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AN OUTLINE SYNTAX OF BUDDHISTIC SANSKRIT

BEING A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORICAL SYNTAX OF INDO-ARYAN

BY

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B = the Buddhacarita [numbers denote the canto and the stanza].
An Outline Syntax of Buddhistic Sanskrit.

INTRODUCTION.

Buddhistic Sanskrit, or Sanskrit as written by Buddhist authors, falls into three distinct divisions. These are—

(i) The writings of Aśvaghoha, e.g., the Buddhacarita, the Saundarananda, and the fragments of the two dramas edited and published by Professor Dr. Lüders of Berlin;

(ii) The Lalitavistara, the Divyavadana, the Avadanasataka, and the Saddharmapundarika,—only the prose portions of these texts;

(iii) The Mahavastu and the metrical portions of the Lalitavistara, the Saddharmapundarika, etc.

The above are the more important works in Buddhistic Sanskrit available so far in print.

The first division differs very little from the Pāṇinian Sanskrit. The very slight difference lies in (1) the use of a few peculiar words and technical terms, (2) a few ungrammatical forms, and (3) the greater use of the cognate accusative. [Cf. S. Sen, "On the Buddhacarita of Aśvaghoha," Indian Historical Quarterly, September, 1926.]

The second division differs from the classical Sanskrit (of Pāṇini) in a still greater degree. It contains a number—though not very large—of grammatically incorrect (and dialectal) forms [e.g., duhitā, rāmi (feminine), mahya (=mama), vyusthāya (=vyuṣṭhāya), vijahya (=vihāya), upasāgrāmat (upasaṁkrāmat), ajānamānaḥ (=ajānān), etc.]. It has also peculiar idioms and phrases.

The third division is the Buddhistic Sanskrit properly called. It is generally known as the ‘Gāthā language,’ or as
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'Mixed Sanskrit.' Its philological importance is of the utmost. From the syntactical point it is doubly interesting, as it retains much of the remnant of Old Indo-Aryan idioms which were lost in the classical Sanskrit, as well as it contains the germs of many of the peculiarly New Indo-Aryan idioms.

An outline of the syntax of Buddhistic Sanskrit is to be found in these pages. No systematic comparisons have been made with the Prakrits or with Pali as these will be treated separately and subsequently.

It must be added that in this present work all the three divisions of Buddhistic Sanskrit referred above, have been treated as a whole, but mention has always been made of peculiarities of each division as well as of each text as far as practicable within this short compass.

THE NOUN-SYNTAX.

GENDER.

In the earlier Buddhistic Sanskrit works there occur a few instances where the gender does not correspond with that of classical Sanskrit. Thus: loka in neuter, e.g., lokāni hi triṇi • the three worlds • [B 13.31]; raśmi in feminine [L, S]; aṇjana in feminine [B 8.21]; udaka as masculine [L 87]; lokadhāṭu in feminine [S 239].

In the Gāthās as well as in the Mahāvastu, however, words generally have arbitrary gender.

Note I.—In the Divyāvadāna, we find instances where the change of gender is accompanied by a change of meaning; e.g., śilpa (neuter) • art, • (masculine) • artisan, • e.g., tena śilpān ādhūyoktoḥ • by him artisans were called and told • [43]; bhātavāḷgṛa (neuter) • army, • (masculine) • hero • [281].

Note II.—The Vedic type of neuter plural is also found in a few instances in the Divyāvadāna, e.g., kūla baddhā for kālāni baddhāni [76]; jāmbūnāda (for 'ni) nāśya samā (for 'ni) bhavanti • gold is not its equal • [78].

In the Divyāvadāna mārga has been used as neuter [52] and trāṇa as masculine [114].

NUMBER.

There is hardly any aberration from the normal in the usage of the number, the Gāthās, however, being excepted.

AGREEMENT.

In a few instances the agreement between the subject and the verb in person and number, or between the substantive and the adjective in gender and number, is faulty. The subject in the first person is generally construed with verb in the third. Thus: nṛpa'pi ca prāpur imaṃ girim vṛjān • the king also, walking, reached that hill • [B 11.73]; āham avocat • (Buddha says) I said • [L 296]; āham magadheṣu prakṛnto'bhūt • (Buddha says) I went to Magadhā • [L 296]; āham prāvikṣat• I entered • [L 297], etc.; āham vāsavagrāmaṇe brāhmaṇa āṣīt • I was (born as) a Brahmin woman in the village Vāsava • [D 13]; āhaṃ vāsava-grāmade brāhmaṇa āṣīt • I was (born as) a Brahmin in the village Vāsava • [D 11]; te kaṅke pariśvastya ruditum ārādhau • they two (feminine gender) embracing by the neck began (mas.) to cry • [D 17]; āham ārādhaṃ kālāmam etad avocat • (Buddha says) I said this to Ārāda Kāḷāma • [M ii 118]; cira kṣa prārthayet • what should you want, O hero? • [M iii 251 (G)].

Note I.—With the passive past participle in the passive voice masculine singular has been used for the neuter singular: sakreṣas tam brāhmaṃ nāvaṃ antarādhiyiva svakena rūpeṣa sthito • Śakra, having done away the garb of a Brahmana, stood in his own appearance • [M iii 6].

Note II.—Neuter singular has been used in apposition to a masculine, a feminine, and a neuter singular: rāja subhā saṁatayaparijano deva ca sudhanusya mātā sarvam ca antah- puruṣa udānaṇāṃ nidhāvitaḥ • the king Subhā, with his

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1 Cf. Lenman, Zum Gāthā-dialekt, ZDMG., XXIX, pp. 212-34.
ministers and retinue, and the queen, the mother of Sudhanu, and the entire seraglio, went to the garden • [M ii 113].

THE CASES.

[A] THE NOMINATIVE.

The nominative is the subject case; and there is very little which goes against the normal usage. The following instances, however, are noteworthy:

(a) Impersonal verbs.

(ii) Without any grammatical subject: *yada te prakramitukāmā bhavantī tadā bādhate sme* • whenever they wished to go out it pained them • [L 77] ; with bhū it is a standing idiom in the Mahāvastu, e.g., *tasya rājñī bhavati kathāṃ me putro bhāveya* • it occurred to the king, ‘ how can a son be (born) to me’ • [M i 272]; *prīśyā bhavati nāyakam cakravarti bhāviṣyati* • it occurred to the sage ‘ he would not become an emperor’ • [M ii 32]. Cf. also in D., *tasya te katham bhāviṣyati* • what would you do? • [38]; *esa me kuthā* • this occurred to me • [Delhi-Topra Pillar Edict of Aśoka, vii, 14, 15].

(ii) With an active agent as the subject: *kale ca deśe pravavareṇa devaḥ* • the god rained in the country in time • [B 2.7]; *kālena devaḥ pravavareṇa sma* • the gods rained in time • [L 82]; *devo na varṣiṣyati* • the god will not rain • [L 516]; *kale devo hi varṣate* • the god rains in time • [L 86 (G)]; cf. Pali, *devo vassati* • the god rains • [Jataka, vol. i, p. 100].

(iii) With a cognate nominative: *divyam puṇḍarikam varṣati divyam cūrṇam varṣati* • divine flowers and (scented) dust rained (i.e., fell in showers) • [M i 214]; *mahat puṇḍarikam abhiprāvarṣat bhagavanam* • a great shower of flowers fell on the lord • [S 5]; cf. Tattiriya Brāhmaṇa: *yā ca varṣanti vṛṣṭayaḥ* • what rains do rain • [3.12.8].

(b) The following instances call for attention:

(i) *amukto manyase muktc* • (though) fettered you think yourself as unfettered • [M iii 416 (G)]. This is a Vedic survival; cf. *indrośurāṇ hatvā kāryāṃ cakṛvān anamvata*

• having killed the Asuras, Indra thought himself to have done a wrong deed • [Paṇcaśiṃṣa Brāhmaṇa, 22.4.2].

(ii) *na kahīṃ cit mama edṛī mano nipatati yathāyaṃ śrāmam* • nowhere has my mind thus fallen as in this Śrāmaṇa • [M iii 258]. Śrāmaṇa here ought to have been construed in the locative.

(c) Nominative Absolute. In a few instances the nominative has been construed with the absolute. Thus: *so kāndō tasya rājño pādamūle sthitā pādaphalakam khanaḥkṛtāṃ* • the arrow having fallen at the feet of the king the footstool was broken into pieces • [M ii 82]; *sa buddha iti Ṙrutapūryavam sādāṃ sruṭaṃ sarvarōmakāpīṃ ahaṃkārtī* • he having heard the hitherto unheard of word ‘buddha’ (the awakened), all his hairs stood on end (in joy) • [D 35]. This use is also sporadically found in classical Sanskrit, e.g., *viśayā vinirvartante nirāhārasya dehināḥ, rasaṃvarṣam rasa’yuyyaṃ paraṃ dṛṣṭaṃ nivr̥tate* • enjoyment ceases for a being who has given it up, (but) not the rasa (sub-conscious attraction); the rasa ceases for him, (after) having seen the Supreme • [Bhagavadgītā]; see, infra under the Conjunctive. Note.—In the Aśoka Inscriptions the nominative absolute occurs several times but only with the present participle in -ant.

[B] THE ACCUSATIVE.

The Accusative is the case of objective constructions with verbs, propositions, etc., and also is used adverbially.

Its broad usages in Buddhistic Sanskrit tally with that of classical Sanskrit, but the following are its especial idioms:

(a) Buddhistic Sanskrit, unlike the classical, favours cognate accusatives, both etymological as well as non-etymological. In this respect it is closely allied to the language of the Vedic prose.

(i) The etymological cognate accusative. In the Buddhacarita: *namāda simhanādam* • roared the lion’s roar • [8.84]; *puṣpārdvāma svaṃ kusumam puṣphullāḥ* • the flower plants put on their own blossoms • [1.4]; *tapāṃśatapta* • practised
penances • [2.49]; gambhīradhānī vacanāsvyaśa • uttered words solemn and sober • [1.59]; vacanām cedam uvāca • spoke that word • [5.29]. In the Lalitavistara,—pravara jambudvēja varāṃ • rain a shower in the Jambudvēja • [13]; caṛyām ca ran • practising (religious) practice • [297]; nada buddhāsīhanāda • roar the roar of a lion Buddha • [13(G)]; dharmācārayām śrīṣayata • shall hear the hearing of dharma • [32]; kālacakrītīṃ devapālacakrītīṃ vihokayati sma • looked the looking of the time, of the island, of the place, i.e., chose the suitable time, etc. • [21]; evāṃ codānam udayāyantītī sma • [34]; śīkṣaṃ ca śīkṣa • to learn the lesson • [51 (G)]; dharmācārayām caḷiṭhāh • should practise the practice of dharma • [41 (G)]; manjīratvan pravara jambudvēja varāṃ • shower a shower of jewels in the Jambudvēja • [14 (G)]; na ca kāmavātikāṃ vā syāpāśāvātikāṃ vā hīṃsāvātikāṃ vā vitarkayati sma • he did not think the thought of desire, or of killing, or of mischief • [80]; sanyaksambodhim abhisambhotsyase • you shall realise the perfect realisation • [43]; dhīghacākramanām caṃkramate sma • was treading long steps, or taking long walks • [488]. In the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka: bodhisattvacāryām ca ran • practise the practice of a Bodhisattva • [7]; bhikṣuo mahāprapatiṃ prapatijñayanti • the Bhikṣus shall fall a great fall • [37]; sīhanādāṃ nadante sma • were roaring the lion’s roar • [271]; pariṇānam aditin varṣāni dānam dadat • should make charity for full eighty years • [347]; dārāṇāṃ vedānantī vedāyāmāsuh • suffered acute pain • [382]. In the Divyāvādana: tad eva pravāravan pravārayítvā • having accepted that gift • [93]; caṇīkām ca ran • making a tour or journey • [80]; sanyaksambodhim abhisambuddhāh • realised the perfect realisation • [35]; cara brahma-cāryām • practise Brahma Cārya (the life of a celebate religious student) • [36]; udānām udayāyati • [2]; aranyacārikan ca ran • walk in the forest • [93]; kārāṃ kṛtvā • having done an act of worship • [23], etc.

In the Mahāvastu: ca ranato nara cārikām • making a journey in the hell • [15]; mahārāvam ravantānām • of them making a loud roar • [i 6]; vedanāṃ vedentā • perceiving perception • [i 6]; anuttaraṁ sanyaksambodhīm abhisambuddhā • realised the supreme, perfect realisation • [i 44]; dhīghacākramanām caṃkramate • took long steps, or took a long walk • [i 317]; caṇīvāri mahāvālokaṇī: vīlokaṇī • takes the four great looks or views • [i 197]; upoṣadham uparati • fasts a fast • [i 177]; sacchabādehi mahāyahāṃ yajñyām • I shall hold a great sacrifice with all creatures • [ii 98]; dakaṅkrītīṃ kriṣṭi-yāmaḥ • we shall sport in water • [ii 171]; instrumental is also found, e.g., te dāmi udakaracāye kṛtvānti • they are now sporting in the water • [ii 171]; māraḥ•••••dakaṅdham mahāhāsitaṁ āhāra • the Tempter laughed the ten great laughs • [ii 268]; māraḥ •••••mahāpradevitaṁ parideve • the Tempter mourned a great mourning • [ii 276]; bodhisattvo mahāsīṃha-vijñāntihītaṁ vijñāntim • Bodhisattva exerted the great lion’s exertion • [ii 281]; bhikṣuo ca ran • I make the beggar’s round • [iii. 168]; dhūṇāṇām dhūṇyāyi • you meditate the meditation • [iii. 149]; adākītō bodhisattvam abhiśvacārikanm vikramantām • he saw Bodhisattva showing fearless prowess • [ii. 264].

(ii) Non-etymological cognate accusative. In the Buddha-carita: vākyam abravo • uttered the speech • [4.3]; abravo vaca • gave out the speech • [9.62]; vaca babhōṣe • spoke the word • [13.3]; bhṛwaṃ vākyam idam tathau • he stood speaking this speech • [6.13]; giraṁ ity uvāca • delivered this speech • [7.37]. In the Lalitavistara: aṅjaliṃ pravāṇyā • bowing with folded palms • [7]; aṅgārāṇaṇāṇa pravānychayati • he shall walk out a (homeless) mendicant from home • [20]; kālaṃ aroka • made time, i.e., finished the days, i.e., died • [112]; sinhavat hādanātmikūṃ vākṣaṃ bhānayate sma • he was uttering pleasing words like a lion • [97]; mahādevaṃ caṅkākāṃ prakṛmat • he made journeys in (the country of) Magadha • [309]. In the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka: aṅjaliṃ prārhyā • having folded the palms • [161]; daṇānakhaṃ aṅjaliṃ prārhyā • having folded the palms with the ten nails • [458]; kālaṃ ca kṛtvā • having died • [123]; aṅjaliṃ prārhyā • having made a bow with
wander two sons of a hunter a-hunting • [ii 101]; mṛgāryaṁ 
amavantaḥ • while roaming on hunting • [ii 156].

(iii) Adverbial cognate accusative: mṛgāryaṁ sambhāgate •
you talk false (or falsehood) • [D 70]; pratināmaṁ āruhīgyati •
should change boats • [Mii 90]; jtegrāhaṁ grhaivā paścād-
bahu-gādha-bandhanam bandhitvā sāurasya mahendrasya 
madraparājya upanāmiti • taking (her) by (her) life, binding 
(hers) with (her) arms tied behind, (she) was taken before (her) 
father-in-law Mahendra, the king of Madraka • [Mii 490]; 
urastādaṁ krandati • cries beating on the chest • [Mii 205].

(b) Accusativus Temporis. The temporal accusative expresses 
the time occupied by an action without any reference 
to its completion. This was the Indo-European usage, and is 
strictly preserved in classical Sanskrit. But in Buddhist 
Sanskrit its use is varied and interesting.

