to Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa

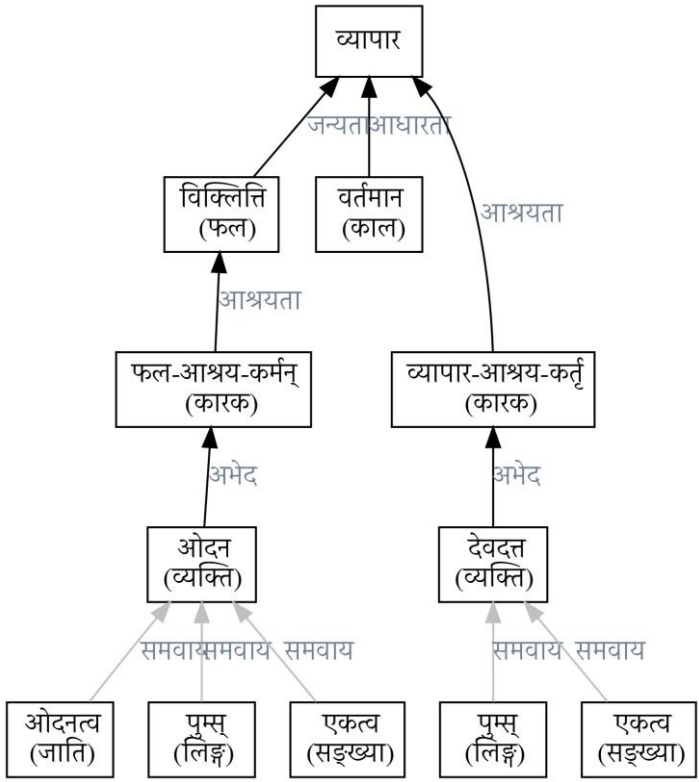
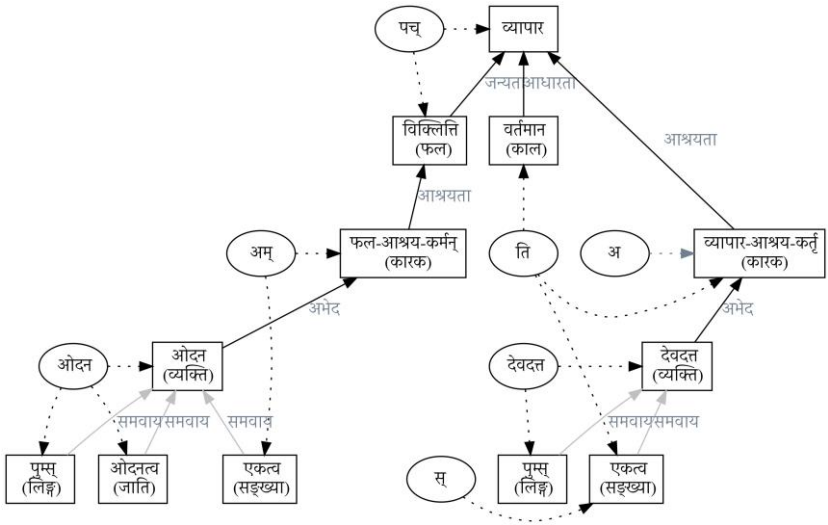


Figure 8
The mapping of morphemes in sentence (1) onto the cognitive dependency tree shown in Figure 7 according to Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa



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Design of a Sanskrit Reader Assistant

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Abstract

We give the design rationale of a semi-automatic computer tool that assists its users in understanding classical Sanskrit text, without presupposing an extensive knowledge of the grammar of the language. The Sanskrit Heritage Web service comprises three main components: a hypertext dictionary, a morphology generator, and an interactive segmenter cum tagger using a graphical interface. We describe the interaction between these components, and the main logical invariants that specify their behavior. We discuss possible extensions of this work towards semantic analysis, corpus management, and teaching. Finally, the main short-comings (incompleteness, overgeneration) are addressed and their possible solutions discussed.

1. Background

According to historical linguistics, languages evolve with time and space, and thus a given language is defined as the set of attested sentences in a specific corpus, in a given span of time over a given geographical area. Grammars are only secondary artefacts, and the set of sentences they sanction must be measured against its Gold Standard corpus. This view of historical linguistics was actually fostered by the Western discovery of Sanskrit, and the ensuing development of the Indo-European comparative linguistics. In the

20th century, universal linguistics was investigated, and formal generative grammars were designed as computational artefacts, such as context-free grammars. One thus speaks of the language associated with a grammar, as the set of sentences potentially generated by the formal mechanism. With this new view, one may design parsers, that will take a candidate sentence, and attempt to construct a formal structure that represents its linguistics analysis. Still more recently, deep neural networks have been used to train a parser from a data-base of annotated corpus, leading to recognizers that actually attempt to synthesize a grammar from the learning dataset.

With the advent ofcomputers, a computational view of written text emerged. Digital libraries of literature were developed, and the TEI (Text encoding initiative) produced standards for structured representation of linguistic data. Then software tools were developed for comparison of versions of texts and computer assistants used by philologists for the establishment of critical editions. On the computational side, algebraic methods were investigated as a foundation of the emerging new discipline of Informatics. The theory of formal languages and automata developed formalisms such as regular and context-free languages, and algorithms permitting recognition of formal text and inter- translation. These methods were then extended to the recognition of written natural language utterances and their semantic analysis, paving the way for computer inter-language translation. This became a major subfield of Informatics, namely Computational linguistics. In complement, specific techniques were studied for speech recognition and handwriting recognition.

Sanskrit computational linguistics started developing around 2000. Sanskrit is considered by comparative linguists as an Old-Indo-Aryan language, in the Indo-European family, descending from Vedic Sanskrit. Other descendants are Prakrits, the ancient vernacular languages of Northern India, which themselves evolved into modern North-Indian languages. But Classical Sanskrit has an important specificity. It is actually a semi-formal language, since it has been described in great details by a formal grammatical treatise, the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, as early as the 5th century B.C. Indeed, *saṃskṛta* means *refined* or *perfected*, in contrast with *prakṛta* which

means *natural*. Since this descriptive grammar is very complete and accurate, it became *de facto* prescriptive, and thus the language stopped its evolution, which essentially remained within the bounds of Pāṇini's grammar.

The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is often characterized as a *generative* grammar. Indeed, its main part gives a generative view of morphology, through procedures of elaboration [*vṛtti*] of word forms from roots [*dhātu*]: inflected words [*pāda*] are obtained by declension [*sup*] from nominal stems [*prātipadika*] and by conjugation [*tiṅ*] from roots and their auxiliary modes stems [*sanādi*]. Nominal stems themselves are issued from roots in two recursive layers: primary stems are built from roots by *kṛt* suffixing, secondary stems are built from stems by *taddhita* suffixing. Finally, a very productive process of compounding [*samāsa*] contracts contiguous words into a single one. On the other hand, another section of *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, dealing with sentences [*vākya*], is analytical in character: it defines sensible enunciations as the ones consistent with semantic roles of words [*kāraka*], in a model of situations constrained by functional dependencies [*ākāṅkṣa*]. This rich linguistic tradition is an indispensable foundation of Sanskrit computational linguistics.

2. The Sanskrit Heritage Dictionary

Our experiments with Sanskrit computational linguistics started with the design of an electronic Sanskrit to French dictionary called the Sanskrit Heritage Dictionary (Dictionnaire de l'Héritage du Sanskrit). This hypertext dictionary, which has been publicly available on Internet since 2004 through its index at sanskrit.inria.fr/DICO/index.fr.html, has a dual purpose. Initially meant for human users as a small hypertext encyclopedia of Indian traditional culture, it evolved into a linguistic digital database proper for computer processing of the language. Its overall design has been documented in Huet (2000, 2001, 2004, 2019). From the point of view of the Indian grammatical tradition, it plays the role of a database of roots [*dhātupāṭha*], of non-derivable nominal stems [*uṇādikośa*], and of semantic glosses, comparable to traditional thesauri such as the *Amarakoṣa*.

This dictionary is thus a dual resource: as the source of

morphology generation by computer, and as a glossary appropriate for a human user to articulate meanings from formal analysis, taking into account usage, literature, and more generally cultural artifacts of ancient India. Thus, it is essential to record not just the etymological meaning of words [*abhidhā, mukhya*], but also their idiomatic usage [*rūḍha*], their figurative usage [*lakṣaṇā*], their metaphorical usage [*gauṇa*], their suggestive usage [*vyañjana*], their implicature [*dhvani*]. The dictionary also acts as a repertory of frozen expressions, illustrating frequent collocations. A number of citations is also provided, illustrating typical styles with a selection of important sayings [*subhāṣita*] and ritual invocations [*mantra*]. They currently number 998. Among them, 983 are given with their analysis, as a link to the Heritage_citations branch of the tagged corpus repository described in section 7 below.

The source of the dictionary is a structured text file, which is parsed into a set of lexical entries tagged with parameters, in order to be further processed by the morphological generator described in the next section. Currently the dictionary has 35245 entries, over 658 verbal roots.

3. Morphology generation

3.1. Generalities

This essential component is a *pada* generator, inspired from the Pāṇinian notion. It allows generation of forms from lexicalized stems, both for substantives and verbs. It basically follows the methodology sketched above, but with a few discrepancies that it might be useful to explain.

First of all, we must understand the phonemic encoding of speech. Speech [*vāc*] is a sound signal, a vocal enunciation. Articulated speech or language [*śabda*] is a meaningful linguistic utterance, pairing a signifier [*dhvani*] and a signified [*artha*], its meaning. Phonetics [*śikṣā*] was studied in India from high antiquity, and recognized as a technical area of knowledge [*vedāṅga*]. By the time of Pāṇini, Vedic texts had been subjected to lexical analysis [*padapāṭha*] in treatises [*prātiśākhya*] expressing speech in abstract discretized form. The 50 discrete units of speech [*varṇa*] correspond roughly to phonemes (vowels being further distinguished by

duration). These units form syllables [*akṣara*] which themselves compose morphemes, words, and discourse amenable to representation in writing with syllabic scripts such as *devanāgarī*.

Pāṇini describes linguistic operations with strings of symbols, mixing genuine phonemes belonging to the phonetic production, and formal markers [*anubandha*] that represent operations on these strings. Morphological synthesis operate on phonemic forms [*prakṛti*] via affixation of symbolic suffixes [*pratyāya*] that mix genuine phonemic production with *anubandha* operators. It is this interveaving of object language (Sanskrit) with meta language (the command language of the Pāṇinian operations controlled by *anubandha*s) that is the main difficulty in understanding the Pāninian *sūtra*s.

For instance, one may form from root *kṛ* (to do) an agent noun of its action according to *sūtra* {III,1,133}, that prescribes use of primary suffix *ṇvul*, consisting solely of *anubandha*s. Marker *ṇ* specifies bringing the root stem to its highest vocalic degree [*vṛddhi*] by a further rule that will produce morpheme *kār*. Marker *vu* is defined as abbreviating the morpheme *aka* according to *sūtra* {VII,1,1}, which is thus affixed to the base *kār* to produce *kāraka* "he who does". Marker *l* specifies the initial position of the accent.

Markers are also used to classify phonemes in the various classes that are relevant to the grammar operations: vowels, consonants, nasals, sibilants, etc. The whole grammar is introduced by a set of 14 *sūtra*s of a specific form, consisting each of a sequence of *varṇa*s ended with a marker. This permits to define *condensed statements* [*pratyāhāra*] formed with one *varṇa* and one marker, and denoting the set of all phonemes starting with the given *varṇa* up to the marker, erasing intermediate markers. Thus, we may designate all consonants by *hal*, all sibilants by *śar*, etc. The same idea is used for e.g. designating all 18 personal ending suffixes for verbs by *tiṅ*. Another important Pāṇinian concept is *recurring presuppositions* [*anuvṛtti*] that permits hierarchical sharing of conditioning conditions for *sūtra*s.

These abbreviating notations were essential to make the grammar compact in view of its human memorization. However, they are not essential for computer treatment, since the memory requirements are

relaxed, and thus more explicit descriptions may be used instead. For instance, in our implementation phonemes are represented by natural numbers, morphemes and words are represented by lists of such, etc. As for *anubandha*s, they are replaced by functional invocation of the corresponding operation. Thus, our implementation is not a strict emulator of *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, and it favors modular compositionality over code compression. Let us list a few more discrepancies.

We slightly extended the *varṇa*s in order to have a finer classification leading to a more uniform treatment. For instance, we have 2 varieties of phoneme *j*, in order to allow for forms such as *mṛṣṭa*, past participle of root *mṛj*, as opposed to regular formations such as *bhakta*, past participle of *bhaj*. Similarly, we have 3 varieties of phoneme *h*, to accommodate respectively *bṛḍha*, *dugdha* and *naddha*, obtained uniformly by alliteration [*sandhi*] operations on this extended phonemic set.

A more significant discrepancy is that we do retroflexion on the fly during morphological synthesis, rather than as a terminal operation effected during the final phonetic smoothing of the *tripādī* section. Another innovation is the notion of phantom phoneme. This mechanism is necessary for the proper treatment of roots starting with *i*, *u*, or their lengthened versions *ī* and *ū*, when they are prefixed by preverb *ā*, in order to allow the proper recognition of sentences like *ihehi* 'come here'. This mechanism has been explained in Huet (2003a, 2013) and Goyal & Huet (2013).

What matters is not to follow *Aṣṭādhyāyī*'s computations to the letter, but to compute stems [*prātipadika*], word forms [*pada*] and other morphemes such as preverbs [*upasarga*] and other particles [*nipāta*] in such a way that at analysis time we may reconstruct from them word forms consistent with the Pāṇinian treatment. An important concern is that the generative process must be finitistic, i.e. must only generate a finite set of forms, which will be used as a filtering database at analysis time. Thus, it imposes for instance that compound words must be broken up in their constituents, which will allow their reconstruction at analysis time, since the grammar does not impose a limit on their number of components. Actually, compounding in Sanskrit is beyond morphology, and interferes with syntax. Compounds are syntactic macros for rigid nominal phrases, as is

explicit from their canonical paraphrase [*vigraha*].

The standard construction of compounds glues two nouns [*subanta*] by joining the stem [*prātipadika*] of the first one to the second one. The first component is obtained by erasure [*lopa*] of the declension suffix of the first word. Knowledge of this declension suffix is necessary in the Pāṇinian system, because it is used to elaborate the paraphrase [*vigraha*] that defines its meaning as an abbreviation for a specific noun phrase. In effect, *Aṣṭādhyāyī* does not just generate forms, but it generates [*śabda*] in its double aspect of phonetic utterance and meaning. It may be thought of as generating Sanskrit signs from the speaker's intention [*vivakṣā, tātparya*] (Huet 2016). But when we analyze Sanskrit text, only the phonetic part of the sign is available, and still in an impoverished condition, since accent is missing in writing, whereas it is recursively computed in an explicit manner according to the derivation rules. On the other hand, this means that our generator does not need to make the accent computation, since this would not help us to recognize text, where the information is lost.

3.2. Generative power of morphology

Let us first consider inflexion of nominal stems, irrespectively of whether these stems are lexicalized, or themselves issued from generative processes.

On the side of nominals, we implemented the various declension schemes, regular as well as exceptional, and this led to quite a few distinct paradigms, 116 at the time of writing. But it should be remarked that the retroflexion of phonemes *s* and *n* is automatically accounted for by the context condition of the suffixing operations, and thus we have a unique regular paradigm for stems in *-a*, generating *rāmeṇa* as well as *devena* – our paradigms are functional phonetic schemes and not merely tables of suffixes.

