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Subantaratnākara: An Unknown Text of Subhūticandra

Abstract: The Buddhist monk-scholar Subhūticandra (*c*. 1060–1140 CE) is known as the author of the commentary *Kavikāmadhenu* (*c*. 1110–1130 CE) on the *Amarakośa*. He appears to have also written a grammatical text called *Subantaratnākara*. There are altogether twelve manuscripts entitled *Subantaratnākara*: ten in Nepal and two in Cambridge. Out of these, six are indeed of the *Subantaratnākara*, while the remaining six are of four different texts, which are somewhat related to the *Subantaratnākara*. There are two Tibetan translations of the text. Many of these manuscripts mention Subhūticandra as the author of the text. There also exists a commentary on the *Subantaratnākara*. The article discusses the contents of these manuscripts, and the Tibetan translations and their mutual relationship. It also deals with the issue of the authorship of the different texts available in these manuscripts. In this connection, the article also discusses the issue of Subhūticandra's common authorship of the *Subantaratnākara* and the *Kavikāmadhenu*.

1 Introduction

The Buddhist monk-scholar Subhūticandra (*c*. 1060–1140 CE) is known to us from his *Kavikāmadhenu* commentary¹ (*c*. 1110–1130 CE) on the *Amarakośa*.² He was one of the teachers of Pa tshab Lo tsā ba Tshul khrims rgyal mtshan (d. after 1130), who had studied the *Āryasaddharmasmṛtyupasthānasūtra* with Subhūticandra at Vikramaśīla. According to Pa tshab Lo tsā ba, Subhūticandra was 'a scholar of grammar, poetics, and "the modality of the Sanskrit language", (*legs par sbyar ba'i skad kyi lugs la mkhas pa*), whereby the latter phrase may, but only may, be a clumsy way of designating lexicography' (van der Kuijp 2009, 8). An analysis of the citations from Subhūticandra's *Kavikāmadhenu* substantiates Pa tshab Lo tsā ba's statement. Out of at least 228 texts from which Subhūticandra quotes, fifty-three are grammatical works, six are on poetics, and thirty-three lexicons.

¹ The work of a critical edition of this text has been undertaken by Prof. Mahesh A. Deokar and myself.

² For a detailed discussion on Subhūticandra's date and place and his *Kavikāmadhenu* commentary, cf. Deokar Lata 2014, 1–91.

In the field of Sanskrit grammar, Candragomin's Cāndravyākarana, and its commentarial literature, namely, the Cāndravrtti of Dharmadāsa, the Cāndravyākaranapañjikā of Ratnamati, and the Śabdalaksanavivaranapañjikā of Pūrnacandra, are the principal authorities for Subhūticandra. On some important grammatical issues, he also brings in the discussions taking place in the Pāninian grammatical tradition. Apart from the main texts belonging to this tradition such as the Astādhyāyī, the Vyākaranamahābhāsya and the Kāśikāvrtti, Subhūticandra cites from the Bhāgavrtti of Vimalamati (625 CE)3 and the Anunyāsa of Indumitra (before 1100 CE).4 Being a junior contemporary of Purusottamadeva, Subhūticandra cites from the former's Bhāsāvrtti, the Jñāpakasamuccaya, and the Laksyalaksanadurghata. One more important grammarian whom Subhūticandra quotes is his senior contemporary Maitreyaraksita. The third important grammatical tradition, namely, that of Śarvavarman's Kātantravyākarana has also found its way in to the Kavikāmadhenu. Subhūticandra cites from Śarvavarman's and Vararuci's Kātantravyākarana as well as from the commentarial literature which includes the Durgatīkā and the Kātantraviśesākhyāna. Among the Prakrit grammarians, he quotes from Hevvara's commentary on Vararuci's Prākrtaprakāśa and the Prākṛtasamjīvanī of Vasantarāja. There are two more grammars of Prakrit that Subhūticandra has referred to, one of which is the *Prākrtānuśāsana*. Subhūticandra refers to the author of this text by the honorific title Gomin. The rule he has cited from this text is found in the Prākṛtānuśāsana of Puruṣottama.5 The second text is Samskrtabhavaprākrtānuśāsana, which Subhūticandra has ascribed to Candragomin. Sanskritists until this date do not seem to be aware of any such text composed by Candragomin. Apart from these, Subhūticandra also quotes from a number of texts related to lists of verbal roots (dhātupātha), handbooks on grammatical gender (lingānuśāsana), and manuals on phonetics.

On the background of Subhūticandra's in-depth knowledge of the Sanskrit and the Prakrit grammatical traditions, I was curious to find out if there was a grammatical text ascribed to him. This curiosity brought me to the reference to a text entitled *Subantaratnākara* ascribed to Subhūticandra in J. P. Dwivedi's book *Saṃskṛt ke bauddh vaiyākaraṇ* ('Buddhist Grammarians, Commentators and Tibetan Translators of Sanskrit Grammar'). According to the description of one of the manuscripts given by the NGMCP, namely, B 35–23 (NAK 4/148), this text deals with 'the declension of nouns and adjectives (*subanta*), following the Cāndra school of grammar.'6

³ For a detailed discussion on Vimalamati and the *Bhāgavrtti*, cf. Dwivedi 1987, 194–202.

⁴ For a detailed discussion on Indumitra and the Anunyāsa, cf. Dwivedi 1987, 231–232.

⁵ ādīdūtām alope saṃyoge hrasvaś ca | (IV.7 [= 126], p. 5).

⁶ http://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/wiki.

Bruno Liebich (1895, 7, 34–35) was probably the first modern scholar to mention and discuss the Subantaratnākara based on its Tibetan translation (Sup mtha' rin chen 'byung gnas'). Unfortunately, he had an incomplete translation at hand. As a result, he could not obtain any information regarding the author of the text. More than a century later, Verhagen (2001, 132-136) discussed this text in greater detail based on the revised translation of the Subantaratnākara preserved in the collected works of Si tu pan chen. In 2001, in an article entitled 'Bhiksu Haribhadra's Vibhaktikārikā. An Unknown Grammatical Text Edited with a Brief Introduction (First Part)', Wezler (2001, 249) commented: 'CG 37 and 38 (Subantaratnākara / Vvākarana-Subanta): The author's name, I should like to add, is Subhūti,' However, Wezler has not clearly mentioned the reasons for ascribing both these texts to Subhūti(candra).

Dwivedi (1987, 289), who is probably the first scholar to discuss the Sanskrit manuscripts of the Subantaratnākara, informs us that there exist five manuscripts of this text in Nepal. Since I was already working on Subhūticandra's Kavikāmadhenu, I decided to collect and edit the manuscripts of the Subantaratnākara as a sequel to my ongoing research. Thanks to the Nepalese German Manuscript Cataloguing Project (NGMCP), it has been possible to have access to all the available manuscripts of the Subantaratnākara in Nepal. I am grateful to the late Dr Albrecht Hanisch, the then Resident Representative of the NGMCP, for promptly providing me with all the necessary information and making arrangements to send the digital copies of all the available manuscripts through Namraj Gurung, who deserves special thanks for the same. In 2013, in an article 'Subhūticandra: A Forgotten Scholar of Magadha', I briefly introduced the manuscript materials and recorded some of my early impressions of the text. In the meanwhile, after completing the first volume of the Kavikāmadhenu, I began reading afresh the manuscripts of the Subantaratnākara and the Subvidhānaśabdamālāparikrama, another work also ascribed to Subhūticandra. This reading proved some of my earlier remarks obsolete, which made it necessary for me to present the analysis of the manuscripts material in a revised form. Here in the following pages, I wish to present to the scholarly world my fresh analysis of the same. I will start this analysis with a description of altogether six manuscripts:

2 Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Subantaratnākara*

1. NAK 1/468 (Reel No. A 1311-5 = A 1162-10) is a palm-leaf manuscript $(33 \times 5 \text{ cm})$ containing 60 folios with 4-7 lines per folio. The manuscript is written in the Nepālāksara Although there is no real physical damage to the manuscript, some folios are not clearly legible. At a few places, aksaras are partly rubbed off, while at some other places the text is not readable due to the spreading of ink.

The name of the text Suvantaratnākarah in both the Nāgarī as well as the Roman script appears on a piece of paper pasted on the outer side of the wooden cover. On this paper, we also find the number assigned to the manuscript, namely, Pra. 468 (in the Nāgarī script) and No. A 468 (in Roman letters and Arabic numberals). We also find the date of the manuscript, namely, visam 112 (in the Nāgarī script). The inner side of the wooden cover contains a didactic verse written in the Nepālākṣara script:

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dhanadhānyaprayogeşu tathā vidyārjjaneşu<sup>7</sup> ca |
āhāravyavahāreşu tyaktalajjo (! °lajjaḥ) sadā bhavet ||
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(Cāṇakyarājanītiśāstra 3.21)

This side also preserves the date of the manuscript, namely, visam 112 written by a different hand in the Nāgarī script.

In the top margin of fol. 1r, we find the following inscriptions: Pra. 468, patra 60, Subantaratnākara and vi. sam. 112 (all written in the Nāgarī script). The folio contains two verses. The handwriting of these verses is different from the handwriting of the inscriptions on 1r as well as that of the text of the Subantaratnākara. The first three lines of this portion contain the following verse:

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āsā (!) nāma nadī manoharajalā tṛṣṇātaṃ(!)raṅgākulā
rāgagrāhavatī vitakra(!)vāhagā dhikyam mahābhoga(2)niḥ (!) |
mohāvarttasudu(s)sahātigahanā yā tumgacimtātataih
tasyā[h] pāragatā visu(!)dhamana(3)sā naṃdatī (!) nandati jāgesvarā(h) (!) || (fol. 1r 1–3)
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This verse is found in Bhartṛhari's Śatakatrayī (verse 173). It reads:

āśā nāma nadī manorathajalā tṛṣṇātaraṅgākulā rāgagrāhavatī vitarkavihagā dhairyadrumadhvaṃsinī | mohāvartasudustarātigahanā prottungacintātaţī tasyāh pāragatā vibudhamanaso nandantu yogīśvarāh ||

⁷ The printed edition reads vidyāsamgrahaņesu.

The River of Hope having Desire for its water, Greed for agitating waves, Passion for its sharks, Sceptic reasoning for birds, Patience for the tottering trees on its sides, and worldly Care and Anxieties for its lofty banks, is very difficult to be crossed on account of its total whirlpool of Illusion. Those pure-minded Yogi-s who have swum over to the opposite bank of this mighty stream are therefore leading a safe and happy life. (P. G. Nath's translation; Sternbach III, 1304)

This verse is followed by one more verse, which I am unable to read at present. Isaacson suggests that 'someone at some point wrote [these] two verses on the originally blank 1r.' (email correspondence dated 29/01/2017)

The actual text of the Subantaratnākara begins on fol. 1v with the benedictory verse paying homage to Śākyamuni Buddha. This is preceded by homage to Vāgīśvara (namo vāgīśvarāya), which, in all probability, is the homage paid by the scribe. The manuscript is incomplete. The last word derived in this manuscript is goraksa. The text ends on fol. 60 with the words goraksaśabdāt supah so(r) lopah padānta-. The last folio preserves an inscription atha preceded by an auspicious sign written in the Maithili script. Most folios are foliated with both letter-numerals as well as numerals. The majority of folios have letter numerals in the left-hand margin and numerals in the right-hand margin of the verso side of the folio, but in the case of some folios these are inverted. Other folios only have numerals in either side of the verso. The title of the text is found on fol. 19r1 in a final rubric to the section:

uktāḥ (!) ajantā halantāś ca puṃsi | iti subantaratnākare pulingakāndah samāptah |

The other three manuscripts of the Subantaratnākara do not mention the name of the text in the corresponding final rubric.8

2. NAK 4/148 (Reel No. B 35–23) is a palm-leaf manuscript $(31.5 \times 5 \text{ cm})$ containing 77 folios with 5-7 lines per folio. The script is Nepālāksara. On a few folios, the writing is partially rubbed off. In quite a number of instances, the scribe has indicated lacunas by filling up these portions with auspicious signs. The manuscript begins with a benediction to Daśabala ([na]maḥ śrīdaśabalāya) and a benedictory verse paying homage to Śākyamuni Buddha. The manuscript is complete. It ends

⁸ uktā ajantā halantāś ca puṃsi saviśeṣāḥ | pula(!)lingakāṇḍaḥ (pullinga° NAK 4/148) prathamaḥ samāptaḥ | NAK 4/148 (20r5), Or.148 (25v2-3); uktā'jantā halantāś ca pusi (!) viśeṣaḥ (!) | puṃlingakāndah samāptah prathamah | C 54-7(1) (Kesar 582) (27b3-4).

with three concluding verses, followed by the final rubric to the text⁹ and the colophon. 10 According to the latter, the manuscript was copied for a certain monk bearing the title Śrījñāna of the Śrīdharmadhātu Mahāvihāra. The foliation consists of letter-numerals in the middle of the left-hand margin and numerals in the middle of the right-hand margin of the verso (only on folios 1–12). From folio 13 onwards, only the numerals appear in the left-hand margin of the verso. Exposures 2 and 79 show the back of folios 1 and 77 respectively, which are used as flyleaves, showing some other inscriptions in Nepālāksara characters. In the bottom of fol. 77r, another hand has added: namaḥ śrīdasa(!)balāya | preceded by an auspicious sign in the Nepālāksara script.