(i) Normal usage as in Old Indo-Aryan: sa tatra bahūni 
vargāni vipravasat • there he should sojourn for many years •
[S 101]; so tāṁ bhagavantam deśa vargāhasrāṁ saktiṁ 
he entertained the lord for ten year–thousands • [Mi 59]; tāṁ 
khalu rātrim...adhivāśaṅvān • entertained...that night • [D 20]; 
trāṇa saptakāni ekavimśatidināṁ vistareṇa jātasya jātimahāṁ 
krtvā • having held the rejoicing for the birth of the child for 
thrice seven, (or) one and twenty days • [D 3]; samāsāṁ 
snāpiti • he slept for six months • [D 106]; evam yuvat ad 
divasān • thus for six days • [D 86]; atha ratnasīkhi • nedyā 
gāṅgāṣyāś tare rātrim vāsam upaṅgataḥ • now Ratnasīki passed 
the night on the bank of the river Ganges • [D 63]. The phrase 
bhūtāpurvam bhikṣava attam adhīrānam • in the past, O 
Bhikṣus, in remote days •, introduces every narrative in the 
Mahāvastu; in the Saddharmapundarīka, however, we find attam 
dhvanī instead of attam adhīrānam. The Avadānaśataka begins 
with simply bhūtāpurvam.

(ii) The temporal accusative sometimes denotes only a part 
of the time, which is generally denoted by the locative in classical 
Sanskrit. In fact, the locative is also often used side by side :
SYNTAX OF BUDDHISTIC Sanskrit

yām eva ca rātrim bodhisattvo mātukh kukṣiṇa avakrāntah • the night when the Bodhisattva entered (his) mother’s womb • [L 73]; yām ca rātrim bodhisattve jātak tasyām eva rātryaṁ kanyāśahasrāṇi • the night when Bodhisattva was born, that very night a thousand girls were born • [L 134]. Cf. yāṁ ca rātrim ājayethāk • the night I (?) was born • [Aitareya Brāhmaṇa 59.1.2].

In the following instances, too, the temporal accusative has replaced the temporal locative: yo asmākam ito sampatamāni divaṁ gāpi bhācivaḥ samāyamaham himañcāntum parevattāyaṁ gamyati • whoever among us would go on the seventh day from hence to the king of mountains, the Himālayas • [Mii 69]; bharīyāyi tvam anāgatam adhvānāṁ tathāgato • you would become a Tathāgata in the time to come • [Mi 57].

(c) Accusativus Spatii. The spatial accusative denotes the space occupied. Thus: sā pūruṣasyaṁ ātīti aśṛtāsa bhuddha-ketrasahasrāṇi prasṛtā • she stretched for eighteen thousand Buddha-spaces in the eastern quarter • [S 20].

To this is allied the accusative of measure. Thus: sampatālam ucchāt • seven tālas in height • [L 15]; sputatadhavati sāmāntena yojanaṁ • it would appear in a yojana all round • [L 18]; stūpān kariṣyati yojanasahasrāṁ samucchrayena • would raise stūpas a thousand yojanas in height • [S 150]; yūpaṁ ca ucchārpayya ārthvam vyāmasahasram tiryak nodasapravedham • raise a yūpa a thousand vyāmas in height and sixteen pravedhas in breadth • [D 59]; rōjāḥ...caityam kāritaṁ samantaḥ yojanaṁ ucchavena • a caitya was raised by the king —(it was) a yojana high all round • [D 22]; so narako... anekāni yojanasatāni āyato • that hell...is many yojanas in area • [Mi 21].

(i) The correlative adverbial pair yāvat ca...yāvat ca • from...to •, • between...and •, governs the accusative. Thus: adhivāsyatam asmkam bhagavān yāvacca śrāvacca yāvacca rāγṛham āryanarātāt • may your Lordship accept us (i.e., our company) between Śrāvasti and Rājaḥa • [D 93]; yāva ca rāγṛham yāva ca gamyāya ārtham māgram pratijāgrtaḥ • watch the road from Rājaḥa to the ford of the Ganges • [Mi 258]; yāvev rājakulam yāvacca udānabhūnim atrāntrar pratisijāghraṇa • watch (i.e., attend) (on the road) between the royal palace and the garden • [Mii 150].

(ii) In the Divyāvadāna the adverbial pair antarā ca...antarā ca • between...and •, governs the accusative: antarā ca śrāvacca antarā ca rāγṛham āryanarātāt mahāśaryāṁ caura-sahasram prativasati • between Śrāvasti and Rājaḥa, in this space a thousand thieves dwell • [94].

(d) The accusative with transitive verbs. No instances need be given, but the following instances are noteworthy:

dharmanadīṁ pūṣyati jvalokāḥ • the world of beings would drink of the river of dharma • [B 176]. The accusative here carries with it the idea of the partitive genitive.

kintu aṭmānāṁ aham ṛādini • but I mourn for myself • [L 119]. Intransitive rud • to cry, to weep •, has here been used as transitive. Cf. yatheyaṁ stri pautram ahaṁ na rodāt • so that this woman does not mourn the loss of her son • [Mantra Brāhmaṇa I. 1. 10].

saṭhaṁ hasantu • (she) laughing at the villain • [Saunda, 7.18].

muktakusumāni ca mahāṁ cikirantaḥ (sic=vikiryanāni) • flowers (that were) being showered on earth • [L 401]. Here the root kir • to scatter • governs double accusatives; mahāṁ denotes the idea of the locative. In classical Sanskrit it would have been either, muktakusumair mahāṁ....., or, muktakusumair mahāṁ.....

tam grāmam...piṇḍaṁ caritvā • having wandered in the village for alms • [Mi 301]. The accusative denotes the goal of an action, not the place of action; the accusative here ought to have been the locative.

ahām vāpaṁ padmāṁ grhikṣyāmi • I shall pluck the lotuses in (or, from) the pond • [Mii 450]. The root graṁ governs double accusatives; the accusative in vāpaṁ denotes the idea either of the locative, or of the ablative.
the lord, the sage of the Śākyas • [425]; abhyāgata imaṃ... dharmaparyāyaṃ śravaṇaḥ mañjuśrīyaṃ ca kumāraḥbhūtaṃ
darśanaḥ • come to hear this lecture on dharma and to see
Mañjuśrī in the state of a child • [431]. The genitive has once been
used: māma darśanaḥ...dharmaparyāyaṃ śravaṇaḥ • to
see me...to hear the lecture on dharma • [427].

Na cāsyopyāyam pāyati tam parvataṃ adhirohaṇāya • he
does not find any way for mounting the hill • [D 118].

In the Mahāvaṭu: devasamghāḥ sukhātraṃ...prechakā
āgacchanti • the host of gods came to ask (whether he passed)
a happy night • [Mi 214]; bhagavatam darśanāya upasan-
kramanāya paryupāsanāya • to see, to approach, and to attend
to the lord • [Mi 255]; bhagavatam anujānye rājyrhāta
vaiśālīṃ gamanāya • permitted the lord to go from Rājagha
to Vaishālī • [Mi 257]; anujāntā kinnaragaranāgamana
gamanāya • were permitted to go to the city of the Kinnaras • [Mi 101];
alindāya mahādeviye pādhī vandanaḥ upasamkrāntā • came
to pay homage to the feet of the chief queen Alinda •
[Mii 445]; padmim paścimānte gata • went to see the lotus-
pond • [Mii 450]. Genitive has once been used: kolitagrāma-
kaṃ gacchati kolitasya darśanāye • goes to the village of Kolita
to see him • [Mi 57]. deś ca amravatam prekṣikā gata
• the queen went out a looker (i.e., to see) of the mango
grove • [Mii 12].

Instances of the accusative governed by the primary
derivatives in -ana do not obtain in classical Sanskrit. In the
Vedic, however, a few such instances are found. These are:
vamam-karaṇa, ayakṣaṇam-karaṇa [Atharvaveda Sanhitā 19.2.5];
yady enaṃ kṣatram kevalam pāne bhūyāḥacet • if it should
happen to him to have to drink pure milk • [Satapatha
Brāhmaṇa 2.3.1.16].

This copious use of the primary derivatives ending in -ana
governing the accusative, shows that these derivatives have
really been used as infinitives.

(f) The Accusative governed by the adjectives. These
adjectives are all past participles in -ta and compounded with
upasargas. Thus: aparamātaram prasaktuh • attached to another’s mother • [Mi 244]; aham vyāghrīṁ prabhōkā bhim • a bull approached the tigress • [Mii 70]; striyam anurakto • attached to the woman • [Mii 296].

(g) The Accusative with adverbs: aṣṭamāṁ bhūmin prabhṛti • from the eighth ground • [Mi 105]. In classical Sanskrit prabhṛti is construed with the ablative.

(h) The Accusative governed by prepositions. In Buddhistic Sanskrit the only case-governing preposition is prati. It is used in various senses and to denote various case relations. It occurs fourteen times in the Buddhacarita, e.g., 1.73 (twice); 1.81; 2.47; 4.24; 6.43; 7.12,45; 8.54; 9.14,67; 11.50,62; 13.16. In other texts: iyiṭāṁ evāham daśa nimirnāṁ jāne gamanam prati • I know these ten portents for (an auspicious) journey • [D 112]; etc.

[C] The Instrumental.

The Instrumental was originally a local case. It indicates the relation of concomitance or adjacency, passing over into that of means or instrument: it is the with- or by-case in the various senses of these prepositions.

(a) The Sociative Instrumental.—In Buddhistic Sanskrit sociative instrumental is generally construed periphrastically with sārdham, and samanvayata • accompanied •, and rarely with saha, e.g., so dāni nāgarājā ugrasena kāśirājā sārdham ekaparyākhyena niṣṇaḥ • then the king of the Nāgas sat on the same seat with Ugrasena the king of Kāśi • [Mi 179]; saha darśanamātṛena gavikāye tasmiṁ saṁbhāve premṇaṁ niṣpātam • (simultaneously) with the look of the hetaera fell on that merchant • [Mi 168].

(i) Special uses of the instrumental of concomitance without the use of sārdham, etc.,: pravrajyāṁi sanyāsena sārddhayā agraād anāgārikam • with perfect reverence I shall get out as homeless (mendicant) from home • [D 17]; aham mahaṁ ṭvālaṁ samprasūhitah • I set out auspiciously • [D 4,5]; sarva-jāvena pradhāvītatā • set out with all speed • [D 94]: the instrumental here is virtually an adverb; vāsavaśya rājāḥ putro jāto ratnapratyuytaśūkhyā • the king Vāsava had a son born with the crest imbedded with a jewel • [D 62]; purohitaṁ dautyaṁ preṣayat • sends the priest on errand • [L 163]; tāṁ buddhāgṛṇāṁ ratnaprakṣaś ca cītrāṁ savardṛyante sma • those fields of Buddha looks splendid with jewel-trees • [S 243]; samudradevata ca brahmaṇavāsena upamsakramitāthaṁ ṛgmsuḥ • the deity of the sea approached in the garb of a Brahmī, and said • [Mii 90]; atha sūrya kumāro candam kumāram mithilāyāṁ rājyaṇāḥ taitiṣātvata • now the Prince Sūrya having anointed the Prince Candra in kingship in Mithilā • [Mii 172]; ka esa bhoḥ.....keśuḥ sitaḥ • who is he with grey hair? • [B 3.28].

(b) The Cognate Instrumental.—The Cognate Instrumental is unknown in classical Sanskrit though a few instances are found in the Vedic and the Avesta. In Buddhistic Sanskrit it is quite frequent: divyenaśravāḥnāśravāḥsya • illuminating with divine radiance • [L 4]; āśravyalokena vyāvalokayati sma • was looking with a look at the head • [L 17]; na ca rāga-paridāhena vā dvēparidāhena vā mohaparidāhena vā pari-dākhya sma • was notsmarting with the affliction of attachment, nor of hatred, nor of ignorance • [L 80]; mahaṁparinirvāṇaṁ parinirvāṇayati • is extinguished (i.e., emancipated) with the great extinction • [S 82]; ovādena avādanti • (they) call with a call • [Mi 104]; paripūrṇaye arcanāye arcayitvā • having honoured with full honour • [Mi 212]; arcanāye arcayitvā • having honoured with honour • [Mi 16]; so arādā kālāmo paramāyā pūjyaḥ pūjyae paramāyā ca prāṇṣayaḥ prāṇṣme • he, Árūḍa Kālama, worshipped (the lord) with supreme worship and praised (him) with the highest praise • [Mi 119]; te dāni udakakrādyaṁ krādānti • they are now sporting the water sport • [Mii 171]; nāgavilokitena cikalyanato • looking with the look of a Nāga • [Mi 281]; cf. upasadbhir upāsatan • besieged them with the sieges • [Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 3.4.4.4]; kramair atyakramad vā • with strides the courser hath strode
out • [Taittirīya Śaṃsiṣṭa 5.7.24]; taē-ca na mo srāṣṭa gaya jvānti • these men live a happy life • [Vendidad 2.71].

c) Instrumental with Verbs.—The verbs which are generally construed with the instrumental in Old Indo-Aryan are mostly construed periphrastically with sārdham, etc., no doubt for the instrumental becoming a purely sociative case. A very few instances, however, are found where the Old Indo-Aryan practice has been preserved intact. Thus: devoparśaṇaṁ gāthābhīr abhyābhasanta • addressed the assembly of the gods with (these) verses • [L, S, M]; cf. tasyāṁ velāyāṁ īṃṃ gāthām abhāvasta • at that time he uttered this verse • [L 49]; yasyepitaṁ dīvyaṁ sukhair hi rāmīṁ satatam • whose desire (is) to enjoy divine bliss always • [L 49]; asau devatā bodhisat- tvāṁ dīvyaṁ puspāṁ abhyāvākarīya tatrāvāntardadhā • then the god after having scattered divine flowers on Bodhisattva disappeared then and there • [L 141]; gandhodakahāṁ snapayamaṁaḥ • being sprinkled with fragrant water • [L 54(g)]; kākṣit prasravantya lālābhī • some (women) were watering in their mouths; literally, were oozing with water of mouth • [L 251]; aḥhir bālāḥ kṛdantī • with them (only) children play • [L 253]; ekākāḥ ca bodhisattvo devaputrām caivaṃ samājante sma • each Bodhisattva was thus concouring the sons of gods • [L 361]; āsaneno janmanratya sma • invited with a seat • [L 117]; nisparvusēṇa tāryena kriḍatī ramate paricārayati • plays, delights in, and sports with the sweet-sounding trumpets • [D 3]; sarvo’yaḥ lokāḥ suvarṇasya śraddadhāti, na tu kaścin mama

• The instrumental here really represents an accusative: it is perhaps due to analogy with the roots hir ‘to scatter,’ śa to sprinkle,’ sma ‘to bathe,’ etc., which generally govern the instrumental. It should be remarked that in Avesta and Old Persian the instrumental was sometimes used for the accusative [vide Hübschmann, Zur Casuslehre, pp. 263-06; Spiegel, Vergleichende Grammatik, pp. 436-28]; e.g., ekoṇa gāthor- ca taneva-ca avdaḥ- ca uṣṭānāḥ- ca kehrpat- ca taviṭā- ca bā day- ca urām- ca fravas- ca pari- ca dāmedaḥ- a-īr- ca avadagmeḥ ‘all creatures and bodies and bones and frames and forms and power and intellects and soul and Fravashi we both exalt and proclaim’ [Yasūta 5.1]. This idiom obtains in Old Slavic, Germanic, Gothic, Old Norse, Anglo-Saxon, Greek and Sanskrit. [Vide Debrück, Vergleichende Syntax Bd. I., pp. 297-69; Auboun, Déclinaison dans les langues indo-européennes, pp. 19, 65-06].

