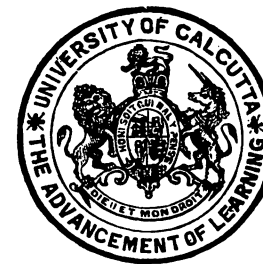


University of Calcutta

Journal
of the
Department of Letters

Vol. XVII



CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PRESS

1928

General Sources of Information.

- Leslie Stephen ... "English Thought in the Eighteenth Century," 2 Vols.
 Do. ... "English Literature and Society in the 18th Century."
 W. J. Courthope ... "History of English Poetry," Vol. V.
 Myra Reynolds ... "The Treatment of Nature in English Poetry."
 H. A. Beers ... "English Romanticism in the Eighteenth Century."
 Stopford Brooke ... "Naturalism in English Poetry."
 Edmund Gosse ... "From Shakespeare to Pope."
 Do. ... "Eighteenth Century Literature."
 J. H. Millar ... "The Mid-Eighteenth Century."
 William Minto ... Literature of the Georgian Era.
 G. C. Macaulay ... James Thomson (English Men of Letters).
 R. D. Havens ... "The Influence of Milton on English Poetry."
 Dr. Johnson ... Lives of the English Poets, 2 Vols., 1825.
 Taine, H. A. ... History of English Literature.
 John Dennis ... The Age of Pope.
 Dr. H. G. DeMaar ... A History of Modern English Romanticism, Vol. I.
 A. Biese .. "The Development of the Feeling for Nature."
 W. E. H. Lecky ... History of England in the Eighteenth Century, 7 Vols.
 Lord Macaulay ... History of England, 2 Vols.
 H. T. Buckle ... Civilization in England, 4 Vols.
 Greene ... History of the English People.

AN OUTLINE SYNTAX OF BUDDHISTIC SANSKRIT

BEING A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORICAL SYNTAX OF INDO-ARYAN

BY

SUKUMAR SEN, M.A.

Premchand Roychand Student (1924), Griffith Prizeman (1925), Research Assistant
in Indian Linguistics, Formerly Lecturer in the Department of
Comparative Philology, Calcutta University

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PRESS

1928

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY BRUPENDRAL BANERJEE
AT THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PRESS, SENATE HOUSE, CALCUTTA.

Reg. No. 312 B.J.— March, 1928—600

CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	1
NOUN SYNTAX	2—51
Gender	2
Number	3
Agreement	3
Cases	4—47
Periphrasis	47
Adverbial Case-Forms	48
Nominal Phrase	48
Numeral	50
Compound	50
VERB SYNTAX	51—64
Introductory	51
Tenses	53—57
Periphrasis	55—57
Modes	57—60
Participle	60—61
Conjunctive	61—62
Verbal Phrase	62—64
SENTENCE	64—65
Sentence	64
Correlatives	64—65

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ABBREVIATIONS.

Altindische Syntax, B. Delbrück, Halle, 1888.

Avadānaśataka, J. Speijer, St.-Petersbourg, 1906, 1912.

Bezzenberger's Beiträge, bde. X, XI.

Buddhacarita, edited by E. Cowell, Oxford, 1893.

Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge, C. Bendall, 1883.

Lalitavistara, edited by R. L. Mitra, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1877.

Divyāvadāna, ed. Cowell and Neil, Cambridge, 1886.

Mahāvastu, ed. E. Sénart, Paris, 1882-1892.

Saddharmapundarīka, ed. H. Kern and Bunyiu Nanjio, St.-Petersbourg, 1912.

Saundarananda, ed. Haraprasād Śāstrī, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1910.

Zum Gāthādialekt, Lefmann, ZDMG. 29.

Zur Casuslehre, Hübschmann, München, 1878.

Sanskrit Syntax, J. Speijer, Leyden, 1886.

Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen, H. Lüders, Berlin, 1911.

Journal Asiatique, 1908, 1910, 1912.

Zeitschrift der Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, bde. 52, 60.

On the Buddhacarita of Aśvaghoṣa, S. Sen, Indian Historical Quarterly, 1926.

The Use of the Cases in Vedic Prose, S. Sen, Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, 1926-27 (to be continued).

B = the Buddhacarita [numbers denote the canto and the stanza].

D = the Divyāvadāna [the numbers refer to pages].

L = the Lalitavistara [the numbers refer to pages].

Mi = Le Mahāvastu, Tome i
 Mii = Do. „ ii
 Miii = Do. „ iii } [the numbers refer to
 pages].

S = the Saddharmapūṇḍarīka [the numbers refer to
 pages].

G = Gāthā or verse.

Other texts have been given in their full titles.

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 Aśvaghoṣa, *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 Divyāvadāna, the Avadānaśataka, and the Saddharmapūṇḍarīka,—only the prose portions of these texts ;

(iii) The Mahāvastu and the metrical portions of the Lalitavistara, the Saddharmapūṇḍarīka, 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 Aśvaghoṣa,” 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.*, *duhitṛn*, *raśmi* (feminine), *mahya* (= *mama*), *vyusthāya* (= *vyutthāya*), *vijahya* (= *vihāya*), *upasaṃkrāmat* (*upasa-krāmat*), *ajānamānaḥ* (= *ajānan*), 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

'Mixed Sanskrit.'¹ 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 trīṇi* 'the three worlds' [B 13.31]; *raśmi* in feminine [L, S]; *añjana* in feminine [B 8.21]; *udaka* as masculine [L 87]; *lokadhātu* 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 āhūyoktāḥ* 'by him artisans were called and told' [43]; *bhaṭavālāgra* (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., *kūlā baddhā* for *kūlāni*

baddhāni [76]; *jāmbūnadā* (for °ni) *nāsyā 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: *nṛpo'pi ca prāpur imaṃ girim vrajan* 'the king also, walking, reached that hill' [B 11.73]; *aham avocat* '(Buddha says) I said' [L 296]; *aham magadheṣu prakrānto'bhūt* '(Buddha says) I went to Magadha' [L 296]; *aham prāvīkṣat* 'I entered' [L 297], etc.; *aham vāsavagrāmake brāhmaṇy āsīt* 'I was (born as) a Brahmin woman in the village Vāsava' [D 13]; *aham vāsava-grāmake brāhmaṇa āsīt* 'I was (born as) a Brahmin in the village Vāsava' [D 11]; *te kaṇṭhe pariṣvajya ruditum ārabdhau* 'they two (feminine gender) embracing by the neck began (masc.) to cry' [D 17]; *aham ārādaṃ kālāmaṃ etad avocat* '(Buddha says) I said this to Ārāda Kālāma' [M ii 118]; *vīra kiṃ 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: *śakreṇa taṃ brāhmaṇaveṣaṃ antarahāyitvā svakena rūpeṇa 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: *rājā subāhu sāmātyaparijano devī ca sudhanusya mātā sarvaṃ ca antaḥ-puraṃ udyānaṃ nirdhāvitam* 'the king Subāhu, with his

¹ Cf. Lefmann, Zum Gāthā-dialect, 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.

(i) Without any grammatical subject : *yadā te prakramitukāmā bhavanti tadā bādhat sma* • whenever they wished to go out it pained them • [L 77] ; with *bhū* it is a standing idiom in the Mahāvastu, e.g., *tasya rājño bhavati katham me putro bhavayā* • it occurred to the king, ' how can a son be (born) to me ' • [M i 272] ; *ṛṣiya bhavati nāyaṃ cakravartī bhaviṣyati* • it occurred to the sage ' he would not become an emperor ' • [M ii 32]. Cf. also in D., *tasya te katham bhaviṣyati* • what would you do ? • [38] ; *esa me huthā* • this occurred to me • [Delhi-Topra Pillar Edict of Aśoka, vii, 14, 15].

(ii) With an active agent as the subject : *kale ca deśe pravavarṣa devaḥ* • the god rained in the country in time • [B 2.7] ; *kālena devāḥ pravarṣanti sma* • the gods rained in time • [L 82] ; *devo na varṣiṣyati* • the god will not rain • [L 516] ; *kāle 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 : *divyaṃ puṣpavarṣaṃ varṣati divyaṃ cūrṇaṃ varṣati* • divine flowers and (scented) dust rained (i.e., fell in showers) • [M i 214] ; *mahat puṣpavarṣaṃ abhiprāvarṣat bhagavantam* • a great shower of flowers fell on the lord • [S 5] ; cf. Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa : *yāś ca varṣanti vṛṣṭāyaḥ* • what rains do rain • [3.12.8].

(b) The following instances call for attention :

(i) *amukto manyase mukto* • (though) fettered you think yourself as unfettered • [M iii 416 (G)]. This is a Vedic survival ; cf. *indro'surān hatvā 'kāryaṃ cakrṇān amanyata*

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

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

(c) Nominative Absolute. In a few instances the nominative has been construed with the absolutive. Thus : *so kāṇḍo tasya rājño pādāmūle sthitvā pādaphalakam khaṇḍikṛtaṃ* • the arrow having fallen at the feet of the king the footstool was broken into pieces • [M ii 82] ; *sa buddha iti āsrutapūrvam śabdaṃ srutvā sarvaromakūpāni āhrṣṭāni* • 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., *viṣayā vinivartante nirāhārasya dehinah, rasavarjaṃ raso'pyasya paraṃ drṣtvā nivartate* • 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 : *nanāda siṃhanādam* • roared the lion's roar • [5.84] ; *puṣpadrumāḥ svaṃ kusumam puphulluḥ* • the flower plants put on their own blossoms • [1.44] ; *tapāṃsyatapta* • practised

penances • [2.49]; *gambhīradhīrāṇi vacāṃsyuvāca* • uttered words solemn and sober • [1.59]; *vacanaṃ cedam uvāca* • spoke that word • [5.29]. In the Lalitavistara,—*pravarṣa jambudhvaje varṣam* • rain a shower in the Jambudhvaja • [13]; *caryāṃ caran* • practising (religious) practice • [297]; *nada buddhasiṃhanādam* • roar the roar of a lion Buddha • [13(G)]; *dharmaśravanaṃ śroṣyatha* • shall hear the hearing of dharma • [32]; *kālavilokitam dvīpavilokitam vilokayati sma* • looked the looking of the time, of the island, of the place, i.e., chose the suitable time, etc. • [21]; *evāṃ codānam udānayanti sma* [34]; *śikṣaṃ ca śikṣa* • to learn the lesson • [51 (G)]; *dharmaṇācāraṇaṃ carethāḥ* • should practise the practice of dharma • [41 (G)]; *maṇiratnam pravarṣa jambudhvaje varṣam* • shower a shower of jewels in the Jambudhvaja • [14 (G)]; *na ca kāmavitarkāṃ vā vyāpādavitarkāṃ vā hiṃsāvitarkāṃ vā vitarkayati sma* • he did not think the thought of desire, or of killing, or of mischief • [80]; *samyaksambodhim abhisambhotsyase* • you shall realise the perfect realisation • [43]; *dirghacaṅkramaṃ caṅkramate sma* • was treading long steps, or taking long walks • [488]. In the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka: *bodhisattvacaryāṃ caranti* • practise the practice of a Bodhisattva • [7]; *bhikṣavo mahāprapātam prapatīṣyanti* • the Bhikṣus shall fall a great fall • [37]; *siṃhanādaṃ nadante sma* • were roaring the lion's roar • [271]; *paripūrṇam aṣṭiṃ varṣāṇi dānaṃ dadyāt* • should make charity for full eighty years • [347]; *dāruṇāṃ vedanāṃ vedayā-māsuḥ* • suffered acute pain • [382]. In the Divyāvadāna: *tad eva pravāraṇaṃ pravārayitvā* • having accepted that gift • [93]; *cārikāṃ caran* • making a tour or journey • [80]; *samyaksambodhim abhisambuddhaḥ* • realised the perfect realisation • [35]; *cara brahmācāryam* • practise Brahmācārya (the life of a celebrate religious student) • [36]; *udānam udānayati* [2]; *araṇyacārikāṃ caranti* • walk in the forest • [93]; *kārāṃ kṛtvā* • having done an act of worship • [23], etc.

In the Mahāvastu: *caranto narakacārikāṃ* • making a journey in the hell • [i 5]; *mahārāvaṃ ravantānāṃ* • of them

making a loud roar • [i 6]; *vedanāṃ vedentā* • perceiving perception • [i 6]; *anuttarāṃ samyaksambodhim abhisambuddho* • realised the supreme, perfect realisation • [i 44]; *dirghacaṅkramaṃ caṅkrame* • took long steps, or took a long walk • [i 317]; *catvāri mahāvīlokitāni vilokayati* • takes the four great looks or views • [i 197]; *upoṣadhaṃ upoṣati* • fasts a fast • [ii 177]; *sarvabhūtehi mahāyajñam yajīṣyāmi* • I shall hold a great sacrifice with all creatures • [ii 98]; *dakakṛtāṃ kṛtīṣyāmaḥ* • we shall sport in water • [ii 171]; instrumental is also found, e.g., *te dāni udakakṛtīlāye kṛtīlanti* • they are now sporting in the water • [ii. 171]; *māraḥ.....daśavidhaṃ mahāūhasitaṃ ūhase* • the Tempter laughed the ten great laughs • [ii. 268]; *māraḥmahāparidevitaṃ parideve* • the Tempter mourned a great mourning • [ii. 276]; *bodhisattvo mahāsiṃhaviṣṇubhitaṃ viṣṇubheti* • Bodhisattva exerted the great lion's exertion • [ii. 281]; *bhikṣācāram carāmi* • I make the beggar's round • [iii. 168]; *dhyānaṃ dhyāyasi* • you meditate the meditation • [iii. 149]; *adrākṣīd bodhisattvaṃ abhītavikrāntaṃ vikrāntam* • he saw Bodhisattva showing fearless prowess • [ii. 264].