3. NAK 5-7989 (Reel No. B 35-30) $(30 \times 5 \text{ cm})$ is a palm-leaf manuscript containing 12 folios with 5 lines per folio. The script is Nepālāksara. The manuscript is incomplete and damaged. At many places, the aksaras are rubbed off. The text preserved in this manuscript is not continuous. These are stray leaves. The second image of the exposure 2771 preserves a final rubric to the first section:

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cāndravyākara(5) ..... yādhyāyasya prathamaḥ pādaḥ samāptaḥ |
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Most probably, based on this final rubric, the NGMCP has listed this as a manuscript of the *Cāndravyākarana*. In the bottom margin of the first image of this exposure, we find an inscription by a second hand in Nāgarī script:

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cāndravyākaraṇasambandhiśabdarūpāvalīpada(..)(..)
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While discussing this manuscript in his Verschiedene neu-entdeckte Texte des Cāndravyākarana und ihre Verfasser (Studien zum Cāndravyākarana II), Oberlies as named this text as *Cāndra-vyākarana-sambandhi-śabda-rūpāvalī* apparently based on the above-mentioned inscription. He has quoted two passages from this manuscript, which I reproduce below (Oberlies 1992, 177–178):

etasya cānvadeśaḥ (sic!) dvitīyāyāñ caina iti etacchabdasya ya etaśabdas tasya kathitānukathanavisaye dvitīyāyām tākāre osi ca (! sic) enādeśo bhavati / etam cchātram vedam adhyāpaya / || atho enaṃ vyākaraṇam adhyāpaya / iha kasmān na bhavati / etam ātaṃ nitaṃ vidyād iti pūrvavad anvādeśābhāvāt / tathā hi īṣadarthe kriyāyoge [/] maryādābhividhau ca ya itīṣa || dādisv ākārasya nirdeśan kṛtvā etamātam nitam vidyād iti vedanakriyāyām āhuḥ / karmabhāvo vidhīyate / atho etau atho enān [/] atho enat / atho enāḥ / [svaṃ] / a || tho enayā ... hri /

⁹ kṛtir iyam paṇḍitasthavirasubhūticandrasya | granthapramāṇa m a]sya sahasra 1 śata 4 grantha 30 likhitam idam | (77r2-3).

¹⁰ śrīdharmmadhātumahāvihārasya | krammaśrījñānasya bhikṣu(ḥ) pustako 'yaṃm (!) idaṃ likhitam iti | (77r2-3).

striyāṃ / etā ene [/] enā / enayā / enayoḥ / napuṃsake / dvitīyāyām iti viṣayasaptamī .. [na] pūrvavad ... ty enādeśānivṛtti...k. [t(y)ad]ādyatvā || [bh]āvaḥ / vā virāme [C 6.4.149] iti dasya (sic! [lies: jhasya?]) cartvam / enat ene enāni / enena enayoh // [2r1–5]

etasya cānvadeśe dvitīyāyām caina idamśabdasyānvādeśaviṣayasya dvitīyāyām ṭausi ca enādeśaḥ / i.. / gurupūja.. / a.. ena[m] //| || [bh]ojaya / atho enau / atho enān / anena chāttreṇa chando 'dhītaṃ / atho enena vyākaraṇam adhītaṃ / iha kasmān na bhavati / ayaṃ daṇḍo harāneneti yatra kiñcid vidhāya vākya /// || ..]ṇa nukaraṇānyad (sic!) upadiśyate so 'nvādeśaḥ / iha tu vastunirdeśamātraṃ kṛtvā ekam e(va vi)dhānaṃ tathā hi ayaṃ daṇḍa ity aneneti haraṇakriyāyā[ñ ca] daṇḍasya karaṇabhāv[o] /// [5r2-4]

I was able to trace these passages to folios 68r3–68v2 and 67r3–6 respectively of the manuscript NAK 4/148. Verhagen (2001, 133) had already identified these passages in the Tibetan translation of the *Subantaratnākara* as preserved in the collected works of Si tu paṇ chen (60r6–60v3; 59v1–4). However, being misled by Oberlies' (1992, 176–179) identification of this manuscript as *Cāndravyākaraṇasambandhiśabdarūpāvalī*, Verhagen (2001, 133) remarked:

[a] manuscript of the Sanskrit original, bearing the title *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa-sambandhi-śabda-rūpāvalī*, has been brought to light (...) .¹¹

I wonder why Verhagen did not raise any question about this identification even after tracing the said passages to the Tibetan translation of the *Subantaratnākara*. The fact that the above-mentioned passages match with the manuscripts of the *Subantaratnākara* and its Tibetan translation proves beyond doubt that these are the stray leaves of a manuscript of the *Subantaratnākara*, and not those of a previously unknown text as was earlier thought by Oberlies.

As mentioned earlier, this manuscript contains altogether 12 folios. The respective exposure numbers are from 2760 to 2772. Out of these, 2760 and 2772 have only one image while the rest of the exposures have two images. Here follows a table of folios and their corresponding images along with the word(s) discussed in them and their approximate parallels in NAK 4/148:

Fol. no.	Exposure no.	Word(s) discussed	Approximate parallels in B 35–23 (NAK 4/148)
	2760		
	2761a		
	2771a	pitṛ-	9v
	2770b	pitṛ-, nṛ-, praśāstṛ-	9v, 10r, 10v
	2770a	uktā ṛdantāḥ rai-	10v
	2769b	go-, glau-	11r, 11v
	2769a	bhūbhuk-	12v
	2768b	parivrāţ-	13v
	2767b	śikharalū-	41r
	2768a	śikharalū-	41r
	2767a	pratyañc-	46r4
	2766b	tiryak-, viśvadryañc-	46v
	2763b	bhavat-	53r1
	2764a	adan-	53v
	2766a	gaganarudh-	54v6
	2765b	pīvan- (?)	55v1
	2763a	bahvap-	56v
	2762b	bahvap-, arituph- (?)	56v
*69	2765a	adas-	66v2
70 (?)	2764b	etat-	67r3-6
	2762a	etat- (f.)	67v6
*71	2761b	eka-	68v2

The second image of the exposure 2771 reads as follows:

-viṣyati | yasya punar aṇantaṃ nāma tat(r)āṇ eva | namatuv (?) ity āha | **bhāgīrathī**tyādi | tasmād divāyāpi (?) matupam vyavasthārtham tan nāmnīti śrayitavyam | tathā vā (2) (na)dyāṃ deśe matub iṣṭaḥ | madhūni sthāna(!)vo 'smin deśe santi madhumān | sthānu(!)mān | atvasor iti dīrghaḥ | puṃsuṭy ugita iti num | sor lopaḥ | saṃ (3) kasyādīny api matvantānīti saṃjña(!)yām asaṃjña(!)yām vā sāmānyena vidhāsyamāno matup atra saṃjñayām (!) bhavisyatīti | si (4) ity āśamkyāha | mādhava ityādi | tato **non** m arthād a(tra) **bhavisyati** | tan nāmnīti niyamo[']tra (?) | cāndravyāka(raņe trtī)(5)yādhyāyasya prathamaḥ pādaḥ samāptaḥ | samba(....) prathamāṣāḍha (....) saptamyāṃ likhitam idaṃ puṃsaka-

This appears to be a part of some commentary on the Candravrtti on vuñchankathajilaseniradhañnyayaphakphiñiññyakakthakchakīyadmatupdvalacah 3.1.68):

... Udumbarāvatī, Ikṣumatīti matvantam nadīnāma. **Bhāgīrathī**, Bhaimarathī, Sauvāstavīty aṇantam api dṛṣyate. Madhumān, Sthāṇumān ityādīny api matvantāni deṣanāmāni. Mādhava ityādīni tu na deṣanāmānīti **nāto 'n bhaviṣyati**.

When I requested Dragomir Dimitrov to crosscheck CVṛ on CV 3.1.68 with Ratnamati's *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā*, he compared it with the photographs of the manuscript of the Pañjikā taken by Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana. In an email dated 23.12.2015, he confirmed that '[s]o we have one more tiny fragment of this commentary'.

- **4. Kesar 523 (Reel No. C 49-2)** ($31.6 \times 4.4 \, \mathrm{cm}$) is a palm-leaf manuscript. It is written in Nepālākṣara script. This is a multi-text manuscript, which includes altogether five portions of four texts. These are:
- a. Amarakośa (31.3 × 4.3 cm), 4 folios; palm-leaf; incomplete, damaged; Nepālākṣara
- b. Amarakośa (31.3 × 4.3 cm), 34 folios; palm-leaf; incomplete, damaged; Nepālākṣara
- c. Kātantravyākaraņa (31 × 4.5 cm), 1 folio; palm-leaf; Nepālākṣara
- d. [Vyākaraṇa] (32.3 × 5 cm), 16 folios; palm-leaf; incomplete, damaged; Maithili
- e. Subantaratnākara: This is a palm-leaf manuscript (31.6 × 4.4 cm) containing 40 folios with 4-5 lines per folio. The script is Nepālākṣara. The manuscript is damaged. A few folios are illegible because the letters are rubbed off. The manuscript is incomplete. It begins with the words (dvijihvā)t padaracanāyām bhayam bhavati (2r) which is a part of the second introductory verse of the Subantaratnākara. The manuscript ends with the derivation of the word prasū: prasūḥ | prasvau | prasvah | ityādih | (...) (46r5). The foliation consists of letter numerals written in the left-hand margin as well as numerals in the right-hand margin of the verso side. On some folios, the numerals are not visible either due to the rubbing off of akṣaras or the physical damage to the folio. The last folio (46v) preserves two inscriptions: idam sustakam (! pustakam) idam pustakam, ra 523, kātantratīkāyām (..). A close scrutiny of the exposures belonging to the Amarakośa ('b' above) revealed that images 7924b, 7925a, 7926b and 7927a are, in fact, the exposures of two folios of the Subantaratnākara, which correspond to folios 24v6-25r7, and 25v4-26r1 of B 35-23 (NAK 4/148). These folios contain the declensions of the words jāvā, jarā, and niśā. After the analysis of these two folios, I came to the conclusion that these are the missing folios 37 and 38 of the present manuscript of the Subantaratnākara (Kesar 523e). Thus, we now have a text of the Subantaratnākara including folios 2–32, 34, 36–38, 40, 42–43, and 46.

5. Kesar 582 (Reel No. C 54-7 and C 55-1) (= C 102-39) (33.1 × 4.5 cm) is a palmleaf manuscript containing 118 folios with 5 lines per folio. The script is Nepālāksara. The manuscript is damaged. Some folios are partially rubbed off while others suffer from the spreading of ink. At many places one image is partly imposed upon another. The manuscript is complete. Before the benedictory verse paying homage to Śākyamuni Buddha, we can read the aksaras -devāya. Folios 117r4–117v2 contain three concluding verses, the final rubric to the text¹² (117v2– 3) as well as the colophon¹³ (117v3–118r2). According to the colophon, the scribe's name was Māṇikarāja. He copied this manuscript during the reign of king Śrījyotimalla, i.e. Javaivotirmalla (1408–1428). The folios have double foliation: letternumerals in the left-hand margin and numerals in the right-hand margin. The year of the copy is Nepāla Samvat 533, which corresponds to 1413 CE. After the colophon, there are three folios, the contents of which are unclear.