SRaddhayā gacchati • all people believe in (the efficiency of) gold, and believe me not • [D 17]; puspair abhyāvākiranī sma • scattered flowers (on him) • [S 69]; kuṃārakaḥ...kri- danaḥ...kriḍantī ramantī paricārayatī • the boys played, enjoyed and sported with toys • [S 72]; deva naśayānehi prakrīdīta • the queen sported with boats • [Mi 217]; deevahi samgrāṃmenti • fought with the gods • [Mi 30]; jayena vadhāpīteva • greeting him with (a benediction for) victory • [Mi 31]; nandati purvehi putrimām • the father delights in (his) sons • [Mii 417(G)]; mātare samāgacchatu • let him be united with his mother • [Mii 131, 132]; diṣṭiṣai maya purvehi ca samāṇībhātā • luckily you are joined with myself and two sons • [Mii 167]; so ca kāśirāja kośalārāja jīvitenā nandati • that king of Kāśi will delight in (for taking) the life of the king of Kośala • [Mii 352]; kathaṃ nāma upalīkalpako hina-jātyo rājā śuddhoddanena bhāsati • how is it that the barber Upalī, a low-caste, talks with the king Suddhana? • [Mii 181]; samaye jīvatām aham rājena • I shall participate (my) kingdom (with him) • [Mii 207].

With sārdham: bodhisattvamānaḥ sārdham vispardhamānāḥ vying with Bodhisattva • [L 174]; mayaiva sārdham bodhi- sattvo samplapati • Bodhisattva talks with me only • [L 78], see supra; bhagavata sārdhaṃ sammukhaṁ sammodanam samplaṅjanāṁ vividhāṁ kathāṁ vyataśārya • having talked face to face the various complimentary talks with the lord • [D 70]; te taḥ satrumhiḥ sārdhaṃ yuddhanyati • they fight with these enemies • [S 289]; tasya ca nāgarājōn putro dharmapaleṇa mānavakena sārdham priyayati: kathāsamullāpena ramati • the son of the king of the Nāgas made merry with the man Dharma- pāla and delighted in conversation (with him) • [Mii 78]; ete na samarthā saṃtapī raṇānaḥ kuśena sārdham samgrāṃmaṁ dātum • these seven kings were not competent to give battle to Kuśa •

* Cf. tam brāhmōṇaṁ jalpati “talks to, or converses with the Brahman” [Mii 427].
* Cf. sīvāṁitra-jamādgāṁ sarīrāṇeyāraṇīm “Sīvāṁtra and Jamādgāṁ had a quarrel with Vasiṣṭha” [Taittirīya Sāṃhitā, 3.1.7; 5.4.11].
SYNTAX OF BUDDHISTIC SANSCRIT

[i] Instrumental of Exchange: jambudvīpa mālyena kākyam ērotum sūbhāṣitam • with the Jambudvīpa as the price a good saying can be heerd • [Mi 94 (G)]; kriṣṇatī putradārēna ekagāthān sūbhāṣitam • in exchange of the son and the wife they buy a good saying consisting of a single verse • [Mi 91 (G)]; kīyatī mālyena diyate • at how much price would it be given? • [D 31]; tāc cāryakasyārtham kāraṇaśvasāhasreṇa vikṛtām vardate • the right over the powder is sold at a thousand kāraṇāhas • [D 31].

(ii) Instrumental with Nouns: the instrumental as construed with nouns can be divided into two classes—(a) the instrumental with nouns, the roots of which generally govern the instrumental, and (b) the instrumental denoting other oblique case relations.

(a) aposarbhīk samvāsah • dwelling with the celestial nymphs • [L 41 (G)]; kim mayā sārdhāṃ samāgamena • what is (the good of) meeting me • [D 25]; tēna tēṣaṃ vāmāya ratnaiḥ samvibhaṅghaḥ śrīrtaḥ • then by him was made the division of the jewels among the merchants • [D 43]; rājnas te dravyena prāyojanam utpannam • the king has requirement with your things • [D 33].

(b) annapānena se chandaḥ notpayate • she finds no desire for food and drink • [Mi 459]; tasyā dāni sarvehi tehi gosṭhikehi putrasya premnākena putrapremnām • for all these companions she had the affection for the son owing to her affection for (her) son • [Mi 375]; tasyā kākīye rājabhojanena dohalako • the hen-crow had a desire for (partaking of) the king's dish • [Mi 125].

(c) In the Mahāvastu the compound noun vināabhāva • state of separation • has been often used for the regular post-positive adverb vinā • without •: tato mayā vinābhāvo na te

1 The instrumental here denotes the sense of the locative. It might also be locative as in the Mahāvastu the suffix -hi is often the sign of the locative.

2 The instrumental has here been used for the locative.
brāhmaṇa-bhojanena vyagrā bhaviṣyati • would be eager for feeding Śramaṇas and Brahmins • [D 88]; aham samgrāmera aparajito • I am invincible in battles • [Mii 70]; aham pi mahārāja akṣeṣi kuṣalo • I, too, O great King, am expert in dice • [Miii 169]; arthino vayam bhagaṇaṁ tathāgatajanānadarśanena • we are desirous, O Lord, of perceiving the intention of Tathāgata • [S 180].

(i) In the Buddhacarita the instrumental with vinākṛta occurs several times: 8.21; 8.37; 8.78; etc. [Vide I. H. Q., Vol. ii, p. 658].

(ii) One or two instances of comparative instrumental are found in Buddhistic Sanskrit: atha ko hi dāni bho reṇu tena bhagavatā mahāgovindena anyo paśitataro • now, who is there, O Reṇu, wiser than his lordship Mahāgovinda? • [Mii 208]. This idiom obtains frequently in the epics; e.g., mama prāṇaṁ priyatarah • dearer than my life • [Rāmāyaṇa]. It occurs also in Pali: nattthi bata bho loke rasataṇhāya pāpakataraṇā nāma • there is nothing worse in earth than the desire for enjoyment • [Jātaka i; p. 158].

(f) The instrumental denoting other case relations: the instrumental sometimes appears instead of other oblique cases, notably locative and ablative. Thus:—

(i) The instrumental denoting cause: this is a regular construction of the instrumental even in Old Indo-Aryan: kaścid ānanda darśanenāpī priyo bhavati • some one, O Ānanda, becomes dear even at sight • [L 102]. The ablative is a perfect equivalent of the causal instrumental, e.g., kaścid ānanda darśanād eva priyo bhavati • some one, O Ānanda, endears himself at sight • [L 102]. kena kāraṇena • with what cause, i.e., why • [S, etc.]1

(ii) sāpi devatā kāśikāye vacena teṣāṁ gosṭhikānāṁ darśanapathena deko atikramati • she too, the deity, in the appearance of Kāśikā, come in view of the companions • [Mii 376];

1 The accusative also obtains here, e.g., kīṁ kāraṇem [why?]; also the dative, e.g., kasyātikāya [why?] [D].
2 darśanapathena = genitive-instrumental.
3 The phrase tena khalu punaḥ samayena is a characteristic phrase of Buddhistic Sanskrit. It does not, however, occur in Āśvaghoṣa. It obtains in Pali.
(b) The instrumental denoting the ablative of time: rājagṛhasya ardha-yojana-kolitagramākām nāma grāmam • there was a village named Kolitagramaka within half a yojana from Rajagṛha • [Mii 56]; yenā māgadhakānām gayā tām anusṛtya • going towards where there (was the city of) Gayā of the people of Magadhā • [L 309]; yenāsau plakṣo mahādrumah • where (was) the great plakṣa tree • [L 94]; savemā javena prasṛtā yenā sārthakā • sped towards where the caravan (was) • [D 94]; yenā daridravatī tatrasmakam abhācātaraṃ alpākrocchreṇaiva utpatsyate • where ‘here (is) the slum, there we can easily find food and clothing • [S 104]; gachch tvam bhūh puruṣa yenākāṃkṣasi • go, O man, wherever you wish • [S 105].

(c) The correlatives yenā...tena • where...there • is a remarkable feature of Buddhist Sanskrit. It, however, does not occur in the writings of Aśvaghosha. It arose from the confusion of the instrumental and the locative. Thus: yenā bhagavān tenopasāṃkrāman • they went where the lord (was) • [L 4]; yenā bhagavān tenāyjalim praṇamyā • having bowed with folded palms (in the direction) where the lord (was) • [L 6, 7; S 60, etc.]; ākaraṇād dhanuḥ pūrayitē yenayūmān pūrṇas tena pradhāvitaḥ • having drawn the (bow-string) up to the ear, he ran where the long-lived Pūrṇa (was) • [D 90]; atha āsana kōti-karaṇa yenāyūmān mahākātyāyanaṃ tenopasāṃkrāntaḥ • now Śroṇa Kōti-karṇa went where the long-lived Mahākātyāyana (was) • [D 15]; yenā tam makaramukhaṃ tena pradhāvitaḥ • (the ship) glided along where there (was) the mouth of the sea-monster • [M 245].

(i) Instrumentalis spatii: like the temporal instrumental, the instrumental of space denotes various local case relations. Thus:

(a) ānandena dābhyaṃ kroābhyaṃ bhery āhatābhūt • there Ānanda sounded the trumpet along two kroas • [L 176]; un-mārgena samprasthitāḥ • started along the wrong way • [D 7]; pakṣaṃṇā dikṣaḥ sthalena gamyate • the western quarter can be approached by land • [D 112]; parataṇa daśaṅgēna pārśvenā-tavyan sthalena samprasthitāḥ • by the southern side of the mountain he went by land through the forest • [D 113]; dvāraṇa nirdhāvitaḥ • ran through the door • [S 81]; sa eva mṛgo udakena gacchati • that stag was going along water • [Mii 217].

(j) Such a phrase as kālana kālam • from time to time • etc., is a chief characteristic of Buddhist Sanskrit. The instrumental generally denotes the sense of the locative or the ablative, while the accusative is either an object accusative or the accusative of time. The examples are interesting. Some instances have, however, arisen out of analogy.
Thus; (1) kālena kālam: naitāḥ samarthā bodhisattvam kālena kālam upasthātum • they are not capable of entertaining the Bodhisattva from time to time • [L 114-15]; āryam ca mahākātyāgamān kālena kālam pūjākena pratipādaya • entertain the reverend Kātyāyana the great with food from time to time • [D 10, etc.]; kālena ca kālam vyavalokeyanty • they would look up from time to time • [S 225]; kālena ca kālam dharmam bhāsate • he talks dharma from time to time • [S 276].

(2) cetasa cetā • from mind to mind • bhikṣunyāḥ ceta-saiva ceta-parivartam ājñāya • knowing from mind to mind the doubt of the bhikṣuṇī • [S 269, etc.].

(3) vṛkṣena vṛkṣam • from tree to tree • māyā devi vṛkṣena vṛkṣam paramajanti vanāḥ vanāḥ caṅkramyamanāḥ drumād drumaṁ nirūpamānāḥ anupūrcella yenāsa plakṣo mahādrumāḥ • the queen Māyā, moving from tree to tree, roaming from bower to bower, looking at from tree to tree, gradually came where the great plakṣa tree (was), and approached the tree • [L 94].

(4) śilpena śilpam • from art to art • deva asti punar iha nagare kaścid yo mayā sārdham samarthah śilpena śilpam upadartītum • sire, is there anybody in this city, who is able to compete with me from art or craft to art or craft (i.e., in different arts or crafts) • [L 163].

(5) varṇena varṇam • from colour to colour • candra-suryān evam...varṇenāpi varṇam tejasāpi tejo nānubhavataḥ • the sun and the moon do not thus excel from colour to colour, from brightness to brightness (i.e., in different colours and degrees of brightness) • [S 163].

(6) tejasā...tejaḥ • from brightness to brightness • see supra, (5).

(7) dūrena dūram • from distance to distance • tena bhikṣunā grhausapra vrajitādām antikād dūrena dūram vihartavyam • the bhikṣuṇī should remain from distance to distance away from (both) the householders and the pravrajitas • [S 287].

(S) vaktrena vaktram • lip to lip • kanḍhe so gṛhya mama prakāśam vaktrena vaktram pranidhiyā kūdam karoti • taking me by the neck and putting (her) mouth to mine (she) made a sound • [Miś 149].

(k) Instrumental Absolute. One or two instances of the instrumental absolute are found in Old Indo-Aryan (in Vedic prose as well as in the classical Sanskrit). It arose out of the sociative instrumental. Some cases of the ablative absolute in Latin represent an original I.-E. instrumental absolute. In Buddhist Sanskrit (not excluding the poems of Aśvaghoṣa) it is a standing idiom.

Thus: sātvacittayasanatapais tair evanvidhais tais ca nipatya mānāmī naiva saṅkanāc cha̤kya̤muniś ca cācā • notwithstanding those austerities of body and mind, and inspite of such (followers of Māra the tempter) assailing, the sage of the Śākya race did not move from his seat • [B 13.43]; mukhāḥ caṣuva-vaśeṣābhāpra vāravyātā...kanyā-datasahasrāṛi śithānī ahaṁvā • a great shower of flowers having been showering the hundreds of thousands of girls stood (there) • [L 141]; taṇā āgriyā nāsya kīye kastraṁ kramiśyati • that being put on no missile would strike him • [D 113]; sa bhagavān...samādhīḥ samāpanno'bhūt ānirāyāmānena kāyaṁ sthitenā • the lord remained engrossed in ecstasy the body remaining calm • [S 19-20]; lokahātum āgacchati sma prakampadbhī kastraṁ pravargadbhī padmaṁ • he was coming to the world while the ground was shaking and flowers were being showered • [S 432]; tenu āgatena...vyādiḥ prāśamyaṁ • when he is come the epidemic will cease • [Miś 257]; yatra maitreyena bodhisattva prathamaṁ kūkalamūnā avaropi tāṁ rājā vairocana ca kāravartihbūtenā āgatiṁ sambhīṁ prārthayāmānena • where Maitreyā the Bodhisattva first implanted the roots of happiness, Vairocana, in the state of the emperor, wishing for the coming awakening • [Miś 59]; yuṣmehi vinītehi mahājanaṁ kīyo vinayaṁ āgamiśyati • you being educated a great many people will come in for enlightenment • [Miś 198]; kim nu khalu mayi parinirvṛte imehi ca śrāvakhe paraṁparinirvṛtehi
tayā mātāpitṛbhṛyām ārocitam • by her it was imparted to (her) parents • [17]; maghāya...ārocayati • he informs Magha • [111]; tataḥ...supriyāga kalātayati • then he speaks to Supriya • [112]; punar anyasmā ācakṣita • he should speak to another • [S 346].

(ii) With verbs meaning • to give •: na tvac chramana-brāhmaṇabhyo ‘nudadāta • I will not give (it) to Śrāmaṇa or Brahmins • [D 88]; amukayā...bhagavate saktubhiḥ prādāpita • by so-and-so (woman) charity of gruel was made to the lord • [D 70]; sarvam asmai puruṣāya nityātayāmi • all I shall make over to this man • [S 105]; sa ca manis tayoḥ...bhagavate dattāḥ • the jewel was given by her to the lord • [S 264]; bodhisattvaḥ sādhukāram adat • he gave thanks to the Bodhisattva • [S 397].

(iii) With other verbs: katamām bhū upādyāya lipim me śikṣāyasya • what alphabet, O teacher, would you teach me? • [L 143]; tasmā pratiṣṛtya • having promised to him • [S 105]; tathāgatas tasmāi dharmam deśayati • the Tathāgata explained dharma to him • [S 137]; imaṁ sākṣāntam...pareṇaḥ...vistarāya samprakāśayānti • they would reveal this sākṣānta in detail to others • [S 375].