We profit of this generation pass to engender other morphemes, usable to assemble various constructions. For instance, we store the bare stems themselves, in order to provide the first component of nominal compounds, by elision [*lopa*] of the declension suffix [*sup-pratyaya*] of the prior element [*pūrvapada*]. Thus, production of the inflected forms of *rājan* will populate the bank of Iic stems with the

form *rāja*, so that it may be recognized at segmenting time as the proper first component of a word form such as *rājapuruṣaḥ*. At the same time, we generate in another database the first component of the *cvi* inchoative constructions in *-ī* or *-ū*. In this way entry *drava* (liquid) will engender form *dravī*, in order to recognize e.g. *dravībhūtaḥ* (liquefied) used with past participle of the auxiliary root *bhū* (to become). Also, we engender pseudo-ablative forms of the *tasil* construction, in order to recognize e.g. indeclinable *viśvatas* (from all sides) from pronoun *viśva* (all).

We also pave the way for the recognition of exocentric [*bahuvrīhi*] compounds by providing extra forms for their second component. Thus, neuter substantive *ambara* (cloth, neuter) produces a masculine form *ambaraḥ*, usable only as second element of a compound such as *pītāmbaraḥ* (he who wears a yellow garment). A similar mechanism is implemented to recognize invariable [*avyayī-bhāva*] compounds such as *nirmakṣikam* (exempt from flies) from feminine stem *makṣikā* (fly). Please note that such special forms as *ambaraḥ* and *makṣikam* are not, and should not be recognized as, *bona fide* stand-alone inflected words (*pada*).

Let us now consider the verbal system. Our notion of verbal root is close to that of Whitney (1885). For instance, we group in one entry *kṛ* the present forms *karoti* and *kṛṇoti*, even though they belong to two different present classes (*gaṇa*), and thus occur in two distinct entries in the Pāṇinian *dhātupāṭha*. The justification is that these *gaṇa*s are just generators for the present system. This allows us not to get artificial ambiguities with forms outside of the present system (future, perfect, passive, etc.) As a consequence, we have far fewer roots (647 at present) than usual *dhātupāṭha*s (that have of the order of 2200). This is also because we do not consider *dhātupāṭha* entries that have no obvious attested form in the available corpus – admittedly a rather subjective criterion, until enough corpus is digitalized, and our computer tools are robust enough to scan it entirely and spot their possible occurrences.

We developed generation paradigms for the major tenses/aspects/moods of classical Sanskrit. First, the present system

(accounting for present [*laṭ*], imperfect [*laṅ*], optative [*liṅ*] and imperative [*loṭ*]), in the two voices (*parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada*). The allowed present classes [*gaṇa*] are indicated in the lexicon, together with the present form of the third person singular [*ti*]. Thus, for entry *gam*, the lexicon specifies '[1] pr. (*gacchati*)'. This specific form is used as a consistency check that indeed the conjugation generator produces this exact form.

We also systematically generate forms for the two forms of future (*lṛṭ* and *luṭ*), for perfect [*liṭ*], and for the passive forms of the present system (*karmaṇi*). We also provide for the periphrastic perfect forms of roots of class 10 by generating the form in [*-ām*] prefixing the perfect forms of auxiliaries *kṛ*, *bhū* and *as*. We have also implemented generative paradigms for the 7 varieties of aorist and injunctive (resp. *luṇ* and *leṭ*), but we do not generate all the forms for all the roots, only the combinations that are deemed productive enough to appear in corpus (this is a subjective criterion, induced from mention in Whitney roots (1885), and occasionally completed when a missing form is spotted). We also implemented schemes for benedictive/precative mood (optative aorist *āśirliṅ*), conditional (preterit of future *lṛṅ*) and subjunctive (*leṭ*), but are generating such rare forms only for roots for which there is attested usage, mostly in mantras.

We generate a considerable number of primary nominal derivatives from roots [*kṛdanta*]. We have implemented generative schemes for most participles: present participles (active, middle and passive), past passive participles [*kta*], past active participles [*ktavat*], gerundives (future passive participles) in their three forms in *-ya*, *-īya* and *-tavya*, future active and middle participles, perfect participles (active and middle). All such constructions yield adjectival stems, which in turn generate their forms in all genders, numbers and cases, leading to a very extensive lexicon of inflected words. All these forms are recorded with proper tags, allowing for recognition of their origin, and thus of their proper functional dependencies. Besides those, the remaining nominal *kṛdantas* (essentially agent nouns and action nouns) are not systematically generated, but are deemed lexicalized.

Finally, we generate absolutive forms in *-tvā* and *-ya*, as well as

forms in *-am* (so-called *ṇamul*) for roots that admit this construct for iterative meaning. We also provide infinitive forms, both in their usual form in *-tum* (so-called *tumun*), and in their special forms in *-tu*, usable with auxiliary forms of *kāma* or *manas*, in order to recognize compounds such as *draṣṭukāmaḥ* and *draṣṭumanā*.

Secondary conjugations (*sanādi*) are not systematically generated. The lexicon indicates the secondary conjugations available for each root. Their forms are generated from the lexicalized 3rd person singular indicated in the lexicon, due to the great variability of such forms. The lexicon also documents whether nominal entries give rise to denominative verbs, and what is their formation scheme and voice.

A specific technology was developed for storing such an enormous amount of forms (several millions) marked with their morphological parameters, using specific data-structures inspired from automata theory and allowing maximum sharing of information. The Zen toolkit, a set of Ocaml [1] data structures and algorithms adapted to the task, is documented in Huet (2002, 2003b). The name 'Zen' was chosen to evoke the simplicity of the informatics concepts used in its design, based on the functional programming paradigm. The whole library fits in 5000 lines of Ocaml code.

4. Segmentation by sandhi analysis

The Zen toolkit was then extended to develop finite-state transducers adapted to the phonetic smoothing (sandhi) between contiguous words. Thus, it is possible to represent the phonetic smoothing that occurs at the junction of word forms (and during compound formation) by a finite automaton operating on the segmented representation (*padapāṭha*). This is possible because external (i.e. inter-*pada*) sandhi is a finitely representable regular relation). Furthermore, such relations are invertible, and thus we may revert the process, and compute all possible segmentations from a given continuous enunciation (*saṃhitā*). The corresponding non-deterministic transducer operates directly on the databanks produced by the morphological generator, properly annotated with prediction

[1] https://ocaml.org

points where the context may trigger a sandhi rule.

This algorithm and its completeness analysis are given in Huet (2005). This technology was generalized to a general paradigm of non-deterministic computation called Effective Eilenberg machines by Huet & Razet (2005, 2015) and Razet (2009).

4.1. The phases transducer

The segmenting transducer is a two-level automaton. The lower level consists in individual lexicons of forms, one for each lexical category. The upper level connects these lexicons according to a transition diagram of *phases*. Figure 1 gives a simplified version of the phases automata, with 10 phases.

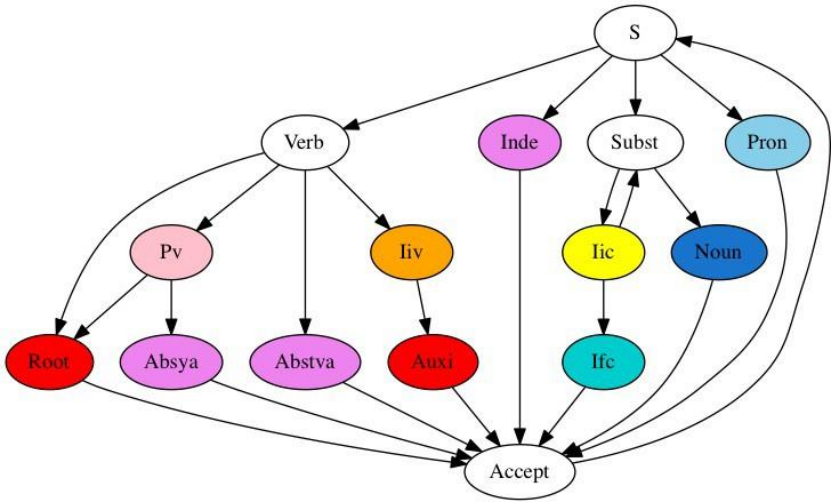


Figure 1: A simplified segmenter with 11 phases

The diagram may be read from top to bottom as the various ways one may recognize an inflected word (*pada*), going from the starting state S to the Accept state. Nominals (*subantas*) start at node Subst. Non-compounds are recognized at phase Noun. Compounds are

recognized by going through phase Iic, which corresponds to the data bank of bare stems. The second component of the compound will be found either by going through phase Noun, or through phase Ifc, that recognizes forms that can occur only as right components of compounds, like we discussed above for the formation of *bahuvrīhi* and *avyayībhāva* compounds. The Ifc phase also contains forms that are specified as such in the grammar, like *-kāraḥ* (maker_of). Multiple component compounds are recognized by looping through the Iic phase.

Finite verbal forms (*tiṅanta*s) are recognized at phase Root for root forms. Forms of verbs with preverbs are recognized by going through phase Pv, which corresponds to attested concatenations of preverb particles [*upasarga*]. Absolutive root forms in *-tvā* are recognized at phase Abstva, whereas absolutive forms in *-ya* (corresponding to roots prefixed with preverbs) are recognized at phase Absya. Forms obtained through the *cvi* construction, such as *dravībhavati* are recognized through the sequence Iiv then Auxi (that contains finite forms of auxiliary verbs). Finally, indeclinables and pronominal forms are recognized respectively at phases Inde and Pron.

Sentences may then be recognized by recognizing their successive words, using the upward going arrow from Accept to S. The diagram may be used to generate a continuous enunciation from its list of words, interpreting each down-going arrow as sandhi, or conversely as generating the *padapāṭha* from a continuous enunciation, interpreting the arrows as *sandhiviccheda*.

4.2. Treatment of preverbs

Each root in the lexicon is indicated with the preverbs (*upasarga*) that it may combine with. Each such preverb is a hyperlink to the corresponding verbal entry, making it easy to navigate quickly to the relevant information, back and forth. Each verbal entry has in turn its own list of which extra *upasarga*s it accepts. When the lexicon structure is compiled into grammatical information, as a first pass in the tool-building process, the transitive closure of this information is computed, so that the system knows for each root what are the allowed sequences to use in front of conjugated forms (*tiṅanta*s), and

for each such sequence what combinations of present class (*gaṇa*) and voice (*pada*) are permitted. This allows such compound preverb strings [*upasargamālā*] to be recognized in a holistic way at phase Pv rather than piecemeal, which saves on possible ambiguities.

Thus, we do not have to store forms given with their preverbs, we only generate root forms. But we are obliged to be more generous on such forms than what the bare root alone allows. For instance, root *viś* is used stand-alone only in active voice (*parasmaipade*): *viśati*, but admits middle voice (*ātmanepade*) when used with *upasarga ni-*: *niviśate*. Thus, we generate form *viśate* in the *tiṅanta* bank, and at recognition time we shall recognize *niviśate*, but will filter out *viśate* if stand-alone. This is consistent with *sūtra* (I,3,17), and more generally the mechanism accommodates faithfully section (I,3) of the grammar.

A difficulty occurs for sandhi. Preverbs are attached to root and *kṛdanta* forms by a tighter glueing operation than inter-word sandhi, incurring retroflexion. Thus, root *nī*, with present *nayati*, admits form *praṇayati* when used with *upasarga pra-*. This induces, at recognition time, the need to use a different internal sandhi operation when following the link between nodes Pv and Roots in the diagram above.

4.3. Completing the diagram

Vocative forms are treated specially, they have their own phase, and do not really participate to the sentence structure, they are rather part of the discourse structure. Furthermore, nominal stems in *-a*, by far the most frequent ones, have their vocative forms identical to their bare form used as first component of compounds [*pūrvapada*]. This ambiguity is avoided by imposing a chunk-final restriction, or extra punctuation after vocatives and interjections.

Then a specific mechanism takes care of privative [*nañsamāsa*] compounds. This induces splitting the nominal banks according to their initial *varṇa* (consonant vs vowel). This is possible while keeping the sharing of the banks, at no extra cost.

For roots of class 10 as well as causatives and denominative verbs, a periphrastic formation of perfect [*ṇamul*] is used, followed by perfect forms of the auxiliaries *kṛ*, *bhū* and *as*, like in sentence

janayāṃcakāra kaṭaṃ devadattaḥ (Devadatta made a mat). This induces two more phases in the segmenting automaton. A similar construction is the *cvi* inchoative construction mentioned above, and the use of certain particles like *alam*, *tiras*, etc. as specific prefixes [*gati*] to certain root forms.

We now get an extended graph of transitions of the segmenting transducer, represented in Figure 2 below. The complete graph used in the current version has of the order of 50 phases, accommodating transitions from preverbs to *kṛdanta*s, but also constructions that are less common, such as *draṣṭukāmaḥ*.

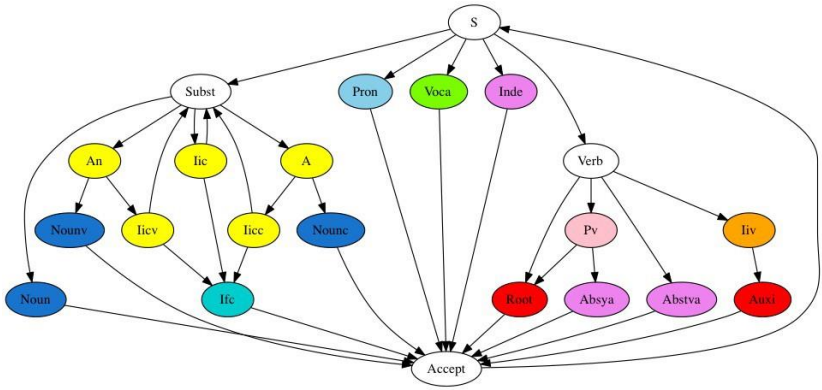


Figure 2: An extended segmenting transducer

5. Graphic interface

The Sanskrit Reader companion is a Web service that accepts Sanskrit input in various formats, and computes the shared forest of all segmentation solutions in the form of an interactive interface, where each word or morpheme recognized in the process is represented graphically as a colored rectangle, aligned with the input string. The colors of the rectangles are the colors of the automaton phases as depicted on Figure 2: *tiṅantas* are red, *subantas* are blue, *prātipādikas* are yellow, etc. If a segment is mandatory, in the sense of being a component of every solution, it stands alone in its column, and is marked with a blue check sign. Otherwise, a segment is marked with 2 signs: one green check sign, and one red cross sign. Both are

clickable buttons linked to orthogonal actions. Clicking on the green button will make the segment mandatory, by erasing all solutions not going through it. Clicking on the red button will eliminate the segment, erasing all solutions going through it.

Each rectangle is itself mouse sensitive, and if clicked will display the morphological parameters leading to the generation of the item. This allows the user to check the dubious choices. The display gives the morphological tags in a pop-up window, where the lexical stems are hypertext links to the relevant entry in the lexicon.

The full description and analysis of this graphic interface is available in Goyal & Huet (2016). An example is shown in Figure 3 below. The user has entered the string "śvetodhāvati" and he is at the

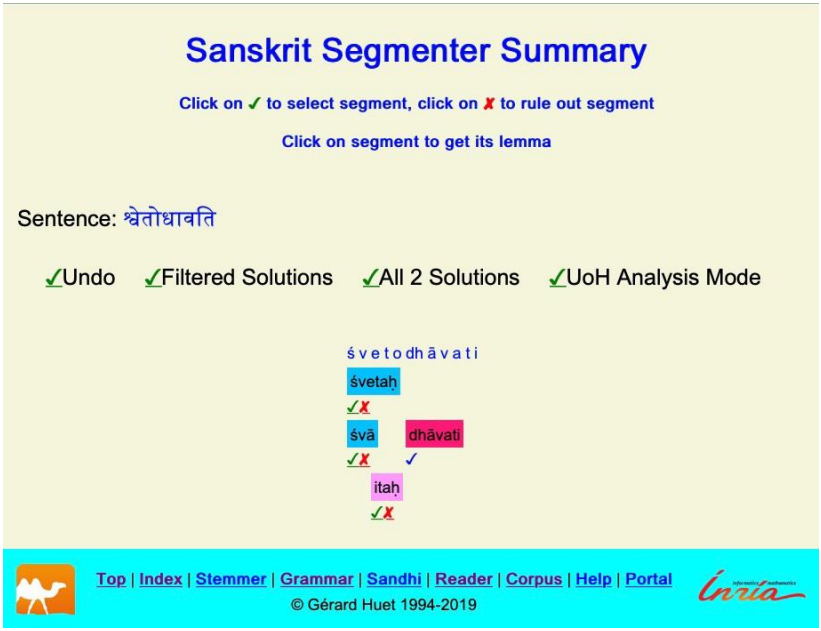


Figure 3: A typical ambiguity

point of wondering which blue segment to select, yielding either "the white one runs" or "the dog runs towards here".