Apart from these manuscripts from Nepal, one manuscript of the Subantaratnākara is preserved in the Cambridge University Library (Or.148).¹⁴

6. Or.148 (31 \times 5 cm) is a palm-leaf manuscript containing 89 folios with 5 lines per folio. It is written in the Nepālāksara. The first and the ninth folios of this manuscript are missing. The manuscript begins with kīrttitāḥ | tatrādau tāvad vipraśabdāt (2r). It ends with the three concluding verses (88r3–6), the final rubric to the text,¹⁵ and colophon.¹⁶ The foliation consists of letter-numerals written in the left-hand margin and of numerals in the right-hand margin of the verso side of a folio. The manuscript, which is dated Nepāla Samvat 540 (= 1420 CE), was copied by a certain Buddhist monk Dharmaraşika (sic!) in the Śrīṣaḍakṣarīmahāvihāra in

¹² kṛtir iyaṁ subhūticandrasya | granthapramāṇam asya sahasra 1 śata 4 grantha 30 |

¹³ bhīmasyāpi bhaved gange vyāsasya mativibhramaḥ | yathā dṛṣṭan tathā likhitaṃ lekhako nāsti dosakah | vahnau vahnau hi vānābde māse phālguṇa(!)kṛṣṇake | tithau (..)dābhidhāne (.. ..) rīṣebhe śe (..) sūte | rājādhirā(ja)parameśvaradevamūle vidyākalāśa(!)kalanītisuveditasya | (.....

^{..)} śa(!)kalaśāstrapraveditata(..)śrījyotimallanṛpate khalu lisyato (!)[']yam | saṃlikhyate māṇikarāja iti prasiddho mātāpitāsahita(..)āmramake nivāsaḥ | śāstrisuvala(....)guṇiṇāṃ pra(..) jñānarucirapadanṛnṛmālām | śubham astu jagatām |

¹⁴ I am thankful to Vincenzo Vergiani for bringing this manuscript to my notice.

¹⁵ kṛtir iyam paṇḍitasthavirasubhūticandrasyaḥ (!) | granthapramāṇa (!) sahasra 1 śata 4 grantha 30 | iti subamtagrantha(h) sampūrnna(h) | (89r6-89v1)

¹⁶ bhagnapṛṣṭ(h)akati(!)grīvaṃ (!) taptadṛstir (!) adhomukhaṃ | kastena (!) likhitaṃ śāstraṃ jīvavat pratipālayet | nepālahāyanah samvat 540 bhād(r)apadaśukla(2)pañcamyān titho (!) budhavāśa(!)re svātinakṣatre brahmayoge | rājādhirājaparameśvaraparamabhatṭārakah śrīmatmāneśvarāva(! pa)ralabdhapraś(!)ādaśrīśrījavajvotimalladevasya (3) vijavarājve | śrīmadgangūlapatanake śrībaṭakṣarīmahāvihāre śrīśrīśrīlokeśvaraścaraṇasevitabhikṣunā (!) dharmmaraşikena (!) svapustakam likhitam śubham astu | (4) sarvvajagatāḥ (!) | (89v1-4).

the reign of the king Javaivotirmalla. After the colophon, on folio 90, we find the following stray scribbles related to grammar:

(fol. 90r) āgamo (')nupaghātī syād ādeśaś copamardakah | pratyayah paradekaś (!) ca upasargaś ca pūrvagah || kriyā karttā tatah karma paścād vai kārakāntaram yojaneṣāṃ (!) (2) tu vijñeye (!) gadeṣu (!) ca padeṣu ca || samjñā ca paribhāṣā ca vidhir niyama eva ca | pratiședho (')dhikāraś ca şadvidham sūtralakṣaṇam || (90v) mahān uttamah vrhan vi(sta)ra vrṣan mrga dau (!) nañau ca samākhyotau (!) pratyudāśaprasajyakau (!) | pratyudāśa (!) sadṛggrāhī prasajyas tu niṣedhakaḥ ||

This manuscript was purchased by Prof. Bendall during his 1898–99 tour in Nepal (see Formigatti's contribution in this volume).

3 Tibetan Translations of the Subantaratnākara (Tibetan: Sup'i mtha' rin chen 'byung anas)

While working on the *Kavikāmadhenu*, I had already searched through the Tibetan Tanjur for any other translated work of Subhūticandra. However, that was in vain. Now, with the availability of the titles of his works and so much manuscripts material at hand, it became possible to search the Tibetan Tanjur once again. The Sna Tshogs section of the Derge edition preserves an incomplete translation of the Subantaratnākara.¹⁷ The translation bears the title Sup'i mtha' rin chen 'byung gnas zhes bya ba Supadmākaranāma (sic! Subantaratnākaranāma). The text abruptly ends while explaining the derivation of the word *veman*, which belongs to the second section dealing with masculine nouns ending in consonants.

In volume that of the collected works of Si tu Pan chen (1699?–1774) there is a complete translation of the Subantaratnākara. It consists of 68 folios. According to the colophon found in this revised translation, the size of the text is 1420 ślokas and its author is Pa ndi ta chen po gnas brtan zla ba (*Mahāpanditasthaviracandra?).18 We are further informed that the canonical translation was done by Chos kyi rgyal

¹⁷ Derge: no. 4430, Fol. 122b³–134a⁶; Peking: Vol. 149, Mdo-hgrel, No-tshar, 5894, 446b7–460b1.

¹⁸ sup'i mtha' rin chen 'byung gnas zhes bya ba 'di ni pandi ta chen po gnas brtan zla bas mdzad pa'o || (fol. 68r3) 'This (treatise) entitled "Source of jewels" (on the derivation of forms) ending in a sUP (suffix) has been written by the great scholar Gnas-brtan-zla-ba [*Sthaviracandra?]' (Verhagen 2001, 134).

mtshan dpal bzang po. 19 The title page of the scanned copy of the text available on the website of the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center erroneously records the translator as Zhwa lu lo tsā ba Chos skyong bzang po.²⁰ According to Verhagen (2001, 132), this revised translation was done by Si tu Pan chen. However, from the reading of the colophon, I understand that it is not Si tu pan chen who actually revised the work himself, but rather it was Yon tan rgya mtsho who corrected the canonical translation as far as possible following the instructions of Si tu pan chen.²¹ Be lo has also provided important assistance in the entire process of revising the earlier translation.²² Karma Tshe dbang kun khyab prepared the printing blocks of the text in the monastery of Dpal spungs thub bstan chos 'khor gling. Talking about the awful state of the canonical translation, You tan rgya mtsho remarks that it suffers from 'very great errors of translation and at intervals there were some gaps remaining and also [widely diffused =] throughout (the work) there was a multitude of orthographical errors.'23 (Verhagen 2001, 135). About his own corrections, Yon tan rgya mtsho says:

If one [could] find an Indian manuscript [of this text] it would be possible to make the final corrections, but as [I] did not [manage to] find [one], [I] did not have the means to do so (...?).

¹⁹ de ltar brda sprod pa tsa ndra pa'i sup mtha' rin chen 'byung gnas 'di lo tsā bā chos kyi rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos bod skad du bsgyur pa la 'gyur ... (fol. 68r4). 'The preceding (treatise), this sUB-anta-ratnākara, belonging to the Cāndra (system of) grammar, had been translated into Tibetan by the translator Chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan(-dpal-bzan-po).' (Verhagen 2001, 134). Verhagen (2001, 134, n. 538) says that this translator is 'thus far unidentified.'

²⁰ www.tbrc.org.

^{21 &#}x27;jam mgon bla ma'i gsung gi legs bshad ltar legs par bcos shing rje'i tsa na tīg chen mo'i yan lag zhabs 'degs su dpal spungs thub bstan chos 'khor gling gi chos grar par du bkod pa'i byed pa po ni ka rma tshe dbang kun khyab ces pa'i da ri dra yis so || ... slad du'ang skyabs rje'i bka' ltar yon tan rgya mtsho bdag gis zhu dag lam tsam bgyis mod | 'According to the aphorisms of the words of 'Jam-mgon-bla-ma [i.e. Si-tu Paṇ-chen] these (errors) have been corrected. And as [lit. a foot-support, i.e. an aid scil. for interpretation] auxilliary to the great tika on Candra by the master [i.e. Si-tu Pan-chen] printing blocks [of the present text] have been prepared in the monastery of Dpal-spuns Thub-bstan-chos-'khor-glin by Karma Tshe-dban-kun-khyab. ... Again, in accordance with the words of the master who is our refuge, I, Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho, have roughly made corrections.' (Verhagen 2001, 135)

²² gzhi nas 'gyur skyon che zhing dpe ngan rgyun 'byams mang ba'i thog | par 'di'i ma dpe ma dag che ba la 'be los kyang zhib cha mdzad grub 'dug cing | 'But, as there were great errors in the initial translation [or: great fundamental errors in the translation] and a great multitude of bad [i.e. erroneous] examples [in the translation], while moreover grave corruptions [had entered] the original copy of this xylograph, 'Be-lo has also thoroughly worked through [the text].' (Verhagen 2001, 135) 23 skyon shin tu che zhing bar skabs 'gar hol khong 'ga' re las 'dug pa dang | yig nor rgyun 'byams yang ches mang bar 'dug pa rnams |

[Therefore?] [I] have made the corrections that were certain [i.e. evidently necessary] in accordance with the contents of the basic texts on grammar.²⁴ (Verhagen 2001, 136)

4 About the text of the Subantaratnākara

Benediction

The benedictory verse of the Subantaratnākara pays homage to Śākyamuni Buddha:

maināke hariņā svakuksivasater ādāya toyākarāt ksipte kokanadībhavatsmaracamūśastrapraticchāyayā yam devendram iva pratītya saruṣam {vy}āvarttamāne (°mānair?) bhayāt bodhau mārabhataih palāyitam asau śākyo munih pātu vah || (fol. 1v1-2) (Metre: Śārdūlavikrīdita)

The exact meaning of this verse is not clear. It seems to refer to the event of Sākyamuni Buddha's fight with Māra's army just before the enlightenment. Here is a tentative translation of the verse, which certainly needs revision:

May this Śākyamuni protect us whom the withdrawing army of Māra considered like the angry king of gods and fled out of fear at the time of enlightenment, when Hari took mount Maināka from the ocean, in whose womb he had made (his) own residence, (and) hurled it as a return cast (praticchāyayā) of those weapons of troops of the god of love (smaracamū), which turned into red water-lilies (kokanadībhavat).²⁵

I was unable to find a similar mythological reference about mount Maināka in the Sanskrit literature. There is one reference in Ksemendra's Daśāvatāracarita:

²⁴ rgya dpe rnyed na zhu dag dpyis phyin nus par 'dug kyang ma rnyed pas bya thabs bral sgra gzhung rnams kyi bstan don bzhin sngar las dag nges su bcos yod do ||

²⁵ I am thankful to Harunaga Isaacson (email correspondence dated 15/7/2015 and 30/12/2016) for suggesting this translation, which is so far the best translation one can offer. He suggests reading kokanadībhavat as one compound, without which it will be impossible (or nearly so) to construe the verse at all.' He drew my attention to a verse in the Buddhacarita (13.42): tadbodhimūle pravikīryamāṇam aṅgāravarṣaṃ tu savisphuliṅgam | maitrīvihārād ṛṣisattamasya babhūva raktotpalapattravarsah ||. Here the weapons of Māra, in the form of a rain of coals with sparks, turn into red-utpala petals. About the image in the second half, Isaacson suggests: '[w]hen Maināka is thrown by Hari, the army thinks that the Buddha is the lord of the gods (Indra, being defended by Hari = Upendra), and flees.' In my opinion, this is a brilliant innovative explanation, which I accept thankfully.

mānāya mainākam athārnavena viśrāntaye ratnagirim visrstam kareṇa saṃspṛśya sa laṅghitābdhir laṅkāṅkaśailasya taṭe papāta || (7.190)

Here the ocean is said to have sent forth the mount Maināka with jewel peaks for Hanumān to rest on it. Hanumān touched the mountain with his hand and, having crossed the ocean, landed on another mountain on the shore of Lankā. This story originally occurs in the Rāmāyana (5.56.8ff). However, these references do not match with the present narrative.

Purpose

The benedictory verse is followed by a verse that explains the purpose of the Subantaratnākara:

```
santy eva nātra sudhiyām kim u supprabandhās
te kin tu vistaratayālpadhiyām agamyāḥ |
tatsāraleśam apagrhya tatah kṛto [']yam
avyāsataḥ smaraṇamātraphale [']bhyupāyaḥ || (1v2-3) (Metre: Vasantatilaka)
```

Is it not the case that here indeed exist compositions about *sup-[anta]*'s composed by excellent scholars? However, due to the sheer vastness (of these texts), they are difficult to understand for those who are of limited intelligence (alpadhīs). (Therefore,) after taking the essence of those texts, this (work) is composed as an excellent means (for achieving) the goal of mere memorization without being verbose.