(b) The Dative with substantives and adjectives: na cān-gyasmai gandhāya sṛphām utpādayām-āsūb • did not have any liking for any other smell • [L 479]; namas tasmāy acāryāya pūryāya • homage to that master Pūrya • [D 42]; cf. ārogyaṁ jyeṣṭhahāvīkāyā bhavatu • freedom from diseases be to the wife of the elder brother! • [D 28]. Kaścid eva vaidyāpuruso bhavet...sukūraḥ sarvāṇuḥ śriyāsamanvaya • if there be a physician competent for curing all kinds of diseases • [S 320]; apratikūlo śravanaya • not disagreeable to hear • [Mi 194]; kuśalam adhiṣṭhānāya bhavatu • welfare be to the place • [D 76].

(i) The Genitive-Dative: akālam te śrōṇa praṇāvādyakāraya • untimely it is, O Śrōṇa, for discussing your questions • [D 21]; ko bhadanta hetuḥ kaḥ pratyayo drayo ratnagor yugapal loke prādurbhāraya • what is the cause and the reason, O master, for the simultaneous appearance of the two gems? • [D 62]; ko bhagavatā hetuḥ kaḥ pratyayo smitasya prādu-
not make thy mind for plying the sea • [Mii 73]; durásado bhavati puruṣasya upasanyakramanādyā • it becomes unattainable for a man to approach • [Mii 104].

c) Dativus commodi: sā ca rājā...bodhisattvāya vṛtābhūt • she was chosen by the king for the Bodhisattva • [L 179]. This is the only instance I have noted.

d) Dativus causalis: the following is the only instance that has been noted: sattva āyuḥkṣaya ābhāvārdh devanikāyato cyavītā • creatures having fallen from the shining body of gods for loss of the span of life • [Mi 52].

THE ABLATIVE.

The Ablative has been very little used in Buddhistic Sanskrit. This is due to the fact that the sense of the ablative is generally expressed periphrastically, and that very often the instrumental is the substitute for the ablative. Those verbs which were constricted with the ablative in Old Indo-Aryan are mostly constricted in Buddhistic Sanskrit with the genitive plus the ablative adverb antikāt.

(a) The Ablative with verbs: bhavantah...pācimabodhisattvasyāntikād dharmakramaṇam ēkṣyatha • you would bear the lecture on dharma from the future Bodhisattva • [L 32]; iti hi rājā...brahma-śeṣah...pratikātya • the king having heard this from the Brahmīns • [L 66][see p. 27 supra]; māmāntikād...abhayaṃ pratīyācante sva • they were begging protection from me • [L 103]; jñātad ēvaṃvaparopitah • deprived of life • [L 281]; ēvaṃ bhagavata sārthaṃ caurasakasrat pratimokṣitah • thus the caravan was saved by the lord from the thousand thieves • [D 94]; caurasakasrasukṣatā sārthaṃ ēvyāvattat • the caravan was ransomed from the thousand thieves • [D 94]; parṣasyāntikād vikriya • having bought it from Pūraṇa • [D 33]; bhagavato 'ntikād dharmāṃ ēvyāt mani sva • he was listening dharma from the lord • [S 21]; meghāsya mānakasya sakāśato buddhaḥabdam suiśtrā • having heard the word ‘Buddha’ from the young man Megha • [Mi 243]; āṣāṃ grahapati mamataṃ aprāhitva...bhagavato sakāām
The Ablative with past-participles in -ta (used as adjectives): sarangabhyaṣ tapasvibhya vinyamā śīkṣitā iev • they learnt good behaviour, as it were, from the hermits who (always) offer protection • [Saundarananda 1.13]; caurasakāśat sarthāḥ parirātāḥ • the caravan was saved from the thousand thieves • [D 101]; yady asau arthāḥ parihiṃśaḥ kīṁ prajñāpyai parihiṃśaḥ • if he is bereft of wealth, is he also bereft of (his) wisdom • [D 31]; ahitaṃśikato hastāto yatnāṁ kṛityam subhāṣītam • the maxim brought eagerly from the hand (of) an Ahitūḍikā • [Mi 92(G)]; aham striṃśvaṃ bhrasfo • I am bereft of that jewel of a woman • [Mi 167].

The Ablative with nouns and adjectives: pramocakaḥ sarvadaḥścebhyaḥ • he who frees (one) from all pains • [L 448]; vahirmukhau saṃsārāt • disinclined to the world • [D 1-2]; sarabhayebhyaḥ vimocakaḥ • the reliever from all fears • [S 417]; asadāhravāṇī pratyekabuddhebhyaḥ • peculiar to the Pratyekabuddhas • [Mi 158].

The Ablative with adverbs: na ca kaśic tam padmam paśyati sma anyatra sārathinārtomād dakṣatasaśhasyikāca mahābhranmāṇaḥ • no one saw that lotus except that best charioteer of men and the great Brahman of ten-hundred-thousands (words) • [L 73]; anyatra vṛkṣārāt • except in the tree-top • [D 107]; na...so asti satteva...yo caramāṁ jātīṁ...bodhisattvam vyākartaḥ anyatra śuddhāśaśebyah deśevabhyaḥ • there is no creature, other than the gods of pure habitation, to explain the last birth to the Bodhisattva • [Mi 150]. The ablative with prabhṛti occurs several times in the Sādharmapundarīka and in the Mahāvastu, e.g., yataḥ prabhṛti • thenceforth • [S 317; Mi 153].

(i) The Ablative with saha • with • is found in a causal sense in the Lalitavistara as well as in the Divyāvādanā (in the latter it being often written as a compound). This is due to the fact that in Buddhist Sanskrit the ablative has very often been confused with the instrumental. Thus: ye ca kaśic-gan-dharmāsvaśaragudabhiśāṃ śīkṣayāt...te sarve bodhisattvamātāḥ saha darānāḥ eva svastāḥ...bhavanti • those who were ridden by a gandhara or an asura or a garuda would at once come to themselves simultaneously with the sight of the mother of the Bodhisattva • [L 81]; māyā devi trayaṃkam api...glāncebhyaḥ sattvebhyaḥ 'nuprayacchati sma te sāta pratilambhā arogyanirvikārā bhavanti sma • the queen Māyā gave even a straw or a bit of grass to the suffering creatures, and simultaneously with getting it they became cured • [L 71]; saha darānāḥ asyā etad abharat • simultaneous with (her) seeing, it occurred to her • [D 67]; sahabāravāṇī eva dhanasam-matassya rājāḥ maṁ uppannaḥ • on hearing it the king Dhana-sammata became angry • [D 62].

(c) The Ablative of comparison: pasyāṇi kim mamāntikād abhirāpanaḥ āhosein na iti • I (shall) see whether (he is) more beautiful than I or not • [D 75].

(i) The following instances are interesting inasmuch as the regular comparative adjectives are either absent or totally suppressed: dharmasya tasyāvaśravāṇāḥ ahāṃ hi manye vīpattiṃ trīdiva 'pi vāṣaḥ • I think that living in heaven is worse than hearing that dhrama • [B 1.82]; paramahāt dhahanātopy amanyata • he thought of other’s women as (fiercer) than fire itself • [Saundarananda 3.32].

(ii) The ablative sometimes appears for the genitive in superlative constructions: śraddhādhanaṃ śrēṣṭhataṃ dhanam bhyaḥ prajārasas triptikarao rasebyah • pradhānām adhyātma-sukham sukebhyaḥ 'avidyāratī dukkhatamā ratibhyah • the wealth of reverence is the best of wealths; the rasa of intellect
is the (most) palatable of the rūpas; of all (kinds of) happiness that of spirituality is the chiefest; (and) of all attachments that of wrong outlook (avidyā) is the most painful • [Saundarananda 5.24]; tebhyo ye udāratamā devaputrāḥ • of them the most exalted of gods • [L 52].

(f) The Causal Ablative: the causal ablative is of rare occurrence in Buddhist Sanskrit: kasmād hetoḥ • from what cause, i.e., why? • [D, S, etc.]; teṣām atībhāt savānapayathā • you pine for not attaining them • [S 74]; atha...so vaidehako brāhmaṇaparājā āyukṣayāc ca karmanāyāc ca kālam akāśi • now that Brahmān king of Videha died on account of the loss of his span of life as well as the loss of karma • [Mii 172].

(g) The Temporal Ablative: the ablative of time generally denotes that some action has taken place after some other event or after the loss of some time: caturmāṁ māśānām atyayāt • at the end of four months • [L 114]; saṣṭhānāṁ vā navānāṁ vā māśānām atyayāt prasūtā • she was delivered (of the child) at the expiry of eight or nine or ten months • [D 2]; māśānām atyayāt prasūtā [D 99]; saṣṭhyantarakalpānām atyayāt • at the end of six kalpas • [S 21].

(i) In the following instances the ablative carries the sense of the temporal instrumental: tāryāṇi...pravādayāmāsur yāvat tasya bhagavato mahāparinivṛṇṇasamayāt • they sounded the trumpets till the time of the lord’s great extinction • [S 160]; tena aṣṭacatāṁkāda vākaritum kārnavacaram citram vedā ca adhītā • by him was practised the celibate studenthip up to (his) forty-eighth year and the Vedas were learnt • [Mii 209].

THE GENITIVE.

In Buddhist Sanskrit the genitive is the most living of the oblique cases. All the oblique cases, in fact, are often replaced by the genitive. The dative is, as a rule, replaced by the genitive. But it should be noted that the partitive genitive and the genitive with particular verbs, which is found in earliest Indo-Aryan is almost totally absent in Buddhist Sanskrit.

(a) The genitive with verbs which governed other oblique cases in Old Indo-Aryan.

(i) The Accusative-Genitive. In the Saundarananda—
anucakrur vanasthasya daunmanter devakarmayā • emulated the son of Dūṣmanta, of godly deeds and living in forest • [36]. In the Lalitavistara: na kasya cit sattvasa rogo bādhate sma • the disease does not attack any one • [59]; kṛṣṇāḥ pipātā... naiva tasya bādhate • hunger and thirst do not oppress him • [85 G]; kasya ca karmano vipākena sa ojānindur bodhisattva- syopatigāthe sma • for the fulfilment of what deed did that drop of vitality accrue to the Bodhisattva • [74]; jātasya tasya guna- sāgarasya jñātvā • knowing Gunaśagara to be born • [129 G]. In the Divyāvadāna: team aṣṭākam utprāsayati • you too mock us • [17]; uttare ca pariśrachanti sītasyā vinayasya māṭrīyāḥ • the others ask about the Sūtra, the Vinaya or the alphabet • [18]; bhagavāṁ ta ārogyayati • the lord greets you • [129]. In the Saddharmapuḍārika: yathā mama pratibhāti • as it appears to me • [17]; sthūpayitvā tathāgatasya • leaving the Tathāgata aside • [43]; sa cet...sattvā namadbhir uhyamānaṃ avalokiteśvarasya bodhisattvasa...ākraman kuryah • if the creatures being carried away by the river (current) cry the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (for help) • [439]; eṣaḥ punah stūpā mamoddiya kartavyoḥ • the rest of the stūpas should be built for me • [241]; cf. D. 99; yad vayam api tathāgatasyānukṣekah • as we too would learn after the Tathāgata • [180]; dharmarājā teṣām aroṇyān yodhiniḥ yudhyatām dṛṣṭā • the pious king seeing the noble combatants fighting • [290]; pūparavaṃ tasya bhagavato bodhimaade niṣpamoyavyuchchinnam pravāraya- anti • (they) showered a shower of flowers to the lord sitting on the bodhi seat • [159]; nāham āyuṣmanto yuṣmākam pariśhavāmi • I, O long-lived ones, cannot vanquish you • [378]; aṣṭākam bhagavān adhyeṣati • the lord seeks us • [270]. In the Mahāvastu: tatra teṣām nairayikānām niraṇyapālā ayudhahastā ud-

1 Buddhaṅkaṁ na pratibhātī kīcit ’nothing appeals to the hungry’ [Mahābhāṣya].
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deṣenti • there the guards of the hell hunt those condemned to the hell • [i 21]; kasya dānī…yūyan pratųdugacchattha • whom do you welcome now • [i 23]; bhikṣuṣam āmantreti • invites the Bhikṣus • [i 262]; rājāḥ śreyaṣya…dharmaṣa kathāya saṃ-darṣayitvā • having educated the king Śreya with religious talks • [i 261]; ahṃ āṛyasama nīmantreti • I invite your reverence • [i 302]; te dānī sākṣaḥ śīkumāraḥ pṛcchati • the Śakyas now ask the sons of the sages • [i 355]; māṭāpiṭaṃ abhiyādeva • having greeted the parents • [i 354]; tasya dhārmikoṭi kṛtvā • taking him to be a pious man • [iii 349]; mama uddīṣya āgato • come with reference to me • [iii 361]; mama jīvītāḥ vyaparopayitvā • having divorced me from love • [i 64]; tasyāpi na icchatī • desires him not • [ii 69]; esā mama evābhikṣaṅkṣati • she wants me • [ii 69]; aṇṭikāḥ saṃprāyaṃ pratiḥāretā • inform Śuddhodana • [ii 31]; teṣāṃ sarveṣaṃ prṛṣhato kṛtvā • having left them all behind • [ii 69]; vyāraha catuṣpadānāṃ pratipāleti • the tigress waited for the beasts • [ii 69]; bhadre mama patīṃ varehi • madam, choose me as the husband • [ii 70]; mama gṛhāhi • accept me • [ii 70]; brahmāyasya upasaṃkramitvā • having approached Brahmāya • [ii 78]; nidhyāyati rājakanyānāṃ • thinks of the princesses • [ii 147]; yāsodhara…kumārasya alīṇā • Yāsodhara approached the prince • [ii 48]; sudhanukumāro rājjo sucaṃdrimesya pṛcchati • the prince Śuddhanu asked the king Sucandrima • [ii 98]; mama mārgamāno • seeking me • [ii 102]; so tava…kinnara-nagaraṃ nesati • he would take you to the city of the kinnaras • [ii 108]; māṭāpiṭaṃ prānapitavā • having bowed to the parents • [i 110]; kācit parasmasya upaṃgṛhyya • some having embraced each other • [i 159]; brahmānasya vaḥ putrasya va ko vinisyati • who shall take care of the Brahman or the son • [i 209]; paramaṇaravena teṣām māṭāpiṭaṃ upakhīati • served the parents with great care • [ii 211]; sa teṣāṁ bhaktakāṇām parivākṣi • he protected those birds • [ii 251];

cṣa…mama pralobheti • she tempts me • [iii 152]; mā yūyaṃ…mama abhivādetha • do not salute me • [iii 173]; rājāḥ saṃ-bhūṣaṇyā jagena vardhāpetvā • having benefited the king Subandhu with victory • [ii 421];

(ii) The Dative-Genitive. In the Buddhacarita: babhuram darāyantośyā sroṇiś tavanākāvantāḥ • they wandered showing them their hips clothed with fine linen • [4.34]; tad brahmaśi sūrdvāhātā taraṃsaṃvapnaṃ • so, being a friend I say to (you), a handsome youth • [1.82]. In the Lalitavistara: brāhmaṇaṃ ācaraṇaḥ • spoke to the Brahman • [65 (G)]; eka mama śīghram • tell me soon • [90 (G)]; tāṃ kumārasya varṣaśīyāmi • I shall choose her for the prince • [161]; yā te duhitā sā mama kumārasya pradiyatām • give her, who is your daughter, to my son • [163]; ayam…yuvākaṃ dharmam deśāyati • he will explain the dharma to you • [43]; śilpaṇāsya kanyā dātavyā • the girl should be given to an expert in the arts and crafts • [163]; bodhisattvasya upāṇayati sma • brought to the Bodhisattva • [78]; tāc cāṣya na roci-te • it did not please him • [308]; bodhisattvo…rājijaḥ suddhodanasya svapnam upaḍāyayati sma • the Bodhisattva caused the king Śuddhodana dream a dream • [224]; abhipradveda mahā-rājasya suddhodanasya • informing the great king Śuddhodana • [241]; sā…rājijaḥ suddhodanasya dātāṃ praviṣayati sma • she sent a messenger to the king Śuddhodana • [62]; rājijaḥ suddhodanasya nivedaya • impart (it) to the king Śuddhodana • [116]; asitasya mahāreṣh pratiśruteya • having acquiesced to the great sage Asita • [117]; tāvāt kumārasya katamā…kanyā roci-te • which of the girls appeals to the prince? • [156]; te…kumāra-syaṃnāṃ prakṛtim ārocyanti sma • they informed this matter to the prince • [156]; tāṃ kanyāṃ āsmākam pratīcayda • let me know (the particulars of) the girl • [159]. In the Divyāvadāna: sarvāṃ lokaḥ suvarṇasya kṛdadadhāti • all people believe in gold • [17]; anekaś teṣāṃ āroci-tā • it was informed