6. User-aid

A common condition of failure of the segmenter is to be unable to reconstruct a correct chunk of input from sandhi combinations of the generated forms. In the interface, this appears as a black rectangle. This rectangle may be clicked (on an ace-of-spade underlying symbol) in order to access a very useful tool, called User-aid. It helps you in three different kinds of ways. First, it allows you to revise the chunk, if there is a misspelling, remove unclear parts or even elide it completely. Else you may try to solve the chunk by providing a stem together with its case, gender and number (assuming the chunk is a nominal form). But the system offers you possible choices for this, by guessing possible lemmatizations. Furthermore, when the corresponding stem is an entry in the Monier-Williams dictionary, it indicates this possibility by making the stem a link to the corresponding entry.

When the choice is validated, the stem is recorded with its gender in a local cache, used from then on as a local supplement to the generating lexicon. That is, in following uses of the reader, all forms of this new nominal stem will be recognized. This is very useful, since e.g. a specialized Āyurveda technical term is likely not to be recorded in the Heritage dictionary, but once encountered in a text it has good changes to reappear later, perhaps in a different case and number disguise.

Of course, this facility is available only for users who have installed the services on their localhost Web server, since the caching database is a private persistent structure.

7. Corpus manager

One recent component of our suite of tools is the Corpus Manager. It allows to store the final result of an analysis in a persistent file in a hierarchical library structure representing the morphologically-annotated corpus. Three levels of users have been defined: reader, annotator, and manager. The reader can only visualize the annotated corpus. An annotator may build new sections of the corpus, using the Sanskrit Reader tool, and update revisions, in his own area of competence. A manager creates new branches in the corpus repository, and gives annotator rights to competent individual scholars. The whole scheme is implemented using the Git

infrastructure.

This effort is described in Huet & Lankri (2018). This facility is still under design, and is not robust enough to be put in production for large-scale corpus processing. It is used mostly at present for displaying the dictionary's quotations in analyzed form, and for organizing texts used as teaching material.

8. Dependency analysis

The Sanskrit Reader badly overgenerates. It sees *śleṣa* everywhere, and makes no attempt at making sense of the word combinations exhibited in the solutions.

Therefore, we want now to filter out the non-sensible solutions, in the hope to selecting a unique solution, preferably the intended one.

The analytic section of *Aṣṭādhyāyī* gives a semantic analysis of sentences in terms of expectancies [*ākāṅkṣā*], similar to dependencies from the tradition of Structural Syntax. Each word in the sentence has a role [*kāraka*] and if these mutual roles are semantically consistent the sentence passed the consistency check. *kāraka*s are linked to the cases of the substantives by a many-to-many relation, so there are choices there.

An experimental dependency parser based on simple constraints solving was described in Huet (2007). It gives good results on simple sentences, but is not usable for long complex sentences. This tool is still available on the Sanskrit Heritage site, but it is becoming deprecated with the efforts of Amba Kulkarni at University of Hyderabad with her Saṃsādhanī parser (Kulkarni, Pokar & Shukl (2010), Kulkarni & Ramakrishnamacharyulu (2013), and Kulkarni (2013, 2019)).

It is now possible to call this dependency parser from the Heritage site reader. When the number of segmentation solutions has been reduced enough, one may invoke Saṃsādhanī to determine the "best" solution from the point of view of semantic consistency and statistical estimation. The two sets of tools are thus complementary at this stage.

9. Evaluation

9.1. Lexical completeness

Since the segmenter is lexicon-directed, its completeness depends on the vocabulary completeness of the dictionary, together with the completeness of the morphological derivation scheme, and the completeness of the sandhi relation description.

The Heritage dictionary is currently accommodating 647 roots. Some roots are declared in multiple classes [*gaṇa*], so the total of distinct present systems is 792. This is much less than the 2147 entries of the extensive root catalogue Dhāturūpaprapañca, but it covers fairly completely the non-Vedic forms of Whitney roots. The verbal system is generously generative, as well as participles, as explained above. Every root is associated with a list of possible preverb combinations, yielding a total of around 2400 verbs.

Other nominal primary derivatives than participles, absolutives and infinitives, mostly action nouns, agent nouns and abstract nouns are not defined as generative schemes, but are lexicalized on a by-need basis.

The main limitation concerns secondary derivatives [*taddhitas*], which must be lexicalized at present, as well as the frequent compounds built with particles *su-*, *dur-*, *sa-*, *vi-*, etc.

Similarly, *prādi* compounds are not generative. These are exocentric [*bahuvrīhi*] constructs, whose first member is a preposition [*karmapravacanīya*]. At present, they are not systematically generated, and must be lexicalized. When their *uttarapada* (2nd constituent) is a *kṛdanta*, there may be ambiguity with the role of the preposition as a preverb (*upasarga*) co-denotional with the *kṛdanta*.

These are completely different constructions. For instance, take *nāyakaḥ*, an agent noun of root *nī*, meaning "leader". It may be preceded by *upasarga pra-*, leading to *kṛdanta praṇāyakaḥ*, meaning "commander". But it may also form with the same preposition a *prādi* compound *pranāyakaḥ*, now an adjective meaning "without chief". Here we are lucky, since the retroflexion induced by the closer co-denotative junction is an indication of their difference. But in many cases we shall get the same *prātipadika*. Thus, we have a genuine ambiguity in a word such as *nirvācyaḥ*. Should it be recognized as a compound, meaning "what should not be discussed", or as a

participle, meaning “what should be explained”?

Note that this problem is not an ambiguity of Sanskrit, nor a problem for Pāṇini, who clearly distinguishes the two by their accent. It is an ambiguity of the writing convention of Classical Sanskrit, where the accent is not marked. This is a source of difficulty for beginning students, especially when they use a dictionary such as Monier-Williams’, since the two forms are far away from each other in the entries ordering. We have to understand better the productivity conditions of *prādi* compounds in order to understand the situations of ambiguity which demand proper lexicalization. In the example above, *nirvācyaḥ* returns two solutions, the lexicalized *prādi* compound *nirvācyaḥ*$_1$, and *nirvācyaḥ*$_2$, analyzed as a gerundive participle of verb *nirvac*.

Other compounds may be split between regular and non-regular compounds. Regular compounds use the stem form of their first component, and glue the two components using the standard inter-pada external sandhi. Those are recognized by our transducer, going through the Iic phase in the diagram above. However, iteration of compounding will be flattened in the segmenting phase. Thus (A-B)-C and A-(B-C) will be both recognized as the linear sequence A-B-C: one needs an additional level of analysis in order to favor one of the two constructions. The exocentric [*bahuvrīhi*] compounds are recognized as adjectives in all genders, because we generate in the Ifc banks the missing gender forms of their right component. Thus, neuter *ambara* (cloth) will generate a masculine pseudo-form *-ambaraḥ* in lexicon Ifc, usable to recognize e.g. *pītāmbaraḥ* (he who wears a yellow cloth), but precluding the recognition of wrong **ambaraḥ*. Finally, privative compounds (whose first component is *a-* or *an-* according to whether the second component starts with a consonant or a vowel) are recognized by phases A and An respectively in Figure 2 above.

Irregular *aluk* compounds, whose first component has kept its inflected form, such as *kaṇṭhekāla*, must be lexicalized. Same for compounds whose glueing operation is different from the standard external sandhi, such as *pṛṣodara*, where the final *t* of its first component *pṛṣat* has been elided. These irregular compounds are not productive, and they are in finite number. Note that similarly in

Aṣṭādhyāyī there are open lists of such exceptions provided by collections [*gaṇa*] such as *pṛṣodarādi* in *sūtra* (6,3,109).

There is no pretense of covering Vedic corpus. Only a few Vedic forms are lexicalized, or accommodated by specific extensions of morphology, in order to cover the main Vedic mantras. Similarly, occasional irregular Epic forms are occasionally recorded.

9.2. Sandhi completeness

The covering of sandhi rules is extensive, and corresponds very closely to Pāṇini's treatment. Actually the sandhi rules, in the systematic form of a quadruplet (*x, u, v, w*) where *x* is the left context, *u* is a suffix of the left word, *v* is a prefix of the right word, and *w* is the string replacing *uv*, are all documented in the computer program with the sequence of Paninian sūtras justifying them.

A special sandhi relation links the preverbs to the roots and their primary derivatives. This tighter glueing incurs retroflexion. It is harder to relate the corresponding rules to *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, since some roots like *nī* are presented in *dhātupāṭha*s with markers preparing this retroflection in proper contexts. We made a separate analysis, for the pairs (root, preverb) allowed by the lexicon, and came with an admittedly ad-hoc set of rules, which in practice seems sufficient. Only very rarely some new retroflexion context is discovered, and a new rule added.

There is a restriction concerning vocatives, which must be ended by a space in the input stream. This is justified by the frequent ambiguity between bare stem and vocative form of stems in *-a*, and justified by prosody considerations.

A special mechanism for allowing *sa* for pronoun *saḥ* in proper contexts has been implemented. But no special sandhi provision is enforced for dual forms.

9.3. Possible remedies to incompleteness issues

The main source of incompleteness of the segmenter concerns secondary derivatives [*taddhitānta*s]. Some of the *taddhita pratyāya*s involve raising their stem to the upper grade [*vṛddhi*]. Recognizing them would involve identifying these stems in order to build the

proper vṛddhified banks, and identifying the relevant sandhi rules that apply for the glueing of the *pratyāya*. The main problem is that the grammar defines the range of these *taddhita* affixes in terms of the meaning of the stems they apply to, and this is not easily interpretable computationally.

9.4. Applicative uses of the platform

Overall, completeness is satisfactory for classical corpus, with a rough recall of 90% for a text like Gīta. The problem is the poor precision, since every possible decomposition of the input is returned. For a moderately complex sentence, the number of solutions easily runs in millions. Hopefully, the graphical user interface manages to represent all the segmentations in one shared two-dimensional graphic that fits in one Web page, and that a competent user may resolve in a few clicks. The segmenter is very efficient, and the result is returned usually instantly. Only long chains of compounds may result in a noticeable delay.

The current system is useful for tagging corpus, and for teaching purposes. Tagging still needs a competent human annotator, but we are experimenting with statistical optimization (using the manually tagged corpus of Oliver Hellwig's DCS) and hope to be able to reduce the number of plausible solutions to a few candidates, which fed through Amba Kulkarni's Saṃsādhanī parser would result in a unique analysis.

Actually, compounds are analyzed only as sequences of bare nominal stems followed by an inflected nominal. These are only *pre-compounds*, in that they represent only the frontier of several possible binary trees, and ignore their type (exocentric, etc.) A more complete tagging of the text, restoring compound structure, could benefit from the recent work of Satuluri & Kulkarni (2013, 2016) on generating compounds.

The main current usage is by people using it as an aid to translate Sanskrit text. It is notably useful for beginners, who can use the tools without extensive knowledge of morphology and sandhi. They may even process devanāgarī input imported from corpus libraries without having to learn the script.

Experiments for teaching purposes have been conducted, for

instance by Kandregula Varalakshmi from the Sanskrit Academy at Osmania University in Hyderabad. She used our tools for remote teaching at the Silicon Andhra University.

10. Practicalities

10.1. The Sanskrit Inria Web server

The Heritage platform is available as a family of Web services hosted at URL sanskrit.inria.fr. No registration is needed to use these tools, which neither display commercials nor record users' interactions. A comprehensive Reference Manual is available online at sanskrit.inria.fr/manual.html.

It is possible to download the whole package as a stand-alone software for workstations running versions of UNIX such as Linux or Apple's MacOS. The installation procedure is documented in the user's manual.

The entire source code, under a pleasing literate programming format, is available as a 780 pages pdf document sanskrit.inria.fr/DOC/Heritage_ Platform.pdf.

10.2. Installing your own server

The development repository is freely accessible at gitlab.inria.fr/huet/Heritage_Platform, together with its companions gitlab.inria.fr/huet/Zen (the Zen toolkit) and gitlab.inria.fr/huet/Heritage_Resources (its linguistic resources). These Git repositories may be cloned for stand-alone installation on users' own servers.

11. Conclusion

We presented a comprehensive platform for computer processing of Sanskrit text. We gave the main lines of its design, and discussed its shortcomings.

This effort was funded by Inria, in the framework of a research cooperation with the Sanskrit Studies Department at University of Hyderabad. The main contributors of the software development are Gérard Huet for the Heritage Dictionary, Zen toolkit, morphology generators and sandhi analyzer, Pawan Goyal for the graphical interface, Monier-Williams alignment and user-aid facility, Idir Lankri for the Corpus Manager, and Amba Kulkarni for the Saṃsādhanī parser and its alignment with the Heritage Platform.

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Appropriate Dependency Tagset for Sanskrit Analysis and Generation

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Abstract

A tagset, consisting of relations, is appropriate for both the analysis and generation provided it is suitable for computer parsing with high accuracy and is also easily comprehensible by a non-grammarian. *Saṁsādhanī* tagset inspired from the Indian theories of *śābdabodha* was evolved for the computational analysis of Sanskrit texts by the consortium working on Sanskrit-Hindi Machine Translation. This tagset had two problems from the generation point of view. It did not have proper semantic treatment for the relations involving the *upapada*s. *Upapada*s were related to the accompanied word by morpho-syntactic relations. Partially this was due to lack of semantic analysis of such expressions in Pāṇini's grammar. Another problem

was with respect to special rules Pāṇini provides in *kāraka* section for certain verbs, demanding the knowledge of grammar for automatic sentence generation. In this paper we attempt to provide semantic analysis of expressions involving *upapada*s. We also claim the appropriateness of the *kāraka* relations, for automatic generation, in spite of them being syntactico-semantic, and suggest the development of a user-interface that takes care of the various fine-grained shades of the coarse grained *kāraka* relations.

1. Introduction

Natural Language Processing (NLP) aims to use computers to reduce the language barrier among humans speaking different languages as well as between a human being and a machine. Several speech-to-speech machine translation efforts are on that are aiming at reducing the language barriers among humans. At the same time computer scientists are striving to build interfaces which enable a computer to understand instructions in human languages.

Processing a language involves both analysis and generation. A parser produces sentential analysis of a given sentence, and a generator generates a grammatically valid sentence from the analysis. Both sentential analysis and generation use relations between words to describe the underlying semantic structure of a sentence. Pāṇini uses several relation denoting terms in his grammar. Works dealing with *Vyākaraṇa*, *Nyāya*, *Mīmāṁsā*, and especially the texts dealing with the theories of *śābdabodha* provide fine-grain classification of such relations. A list of such relations was compiled by K. V. Ramakrishnamacharyulu (2009). The consortium working on Sanskrit-Hindi Machine Translation adapted a subset of relations

from this list for the computational analysis of Sanskrit. It was also noticed that the granularity involved in this collection was too fine for mechanical processing (A. Kulkarni and K. V. Ramakrishnamacharyulu), and accordingly a suitable subset was selected that could provide analysis with high accuracy (see Appendix).