(ii) Non-etymological cognate accusative. In the Buddhacarita: *vākyam abravīt* • uttered the speech • [4.3]; *abravīd vacaḥ* • gave out the speech • [9.62]; *vaco babhūṣe* • spoke the word • [13.3]; *bruvan vākyam idaṃ tasthau* • he stood speaking this speech • [6.13]; *giram ity uvāca* • delivered this speech • [7.37]. In the Lalitavistara: *añjaliṃ praṇamya* • bowing with folded palms • [7]; *āgārād anāgārikaṃ pravrajīṣyati* • he shall walk out as a (homeless) mendicant from home • [20]; *kālam akarot* • made time, i.e., finished the days, i.e., died • [112]; *siṃhavat hlādanātmikāṃ vācaṃ bhāṣate sma* • he was uttering pleasing words like a lion • [97]; *magadheṣu cārikāṃ prākṛmat* • he made journeys in (the country of) Magadha • [309]. In the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka: *añjaliṃ praṇṛhya* • having folded the palms • [161]; *daśanakham añjaliṃ praṇṛhya* • having folded the palms with the ten nails • [458]; *kālaṃ ca kṛtvā* • having died • [123]; *añjaliṃ praṇāmya* • having made a bow with

folded palms • [409]; *mahādharmāsane paryāṅkam ābhujya* • sitting cross-legged on the great judgment seat • [19]; *paryāṅkam baddhvā niṣaṇṇo' bhūt* • he crossed his legs and seated himself • [245]. In the Divyāvadāna: *magadheṣu janapadeṣu cārikāṃ prakrāntaḥ* • he set out on journey in the settlements in Magadha [93]; *mahākāśyapasya pīṇḍapātāṃ carataḥ* • of Mahākāśyapa wandering for food • [84]; *kālaṃ karoti* • dies • [103]; *kālaṃ gataḥ* • dead • [83]; *paryāṅkam baddhvā* • having crossed his legs • [42]; *paryāṅkam ābhujya* • having crossed his legs • [20]; *tayā.....bhikṣām aṭantiyā* • by her, going for begging alms • [89]; *bhikṣām aṭati* • goes abegging alms • [82]; *idānīm bhikṣūṃ aṭate* • now he goes on begging alms • [67]; cf. *bhikṣām aṭannaripure śvapākāṃ api vandate* • (he) goes to the enemies' place for begging alms and (he) humbles himself before a Śvapāka (literally, one who cooks a dog), i.e., a low-caste • [Bhāgavatapurāṇa]; *añjalīm praṇamya* • having bowed with folded alms [47], [92]; *veśyaṃ vāhayati* • lives the life of a hetaera • [14]; cf. *tasmin pradeśe brāhmaṇaḥ lāṅgalaṃ vāhayati* • in that province a Brahmin works at the plough • [76]. In the Mahāvastu: *abhikṣṇaṃ nirayacārikāṃ gacchati* • frequently he journeys to hell • [i. 4]; *bhagavān...janapadeṣu cārikāṃ prakramet* • the lord would journey in the settlements • [i. 231]; *kālaṃ karoti* • dies • [i. 5]; *paryāṅkam ābhuñjivā* • having seated himself cross-legged • [i. 144]; *yena bhagavān tenā'ñjalīm praṇāmetvā* • having made a bow with folded palms in the direction the Lord (was) • [i. 255]; *brahmadatto rājā abhikṣṇaṃ mṛgavyāṃ nirdhāvati* • the king Brahmadatta frequently went out a-hunting • [i. 359]; *yaṃ velaṃ mahārājā mṛgavyāṃ niṣkāṣati* • the time when the great king goes out a-hunting • [361]; *sā cāśya bharyā ghaṭam ādāya udakahāriṃ gatā* • his wife, she took a pitcher and went out to fetch water • [ii. 65]; *caturdiśīm añjalīm praṇāmetvā* • having bowed with folded palms towards the four quarters • [ii. 95]; *prahāṇaṃ prahareyam* • I should make an effort • [ii. 124]; *tahiṃ ca anuhimavante śatadrukūle duve lubdhakaputrā mṛgavyāṃ aṇvanti* • near the Himālaya, on the bank of the Śatadru, there

wander two sons of a hunter a-hunting • [ii. 101]; *mṛgavyāṃ aṇvantaḥ* • while roaming on hunting • [iii. 156].

(iii) Adverbial cognate accusative: *mṛṣāvādāṃ sambhāṣase* • you talk false (or falsehood) • [D 70]; *pratināvam āruhiṣyati* • should change boats • [Mii 90]; *jīvagrāhaṃ grhṇitvā paścād-bāhu-gāḍha-bandhanaṃ bandhitvā śvasurasya mahendrasya madrakarājño upanāmitā* • taking (her) by (her) life, binding (her) with (her) arms tied behind, (she) was taken before (her) father-in-law Mahendra, the king of Madraka • [Mii 490]; *urastādaṃ krandati* • cries beating on the chest • [Miii 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 varṣāṇi vipravaset* • there he should sojourn for many years • [S 101]; *so taṃ bhagavantaṃ daśa varṣasahasrāṇi satkāreṣi* • he entertained the lord for ten year-thousands • [Mi 59]; *tāṃ khalu rātriṃ...adhivāsitaṃ* • entertained...that night • [D 20]; *trīṇi saptaṇi ekavimsatidināni vistareṇa jātasya jātimaṃ kṛtvā* • having held the rejoicing for the birth of the child for thrice seven, (or) one and twenty days • [D 3]; *ṣaṇmāsān svapiti* • he slept for six months • [D 106]; *evam yāvat ṣaḍ divasān* • thus for six days • [D 86]; *atha ratnasikhī...nadyā gaṅgāyās tīre rātriṃ vāsam upagataḥ* • now Ratnasikhī passed the night on the bank of the river Ganges • [D 63]. The phrase *bhūtapūrvam bhikṣavo atītam adhvānam* • in the past, O Bhikṣus, in remote days •, introduces every narrative in the Mahāvastu; in the Saddharmapūṇḍarikā, however, we find *atīte' dhvani* instead of *atītam adhvānam*. The Avadānaśataka begins with simply *bhūtapūrvam*.

(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:

yām eva ca rātrim bodhisattvo mātuh kukṣim avakrāntaḥ • the night when the Bodhisattva entered (his) mother's womb • [L 73]; *yām ca rātrim bodhisattvo jātah tasyām eva rātryām kanyāsahasrāṇi* • the night when Bodhisattva was born, that very night a thousand girls were born • [L 134]. Cf. *yām ca rātrim ajāyethāḥ* • the night I (?) was born • [Aitareya Brāhmaṇa 39.1.2].

In the following instances, too, the temporal accusative has replaced the temporal locative: *yo asmākam ito saptamaṁ divasaṁ sarvaprathamam himavantam parvatarājam gamiṣyati* • whoever among us would go on the seventh day from hence to the king of mountains, the Himālayas • [Mii 69]; *bhaviṣyasi tvam anāgatam adhvānam 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 pūrvasyām diśi aṣṭādaśa buddha-kṣetrasahasrāṇi prasrta* • she stretched for eighteen thousand Buddha-spaces in the eastern quarter • [S 20].

To this is allied the accusative of measure. Thus: *saptatālam uccaiḥ* • seven tālas in height • [L 15]; *sphuṭibhavati sāmantena yojanam* • it would appear in a yojana all round • [L 18]; *stūpān kariṣyati yojanasahasraṁ samucchrayena* • would raise stūpas a thousand yojanas in height • [S 150]; *yūpaṁ ca ucchrāpaya ūrdhvaṁ vyāmasahasraṁ tiryak ṣoḍaśa-pravedham* • raise a yūpa a thousand vyāmas in height and sixteen pravedhas in breadth • [D 59]; *rājñā...caityam kāritaṁ samantāt yojanam uccatvena* • a caitya was raised by the king —(it was) a yojana high all round • [D 22]; *so narako... anekāni yojanaśatāni 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: *adhivāsyaṭu asmākam bhagavān yāvacca śrāvastīm yāvacca rājagṛham atrāntarāt* • may your Lordship accept us (i.e., our company) between Śrāvastī and Rājagṛha • [D 93]; *yāva ca*

rājagṛham yāva ca gaṁgāyā tīrtham mārgam pratijāgrtha • watch the road from Rājagṛha to the ford of the Ganges • [Mi 258] *yāvad rājakulaṁ yāvacca udyānabhūmim atrāntare pratijāgratha* • 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 śrāvastīm antarā ca rājagṛham atrāntarān mahāṭavyām caura-sahasraṁ prativasati* • between Śrāvastī and Rājagṛha, 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:

dharmanadīm pāsyati jvalokaḥ • 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 ātmānam ahaṁ rodimi • 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 hasanti • (she) laughing at the villain • [Saunda. 7.18].

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

taṁ grāmaṁ...piṇḍāya 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.

ahaṁ vāpīm padmāni grhṇiṣyāmi • I shall pluck the lotuses in (or, from) the pond • [Mii 450]. The root *grah* governs double accusatives; the accusative in *vāpīm* denotes the idea either of the locative, or of the ablative.

yena takṣaśilāyāṃ sthitena vārāṇasīm kāṇḍaṃ kṣiptaṃ • by whom, staying in Takṣaśilā, an arrow was darted in Benares • [Mii 83]. The accusative in *kṣiptaṃ* has been used for the locative ; see *supra*.

tena kṣetrāranyaṃ anvantena amarā karmāradārikā drṣṭā bhaktaṃ ādāya gacchantī • by him while roaming in fields and woods, Amarā, the daughter of the blacksmith was seen carrying food • [Mii 83]. See *supra*, under *taṃ grāmam... pindāya caritvā*.

te sarve...sthalaṃ kṣiptā • they all were thrown ashore • [Miii 354]. See *supra*, under *yena takṣaśilāyāṃ*, etc.

sā sarvāṃ kāsibhūmiṃ kṣamati tasmāt sā kāsikā ti vuccati • she, (the hetaera) fascinated the entire surroundings of Kāśī ; hence she was called Kāśikā • [Miii 375].

atha khalu...sāgaranāgarājaduhitur eko maṇir asti yaḥ kṛtsnām...lokadhātum mūlyaṃ kṣamate • now the daughter of the king of the Nāgas of the sea had a jewel which equals in value the entire world • [S 264].

(e) Accusative with primary derivatives—substantives and adjectives :

sukhaṃ vibhīr mām apahāya • afraid of pleasure, (and) leaving me [B 8.64].

In the Buddhacarita desiderative adjectives govern the accusative. The substantive *didṛkṣā* • desire of seeing •, however, governs the genitive, e.g., *didṛkṣayā śākyakuladhvajasya* • with a longing for seeing the pillar of the Śākyas • [1.63], except in the compound *vanabhūmididṛkṣayā* • with the desire for seeing the woodland • [5.2] where the compound would not be possible if *vanabhūmi* is to be taken to be in the genitive.

In the Saddharmapuṇḍarika the following occur : *ratnavīpaṃ gamanāya* • for going to the Ratnavīpa (treasure island) • [187] ; *taṃ śravaṇāya gamiṣyāmaḥ* • we (two) shall go to hear that (dharma) • [459] ; *gamiṣyāmy aham...taṃ bhagavantaṃ śākyamuniṃ...darśanāya vandanāya paryupāsānāya* • I shall go to see, to pay homage to, and to attend to

the lord, the sage of the Śākyas • [425] ; *abhyāgata imaṃ...dharmaparyāyaṃ śravaṇāya mañjuśrīyaṃ ca kumārabhūtaṃ darśanāya* • come to hear this lecture on dharma and to see Mañjuśrī in the state of a child • [431]. The genitive has once been used : *mama darśanāya...dharmaparyāyasya śravaṇāya* • to see me...to hear the lecture on dharma • [427].

na cāsyopāyaṃ paśyati taṃ parvatam adhirohaṇāya • he does not find any way for mounting the hill • [D 113].

In the Mahāvastu : *devasamghāḥ sukhārātriṃ...prcchakā āgacchanti* • the host of gods came to ask (whether he passed) a happy night • [Mi 214] ; *bhagavantaṃ darśanāya upasankramaṇāya paryupāsānāya* • to see, to approach, and to attend to the lord • [Mi 255] ; *bhagavantaṃ anujānaye rājagrāto vaiśālīṃ gamanāya* • permitted the lord to go from Rājagrāha to Vaiśālī • [Mi 257] ; *anujñātā kinnaranagaraṃ gamanāya* • were permitted to go to the city of the Kinnaras • [Mii 101] ; *alindāya mahādevīye pādāṃ vandanāya upasamkrāntā* • came to pay homage to the feet of the chief queen Alindā • [Mii 445] ; *padminiṃ paśyanāya gatā* • went to see the lotus-pond • [Mii 450]. Genitive has once been used : *kolitagrāmaṃ gacchati kolitasya darśanāye* • goes to the village of Kolita to see him • [Mii 57]. *devī ca āmravanam prekṣikā gatā* • the queen went out a looker (i.e., to see) of the mango grove • [Miii 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 : *vanam-karaṇa, ayakṣam-karaṇa* [Atharvaveda Saṃhitā 19.2.5] ; *yady enaṃ kṣīraṃ kevalam pāne' bhyābhavet* • if it should happen to him to have to drink pure milk • [Śatapatha 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 prasaktaḥ* • attached to another's mother • [Mi 244]; *taṃ vyāghriṃ ṛṣabho allīno* • a bull approached the tigress • [Mii 70]; *striyam anurakto* • attached to the woman • [Miii 296].