Thus, the text is a pedagogic guide meant for beginners, which would help them in learning the vast ocean of declensions of nouns and adjectives (subantas), as the name of the text suggests.

The author's confidence in the merits of his own composition is evident in the next verse:

```
mama parapadāvicalituḥ
sadvidyopāsanaikanipuņasya |
kṛśam api kuto dvijihvāt
padaracanāyām bhayam bhavati || (fol. 1v2-3) (Metre: Āryā)
```

With respect to (this) composition, for a person like me, who does not fall down from the highest (spiritual) position and is extremely skilled in good lore (of taming snakes like the jāṅgulividyā), from whence can there be even a little fear of a slanderer who is like a doubletongued snake?

This verse speaks of the author's higher spiritual attainments. The intended pun on the words parapada, sadvidyā, and dvijihva is worth noting. These three verses are testimonies to the author's poetic skills.

Contents

Next comes a verse explaining the contents of the Subantaratnākara:

```
rūdhiśabdā nigadvante pumsi śandhe striyām api
gunadravyakriyāyogā[s] trilingās tadanantaram ||<sup>26</sup> (fol. 1v4) (Metre: Anustubh)
```

Words that convey their meaning by usage (i.e. conventional words) are enumerated in the masculine, in the neuter, (and) also in the feminine. Thereafter (follow those words,) which have three genders and are associated (either) with the quality, the substance, or the action (that is to say, qualifying words).

Each of these sections is further sub-divided into nouns ending in vowels and consonants. There are two more sections, which are not mentioned in this verse. These are of pronouns and numerals. It seems that for the author they are included in the section dealing with qualifying nouns (trilingas). Thus, altogether there are six sections:

- 1. The masculine nouns ending in:
 - a. vowels²⁷ (fols 1v5–11v5)
 - b. consonants²⁸ (fols 11v5-20r5)
- The neuter nouns ending in 2.
 - a. vowels²⁹ (fols 20r5–22v1)
 - b. consonants³⁰ (fols 22v1-24v2)
- 3. The feminine nouns ending in

²⁶ The NGMCP records a text entitled Syādyantakoşa (A 54-3) of unknown authorship. Just as the Subantaratnākara, it deals with nominal declensions following the Kātantra system of grammar. Interestingly, this text, after its benedictory verse, also contains this and the next verse, namely, rūḍhiśabdā nigadyante ... and viprāgni°. According to the NGMCP, '[t]his text, styled Syādyantaprakriyā [Si la sogs pa'i mtha'i bya ba, Derge 4287] and attributed to a certain Mañju(śrī)kīrti or Mañjughoṣakīrti ['Jam dpal grags pa], is equally following the Kātantra system and might very well be the translation of the original Sanskrit version preserved on (sic!) A 54/3.

²⁷ uktāḥ puṃsy ajantāḥ | (fol. 11v5)

²⁸ uktā ajantā halantāś ca puṃsi saviśeṣāḥ | pulalinga(!)kāṇḍaḥ prathamaḥ samāptaḥ | (fol. 20r5)

²⁹ *idānīm napuṃsakalingā ucyante* | (fol. 20r5–6)

³⁰ halantā ucyamte | (fol. 22v1), napumsakakāndo dvitīyah samāptaḥ | fol. (24v2–3)

- a. $vowels^{31}$ (fols 24v3-33r3)
- b. consonants³² (fols 33r3-37r4-5)
- 4. Adjectives ending in
 - a. $vowels^{33}$ (fols 37r5-44r6)
 - b. consonants³⁴ (fols 44r6–61v1)
- 5. Pronouns 35 (fols 61v1–72v4)
- 6. Numerals (fols 72v4–76v5)

Method of explanation

Each of these sections begins with a list of words to be dealt with in that particular section. Cf. for instance, the beginning of the first section dealing with masculine nouns ending in vowels:

```
viprāgnisakhipatyamśukrostrpratibhuvah pitā
nā praśāstā ca raigāvau puṃsy ajantāḥ prakīrttitāḥ || (1v4–5) (Metre: Anuṣṭubh)
```

In the masculine, (nouns) ending in vowels (such as) vipra, agni, sakhi, pati, amśu, krostr, pratibhū, pitṛ, nṛ, praśāstṛ, rai, and gau are explained.

The order within each of these sections is alphabetical, that is to say, nouns are arranged according to their last vowel or consonant.

After this list, the noun under discussion is mentioned. For instance, at the beginning of the section dealing with masculine nouns ending in vowels, we find:

```
tatrādau tāvad vipraśabdāt ... (fol. 1v5)
```

There, at the outset, after the noun vipra ...

Many a time, the author provides a derivation of these nouns. For instance, cf. the derivation of the word *hāhā* (fols 3v7–4r1):

ādanto gandharvvanāma hāhāśabdaḥ | heti kṛtvā jahāti | hāhā | 'kv(i)b-vic-manip-kvanip-vanipaḥ' iti vic | cakāraḥ sāmānyagrahaṇārthaḥ | "ikāro 'ver anaca' iti cihnārthaḥ" | 36 vakārasyānenaiva lopaḥ | 'kārakaṁ bah(u)lam' iti samāsaḥ |

³¹ idānīm strīlingā ucyante | (fol. 24v3), uktāḥ striyām ajantāḥ | (fol. 33r2–3)

³² halantā ucyante | (fol. 33r3), strīliṅgakāndas trtīyah samāptah | (fol. 37r4-5)

³³ idānīṃ vācyaliṅgā ucyante | (fol. 37r5), uktā ajantāḥ | (fol. 44r6)

³⁴ *uktā halantāh* | (fol. 61v1)

³⁵ idānī(m) sarvādaya ucyante | (fol. 61v1), uktāḥ sarvādayaḥ | (fol. 72v4)

³⁶ Cf. CVr on CV 1.2.53: ikāro ver anaca (5.1.64) iti cihnārthaḥ.

The noun $h\bar{a}h\bar{a}$ ending in the vowel \bar{a} is the name of a *gandharva* 'celestial musician'. (He is called) $h\bar{a}h\bar{a}$ (because) he leaves by making (the sound) $h\bar{a}$. (The suffix) vic (is added by the rule) kvibvicmanipkvanipvanipah (CV 1.2.53). The (indicatory letter) c (in the suffix vic) is for the sake of common reference. The (vowel) i is for the sake of marking it distinctly (as in the rule) ver anacah (CV 5.1.64). The (phoneme) v is elided by this very (rule). The compound (hāhā) (is formed by the rule): kārakaṁ bahulam (CV 2.2.16).

The author then proceeds to derive various declensions of that particular noun. For this, he relies on the *Cāndravyākarana*. Cf. for instance, the derivational procedure for various declensions of the masculine noun $h\bar{a}h\bar{a}$ ending in the vowel \bar{a} :

svādayah | so rutvavisarggau | hāhāh | 'prathamayor aci' iti dīrghatvasya 'dīrghāj jasi ca' iti pratişedhe ākāraukārayor 'eci' ity aukāraḥ | hāhau | adantayor 'ako 'ki dīrghaḥ' | hāhāḥ | (fol. 4r1-4

(The case terminations) su etc.³⁷ (The suffix) su is replaced by ru (which is further substituted by) visarga. (Thus, the nominative singular form) $h\bar{a}h\bar{a}h$ (is derived). When the lengthening (of the vowel) by the (application of the rule) prathamayor aci (CV 5.1.109) is prohibited (by the rule) dīrghāj jasi ca (CV 5.1.112), (the substitution of the vowel) au in the place of (the vowels) \bar{a} and au (together) (takes place) by the rule eci (CV 5.1.84). (Thus, the nominative dual form) $h\bar{a}hau$ (is derived). Both a (which is the initial letter of the suffix as) and the final letter (of the noun *hāhā*, i.e. *ā*) are substituted by the long (vowel) (by the rule) *ako 'ki dīrghaḥ* (CV 5.1.106). (Thus, the nominative plural form) *hāhāḥ* (is derived).

Authorities

The author of the *Subantaratnākara* appears to be an erudite scholar well versed in various genres of Sanskrit literature. This is evident from occasional citations scattered in his work. Noteworthy is his expertise in the Cāndra grammatical tradition. He cites not only from the *Cāndravyākarana* but also from its commentarial literature, such as the works of Ratnamati (fols 17v5-7, 17v6, 21v4, 27r5 and 28v4), and Pūrnacandra (fols 21v4, 28v4 and 47r3). Apart from these two authorities, the author has also cited from 'verses on gender by the master [i.e. Candragomin?]' (67r7) (Verhagen 2001, 134). At times, he also refers to the other two important grammatical traditions, namely, the Pāṇinian and the Kātantra (51v4). From the former, he has cited Maitreyaraksita and Purusottamadeva's Bhāsāvrtti (35v5, 39v6). At a few places, we find citations from the *Bhattikāvya* (37v5). At one place, the author has

³⁷ Cf. svaujasamautchastābhyāmbhisnebhyāmbhyasnasibhyāmbhyasnasosāmnyos sup (CV 2.1.1).

cited from a hitherto unknown text called Yid bzhin nor bu'i bstod pa'i rgva cher 'grel (*Cintāmanistutitīkā) composed by a certain Śākya'i blo gros (18r4).38

Concluding verses

The text concludes with three verses:

```
iti ghatitam idam mayā s(uvarnnaih
sulalitala)39kṣaṇaratnabhūṣitañ ca
sravasi (!) vinihitam dhṛtañ ca kanthe
śiśumukhamandalamandanam dadhātu || (Metre: Puspitāgrā)
```

Thus, with gold-like excellent letters, I have fashioned this (ornament-like treatise), which is decorated with jewels of extremely charming marks in the form of very beautiful jewel-like aphorisms. When put on ears and wore around the neck by way of paying an (attentive) ear and learning it by heart may it decorate the face of children.

```
aye kumārā vibudhaśriyam parā(m)
d(rutam bhavanto yadi labdhum icchava)<sup>40</sup>h |
punaḥ punaḥś (!) cintanamantarādiṇā (! °mandarādriṇā)
subantaratnākara eṣa mathyatām || (Metre: Vaṃśastha)
```

O young men! If you want to achieve quickly the divine glory, that is to say, the fame of a learned person, then (you) should churn again and again this ocean of nouns (ending in a sUP suffix), that is to say, the treatise Subantaratnākara, with the mount Mandara of (your) contemplation.

```
śubham abhavad idam vidhāya yan me
vacanarucā jaga(tas)<sup>41</sup> tamo nihatva |
mihira iva tataḥ sadartharāśer
aham upadarśayitā sadā bhaveyam || (fols 76v5-77r2) (Metre: Puspitāgrā)
```

³⁸ Verhagen 2001, 134. Śākya'i blo (*Śākyabodhi) (!) is the author of Āryadaśabhūmisūtranidānabhāsya (P 5500). He is also the author of the *Pramānavārttikatīkā* (P 5718). Śākya'i blo gros (*Śākyamati) is the author of the *Āryagayāśīrṣasūtramiśrakavyākhyā* (P 5493).

³⁹ Since the folio of NAK 4/148 is damaged, this portion is supplied on the basis of Or 148 (89r3–4). **40** parām drutam bhavanto yadi lubdam (!) icchavah (Kesar 582–1, 117r5). Since the folio of NAK 4/148 is damaged, this portion is supplied on the basis of Kesar 582. padām (p.c.; parā (a.c.)) druta bhavanto yadi labdhum icchavaḥ (Or 148 (89r4-5))

⁴¹ So reads Or 148 (89r5).

Whatever merit has occurred to me after composing this (ornament-like treatise), on account of that (merit), having destroyed the darkness (of ignorance) of the world with the light of words may I become one who always illuminates the heap of excellent things like the Sun.

The issue of authorship

Neither in the introductory nor in the concluding verses of the Subantaratnākara we come across the name of the author of this text. It appears only in the colophon:

kṛtir iyam paṇḍitasthavirasubhūticandrasya | (fol. 77r2)

This is a composition of the scholar-monk Subhūticandra.