Later-on when we decided to use this set of relations for generation, we noticed two major problems with these relations, from the generation point of view. While majority of the relations in this set were semantic in nature, the relations due to *upapada*s (adjoining words) were morpho-syntactic. Partially this was due to lack of semantic analysis of such expressions in Pāṇini's grammar. Another problem was with respect to special rules Pāṇini provides in *kāraka* section for certain verbs, demanding the knowledge of grammar for automatic sentence generation, thereby making these relations dependent on the lexical and syntactic knowledge of Sanskrit.

In this paper we attempt to provide semantic analysis of expressions involving *upapada*s. We also claim the appropriateness of the *kāraka* relations, for automatic generation, in spite of them being either syntactico-semantic or dependent on lexicon and suggest a user-interface at the time of generation passing on the load of mapping pure semantic relations to appropriate *kāraka* relations to the machine.

2. Analysis and Generation: Representation

The analysis of a sentence is faithfully represented in the form of a dependency tree whose nodes represent the words in a sentence and

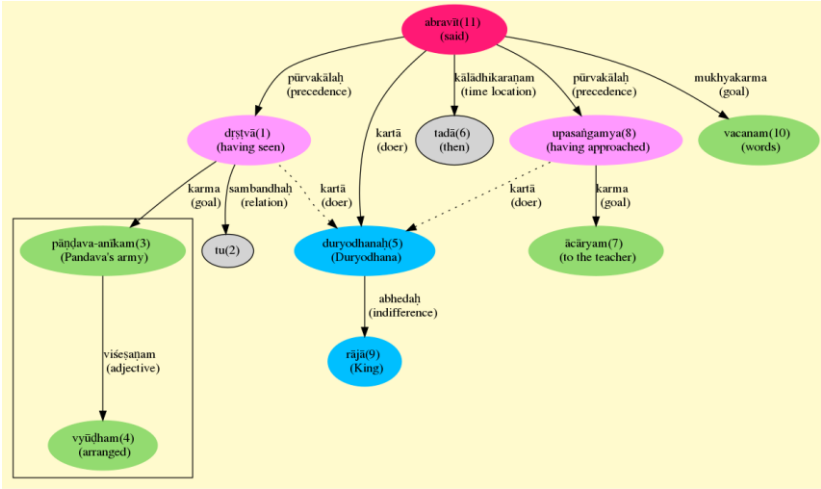


Figure 1: Analysis produced by the parser for BhG 1.2

the edges mark the modifier-modified relations between the words. So for example the analysis[1] of the following śloka from

> Śrīmadbhagvadgītā
> *dṛṣṭvā tu pāṇḍavānīkaṁ vyūḍham duryodhanas tadā* |
> *ācāryam upasaṅgamya rājā vacanam abravīt* || (BhG 1.2)

(At that time, after seeing the army of the Pāṇḍavas arranged in military phalanx, Duryodhana approached (his) teacher and spoke (these) words.) is represented as in Fig 1.

A note on the convention regarding the relation is in order. A relation is denoted by a directional arrow. If A is R of B then, we say, R is a

[1] Generated by the parser at http://sanskrit.uohyd.ac.in/scl/SHMT/index.html

relation from B to A, and this is represented with an edge whose arrowhead points to A and the tail is at B. The edge is named R. The relations are marked between the words, and not between the nominal/verbal stems. For example, in the above verse, the *kartā* of the activity denoted by the verbal root *brū* (to say) is *Duryodhanaḥ*. But we mark the relation of *kartā* from *abravīt* (said) to *Duryodhanaḥ*. These dependency trees are for the readers to understand the relations between the words in a sentence. The nominal/verbal stem typically is internal to the grammatical system, and a reader may not know it. Hence, we show the relations between the words. The dotted lines indicate the relations not explicitly marked by case markers but inferred. For example the relation between *dṛṣṭvā* (having seen) and *Duryodhanaḥ* is inferred on the basis of two relations viz. between *abravīt* (said) and *Duryodhanaḥ* and between *abravīt* and *dṛṣṭvā* using the *sūtra* '*samānakartṛkayoḥ pūrvakāle*' (A 3.4.21). *Duryodhanaḥ*, being in nominative case, is the *kartā* of the verbal activity denoted by *brū* as it shows an agreement in person and number with the verbal form *abravīt* which is in active voice. Further the primary derivative *dṛṣṭvā* has the suffix *ktvā* which indicates the precedence (*pūrvakāla*). Therefore, from A 3.4.21, we infer that *Duryodhanaḥ* should also be a *kartā* of the activity of seeing denoted by the verbal root *dṛś* (to see) of the verbal form *dṛṣṭvā*.

word index	stem and features	relation
1	dṛś{ktvā}	pūrvakālaḥ 11
2	tu	sambandhaḥ 1
3	pāṇḍava-anīka	karma 1
4	vi+vah1 {bhūtakarma}	viśe**ṣa**ṇam 3
5	duryodhana {puṁ eka}	kartā 11
6	tadā	kālādhikaraṇam 11
7	ācārya {puṁ eka}	karma 8
8	upa_sam+gam1	pūrvakālaḥ 11
9	rājan{puṁ eka}	abhedaḥ 5
10	vacana {napuṁ eka}	karma 11
11	brū1{kartari anadyatanabhūtaḥ 3p}	

Table 1: Machine internal representation of Analysis

For computational purpose, internally this graph is represented in a tabular form (see Table 1). In this table, the first column represents the word index, the second column shows the stem, and its grammatical features such as gender and number for nouns and tense, person and voice for finite verbs. Same verbal roots which differ in either *gaṇa* (class) or meaning or any other grammatical feature carry different indices. For example, there are two verbal roots *bhū*. The one belonging to the first *gaṇa* (*bhvādi*) is marked as *bhū1* and the other one belonging to the tenth *gaṇa* (*curādi*) is marked as *bhū2*. In case a verb belongs to a single *gaṇa*, and has a single meaning, it is marked with index 1. The preverbs are separated from the verbal root with a plus sign as in *vi+vah1*. The third column represents the name of the relation followed by an index of the word to which it is related. For example, '*kartā* 11' corresponding to the fifth word *Duryodhanaḥ* indicates that it is a *kartā* of the 11th word in the sentence, viz. *abravīt*.

Now let us turn to the generator. A sentence generator generates a valid sentence from the given analysis. Ideally this analysis should

consist of the concepts, and the relation between the concepts. The concepts are language independent and may be taken from the dictionary of Universal Networking Language (UNL). [2] These concepts, then, can be mapped to the lexical terms of any language. A generator for any language is tuned to perform best for that language, and hence is tightly coupled with the lexical terms and the grammar of that language. This also demands a mapping from the universal concepts from UNL to the lexical terms. For our present discussion, we assume the existence of a user interface which maps the concepts into lexical terms. The discussion on this user interface is out of scope of this paper. The input for our generator has the lexical terms substituted for the concepts. Now the question we are interested in is: Does the analysis produced by the analyzer as shown in Table 1 carry sufficient information for the generator[3] to generate the desired sentence correctly?

We feed the above analysis in Table 1 to the generator, developed folowing Pāṇini's grammar (see Madhusoodan Pai J), and the generator generates following two sentences.

> dṛṣṭvā tu pāṇḍava-anīkaṁ vyūḍhaṁ rājā duryodhanaḥ tadā ācāryam upasaṅgamya vacanaṁ abravīt (pa.pa.)
> dṛṣṭvā tu pāṇḍava-anīkaṁ vyūḍhaṁ rājā duryodhanaḥ tadā ācāryam upasaṅgamya vacanaṁ abrūta (ā.pa.)

These sentences differ from the original verse with regards to the position of the adjective. In the generated sentence the adjective *rājā*

[2] http://www.unlweb.net/wiki/UNL_Dictionary

[3] http://sanskrit.uohyd.ac.in/scl/skt_gen/Sentence/index.html

is placed adjacent to its head *Duryodhanaḥ*. Further, the difference in these two sentences is in the final verb form. The verb *brū* can take both the *ātmanepada* and *parasmaipada* suffixes which leads to two forms *abravīt* and *abrūta*. Since in the input the user has not specified which form the user would like the machine to generate, machine has generated both the forms. Certain verbs depending on whether the result of the action is for the self or for others demand the *ātmanepada* (for the self) or *parasmaipada* (for others) suffixes, respectively. Thus, this also suggests that from the generation point of view this information is crucial and as a consequence the analyzer should also mark this information wherever relevant. This example seems to confirm that the analysis presented above is sufficient enough to generate the original sentence. However, there are problems in handling sentences with *upapada*s and also sentences involving verbs for which Pāṇini has framed special rules. In the next two sections we discuss the nature of the problems involved and propose solutions to these problems.

3. Handling Upapadas

Pāṇini does not provide any semantic classification of relations between nouns. For example, in the expression *vṛkṣasya śākhā* (branch of a tree) the relation between *vṛkṣa* (tree) and *śākhā* (branch) is that of part-whole (*avayava-avayavi-bhāva*), whereas in the expression *rāmasya pustakam* (Rama's book), the relation is that of possession (*sva-svāmi-bhāva*). But Pāṇini clubs all these under the rest (*śeṣe*) of the relations. And the sūtra *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe* (A 2.3.50) provides the genitive case marker in such cases. However, there are a group of words which are exceptions to this rule.

The word placed near or an adjoining word is called an *upapada*. An *upapada* governs the case marker of the accompanying word. These case markers are termed as *upapada-vibhakti*s (case marker due to adjoining word). Thus there is a morpho-syntactic relation between an *upapada* and the accompanying word whose case marker is governed by it. In the tagging guidelines, prepared for the annotation of dependency relation,[4] this relation was termed as *upapada-sambandhaḥ*. So according to these guidelines, the analysis of the sentence

(1) *Skt: grāmaṃ paritaḥ vṛkṣāḥ santi.*
Gloss: village{acc.} surround{nom.} tree{nom.} are.
Eng: The village is surrounded by the trees.

[4]Available at http://sanskrit.uohyd.ac.in/scl/GOLD_DATA/Tagging_Guidelines/tag_proposal_July2019.pdf

would be as shown in Figure 2.

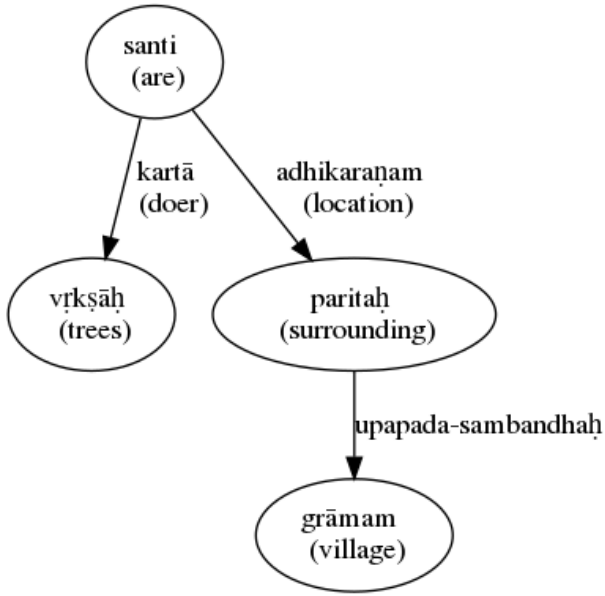


Figure 2: Morpho-syntactic analysis of the sentence (2)

Now the question is how easy or natural it is to comprehend this analysis for a person who does not know Sanskrit grammar? The concept *upapada-vibhaktiḥ*, which denotes a morpho-syntactic relation, is very much specific to Sanskrit language and its grammar. So, such an analysis is incomprehensible for any reader not knowing Sanskrit grammar. Also from the point of view of generation, it is unrealistic to expect from a user who wants to take the help of a machine to generate a Sanskrit sentence to provide an *upapada-sambandhaḥ* as a relation between *grāmam* (village) and *paritaḥ* (surrounding). However, if we can provide semantics associated with these relations, it would be easy and natural for any user to specify the analysis of a sentence with such a relation. We studied the

semantics associated with the *upapada*s governing *upapada-vibhakti*s. We noticed that these may be classified under following categories.

- Reference point for direction (*sandarbha-binduḥ*)
- Reference point for comparison (*tulanā-binduḥ*)
- The subject domain (*viṣaya-adhikaraṇam*)
- Association (*saha-arthaḥ*)
- Dissociation (*vinā-artha*)

We look at each of them with an example.

3.1. Reference Point for Direction (sandarbha-binduḥ)

Let us consider the previous example sentence (1). The *upapada* '*paritaḥ*' (surrounding) has an expectancy for a reference point viz. 'surrounding what?'. And *grāma* (village) acts as a reference point for the word *paritaḥ*. Hence we call this relation a reference point for direction, and analyze sentence (1) as in Figure 3.

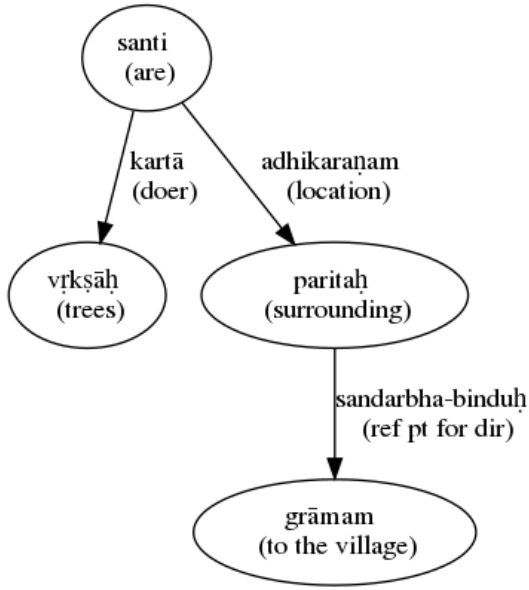


Figure 3: Semantic analysis of the sentence 1

3.2. Point of Reference for Comparison (*tulanā-binduḥ*)

Now consider the sentence

(2) *Skt: Rāmaḥ Śyāmena tulyaḥ asti.*
Gloss: Rāma{nom.} Śyāma{inst.} comparable{nom.} is
Eng: Rāma is comparable to Śyāma.

Here the *upapada* '*tulyaḥ'* (comparable) has an expectancy for a reference for comparison. And Śyāma acts as a point of reference for comparison. Hence the relation of *tulyaḥ* with *Śyāmena* is marked as reference point of comparison. See Figure 4.

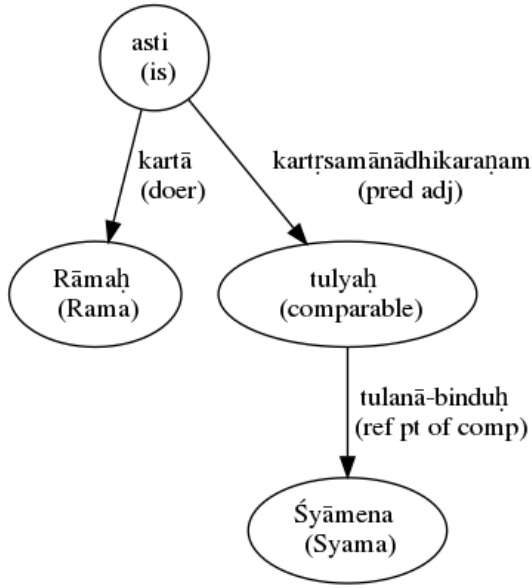


Figure 4: Semantic analysis of the sentence 2

3.3. Subject domain (*viṣaya-adhikaraṇam*)

The *upapada*s such as *lagna* (immersed), *āsakta* (attached to), *anurakta* (fond of), etc. mark a relation of *viṣaya-adhikaraṇam* with the accompanying words in locative case suffix.

(3) *Skt: saḥ paṭhane lagnaḥ asti*
Gloss: He{nom.} study{loc.} immerse{nom.} is
Eng: He is immersed in studies.