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

(h) The Accusative governed by prepositions. In Buddhist 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: *iyatāni evāhaṃ daśa nimittāni 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 Buddhist Sanskrit sociative instrumental is generally construed periphrastically with *sārdham*, and *samanvāgata* • accompanied •, and rarely with *saha*, e.g., *so dāni nāgarājā ugrasenena kāsirājñā sārdham ekaparyāñkena niṣaṇṇo* • then the king of the Nāgas sat on the same seat with Ugrasena the king of Kāśī • [Mii 179]; *saha darśanamātreṇa gaṇikāye tasmim sārthavāhe premnaṃ nipatitam* • (simultaneously) with the look the love of the hetaera fell on that merchant • [Mii 168].

(i) Special uses of the instrumental of concomitance without the use of *sārdham*, etc.,: *pravrajisyāmi samyageva śraddhayā agārād anāgārikam* • with perfect reverence I shall get out as homeless (mendicant) from home • [D 17]; *aham maṅgalaiḥ samprasthitāḥ* • I set out auspiciously • [D 4,5]; *sarvajāvena pradhāvitāḥ* • set out with all speed • [D 94]: the

instrumental here is virtually an adverb; *vāsavasya rājñāḥ putro jāto ratnapratyuptayā śikhayā* • the king Vāsava had a son born with the crest imbedded with a jewel • [D 62]; *purohitam dautyena preṣayati* • sends the priest on errand • [L 163]; *tāni buddhakṣetrāṇi ratnavṛkṣaiḥ ca citrāṇi saṃdrśyante sma* • those fields of Buddha looks splendid with jewel-trees • [S 243]; *samudradevatā ca brāhmaṇaveṣeṇa upasaṃkramitvā āhaṃsuḥ* • the deity of the sea approached in the garb of a Brahmin, and said • [Mii 90]; *atha sūryo kumāro candam kumāram mithilāyāṃ rājyenābhīṣīcītvā* • now the Prince Sūrya having anointed the Prince Candra in kingship in Mithilā [Miii 172]; *ka eṣa bhoḥ....keśaiḥ sitaiḥ* • 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 Buddhist Sanskrit it is quite frequent: *divyenāvabhāsenāvabhāsyā* • illuminating with divine radiance • [L 4]; *śiṣavyavalokena vyavalokayati sma* • was looking with a look at the head [L 17]; *na ca rāga-paridāhena vā dveṣaparidāhena vā mohaparidāhena vā paridāhyate sma* • was not smarting with the affliction of attachment, nor of hatred, nor of ignorance • [L 80]; *mahāparinirvāṇena parinirvāpayati* • is extinguished (i.e., emancipated) with the great extinction • [S 82]; *ovādena ovādanti* • (they) call with a call • [Mi 104]; *paripūrṇāye arcanāye arcayitvā* • having honoured with full honour • [Mi 212]; *arcanāye arcayitvā* • having honoured with honour • [Mii 16]; *so ārāḍo kālāmo paramayā pūjayā pūjaye paramayā ca praśaṃsayā praśaṃse* • he, Ārāḍa Kālāma, worshipped (the lord) with supreme worship and praised (him) with the highest praise • [Mii 119]; *te dāni udakakṛīḍayā kṛīḍanti* • they are now sporting the water sport • [Mii 171]; *nāgavilokitena vilokayanto* • looking with the look of a Nāga • [Miii 281]; cf. *upasadbhīr upāsīdan* • besieged them with the sieges • [Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 3.4.4.4]; *kramair atyakramad vājī* • with strides the courser hath strode

out • [Taittirīya Saṃhitā 5.7.24]; *taē-ca naro sraēstu gaya jvainti* • 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: *devaparsadam gāthābhir abhyābhāsanta* • addressed the assembly of the gods with (these) verses • [L,S,M]; cf. *tasyām velāyām imām gāthām abhāṣata* • at that time he uttered this verse • [L 49]; *yasyepsitam divyaiḥ sukhair hi ramituṃ satatam* • whose desire (is) to enjoy divine bliss always • [L 49]; *asau devatā bodhisattvaṃ divyaiḥ puṣpair abhyavakīrya tatraivāntardadhe* • then the god after having scattered divine flowers on Bodhisattva disappeared then and there • [L 141]; *gandhodakaiḥ snapayamānaḥ* • being sprinkled with fragrant water • [L 54(g)]; *kāscit prasravantyo lālābhiḥ* • some (women) were watering in their mouths; literally, were oozing with water of mouth • [L 251];* *ābhir bālāḥ krīḍanti* • with them (only) child play • [L 253]; *ekaikaś ca bodhisattvo devaputraiś caivam saṃjānīte sma* • each Bodhisattva was thus concouring with the sons of gods • [L 361]; *āsanenopanimantrayate sma* • invited with a seat • [L 117]; *niṣparuṣeṇa tūryeṇa krīḍati ramate paricārayati* • plays, delights in, and sports with the sweet-sounding trumpets • [D 3]; *sarvo'yaṃ lokaḥ suvarṇasya śraddadhāti, na tu kaścin mama*

* The instrumental here really represents an accusative: it is perhaps due to analogy with the roots *kir* 'to scatter,' *sic* 'to sprinkle,' *snā* 'to bathe,' etc., which generally govern the instrumental. It should also be remarked here that in Avesta and Old Persian the instrumental was sometimes used for the accusative [vide Hübschmann, Zur Casuslehre, pp. 263-66; Spiegel, Vergleichende Grammatik, pp. 428-29]; e.g., *vīspao gaēthos-ca tanvāś-ca azdebiś-ca ustānaś-ca kehrpaś-ca tevīśī-ca baodaś-ca urvānem-ca fravaśīm-ca pairi-ca dademahī ā-ca vaēdayamahī* 'all creatures and bodies and bones and frames and forms and power and intellects and soul and Fravashi we both exalt and proclaim' [Yaśt 55.1]. This idiom obtains in Old Slavic, Germanic, Gothic, Old Norse, Anglo-Saxon, Greek and Sanskrit. [Vide Delbrück, Vergleichende Syntax Bd. i., pp. 257-60; Audouin, Déclinaison dans les langues indo-européennes, pp. 19, 85-86].

śraddhayā gacchati • all people believe in (the efficiency of) gold, and believe me not • [D 17]; *puṣpair abhyavakiranti sma* • scattered flowers (on him) • [S 69]; *kumārakāḥ...krīḍanaiḥ...krīḍanti ramanti paricārayanti* • the boys played, enjoyed and sported with toys • [S 72]; *devī nāvāyānehi prakrīḍitā* • the queen sported with boats • [Mi 217]; *devehi saṃgrāmenti* • fought with the gods • [Mi 30]; *jayena vardhāpitvā* • greeting him with (a benediction for) victory • [Mii 31]; *nandati putrehi putrimām* • the father delights in (his) sons • [Miii 417 (G)]; *mātare samāgacchatu* • let him be united with his mother • [Miii 131, 132]; *diṣṭyāsi mayā putrehi ca samangibhūtā* • luckily you are joined with myself and two sons • [Miii 167]; so *ca kāśirājā kośalarājño jīvitena nandati* • that king of Kāśi will delight in (for taking) the life of the king of Kośala • [Miii 352]; *katham nāma upālikalpako hīnajātyo rājñā śuddhodanena bhāṣati* • how is it that the barber Upāli, a low-caste, talks with the king Śuddhodana? • [Miii 181]¹; *saṃvibhajiṣyāmy aham rājyena* • I shall participate (my) kingdom (with him) • [Miii 207].

With *sārdham*: *bodhisattvena sārdham vispardhamānaḥ* vying with Bodhisattva • [L 174]²; *mayaiva sārdham bodhisattvo saṃlapati* • Bodhisattva talks with me only • [L 78], see *supra*; *bhagavatā sārdham sammukhaṃ sammodanaṃ saṃrañjanīm vividhāṃ kathāṃ vyatisārya* • having talked face to face the various complimentary talks with the lord • [D 70]; *te taiḥ śatrubhiḥ sārdham yudhyanti* • they fight with these enemies • [S 289]; *tasya ca nāgarājño putro dharmapālena mānavakena sārdham prīṇayati kathāsamullāpena ramati* • the son of the king of the Nāgas made merry with the man Dharmapāla and delighted in conversation (with him) • [Mii 78]; *ete na samarthā sapta rājānaḥ kuśena sārdham saṃgrāmaṃ dātum* • these seven kings were not competent to give battle to Kuśa •

¹ Cf. *taṃ brāhmaṇaṃ jalpati* "talks to, or converses with the Brahman" [Mii 427].

² Cf. *vīśvāmitra-jamadagni vasiṣṭhenāspardhetām* "Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni had a quarrel with Vasiṣṭha" [Taittirīya Saṃhitā, 3.1.7; 5.4.11].

[Mii 486]; *agraganikāye sārđhaṃ vivadantam* • quarrelling with the prima hetaera • [Miii 37].

(i) Instrumental of Exchange: *jambudvīpena mūlyena śakyaṃ śrotuṃ subhāṣitam* • with the Jambudvīpa as the price a good saying can be heard • [Mi 94 (G)]; *krīṇanti putrudāreṇa ekagāthāṃ subhāṣitām* • in exchange of the son and the wife they buy a good saying consisting of a single verse • [Mi 91 (G)]; *kiyatā mūlyena dīyate* • at how much price would it be given? • [D 31]; *tac cūrṇakasyārthaṃ kārṣāpaṇasahasreṇa vikrītaṃ vartate* • the right over the powder is sold at a thousand *kārṣāpaṇas* • [D 31].

(d) 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) *apsarobhiḥ saṃvāsah* • dwelling with the celestial nymphs • [L 41 (G)]; *kim mayā sārđhaṃ samāgamena* • what is (the good of) meeting me • [D 25]; *tena teṣāṃ vanijāṃ ratnaiḥ saṃvibhāgaḥ kṛtaḥ* • then by him was made the division of the jewels among the merchants • [D 43]; *rājñas te dravyeṇa prayojanam utpannam* • the king has requirement with your things • [D 33].

(b) *annapānena se chandaḥ notpadyate* • she finds no desire for food and drink • [Mii 459]; *tasyā dāni sarvehi tehi goṣṭhikehi putrasya premnakena putrapremnam* • for all these companions she had the affection for the son owing to her affection for (her) son • [Miii 375]¹; *tasyā kākīye rājabhojanena dohalako* • the hen-crow had a desire for (partaking of) the king's dish • [Miii 125].²

(c) In the Mahāvastu the compound noun *vinābhāva* • 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 affix -hi is often the sign of the locative.

² The instrumental has here been used for the locative.

jātu bhaviṣyati • then may you never have separation from me • [Mii 141(G)]; *tena mrgena muhūrtam api vinābhāvo na bhavati* • there was no separation with the stag even for a moment • [Mii 234]. See *infra*, under *vinākṛta*.

(e) Instrumental with Adjectives (see *supra*, remarks on the Instrumental with Nouns): *kṣipram mā mahārāja putreṇa saṅginīm kuruṣva* • soon, O great King, make me a companion of (my) son • [L 290]; *sārđhaṃ daśabhiḥ strīśahasraiḥ parivṛtā* • attended by ten thousand ladies • [L 45]; *svadhanena tuṣṭā* • satisfied with her own wealth • [L 46(G)]; *asti tv asau kaścit sattvo yo mayā sadṛśaḥ śīlena ca samādhinā vā* • is there any such being who rivals me in merit and absorption (*samādhi*)? • [L 96]; *deva asti punar iha nagare kaścīd yo mayā sārđhaṃ samarthaḥ śilpena śilpam upadarśayitum* • Sire, is there anybody in this city, who is able to compete with me in different arts and crafts? • [L 163]; *viviktaṃ kāmair* • devoid of desires • [L 439]; *anena sūtreṇa kiñcid anyat sūtraṃ samam asti* • is there any other *sūtra* equal to this *sūtra*? • [S 263]; *na hi kiñcid samyaksambuddhānāṃ lokena samam* • nothing is equal to the world of the Perfectly Awakened Ones • [Mi 159]; *kuladharmena saṃyuktaḥ* • attached to the family customs • [D 28]; *yo yenārthi bhavati hiraṇyena vā...* • whoever needs anything, whether gold or... • [D 116]; *nāhaṃ kāmair arthi* • I am not desirous of pleasures • [D 35]; *ahaṃ dhanenānarthi* • I am not desirous of wealth • [D 34]; *īdṛśena kṣānti-saurabhycena samanvāgatāḥ* • attended with such richness of toleration • [D 40]; *yady asau arthāt paribhraṣṭaḥ kim prajñayāpi paribhraṣṭaḥ* • if he is bereft of money, is he also bereft of reason? • [D 31]¹; *yathā kṣetre ca vījena pratyakṣas tvam iha dvija | evaṃ karmavipākeṣu pratyakṣā hi tathāgatāḥ ||* • as you, O Brahman, are discerning in field as well in the seed, so also are the *Tathāgatas* discerning in the maturing of *karma* • [D 71]²; *śramaṇa-*

¹ *prajñayā* is ablative-instrumental: also note the use of *arthāt* in the same sentence.