Not a single final rubric mentions either the name of the text or its author. The two commentaries on the Subantaratnākara (discussed below) ascribe this text to Subhūticandra. The colophon of the Tibetan translation records the author of this text as Pa ndi ta chen po gnas brtan zla ba (*Mahāpanditasthaviracandra).⁴² Although Verhagen (2001, 135, n. 542), while discussing the Tibetan translation of the Subantaratnākara, mentions that 'in the introductory section of his commentary on the Candra grammar], Si-tu enumerates the many grammatical treatises he investigated, including a sUBanta-ratnākara by Subhūti (su-bhū-tis-mdzad-pa'i-supmtha'-rin-'byun, vol. 1 fol. 6v3)', he does not seem to conjecture that Pa ndi ta chen po gnas brtan zla ba should, in fact, point to Pa ndi ta chen po gnas brtan [Rab 'byor] zla ba (*Mahāpaṇḍitasthavira[Subhūti]candra). The facts that a) the three Sanskrit manuscripts in which the end of the text is preserved unequivocally mention Subhūticandra as the author of the text, and b) the Tibetan translation of the Subantaratnākara matches with these Sanskrit manuscripts prove the identity of Gnas brtan zla ba and Sthavira Subhūticandra beyond any doubt.

The question whether Subhūticandra, the author of the Subantaratnākara, is the same as the author of the *Kavikāmadhenu*, however, needs further consideration. Unfortunately, I have not come across any reference to the Subantaratnākara in later works. In spite of that, the following external evidence is worth considering. As mentioned above, Subhūticandra, the author of the Kavikāmadhenu, had a scholarly command over all the three important Sanskrit grammatical traditions.

⁴² sup'i mtha' rin chen 'byung gnas zhes bya ba 'di ni pandi ta chen po gnas brtan zla bas mdzad pa'o || 'This (treatise) entitled "Source of jewels" (on the derivation of forms) ending in a sUP (suffix) has been written by the great scholar Gnas-brtan-zla-ba [*Sthaviracandra?].' (Verhagen 2001, 134)

There are at least 288 citations from as many as 53 grammatical texts in his commentary. Pa tshab lo tsā ba has referred to Subhūticandra as a scholar of grammar (van der Kuijp 2009, 8). This statement would make more sense if we accept that the same author had composed a grammatical work.

Besides this, there are internal evidences, which prove the identity of both the authors. From the benedictory verses of both these texts paying homage to the Buddha, it is clear that their author was a Buddhist, 43 Both these benedictions express a wish that the Buddha may protect and bestow his grace on the mankind.

As I have shown in the introduction to the critical edition of the Kavikāmadhenu (2014, 58–61), this commentary was composed sometime between 1110 and 1130 CE. It is interesting to note that the latest authority referred to in the Kavikāmadhenu as well as in the Subantaratnākara is Purusottamadeva, who, according to Vogel (2015, 53), flourished in the first half of the 12th century. Thus, both the texts share the same lower limit. In this connection, it is worthwhile to note that in the Kavikāmadhenu, Subhūticandra has referred to many grammatical texts and authorities while deriving a particular word. However, despite being an important text in the Candra tradition, there is not a single reference to the Subantaratnākara or its author. As far as I have studied the manuscript material, there is no reference to the Kavikāmadhenu in the Subantaratnākara. This evidence, though negative, is important, as it at least does not prove the antithesis.

⁴³ The initial portion of the original Sanskrit text of the Kavikāmadhenu is missing. I have attempted at translating the Sanskrit behind the not always correct Tibetan rendering of Si tu's Tibetan translation of these verses (1b–3b):

sa chen po yi rtser gshegs shing || rdzu 'phrul 'dab ldan bdud rtsi brnyes || thams cad mkhyen pa'i dpag bsam shing || khyod la me tog 'bras dud shog || gang gi thugs rje lam gsum 'gro || mtho ris las 'bab ga ngā bzhin || dpal mtsho bdud rtsi'i gter srid pa'i || zla phyed rab sbyin der bdag 'dud || srid pa'i mtsho chen sgrol bar byed pa chos kyi gru || snying rje'i dpag bsam ljon pa'i shing las grub khyod kyis || rab dangs sems kyi tshogs chen skya bas rab bskul nas || pha rol phyin te mngon 'dod rin chen thob par mdzod || 'May the Wish-Fulfilling Tree, the Omniscient one (the Buddha), standing at the summit of the great bhūmis (i.e. who has attained all the stages of a Bodhisattva), endowed with the leaves of supernatural powers, and has attained immortal state (nirvāna) bend down for you with its flowers and fruits. I bow unto him whose compassion, like the river Ganga that originated from heaven, has gone three ways, who is an ocean of prosperity, and the reservoir of immortality, and dispeller of worldly existence. May you reach the other shore and acquire the most desired jewel (of enlightenment) by the ship, the Dharma (teachings) carrying one across the great ocean of worldly existence, which has been accomplished from the Wish-Fulfilling Tree of compassion; being propelled by the great multitude of the oarsmen with a perfectly serene mind.' (Deokar Lata 2014, 97, 301). For the benedictory verse of the *Subantaratnākara*, cf. the section on the benediction.

In the *Kavikāmadhenu*, the principal grammatical authority for Subhūticandra is Candragomin's grammatical aphorisms and the Cāndra grammatical lineage. In the same way, the *Subantaratnākara* is also based upon the Cāndra grammatical tradition. Both these works draw upon common authorities such as the grammarians Maitreyarakṣita, Puruṣottamadeva, and Śarvavarman, the lexicographers Rudradāsa and Rudra, and literary works like the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* and the **Cintāmaṇistutitīkā*.

There are a number of passages in the *Kavikāmadhenu* and the *Subantaratnā-kara* that show a close affinity. Two instances may be cited in this regard:

i. sarvo 'nayā lakṣaṇīyaḥ syād iti lakṣmīḥ | 'lakṣer muṭ ca' iti īpratyayaḥ | (lakṣmī, AK I.1.27, Deokar Lata 2014, 143)

(She is called) Lakṣmī since Sarva, that is, Lord Viṣṇu is to be marked by her. The suffix $\bar{\imath}$ (is added) by the rule *lakser mut ca* (Cāndra Unādi 1.89)

sarvo 'nayā lakṣaṇīyaḥ syād iti lakṣe(r) muṭ ceti ... (lakṣmī, Subantaratnākara, NAK 4/148, 27r2)

(She is called) Lakṣmī since Sarva, that is, Lord Viṣṇu is to be marked by her. Thus, by the rule $lakser mut \ ca$ (Cāndra Unādi 1.89) ...

ii. niśyati tanūkaroti sarvavyāpāram | 'ātaḥ prādibhyaḥ' iti kaḥ | (niśā, AK I.4.4a, Deokar Lata 2014, 284)

(She is called $nis\bar{a}$ since) she reduces, i.e., lessens all the activities. (The suffix) ka (is added by the rule) $\bar{a}tah pr\bar{a}dibhyah$ (CV 1.1.142).

niśyati tanūkaroti sarvvavyāpāram ity 'ātaḥ prādibhyaḥ' iti kaḥ | (niśā, Subantaratnākara, NAK 4/148, 25v3)

She reduces, i.e., lessens all the activities. (The suffix) ka (is added by the rule) $\bar{a}tah$ $pr\bar{a}dibhyah$ (CV 1.1.142).

From the literary point of view, the opening verses of the *Kavikāmadhenu* and the opening and the concluding verses of the *Subantaratnākara* exhibit a special liking for *śliṣṭarūpakas*. The following two verses from the *Kavikāmadhenu* and the *Subantaratnākara* are worth considering from the stylistic point of view:

Kavikāmadhenu:

I will prepare in the manner of decoration and accomplishment (rab tu sgrub byed cho ga) this well-arranged 'Necklace of the Wise Ones' using this treasure (lexicon), which is full of word-

jewels gathered from the infinite ocean of treatises, with the help of the excellent strings (sūtras 'aphorisms') of the illustrious Candragomin. 44

Subantaratnākara:

Thus, with gold-like excellent letters I have fashioned this (ornament-like treatise), which is decorated with jewels of extremely charming marks in the form of very beautiful jewel-like aphorisms. When put on ears and wore around neck by way of paying an (attentive) ear and learning it by heart may it decorate the neck of children.⁴⁵

In these verses, the author is talking about his own composition. Their parallel structure is quite striking. In both the texts, the composition is compared to an ornament decorated with jewels. Similarly, there is a pun on the words *sūtra* and laksana while referring to the aphorisms of the Candra grammar.

It is quite unlikely that two persons bearing the same name flourished around the same period and had so much in common. Hence, in all likelihood, one and the same Subhūticandra composed both the treatises. In the concluding verse of the Subantaratnākara, the author expresses his wish to become an illuminator of a heap of good meanings. This may well be taken as an indirect reference to the composition of the *Kavikāmadhenu*, which, being a commentary on the *Amarakośa*, actually clarifies the meanings of the words occurring in it. This might be an indication that Subhūticandra first composed a comparatively simpler text in the form of the Subantaratnākara and then at a mature age wrote the Kavikāmadhenu, which is much profound than the former.

5 Commentarial literature

The Subantaratnākara was commented upon at least twice. The first reference to its commentary is found in a collection of 1820 entitled 'Hodgson's Private Papers at the British Library'. The corresponding entry reads as follows:

⁴⁴ mtha' yas gzhung lugs rgya mtsho'i mngon brjod rin chen gang || mdzod 'dis mkhas pa'i mgrin pa'i do shal rnam bkod pa || dpal ldan tsa ndra go mis byas pa'i mdo mchog gis || de ni rab tu sgrub byed cho ga sbyar bar bgyi || (Deokar Lata 2014, 302).

⁴⁵ iti ghaţitam idam mayā s(uvarmaih sulalitala)kşanaratnabhūşitañ ca | sravasi (!) vinihitam dhṛtañ ca kaṇṭhe śiśumukhamaṇḍalamaṇḍanaṃ dadhātu || (Subantaratnākara, NAK 4/148, 76v 5-6).

[t]he manuscript is written on machine-made paper. Colophon of a commentary on a Buddhist scripture known as Suvantaratnākara of Subhuticandra written by Pandit Abhayaraj during the reign of King Yaksha Malla of Nepalmandala (*c.* 1428–1482).

The said manuscript is neither found in the Hodgson's collection nor listed in the catalogue of the NGMCP. The second reference to a commentary on the *Subanta-ratnākara* is found in Hara Prasad Shastri's catalogue of the palm-leaf manuscripts belonging to the Durbar library, Nepal. Shastri (1905, 128) has described the manuscript as:

1076 | kha | Rūpasādhanam. By Subhūticandra. $10 \times 11/2$ inches. Folia, 96. Lines, 6 on a page. Extent, 2160 çlokas. Character, Newāri. Date, (?). Appearance, old. Prose. Incorrect. Beginning. Om namo vāgīśvarāya |

natvā śivaṃ vidhuviriñcikarīndravaktraṃ vāgīśvarīṃ gurupadaṃ janakaṃ kaviñ ca | cetaḥ śiśor jaḍarujāntakajāyu divyaṃ śrīrūpasādhanavaram vimalam pravaksye ||

maināka ityādi | pātu rakṣatu kau(!)'sau muniḥ sarvvākāreṇa sarvvapadārthānāṃ yathāvad bodhanātmanāṃ muniḥ | athavā akathyakathane maunayogān munir bhagavān samyaksambuddhaḥ || kathambhūtaḥ | śākyaḥ śākeṣu bhavaḥ śākyaḥ | athavā śākyasyāpatyaṃ pautrādikam śākyah | ityādi |

The *pratīkas* commented upon in this opening portion reveal beyond doubt that the *Rūpasādhana* is a commentary on the *Subantaratnākara*. Interestingly, the derivation of the word *muni* found in this commentary and in Subhūticandra's *Kavikāmadhenu* is almost identical. Cf. the *Kavikāmadhenu* on the Buddha's epithet *muni* (AK I.1.14):

sarvākāreņa sarvadharmāṇāṃ mananād adharmāvavādeṣu vā maunān muniḥ | (Deokar Lata 2014, 124)

However, from the benedictory verse, which pays homage to the lord Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahman, Gaṇeśa, Sarasvatī, teacher, father and poet, this does not appear to be the commentary written by Subhūticandra described by Shastri.

The manuscript of the *Rūpasādhana* appears to be incomplete. For, Shastri (1905, 128) further says:

End. uktārthetyādi | un lopaḥ | akāreṇa sandhiḥ | manas śabdarūpasādhanaṃ | 62 || hakārakṣakārāntāny aprasiddhāni ||

Colophon. iti subhūticandramahākaver viracite supprakaraņe napuṃsakakāṇḍāni dvitīyāni paricchedāni samāptāni (!) || (?)