1 Cf. bodhisattvam evābhikṣaṅkṣati "desired only the Bodhisattva" [ii 69].
2 Cf. māṭāpiṭaram upatikhi "serves the parents" [ii 212].
to them by many • [17]; tata āyumāṃ pūrṇo bhṛatuh kathayati • then the long-lived Pūrṇa said to (his) brother • [42]; essām vanijām ratnavibhūjam kuru • divide the jewels among these merchants • [22]; tena tasyāḥ pratijñātām • by him it was promised to her • [15]; tasya bhaināyasya vyapadiśa • prescribed a medicine for him • [25]; ānando bhagavataḥ pratyaśrauṣṭi • Ānanda agreed with the lord • [76]; bhikṣumām...upadāryayet • should show to the Bhikṣus • [77]; pakram ādāyadāyam daptayor upanāmitavān • taking cooked (food) brought (it) before the husband and wife • [31]; cauvāṁ nivedayati • addressed the thieves • [101]; taṁ pūrṇasya dūtaḥ preṣitaḥ • by them a messenger was sent to Pūrṇa • [33]; tasya tāv abhisāram dattō • having given to him the two as the present • [6]; tau na kasyacit punar api śraddādhātum ārābdhau • they (two) began not to trust anybody • [6]; kim asya prahrāmi • what shall I dart against him • [40]; gacchānanda tathāgatasya śravyasya ca...maṁjam prajñāpana • go, Ānanda, and show the seat to the Tathāgata and Śravāna • [20]; kas te śraddāṣṭi • who would believe you? • [70]; atha maghaḥ...supriyasya...kathayati • then Magha spoke to Supriya • [111]; bhuhusūti vamyā asmākam anuprayacchā • we are hungry: give us (food) • [12]; ekasya kṣiptam • hurled at one • [12]; tevam asmākam śṛṣṭānām pāṃtyam anuprayacchā • do thou give drink to us smitten with thirst • [7]; tāṇy aham snuṣṭāḥ samapayāmi • those I hand over to the daughter-in-law • [13]; ahaṃ teṣām jñātiṃ samādiśāmi • I shall direct to those kinsmen • [13]; evam āryeti dāvārikaḥ puruṣah anāthapiṇḍadasaya grāhamete pratyārauṣṭi • the man at the gate agreed to the householder Anāthapiṇḍadāsa, (saying), ’yes sir’ • [61]; maitreyo ’pi...teṣām māṇava vināśakaḥ anupradāśayi • Maitreya also shall give to those men • [61].

1 In the Vedic pra-hr was construed with the dativus incommoti, but in classical Sanskrit it was construed with the locative; so also kṣip.

2 Cf. maitreyo...anupradāśayi [ibid].

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did the long-lived Śāriputra agree to the lord • [39]; sattvōṇāṃ dharmaṃ deśayāmi • I would teach dharma to the creatures • [40]; gorathākān eva dārakasya dadīyā • he should give only bullock carts to the boy • [73]; evam caśiṃ dvaṭati • thus speaks to them • [79]; te tathāgatasya lokapitun abhiśradhāti • they believe in the Tathāgata the father of the world • [80]; na kasyacit sattvasya...parināśaya vaddati • does not speak of the extinction to any creature • [81]; tathāgataḥ cāsākam evam vaddati • the Tathāgata thus speaks to us • [108]; na kasyacit ācakṣita • should not divulge to any one • [102;105]; sarvasattaṃ vikarma upadāryayata • to teach dharma to all beings • [82]; nāham yaśuṣmā kāciṣ vikāraṇyam • I have committed no offense against you • [104]; tāṁ daridrapurasya añāya mahato jñātiṃ saṁśayaṃ jñātiṃ • having brought that poor man, produced him before the great (assembly of) kinsmen • [108]; atha khalu taḥ ca vasya tasya puruṣasyaivaḥ kathayeyuḥ • now the sages would thus talk to that man • [1'5]; sa ca jātyāndhas teṣām puruṣāṃ na śraddādhyet • he, the born-blind, would not believe those men • [138]; nadiyas teṣām gāḍhaṃ dadvetyaḥ • the rivers would offer forbdability to them • [439]; sarveṣaḥ...krūrayanti • all are angry with him • [378]; na ca krūrayanti • do not take offense • [379]; ye cāṣya-vam...loṣṭam vā dāvaṃ vā kṣiptām • those who hurl a stone or a stick at him • [379]; buddhānāṃ bhagavatam namaskāram kuryāt • should pay homage to the lord Buddha • [442]; tāṁ brāhmaṇāṃ vimāṇāṃ tasya bhagavato nīrāgyatāmasyaḥ • they offered those Brāhmaṅas dirigibles to the lord • [165]; teṣām evam kathayati • thus speaks to them • [189]; iṁmaṃ dharmaṃ prajñāyaṃ pareṣāṃ samkrāvavamānah • lecturing that series of dharmas to others • [355]; teṣām...arccayet • should let them know • [322]; tām dharmaṃ...kasyacit ācakṣita • that dharma should be imparted to any one • [345]. In the Mahāvastu: megho...tāṁ pāṇiṭopalāni bhagavato dīpāraṇi karasya kṣipī • Megha threw those five lotuses at the lord Dipākraraka • [238]; tena aparāṇī paṇca puruṣākāriṃ prasīṣṭiṃ ācaryasya • he sent another five hundred puruṣas (gold coins) to the master • [243]; namo
buddhasya • homage be to the Buddha • [i 245]; adāsi uttīyo śreṣṭhī abhiyasya bhikṣusya prabhūtaṃ hiranyam • Uttiya, the merchant, gave much gold to the bhikṣu Abhiya • [i 57]; pāreṣāṃ ca deśayanti • lecture to others • [i 46]; prāśādāṁ kārayitvā...samyaksambuddhasya nirgātēsi • having built a palace dedicated (it) to the Perfectly Awakened One • [i 49]; sa rājā kucasya dutāṁ apreṣaye • the king sent a messenger to Kuśa • [i 128]; mantrāṇā ca vedanā ca brāhmaṇāṇāṃ vćaentī • taught the mantras and the vedas to Brahmanas • [i 197]; atha tomaro lecchavāṃśya pratiśrūtīa • now Tomara having promised to the Licchavīs • [i 255]; evam...rājā śreniyayo bimbisāro tomarasas lecchavīṃja jatpatī • thus the king Śreniyā Bimbisāra spoke to Tomara the Licchavi • [i 257]; pātraṃ grāmikasya darśayati • shows the pot to the villagers • [i 301]; aham pitari brāhmanāṇāṃ parītyaktā • I have been given over to the Brahmanas by the father • [i 511]; tehi teṣām brāhmaṇāṇāṃ sandīṣaṃ • they told those Brahmanas • [i 313]; esa na asmā-kam mālinī aparādhyaṭī • she, Mālinī, does not offend us • [i 313]; dūtehi rājā suddhodanasya niveditam • the messengers informed the king Suddhodana • [i 356]; tasya yatpathatisya pravipatīta • she bowed low to the leader of the herd • [i 362]; na kasyacarī aparādhyaṭī • they commit no offence against anybody • [i 364]; sarvamārṇagūm ca abhayam dehi • offer protection to all the deers • [i 365]; bhagavāt kumārāḥ kumārānām alaṅkārām pi vīrāṅgantena yaśodharāye śatasahasramālam hāraṃ dinnaṃ • when the lord, being a youth, (was) presenting trinkets to girls, he gave Yaśodāra a necklace worth a hundred thousands • [ii 64]; nāṣyāḥ kiçcit sañcībhajisyam • I shall give nothing to her • [ii 65]; mahānāmo sandīṣaṭī rājā suddhodanasya na sakyāṃ yaśodharāṃ kumarsya datum • Mahānāman told the king Suddhodana, ‘I cannot give away Yaśodārā to the prince’ • [ii 73]; tasya vānaraṃya japaghi • speak to that monkey • [ii 248]; pratiḥārakāryaṃ • pratisṛṣya nivedatam • the gateman submitted to the sage • [ii 31]; apoṣāṃ kamaṃ rāṣyaṃ • bring the prince before the sage • [ii 32]; tato rājā suddhodanasya pravṛtti agata • then news came to the king Suddhodana • [ii 207]; paramabodhismāntrapō śrāvastiyām bhikṣunāṃ vyākaroṭi • having attained the perfect knowledge, (the lord) announced (it) before the bhikṣus in Śrāvastī • [ii 136]; nāmāhāṃ yatikā kapiḍavastavagare kanyā tāṃ sarvāṃ kumārāsya upadāśayām • indeed I shall show to the prince all his girls as there are in the city of Kapilavastu • [ii 149]; rājāma amāryaṃ aṅgataṃ • the king ordered the ministers • [ii 156]; nāpi tasya ahitawikāṣyasya kupyati • did not flare up at that juggler • [ii 378]; kim mayā tava aparāddhaṃ chandakasya ca • what have I injured of you or of Chandaka • [ii 159]; sā dāni sudarākānā devi tasyā kubjye ruciṭā āha • now the queen Sudarākānā, angry with that hunch-backed (woman), said • [ii 459]; sā...tāsimantaḥ purikānāṃ rudasyati • she is cross with those women of the seraglio • [ii 480]; kasya ca garahāhī aham • whom shall I take to task? • [ii 480 (G)]; yasya sarve rājāma prāṇamantī • to whom all the kings bow low • [ii 491]; kāśīrājā upasamkrānta • approached the king of Kāsī • [iii 152]; yadi me mahārāja mama na śraddadhāsi • if you, O my king, do not believe me • [iii 42]; bhagavān mama etad utaṣa • the lord told me this • [iii 51]; bhagavān vaṣuṣcante bhikṣu- nāṃ āmantrayati • the lord spoke to the bhikṣus in the bamboo bower • [iii 63]; sa dāni asvarāja teṣām vāṇijākānāṃ samanuṣāṣati • now the king of horses spoke to the merchants [iii 76]; so hāṃ tasya upakasya...sphayanto abhiṣeṣam etāṃ gāthām bhākṣi • now I, longing after that Upaka, always utter this verse • [iii 193]; namas tasya abhyayaḥ mahāgoyindasya • homage to the reverend Mahāgoyinda • [iii 223]; teṣām bhagavān...bhā-ṣati • the lord addressed them • [iii 434].

(iii) The Instrumental-Genitive: mama ca tvam śāriputra dirgharātram anuṣīkṣito bhūt • you, O Śāriputra, were for a long time instructed by me • [S 64]; so pi rājā deviḥ śārīrakānāṃ krīḍasvāṃ • he sported with the king, (who was) sporting with his queens • [Mii 169]; prasāprasāryaṃ viśāhita • married to one another • [Mi 351].

(iv) The Ablative-Genitive: athākāsyā pratigrāhīyām • I shall accept from one • [L 487]; dharmasyāparīhitam • do
not swerve from dharma • [L 525]; yācāmi te • I beg of you • [L 46 (G)]; ye sattvās tathāga'asya dharman bhāgāmānaya śravanti • the creatures who listen to the Tathāgata, talking dharma • [S 124]; asya dharmaparyāyasya uttaret • would be afraid of this series of dharma • [S 234]; ime kumārā asmākṣaṇa sujātā pi • these boys are born well of us • [Mi 355]; mama sarve mṛga trasanti • all deer recoil from me • [Mi 70]; teṣāṁ mṛgappakṣiṇaḥ na saṃtrasanti • birds and beasts do not recoil from [Mi 210]; amātyasṛtoo...sacchasāṃ viṣayoḍyena viṣayo • the minister’s son was distinguished from all in playing the lyre • [Mi 35]; manusyeṣu cyavītva naaraśeṣapadāyati • falling from mankind he is born in the hell • [Mi 42].

(e) The Locative-Genitive: kinnariye pi sudhanasya premnam nipatitam • the Kinnari’s love fell on Sudhana • [Mi 98]; iccheyam ahām bhagavato ārāṣāya brahmacyayam caritum • I wish to live as a religious student with his reverence Ārāda • [Mi 118]; na kācīj janatāyāḥ kanyāyāḥ kumārasya cītmat abhiramet • may not the heart of the prince be attached to an ordinary girl • [Mi 149]; so pi pavāto kākuntaka tasya śākun-tikasya visrambheti • the wise bird also trusted the fowler • [Mi 242]; tasyāpi kampillasya rājñā brahmadattasya...puyāvanta-sya kumārasya putrapremnam nipatitam • Brahmadatta, the king of Kāmpilya, felt an affection for the boy Puyavanta as towards a son • [Mi 40]; mā bhavanto śramaṇasya gautamasya brahmacyayam caratitho • do not live as a religious student with the Śramaṇa Gautama • [Mi 63]; mama sarve lagnatha • hold me fast, all of you • [Mi 354].

(vi) The datīvus commodi et incommodi • is very often replaced by the Genitive: kim mcma baddham • what is attached to me? • [S 211]; tāms tān gāndhān paresām api vyākaroti • emits that perfume for others as well • [S 361]; devakārmanām karotha yathā cauryasya kriyati tasya me • give me punishment as is done to a thief • [Mi 174].

(b) The Genitive with verbs which were so construed in Old Indo-Aryan. It is rather remarkable that in Buddhistic Sanskrit, the genitive appears with some verbs which governed the genitive in the Vedic but not so in Classical Sanskrit: — tad vahanam gośīracandanasā pūrayītvā • having filled the cart with sandal wood • [D 42]; cetvāro lohasamākhātaḥ suvarnasā pūrṇās tiṣṭhati • the four iron pots stand filled with gold • [D 14]; suvarnasā kalabhaḥ pūrayītvā sthāpitaḥ • the pitcher was kept filled with gold • [D 16]; tasmā udakasya pātrapiram ṣeṇa • fetch a cup full of water • [D 51]; ratanām tad vahanam pūritam • the cart was filled with gems • [D 5]; bhūṣiṣṭhena sāriputra-vām-ṛūpam bodhisattvānam paraśūram tad buddhakṣetram bhaviṣyat • that land of Buddha, O Sāriputra, will be filled much with suchlike Bodhisattvas • [S 66]; ākṣam udakasya pāreṇa • having filled the proboscis with water • [Mi 132]*; kumbho viṣayasā pariśikitak • the pot filled with poison • [L 180 (G)]; aham te smārayiyāmi • I shall remember you • [L 57]; bhagavānā cāsmākṣaṇaḥ, smārayati tathāgata-jānaddāyā-dān • the lord remembers us, the cosharers of the knowledge of the Tathāgata • [S 110]+; jñanti tvam vaivalīkṣyate dhīta, tava putro niścit pariśkṛtya rājaśya ca draśvyaṣya ca prabhavati • Jayanti, you are the daughter of a hetaura: your son would not inherit paternal kingdom or any other thing • [Mi 349]; rājā subandhau nāma...saṃśītāyā nīgarasa-sahārāyāṃ rājya kārayati • the king named Subandhub rules over sixty thousand cities • [Mi 420]*; mātub putub na uṣṭhāhitam syā • he may not be anxious for the parents • [Mi 165].