² *vījena* is locative-instrumental; it might be the scribe's error for *vīje ca*.

brāhmaṇa-bhojanena vyagrā bhaviṣyati 'would be eager for feeding Śramaṇas and Brahmins' [D 88]; *ahaṃ samgrāmeḥi aparājito* 'I am invincible in battles' [Mii 70]; *ahaṃ pi mahārāja akṣeḥi kuśalo* 'I, too, O great King, am expert in dice' [Miii 169]; *arthino vāyam bhagavaṃs tathāgatajñāna-darśanena* '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 Buddhist Sanskrit: *atha ko hi dāni bho reṇu tena bhagavatā mahāgovindena anyo paṇḍitataro* 'now, who is there, O Reṇu, wiser than his lordship Mahāgovinda?' [Miii 208]. This idiom obtains frequently in the epics; e.g., *mama prāṇaiḥ priyatarāḥ* 'dearer than my life' [Rāmāyaṇa]. It occurs also in Pali: *natthi bata bho loke rasataṇhāya pāpakataraṃ 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 darśanenāpi 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 kāsikāye veṣeṇa teṣāṃ goṣṭhikānāṃ darśanapathena deṣe atikramati* 'she too, the deity, in the appearance of Kāsikā, come in view of the companions' [Miii 376];²

¹ The accusative also obtains here, e.g., *kiṃ kāraṇam* [why?]; also the dative, e.g., *kasyārthāya* [why?] [D].

² *darśanapathena*=genitive-instrumental.

dvīhi kulehi...bodhisattvā jāyanti kṣatriyakule brāhmaṇakule 'in (either of) two castes are the Bodhisattvas born, in a Kṣatriya or in a Brahman family' [Mi 197].¹

(g) The instrumental with adverbs, etc.:

(i) With the postpositive *vinā* 'without': *bodhisattvena vinā* 'without the Bodhisattva' [L 150]; *na ca śakyate vinā nimittena puṇyam kartum* 'it is not possible to earn merit without a miracle' [D 59].

(ii) With the interjection *dhik* 'fie!': *dhik paṇḍitasya puruṣasya ratiprasaṅgaiḥ* 'fie to the amorous relations of a wise man' [L 230(9)]. In classical Sanskrit it always governs the accusative; so also *dhiratthu* in Pali.

(h) Instrumentalis temporis. In Old Indo-Aryan the instrumental denoted the time occupied by an action up to its completion [Pāṇini 2.3.6; cf. Liebhich, Bezzenbeeger's Beitrage, band XI, p. 297]. In Buddhist Sanskrit, however, the instrumental is not restricted to this sense alone, it is freely used for the accusative or the locative of time.

(1) The instrumental of completed action: *tato' lpair ahobhis tad dhanam parikṣayam paryādānam gatam* 'then in course of a few days all that wealth was spent and gone' [D 100]; *na praṇaśyanti karmāṇi api kalpaśatair api* 'the karmas do not perish even in course of hundreds of kalpas' [D 54].

(2) The instrumental for the accusative of time: *adhivāsayatu bhagavān āryamahākāśyapam uddiśya bhaktam saptāhena* 'may your lordship accept food for a week with the reverend Mahākāśyapa' [D 85]; *sa yan māsenā gacchati* 'what (distance) he plies in a month' [D 103]; *tena khalu punaḥ samayena bhagavañ chrāvastīm mahānagarīm upaniṣṛitya viharati sma*² 'at that time the lord, resorting to the great city of Śrāvastī was roaming (there)' [L 2]; *athāpareṇa samayena* 'now another time' [L 146]; *tena khalu samayena vārāṇasyāṃ dvau jāyāpatikau* 'at that time (there lived) a Brahman couple in

¹ *kulehi*=locative-instrumental.

² The phrase *tena khalu punaḥ samayena* is a characteristic phrase of Buddhist Sanskrit. It does not, however, occur in Aśvaghoṣa. It obtains in Pali.

Benares • [D 22]; *tena kālena tena samayena* • at that time • [D 74; Mi 45; etc.]; *yāvad apareṇa samayena vāsavasya rājñah putro jāto ratnapratyuptayā śikhayā* • then at other time the king Vāsava had a son born with the crest imbedded with a jewel • [D 62]; *tena khalu punaḥ samayena* • now at time • [S 5]; *asaṃkhyeyaiḥ kalpaiḥ tataḥ pareṇa paratareṇa yad āsīt tena kālena tena samayena* • during the innumerable kalpas... even at the time much earlier than that • [S 156].

(3) The instrumental denoting the ablative of time: *atha khalu bhagavān tasyām eva rātryām atyayena tenopasaṃkrāmat* • now the lord, after the dawning of that night, went there • [L 6]; *daśānām māsānām atyayena* • at the end of ten months • [L 95]; *dvādaśabhir varṣair bodhisattvo mātuh kukṣim avakramisyati* • twelve years hence will the Bodhisattva be conceived in his mother's womb • [L 15]; *atha viṃśater varṣānām atyayena* • now at the end of twenty years • [S 107]; *ṣaḍbhir māsaiḥ kālam karisyati* • would die after six months • [D 109].

(4) The instrumental denoting the locative of time: *tasminn eva kṣaṇalavamuhūrtena* • in that very moment • [L 18]; cf. *tasminn eva kṣaṇalavamuhūrte* • in that very moment • [L 19]; *paripūrṇehi daśahi māsehi sarve bodhisattvā mātuh kukṣau prādurbhavanti* • in full ten months all the Bodhisattvas appear in their mothers' wombs • [Mi 148].

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

(a) *ānandena dvābhyām krośābhyām bhery āhatābhūt* • there Ānanda sounded the trumpet along two *krośas* • [L 176]; *unmārgena saṃprasthitāḥ* • started along the wrong way • [D 7]; *paścimaṃ diśaṃ sthalena gamyate* • the western quarter can be approached by land • [D 112]; *parvatasya dakṣiṇena pārśvenāṭavyām sthalena saṃprasthitāḥ* • by the southern side of the mountain he went by land through the forest • [D 113]; *dvāreṇa nirdhāvitāḥ* • ran through the door • [S 81]; *sa eva mṛgo udakena gacchati* • that stag was going along water • [Mii 217].

(b) The instrumental denoting the sense of the locative: *rājagrhasya ardhayojanena kolitagrāmakaṃ nāma grāmam* • there was a village named Kolitagrāmaka within half a *yojana* from Rajagrha • [Miii 56]; *yena māgadhakānām gayā tām anusrtya* • going towards where there (was the city of) Gayā of the people of Magadha • [L 309]; *yenāsau plakṣo mahādrumaḥ* • where (was) the great *plakṣa* tree • [L 94]; *sarveṇa javena prasrta yena sārthaḥ* • sped towards where the caravan (was) • [D 94]; *yena daridravīthiḥ tatrāsmākam āhāracivaram alpakṛcchreṇaiva utpatsyate* • where 'here (is) the slum, there we can easily find food and clothing • [S 104]; *gaccha tvam bhoḥ puruṣa yenākāṃkṣasi* • go, O man, wherever you wish • [S 105].

(c) The correlatives *yena...tena* • where...there • is a remarkable feature of Buddhistic Sanskrit. It, however, does not occur in the writings of Aśvaghoṣa. It arose from the confusion of the instrumental and the locative. Thus: *yena bhagavān tenopasaṃkrāman* • they went where the lord (was) • [L 4]; *yena bhagavān tenāñjalim praṇamya* • having bowed with folded palms (in the direction) where the lord (was) • [L 6, 7; S 60; etc.]; *ākarnād dhanuḥ pūrayitvā yenāyusmān pūrṇas tena pradhāvitāḥ* • having drawn the (bow-string) up to the ear, he ran where the long-lived Pūrṇa (was) • [D 39]; *atha śroṇaḥ koṭikarṇo yenāyusmān mahākātyāyanas tenopasaṃkrāntaḥ* • now Śroṇa Koṭikarṇa went where the long-lived Mahākātyāyana (was) • [D 15]; *yena tam makaramukhaṃ tena pradhāvitā* • (the ship) glided along where there (was) the mouth of the sea-monster • [Mi 245].

(j) Such a phrase as *kālena kālam* • from time to time •, etc., is a chief characteristic of Buddhistic 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 bodhisattvaṃ kālena kālam upasthātum* • they are not capable of entertaining the Bodhisattva from time to time • [L 114-15]; *āryaṃ ca mahākātyāyanaṃ kālena kālam piṇḍakena pratipādaya* • entertain the reverend Kātyāyana the great with food from time to time • [D 10, etc.]; *kālena ca kālam vyavalokayisyanti* • they would look up from time to time • [S 225]; *kālena ca kālam dharmam bhāṣate* • he talks *dharma* from time to time • [S 276].

(2) *cetasā cetaḥ* • from mind to mind • : *bhikṣuṇyāś ceta-saiva cetaḥ parivartarkam ājñāya* • knowing from mind to mind the doubt of the *bhikṣuṇī* • [S 269, etc.].

(3) *vrkṣeṇa vrkṣam* • from tree to tree • : *māyā devī vrkṣeṇa vrkṣam paryatantī vanād vanam caṅkramyamānā drumād drum-am nirīkṣamānā anupūrvveṇa yenāsau plakṣo mahādrumaḥ..tam plakṣavrakṣam upajagāma* • 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 sārḍham samarthāḥ śilpena śilpam upa-darsitum* • 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-sūryāv 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) *dūreṇa dūram* • from distance to distance • : *tena bhikṣuṇā gr̥hasthapravrajitānām antikād dūreṇa dūram vihartavyam* • the *bhikṣu* should remain from distance to distance away from (both) the householders and the *pravrajitas* • [S 287].

(8) *vaktreṇa vaktram* • lip to lip • : *kaṇṭhe so gr̥hya mama prakāśam vaktreṇa vaktram praviḍhāya śabdaṃ karoti* • taking me by the neck and putting (her) mouth to mine (she) made a sound • [Miii.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 : *śarīracittavyasanātāpais tair evamvidhais taiś ca nipatyamānaiḥ naivāsanāc chākyamuniś cacāla* • notwithstanding those austerities of body and mind, and in spite of such (followers of Māra the tempter) assailing, the sage of the Śākya race did not move from his seat • [B 13.43]; *mahatā ca puṣpa-varṣeṇābhipravarṣatā...kanyāśatasahasrāṇi sthitāny abhūvan* • a great shower of flowers having been showering the hundreds of thousands of girls stood (there) • [L 141]; *tayā gr̥hītayā nāsya kāye śāstram kramiṣyati* • that being put on no missile would strike him • [D 113]; *sa bhagavān...samādhiṃ samāpanno'bhūt anīṇjamānena kāyena sthitena* • the lord remained engrossed in ecstasy the body remaining calm • [S 19-20]; *lokadhātum āgacchati sma prakampadbhiḥ kṣetraiḥ pravaraḍdbhiḥ padmaiḥ* • he was coming to the world while the ground was shaking and flowers were being showered • [S 428]; *tena āgatena...vyādhiḥ prasāmyati* • when he is come the epidemic will cease • [Mi 257]; *yatra maitreyeṇa bodhisattvena prathamam kuśalamūlāni avaropitāni rājñā vairocanaena cakravartibhūtena āyatiṃ sambodhim prārthayamānena* • where Maitreya the Bodhisattva first implanted the roots of happiness, Vairocana, in the state of the emperor, wishing for the coming awakening • [Mi 59]; *yuṣmehi vinītehi mahājanakāyo vinayam āgamiṣyati* • you being educated a great many people will come in for enlightenment • [Mi 198]; *kim nu khalu mayi parinirvṛte imehi ca śrāvakehi parinirvṛtehi*

ito kettakasya kālasya buddho bhagavān loke upapadiṣyati • I and all these *śrāvakas* being extinguished, when from this time is the lord Buddha going to be born in the world? • [Mi 50]; *uparuddhena kumāreṇa gṛhaṃ niḥśreyam saṃvṛttam sarvā lakṣmī antarahitā* • the prince being imprisoned the palace became luckless and the entire fortune disappeared • [Mii 101]; *yām tvam sālehi phullehi śyāmāṃ kauśeyavāsiniṃ | gāḍham an-kena pīḍesi sū te kauśalyam prcchati* • when the Śāla trees blossomed, Śyāmā, wearing silken garment, whom you tightly pressed in your lap, now asks about your welfare • [Mii 175]; *te dāni tena yānapātreṇa vipannena devaderām namasyanti* • the ship having foundered they then prayed to the gods • [Miii 68]; *tena pītena asya smṛtir utpadyate* • it being drunk his memory will revive • [Miii 173].

THE DATIVE.

The Dative was a living case in the earlier period of Old Indo-Aryan, but its use was much restricted as it is chiefly a personal case. In course of gradual development of Indo-Aryan the dative began to be merged in the genitive; the culmination of this process is to be found in the Prakrits where the dative, as a distinct case, was unknown. In Buddhistic Sanskrit also this decline is quite apparent. In the works of Aśvaghoṣa we find a few instances where the dative has been replaced by the genitive; and this process goes on till we come to the Mahāvastu where the instances with the dative hardly exceeds a score.

(a) THE DATIVE WITH VERBS.

(i) Verbs meaning 'to speak, to call,' etc. In the Buddhacarita this is the normal construction, but two instances occur where the genitive replaces the dative. In the Lalitavistara: *ete bodhisattvā ebhya devaputrebhya bhāṣante* • these Bodhisattvas speak to these sons of gods • [38]; *rājā bodhisattvāya tām prakṛtiṃ ārocayati* • the king imparted that information to the Bodhisattva • [163]; in the Divyāvadāna;

tayā mātāpitṛbhyām ārocitam • by her it was imparted to (her) parents • [17]; *maghāya...ārocayati* • he informs Magha • [111]; *tataḥ...supriyāya kathayati* • then he speaks to Supriya • [112]; *punar anyasmā ācakṣita* • he should speak to another • [S 346].

(ii) With verbs meaning 'to give': *na tāvac chramaṇa-brāhmaṇebhya 'nudadāmi* • I will not give (it) to Śramaṇas or Brahmins • [D 88]; *amukayā...bhagavate śaktubhikṣā pradāpitā* • by so-and-so (woman) charity of gruel was made to the lord • [D 70]; *sarvam asmai puruṣāya niryātayāmi* • all I shall make over to this man • [S 108]; *sa ca maṇis tayā...bhagavate dattaḥ* • the jewel was given by her to the lord • [S 264]; *bodhisattvāya sādhu-kāram adāt* • he gave thanks to the Bodhisattva • [S 397].