Here the word *paṭhana* (studies) denotes the domain in which the agent is immersed in. See Figure 5

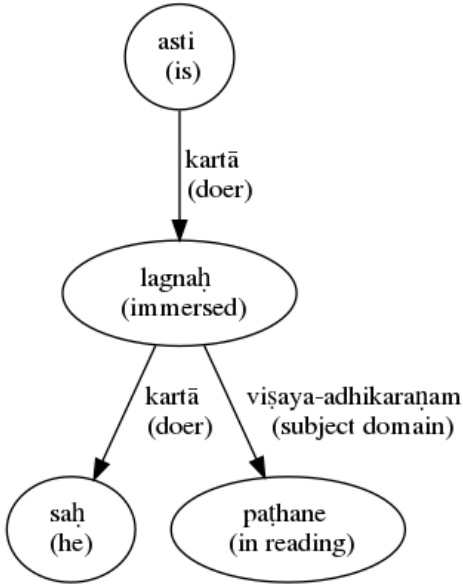


Figure 5: Semantic analysis of the sentence (3)

3.4. Association (saha-arthaḥ)

Now let us consider the following sentence

(4) *Skt: Sītā rāmeṇa saha vanaṁ gacchati*
Gloss: Sītā{nom.} Rāma{inst.} with forest{acc.} go{pres,3p,sg}

Eng: Sītā goes to the forest with Rāma.

In this sentence, *rāma* receives an instrumental case marker due to the presence of the *upapada* '*saha*'. This was analyzed, as per the earlier guidelines, as shown in Figure 6.

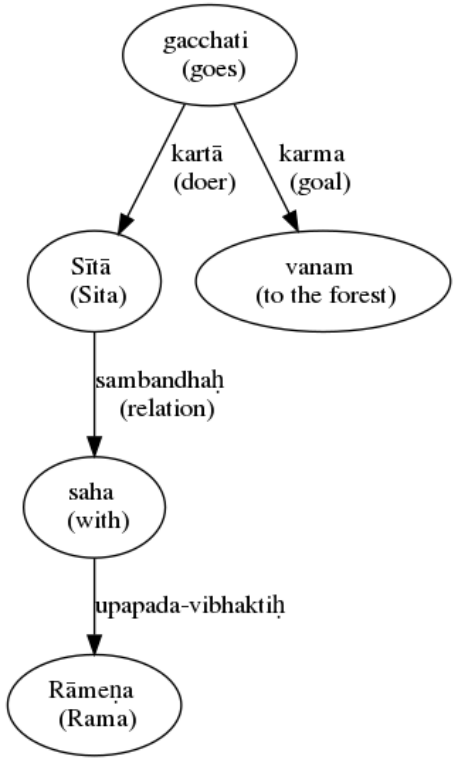


Figure 6: Morpho-syntactic analysis of the sentence (4)

In this figure, the relation between *saha* and *Rāma* is marked as *upapada-vibhaktiḥ* and that between *Sītā* and *saha* as just a *sambandhaḥ*. While the term *upapada-vibhaktiḥ* is grammar specific,

the term *sambandhaḥ* is non-commital to what kind of relation it is. Such an analysis, from user's point of view is of no use. The user cannot get any kind of semantic information as to what exactly the relation between *Sītā* and *Rāma* is. Similarly, from the point of view of generation, one cannot expect from a user to provide the name of the relation as *upapada-vibhaktiḥ*, for the reasons stated earlier, and the term *sambandhaḥ* does not carry any information about the nature of relation between the relata. Let us look at the semantics involved here.

In this sentence the agreement of the verb is with *Sītā*, and not with *Rāma*. According to the sūtra *sahayukte`pradhāne* (2.3.19), "*saha* is used with the *apradhāna* (sub-ordinate)-*kāraka*". Thus in this example, *Sītā* is the *kartā* of the action associated with the verb *gacchati* and *Rāma* is the *saha-kartā* (associative agent). The *upapada* '*saha*' does not have any semantic role, unlike the *upapada* '*paritaḥ*' in the previous example. We propose the dependency tree for sentence 4 as shown in Figure 7.
Other words following this semantics are *sākam, sārdham, saha,* and *samam*.

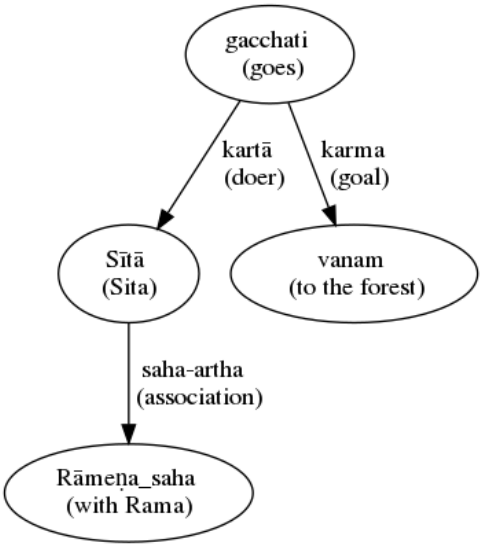


Figure 7: Semantic analysis of the sentence (4)

3.5. Dissociation (*vinā-arthaḥ*)

Following similar analysis, in the case of words such as *vinā, pṛthak* etc. in the sense of without, we propose similar representation with the relation being termed as *vinā-artha.*

(5) *Skt: Rāmaṃ vinā Śyāmaḥ vartate*
Gloss: Rāma{inst.} without Śyāma{nom.} be{pres,3p,sg}.
Eng: Śyāma stays without Rāma.

Here the upapada *pṛthak* expresses a dissociation relation between Rāma and Śyāma. See Figure 8.

The set of words *antarā, antareṇa, nānā,* and *vinā* exhibit similar semantics.

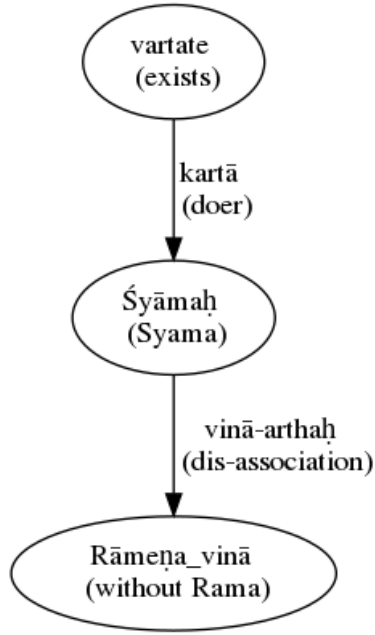


Figure 8: Semantic analysis of the sentence (5)

4. Kāraka relations

Pāṇini lists six *kāraka* relations – *kartā*, *karma*, *karaṇam*, *sampradānam*, *apādānam* and *adhikaraṇam*. All possible relations of the participants involved in various activities are broadly classified into these six classes. And then Pāṇini provides rules for mapping these *kāraka* relations to their surface realization in terms of case markers. We notice that the case markers essentially depend on the *kāraka* and the fact that whether it has been expressed or not (*abhihitatva*). That is,

vibhakti = f (*abhihitatva*, *kāraka*)

where 'f' stands for a function.

The six *kāraka* classes are so broad that a user not trained in Pāṇinian Grammar will fail to assign an appropriate *kāraka* role to a participant of an action. Let us take an example of *apādāna kāraka*. It is defined as *dhruvam apāye apādānam* (A 1.4.24) (The point of separation is termed an *apādāna*). After this *sūtra*, there are seven more *sūtra*s which extend the *apādāna* label to a noun under special circumstances. One such *sūtra* is *bhītrārthānām bhayahetuḥ* (A 1.4.25) (The cause of fear in the case of verbs expressing fear is also termed *apādāna*). There is a mental separation from the cause of the fear in the case of activities denoted by fear expressing verbs, and hence the cause of fear is assigned a role of an *apādāna*. While Patañjali in his commentary justifies the use of *apādānam* in all the cases covered by the following seven *sūtra*s, one may find it difficult to understand the abstract level semantics associated with these special usages, due to lack of mastery over Sanskrit grammar in particular and language in general. A person who uses mechanical analyzer to analyze a Sanskrit text does not have a good command over Sanskrit language, and similarly a person who uses mechanical generator to generate a Sanskrit sentence does not know Sanskrit. And hence for both kinds of person, there is a need that machine handles such special rules. Similar explanation holds good for all the special rules under the section *kārake* (1.4.23).

The question, then is, in the analysis should we distinguish between these various shades of meaning or should we produce a coarse relation such as an *apādānam*? Naturally, for deeper semantics, we need to subclassify these *apādāna*s into physical separation, mental separation, source, and so on. However, the verb involved in the

relation provides a clue, and hence even if the relation is marked as just an *apādānam*, one can always retrieve this finer shade in the relation from the verb in the context following Pāṇini's rules.

Pāṇini has stated these rules, specifically, in the form

> A noun gets a specific *kāraka* role with respect to a verb 'v' provided it is related to 'v' by the semantics 's'. Here 'v' may be a stand-alone verb, or a verb with specific pre-verb(s) or a verb having a specific meaning. We write it in a compact form as
>
> *kāraka* label = f (v, s)

Here the second argument of the function 's' serves as a fine-grain classification of the semantics associated with the given *kāraka*. For example,

apādānam = f (verbs in the meaning of *bhī*, cause of fear)

Thus, in marking the relation as *apādānam*, there is no information loss, from the point of view of analysis, because one can retrieve the deep semantics with formula described above.

Now imagine a user who does not know Sanskrit (and hence obviously does not have any exposure to Pāṇinian grammar) and wishes to generate a Sanskrit sentence to express the meaning 'a person is afraid of a lion' into Sanskrit. He analyses his thoughts and notices that the activity is that of 'to be afraid of', and there is somebody who is afraid of something/somebody. Now to name the

relation, if the user does not see any separation, he will fail to assign a role of *apādāna*. Instead, he may assign the relation of cause.

Therefore, from the user's perspective, who is interested in generating a correct Sanskrit sentence, either from English or Hindi or Sanskrit template, we propose an user interface that seeks the desired information from the user in the form of a template such as

Language →	Sanskrit	English	Hindi
verb	bhī	to be afraid of	ḍaranā
Role1	kaḥ	who	kauna
Role2	kasmāt	of whom	kisase

The above *kāraka* frame for the verb chosen assigns an appropriate *kāraka* to these roles, and then the generator following Pāṇinian grammar generates the correct sentence. In other words, the abstraction is hidden from a user and the grammatical framework maps the fine-grained semantics to the abstract level semantics.
Thus, we note that the label *apādānam* is sufficient as a label from both the analysis as well as generation point of view. Similar arguments can be provided for other *kāraka* relations as well.

The necessity of this label follows from the fact that the semantics associated with this label is different from the semantics associated with all other *kāraka* and non-*kāraka* relations and is independent of the lexicon.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, we have argued that it is necessary to understand the semantics associated with the *upapada*s in order to build a generator.

We have provided the semantics associated with the important *upapada*s. This allows one to have a semantically parsed structure devoid of the morpho-syntactic relations. Such a representation can stand as an intermediate representation for both the analysis as well as the generation of Sanskrit. We have also shown that the *kāraka* relations defined by Pāṇini are just apt for the analysis as well as generation of Sanskrit sentences.

Appendix

Table showing the course-grained relations

kartā	prayojya-kartā	prayojaka-kartā
karma	karaṇam	sampradānam
apādānam	ṣaṣṭhīsambandhaḥ	adhikaraṇam
sambodhanasūcakam	sambodhyaḥ	hetuḥ
prayojanam	tādarthya	pratiṣedhaḥ
kriyāviśeṣaṇam	viśéṣaṇam	śeṣasambandhaḥ
nirdhāraṇam	upapada-sambandhaḥ	sambandhaḥ
pratiyogī	anuyogī	samuccitam
anyataraḥ	kartṛsamānādhikaraṇam	karmasamānādhikaraṇam
samānakālaḥ	anantarakālaḥ	pūrvakālaḥ
vīpsā		

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Pāṇinian derivation: syntax and lexicon, some issues

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1 Introduction

Pāṇini recognizes primary and secondary nominal bases, both given the class name *prātipadika* by the Aṣṭādhyāyī sūtras **A**1.2.45-46: अर्थवदधातुरप्रत्ययः प्रातिपदिकम् । कृत्तद्धितसमासाश्च (see PWT **48**). According to **A**1.2.45, any meaningful unit other than a verbal base, an affix, or one that ends in an affix has the name *prātipadika*; by **A**1.2.46 the same class name applies to items ending with kr̥t and taddhita affixes, as well as compounds. These last derivates are formed by rules under the heading of **A**2.1.3: प्राक्कडारात्समासः, whereby items derived by these sūtras bear the name *samāsa*. Such

derivates generally are formed by combining syntactic padas,[1] predominantly one nominal pada with another: **A**2.1.4: (सुप् 2) सह सुपा. In addition the padas must be syntactically and semantically related (*samartha*): **A**2.1.1: समर्थः पदविधिः. The majority of compounds also are optional.[2]

A standard example of a compound is *rājapuruṣa* 'king's servant', which can be derived from the related padas *rājan-**ṅ**as* and *puruṣa-s**u***, consisting of the nominal bases *rājan* 'king' and *puruṣa* 'man' with the first ending of the sixth and first triplets.[3] 2.2.8: षष्ठी provides that a pada terminating in a sixth-triplet ending optionally combines with a related pada to form a compound of the class called *tatpuruṣa*.[4] Thus, *rājapuruṣa* is derived from the padas indicated, as follows:

---

[1] See PWT **301**-**302**. A syntactic pada is a unit that terminates in a nominal or verbal ending (**A**1.4.14: सुप्तिङन्तम्पदम्).

[2] The rules providing for this come under the heading of **A**2.1.11: विभाषा. See PWT **301**.

[3] In western terminology, genitive and nominative singular. The bold face symbols are markers (*it*, *anubandha*) attached to the endings. Such nominal endings are introduced after items called *prātipadika* as well as items that include feminine suffixes *ī* and *ā* (***ṅ**ī*, *ā**p***: **A**4.1.1: ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकात्); see PWT **105**. A sixth-triplet ending such as ***ṅ**as* is introduced on condition that a relation is expressed that does not directly involve an action, and a first-triplet ending is introduced if nothing more is to be signified than the meaning of a base and a gender or number as well as a measure: **A**2.3.50: षष्ठी शेषे, 2.3.46: प्रातिपदिकार्थलिङ्गपरिमाणवचनमात्रे प्रथमा; see PWT **251**, **240**. Twenty-one basic nominal endings divided into seven triplets are provided for in general by **A**4.1.2: स्वौजसमौट्छष्टाभ्याम्भिस्ङेभ्याम्भ्यस्ङसिभ्याम्भ्यस्ङसोसाम्ङ्योस्सुप् (PWT **241**). **A**2.3.2 (see n. 8), 2.3.50, and other affixation rules apply in conjunction with this to allow specific endings of each triplet.

[4] **A**2.2.8 comes under the heading **A**2.1.22: तत्पुरुषः, whereby items derived by sūtras that follow have this class name. The term *ṣaṣṭhī* is formed with the first-triplet endings *s**u***, which is deleted. A pada with a sixth-triplet ending as referred to in

(1) rājan-**ṅ**as puruṣa-s**u** → (rājan-**ṅ**as puruṣa-s**u**) → (rājan-puruṣa) → (rāja-puruṣa).