* This is a kind of partitive genitive. It is an Indo-European idiom; the cognate verbs in the different Indo-European dialects—Okl. καμά, ἀλός, Lat. plenus, Goth. fulla, Lith. plenes—are all construed with the genitive. In Vedic the adjective pūraḥ is so construed: a maddhe amal anciyam smaṃram indriya pūraḥ [Atharaveda Samhitā, 9.7.6]; pūraṃ purasāruto kumbhān [Ṛtapaṭha Brahmaṇa, 11.5.5.13]; in Classical Sanskrit also sometimes: śaḥam sūpar pūrṇaṃ [Manu Samhitā, 11.183]; also in Pali.

† In Classical Sanskrit, awr (here the causative carries the sense of the simple root) governs the accusative. This idiom is Indo-European often, but in the Vedic there is only one instance (that in the Atharveda Samhitā): muktesvānaṃ āvdho "I remember the friend" = Latin memini amici; yathā mama sūnam asaṃ "as he may remember me" [Av. 6.180.8].

† These two idioms are allied to the Vedic idiom of the genitive governed by verbs meaning "to rule."

§ Of. uṣṭhāhitām bharato gurūgām "Bharata feeling anxious for his superiors" [Bṛhatāranyak].
(o) Elliptic Genitive: sa ērgoty eva amātyānām • he listens to the (speech of the) ministers • [Mi 272]*; tasya grāmikasya ēruto • hearing (the words of) the villager • [Mi 302]; putraka na yuṃbāhir mamātyāyāt striyām stotravān • O sons, you should not heed to the women after my demise • [D 27]; na ca vijānāsi pañcayojānānantarasthitasya janasya bhāgamāpasya • you cannot understand (the speech) of one speaking at a distance of five yojanas • [S 135].

(d) The Genitive with substantives and adjectives: mahābrahmaṇa 'nukampām upādāya • feeling pity for Mahābrahmaṇa • [L 73-74; etc.]; anuttarāyāḥ samyak-sambodher labhināḥ • attainers of the unsurpassed perfect knowledge • [S 41; etc.]; nandādinām bhikṣuṇām abhiprasanno • pleased with the bhikṣus beginning with Nanda • [Mi 36]; sahasrānām visārjayita • giver of thousands • [S 340]; niyato me manuyāyān inādhāno • certain is the bereavement of men • [Mii 103]; rāja vyāsa vismito • the king was surprised at (the deeds of) the sage • [Mi 82]; piṅcarṣa ca etasya ca nāstī kiśicat nānā kārayam • there is no differentiation between him and a ghoul • [Mi 459]; didṛkṣeya...muneḥ • with a desire of seeing the hermit • [Saundarananda, 4.40, etc.]; yathā ca darā teṣām sattvānām • (one) who looks upon all creatures (as) equal • [S 124].

(e) The Genitive with adverbs: uttisyasya ivaśīṣya dhītuḥ sārdhān vipraduče • corrupted with the daughter of Utiya, the merchant • [Mi 36]; bodhisattvo ca māyāyā matuḥ sārdhān śivikām samārūḍho • the Bodhisattva, with (his) mother Māyā, boarded the palanquin • [Mi 26]; gangaḥ ca yamunāyā ca antara kāṭapān Rei yajñām yajati • the sage Kāśyapa holds a sacrifice (in the place) between the Ganges and the Yamunā • [Mii 363].

(f) The Comparative Genitive: katamo'sya deva mama viśeṣo • what other man is more distinguished than I, O sire!

[L 136 (G)]; sarvānām teṣām bhurā́ṇām suśīkeṣitakā • (he) was better educated than all his brothers • [Mii 434]; upāli bhikṣu yamākām evvahatarko • the bhikṣu Upāli is older than you (all) • [Mii 181].

(g) Appositional Genitive is a remarkable phenomenon in Buddhist Sanskrit of the Mahāvastu: pūṣaṇ ca saṃ putrasāḥ abhūṣi śārīrāṃ vīra-āṃ • he had full thousand sons— (some) heroic and valiant • [Mi 49]; rājaṁe pareṇa vartati pāṇcāṇām tapoṣātanām • a (sacrificial) session is being held at Rājagṛha,—a session of five hundred austerities • [Mii 87]; pūrṇaḥ ca samās rutasāhasram bhavet śūrīṇāṃ vīra-āṃ • he will have a full thousand sons (all) brave and heroic • [Mii 107]; tasya rājā brahmadattasya putrakatām kumārānm • the king Brahmadatta (had) five hundred sons (all) young • [Mii 361].

(h) Genitivus Materiæ et Originis: caturasti kūṭāgara-sahasrāpī karāyasi... saṃtānām ratnānām • he built eighty-four thousand cottages of the seven gems • [Mi 49]; sākṣyo vicīrām kuthām upasthāpayet simha-carmaparipaśāsam yādhiharcarmaparipaśāsam... • the Sakya brought rugs (made) of skins of lions, tigers and of leopards • [Mii 117].

(i) The Genitive Absolute †: Pāṇini lays down the rule [2. 3.88] that the absolute genitive expresses anādāra • disregard • in classical Sanskrit. Though the absolute genitive does not occur in the Rigveda, it appears sporadically in Vedic prose, but there often no sense of anādāra is apparent. So also with Buddhist Sanskrit. Even in the chaste Sanskrit of Aśvaghoṣa.

* The existence of the appositive or apocopegenic genitive in Sanskrit is denied by Whitney in his Sanskrit Grammar. But there occurs at least one certain example of it in Old Indo-Aryan. It is this:

antār śaṅge rauc tvam
nābhāyāi sadās eva t
utāyā tvam harsa tapan
dāvedaḥ śivo bhava

"O Agni with glow! Within thy own seat of pan! Be thou, O All-knowing, auspicious" [Taittirīya Samhitā, 4.1.91; Reith's Introduction to the translation of the above].

† Vide Huebschmann, Zur Cassaslehre, p. 280; de Saussure, L'emploi du génitif absolu en sanskrit.
there occur instances where the absolute genitive implies no anādara; thus: iti pañyata eva rājasūnor idam uktvā sa nabhāh samutpapāta • the king’s son thus looking into the sky • [B 2.20]; samantaravatīrṇasya ca bodhisattvasya...pṛthivim bhītvā mahāpadmaṃ prādurbhāt • as soon as the Bodhisattva (was) born, a great lotus sprang up cleaving the earth • [L 95]; tasya khalu punah...padmaprabhāsaṃ tathāgatasya parinirvāṇasya dvātrimad antarakalpān saddharmahā sthāyati • the Tathāgata Padmaprabha having attained final extinction, the true dharma will exist for thirty-two kalpas • [S 67].

THE LOCATIVE.

Like the other local cases (such as the instrumental and the ablative) the locative in Buddhist Sanskrit—though in a lesser degree—was very often expressed periphrastically with antika and other similar adverbial postpositions.

(a) The Locative with verbs: prayata svātmahīte jagaddhīte ca • strive for your own as well as for the world’s good • [B 5.78]; kāmesvajjasram pramanamādī nandaḥ • Nanda committed great excesses in pleasures • [Saundarananda, 4.32]; mahāmunau bhaktivāt pranenuḥ • bowed low to the great out of reverence • [ibid, 5.1]; tasmān aham abhirame sāntipareme • I delight in the supreme peace • [Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen, p. 66]; mākāmesvamyacarisyathā • do not for nothing ply in pleasures • [L 16]; cāreyam ahām hohārāte kālamme brahmacaryam • I shall live as a religious student with Ārāda Kālama • [L 259]; tena khalu punah samayena pañcakāh bhadravargyā rudrakate rāmaputre brahmacaryam carantī sma • at that time five good men were leading the life of religious studentship under Rudraka Rāmaputra • [L 308]; ahām ārāde brahmacaryam careyam • I shall be a student under Ārāda •

[Mii 118]; nīmāham udake rāmaputre brahmacaryam care • indeed I live as a student with Udake (=Rudraka) Rāmaputra • [Mii 119]; dharme caratha śramanavrāhmaneṣu • deal religiously with the Ārādas and Brahmanas • [Mi 196]; tad ayuktaṃ etat...mama bhavet...yad aham anuttarāyāṃ samyak samodbhau nābhīsambuddhayam • it would be improper for me if I do not be fully awakened in the unsurpassed perfect awakening • [L 43]; guṇān ātmani pratijñāte • admits (to have) virtues in herself • [L 161]; mātpratariṣau ca karaṇyamanaśikāpadeṣu prasthāpitau • the parents were established in taking refuge and in the teachings • [D 17]; sā bhagavatāḥ bodha vyākṛtā • she was coached in bodhi by the lord • [D 70]; kāśīrajā supriyo mahāśārthah āhavete 'bhīśiktāḥ • Supriya was appointed (in the post) of (the) merchant-in-chief by the king of Kaśi • [D 100]; tadā lipyām upanyastāḥ • then (he was) instructed in the alphabet • [D 3]; tam te putravem samadāpāyiyāmi • I shall establish him in your sonship • [D 57]; na ca kāmesu sajyate badhyste vā • (he is) not attached to, nor bound in pleasures • [D 116]; utpātanī 'hañ na nibhemi...netradvayasya • I am not afraid of plucking out the eyes • [D 411]; sa bhagavān...āśrīgartaṃ nāma bodhisattvam...anuttarāyāṃ samyak samodbhau vyākṛtya • having instructed the Bodhisattva, named Śrīgarta, in the unsurpassed perfect knowledge, the lord... • [S 21]; atha sa bhagavān nīrūpādhatu parinirvāṇaḥ • now the lord was finally pacified in the state of extinction • [S 21]; te tenaiva paripācita abhūvann uttarāyāṃ samyak samodbhau • they were instructed by him only in the unrivalled perfect knowledge • [S 22]; dharmeṣu nīrāyāh • instructed thoroughly in dharma • [S 60]; te codārayāṃ buddhobhau samādāpāhā • they were established in the comprehensive Buddhist-faith • [S 110]; tathāgataṃ kāsāne 'bhīṅvyānte • are enjoined to the command of the Tathāgata • [S 30]; pitīve prīya ekapatrakā karunāṃ jñānyitaḥ • having felt pity like the father for the only dear son • [S 136]; tesu cāsma prastāyitaṃ ātmanāṃ vyāccha- māṇaḥ • we are engaged in, trying, and struggling for them • [S 109]; tān sarvān sve ātmabhāve pañyati • looks upon them
with the feeling for the self • [S 370]; ghaṭikārāḥ...mūrdhni keśu parāmrśati. Ghatikāra takes hold of the hair on the head • [Mi 321]; bhagavato dipāṅkarasya santike brahmacaryam cariṣyāma • we shall live as students with the revered Dipāṅkara • [Mi 243]; megho gataḥ bhagavato dipāṅkarasya santike pravajito • Megha went and was admitted to religious mendicancy under Dipāṅkara • [Mi 243]; sā dōṇi sudarṣanā devi...aparāsu deviṣu jālapati • now the queen Sudarṣanā talked to the other queens • [Mii 449]; asmābhīḥ...śramaṇaḥabrhamanuṣu...udāraṇi dānāni dinnāni • by us generous gifts were given to Śramaṇas and Brahmānas • [Mii 43].

(b) The Instrumental Locative: rājāṇāṁ sahasreṇa ca pariṣṭo bhaveṇa • I would be surrounded with a thousand kings • [Mii 107]; daṅtripaṅkaleṣeṇu upagatam • endowed with the thirty-two (auspicious) signs • [Mii 38(G)].

(c) The Dative Locative: sā dōṇi sudarṣanā devi...aparāsu deviṣu jālapati [see supra]; asmābhīḥ...śramaṇaḥabrhamanuṣu...udāraṇi dānāni dinnāni [see supra].

(d) The Ablative Locative: yathā kumbhakāraḥ samāṇāḥ mṛtikāsya bhājanāni karoṣi • just as the potter makes (different) pots from the same earth • [S 132]; janapadeṣu api jano āgacchati • peoples come from the provinces • [Mii 74]; yāneṣu pratyāyuṣya • getting down from the vehicles [Mii 179]; yathā mātaye putrapremaṇe staneṣu kṣīram pravahaty evaṁ tasya ṛṣyaśīrṣaḥ tato aṅguṅuṣu kṣīram pravahati • just as milk flows from the mother’s breast for love for her child, so also milk flowed from that finger of the sage • [Mii 358].

(e) In the following instance the genitive has been used in apposition to the locative: vinitāyāṁ bahuṛtuṭyayā...pramadottamāyāṁ bodhisattvāḥ mātuk kuśin avakṛṣamanti • the Bodhisattva resort to the womb of the mother who is well-behaved, educated...and is the best of women • [Mi 206].

(f) The Locative with substantives and adjectives: sarva-viḍyāsa atipāraqataḥ • perfectly at home in all branches of learning • [L 50 (G)]; ye ca deva-manaṁ bodhisattvasya guṇevu pratyakṣaḥ • those gods and men that are eye-witnesses of the virtues of the Bodhisatta • [L 323]; yathā kṣetre...pratyakṣas tvam...evam karmavipakṣaḥ pratyakṣaḥ hi tathāgataḥ • as you are the witness in the matter of the field, so the Tathāgatas are witnesses in the evolutions of karma • [D 71]; pañcasu sthāneṣu kṛtaṁ samvṛtitah • became expert in the five sthānas • [D 58; etc.]; so’ham tirthikṣādhaśātyam ṛddhyāṁ viṣaghoh • I am incapable of those powers common to the tirthikas • [D 44]; atha yā devatā āyuṣmati pūrṇe ‘bhirasannāḥ • now the deities that were pleased with the longlived Purṇa • [D 42]; aṣṭāsu parikāṣu udghātako vācaḥāḥ pāvaṭaḥ samvṛtitah • he became an expert, an exponent and a master in the eight examinations • [D 3]; śūpe vā iṣvātre vā hastimīnaḥ vā dunutsarvanīnaḥ vā rājāśtreṇa vā na kahīṁcit kumāro gatiṁ-gataḥ • the prince is not educated in art, or in missiles, or in elephants, or in fencing, or in polity • [Mii 73]; śravakaparīṣh asti sugata • I am a śravaka under the Sugata • [Mi 51]; nāham mahārāja kāmeṣu arthikā • I am not, O Great King, desirous of pleasures • [Mii 169]; ahama no’tra sthāne pratiṣṭhah • I stand guarantee for you in this matter • [S 79].

(g) The Locative of time generally denotes a period as against the instrumental (which then denotes a point of time in that period): tasyāṁ velaṁyāṁ as against tena samayena.

(h) The Locative Absolute is abundant in Buddhistic Sanskrit. Examples need not be multiplied: tatra vārau vinirgatāyāṁ aditiya ude...bodhisattvo vinirgataḥbhūt • then the night having passed away and the sun having risen the Bodhisatta went out • [L 189].

PERIPHRASIS.

As in Middle Indo-Aryan the oblique cases in Buddhistic Sanskrit are generally expressed periphrastically with helpwords which serve to make the case-meaning clearer,
The following are the different postpositives with the different cases.

(a) The Accusative of space is expressed by the genitive plus such adverbs as samanantataḥ, sāmantena, the accusative of goal with uddhiyā, etc.

(b) Not only the sociative, but all kinds of the instrumental are invariably construed with sārdham, saha, samam, sāmantena, etc. The sociative instrumental is sometimes construed in the genitive with sārdham. The causal instrumental is expressed by the accusative with āgamyā.

(c) The dative is construed in the genitive with artha, kṛta, ārabhya, uddhiyā, antika, etc.

(d) The ablative is construed in the genitive with antika or santika, in the accusative with arbhyā, upādāya, etc.