(iii) With other verbs: *katamāṃ bho upādhyāya lipim me śikṣayiṣyasi* • what alphabet, O teacher, would you teach me? • [L 143]; *tasmai pratiśrutya* • having promised to him • [S 105]; *tathāgatas tasmai dharmam deśayati* • the Tathāgata explained dharma to him • [S 137]; *imaṃ sūtrāntam...parebhyah...vistar-ena samprakāśayiṣyanti* • they would reveal this sūtrānta in detail to others • [S 375].

(b) The Dative with substantives and adjectives: *na cānyasmai gandhāya sprhām utpādayām-āsuḥ* • did not have any liking for any other smell • [L 479]; *namas tasmāy ācāryāya pūrṇāya* • homage to that master Pūrṇa • [D 42]; cf. *ārogyam jyeṣṭhabhavikāyā bhavatu* • freedom from diseases be to the wife of the elder brother! • [D 28]. *Kaścid eva vaidyapuruṣo bhavet.. sukuśalaḥ sarvavyādhipraśamanāya* • if there be a physician competent for curing all kinds of diseases • [S 320]; *apratikūlo śravaṇāya* • not disagreeable to hear • [Mi 194]; *kuśalam adhiṣṭhānāya bhavatu* • welfare be to the place • [D 76].

(i) The Genitive-Dative: *akālaṃ te śroṇa praśnavyākaraṇāya* • untimely it is, O Śroṇa, for discussing your questions • [D 21]; *ko bhadanta hetuḥ kaḥ pratyayo drayo ratnayor yugapal loke prādurbhāvāya* • what is the cause and the reason, O master, for the simultaneous appearance of the two gems? • [D 62]; *ko bhagavaṃ hetuḥ kaḥ pratyayo smitasya prāduṣ-*

kāraṇāya • what is the cause, O Lord, what is the reason for showing the smile • [Miii 139]; *samayo vā me agnihotraṃ juhanāya* • it is the time for my offering the Agnihotra (oblations) • [Miii 161].

(c) The Dative with the adverb : in the Divyāvadāna the adverb *yāvat* has been construed with the dative : *na cāsyā amanojñāśabdaśravaṇaṃ yāvad garbhasya paripākāya* • no hearing of unpleasant sounds for her until the maturing of the embryo • [D 2; 99].

(d) Dativus finalis : *tad bhaviṣyati bahujaṇahitāya* • it would be for the good of many • [L 7]; *āvilacittaprasādanatāyai samvartate* • it serves for pacification of disturbed mind • [L 34]; *upasevata varadharmāśravaṇāya* • approach for hearing the supreme dharma (law) • [L 42(g)]; *bodhāya kṛtaniścayaḥ* • (one) with resolution made for (attaining) knowledge • [L 25]; *bodhisattvasya darśanāya vandanaṃ paryupāsanaṃ ca dharmāśravaṇāya cāgacchanti sma* • they came for visiting, worshipping and sitting round the Bodhisattva and for hearing dharma as well • [L 78]; *abhinīṣkramiṣyate pravrajyāyai* • would leave home for mendicancy • [L 115]; *alpāhāratāyai pratipadyeyam* • I shall resort to eating little • [L 320]; *śrāvastīm piṇḍāya prāvīkṣat* • entered Śrāvastī for (begging) food • [D 39]; *śrāvastīm piṇḍāya caritvā* • having wandered in Śrāvastī for food • [D 39]; *yadi tāvac chroṇaḥ koṭikarṇaḥ jīvati laghu āgamanāya kṣipram āgamanāya* • if, indeed, Śroṇa Koṭikarṇa lives for coming back soon • [D 6]; *teṣāṃ tad bhaviṣyati dīrgharātram arthāya hitāya sukhāya* • for long time it would be for their prosperity, welfare and happiness • [S 37]; *ye ca...mantrā vā agadā vā sattvānām upakārāye kalpenti* • those incantations and herbs which conduce to the welfare of creatures • [Mi 134-35]; *na cāyaṃ tasya rāmasya dharmo niryāti tatkarasya samyakduḥkṣayāya* • this dharma of Rāma does not suffice for removing totally the pain of one practising it • [Mii 120]; *atha bodhisattvo...piṇḍāya caritvā* • now the Bodhisattva having wandered...for (begging) food • [Mii 207]; *mā ca samudram avataraṇāya cittam karoṭha* • do

not make thy mind for plying the sea • [Miii 73]; *durāsado bhavati puruṣasya upasaṃkramaṇāya* • it becomes unattainable for a man to approach • [Miii 104].

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

(f) Dativus causalis : the following is the only instance that has been noted : *sattvā āyuhkṣayāya ābhāsvarād devanikāyato cyavitvā* • 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 Buddhist 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 construed with the ablative in Old Indo-Aryan are mostly construed in Buddhist Sanskrit with the genitive *plus* the ablative adverb *antikāt*.

(a) The Ablative with verbs : *bhavantaḥ...paścimabodhisattvasyāntikād dharmāśravaṇaṃ śroṣyatha* • you would hear the lecture on dharma from the future Bodhisattva • [L 32]; *iti hi rājā...brāhmaṇebhyaḥ...pratiśrutya* • the king having heard this from the Brahmins • [L 66][see p. 27 *supra*]; *mamāntikād...abhayaṃ pratiyācante sma* • they were begging protection from me • [L 103]; *jīvitād vyaparopitaḥ* • deprived of life • [L 281]; *evam bhagavatā sārthaś caurasahasrāt pratimokṣitaḥ* • thus the caravan was saved by the lord from the thousand thieves • [D 94]; *caurasahasrasakāśāt sārtho niṣkrītaḥ* • the caravan was ransomed from the thousand thieves • [D 94]; *pūrṇasyāntikād vikrīya* • having bought it from Pūrṇa • [D 33]; *bhagavato 'ntikād dharmam śṛṇoti sma* • he was listening dharma from the lord • [S 21]; *meghasya māṇavasya sakāśato buddhaśabdaṃ sunītrā* • having heard the word 'Buddha' from the young man Megha • [Mi 243]; *aṅgaṇo gṛhapati mamato aprcāhitva...bhagavato sakāśam*

upasañkrānto • the householder Aṅgaṇa, without asking me, approached the lord • [Mii 272]; *kiṃ nu khalu imā striyo asmākaṃ nāgarasya dakṣiṇato mārgāto vārenti* • why do these women forbid us (approaching) the southern section of the town? • [Miii 71]; *yāvajjīvam prāṇātipātāt prativiramisyam* • I shall forbear from taking life all through (my life) • [Miii 268]; *parebhyo nāpi vivyathe* • he did not suffer at the hands of others • [Saundarananda 2.2].

(b) The Ablative with past-participles in -ta (used as adjectives) : *śaraṇebhyas tapasvibhyo vinayaṃ śikṣitā iva* • they learnt good behaviour, as it were, from the hermits who (always) offer protection • [Saundarananda 1.13]; *caurasakāśāt sārthaḥ paritrātaḥ* • the caravan was saved from the thousand thieves • [D 101]; *yady asau arthāt paribhraṣṭaḥ kim prajñayāpi paribhraṣṭaḥ* • if he is bereft of wealth, is he also bereft of (his) wisdom • [D 31]; *ahituṇḍikāto hastāto yatnāt kṛitaṃ subhāṣitaṃ* • the maxim brought eagerly from the hand (of) an Ahituṇḍika • [Mi 92(G)]; *ahaṃ strīratnāto bhraṣṭo* • I am bereft of that jewel of a woman • [Miii 167].

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

(d) The Ablative with adverbs : *na ca kaścit tam pudmam paśyati sma anyatra sārathinarottamād daśaśatasahasrikācca mahābrahmaṇaḥ* • no one saw that lotus except that best charioteer of men and the great Brahman of ten-hundred-thousands (words) • [L 73]; *anyatra vṛkṣāgrāt* • except in the tree-top • [D 107]; *na...so asti sattvo...yo curamāṃ jātīm...bodhisattvaṃ vyākartum anyatra śuddhāvāsebhyaḥ devebhyaḥ* • 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 Saddharmapundarika and in the Mahāvastu, e.g., *yataḥ prabhṛti* • whenceforth • [S 317; Mi 153].

(i) The Ablative with *saha* • with • is found in a causal sense in the Lalitavistara as well as in the Divyāvadāna (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 kecit...gandharvāsura-garuḍabhūtāviṣṭāḥ...te sarve bodhisattvamātuḥ saha darśanād eva svasthā...bhavanti* • those who were ridden by a gandharva or an asura or a garuḍa or a demon would at once come to themselves simultaneously with the sight of the mother of the Bodhisattva • [L 81]; *māyā devī tṛṇagulmakam api...glānebhyaḥ sattvebhyaḥ nuprayacchati sma te saha pratilambhād arojanirvikārā 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 darśanād asyā etad abhavat* • simultaneous with (her) seeing, it occurred to her • [D 67]; *sahadarśanāc cānena bhagavato 'ntike cittam abhiprasāditam* • with the sight their heart inclined towards the lord • [D 49]; *sahaśravaṇād eva dhanasammatasya rājño 'marṣa utpannaḥ* • on hearing it the king Dhana-sammata became angry • [D 62].

(e) The Ablative of comparison : *paśyāmi kim mamāntikād abhirūpatara āhosvin 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 : *dharmaṣya tasyāśravaṇād ahaṃ hi manye vipattiṃ tridive 'pi vāsaḥ* • I think that living in heaven is worse than hearing that dharma • [B 1.82]; *paramahilā dahanato'py 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 : *śraddhādhanam śreṣṭhatamam dhanebhyaḥ prajñārasas tṛptikaro rasebhyaḥ | pradhānam adhyātma-sukham sukhebhyaḥ vidyāratir duḥkhatamā ratibhyaḥ ||* • the wealth of reverence is the best of wealths; the rasa of intellect

is the (most) palatable of the *rasas*; 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 sons 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 alābhāt saṃtapyatha* • you pine for not attaining them • [S 74]; *atha...so vaidehako brāhmaṇarājā āyuhkṣayāc ca karmakṣayāc ca kālam akārṣi* • now that Brahmin 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 : *caturṇām māsānām atyayāt* • at the end of four months • [L 114]; *ṣaṣṭhānām vā navānām vā māsānām atyayāt prasūtā* • she was delivered (of the child) at the expiry of eight or nine or ten months • [D 2]; *māsānām atyayāt prasūtā* [D 99]; *ṣaṣṭhyantarakalpānām atyayāt* • at the end of six kalpas • [S 21].

(i) In the following instances the ablative carries the sense of the temporal instrumental : *tūryāṇi...pravādayāmāsur yāvat tasya bhagavato mahāparinirvāṇasamayāt* • they sounded the trumpets till the time of the lord's great extinction • [S 160]; *tena aṣṭacatvāriṃśadvarṣāt kumāram brahmacaryam cīrṇam vedā ca adhītā* • by him was practised the celibate studentship 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 dauṣmanter devakarmaṇaḥ* • emulated the son of Duṣmanta, of godly deeds and living in forest • [36]. In the Lalitavistara : *na kasya cit sattvasya rogo bādhate sma* • the disease does not attack any one • [59]; *kṣudhā pipāsā... naiva tasya bādhate* • hunger and thirst do not oppress him • [85 (G)]; *kasya ca karmaṇo vipākena sa ojevindur bodhisattvasyopatiṣṭhate sma* • for the fulfilment of what deed did that drop of vitality accrue to the Bodhisattva • [74]; *jātasya tasya guṇasāgarasya jñātvā* • knowing Guṇasāgara to be born • [129 (G)]. In the Divyāvadāna : *tvam apy asmākam utprāsayasi* • you too mock us • [17]; *uttare ca pariprcchanti sūtrasya vinayasya mātṛkāyāḥ* • the others ask about the Sūtra, the Vinaya or the alphabet • [18]; *bhagavāms ta ārogyayati* • the lord greets you • [129]. In the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka : *yathā mama pratibhāti* • as it appears to me • [17]¹; *sthāpayitvā tathāgatasya* • leaving the Tathāgata aside • [43]; *sa cet...sattvā nadibhir uhyamānā avalokiteśvarasya bodhisattvasya...ākrandam kuryuḥ* • if the creatures being carried away by the river (current) cry the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (for help) • [139]; *śeṣāḥ punaḥ stūpā mamoddiśya kartavyāḥ* • the rest of the stūpas should be built for me • [241]; cf. D. 99; *yad vāyam api tathāgatasyānuśikṣemahi* • as we too would learn after the Tathāgata • [180]; *dharmarājā teṣām aryāṇāṃ yodhānāṃ yudhyatāṃ drṣtvā* • the pious king seeing the noble combatants fighting • [290]; *puspavarṣaṃ tasya bhagavato bodhimande niṣaṇṇasyāvryucchinnaṃ pravaraṣyanti* • (they) showered a shower of flowers to the lord sitting on the bodhi seat • [159]; *nāham āyusmanto yuṣmākam paribhavāmi* • I, O long-lived ones, cannot vanquish you • [378]; *asmākam bhagavān adhyeṣati* • the lord seeks us • [270]. In the Mahāvastu : *tatra teṣām nairayikānāṃ nirayapālā āyudhahastā ud-*

¹ *Budhukṣitam na pratibhāti kiñcit* " nothing appeals to the hungry " [Mahābhāṣya].