The padas of the first stage are optionally combined to form a compound, as indicated by brackets, then the endings included in this unit are deleted.[5] Although these endings are no longer present, however, they leave a trace in that the constituents still bear the name *pada*,[6] so that the *-n* of the first member *rājan-* is deleted.[7]

2 Alternative paths of derivation

2.1 A pada such as *rājñaḥ* in an utterance

(2) राज्ञः पुरुषं पश्यति '… sees the king's servant'

is derived from *rājan-**ṅ**as*, as in (1) (§**1**), and the first pada of

(3) राजपुरुषं पश्यति '… sees the king's servant'

is derived from *rājapuruṣa-am*, in which, as in *puruṣam* of (1), the second-triplet ending *am* is introduced to signify a direct object of seeing, denoted by *paśya-* in *paśyati* (← *paśya-a-ti* ← *dṛś-a-ti*).[8] As shown, (2) and (3) are semantically equivalent.[9]

Utterances with dual and plural forms are comparably accounted for:

A2.2.8 thereby bears the name *upasarjana* (**A**1.2.43: प्रथमानिर्दिष्टं समास उपसर्जनम्), so that it is the prior constituent of a two-term tatpuruṣa compound (**A**2.2.30: उपसर्जनम्पूर्वम्). See PWT **301**, **308**, **319**.

5. A nominal ending included in a derived verbal or nominal base is deleted according to **A**2.4.71: सुपो धातुप्रातिपिकयोः (PWT **278**).

6. **A**1.1.62: प्रत्ययलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणम् (PWT **103**)

7. **A**8.2.7: नलोपः प्रातिपदिकान्तस्य (पदस्य 8.1.16, PWT **539**)

8 . **A**2.3.2: कर्मणि द्वितीया, **A**7.3.78: पाघ्राध्मास्थाम्नादाण्दृश्यर्तिसर्तिशदसदाम् पिबजिघ्रधमतिष्ठमनयच्छपश्यर्च्छधौशीयसीदाः. The second sūtra accounts for *paśya* instead of *dṛś* 'see, look' before the stem suffix ***śap***; the ending *ti**p*** derives from the abstract *l*-affix ***laṭ*;** see PWT **240**, **437**, **232**, **234**, **157**.

9. Patañjali remarks (Bh. 2.1.1 [I.361.11]) that a compound and a related utterance should have the same meaning: इह समानार्थेन वाक्येन भवितव्यं समासेन च ।

(4) राज्ञः पुरुषौ पश्यति (5) राजपुरुषौ पश्यति '… sees two of the king's servants'

(6) राज्ञः पुरुषान् पश्यति (7) राजपुरुषान् पश्यति '… sees several of the king's servants.

2.2 This equivalence should be accounted for in a derivational system like Pāṇini's. The precise way this is achieved requires consideration.

An apparently straightforward approach to be considered in accounting for utterances like (2) and (3) (§**2.1**) would be: I. Let a nominal base such as *rājapuruṣa*, derived from related padas (§**1**), be treated as a lexical item that is accessed in deriving an utterance such as (3). That is, in deriving (3), one posits an initial string

(3a) rājapuruṣa-am dṛś-l**aṭ** (see §**2.1** with note 8)

with the lexical item *rājapuruṣa*. On the other hand, (2) now derives from

(2a) rājan-**ṅ**as puruṣa-am dṛś-l**aṭ**

with the separate lexical items *rājan* and *puruṣa* followed by nominal endings. Similarly, (4)-(7) are derived from initial strings (4a) rājan-**ṅ**as puruṣa-au**ṭ** dṛś-l**aṭ**, (5a) rājapuruṣa-au**ṭ** dṛś-l**aṭ**, (6a) rājan-**ṅ**as puruṣa-**ś**as dṛś-l**aṭ**, (7a) rājapuruṣa-**ś**as dṛś-l**aṭ**, with the dual and plural second-triplet endings ***auṭ*** and ***śas***.

An alternative approach would be: II. Let (2) and (3) be derived as alternatives starting from (2a) rājan-**ṅ**as puruṣa-am dṛś-l**aṭ**, as follows. To arrive at (2), apply applicable operations in the related padas: rājan-as → rājn-as (6.4.134: अल्लोपोऽनः) → rājñar (8.2.66: ससजुषो रुः) rājñar (8.4.40: स्तोश्चुना श्चुः); puruṣa-am → puruṣam (6.1.107: अमि पूर्वः); dṛś-l**aṭ** → dṛś-ti**p** → dṛś-a-ti → paśya-a-ti (see note 8) → paśyati (6.1.97: अतो गुणे); rājñar puruṣam → rājñaḥ puruṣam (8.3.15: खरवसानयोर्विसर्जनीयः); puruṣam paśyati → puruṣaṁ

paśyati (8.3.23: मोऽनुस्वारः) → (optionally) puruṣam paśyati (8.4.59: वा पदान्तस्य)[10].

In addition, to derive (3), the related padas *rājan-**ṅ**as puruṣa-am* in (2a) are optionally combined to form a tatpuruṣa compound:

(2a') (rājan-**ṅ**as puruṣa-am) dṛś-l**aṭ**.

The endings within the compound are deleted (see note 5). The resulting derived nominal base *rājapuruṣa* nevertheless is still included in the string and the second -triplet ending *am* is introduced to signify a direct object, since the referent of *rājapuruṣa* is still related to the act denoted by *dṛś* as in (2a). Similarly, the padas rājan-**ṅ**as puruṣa-au**ṭ** and rājan-**ṅ**as puruṣa-**ś**as of (4a) rājan-**ṅ**as puruṣa-au**ṭ** dṛś-l**aṭ** and (6a) rājan-**ṅ**as puruṣa-**ś**as are optionally combined to form compounds, so that (4)-(5) and (6)-(7) are derived as equivalent alternatives.

2.3 Choices

2.3.1 Under procedure II (§**2.2**), at the stage where the derived nominal *rājapuruṣa* results from deleting the endings in the compounds *rājan-as-puruṣa-am*, *rājan-as-puruṣa-au*, and *rājan-as-puruṣa-as*, the appropriate endings have to be introduced after this base. These are the endings which follow *puruṣa-* in the utterances without compounding. Their introduction is conditioned by the semantics, which remain constant. That is, the initial strings (2a) rājan-**ṅ**as puruṣa-am dṛś-l**aṭ** and so on contain endings that are introduced on condition that particular meanings are to be signified: ***laṭ***: an action is referred to present time and the affix signifies an unspecified single agent; ***laṭ*** is replaced by a parasmaipada ending of the triplet called *prathama* (third person endings), specifically *ti**p***,

[10] See PWT **502**, **551**, **574**, **533**, **531**, **557**, **559**, **580**.

because one agent is in question;[11] a second-triplet nominal endings is introduced to signify a direct object (**A**2.3.2, see note 8); the ending selected is *am*, since there is a single object, specified by *puruṣa-*, with which *am* is coreferential; the sixth-triplet ending is introduced after *rājan-* to signify a relation (**A**2.3.50, see note 3) which the referent of this base bears with the referent of *puruṣa.* The same semantics hold even if *rājan-**ṅ**as* and *puruṣa-s**u*** in the initial string are optionally combined to form a compound, as in (2a') (rājan-**ṅ**as puruṣa-am) dṛś-l**aṭ**. Accordingly, *am* is still introduced to signify a single direct object after composition and deletion of endings.

2.3.2 One might object that procedure II thus involves a degree of prolixity in that it involves introducing an affix twice. Moreover, under this procedure one also has to posit distinct initial strings with constituents *rājan-**ṅ**as*, *rājan-os*, *rājan-ām* to account for utterances with *rājapuruṣam* and so on referring to a servant or servants of one, two, or several kings.

However, the prolixity associated with procedure II has a counterpart under procedure I in that under the latter a distinct lexicon or dictionary is set up independent of any particular rules, from which such derived bases are drawn. We have, then, to consider the nature of such a lexicon in the context of Pāṇini's system.

It is known that the set of sūtras which make up the Aṣṭādhyāyī is associated with two ancillaries: a catalog of underived verbal bases, the dhātupāṭha, and groups of items associated with operations provided for in rules to which these groups of items are attached, the gaṇapāṭha.[12] In the present context, let us consider the listings in the

[11.] For the rules which provide for these operations, see PWT **234**.
[12.] See PWT **132-201** and **202-211**.

gaṇapāṭha that go with two rules: **A**2.1.72: मयूरव्यंसकादयश्च and **A**6.3.109: पृषोदरादीनि यथोपदिष्टम् (PWT **834a**). Both of the groups in question are open sets; the lists illustrate the types of formations in question.

A2.1.72 states that terms of the type *mayūravyaṁsaká* ('cunning peacock, cunning as a peacock'), given as ready-made forms, also are compounds of the tatpuruṣa class. The word *mayūravyaṁsaká* is subject to two interpretations. It is either (a) of the type *nīlotpalá* 'blue utpala plant' or (b) of the type *śástrīśyāma* 'black as a śastrī (knife)'.[13] The first type is accounted for by **A**2.1.57: विशेषणं विशेष्येण बहुलम् (PWT **313**), whereby a pada denoting a qualifier combines variously with a coreferential pada that denotes a related qualified entity. Type (b) is accounted for by **A**2.1.55: उपमानानि सामान्यवचनैः, according to which padas signifying an entity to which something is compared form tatpuruṣa compounds with related padas that refer to the property common to what is being compared and that to which this is compared. Now, in the absence of 2.1.72, two undesired consequences could result for *mayūravyaṁsaká*. If this is of type (a), then by **A**2.2.30 (see note 4) the order of constituents should be reversed to **vyaṁsakamayūrá*, since *vyaṁsaka* signifying a qualifying property is a value of the nominative *viśeṣaṇam* in **A**2.1.57. If, on the other hand, *mayūravyaṁsaká* is of type (b), this should result in an unacceptable derivate **mayū́ravyaṁsaka*, retaining the original accentuation of the prior constituent: **A**6.2.2:

[13] Both analyses are mentioned in commentaries. For example, the Padamañjarī on **A**2.1.72 (PM II.93.1-6) gives (a), then mentions that others adopt (b): मयूरश्चासौ व्यंसकश्चेति व्यंसकशब्दस्य गुणवचनत्वात्पूर्वनिपाते प्राप्ते वचनम् … अन्ये त्वाहुः मयूर इव व्यंसकः … उपमानसमासोऽयम् । उपमानानि सामान्यवचनैरित्येव सिद्धे पुनर्विधानं तत्पुरुषे तुल्यार्थतृतीयेति पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरो मा भूदिति । The Nyāsa (N II.93.1-2) gives only (b): मयूरश्चासौ व्यंसकश्चेति मयूरव्यंसकः । व्यंसकशब्दस्य पूर्वनिपाते प्राप्ते परनिपातार्थः पाठः। It is not necessary to include here what other commentators say in the same vein.

तत्पुरुषे तुल्यार्थतृतीयासप्तम्युपमानाव्ययद्वितीयाकृत्याः (प्रकृत्या 1) provides that the first constituent in a tatpuruṣa retains its original accent if it denotes something to which something else is compared. In order to account for the accepted order of constituents and accentuation, then, *mayūravyaṁsaká* is listed as a ready-made derivate included in an open set of items.

A6.3.109 states that items of the type *pṛ́ṣodara* ('spotted-belly') are accepted as used (*yathopadiṣṭam*). These items are of the same kind in that they are considered derived terms the derivation of which involves deletion, augmenting, and sound substitutions, although Pāṇini does not explicitly provide for these operations in the Aṣṭādhyāyī (see PWT **834a**). For example, *pṛ́ṣodara* is treated as a bahuvrīhi compound (**A**2.2.24: अनेकमन्यपदार्थे [PWT **317**]) equivalent to a string with padas formed from the nominals *pṛ́ṣat* 'spotted' and *udara* 'belly': (*pṛ́ṣat-s**u** udara-s**u** → pṛ́ṣat- udara*).[14] The pada *pṛ́ṣat-s**u*** refers to a qualifier, so that it takes first position (**A**2.2.35: सप्तमीविशेषणे बहुव्रीहौ [PWT **320**]). To account for *-o-* instead of *-t-u-*, however requires dropping *-t-*, so that the contiguous vowels *-a-u-* may be replaced by the single guṇa vowel *-o-*. However, no Aṣṭādhyāyī rule provides for this particular substitution.

Here again, then, there is a particular reason for setting *pṛ́ṣodara* and similar items apart in a partial lexicon.

2.3.3 There is, on the other hand, no reason for comparably setting apart compounds accounted for by **A**2.2.8 (§**1**). The formation in question is productive, allowing for an open set of genitives to combine with related padas, as in *rājaputra* 'king's son', *gṛ́hapati* 'master of the home' and so on. Similarly, **A**2.2.6: नञ् (PWT **311**) provides for a pada containing the particle ***nañ*** to form a tatpuruṣa

[14] Thus, for example, Kāś. 6.3.109: पृषदुदरं यस्य पृषोदरम् ।

compound with any related nominal pada, as in *abrāhmaṇa* 'non-brāhmaṇa', *akṛta* 'not done'; and **A**2.2.24 lets two or more related padas combine into a compound of the bahuvrīhi class, which denotes an entity different from that signified by any of its constituents, as in *prāptodaka* and *ūḍharatha*, which refer to something that water has reached and something by which a cart has been drawn.

There is no formal reason for segregating such compounds into sets to be included in the gaṇapāṭha, as is the case for derivates dealt with by **A**2.1.72 and **A**6.3.109 (§**2**.**3**.**2**). If, then, such derivates are channeled into a lexicon only so that they may be retrieved for deriving utterances like (3), (5), (7) (§**2**.**1**), this lexicon amounts to a catalog of derived bases pure and simple. This would be comparable to a set of underived bases which Pāṇini presupposes when he states in **A**1.2.45 (§**1**) that a meaningful unit other than a verbal base, an affix, or one that ends in an affix has the name *prātipadika.* But these underived items are not actually included in any group of linguistic units recited by any grammarian.[15] Indeed, Patañjali derides the possibility of reciting all such items as a grammatical procedure that is impossible to achieve for a human being.[16] The items in question, then, are simply part of the linguistic repertory which a native speaker has and upon which a grammarian such as Pāṇini draws to describe utterances formally.

[15.] There is a lexicon of sorts that may have predated Pāṇini: the nighaṇṭu set on which the Nirukta comments, but this is not associated with vyākaraṇa as such.

[16.] He does this in a famous passage (Bh. I.5.23-6.7), where the serial recitation of individual words *gauḥ aśvaḥ puruṣaḥ hastī śakuniḥ mṛgaḥ brāhmaṇaḥ* and so on is said to be a non-means (*anabhyupāya*) in gaining access to correct speech forms and the legend is recalled of Bṛhaspati reciting such a list to Indra over the stretch of a thousand divine years without reaching the end.

Consequently, were Pāṇini to recognize all compounds as part of this repertory, he would in effect blur — not to say obliterate — the distinction between underived nominals and nominals derived by grammatical rules.[17]

2.3.4 In effect, one would now accept the viewpoint that Kātyāyana mentions in his second vārttika on 2.1.1:[18] stating the heading **A**2.1.11 (see note 2) serves no purpose, because the two alternatives are established of themselves (*svabhābasiddhatvāt* 'because of their being established by their nature'). As Patañjali explains,[19] there are two possible alternatives: forming a derivate (*vṛttipakṣaḥ*) and not forming one (*avṛttipakṣaḥ*); further, it is established by the very nature of the entities in question that there are both an utterance (*vākyam*) and a compound (*samāsaḥ*). In the domain of derivate formation (*vṛttiviṣaye*), what can apply (*prāpte)* is a compound and this is obligatory (*nitye samāse*) in its own domain. What, then, could possibly be brought into relation with this through stating an option other than the name *samāsa*? And the application and non-application (*bhāvābhāvau* 'being and not being') of this name is not desirable or acceptable. Hence, stating an option by **A**2.1.11 serves

[17] The same is true for derivates formed with taddhita affixes.