(e) The locative is construed with antaḥ, antika, etc.

[See infra under the Nominal Phrase.]

THE CASE-FORMS AS ADVERBS.

The following are the most characteristic of fossilised case-forms used as adverbs:—(1) The instrumental: pareṇa, paratereṇa, dakeṣiṇena, etc.; sāmantena, kṣaṇena, nacireṇa, agraṇa, bhūṣyethena, svastinā, pakā. (2) The ablative: cirāt, ciracirāt, kiyacircirāt, antikāt, etc. (3) The genitive: sacirasya, nacirasya, cirasya, etc.

THE NOMINAL PHRASE.

Nominal phrases and periphrastic expressions are anything but rare in the Buddhistic Sanskrit. The examples would explain themselves:—

kim kāraṇam • why • [L, S, M, etc.].

tattah pareṇa parataram • earlier, more earlier than that • [S].
gandhiñāṇam hāste vikrītō • (it) was sold to the perfumers • [Mii 34]; yadi icchatā rākṣaṇāṇi hāstā hāhām mokṣām • if you wish deliverance from the hands of the demonesses • [Mii 75]; bodhisattva cāndhakasya hāste abharāṇāni ca deti • the Bodhisattva hands over the ornaments to Chandaka [Mii 165].
SYNTAX OF BUDDHISTIC SANSKRIT

bhagavato santike brahmacaryam cariyāmaḥ • we shall lead the life of a religious student under the Lord • [M]; tathāgata-syāntike brahmacaryam caritum • to lead the life of religious studentship under the Tathāgata • [M].
imāṃ dīkṣitam ārṣṭhiputrasya vajrasenaśya santike bhagatha • utter this verse before Vajrasena, the merchant’s son • [Mii 175].
imāṃ gāthāṃ rājño brahmadattasya sakāśaṃ śrevanti • they hear this verse from the king Brahmadatta • [Mii 191].
ahaṃ rākṣasidvipasya madhyena āgacchāmi • I go to the island of the demonesses • [Mii 287].

THE NUMERAL.

The compound satasahasra • hundred thousand • is of very frequent occurrence.

A very noteworthy point is the predominant use of the syntactical compound with numerals instead of having the numeral as an adjective or in the genitive case, as in Old Indo-Aryan; e.g., caturāṣṭyā hayarathasahasraśi • with eighty-four thousands of horse carriages • [L].

The following instance is peculiar: dvacaṭuraśī (2 × 84)-ratha-sahasrāyī • one hundred sixty-eight thousand chariots • [Mii 259].

THE COMPOUND.

Syntactic compounds are very frequent; no examples need be adduced.

The following compound formations are peculiar and noteworthy.
suḥṛdbruva • one who calls himself a friend • [B 8.35].
upavāsoṣita • fasting a fast • [L 15].
svakasvaka • own • [L, S, D, M].
vrddhaḥṛddha • old and old • [L].
nopama for anupama • unsurpassed • [L 160].
putradāram • son and wife • [Mi 3].
kākolukā • crows and owls • [Mi 7].

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yenakāmam • according to wish • [M].
enakāmamgāmā • going at will • [Mi 31]. Also in Pali.
devadevatā • gods and gods • [Mi 245].
nadigāngā • the river Ganges •: vayaṃ phaṇasakramaṇa bhagavantam nadigāngām uttarayena • we would help the Lord to cross the river Ganges through a bridge of our hoods • [D 55].
chihḥiṣṇukā • the call ‘Come, O bhikṣu (ahi bhikṣo), be a student with the Tathāgata (cāra tathāgata brahmacaryam) • [D, M, etc.].
jayāpatikam • husband and wife • [D 259].
jivantīṣūla: jivantīṣūlaṃ kārayati • impales a woman alive • [D 417].
ardhaprahastanti • (a woman) half smiling • [Mii 72].
samasama • equal, rival • [Mi 75].
āsvaṃnya • a trade in horses • [Mii 167].
vāhiraśvīraya • outside and outside • [Mii 254].
kulakula: kulakuleṣu bhikṣentā • begging from house to house • [Mii 73].
sthavirasthavira • old and old, i.e., very old • [Mii 103].
dīdōkṣam • hither and thither • [Mii 146].
lāṅghitabahubhiḥ for bhaṅghitabhiḥ • [Mii 254 (G)].
sānyaṇa • all empty • [Saundarananda, 1.10].
circirīti • for a very long time • [D].
sarātrim • the whole night • [D 5].
atikrāntatikrānta • vayaṃ devamanṣyeṣu atikrāntatikrāntaḥ • we among gods and men, have crossed (the stream of sorrow) • [D 47].
āṅgamaṅgāni • limbs and limbs, i.e., all limbs • [Mii 258].

THE VERB.

INTRODUCTORY.

In Buddhistic Sanskrit the finite verb occurs more frequently than in the classical Sanskrit. In the latter the finite verb is very often replaced by the passive construction with the past
participle in -ta or by the active construction with the possessive adjective formed from the past participle in -ta with the suffix -vant. The passive construction with -ta formations, though not unknown, are comparatively rare in Buddhistic Sanskrit, while the other construction, the active construction with -ta-vant is almost unknown.

The writers of Buddhistic Sanskrit—Aśvaghosha not excepted—were very fond of putting a number of verbs one after another, mostly for the sake of emphasis. Thus: imañ ca ādhiptam āpi jānanti na budhyante na vidanti na cetayante nodvegam āpadyante • they do not know, nor perceive, nor understand, nor realise, nor feel concerned, that that house (is) on fire • [S 72]; to kumārakāh • fait bhasitaṃ nāvabudhyante nodvejanti nostrantasī na samprastanta na samprāśam āpadyante na vicitayanti na nirdhāvanti nāpi jānanti na vijānanti kmetad ādiptam nāma • the boys cannot understand his words, nor do they feel terrified... nor do they think, nor do they run, nor do they know... what is to be on fire • [S 73].

Aśvaghosha was very fond of verbs. Thus, for instance: ekam vininye sa jugopa saptaiva tatavya rarakṣa paśca prāpa trivargam buddhe trivargāṃ jāñhe dvivaragam prajhahe dvivaragam • he subjugated the one, he cherished the seven; he discarded the seven, he nourished the five; he attained the group of three, he realised the group of three; he cultivated the group of two, he gave up the group of two • [B 2.41]; uroda mamlau virūrāva jáglau babhrāma tāsthau vilaḷāpa dadhyau cakāra roṣuṃ vicakāra māyām kaka jatra vicakāra vas-tram • (the wife of Nanda) cried, drooped, wept, pined, ran, stood, mourned, thought, showed anger, threw off the garland, struck at her face, and tore at the clothes • [Saundarananda, 6.34].

The desiderative (verbs as well as nouns and adjectives) are rare in Buddhistic Sanskrit generally. But in the works of Aśvaghosha they are too frequent. Thus: (1) verbs: ajihiṣeṭ, acihiṣeṭ, avivakṣeṭ, adidhakṣeṭ, aruruksaṭ, yijāsanti, paripṣanti,

jigṛteṇi, jighṛkeṭi [B]; (2) nouns: didṛkeṣa, vivakṣaṇa, niścikramiṣa, vivatsa, jijīoṣa, cikṣaṇa, jighāṃsa [B]; (3) present participles: āruruksant, nirakṣeṇant [B]; (4) adjectives: niścikramiṣa, munuke, nirmumuke, vijīhāṃsa, yijāṣa, vijiśāṣa, bhubhuke, amunuke, pipāsu, titīre, didṛkeṣa, jijīre, suśuṣa, presup, jīṇeṣa, jighāṃsa, didhākṣa [B].

The middle voice is almost entirely absent in Buddhistic Sanskrit (excepting of course the writings of Aśvaghosha). The passive voice also is comparatively rare.

Compound verbs—consisting of the accusative of the verbal noun plus the root kṛ—do occur in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, the Divyāvadāna, and the Mahāvastu. Thus: keśidiṃ kṛtvā • having pounded • [S 134]; tvāṃ ca stūpānāṃ pūjāṃ karisyati • will worship the stūpas • [S 161]; bodhisattvam...adhiśṭhāṇam kṛtvā • having established the Bodhisattva • [S 405]; āgamanāṃ kuruṣva • do you come • [D 43]. This idiom is current in Bengali as well as in very late Sanskrit.

The causative forms are often used instead of the simple forms [svārtho vīc of the Sanskrit grammarians], e.g., smārayati for smarati.

THE TENSE.

THE PRESENT.

The present is very often an equivalent of the aorist: avavāhyottarāt samudrāt pratyuttaraṇa pratyutthiṣa svamya eva rddhyā vihāyaśa rājadhānīm āgatyopari antakpuradāvare 'kaśatam evāsthāt • having plunged he got out of the northern sea; having got out he came to the capital with his powers through air and sat safe on the door of the seraglio • [L 17].

Sometimes the present is used for not very proximate past: tahim eva divāvihāraṃ kalpaivāṃ sṛṣṭivā pratilabhate • spending the day there he regained (his) memory • [Mii 264].

The present with the particle sma expresses durable past. Examples are too frequent to be cited. But very often such a present is a perfect equivalent of the perfect and the aorist.
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bhū, vac, drṣṭ, pad (ut-), bhaṅj (pra-), ji (parā-), sthā, kṛ, kṛ (vi-ā-), sad (ni-), ṛu, dā, kṣip, etc.; in the Mahāvastu with the roots: kṛ (vi-ā-), drṣṭ, kṛ, vac, ṛu, sthā, bhū, sad (ni-), jā, i (adhi-), etc.

In the Buddhacarita the ratio between the aorist¹ and the perfect is about 1 : 20. In the Saundarananda, Canto II, all the verbs are aorists.

As in classical Sanskrit there is no syntactic difference between the aorist and the perfect, e.g., idam avocat bhagavān, idam veditā sugato hyathāparam etad uvaca bāsta - the Lord said this, having said this Sugata the teacher said again - [S 357].

THE FUTURE.

The future is sometimes used for the habitual present: so dāni tataḥ yuvapātātāt pratināvam āruhiyati - he then has to change boats - [Mii 90].

The future is often interchangeable with the optative [see Optative, infra].

In the following instance the aorist-optative has been correlated with the future: kāmany khalu me sākyā tilāmaṇa kastena ānāgamanti chinḍensub sampradālensub na tveva rāhulakirṣya svakṣya putrasya nācikṣeyam - Sākyas may well chop or pound (my) limbs with sharp weapons, yet I never shall not divulge (it) to my son Rāhulanā - [Mii 258].

[See Periphrasis, infra.]

THE PERIPHRA STIC.

THE PERIPHRASTIC FUTURE.

The periphrastic future does not occur in Buddhist Sanskrit proper, but it appears in the Buddhacarita. In the latter the third personal forms, as usual, are without the auxiliary root as. There are only two instances: kim eṣa doṣa bhavitā māmapi - would this defect accrue to me also? - [3.32]; na punar ahaṃ

¹ In the Buddhacarita the simple aorist occurs with the roots: (adhi-), kṛ, gam, car, tap, bhū, āk, vac, ēs, hā; the reduplicated aorist with pāl, bhid, hār, kṛ, kṛ, rākṣ, vac and dih.
Peculiar as well as interesting is the following instance from the Buddhacarita, where the finite verb \textit{asmi} \textbullet{} I am \textbullet{} has been used for the regular pronoun \textit{aham} \textbullet{} I \textbullet{} am \textbullet{} has been used for the regular pronoun \textit{aham} \textbullet{} I \textbullet{} am \textbullet{} has been used for the regular pronoun \textit{aham} \textbullet{} I \textbullet{} am \textbullet{} has been used for the regular pronoun \textit{aham} \textbullet{} I \textbullet{} am \textbullet{} has been used for the regular pronoun \textit{aham} \textbullet{} I \textbullet{} am \textbullet{} has been used for the regular pronoun \textit{aham} \textbullet{} I \textbullet{} am \textbullet{} has been used for the regular pronoun \textit{aham} \textbullet{} I \textbullet{} am \textbullet{} has been used for the regular pronoun \textit{aham} \textbullet{} I \textbullet{} am \textbullet{} has been used for the regular pronoun \textit{aham} \textbullet{} I \textbullet{} am \textbullet{} has been used for the regular pronoun \textit{aham} \textbullet{} I \textbullet{} am \textbullet{} has been used for the regular pronoun \textit{aham} \textbullet{} I \textbullet{} am \textbullet{} has been used for the regular pronoun \textit{aham} \textbullet{} I \textbullet{} am \textbullet{} has been used for the regular pronoun \textit{aham} \textbullet{} I \textbullet{} am \textbullet{} has been used for the regular pronoun \textit{aham} \textbullet{} I \textbullet{} am \textbullet{} has been used for the regular pronoun \textbullet{} I \textbullet{} have said \textbullet{} [1.72]. This idiom appears sporadically in the epics as well as in classical Sanskrit. Mallinātha, in his commentary on the Kṛtārjunīya [3.6], says that \textit{asmi} is an indeclinable used for the first personal pronoun. He quotes the Gaṇavyākhyaṇa as his authority and cites an example: \textit{dāse kṛtāgasi bhava ute cāh prabhūm pādaprāhā iti sundari nāsimī duṣye} \textbullet{} a kick to the offending servant is proper for the masters: so I do not grudge, O beautiful lady \textbullet{} There are other examples too: \textit{candra-grahasyena vinā nāsimī rame} \textbullet{} unless you take the moon I do not play \textbullet{} Occasionally \textit{asti} is used for the third person. Boehlingk and Roth quote the Vāmanapurāṇa (5.8.32) for a corresponding use of \textit{asti} for the second person. This idiom has evident connection with the periphrastic future forms, \textit{dātāsī} and \textit{dātāham} \textbullet{} I shall give \textbullet{}—the latter form occurring sporadically in the epics.

THE MODES.

THE OPTATIVE.

As in Old Indo-Aryan the optative was often used for the future: \textit{yad ca me dharmam deśitam ajānīyāt na ca māṁ sa viheṣhayet} \textbullet{} he who shall understand the dharma taught by me, shall not hate me \textbullet{} [L 524]. \textit{yad aṁ taṁ na raṅgadī ṣrīvīḥ} budhho loka utpanna iti tādā taṁ gatvā tasya bāsane pravrajē\textbullet{} tat te bhavijyati dirgharātrām arthāya hitāya sukḥāya \textbullet{} when you, Naradatta, shall hear that the Buddha has come into the world, then you shall go and take the holy order under him; it shall for long conduce for your good and happiness \textbullet{} [L 123].

\textsuperscript{1} Hortative Future.
In the following instance the optative is correlated to the future: *sa ced aśeṣa imaṃ dharmām śroṣyati aśāvyati tasyaivāhaṃ prathamamaṃ dharmāṃ deśayise na ca māṃ sa viṣeṣaghati • if he hears and understands, to him shall I first divulge my dharma; (and) he shall not slight me • [L 524].

In the Saddharmanupudarika the optative has regularly been used in narration; e.g., *tad yathāpi nāma śāriputraḥ syat kācid eva grāme vā nagare vā...grhapatih...mahac cāsyā niveṣaṇaṃ bhavet...ekadāvarṣaḥ ca tan niveṣaṇaṃ bhavet...tasya ca puruṣasya bahavahum kumārakah syuḥ, etc. • as there may be, O Śāriputra, in a village or in a town a householder...his residence may be big...it may have only one door...the man may have many boy children... • [72-76]; *tad yathāpi nāma kulaṃputrāḥ kācid eva vaidyapuruṣo bhavet...tasya...bahavah putrā bhayeṣuḥ sa ca vaidyāḥ prāvaśagyata bhavet, etc. • as it is, O gentlemen, there may be a physician...he may have many sons and that physician may have gone abroad • [320-322].