deśenti • there the guards of the hell hunt those condemned to the hell • [i 21]; *kasya dāni...yūyam pratyudgacchatha* • whom do you welcome now • [i 23]; *bhikṣūṇām āmantreti* • invites the Bhikṣus • [i 262]; *rājño śreṇiyasya...dharmayā kathayā saṃdarśayitvā* • having educated the king Śreṇiya with religious talks • [i 261]; *aham āryasya nimantremi* • I invite your reverence • [i 302]; *te dāni śākyā ṛṣikumārānām prcchati* • the Śākyas now ask the sons of the sages • [i 355]; *mātāpitṛṇām abhivādetvā* • having greeted the parents • [i 354]; *tasya dhārmiko'ti kṛtvā* • taking him to be a pious man • [iii 349]; *mama uddiśya āgato* • come with reference to me • [iii 361]; *mama jīvitād vyaparopayitvā* • having divorced me from life • [ii 64]; *tasyāpi na icchati* • desires him not • [ii 69]; *eṣā mama evābhikāṃkṣati* • she wants me • [ii 69]¹; *śuddhodanasya prati-hāretha* • inform Śuddhodana • [ii 31]; *teṣāṃ sarveṣāṃ pṛṣṭhato kṛtvā* • leaving them all behind • [ii 69]; *vyāghrī...catuṣpadānām pratipāleti* • the tigress waited for the beasts • [ii 69]; *bhadre mama patiṃ varehi* • madam, choose me as the husband • [ii 70]; *mama gṛhṇāhi* • accept me • [ii 70]; *brahmāyusya upasaṃkramitvā* • having approached Brahmāyu • [ii 78]; *nidhyāyati rājakanyānām* • thinks of the princesses • [ii 147]; *yaśodharā...kumārasya allīnā* • Yaśodharā approached the prince • [ii 48]; *sudhanukumāro rājño sucandrimasya prcchati* • the prince Sudhanu asked the king Sucandrima • [ii 98]; *mama mārgamāno* • seeking me • [ii 102]; *so tava...kinnara-nagaraṃ neśyati* • he would take you to the city of the kinnaras • [ii 108]; *mātāpitṛṇām praṇipatitvā* • having bowed to the parents • [ii 110]; *kācit parasparasyaupagṛhya* • some having embraced each other • [ii 159]; *brāhmaṇasya vā putrasya vā ko viveśyati* • who shall take care of the Brahman or the son • [ii 209]; *paramagauraveṇa teṣāṃ mātāpitṛṇām upathihati* • served the parents with great care • [ii 211]²; *sa teṣāṃ śakuntakānām parirakṣati* • he protected those birds • [ii 251];

eṣā...mama pralobhetti • she tempts me • [iii 152]; *mā yūyam...mama abhivādettha* • do not salute me • [iii 173]; *rājño subandhusya jayena vardhāpetvā* • having benedicted the king Subandhu with victory • [ii 421].

(ii) The Dative-Genitive. In the Buddhacarita : *babhrmur darśayantyo'sya śroṇīs tanvaṃśukāvṛtāḥ* • they wandered showing him their hips clothed with fine linen • [4.34]; *tad bravīmi suhrdbhūtvā taruṇasya vapuṣmataḥ* • so, being a friend I say to (you), a handsome youth • [1.82]. In the Lalitavistara : *brāhmaṇānām avocat* • spoke to the Brahmins • [65 (G)]; *vada mama śighram* • tell me soon • [90 (G)]; *tāṃ kumārasya varayisyāmi* • I shall choose her for the prince • [161]¹; *yā te duhitā sā mama kumārasya pradīyatām* • give her, who is your daughter, to my son • [163]; *ayam...yuṣmākaṃ dharmaṃ deśayisyati* • he will explain the dharma to you • [43]; *śilpajñasya kanyā dātavyā* • the girl should be given to an expert in the arts and crafts • [163]²; *bodhisattvasya upanāyati sma* • brought to the Bodhisattva • [73]; *tac cāsya na rocate* • it did not please him • [308]; *bodhisattvo...rājñāḥ śuddhodanasya svapnaṃ upadarśayati sma* • the Bodhisattva caused the king Śuddhodana dream a dream • [224]; *abhipravedya mahārājasya śuddhodanasya* • informing the great king Śuddhodana • [241]; *sā...rājñāḥ śuddhodanasya dūtāṃ preṣayati sma* • she sent a messenger to the king Śuddhodana • [62]; *rājñāḥ śuddhodanasya nivedaya* • impart (it) to the king Śuddhodana • [116]; *asitasya maharṣeḥ pratiśrutya* • having acquiesced to the great sage Asita • [117]; *tāvāt kumārasya katamā...kanyā rocate* • which of the girls appeals to the prince? • [156]; *te...kumārasyainām prakṛtīm ārocayanti sma* • they informed this matter to the prince • [156]; *tāṃ kanyāṃ asmākaṃ prativedaya* • let me know (the particulars of) the girl • [159]. In the Divyāvadāna : *sarvo'yaṃ lokaḥ suvarṇasya śraddadhāti* • all people believe in gold • [17]; *anekais teṣāṃ ārocitam* • it was informed

¹ Cf. *bodhisattoṃ evābhikāṃkṣati* "desired only the Bodhisattva" [ii 69].

² Cf. *mātāpitaram upathihati* "serves the parents" [ii 212].

¹ 'Dativus commodi' replaced by the genitive.

² Cf. *karmāṣilpajñāya kanyāṃ dāsyāmi* [ibid].

to them by many • [17]; *tata āyusmān pūrṇo bhrātuḥ kathayati* • then the long-lived Pūrṇa said to (his) brother • [42]; *eṣāṃ vaṇijāṃ ratnavibhājāṃ kuru* • divide the jewels among these merchants • [42]; *tena tasyāḥ pratijñātāṃ* • by him it was promised to her • [15]; *tasya bhaisajyaṃ vyapadiśa* • prescribe a medicine for him • [25]; *ānando bhagavataḥ pratyāśrauṣīt* • Ānanda agreed with the lord • [76]; *bhikṣūnām...upadarśayet* • should show to the Bhikṣus • [77]; *pakvaṃ ādāyāgatya dampatyor upanāmitavān* • taking cooked (food) brought (it) before the husband and wife • [31]; *caurāṇāṃ nivedayati* • addressed the thieves • [101]; *taiḥ pūrṇasya dūtaḥ preṣitaḥ* • by them a messenger was sent to Pūrṇa • [33]; *tasya tāv abhisāraṃ dattvā* • having given to him the two as the present • [6]; *tau na kasyacit punar api śraddadhātum ārabdhau* • they (two) began not to trust anybody • [6]; *kim asya praharāmi* • what shall I dart against him • [40]¹; *gacchānanda tathāgatasya śroṇyasya ca...mañjam prajñāpaya* • go, Ānanda, and show the seat to the Tathāgata and Śroṇya • [20]; *kas te śraddhāsyati* • who would believe you? • [70]; *atha maghaḥ...supriyasya...kathayati* • then Magha spoke to Supriya • [111]; *bubhukṣitā vāyam asmākaṃ anuprayaccha* • we are hungry: give us (food) • [12]; *ekasya kṣiptam* • hurled at one • [12]¹; *tvam asmākaṃ tṛṣṭārtānām pānīyam anuprayaccha* • do thou give drink to us smitten with thirst • [7]; *tāny ahaṃ snuṣāyāḥ samarpayāmi* • those I hand over to the daughter-in-law • [13]; *ahaṃ teṣāṃ jñātīnām samādiśāmi* • I shall direct to those kinsmen • [13]; *evam āryeti dauvārikaḥ puruṣaḥ anāthapiṇḍadasya gṛhapateḥ pratyāśrauṣīt* • the man at the gate agreed to the householder Anāthapiṇḍada, (saying), 'yes sir' • [81]; *maitreya 'pi...teṣāṃ māṇavakānām anupradāsyati* • Maitreya also shall give to those men • [61].² In the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka: *sādhu bhagavann ity āyusmāñ śāriputro bhagavataḥ pratyāśrauṣīt* • 'Right, O Lord'!—thus

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

² Cf. *maitreyāya...anupradāsyati* [ibid].

did the long-lived Śāriputra agree to the lord • [39]; *sattvānāṃ dharmam deśayāmi* • I would teach *dharmā* to the creatures • [40]; *gorathakān eva dāraḥ dadyāt* • he should give only bullock carts to the boy • [73]; *evam caiṣāṃ vadati* • thus speaks to them • [79]; *te tathāgatasya lokapitṛ abhiśraddadhāti* • they believe in the Tathāgata the father of the world • [80]; *na kasyacit sattvasya...parinirvāṇam vadati* • does not speak of the extinction to any creature • [81]; *tathāgataś cāsmākaṃ evam vadati* • the Tathāgata thus speaks to us • [108]; *na kasyacid ācakṣet* • should not divulge to any one • [102; 105]; *sarvasattvānāṃ dharmam upadarśayitum* • to teach *dharmā* to all beings • [82]; *nāhaṃ yusmākaṃ kiñcid aparādhyam* • I have committed no offence against you • [104]; *taṃ daridrapuruṣam ānāyya mahato jñātisaṅghasyopanāmayitvā* • having brought that poor man, produced him before the great (assembly of) kinsmen • [108]; *atha khalu ta ṛṣayas tasya puruṣasyaivaṃ kathayeyuḥ* • now the sages would thus talk to that man • [1: 5]; *sa ca jātyandhas teṣāṃ puruṣāṇāṃ na śraddadhyāt* • he, the born-blind, would not believe those men • [133]; *nadyas teṣāṃ gādham dadyuḥ* • the rivers would offer fordability to them • [439]; *sarve'sya...krudhyanti* • all are angry with him • [378]; *na ca krudhyanti* • do not take offence • [379]; *ye cāsya-ivam...loṣṭraṃ vā daṇḍam vā kṣipanti* • those who hurl a stone or a stick at him • [379]; *buddhānām bhagavatām namaskāraṃ kuryāt* • should pay homage to the lord Buddha • [442]; *tāni brāhmāṇi vimānāni tasya bhagavato niryātayāmāsuḥ* • they offered those Brāhma dirigibles to the lord • [165]; *teṣāṃ evam kathayati* • thus speaks to them • [189]; *imaṃ dharmaparyāyam pareṣāṃ saṃśrāvayamānaḥ* • lecturing that series of *dharmā* to others • [355]; *teṣāṃ...ārocayet* • should let them know • [322]; *taṃ dharmam...kasyacid ācakṣita* • that *dharmā* should be imparted to any one • [345]. In the Mahāvastu: *megho...tāni pañcotpalāni bhagavato dīpaṃkarasya kṣipi* • Megha threw those five lotuses at the lord Dīpaṃkara • [i 238]; *tena aparāṇi pañca purāṇaśatāni preṣitāni ācāryasya* • he sent another five hundred *purāṇas* (gold coins) to the master • [i 243]; *namo*

buddhasya • homage be to the Buddha • [i 245]; *adāsi uttiyo śreṣṭhī abhiyasya bhikṣusya prabhūtaṃ hiraṇyam* • Uttiya, the merchant, gave much gold to the *bhikṣu* Abhiya • [i 57]; *pareśāṃ ca deśayanti* • lecture to others • [i 46]; *prāsādaṃ kārayitvā...samyaksambuddhasya niryātesī* • having built a palace dedicated (it) to the Perfectly Awakened One • [i 49]; *sa rājā kuśasya dutāṃ apreṣaye* • the king sent a messenger to Kuśa • [i 128]; *mantrāṃś ca vedāṃś ca brāhmaṇānāṃ vācenti* • taught the *mantras* and the *vedas* to Brahmins • [i 197]; *atha tomaro lecchavigaṇasya pratiśrutvā* • now Tomara having promised to the Licchavis • [i 255]; *evam...rājā śreṇiyo bimbisāro tomarasya lecchavisya jalpati* • thus the king Śreṇiya Bimbisāra spoke to Tomara the Licchavi • [i 257]; *pātraṃ grāmikasya darśayati* • shows the pot to the villager • [i 301]; *aham pitari brāhmaṇānāṃ parityaktā* • I have been given over to the Brahmins by the father • [i 311]; *tehi tesāṃ brāhmaṇānāṃ sandiṣṭam* • they told those Brahmins • [i 313]; *eśā na asmākam mālinī aparādhyati* • she, Mālinī, does not offend us • [i 313]; *dūtehi rājño śuddhodanasya niveditam* • the messengers informed the king Śuddhodana • [i 356]; *tasya yuthapatisya praṇipatitā* • she bowed low to the leader of the herd • [i 362]; *na kasyaci aparādhyanti* • they commit no offence against anybody • [i 364]; *sarvamṛgāṇāṃ ca abhayaṃ dehi* • offer protection to all the deer • [i 365]; *bhagavatā kumārabhūtena kanyānāṃ alaṅkarāṃ pi viśrāṇantena yaśodharāye śatasahasramūlyam hāraṃ dinnam* • when the lord, being a youth, (was) presenting trinkets to girls, he gave Yaśodharā a necklace worth a hundred thousands • [ii 64]; *nāsyāḥ kiñcit samvibhajisyam* • I shall give nothing to her • [ii 65]; *mahānāmo samdiśati rājño śuddhodanasya na śakyāmi yaśodharāṃ kumārasya dātum* • Mahānāman told the king Śuddhodana, 'I cannot give away Yaśodharā to the prince' • [ii 73]; *tasya vānarasya jalpāhi* • speak to that monkey • [ii 248]; *pratihārarakṣeṇa .. ṛṣisya niveditam* • the gateman submitted to the sage • [ii 31]; *upanāmetha kumāram ṛṣisya* • bring the prince before the sage • [ii 32]; *tato rājño śuddhodanasya pravṛtti āgatā* • then news came to