[18] 2.1.1 vt. 2: वावचनानर्थक्यं च स्वभावसिद्धत्वात् । According to this, stating 'optionally' (*vāvacanam*) is also (*ca*) without purpose. Kātyāyana's first vārttika (2.1.1 vt. 1: पृथगर्थानामेकार्थीभावः समर्थवचनम् ।) says that *samartha* in **A**2.1.1 (§**1**) signifies the semantic unification (*ekārthībhāvaḥ* 'becoming one') of words which have independent status in an utterance. Details cannot be considered here.

[19] Bh. 2.1.1 (I.364.2-5): वावचनानर्थक्यम् । किं कारणम् । स्वभावसिद्धत्वात् । इह द्वौ पक्षौ वृत्तिपक्षोऽवृत्तिपक्षश्च । स्वभावतश्चैतद्भवति वाक्यं च समासश्च । तत्र स्वाभाविके वृत्तिविषये समासे प्राप्ते वावचनेन किमन्यच्छक्यमभिम्बन्धुमन्यदतः सञ्ज्ञायाः । न च सञ्ज्ञाया भावाभावाविष्येते। तस्मान्नार्थो वावचनेन ।

no purpose. Kaiyaṭa succinctly emphasizes the point.[20] When there is a semantic-syntactic connection between separate entities (*vyapekṣāyām* 'mutual expectancy'), one uses separate related padas such as *rājñaḥ* and *puruṣaḥ*; but when there is a meaning unification (*ekārthībhāve*), such a string does not occur; one has instead a compound *rājapuruṣa*, referring to a man qualified as related to a king. Thus, string and compound have segregated independent domains, so that there will not be a blocking relation (*bādhyabādhakabhāvaḥ*) between the two; hence no purpose is served by an option (*vikalpena*), because an option is provided for where two things serving the same purpose could apply.

Patañjali contrasts this position and the view of those who bring about through grammatical process a derivate such as a compound or one with a taddhita suffix (*vṛttiṁ vartayanti* 'cause [a] vṛtti to come about'). Those who adopt this procedure, he notes, consider (*āhuḥ* 'say') vṛtti to consist in a term signifying something other than it does independently (*parārthābhidhānam*).[21]

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[20] Pr. 2.1.1 (II.516.4-6): वावचनानर्थक्यं चेति । इह व्यपेक्षायां समासो न भवति एकार्थीभावे वाक्यं नेति िव किव षयतवादनयोबारधयबाधकभावो न भविष्यतीति नार्थो कलपने एकार्थानां विकल्पनात् ।

[21] Bh. 2.1.1 (I.364.6-7): अथ ये वृत्तिं वर्तयन्ति किं त आहुः । परार्थाभिधानं वृत्तिरित्याहुः । अथ तेषामेवं ब्रुवतां किं जहतत्स्वार्था वृत्तिर्भवत्याहोस्विदजहत्स्वार्था । As shown, Patañjali goes on to consider whether or not a vṛtti involves abandoning the original meaning of a term: *jahatsvārthā* 'in which the proper meaning is left behind', *ajahatsvārthā*. Pāṇinīyas generally recognize five types of derivates thus formed: those with kṛt and taddhita affixes (**A** 3.1.93, 4.1.76: कृदतिङ् । तद्धिताः [PWT **66**, **70**]), compounds (**A** 2.1.3 [§**1**]), single remainders (**A** 1.2. 64: सरूपाणामेकशेष एकविभक्तौ [PWT **374**]), and derived verbs formed with the affixes *san* and so on (**A** 3.1.32: सनाद्यन्ता धातवः [**47**]). For example, VPH 3.7.14 (149.2-3): असमस्तपदगतानर्थान्विचार्य समस्तपदविषयान्विचारयितुं पञ्चप्रकारवृत्तिपदविचारः प्रस्ताव्यते । SK II.215: कृत्तद्धितसमासैकशेषसनाद्यन्तधातुरूपाः पञ्च वृत्तयः । See Abhyankar 1971. Patañjali (Bh. 5.1.119 [II. 367.14: शुक्लादिषु तर्हि वर्त्यभावाद्वृत्तिर्न प्राप्नोति शुक्लत्वम् शुक्लतेति ।) also presupposes a term *varta* synonymous with *vṛtti*, when he uses *vartin* ('in which

2.3.5 In this context, Kaiyaṭa notes the views of two groups of thinkers referred to as *kāryaśabdikāḥ* 'those who say such speech forms are produced' and *naityaśabdikāḥ* 'those who say such speech forms are permanent, eternal'. The former consider that an optional vṛtti is to be brought about (*niṣpādyā*) and that the sole source of a compound is an utterance; the latter consider that a vṛtti and an utterance are both permanent and have absolutely separate domains (*vibhaktaviṣaye*).[22]

The contrasting views that speech units are permanent, eternal (*nitya*)[23] or produced (*kārya*) have an intricate history, going back to a time at least preceding Patañjali, major facets of which are worth mentioning here.[24] The foundation of Pāṇini's set of grammatical rules (*lakṣaṇa*) accepted by Pāṇinīyas is stated in Kātyāyana's very first vārttika, the first phase of which is (Bh. I.6.16) सिद्धे शब्दार्थसम्बन्धे. Patañjali (Bh. I.6.17: सिद्धे शब्देऽर्थे सम्बन्धे चेति) adopts an interpretation of *śabdārthasambandhe* which later Pāṇinīya accept; this is a dvandva compound: 'given that speech units, their meanings and the relations between them are established (*siddha*)'. Immediately preceding this statement, Patañjali broaches the question whether speech units (*śabda*) are permanent, eternal or produced. He

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there is varta') in *vartyabhāvāt* 'because there is no meaning in which the derivate could apply') while bringing up the issue that a derivate with *tva* or *tal* does not have a chance to apply with a term like *śukla* — under the view that this signifies whiteness and not a substance that is white — to form *śuklatva*, *śuklatā* 'whiteness', because there is no separate meaning in which the derivate suffix could occur.

[22] Pr. 2.1.1 (II.517.1-2): अथेति । कार्यशब्दिका वाक्यादेव विकल्पेन वृत्तिं निष्पाद्यां मन्यमानाः किं वृत्तेर्लक्षणं कुर्वन्तीति प्रश्नः । नैत्यशब्दिकास्तु वृत्तिवाक्ये नित्ये विभक्तविषये मन्यन्ते ।

[23] I render *nitya* in two ways to reflect the contrast between absolute eternality (*kūṭasthanityatā*) and permanence in the sense of terms occurring repeatedly in a flow of usage (*pravāhanityatā*).

[24] To my knowledge, this has not been studied fully.

notes that this issue was examined as a principal topic in the Saṅgraha, where the reasons for adopting one or the other view as well as the faults in these are stated, concluding that, whichever position is taken as final, a set of grammatical rules is to be put into play to describe the usage in question.[25] Moreover, speech units being established as given is known from the world of usage (*lokataḥ*), where speakers use the appropriate speech units once they conceive of what they wish to say; they do not make an effort to create such speech units. By contrast, effort is made to make objects that are produced and one wishes to use. Thus, if one is to use a water pot, one can go to a potters' place and request that a potter make one; one does not comparably go to a grammarians' guild and request that words be made for one's use.[26]

Here *kārya* is used with reference to something that is actually produced, brought into being: words are not made the way pots are. Nevertheless, words as physical sounds are indeed produced. In another context, Patañjali contrasts two aspects of speech units. The śabda *gauḥ* ('bull, cow'), he says, is that through which, when it is brought to the fore (*uccāritena*), an understanding of objects with a dewlap, tail, hump, hooves and horns comes about. Alternatively, he notes, *śabda* is a term whose meaning is well known in usage, where a sound (*dhvani*) is referred to as *śabda*, as when one says 'make a sound', 'don't make a sound', and one speaks of a boy who makes

[25] Bh. I.6.12-15: किम्पुनर्नित्यः शब्द आहोस्वित्कार्यः । सङ्ग्रह एतत्प्राधान्येन परीक्षितं नित्यो वा स्यात्कार्यो वेति । तत्रोक्ता दोषाः प्रयोजनान्यप्युक्तानि । तत्र त्वेष निर्णयो यद्येव नित्योऽथापि कार्य उभयथापि लक्षणं प्रवर्त्यमिति ।

[26] Bh.. I.7.26-8.1: कथं पुनर्ज्ञायते सिद्धः शब्दोऽर्थः सम्बन्धश्चेति । लोकतः । यल्लोके ऽर्थमुपादाय शब्दान्प्रयुञ्जते नैषां निर्वृत्तौ यत्नं कुर्वन्ति । ये पुनः कार्या भावा निर्वृत्तौ तावत्तेषां यत्नः क्रियते । तद्यथा घटेन कार्यं करिष्यन्कुम्भकारकुलं गत्वाह कुरु घटं कार्यमनेन करिष्यामीति । न तद्वच्छब्दान्प्रयोक्ष्यमाणो वैयाकरणकुलं गत्वाह कुरु शबदानL्योकय इित।

noise as *śabdakārin*.[27] In view of the contrast drawn between physical sound (*dhvani*) referred to as *śabda* and a term like *gauḥ*, it is inappropriate to consider that *uccāritena* here means 'pronounced, uttered'. On the contrary, this means, as Kaiyaṭa notes, 'brought to light' (*prakāśitena*).[28] That is, the sounds a speaker produces by uttering *gauḥ* are not the signifying speech unit; they serve to make manifest to a hearer the signifier — which Bhartṛhari and later Pāṇinīyas refer to as *śabda* or *sphoṭa* — which is in the intellect of speakers and hearers.

It is nevertheless possible to conceive of the grammar as producing speech units, and this from two points of view. First, a speech unit may be one that has not been used before but is created in conformity with grammatical procedures. For example, **A** 3.2.1: कर्मण्यण् (PWT **295**) introduces the suffix ***aṇ*** after a verbal base used with a term denoting the direct object of the action it denotes, and a derivate thus formed , such as *kāra-* (← *kṛ-a*), obligatorily forms a compound (**A**2.2.19**:** उपपदमतिङ् [PWT **315**]) with the cooccurring pada; e.g., *kumbhakāra* 'pot maker' (← *kumbha-ām-kāra-s**u***), *kāṇḍalāva* 'reed cutter'. The Mahābhāṣya discussion of **A**3.2.1 begins by claiming the rule should specify that two kinds of objects are involved, one that is being produced (*nirvartyamāna*) or modified (*vikriyamāṇa*). This is to be done in order to preclude forming a derivate such as *darśa* (← *dṛś-a*) 'one who looks' in a compound

[27] Bh. I.1.10-13: कस्तर्हि शब्दः । येनोच्चारितेन सास्नालाङ्गूलककुदखुरविषाणिनां सम्प्रत्ययो भवति स शब्दः । अथवा प्रतीतपदार्थको लोके ध्वनिः शब्द इत्युच्यते । तद्यथा शब्दं कुरु मा शब्दं कार्षीः शब्दकार्यंयं माणवक इति ध्वनिं कुर्वन्नेवमुच्ये । तस्माद्ध्वनिः शब्दः ।

[28] Pr. I.7.7: उच्चारितेन प्रकाशितेन । Bhartṛhari gives the same gloss (Dīp. 4.7-8/3.22). He also includes a fairly extensive discussion of various viewpoints. Kaiyaṭa's gloss too is preceded by an exposition, with reference to the Vākyapadīya, of why grammarians adopt the position that the signifier is a unit called *sphoṭa*, which is manifested by physical sounds.

such as **ādityadarśa* 'someone who looks at the sun'. The suggested formulation is rejected as overly narrow, since a supplement would still be needed to allow for compounds like *vedādhyāyaḥ* 'one who learns the veda'.[29] The final answer is that the undesired derivates are not formed because they do not serve to signify appropriately (3.2.1 vt. 5: अनाभिधानात्). That is, a derivate like **ādityadarśa* is not used in the community of model speakers to signify what one can signify using a string आदित्यं पश्यति 'looks at/sees the sun'. Kaiyaṭa explains that the grammar serves only to explain words which are and always have been in use. To convey the meaning signified by strings such as आदित्यं पश्यति terms like **ādityadarśa* are not used in the community, so that one does not infer by means of a grammatical rule that these are part of correct usage.[30] This accords with the position to which Kātyāyana and later Pāṇinīyas adhere, that Pāṇini's grammar is a means of explaining correct usage (*śabdānuśāsana*) as known from a community of model speakers. Nevertheless, Patañjali does not exclude that rules of this grammar serve to create new usages conforming to them. Indeed, he repeatedly remarks that one adheres to rules (*yathālakṣaṇam* 'in accordance with rules') in the case of terms not yet used (*aprayukte*).[31]

Another way in which the grammar may be viewed as creating forms concerns derivation. This involves substituting one element for another and also inserting augments. For example, Pāṇini accounts for a neuter nominative-accusative plural form such as

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[29] Bh 3.2.1 (II.94.2-3): कर्मणि निर्वर्तयमानविक्रियमाण इति वक्तव्यम् । इह मा भूत् आदित्यं पश्यति … 3.2.1 vt. 1: कर्मणि निर्वर्तयमानविक्रियमणे चेद्वेदाध्यायादीनामुपसङ्ख्यानम् ।

[30] Pr. 3.2.1 (III.221.5-7): अनभिधानात् । नित्यानां शब्दानामिदमन्वाख्यानमात्रम् । न चादित्यं पश्यतीत्याद्यर्थप्रतिपादनायादित्यदर्शादयः शब्दाः लोके प्रयुज्यन्त इति शास्त्रेणापि साधुत्वेन नानुमास्यन्त इत्यर्थः ।

[31] For example, Bh. 1.1.24 (I.84.7).

chandāṁsi ('meters, vedic texts') starting with the base *chandas* followed by one of the two endings ***j**as* and ***ś**as*: *chandas-as* → *chandas-**ś**i* (**A** 7.1.20: जश्शसोः शिः, 1.1.42: शि सर्वनामस्थानम्) → *chandans-i* (**A** 7.1.72 नपुंसकस्य झलचः) → *chandāns-i* (**A** 6.4.10: सान्तमहतः संयोगस्य) → *chandāṁsi* (**A** 8.3.24: नश्चापदान्तस्य झलि).[32] The first two operations that apply here are replacing the nominal ending with ***ś**i*, which bears the class name *sarvanāmasthāna*, and introducing the augment ***num*** after the last vowel of the base before this ending. Now, on several occasions, Patañjali poses the question whether it is appropriate to teach that there are augments for speech units that are eternal and answers that this is not appropriate: sounds in eternal speech units should be absolutely permanent and immutable, not subject to going away, arising or undergoing modification; and an augment is a new element (*apūrvaḥ* 'unprecedented') that comes into being. The question then arises whether replacements are justified for eternal speech units, to which the reply is that they are certainly justified.[33] For it is not a question of saying an absolutely new element Y comes to stand in place of a previous element X that ceases to be. The term *sthāne* 'in place (of)' in **A** 1.1.49: षष्ठी स्थानेयोगा (PWT **90**) is understood to refer to the occasion (*prasaṅge*) that an element has for occurring. Thus X and its substitute Y are elements that exist as complements: understanding

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[32] See PWT **493**, **69**, **488**, **469**, **559**.

[33] For example, Bh. 1.1.20 (I.75.8-10): युक्तं पुनर्यन्नित्येषु नाम शब्देष्वागमशासनं स्यान्न नित्येषु नाम शब्देष कूटस्थैरविचालिभिर्वर्णैर्भवितव्यमनपायोपजनविकारिभिः । आगमश्च नामापूर्वः शब्दोपजनः । अथ युक्तं यन्नित्येषु शब्देष्वादेशाः स्युः । बाढं युक्तम् । I have cited the text as in the Poona edition. However, other editions (e.g., BhN 269b, BhR I.243) break so that, instead of a single sentence with a subordinate question beginning with *na*, there is a question and a negative answer: युक्तं पुनर्यन्नित्येषु नाम शब्देष्वागमशासनं स्यात् न । नित्येषु° Vaidyanātha (Chāyā 269 n.9: उत्तरयति नेति ।) explicitly remarks that a negative answer is given.

that the distinct item Y occurs where X would be understood to possibly occur is appropriate.[34] Patañjali ends by considering that units with augments similarly occur instead of units lacking the augments.[35] That is, to take the example of *chandāṁsi*, the speech unit *chandans* is now considered to occur in the place of *chandas* before the ending ***śi***.