In the following instance the optative is an equivalent of the imperfect: *śā tena cēlalalitena bharatuḥ śāthiyena cāntamanasa jahānaḥ bhave ca ruṣṭa kila nāma tasmai lalāṭajīhmāṃ bhṛkuṭīṃ cakāra".

THE IMPERATIVE.

The imperative is very rarely used in a future sense and appears correlated with the future: *mātāre samāgacchatu mā iha anāhāro marṣiyati • let him join the mother, so that he may not die of starvation • [Mii 131-32]. *mādharmena rājyaṃ kārya mā naraka-parāyaṇa bhaviṣyati • do not rule unrighteously; (therefore) do not be destined for the hell • [D 59].

The negative practice mā is very often construed with the imperative: *mā bhavatu • be it not • [M]; *mā viḷamba • do not tarry • [M]; *mā...tiṣṭha • do not stand • [S 106]; *mā bhavan-tośmin abhiramadhvam • do not make merry in this • [S 79].

1 The negative particle mā is used with—
(1) the aorist (as in the classical Sanskrit);
(2) the imperative (as sometimes in the classical Sanskrit, e.g., mā jāpa sāhasini "do not talk, O daring lady");
(3) the future: *mā me bhaviṣyati "may it not be" • [M]; mā iha anāhāro marṣiyati "may he not die of starvation" • [Mii 131-32];
(4) the present: *mā me bhaviṣyati "do not come to me again" • [M 94];
so'pi tām bhāṣaṃ vṛddha karoti saṃsātro mā me bhāṣaṃ iheim na adhiṣṭhakānamhi deśayafiti "he too, on seeing the bhāṣa, became anxious. (thinking,) 'may he not defect this place' • [M 94];
*māi τιττα, mā τρήσαι 'be not thirsty' [D 9, 11].

In the Lalitavistara mā is very often construed with the aorist.1

The passive imperative occurs several times in the Lalitavistara: *iṣam bhagini svarampātī kiṃ kriyate • what, O sister, should be done with this cup of gold • [335]. It hardly occurs in other texts.

THE CONDITIONAL.

The conditional does not occur in Buddhistic Sanskrit proper. In the Mahāvastu an instance occurs where the future indicative is correlated with the future optative, in the sense of the conditional: *yadi tathāgato nutterāṃ sanyaksambodhim abhisambuddho na bhaviṣyati saṃsāre saṃsāraṇto bhagavanto yuttakā etāni chāttāni tattākāni cakravartirājyāni kāryajñeyat • had the Tathāgata not attained the perfect supreme knowledge, the lord, dwelling in the world, would rule over so many imperial dominions as there are umbrellas here • [Mi 267].

In the Saundarananda the conditional has once been replaced by the optative: *tāṃ sudarīṇa cē na labheta nandakā vā niṣeṣeta na tāṃ nataḥprahāḥ dvandvam dhrupam vart tivakam na sūnnetavajīhinā iva rātricandrau • had not Nanda won her, or had she, the arch-browed one, not accepted him, surely the couple, thus eloped, would have suffered (in beauty) like the night and the moon divorced from each other • [4.7].

In the Buddhacarita the conditional occurs in one instance: *yadi hy ahesyayata bodhayana janaṃ kevalu keśau vā py akariṣyata dhvanim hunsavanan vājjanayeyad uttamaṃ na ca bhaviṣyam mama duḥkham vācim • if (the horse) had heaped
waking people, or had it raised sound by (striking) the hoofs on the ground, or had it made loud sound of the bit in its mouth, such sorrow would not have been mine • [8.41].

THE PRECATIVE.

The only occurrence of the precative that I have noted occurs in the Sādharmapuḍḍarikā where it has been used along with the future and not differentiated in sense from the future: yo me jyeṣṭham dharmaṁ anupradāsayati arthaṁ cākhyāsayati tasyāhaṁ dāso bhūyāsam • he who would import to me the best dharma and teach (it) and explain the meaning (of it), to him I shall be a slave • [257]. One instance occurs in the Buddhacarita: bhūyād ayam bhūmipatīr gathoktaḥ • may he be a king as predicted • [1.53].

THE PARTICIPLE.

[i] THE PASSIVE PAST-PARTICIPLE.

In the passive constructions the past participle occurs in all the texts. As in classical Sanskrit the participle with the verbs meaning to go is used in the active voice, e.g., mandamandaṁ samprasthitatāḥ • he went away slowly • [D 7].

[ii] THE POSSESSIVE PAST-PARTICIPLE.

The use of the possessive past-participle for the finite verb in the active constructions does not seem to occur in the Lalitavistara¹ where it occurs only as adjectives [116, etc.], nor in the Mahāvastu. It does occur in other texts; e.g., sa...brahma- caryam samprakāsitavān • he manifested the religious studentship • [S 18]; but it is not so frequent as the passive participle.

[iii] THE PERFECT PARTICIPLE.

The following are the perfect participles used in the different Buddhistic Sanskrit texts.

In the Buddhacarita: utiṣṭham • said • [3.43]; upeyīvān • came • [5.8]; sameyīvān • came • [5.10]; upajagmiṁvan • arrived • [12.2]; tasṭhūtā • sat • [7.36].

In the Sādharmapuḍḍarikā the only occurrence is upeyīvān [257]. All these are used for the finite verb.

It does not occur in the Mahāvastu.

THE CONJUNCTIVE.

The most striking thing about the conjunctive in Buddhistic Sanskrit is its absolute use, i.e., its not having the same subject as the finite verb. This is incorrect according to Sanskrit grammar no doubt, yet there are many such instances available in Vedic as well as in classical Sanskrit.¹ It is found even in the works of Aṣṭavaghoṣa, which, strictly speaking, do not belong to Buddhistic Sanskrit proper. Thus: tam prekṣayā kasmāt tava dhāra vāpaḥ • seeing him why, O firm one, (does) your tears (flow)? • [B 1.68]; ato me dhyānāni labdhvāpya akṣārtābhataiva • so though obtaining the dhyānas, still (there is) my uns success • [B 1.82]; na cāpy akṛtvā bhavati siddhiḥ • not having done, the success cannot come • [L 41 (G)]; tāṁ dṛṣṭvā tasya kārṇyaṁ utpānnam • seeing them his pity was excited • [D 7]; ṣrutvā...kṣiyantam kuśalam bhavet • having heard (it) how much good can accrue? • [S 345 (G)]; sarvasaṁ jānasya tāṁ dṛṣṭvā ghrṇā utpadyati • on seeing her abhorrence comes over to all men • [Mi 352].

In classical Sanskrit the conjunctive is sometimes used absolutely with the negative particles mā and khalū [P 3.4.18]. A similar idiom sometimes appears in Buddhistic Sanskrit; e.g., kim tarhi devānā ca manuṣyāṁ ca sannācaya • what is the good of having lived among the gods and men? • [D 70].

¹ tam haināṁ dṛṣṭāṁ bhir vīnāvada "seeing him fear came upon (them)" [Gatapatha Brahmaṇa, 11.6.1.7]; tāṁ bhūmīṁ petānīṁ dṛṣṭeṇa...māhāmes tāṁ bhir saṁveda "seeing them fallen on the ground a great fear arose in me" [Rāmāyaṇa, 3.31.10]; cauṣṭeṇaṁ dṛṣṭeṇa...māhāmes tāṁ bhir saṁveda "seeing the Supreme his desire vanished" [Gita]; dīipāsannataneṁ rājāṁ tam niṣāmputrīṁ pratiśāhityāṁ āprājanīṁ bhageṇyaṁ mānītōkaṁ "hearing of him as established in his dominions...the fire...became asflame" [Baghavāṇī, 4.2].
A chain of conjunctives is very often used instead of separate sentences with finite verbs (as also is the case in the latest stage of Sanskrit). An extreme example is the following: sa khalu aham bhikṣavaḥ anupāreṇa kāyabalasthānaṁ janaṇītya sujātaye grāmikāye madhudāyasam grhītvā nāgaṇandikālasaye yena nadi nairājaṇaṁ tenupasaṅkramitvā nādyāṁ nairājaṇaṁ gātrāṁ śālakīrtvā yena svastiko yāvasikeḥ tenopasaṅkramitvā svastikaṁ yāvasikāṁ tṛṇamoṣṭuḥ yācītvā yena bodhiyaśti tenopasaṅkramitvā bodhiyaśtiye purato anyatarāya tṛṇamastam prajaḥ-paśitvā bodhiyaśtiṁ trikṛtyo pradaṁśaṅkrtvā niśitī paryoṣanam abhuzṭijāṁ tukṣaṁ cābhīṣhikmuḥkho purīnam kāyam pravīdhiḥyā pratiṣṭhakāṁ svrtim upaśthāpaṇitvā then I, O bhikṣu, generating physical strength and vigour, (and) accepting sweet porridge from the village maiden Sujātā, (and) going to the river Nairājaṇa, (and) cooling the limbs in the river Nairājaṇa, (and) going over where Svastika Yāvasika (was), (and) begging a handful of straw of Svastika Yāvasika, (and) going over where the Bodhi plant (was), having strewn the straw before the Bodhi plant, (and) having thrice circumambulating the Bodhi plant, sat down (after) having squatted, (and) having made the body rigid and straight, looking towards the east, (and) having resorted to favourable memory • [Mii 131].

The conjunctive is sometimes used for the finite verb: kācit parasparasya upaṣṭhitvā kācid vāmadakṣinaṁ vikṣeṣṭapāṭrā kāsāṁ cit mukhāṁ lāṁ sravaṭi • some (women) embraced each other: some (had) their bodies reclining towards the right or left; (and) some had their mouths watering • [Mii 159]; sarve te eva rūpaṁ dvipādeṣu punyakṣetreṣu kuśalāṁ kṛtvā • they all did good for such...fields of goodness • [Mii 183].

THE VERBAL PHRASE.

[See Periphrasis: p. 47f., supra].

The different case relations are expressed by means of verbal phrases consisting of the conjunctives. Thus—

āgamyā • having come •: yā kācid asmākaṁ śrīsaubhāgya-sampat sarvāsau buddham bhagavantam āgamyā • whatever

beauty, fortune or wealth we have, all those are owing to the lord Buddha • [D 95]: mālatīṁ āgamyā • due to Mālati • [Mi 313].

ārahaḥya • beginning •, regarding •; see supra.

upādāya • taking •: tam eva divasam upādāya • from that very day • [D 26]; yad upādāya rāja vipraviśeṣita tād upādāya devo na varṣati • since when the king was banished since then the god does not rain • [Mii 44].

uddhiya • having detected •; see supra.

niśritya • resorting to •: dakaṁgam kūkṛti niśritya tiṣṭhati • remained in the right side of the womb • [D 98].

samaḥ-pāyaḥ • having fixed •: tam...samaḥ-pāyaḥ • with reference to it • [D 86].

sthāpayitvā • having kept aside, excepted •: sthāpayitvā bāhubalam • bodily strength excepted • S [79].

Other phrases:

iti kṛtvā • thus having done •, therefore •, because •
dāsakāṁ cirāya-titi kṛtvā pālako-bhikhitā • as the servant was making late, Pālaka was addressed • [D 5]; na ca vaireṇa vaireṇi dāmattante iti kṛtvā imam ślokan uvāca • he uttered the verse because (he thought that) enmities are not removed by enmity • [Mi 157].

ādau kṛtvā • taking at the lead •: manasāpī tāṣām pramado- ttamānaṁ rāgo notpadyate sarvapuruṣeṣu bhartāram ādau kṛtvā • of these best of women (illicit) love does not appear even at heart because of (their king) their husband at the top, i.e., because they have the highest regard for the husband, they give never even a thought to disloyalty • [Mi 272].

saṁitiṣa saṃitim kṛtvā • making the meeting no meeting; i.e., dissolving the meeting • [D 41].

so'venai tasya vacanam avacanam kṛtvā mahāśāmadram avatīrnah • I, disregarding his advice, set sail in the ocean • [D 41].

Compound verbs: śleṣam dattvā (for śrītva) • having embraced • [D 64]; prahāraṇaṁ dattvā (for prahṛtya) • having
beaten • [D 31]; śraddhā gacchanti (for śraddhati) • believes • [D 17].

THE SENTENCE.

The Divyavādaṇa shows a peculiar idiom of suppressing the finite verb; e.g., pūruseṇa kroṣṭaṁ gataṁ mahat canda-
navanam • there is a great forest of sandalwood on going just a kroṣa to the east • [113]; tatra tena puruseṇa tāmrapaṭṭhaṅ pādau baddhā tān parvataṁ viṣṭyabalela rāhottvā satpa khara-
nadayaḥ • satpa kṣāramadhi samatikramya triśaṅku nāma par-
vantake • there the man having mailed his feet were on copper sheet, and (then) having crossed these mountains by might, seven rivers of acid (would appear before him); crossing the seven rivers of acid the mountain called Triśaṅku (appears) [D 106].

In the Mahāvastu a verb is sometimes repeated in the same sentence probably for emphasis: syāt khaṁ punar bhikṣavo yuṣmākam evam syāt • thus, O bhikṣus, it may occur to you • [ii 72, etc.]. Cf. utṭīṣṭha pāpa caura asti nāma tvam rājakulaṁ dharmayasi • rise, you villain thief, you indeed (dare to) break into the royal palace • [ii 168].

In the Mahāvastu is found the idiom that obtains in the narrative prose of classical Sanskrit—the idiom of suppressing the finite verb in the opening sentences of a narrative; e.g., kalīṅgau dantapurum nāma nagaram • in the province of Kaliṅga there (was) a city called Dantapura • [Mii 361]; asma-
keśu godāvarti nadi • in the country of the Asmakas there (is) the river Godāvarti • [Mii 363].

THE CORRELATIVES.

The following correlatives occur in Buddhistic Sanskrit: —
yāvat • tāvat • as long • so long • this is the order of the

correlatives in classical Sanskrit but in Buddhistic Sanskrit the order is generally reversed: sa sārītha tāvat gato yāvat prabūttaṁ • the caravan set out then when it was dawn • [D 5].

na tāvat aham punarapi kapilavastu mahānagaram praveṣyāmi yāvan me nānuttaraṁ samyakṣambodhir abhisambodhyā • so long I shall not enter the great city of Kapilavastu as long as the perfect realisation (still remains) to be realised by me • [S 282]. Sometimes tāvat is omitted: svapitī kumāro mahārṣe māhūrtam āgamaya yāvat utthāsayati • the prince sleeps, O great sage; wait a moment till the prince wakes • [S 117].

yena • tena • where • there • yena bhagavāms tenādījale prāṇaṁyā • having bowed to the direction where the lord (was) • [L 6, 7]. Sometimes tena is suppressed: te'pi sarve yena bodhimanādapaṭavatā abhitvan • all of them bowed to the direction of the Bodhi seat • [L 341]. Sometimes yena is correlated to tatra: yena daridraṁ tatrāśākam abhariciva-
ram alpaśreṣṭhaṁ vāryapadyate • where (there is) the slum there our food and raiment can easily be got • [S 103].

apa • apa • both • and • apa bhikṣavo viṭārataṁvād apa pary-
upāsitavat • both for loss of attachment, O bhikṣus, and for reverence • [D 57].

yac ca • yac ca • both • and • yac ca kāśyapena samyaksam-
buddhena yac caitrīḥ bhagavata • both by Kāśyapa the perfectly Awakened One and by the lord now • [D 77].

tyāntareṇa • tenāntareṇa • while • then • tyāntareṇa
pāca kāśyakumārakātā mātāpitṛkān mitrajñātisahālikānāṁ ca pratisammodenti tenāntareṇa upāli prathamoccaraṇam pravrajito • while the five hundred Śākyas were demonstrating with their parents, kinmen and relatives, in that interval Upāli was the first to take holy orders • [Mii 180].