In the *Subantaratnākara*, the last neuter noun ending in a consonant is *vetas* and not *manas*. However, we do come across a comment in the *Subantaratnākara* at the end of the section dealing with the neuter nouns similar to the one mentioned above:

hakārakṣakārāntā aprasiddhāḥ | (Subantaratnākara, NAK 4/148, 24v2)

It is worthwhile to note that this manuscript mentions Subhūticandra as the author of the root text. However, the latter is called *Supprakaraṇa* instead of *Subantaratnākara*. This tendency of using a generic name instead of a specific one seems to be in vogue. I am particularly reminded of Subhūticandra's *Kavikāmadhenu*, which is mostly referred to as *Subhūtiṭīkā*. (Deokar Lata 2014, 67). This is probably the first time where Subhūticandra is referred to as a great poet (Mahākavi). At other places, he is mentioned as a great monk-scholar (Mahāpaṇḍitasthavira).

Apart from the six manuscripts of the *Subantaratnākara* discussed above, there are six more manuscripts with the title *Subantaratnākara*. Out of these, four are listed by the NGMCP, and one each by the Cambridge University Library and the Durbar library:

1. NAK 1/813 (Reel no. A 585-4 (= A 1211-3) is a paper (?) manuscript (22.3×7.2 cm) containing 154 folios with 6–7 lines per folio. The website of the NGMCP mentions 'Folio number 131 is missing but the text is continuous. Fol. 151 is missing.' However, the said information is incorrect since both the folios are available. The script is Nepālākṣara; the first folio is written in the Rañjanā script. The manuscript is illegible at many places due to the spreading of ink. The foliation figures are written in the middle of the right-hand margin on the verso side of a folio. The manuscript was copied by a scribe named Kāśirāma in NS 737 (= 1617 CE) during the reign of King Jagajjyotirmalla. This description matches with the one found in Dwivedi (1987), according to whom, the number of this manuscript is pra. 813 with the subject code (visavānka) 361.

About the text

Benediction

The manuscript begins with the benediction to the All-knowing one (om namah sarvajnaya) and the benedictory verse, which is the same as that of the $R\bar{u}p\bar{a}vat\bar{a}ra$ of Dharmakirti:

sarvvajñam anantaguṇaṃ praṇamya bālaprabodhanārtham aham | rūpāvatāram alpasukalāpam rjum karisyāmi || (fol. 1v2-3) (Metre: Āryā) (Rūpāvatāra p. 1)

After paying homage to the All-knowing one, who has infinite qualities, I shall (now) elucidate the *Rūpāvatāra* in a brief and well-classified manner with the purpose of enlightening the ignorant ones.

Purpose

The benedictory verse is followed by a verse describing the purpose of this work. It is apparently not written by Dharmakīrti himself:

kṛtā sukṛtinā ceyam prakriyā dharmmaki(!)rttinā potānā(m) potavat ksipram śabdābdhau pāragāminām || (fol. 1v3) (Metre: Anustubh) (*Rūpāvatāra* Intro. ii)

The learned Dharmakīrti has prepared this boat-like (treatise) dealing with the derivational process for the (benefit of the) young ones who wish to quickly cross over the ocean of nouns.

Rangacharya, the editor of the *Rūpāvatāra*, who has quoted this verse in his introduction (p. i-ii) to the text, informs us:

In the catalogue of the manuscripts published by Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasāda Śāstrī, it can be found that the Rūpāvatāra is one of the texts available in the manuscripts collection in the royal palace of Nepal, Moreover, at the beginning of the text printed there, the following verse occurs: krtā sukrtinā ceyam prakriyā dharmmakīrttinā | potānām potavat ksipram śabdābdhau pāragāminām ||.46

The statement of Rangacharya is indicative of the fact that the text listed by Haraprasāda Śāstrī differs from the text of the *Rūpāvatāra*, at least as far as the opening verse is concerned.

Contents

A close comparison of our present text with that of the *Rūpāvatāra* shows that the present text is either a commentary on or some text based upon the *Rūpāvatāra*. Cf. for instance, the initial portions of both texts. The edited text of the Rūpāvatāra reads:

⁴⁶ Translation mine. The original Sanskrit reads: nepālarājabhavanasthalikhitagranthasamudaye rūpāvatāro 'py ekatama iti mahāmahopādhyāyaharaprasādaśāstriprakatitāyām tatsūcikāyām dṛśyate | api ca tatramudritaitadgranthādau śloko 'yam vartate - kṛtā sukṛtinā ceyam prakriyā dharmakīrtinā | potānām potavat ksipram śabdādhau pāragāminām ||.

atha samjñāvatāraḥ || tatrādau tāvat pratyāhāraś śāstre samvyavahārajñāpanārtham anuvarnyate | tadyathā || aiun, rlk, eon, aiauc, hayavarat, lan, ñamananam, jhabhañ, jabagadadaś, khaphachathathacatatav, ghadhadhas, kapay, śaṣasar, pratyāhārasūtrāni || tatra prathamam an ity esa pratyāhāro grhyate | katham? aiun ity atra nakārasya, upadeśe'j anunāsika it (I.3.2.) ity atah upadeśe it iti anuvartamāne, halantyam (I.3.3.) – upadeśe yad antyam hal tad itsamijnam bhavati | ke punar upadeśah? āgamādeśadhātuganapāthapratyayapratyāhārasūtrāny upadeśāh -

> dhātusūtraganonādivākyalingānuśāsanam āgamapratyayādeśā upadeśāh prakīrtitāh ||

itītsamjñāyām; svam rūpam śabdasyāśabdasamjñā (I.1.68.) ity atah svam rūpam iti anuvartamāne, ādir antyena sahetā (I.1.71.) - ādivarno'ntyena itā saha grhyamānas tanmadhyapatitānām varņānām grāhako bhavati svasya ca rūpasya | iti **an** iti akārekārokārā ucyante | evam ak ik uk ityādayo grāhyāḥ || ... aṇādayaś ca pratyāhārā ekacatvāriṃśat | (p. 1–2)

NAK 1/813:

tatrādau tāva(2)t pratyāhāraḥ sā(!)stre saṃjñāsaṃvyavahārajñāpanā(rtha)ḥ anuvarṇyate | tadyathā | aiuṇ | rlk eon aiauc (3) hayavaralan ñamanananam jhabhañ ghadhadhaş jabagadadaś khaphachathatha catatav kapay sasasar hal iti pratyāhāra (!) | an | a ā a3 i ī i3 u ū u3 | **ak** | a ā a3 (fol. 2r1) i ī i3 u ū u3 (.......) || ik ... (3b5) ... **upadeśe 'j anunāsika it** ity a(6)dhikṛtya tatropadeśe (..) dhātusūtraganonādivākyalingānuśāsanam | upad(e)(....) ti pā(..) rūpā(fol. 4r1)deśavicakṣanāh | upadeśe 'j anunāsika ita⁴⁷ i(..)(s)i | upadeśā(d a)supy ām yo ac anunāsi(2)kaviśiṣṭaḥ sa itsaṃjñako va (!) (deleted) bhavati | halantyaṃ | upadeśe yad antyaṃ hal tad itsamjñakam bhavati | itsa(3)mjñāyām svam rūpa(m) śabdasyāśabdasamjñā ity atah svam $r\bar{u}pa(m)$ ity anuvarttane ādir antyena sahetā | ādir $vv\bar{u}(4)$ (..)'kena itā itsamjñakena saha grhya(m)ānas tanmadhyapā (!) tinām varnānām grāhako bhavati | (5) i(..)ti pratvāhāragrahanavi(bh)āgaḥ | kathaṃ punar ihānupa(..)ī(......) savarṇa(6)sya grahanāt k(ār)yā(r)tham anudit savarnnasya cāpratyayah | anandvad (!) it(..) uccāryamānah savarnnasya grāhako (7) bhavati | svasya ca rūpasya ca rūpasya pa(..)yam varjjayitvā | taparas tatkālasya bhavaro (?) yasmāt samayenaḥ (?) (fol. 4v1) (..)paro (......) g(r)āhako bha(va)ti | kiṃ punaḥ savarṇṇa(.. ..) (2) savarnna(m) tu (........) (sthā)nam prayatnah sprstatā (..)i (.......) ete yathākramam hrasvadīrghaplutasamjñakā bhavati (!) | (fols 1v3-4v5)

As can be seen, both the texts bear a considerable similarity. An interesting point worth noting here is that the $R\bar{u}p\bar{a}vat\bar{a}ra$, following the Pāninian tradition, has two pratyāhāras, namely, hayavarat and lan whereas following the Cāndra school, the author of the present text has only one *pratyāhāra*: *hayavaralan*.

After this explanation of *pratyāhāra* formation, we come across an explanation of the Samiña and the Samhita sections of the Rupavatara.48 At the end of the

⁴⁷ ita p.c.] ikata a.c.

⁴⁸ iti samjñāvatāraḥ | (fol. 6v1), atha samhitāvatāra ucyate | (fol. 6v1).

Samhitāyatāra, 49 the author announces the beginning of the next section, namely, the Vibhaktyavatāra:

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atha vibha(ktya)vatāra ucyate | (fols 22r6 - 22v1)
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Now, the vibhaktyavatāra will be taught.

What one would expect next is a brief explanation of the Vibhaktyavatāra. However, this is not the case. Instead, we find homage to Mañjuśrī (om namah mañjuśriye |) followed by the benedictory verse of Haribhadra's Vibhaktikārikā:

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mañjuśriyam pranamyādau bālānām pratibodhaye
bhikṣuṇā haribha(2)dreṇa kṛtā vibhaktikārikā ||50 (fol. 22v 1-2)
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After paying homage to Mañjuśrī in the beginning, the monk Haribhadra has composed (the text called) Vibhaktikārikā for the understanding of the ignorant ones.

Instead of continuing with the *Vibhaktikārikā*, ⁵¹ our author provides an explanation of seven cases based on the *Vibhaktyavatāra* section of the *Rūpāvatāra*:

dve vibhaktī (|) kā (?) supaś ca tinaś ca | vibhak(t)iś cety anena supān tinā(3)ñ ca vibhaktisamjñā (..)i(..)ā(..)te | supah sapta vibhaktayah sarūpenopadiśyante | kāh punas tāh | (4) (svau)jasa iti p(r)athamā | am(au)ţa(!)śas iti dvitīyā (|) ţābhyāma(!)bhis iti trtīyā | nebhyāma(!)bhyas iti (5) catu(r)thī (|) nasibhyāma(!)bh(y)as iti pañcamī (|) nasosām iti ṣaṣṭhī | niosa(!)sup iti saptamī | etāś ca sapta (6) vibhaktayaḥ iti paṭhitā daś (?) ca bhavanti | dvivi(..)dhañ ca prātipadikaṃ | ajantam halantañ ca (|) tada t(r)işu (fol. 23r1) (..)ividha(m) (tat trividham ?) (p)u(mli)ngam (na)puṁsakaliṅgañ ceti | (fols 22v2-23r1)

Cp. the *Vibhaktyavatāra* of the *Rūpāvatāra*:

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atha vibhaktyavatāraḥ ||
ajantapumlingaprakaranam ||
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⁴⁹ iti samhitāvatārah samāptah | (fol. 22r6).

⁵⁰ That this is a benedictory verse of the *Vibhaktikārikā* is confirmed by its Tibetan translation (Derge 4272, 46a-65a): thog mar 'jam dbyangs phyag 'tshal te || byis pa'i blo can rnams kyi phyi || rnam dbye'i tshig ler byas pa dag || dge slong 'phrog byed bzang pos bya ||.