Moreover, Patañjali knows of a view, stated in a kārikā he cites, that a perceptive user of language conceives of all verbal activity as occurring in the intellect, so that the sequence of one speech unit after another (*paurvāparyam*) operates in the intellect (*buddhiviṣayam*'): seeing in the intellect meanings to be signified together with the speech units to be used to signify these, a speaker conceives of (*kuryāt* 'should make') sequence as occurring therein.[36] This conceptualization reconciles the position that a grammarian can be said to produce a derivate like *rājapuruṣa* from padas in an string such as *rājan-as puruṣa-s*. This need not — indeed should not — be taken literally to mean a grammarian produces all such derivates, which he finds in usage. On the contrary, the derivational procedure is only a means whereby a grammar accounts for the relations among

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[34] BhR I.243-2244: शब्दान्तरैरिह भवितव्यम् । तत्र शब्दान्तरे शब्दान्तरस्य प्रतिपत्तिर्युक्ता । Pr. 1.1.20 (I. 243.9-244.1): बाढमिति । प्रसङ्गवाची स्थानशब्दो न निवृत्तिवाची । ततश्च सन्त एव प्रयोगे नित्याः शब्दा बुद्ध्युन्मज्जननिमज्जनद्वारेण प्रतिपाद्यन्ते । I have cited the bhāṣya text as in the Rohtak and other editions, with the exception of the Poona edition, which has (I.75.11) तत्र शब्दान्तराच्छब्दान्तरस्य instead of तत्र शब्दान्तरे शब्दान्तरस्य. The reading I have given was known to Nāgeśa, who cites it (BhR I.243.17-18: भाष्ये शब्दान्तर इति । तद्बुद्धौ प्राप्तायामित्यर्थः ।) and interprets *śabdāntare* as a locative absolute: when the understanding of another speech unit has possibly applied.

[35] Bh. I.75.11-12: आदेशास्तर्हीमे भविष्यन्त्यनागमकानां सागमकाः । It is not possible to discuss here the rest of this and other related passages.

[36] Bh. 1.4.109 (I.356.9-11): बुद्धौ कृत्वा सर्वाश्चेष्टाः कर्ता धीरस्तत्वन्नीतिः । शब्देनार्थान्वाच्यान्दृष्ट्वा बुद्धौ कुर्यात्पौर्वापर्यम् ।। बुद्धिविषयमेव शब्दानां पौर्वापर्यम् । Physical sounds cannot occur simultaneously, since they disappear as soon as they are uttered.

strings and derivates. Grammatical rules in Pāṇini's system produce speech units only in so far as they serve to form utterances of actual usage through derivations starting with bases and affixes.

This is the theoretical stand later most elaborately upheld by Bhartṛhari. As is well known, he divides speech units and their meanings taken up in the Vākyapadīya into two major types. Speech units are subdivided into those which are to be described (*anvākhyeyāḥ*) and those which serve to make the former understood (*pratipādakāḥ*); that is, the objects of grammatical description and the units recognized in the grammar in order to describe these. Meanings are also of two sorts: those whose nature is stable (*sthitalakṣaṇāḥ*) and those which are abstracted (*apoddhārapadārthāḥ*); that is, there are meanings of utterances and those attributed to padas abstracted from utterances and those attributed to bases and affixes said to make up padas.[37]

Bhartṛhari adheres to this position when he deals with the derivation of compounds. Thus, he says[38] of an understanding (*buddhiḥ* 'cognition') that operates with respect to a meaning that is putatively composite — such as the meaning of a term like *nīla* 'blue thing' or *nīlotpala* 'blue utpala' — is a single cognition which is as though interwoven (*anusyūtā iva*) with fused (*saṁsṛṣṭaiḥ*) entities. Those who have the task of explaining such meanings (*vyākhātāraḥ*) divide the single cognition and speak of it as divided. Thus basing

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[37] VP 1.24: अपोद्धारपदार्था ये ये चार्थाः स्थितलक्षणाः । अन्वाख्येयाश्च ये शब्दा ये चापि प्रतिपादिकाः ।। The third kāṇḍa of the Vākyapadīya begins with a verse which says that padas are divided by certain scholars into two, four, or five types, but only through abstracting them (*apoddhṛtyaiva*) them from utterances, as one also abstracts bases, affixes and so on from padas: VP 3.1.1: द्विधा कैश्चित्पदं भिन्नं चतुर्धा पञ्चधापि वा । अपोद्धृत्यैव वाक्येभ्यः प्रकृतिप्रत्ययादिवत् ।।

[38] VP 3.14.93-94/92-93: अनुस्यूतेव संसृष्टैरर्थे बुद्धिः प्रवर्तते । व्याख्यातारो विभज्याथ तं भेदेन प्रचक्षते ।। तदात्मन्यविभक्ते च बुद्ध्यन्तरमुपाश्रिताः । विभागमिव मन्यन्ते विशेषणविशेष्ययोः ।।

themselves on a different understanding (*buddhyantaram*), they consider that there is a putative division (*vibhāgam iva* 'as though a division') between a qualifier and what it qualifies. Echoing the Mahābhāṣya (see §**2.2.3** with note 21), he goes on to say[39] that those who set derivation into play for the sake of those who lack insight say that when a subordinate constituent comes to signify a meaning other than its own (*parārthavacane*), it has the property of giving up its proper meaning or adding it to another (*tyāgābhyuccayadharmatām*) , but that this status is only posited (*prakalpitām*). Once more echoing the Mahābhāṣya, Bhartṛhari also notes[40] that those who do set derivational processes into play do not have a single method for making derivates understood; on the contrary, there are distinct means of conveying (*sambodhanopāyāḥ*) this, which are not settled (*anavasthitāḥ*).[41]

3 It is undeniable that Pāṇini himself took a comparable theoretical stance. He does provide, in **A** 2.1.11 and 2.1.1 (see note 2 and §**1**), that compounds are derived optionally from semantically and syntactically related padas in abstract strings. In view of what we have observed, moreover, one should accept only procedure II (§**2.2**) as valid in Pāṇini's system. This accords with Pāṇini's way of accounting for Sanskrit utterances. A derivation starts from

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[39] · VP 3.14.95/94: अबुधान्प्रति वृत्तिं च वर्तयन्तः प्रकल्पिताम् । आहुः परार्थवचने त्यागाभ्युच्चयधर्मताम् ।।

[40] · VP 3.14.98/97: वृत्तिं वर्तयतामेवमबुधप्रतिपत्तये । भिन्नाः सम्बोधनोपायाः पुरुषेष्वनवस्थिताः ।।

[41] · For example, Patañjali notes not only different views concerning whether subordinate constituents give up or retain their own meanings (see n. 19) but also different conceptions of what constitutes sāmarthya (Bh. 2.1.1 [I.364.24-28], part of which is cited by Helārāja [VPH 3.14.96 (199.24-25)]): distinction (*bheda*), aggregation (*saṁsarga*) or a combination of the two.

semantics that involve relations centered around an action, with participants that contribute to its accomplishment. Part of these semantics is the number associated with any entity signified by a base or affix. Thus, the initial strings for deriving (2), (4) , (6) (§**2.1**) have the base *puruṣa-* with different endings: *am*, *auṭ*, ***ś****as*; the ending ***ṅ****as* of the triplet ***ṅ****as os ām* is introduced after *rājan-*, as in (2a), and strings with *rājan-os*, *rājan-ām* are posited, to derive utterances referring to a servant or servants of one, two or several kings (§**2.3.2**). Similarly, the ekavacana ending of the verb ending set *ti**p** tas jhi* is selected to occur instead of the *l*-affix in *dṛś-l**aṭ*** of (3a) (§**2.2**) since there is a single agent of seeing. To be sure, the nominal ending of *rājan-as* does not appear in the compound (*rājan-as puruṣa-s**u***). Nevertheless, *rāja-* as the first constituent of the compound shows an absence of *n* just as does *rājā* (nom. sg.): *rājan-s**u*** → *rājan* (**A** 6.1.68: हल्ङ्याब्भ्यो दीर्घात्सुतिस्यपृक्तं हल्) → *rājān* (**A**6.4.8: सर्वनामस्थाने चासम्बुद्धौ)→ *rājā* (**A**8.2.7).[42] Thus, *rāja-* in the compound can justifiably be said to show a trace of its origin as a pada.

In addition, not all first constituents of compounds necessarily lack nominal endings, as Pāṇini recognizes in a series of rules headed by **A**6.3.1: अलुगुत्तरपदे (PWT **323**), whereby nominal endings are not deleted before a following constituent. For example, **A**2.3.33: करणे च स्तोकाल्पकृच्छ्रकतिपयस्यासत्त्ववचनस्य (पञ्चमी [28] तृतीयान्यतरस्याम् [32]) provides for the occurrence of a fifth- or third-triplet ending optionally to signify a means, with the bases *stoka* ‘little in quantity’,

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[42.] See PWT **404**, **469**, and n. 7 above. *rāja-bhyām* (instr.-dat.-abl. du.), *rāja-bhis* (instr. pl.), *rāja-bhyas* (dat.-abl. pl.), and *rāja-su* (loc. pl.) also show *rāja-* before particular endings. Pāṇini recognizes not only what I call syntactic padas, with endings (see n. 1) but also padas before internal word boundaries (e.g., **A**1.4.17: स्वादिष्वसर्वनामस्थाने [PWT **75**]).

alpa ‘little in quantity’, *kṛcchra* ‘difficult’, *katipaya* ‘several’, on condition that these signify something other than a substance; e.g., (8) स्तोकेन/स्तोकान् मुक्तः ‘… was/got (himself) released with little (effort), effortlessly’.[43] **A**2.1.39: स्तोकान्तिक-दूरार्थकृच्छ्राणि क्तेन lets a pada with a fifth-triplet ending following bases with the meanings of *stoka, antika* (‘proximate’), *dūra* (‘distant’) as well as *kṛcchra* optionally form a tatpuruṣa compound with a pada containing the participial suffixe ***k**ta*, as in *mukta*. Then **A**6.3.2: पञ्चम्याः स्तोकादिभ्यः provides for not deleting a fifth-triplet ending following *stoka* and so on, given in **A**2.1.39. The ending introduced after *stoka-* in an abstract string from which the compound derives is necessarily the singular ending ***ṅasi***, given that **A** 2.3.33 specifies that the base preceding a fifth-triplet ending signify something other than a substance: a quality is singular.[44] Similarly, a fourth-triplet ending is

[43] That is the act of releasing is qualified by the property not amounting to much, not requiring effort. Pāṇinīyas gloss (8) using *anāyāsena* ‘effortlessly’ or *āyāsena* with the qualifier *laghunā* ‘light, slight’: PKPr. II.60, SKT I.671: अनायासेन मुक्त इत्यर्थः; cf. SKB I.671: लघुनायासेन मुक्त इत्यर्थः । आयासो न द्रव्यमिति भावः. Puruṣottama (BhV 2.3.33) illustrates **A**2.3.33 with half an indravajrā verse: स्तोकेन रुष्टा दयिताय नारी स्तोकादुपेता पनरेव तोषम् ‘The lady, (only) slightly angry with her beloved, easily reverted to being pleased’; alternatively, this could refer to the lady’s being easily provoked and just as easily appeased. Most modern translators use (8) to illustrate **A**2.3.33 and some reflect the Pāṇinīya explanation: Vasu: ‘he got off lightly’, Katre: ‘got off easily’; differently, Sharma: ‘just about freed’. Renou cites *stokāt/stokena ruṣṭaḥ* reflecting Puruṣottama and translates ‘un peu irrité’. Others differ significantly from Pāṇinīyas, considering that the utterances speak of someone barely getting free, with great difficulty. Thus, Böhtlingk: ‘mit genauer Noth frei gelassen’, Haag 133: « à peine libéré » / « libéré à grand-peine ».

[44] Strings with dual and plural endings, such as स्तोकाभ्यां मुक्तः । स्तोकेभ्यो मुक्तः, are possible. However, as Kaiyaṭa notes (Pr. 6.3.1 [IV583.11-12]: स्तोकाभ्यां मुक्त इ्यादावपादाने पञ्चमी न तु करणे स्तोकाल्पेत्यनेन धर्ममात्रवाचित्वे द्वित्वबहुत्वयोर्दुर्लभत्वात् …) the endings here are introduced to signify an apādāna (**A** 2.3.28: अपादाने पञ्चमी [PWT **240**]): something from which one is released. Kaiyaṭa’s comment is made with respect to Patañjali’s explanation (Bh. 6.3.1 [III.141.21]: किमुक्तम् ।

not deleted in the grammatical terms *ātmanepada*, *parasmaipada*, and a seventh-triplet ending is retained in a group of compounds, such as *kaṇṭhekāla* 'one with black at the throat (i.e., Śiva)'.[45]

Now, under procedure I, such a compound with an ending in its first constituent would have to be exported to a lexicon, whence it would be retrieved as such to enter into strings posited to account for utterances. Under Pāṇini's procedure, the ending is optionally retained when deriving such utterances.

4 Conclusion

It has been established that much of what western linguists conceive of as a distinct morphology is absent in Pāṇini's system, where most compounds and derivates with taddhita suffixes are treated as optional formations derived from abstract strings which serve to derive related utterances (see Cardona 2009). In this paper, I have presented arguments supporting the position that the derivates formed from constituents of such strings are not treated as part of a possible lexicon to which they are exported, whence they are also imported to enter into sentence derivations. Here again, syntax prevails: once an

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अनाभिधानादिति ।) of 6.3.1.vt 4 (उक्तं वा ।), where Kātāyana refers back to the principle stated in 3.2.1 vt. 5 (see §**2.3.5**). Bharṭhari later introduced a new concept of number to deal with first constituents in compounds: singularity (*ekatva*) defined by non-distinction (*abheda*): *abhedaikatvasaṅkhyā*. It is not possible to consider here even major aspects of Bharṭhari's long exposition and what is said by Helārāja and other commentators; see K. A. Subramania Iyer 1969: 384-387, M. S. Narayana Murti 160-183, Mithilesh Chaturvedi 37-44, Haag. Nāgeśa rightly says that the notion does not appear in the Mahābhāṣya; LM 1382.13-16: अत एव भाष्येऽभेदैकत्वसङ्ख्येति व्यवहारो भासत इति च नास्ति । वृत्तौ सङ्ख्याविशेषो न भवतीत्येतावदेव समर्थसूत्रे भाष्यम् । तेन रूपेण सङ्ख्याभानस्यान्यत्राद्दष्टत्वाच्च ।

[45] There are also instances where an ending is retained in a taddhita derivate; see PWT **368**.

initial string with related padas is established, operations proceed until a final utterance results.

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BhV Bhāṣāvṛtti. See Chakravarti.

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PKPr. Prakriyākaumudīprakāśa. See Muralīdhara Miśra. (sūtra,, volume, page)

PM Haradatta's *Padamañjarī*. See Dwarikadas Shastri and Kalikaprasad Shukla. (sūtra, volume, page, lines within Padamañjarī text)

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SKB Vāsudeva Dīkṣita's Bālamanoramā on the Siddhāntakaumudī. See Giridharaśarmā Caturvedī and Parameśvarānanda Śarmā. (volume, page)

SKT Jñānendrasarasvatī's Tattvabodhinī on the Siddhāntakaumudī See Giridharaśarmā Caturvedī and Parameśvarānanda Śarmā. (volume, page)

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