the king Śuddhodana • [ii 207]; *paramabodhisamprāpto śrāvas-tyām bhikṣūṇāṃ vyākaroti* • having attained the perfect knowledge, (the lord) announced (it) before the *bhikṣus* in Śrāvastī • [ii 136]; *nūnāhaṃ yattikā kapilavastunagare kanyā tāṃ sarvāṃ kumārasya upadarśayāmi* • indeed I shall show to the prince as many girls as there are in the city of Kapilavastu • [ii 149]; *rājñā amātyānāṃ āṇattam* • the king ordered the ministers • [ii 156]; *nāpi tasya ahitunḍikasya kupyati* • did not flare up at that juggler • [ii 178]; *kim mayā tava aparāddhaṃ chandakasya ca* • what have I injured of you or of Chandaka • [ii 189]; *sā dāni sudarśanā devī tasyā kubjāye ruṣitā āha* • now the queen Sudarśanā, angry with that hunch-back (woman), said • [ii 459]; *sā...tāsāṃ antaḥpurikānāṃ ruṣyati* • she is cross with those women of the seraglio • [ii 480]; *kasya vā garahāmy aham* • whom shall I take to task? • [ii 480 (G)]; *yasya sarve rājāno praṇamanti* • to whom all the kings bow low • [ii 491]; *kāśīrājño upasaṃkrāntā* • approached the king of Kāśī • [iii 152]; *yadi me mahārāja mama na śraddadhāsi* • if you, O my king, do not believe me • [iii 42]; *bhagavān mama etad uvāca* • the lord told me this • [iii 51]; *bhagavāṃ veṇuvane bhikṣūṇāṃ āmantrayati* • the lord spoke to the *bhikṣus* in the bamboo bower • [iii 63]; *so dāni aśvarājā teṣāṃ vāṇijakānāṃ saman-śāsati* • now the king of horses spoke to the merchants [iii 76]; *so'haṃ tasya upakasya...sprhayanto abhikṣṇam etāṃ gāthāṃ bhāṣāmi* • now I, longing after that Upaka, always utter this verse • [iii 193]; *namas tasya āryasya mahāgovindasya* • homage to the reverend Mahāgovinda • [iii 223]; *teṣāṃ bhagavāṃ..bhāṣati* • the lord addressed them • [iii 434].

(iii) The Instrumental-Genitive : *mama ca tvaṃ śāriputra dīrgharātram anuśikṣito 'bhūt* • you, O Śāriputra, were for a long time instructed by me • [S 64]; *so pi rājño devīhi sārddhaṃ krīḍanasya krīḍate* • he sported with the king, (who was) sporting with his queens • [Miii 169]; *parasparasya vivāhitā* • married to one another • [Mi 351].

(iv) The Ablative-Genitive : *athaikasya pratigrahīṣyāmi* • I shall accept from one • [L 497]; *dharmasyāparihīyante* • do

not swerve from *dharma* • [L 525]; *yācāmi te* • I beg of you • [L 46 (G)]; *ye sattvās tathāgatasya dharmam bhāṣamāṇasya śṛṇvanti* • the creatures who listen to the Tathāgata, talking *dharma* • [S 124]; *asya dharmaparyāyasya uttraset* • would be afraid of this series of *dharma* • [S 234]; *ime kumārā asmākaṃ sujātā pi* • these boys are born well of us • [Mi 355]; *mama sarve mṛgā trasanti* • all deer recoil from me • [Mii 70]; *teṣāṃ mṛgapakṣiṇaḥ na samtrasanti* • birds and beasts do not recoil from them [Mii 210]; *amātyaputro...sarveṣāṃ vīṇāvādyena viśiṣyati* • the minister's son was distinguished from all in playing the lyre • [Miii 35]; *manuṣyeṣu cyavitvā narakeṣūpapadyati* • falling from mankind he is born in the hell • [Miii 42].

(v) The Locative-Genitive : *kinnariye pi sudhanusya prem-naṃ nipatitam* • the Kinnari's love fell on Sudhanu • [Mii 98]; *iccheyam aham bhagavato ārādasya brahmacaryaṃ caritum* • I wish to live as a religious student with his reverence Ārāḍa • [Mii 118]; *na kaścij janatāyāḥ kanyāyāḥ kumārasya cittam abhīramet* • may not the heart of the prince be attached to an ordinary girl • [Mii 149]; *so pi paṇḍito śakuntako tasya śākuntikasya visrambheti* • the wise bird also trusted the fowler • [Mii 242]; *tasyāpi kampillasya rājño brahmadattasya...puṇyavantasya kumārasya putrapremnaṃ nipatitam* • Brahmadatta, the king of Kāmpilya, felt an affection for the boy Puṇyavanta as towards a son • [Miii 40]; *mā bhavanto śramaṇasya gautamasya brahmacaryaṃ caratha* • do not live as a religious student with the Śramaṇa Gautama • [Miii 63]; *mama sarve lagnatha* • hold me fast, all of you • [Miii 354].

(vi) The *dativus commodi et incommodi* is very often replaced by the Genitive : *kim mama baddham* • what is attached to me? • [S 211]; *tāṃs tān gandhān pareṣāṃ api vyākaroṭi* • emits that perfume for others as well • [S 361]; *daṇḍakarmaṃ karoṭha yathā caurasya kriyati tasya me* • give me punishment as is done to a thief • [Miii 174].

(b) The Genitive with verbs which were so construed in Old Indo-Aryan. It is rather remarkable that in Buddhist Sanskrit, the genitive appears with some verbs which governed

the genitive in the Vedic but not so in Classical Sanskrit :—*tad vahanaṃ goṣīṣacandanasya pūrayitvā* • having filled the cart with sandal wood • [D 42]; *catvāro lohasaṃghātāḥ suvarṇasya pūrṇās tiṣṭhanti* • the four iron pots stand filled with gold • [D 14]; *suvarṇasya kalaśaḥ pūrayitvā sthāpitaḥ* • the pitcher was kept filled with gold • [D 16]; *tasmād udakasya pātrapūram ānaya* • fetch a cup full of water • [D 51]; *ratnānāṃ tad vahanam pūritam* • the cart was filled with gems • [D 5]; *bhūyiṣṭhena śāriputraivam-rūpāṇāṃ bodhisattvānāṃ paripūrṇam tad buddhakṣetram bhaviṣyati* • that land of Buddha, O Śāriputra, will be filled much with suchlike Bodhisattvas • [S 66]; *śuṇḍam udakasya pūretvā* • having filled the proboscis with water • [Miii 132]*; *kumbho viṣasya pariṣiktaḥ* • the pot filled with poison • [L 180 (G)]; *ahaṃ te smārayiṣyāmi* • I shall remember you • [D 57]; *bhagavāṃs cāsmākaṃ smārayati tathāgatajñānadāyādān* • the lord remembers us, the cosharers of the knowledge of the Tathāgata • [S 110]†; *jenti tvaṃ vailāsikāye dhītā, tava putro na kiñcit paitṛkasya rājyasya ca dravyasya ca prabhavati* • Jayantī, you are the daughter of a hetaera : your son would not inherit paternal kingdom or any other thing • [Mi 349]; *rājā subandhu nāma...ṣaṣṭhīnāṃ nagara-sahasrāṇāṃ rājyaṃ kārayati* • the king named Subandhu rules over sixty thousand cities • [Mii 420]‡; *mātuḥ pituḥ na utkaṇṭhitaṃ syā* • he may not be anxious for the parents • [Mii 165].§

* This is a kind of partitive genitive. It is an Indo-European idiom; the cognate verbs in the different Indo-European dialects—Gk. *πλέω*, *πλήρης*, Lat. *plenus*, Goth. *fulls*, Lith. *pilnas*—are all construed with the genitive. In Vedic the adjective *pūrṇa* is so construed : *ā madhvo asmā asicann amartam indrāya pūrṇam* [Atharvaveda Samhitā, 9.7.6]; *pūrṇān parisrutaḥ kumbhān* [Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 11.5.5.13]; in Classical Sanskrit also sometimes : *ghaṭam apām pūrṇam* [Manu Samhitā, 11.183]; also in Pali.

† In classical Sanskrit, *smṛ* (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 Atharvaveda Samhitā) : *μνησσομαι του φίλου* “I remember the friend” = Latin *memini amici*; *yathā mama smarād asau* “as he may remember me” [AV. 6.130.3].

‡ These two idioms are allied to the Vedic idiom of the genitive governed by verbs meaning “to rule.”

§ Cf. *utkaṇṭhamāno bharato gurūṇāṃ* “Bharata feeling anxious for his superiors” [Bhāṭṭikāvyā].

(c) Elliptic Genitive: *sa śṛṇoty eva amātyānām* • he listens to the (speech of the) ministers • [Mi 272]*; *tasya grāmikasya śrutvā* • hearing (the words of) the villager • [Mi 302]; *putrakā na yuṣmābhir mamātyayāt strīṇām śrotavyam* • O sons, you should not pay heed to the women after my demise • [D 27]; *na ca vijānāsi pañcayojanānantarasthitasya janasya bhāṣamāṇasya* • you cannot understand (the speech) of one speaking at a distance of five *yojanas* • [S 135].

(d) The Genitive with substantives and adjectives: *mahābrahmaṇo 'nukampām upādāya* • feeling pity for Mahābrahman • [L 73-74; etc.]; *anuttarāyāḥ samyak-sambodher lābhināḥ* • attainers of the unsurpassed perfect knowledge • [S 41; etc.]; *nandādīnām bhikṣūṇām abhiprasanno* • pleased with the *bhikṣus* beginning with Nanda • [Mi 36]; *sahasrāṇām visarjayitā* • giver of thousands • [S 340]; *niyato me manuṣyāṇām vinābhāvo* • certain is the bereavement of men • [Mii 103]; *rājā reisyā vismito* • the king was surprised at (the deeds of) the sage • [Mii 82]; *piśācasya ca etasya ca nāsti kiñcit nānā kāraṇam* • there is no differentiation between him and a ghoulish • [Mii 459]; *didṛkṣayā...muneḥ* • with a desire of seeing the hermit • [Saundarānanda, 4.40, etc.]; *yathā ca darśi teṣāṃ sattvānām* • (one) who looks upon all creatures (as) equal • [S 124].

(e) The Genitive with adverbs: *uttiyasya śreṣṭhisya dhītuh sārḍham vipraduṣṭo* • corrupted with the daughter of Uttiya, the merchant • [Mi 36]; *bodhisattvo ca māyāya mātuh sārḍham śivikām samārūḍho* • the Bodhisattva, with (his) mother Māyā, boarded the palanquin • [Mii 26]; *gaṅgāyā ca yamunāyā ca antarā kāśyapo ṛṣi yajñam yajati* • the sage Kāśyapa holds a sacrifice (in the place) between the Ganges and the Yamunā • [Miii 363].

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

* *amātyānām* for *amātyānām vākyam*; cf. *asmākam ic chṛṇuhi* "hear (=our words) [R̥gveda Samhitā, 7.28.1]; *śrudhy asya* "hear him" [RV., 7.88.2]; *tasya vā śuśrūṅante* "him men wish to listen to" [Kauṣṭiki Brāhmaṇa, 7.6]; also in Pali,

[L 136 (G)]; *sarveṣāṃ teṣāṃ bhrātṛṇām suśikṣitaḥ* • (he) was better educated than all his brothers • [Mii 434]; *upāli bhikṣu yuṣmākaṃ vrddhatarako* • the *bhikṣu* Upāli is older than you (all) • [Miii 181].

(g) Appositional Genitive is a remarkable phenomenon in Buddhist Sanskrit of the Mahāvastu: *pūrṇaṃ cāsya putrasahasram abhūsi śūrāṇām vīrāṇām* • he had full thousand sons—(sons) heroic and valiant • [Mi 49]; *rājagṛhe parvaṃ vartati pañcānām tapośatānām* • a (sacrificial) session is being held at Rājagṛha,—a session of five hundred austerities • [Miii 57]; *pūrṇaṃ cāsya putrasahasram bhavet śūrāṇām vīrāṇām* • he will have a full thousand sons (all) brave and heroic • [Miii 107]; *tasya rājño brahmadattasya putrasatam kumārāṇām* • the king Brahmadatta (had) five hundred sons (all) young • [Miii 361].*

(h) Genitivus Materiae et Originis: *caturasīti kūṭāgāra-sahasrāṇi kārayesi.. saptānām ratnānām* • he built eighty-four thousand cottages of the seven gems • [Mi 49]; *śākya vicitrām kuthām upasthāpayet śiṃhacarmaparivārāṇām vyāghracarmaparivārāṇām dvīpicarmaparivārāṇām* • the Śākya brought rugs (made) of skins of lions, tigers and of leopards • [Mii 117].

(i) The Genitive Absolute †: Pāṇini lays down the rule [2. 3.38] that the absolute genitive expresses *anādara* • disregard • in classical Sanskrit. Though the absolute genitive does not occur in the R̥gveda, it appears sporadically in Vedic prose, but there often no sense of *anādara* is apparent. So also with Buddhist Sanskrit. Even in the chaste Sanskrit of Aśvaghoṣa

* The existence of the appositional or apexegetic 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:

antar agne rucā tvam
ukhāyai sadane sve |
tasyās tvam harasā tapan
jātavedaḥ śivo bhava |

"O Agni with glow | Within thy own seat of pan | Heating with her blaze | Be thou, O All-knower, auspicious" [Taittirīya Samhitā, 4.1.91; Keith's Introduction to the translation of the above].