⁵¹ The introductory portion of the *Vibhaktikārikā* (fols 46r7–46v2) reads as follows: $su \mid au \mid dzas$ | am | aut | śas | tā | bhyām | bhis | ne | bhyām | bhis (!) | na si | bhyām | bhyās (!) | nas | os | ām | ni | os | sup | 'di rnams su la sogs pa'i rnam dbye'o || gang las pha rol du 'gyur na | don gcig nyid la sogs pa'i tshig gi sgra las pha rol du'o || de la | don tsam la dang po'o (CV 2.1.93) zhes pa rnam dbye dang por 'gyur ro || gang yang dang po'i rnam dbye su au dzas zhes pa dang po'o || de la gcig gnyis mang po'i tshig rnams las don gcig la gcig gi tshig su | don gnyis la gnyis kyi tshig au | don mang po rnams la mang po'i tshig dzas zhes pa 'di rnams ni rnam dbye dang po'o ||.

dve vibhaktī | tinas trīni trīni prathamamadhyamottamāh (1.4.101.), supah (1.4.103.), ity anuvartamāne, vibhaktiś ca (1.4.104.) - suptinau pratyāhārau; supaḥ tinaś ca trīṇi trīṇi vibhaktisamijnāś ca bhavanti | evam supām tināñ ca vibhaktisamijnāvidhānāt tatra trīni trīnīty anena supah sapta vibhaktayah | kāh punas tāh? svaujas ityādiṣu – su au jas iti prathamā; am aut śas iti dvitīyā; ţā bhyām bhis iti tṛtīyā; ne bhyām bhyas iti caturthī; nasi bhyām bhyas iti pañcamī; nas os ām iti şaşthī; ni os sup iti saptamī | etāh sapta vibhaktayah prātipadikāt pare bhavanti | dvividham prātipadikam ajantam halantam ca | tat punah trividham pratyekam pumlingam strīlingam napumsakalingam ceti

From here onwards, our text takes another turn and starts following the Subantaratnākara. This would be clear from the following passages from both the texts, which deal with the derivation of the nominative singular of the noun *vipra*:

tatrājantesu pullingesu p(r)athamam akārāntād vipraśabdā(2)(t sa)pta (vibha)ktayah prada(r)śyante | tatrādau tāyad akārād vipraśabdāt 'mid aco 'ntyāt paraḥ' (CV 1.1.14, P 1.1.47) | 'yuṣmadi madhyama(3)traya(m)' (CV 1.4.146)⁵² (....) 'ekadvibahuşu' (CV 1.4.148) iti cānuvartamāne svādisūtrena⁵³ sahekavākye (!) kṛte yā tata svauja(4)samau(tchas)tābhyāmbhisnebhyāmbhyasnasibhyāmbhyasnasos- $\bar{a}m(\dot{n}yos)sup \mid i (....)(vi)(5)bhakta(yo) bhavanti \mid tata arthamātre prathameti$ (CV 2.1.93)⁵⁴ a(rth)ātri(!)rikte śabdārthamātre prathmā vibhaktir bhavati | kā puna(6)(h) p(r)athamā (|) suaujas iti p(r)athamā (|) tatraikasminn arthe ekavacanaṃ su (|)

Cf. Subantaratnākara:

tatrādau tāvad vipraśabdān 'm(i)d aco 'ntyāt paraḥ' (CV 1.1.14) | 'yuṣmadi madhyamatrayam' (CV 1.4.146) ity etābhyām paran trayam ity adhikṛtya 'ekadvibahuṣu' (CV 1.4.148) iti cānuvarttamāne svādisūtreņa sahaikavākya(6)tayā arthamātre prathameti (CV 2.1.93) prathamā vibhaktir bhavati | tatrekasminn (!) arthe ekavacanam su | (1v5-6, NAK 1/468)

Thus, this text (NAK 1/813), although certainly different from the Subantaratnākara, is definitely based upon it. The order of nouns, the nouns themselves, and the division of the text is also similar in both the texts. Cf. for instance, the final rubrics of our present text:

iti halantāḥ (|) pumlingakāṇḍaḥ prathamaḥ samāptaḥ | (fol. 62v2) iti subantagranthe napumsakakāṇḍo dvitīyaḥ samāptaḥ | (fol. 70v4) iti subantagranthe strīlingakāndas trtīyah samāptah | (fol. 90v5) idānī(m) vācyalingā ucyante | (fol. 90v5), uktā halantāh | (fol. 132r3)

⁵² yusmady upapade samānādhikarane sthāniny api madhyamah (P 1.4.105).

⁵³ svaujasamauţchaşţābhyāmbhisnebhyāmbhyasnasibhyāmbhyasnasosāmnyossup / (CV 2.1.1).

⁵⁴ *prātipadikārthalingaparimānavacanamātre prathamā* (P 2.3.46).

idānī(m) sarvvādava ucvante |55 (fol. 132r3-4)

From these final rubrics, the name of the text appears to be *Subantagrantha*, a text dealing with *subantas*. The text ends with the first two concluding verses, namely, *iti ghaṭitam idaṃ ...* (fol. 153v3) and *aye kumārā ...* (fol. 153v5), and the colophon of the *Subantaraṭnākara*:

(fol. 153v6) iti (fol. 153v7) subhūticandrakṛto(')yaṁ subantaratnākara(ḥ) samāptaḥ |

Thus ends this (text called) Subantaratnākara composed by Subhūticandra.

Concluding verse

This is followed by the concluding verse:

```
śuddhād bhāvād aśuddho 'pi (fol. 1541) yatnena likhito (mayā) | ayaṃ śu(!)bantasā(!)st(r)añ ca śodhaṇi(!)yo vidujanāṃ (!) ||
```

Even though (this text or manuscript?) is incorrect, I have written it with pure inclination and with (great) effort. The wise ones should correct this treatise, which deals with nouns.

This concluding verse, either corrupt or written in bad Sanskrit, talks about the corrupt state of the manuscript. It calls this text by the name *Subantaśāstra*, which, like the other title *Subantagrantha* mentioned in the final rubrics, is general in nature. It can be taken to refer to the *Subantaratnākara*. It may be noted that the *Rūpasādhana* (mentioned above) refers to the *Subantaratnākara* as *Supprakaraṇa*.

Colophon

The colophon of the manuscript mentions that in the reign of king Jagajjyotirmalla, a certain Kāśirāma copied this text for the benefit of his son Rāma on Thursday, the second day of the bright half of the lunar month of Caitra in Saṃvat 737. ⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Cf. corresponding final rubrics of the *Subantaratnākara* (mentioned above).

⁵⁶ akhilabhuva(2)nasāram trailokyamallanarendraḥ bhuvaḥ patiratnam ca jagajyotimarlla(!)-nṛpendraḥ | ga(3)ganodayacandravantau sarvvaḥ sā(!)strārthapāṇau etat samaya (!) likhitaṃ tam nābhidha(4)k (!) kāśirāmaḥ | caitramāse śukrapakṣe | dviti(!)yāyāṃ tithau bṛ(ha)spativāre taddine (5) likhitaṃ | kāśi(rā)masya ātmaputraḥ | santerāmaḥ bodhanārthaṃ asmiṃ pusṭaka likhi(6)taṃ tasya śubham astu punaḥ punaḥ | sambat 7037 (! 737) | śrī śrī paśupatirur (!) bhaktir a(s)tu |.

Issue of authorship

The text in its present form, although complete, is not entirely that of the Subantaratnākara and cannot be ascribed to Subhūticandra. As mentioned above, Kāśirāma compiled this text for the benefit of his son. He must have brought together portions related to nouns, namely, samjñā, sandhi, vibhakti, and nominal declensions from the *Rūpāvatāra* and the *Subantaratnākara*. It is possible that the NGMCP has designated this manuscript as that of Subhūticandra's Subantaratnākara solely on the basis of the colophon of this work (mentioned above) found the manuscript. While describing the manuscript of the Subvidhānaśabdamālāparikrama, also ascribed to Subhūticandra, the NGMCP remarks:

Subhūticandra (11th/12th c.), its author, is known to have commented in his Kāmadhenu on Amarasimha's Nāmalingānuśāsana and in his Subantaratnākara on Dharmakīrti's Rūpāvatāra.

As our enquiry has already proved, this information is partly incorrect as what we find in this manuscript is a compilation from two different texts.

2. Kesar 528⁵⁷ (Reel No. C 49-6) (19.5 x 4.3 cm) is a palm-leaf manuscript containing 26 folios with 5 lines per folio. The script is Nepālākṣara. The manuscript is damaged. This incomplete manuscript begins with the derivation of the word upānah, which is the last word discussed in the section dealing with feminine nouns ending in a consonant. The manuscript ends abruptly while explaining the derivations of the word *katacikīrs*- (?), which belongs to the adjectives ending in consonants, with the words: kakāra kitkāryārthaḥ | (......) (fol. 52v). The foliation numbers appear in the right-hand margin of a folio. The website of the Kaiser library records this manuscript as that of Vyākaraṇa (*Sarvalingakānda*).

A comparison of this manuscript with that of the Subantaratnākara reveals the fact that the former is not a copy of the latter:

```
upap(ū)rvvam | upanahyatīti | kvip | nahivṛtivṛṣi(i)tyādinā pūrvvapadasyātvam |
upānahaśabdaḥ | (....) ... (fol. 17r1–3)
```

Cf. Subantaratnākara:

upapūrvasya naheḥ kvip | nahivṛtivṛṣi(i)tyādi(2)nā pūrvvapadasya dīrghatvam | 'nahāho dhaḥ' (CV VI.3.65) iti padānte ... (NAK 4/148, 37r1-2)

⁵⁷ The website of the Kesar library records this manuscript as that of Vyākaraṇa (Sarvalinga). The NGMCP, however, records it as a manuscript of the *Subantaratnākara*.

The present text also differs from NAK 1/813, which reads:

```
upānahśabdah | nahāh(o) dha iti padānte ... (fol. 90r6)
```

About the text

Name of the author

The manuscript in its present form preserves the last word of the section dealing with feminine nouns and an incomplete next section, which deals with adjectives. Thus, there is only one final rubric available. It reads:

```
i(ti) (..) (5) (śrī)mahāgurusubhūticandraviracite strīlingakāṇḍe tritīyaḥ paricchedaḥ | (fol. 17r 4–5)
```

Thus (ends) the third part of the section dealing with feminine nouns composed by the great teacher Subhūticandra.

The name of the text, however, does not appear anywhere in the manuscript.

3. NAK 1/1078 (Reel no. B 35–29) (24 × 4.5 cm) is a palm-leaf manuscript containing 10 folios with 4–5 lines per folio. It is written in the Nepālākṣara script. The manuscript is complete. The writing on fol. 1v, and 6v/7r is partly rubbed off. Foliation figures appear in the middle of the right-hand margin of the verso; on fol. 1–2 letter numerals occur in the middle of the left-hand margin. On the right-hand margin of 1v, a modern hand has written in Devanāgarī characters: *pra 1078 subantaratnākara*.

About the text

Benediction

The text begins with a benediction to Kṛṣṇa:

```
praṇamya devakīputraṃ lakṣmīvāgīśvarīpriyaṃ | vakṣe (!) (')haṃ śabdaśloko 'yaṃ ligaṃ(!)trayādisaṃgrahaḥ || (fol. 1v1)
```

After paying homage to the son of Devakī (i.e. Kṛṣṇa), and to the one who is the favourite of Lakṣmī and Vāgīśvarī, I (now) teach this compendium of three genders etc. composed in the form of a śabdaśloka (i.e. a verse consisting of nominal stems).

Title and contents

On the basis of the benedictory verse, the text can be tentatively called *Lingatrayādi*sangrahah Śabdaślokah 'A Compendium of the Three Genders etc. [composed in the form of al śabdaśloka (i.e. a verse consisting of nominal stems).' The NGMCP has recorded this as a manuscript of the Subantaratnākara, the title being 'drawn from a verse (cited below), 58 which also occurs in B 35/23 (Subantaratnākara). 59

Contents

Regarding the contents of the text, the NGMCP remarks:

... the contents of this MS are, however, different from B 35/23. Thus, this MS might be really another specimen of Subhūticandra's works.

The text only gives lists of nouns and adjectives, which are grouped into masculine, neuter, and feminine stems, in the same sequence as that of the Subantaratnākara. These stems are given again in the alphabetical order of the final sound. That the division of this text is similar to that of the Subantaratnākara is evident from the final rubrics:

```
pumlingah kāṇḍah | (fol. 3v5)
subhūticandraviracite dvitīyo napumsakah (!) kāndo dvitīyah | (fol. 5v3-4)
sū(!)bhūticandraviracitāvām trtīvah patalah | (fol. 8v1)
```

The fourth section dealing with adjectives is not marked by a final rubric. There is no section dealing with numerals.

Each section begins with a mnemonic verse providing a list of nouns ending in a particular vowel or a consonant. Cf. for instance, the mnemonic verse occurring at the beginning of masculine nouns ending in the vowel *a*:

```
ghaţamaţhakaţabādhagrāmasaṃgrāmakāmaḥ
praharakarasamīrah sarggasvarggāpa(va)rggāh (!)
paţapaţahacakorasvādadevodayārthaḥ
kṣayabhujagabhuja(n)go (!) rāmakumbhīrakumbhāḥ ||
śārddūlakramaśīkaradrumasuronmādapramādavyayo
vyādhabrāhmaṇamāraśarkaraśarakrośapradoṣagrahāḥ || śiṃgha(!)vyāghraturaṅgabhaṅga-
subhatasvāsāśvadantādhaka-drohah krodhakuthārakanthakamathagrāsapravāśāśramāh ||
panditah plavagakūpakuberaślokabhekasukasāvakabhrngāh
```

⁵⁸ iti ghaṭitam idam mayā suvarnṇaḥ ... (fol. 10r1).

⁵⁹ http://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/wiki/Main_Page.

samganādamadamanmathanāthahkvāthadantacaṭakaviṭapāś ca ||

After this mnemonic verse, we find single words in their stem forms together with their synonym:

```
viprah | brāhmana(h) | [akārāntaśabdah] || 1 ||
```

Name of the author

The name of the author is found in two final rubrics:

```
subhūticandraviracite dvitīyo napuṃsakaḥ (!) kāṇḍo dvitīyaḥ | (fol. 5v3-4)
```

(Thus ends) the second section dealing with neuter (nouns) composed by Subhūticandra.

```
sū(!)bhūticandraviracitāyām tṛtīyaḥ paṭalaḥ | (fol. 8v1)
```

(Thus ends) the third section composed by Subhūticandra.

4. Or.133 (30×4 cm) is a manuscript from the Cambridge University Library.⁶⁰ It is a relatively recent palm-leaf manuscript (14^{th} – 15^{th} century CE) containing 33 folios. It is written in medieval Bengali. According to a modern inscription on the manuscript, 'it agrees with HP Shastri Nepal cata. I. p. 38'. The text preserved in this manuscript does not seem to be continuous. Rather, these appear to be stray leaves. Folios 1–7, 11–12, 14–16, 19–27, 29–31, 33, 35, 39–41, and 43 seem to be available. However, it should be noted that this conclusion is still tentative as more work needs to be done on the manuscript. The manuscript begins with a homage to Nārāyaṇa (om namo nārāyaṇāya) and a benediction to Sarasvatī:

```
namaḥ sarasvatīpādapaṅkajāya hitaiṣiṇe |
yat prasādāj jagat sarvvam amyakam (?) upajāyate || (fol. 1v1–2)
```

Salutation to the lotus-like benevolent feet of Sarasvatī, due to the grace of which the entire world becomes ... (?).

This benedictory verse is followed by the second and the third introductory verses, namely, $r\bar{u}dhi\hat{s}abd\bar{a}$ $nigadyante \dots$, and $vipr\bar{a}gni^\circ$, found in the manuscripts of the $Subantaratn\bar{a}kara$. The last word described in this manuscript seems to be div, which belongs to the feminine nouns ending in consonants.

Within each section, we find derivations of words following the Candra system of grammar. However, that this is not a manuscript of the Subantaratnākara is clear from a comparison of the derivation of the declension of the word *pathin* from this manuscript with that of NAK 4/148:

NAK 4/148

pathinśabdasya 'pathimathyṛbhukṣām ād' (CV 5.4.38) iti sor akārasyātvam | (fol. 16v1-2)

Or.133

pathinśabdāt svādayaḥ | 'pathimathyṛbhukṣām āt' (CV 5.4.38) iti nakārasyātvaṃ | (fol. 1911)

The first section dealing with masculine nouns ends on fol. 20v (prathamah kāndah samāptah). As is evident from this final rubric, neither the name of the text, nor its author are mentioned. I have so far been unable to find any other final rubric in this manuscript.

- 5. The catalogue of the palm-leaf and selected paper manuscripts from the Durbar Library, Nepal, records 1152 (nga) as a manuscript of the Subantaratnākara (Shastri 1905, 38).⁶¹ This manuscript is written in the Maithili script. Its benedictory verse is the same as that of Or.133. Just like Or.133, the benedictory verse is followed by the third introductory verse of the Subantaratnākara, namely, rūdhiśabdā nigadyante From this, it appears that 1152 (nga) is a copy of Or.133 or vice versa. Dwivedi (1987, 189) might have referred to this manuscript, which has the number Pra. 1152 with the subject code (*visayānka*) 364. So far, I have not been able to locate this manuscript.
- **6. NAK 1/1152 (Reel No. B 35–15)** was originally recorded as a palm-leaf manuscript of the Subantaratnākara (31.5 \times 5 cm) containing 63 folios. The manuscript is written in the Maithili script. It is incomplete, and damaged. The NGMCP has now identified this text as that of the *Prajñāvistārikā*, a sub-commentary on the *Kātan*travyākarana written by Billeśvara.

The NGMCP records one more text ascribed to Subhūticandra. It is entitled as Subvidhānaśabdamālāparikrama. This palm-leaf manuscript is numbered NAK 5/416 (Reel No. B 34-16) (21 \times 4 cm) and contains 18 folios with 4 lines per folio. It is written in the Nepālākṣara script. The letter-numerals appear in the middle of the left-hand margin and numerals in the middle of the right-hand margin of the verso side of a folio. Folios 3–11 are slightly damaged; the writing on fols 6v, 7r, 9v, and

⁶¹ I am grateful to Prof. S. S. Bahulkar for bringing this manuscript to my notice.

10r is partly rubbed off. The manuscript is dated Nepāla Saṃvat 560 (= 1440 CE). It, in fact, contains two texts ascribed to Subhūticandra:

a. *Subvidhānaśabdamālāparikrama* (fols 1–11). The manuscript begins with a homage to Vāgīśvara:

```
(fol. 1v1) om namo vāgīśvarāya |
```

Homage to the Lord of Speech.

This is followed by a homage to Subhūticandra:

```
namo mā(!)hāsubhūticandragurave |
```

Homage to the great teacher Subhūticandra.

The text begins with a verse introducing the first section that deals with a list of masculine nouns ending in the vowel *a*. This verse also mentions the name of the teacher Subhūti as the author of this text:

```
prathamapulingakāṇḍe ajantā śabdamālikā(2)ḥ |
kathitāś ca akārādiṃ (!) sū(!)bhūtiguruṇā kṛtāḥ || (fol. 1v1–2)
```

In the first section dealing with masculine nouns, lists of nouns ending in vowels composed by the teacher Subhūti are explained starting with the sound *a*.

nlike other texts concerned with nominal declensions in the widest sense, this text does not give any paradigms of declension, but only enumerates the respective *subantas* in the form of the nominative singular, stating in what kind of final vowel or consonant the stem ends. For instance, $viprah \mid ak\bar{a}r\bar{a}ntah \, \dot{s}abdah \mid\mid 1 \mid\mid h\bar{a}h\bar{a}h \mid \bar{a}k\bar{a}r\bar{a}ntah \, \dot{s}abdah \mid\mid 2 \mid\mid$.

Division

There are five sections in this text, namely, those dealing with masculine, 62 neuter, 63 and feminine genders, ⁶⁴ adjectives, ⁶⁵ pronouns, and numerals. Numbers 1 to 100 are given in full. Within the first four sections, nouns are arranged alphabetically according to their stem final.

Authorship and title

The name of the text, namely, Subvidhānaśabdamālāparikrama, as well as the name of its author Subhūticandra, are found in the colophon:

iti subhūticandraviracitaḥ subavidhānaḥ śabda(2)mālāparikrama saḥ pūrṇṇabhūtaḥ samāptah | samksepamātrah | samvat 560 dināsādhavadi 3 | (fol. 11v1-2)

Thus (ends) the (text entitled) Subvidhānaśabdamālāparikrama composed by Subhūticandra. It is completed, i.e., has come to an end. (It is) an abridgement only. (It was composed in) samvat 560 (= 1440 CE) on the Āṣāḍha day (?).

After the colophon, there is an inscription listing eight metals:

```
suvarnnarajatam kāśyamm (!) āram śulvasavamgakam |
ayah śīsakam ity astau lohāni kāstakutake (!) ||
śubha || śubha || (fol. 11v3)
```

Gold, silver, bronze ($k\bar{a}sya$), brass ($\bar{a}ra$), copper (sulva), together with tin (savamgaka), iron, lead (śīsaka) – these are eight (kinds of) metals in the kāṣṭakuṭaka (?). (May) auspicious (be everywhere), (may) auspicious (be everywhere).

The NGMCP remarks:

This text is styled Suvidhānaśabdamālāparikrama on the index card of the NAK. Subhūticandra (11th/12th c.), its author, is known to have commented in his Kāmadhenu on Amarasimha's Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana and in his Subantaratnākara on Dharmakīrti's Rūpāvatāra.

⁶² iti sū(!)bhūticandraviraci(fol. 3v)tāyām pulingakāndasagaṇaḥ prakaraṇaḥ prathamaḥ | (fols 3r4-3v1).

⁶³ iti (3) sū(!)bhūticandraviracitāyām dvitīyanapumsakakāndah saganah dvitīyah | (4r2–3).

⁶⁴ ity etat subhū(fol. 61)ticandraviracitāyāṃ strīligaṃ(!) kāṇḍe paripūrṇṇaḥ paṭalatrayaḥ | (fols 5v4-6r1).

⁶⁵ iti vācyaligam(!)kāndah subhūticamdraviracito (')yam caturthah parīcchedah (!) | (fol. 9r4).

It appears that the mention of a commentary on Dharmakīrti's Rūpāyatāra is probably a reference to manuscript NAK 1/813, which shares the benedictory verse of the Rūpāvatāra.

b. Lingatrayādisangrahah śabdaślokah (fols 12–18). This appears to be an incomplete copy of NAK 1/1078 mentioned above. The text is available up to the section dealing with adjectives. In this manuscript, homage is paid to Vighneśvara:

om namo vighnesvarāyaḥ (!) | (fol. 1v1)

This is followed by the word *viprah* and the mnemonic verse found in NAK 1/1078, namely, ghatamatha° (fol. 1v1–3) As is evident from the final rubrics, this text is also divided in a way similar to that of the Subantaratnākara.66

In the Derge edition, immediately after the Sup mtha' rin chen 'byung gnas, there occurs a text called Lung du ston pa su ba nta zhes bya ba (*Vyākarana-subanta nāma).⁶⁷ The text is not handed down to us in its entirety. The first section dealing with the masculine nouns ends on fol. 141b. The first noun dealt with in the next section of neuter nouns is mana (?). The text ends abruptly while describing the nominative plural of this noun. As a result, we do not know either the author or the translator of this text. While Subantaratnākara starts with the declensions of the word *vipra*, this text starts with that of the word *rudra*. From the noun $h\bar{a}h\bar{a}$ onwards, the sequence of words in the *Vvākaranasubanta and in the Subantaratnākara is the same. From the derivations given for all the nouns, it also becomes clear that, just like the author of the Subantaratnākara, the present author has also followed the Candra system of grammar. On the basis of these similarities, we can probably say that the *Vyākaranasubanta is also somehow related to the Subantaratnākara.

It appears from the foregoing discussion that NAK 1/813 is a compilation from various texts, and its last part is related to the *Subantaratnākara*. The remaining six manuscripts, except NAK 1/1152, preserve four texts ascribed to Subhūticandra: 1. Śabdasamgrahakānda (Kesar 528), 2. Lingatrayādisamgrahah Śabdaślokah (NAK 1/1078, NAK 5/416b), 3. Subvidhānaśabdamālāparikrama (NAK 5/416a), and 4. the text preserved in Or.133 and 1152 (nga) from the Durbar library. Interestingly, in all these texts, the division of the text and the nouns dealt with in each of the sections remain the same. We find salutation to Subhūticandra at the beginning of NAK 5/416a. It also mentions Subhūticandra in the first verse. The

⁶⁶ prathamaḥ pulingaḥ | (fol. 4v1); dvitīyaḥ kāṇḍanapuṃsaka(4)ṃ | (fol. 5v3-4); strīlingakāṇḍas $trtiyah \mid (fol. 7v3); vacyalingah samaptah \mid (ity ete) (2) śloka(s te) \mid (fol. 8v1-2).$

⁶⁷ Derge no. 4431, fols $134a^6-141b^7$; Peking no. 5895 460b1-470a6.

other three texts, just like the Subvidhānaśabdamālāparikrama, are basic in nature. From the abridged and enumerative nature of all these texts, it appears that these are later handbooks based on the Subantaratnākara prepared by those belonging to Subhūticandra's lineage. It should be kept in mind, however, that these conclusions are still tentative. It will be possible to say something more conclusive only after a diplomatic edition of all these texts is prepared.

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