† Vide Huebschmann, Zur Casuslehre, p. 280; de Saussure, L'emploi du genitif absolu en sanscrit.

there occur instances where the absolute genitive implies no *anādara*; thus : *iti paśyāta eva rājasūnor idam uktvā sa nabhaḥ samutpapāta* • the king's son thus looking on, he leaped into the sky • [B 2.20]; *samantarāvātirñasya ca bodhisattvasya...prthivīm bhitvā mahāpadmam prādurabhūt* • as soon as the Bodhisattva (was) born, a great lotus sprang up cleaving the earth • [L 95]; *tasya khalu punaḥ...padmaprabhasya tathāgatasya parinirvṛtasya dvātriṃśad antarakalpān saddharmaḥ sthāsyati* • 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 postpositives.

(a) The Locative with verbs : *prayata svātmahite jagaddhite ca* • strive for your own as well as for the world's good • [B 5.78]*; *kāmeṣu ajasram pramamāda nandaḥ* • Nanda committed great excesses in pleasures • [Saundarānanda, 4.32]; *mahāmunau bhaktivaśāt praṇemuḥ* • bowed low to the great sage out of reverence • [ibid, 5.1]; *tasminn aham abhirame śāntiparame* • I delight in the supreme peace • [Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen, p. 66]; *mākāmeṣu mithyācarisyatha* • do not for nothing ply in pleasures • [L 16]; *cāreyam aham bho ārāḍe kālāme brahmacaryam* • I shall live as a religious student with Ārāḍa Kālāma • [L 259]†; *tena khalu punaḥ samayena pañcakā bhadravargīyā rudrake rāmaput্রে brahmacaryam caranti sma* • at that time five good men were leading the life of religious studentship under Rudraka Rāmaputra • [L 308]; *aham ārāḍe brahmacaryam careyam* • I shall be a student under Ārāḍa •

* Cf. *devāsura vā eṣu lokeṣu samyetire* "the gods and the Asuras strove for (the supremacy of) these worlds" [Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, 37.6.1].

† This is a Vedic idiom; cf. *protir ha kauśāmbeyaḥ kausuruvindir uddālaka āruṇau brahmacaryam uvāsa* "Proti, the son of Kusuravinda, of Kauśāmbī, dwelt with Uddālaka, the son of Aruṇa, as a student" [Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 12.2.13]. Cf. Pali : *brahmacariyaṃ sugate carāmaṣe* "we shall live as religious students with Sugata" [Suttanipāta, 2.15].

[Mii 118]; *nūnāham udrake rāmaput্রে brahmacaryam care* • indeed I live as a student with Udraka (=Rudraka) Rāmaputra • [Mii 119]; *dharme caratha śramaṇabrāhmaṇeṣu* • deal religiously with the Śramaṇas and Brahmanas • [Mi 196]; *tad ayuktam etat...mama bhavet...yad aham anuttarāyām samyak sambodhau nābhisambuddheyam* • it would be improper for me if I do not be fully awakened in the unsurpassed perfect awakening • [L 43]; *guṇān ātmani pratiḥjānīte* • admits (to have) virtues in herself • [L 161]; *mātāpitārau ca śaraṇagamanasikṣāpadeṣu prasthāpitau* • the parents were established in taking refuge and in the teachings • [D 17]; *sā bhagavatā...bodhau vyākṛtā* • she was coached in *bodhi* by the lord • [D 70]; *kāśī-rajñā supriyo mahāsārthavāhatve 'bhiṣiktaḥ* • Supriya was appointed in the (post of the) merchant-in-chief by the king of Kāśī • [D 100]; *tadā lipyām upanyastaḥ* • then (he was) instructed in the alphabet • [D 3]; *taṃ te putratve samādāpayiṣyāmi* • I shall establish him in your sonship • [D 57]; *na ca kāmeṣu sajjate badhyate vā* • (he) is not attached to, nor bound in pleasures • [D 116]; *utpātane 'haṃ na bibhemi...netradvayasya* • I am not afraid of plucking out the eyes • [D 411]; *sa bhagavān...śrīgartaṃ nāma bodhisattvam...anuttarāyām samyak-sambodhau vyākṛtya* • having instructed the Bodhisattva, named Śrīgarta, in the unsurpassed perfect knowledge, the lord... • [S 21]; *atha sa bhagavān nirvāṇadhātau parinirvṛtaḥ* • now the lord was finally pacified in the state of extinction • [S 21]; *te tenaiva paripācitā abhūvann uttarāyām samyaksambodhau* • they were instructed by him only in the unrivalled perfect knowledge • [S 22]; *dharmeṣu nīryātāḥ* • instructed thoroughly in *dharma* • [S 60]; *te codārāyām buddhabodhau samādāpitāḥ* • they were established in the comprehensive Buddha-faith • [S 110]; *tathāgataśāsane 'bhiyujyante* • are enjoined to the command of the Tathāgata • [S 30]; *piteva priya ekaputrake karuṇām janayitvā* • having felt pity like the father for the only dear son • [S 136]; *teṣu cāsma prayuktā ghaṭamānā vyāyaccamānāḥ* • we are engaged in, trying, and struggling for them • [S 109]; *tān sarvān sva ātmabhāve paśyati* • looks upon them

with the feeling for the self • [S 370]; *ghatikārah...mūrdhni keśeṣu parāmrśati* • Ghatikāra takes hold of the hair on the head • [Mi 321]; *bhagavato dīpaṅkarasya santike brahmacāryaṃ carisyāma* • we shall live as students with the reverend Dīpaṅkara • [Mi 243]; *megho gatvā bhagavato dīpaṅkarasya santike pravrajito* • Megha went and was admitted to religious mendicancy under Dīpaṅkara • [Mi 243]; *sā dāni sudarśanā devī...aparāsu devīṣu jalpati* • now the queen Sudarśanā talked to the other queens • [Mii 449]; *asmābhiḥ...śramaṇabrāhmaṇeṣu...udārāṇi dānāni dinnāni* • by us generous gifts were given to Śramaṇas and Brahmanas • [Miii 43].*

(b) The Instrumental Locative : *rājānāṃ sahasreṣu ca parivṛto bhaveya* • I would be surrounded with a thousand kings • [Miii 107]; *dvātriṃśallakṣaṇeṣu upagatam* • endowed with the thirty-two (auspicious) signs • [Mii 38(G)].

(c) The Dative Locative : *sā dāni sudarśanā devī...aparāsu devīṣu jalpati* [see *supra*]; *asmābhiḥ...śramaṇabrāhmaṇeṣu...udārāṇi dānāni dinnāni* [see *supra*].

(d) The Ablative Locative : *yathā kumbhakārah samānāsu mṛttikāsu bhājanāni karoti* • 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 pratyāruhya* • getting down from the vehicles [Miii 179]; *yathā mātāye putrapremeṇa staneṣu kṣīram pravaheya evaṃ tasya ṛṣisya tato aṅgulito 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 • [Miii 358].

(e) In the following instance the genitive has been used in apposition to the locative : *vinītāyām bahuśrutāyām...pramadot-tamāyām bodhisattvāḥ mātuh kukṣim avakrāmanti* • the Bodhisattvas resort to the womb of the mother who is well-behaved, educated...and is the best of women • [Mi 205].

* Cf. *daridre dīyate dānaṃ saphalam paṇḍunandana* "the gift given to the poor, O son of Paṇḍu, is fruitful" [Hitopadeśa].

(f) The Locative with substantives and adjectives : *śarva-vidyāsv atipāragataḥ* • perfectly at home in all branches of learning • [L 50 (G)]; *ye ca deva-manuṣyā bodhisattvasya guṇeṣu pratyakṣāḥ* • those gods and men that are eye-witnesses of the virtues of the Bodhisattva • [L 322]; *yathā kṣetre...pratyakṣas tvam...evaṃ karmavipākeṣu pratyakṣā hi tathāgatāḥ* • 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 kṛtāvī saṃvṛtataḥ* • became expert in the five *sthānas* • [D 58; etc.]; *so'haṃ tīrthikasādhāranyām ṛddhyām viṣaṇṇaḥ* • I am incapable of those powers common to the *tīrthikas* • [D 44]; *atha yā devatā āyusmati pūrṇe 'bhiprasannāḥ* • now the deities that were pleased with the longlived Pūrṇa • [D 42]; *aṣṭāsu parikṣāsu udghāṭako vācakaḥ paṇḍitaḥ saṃvṛtataḥ* • he became an expert, an exponent and a master in the eight examinations • [D 3]; *śilpe vā iṣvastre vā hastismiṃ vā dhanutsarusmiṃ vā rājāśāstreṣu vā na kaḥiṃcit kumāro gatiṃ-gataḥ* • the prince is not educated in art, or in missiles, or in elephants, or in fencing, or in polity • [Mii 73]; *śrāvako'ham asmi sugate* • I am a *śrāvaka* under the Sugata • [Miii 51]; *nāham mahārāja kāmeṣu arthikā* • I am not, O Great King, desirous of pleasures • [Miii 169]; *ahaṃ vo'tra sthāne pratibhūḥ* • 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) : *tasyāṃ velāyām* as against *tena samayena*.

(h) The Locative Absolute is abundant in Buddhist Sanskrit. Examples need not be multiplied : *tatra rātrau vinirgatāyām āditya udite...bodhisattvo vinirgato'bhūt* • then the night having passed away and the sun having risen the Bodhisattva went out • [L 139].

PERIPHRAISIS.

As in Middle Indo-Aryan the oblique cases in Buddhist Sanskrit are generally expressed periphrastically with help-words 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 *uddiśya*, etc.

(b) Not only the sociative, but all kinds of the instrumentals are invariably construed with *sārdham*, *saha*, *samam*, *samanvāgata*, 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*, *uddiśya*, *antika*, etc.

(d) The ablative is construed in the genitive with *antika* or *santika*, in the accusative with *ārabhya*, *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*, *paratāreṇa*, *dakṣiṇena*, etc.; *sāmantena*, *kṣaṇena*, *nacireṇa*, *agreṇa*, *bhūyishṭhena*, *svastinā*, *paścā*. (2) The ablative : *cirāt*, *cira-cirāt*, *kiyaccirāt*, *antikāt*, etc. (3) The genitive : *sucirasya*, *nacirasya*, *cirasya*, etc.

THE NOMINAL PHRASE.

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

kiṃ kāraṇam • why • [L, S, M, etc.].

tataḥ pareṇa parataram • earlier, more earlier than that • [S].

gandhikānāṃ haste vikṛito • (it) was sold to the perfumers • [Miii 34]; *yadi icchatha rākṣasīnāṃ hastāto mokṣam* • if you wish deliverance from the hands of the demonesses • [Miii 75]; *bodhisattvo chandakasya haste ābharaṇāni ca deti* • the Bodhisattva hands over the ornaments to Chandaka [Mii 165].

yadi etāya mama mūle prema bhave • if she have any love for me • [Mii 65]; *devīye mūle* • regarding the queen • [Mii 66]; *ko vo'tra utsahati samudrapaṭṭanaṃ gantum amukasya sārthavāhasya mūlam* • who of us offers to go to Samudrapaṭṭana to the so and so merchant • [Mii 90]; *tatra ca ṛṣiṣya mūle aśruta-pūrvam ca madhuraṃ gītaśabdaṃ śṛṇoti* • heard an unheard-of sweet sound from the sage • [Mii 96]; *so dāni brāhmaṇo... āśramapadaṃ gatvā gautamasya ṛṣiṣya mūle pravrajito* • now the Brahman going to the hermitage took to religious mendicancy under the sage Gautama • [Mii 210]; *tataḥ so mama mūlāto gatvā tāye sārddham āsati* • then he going from me sat with her • [Mii 246]; *mālākārasya mūle vasitvā* • dwelling with the garland-maker • [Mii 463]; *mahendrakasya dhītā... kuśasya mūlāto palāyitvā pituḥ sakāśam āgatā* • the daughter of Mahendra, flying from Kuśa, came to her father • [Mii 485].¹

ātmanā caturthaḥ • the fourth with himself=with his three companions • [Mii 108, 110]; cf. French *lui quinzième* • himself the fifteenth, i.e., he with fourteen others •.

mama kāraṇena = *mama arthāya* = *mamāntareṇa* = *mama kṛtena* • for me • [L, D, S, etc.].

yato adhikaraṇam • whenceforth • [M]; *tato nidānam* • thenceforth • [M].

mama prṣṭhena prṣṭhimam samanubaddhā • they followed at my heels • [Miii 296].

kālena kālam • from time to time • [see *supra*].

sarveṇa sarvam • all in all, i.e., completely • [see *supra*].

cetasā cetah • from mind to mind, i.e., thoroughly • = *cittena cittam* [see *supra*, p. 23 ff.].

vairāṭikāputrasya... sakāśe parivrājaka pravrajyāṃ pravrajitā • they adopted the life of religious itineracy under (the guidance of) Vairāṭikāputra • [Miii 59].

¹ *tasya amātyaputrasya puṇyavantasya rājaputrasya mūle premnaṃ nipatitaṃ* "the son of the minister fell in love with Puṇyavanta, the king's son" [Miii 39]; *ye'py asmākam mūlāto dāraḥ jāta* "those sons that are born of us" [Miii 72]; *yathāham tāsāṃ rākṣasīnāṃ mūlāto svastinā muñceya* "so that we may safely get away from the demonesses" [Miii 72].

bhagavato santike brahmacaryaṃ carisyāmaḥ • we shall lead the life of a religious student under the Lord • [M]; *tathāgata-syāntike brahmacaryaṃ caritum* • to lead the life of religious studentship under the Tathāgata • [M].

imaṃ ślokaṃ śreṣṭhiputrasya vajrasenasya santike bhaṇatha • utter this verse before Vajrasena, the merchant's son • [Mii 175].

imāṃ gāthāṃ rājño brahmadattasya sakāśāto śṛṇvanti • they hear this verse from the king Brahmadatta • [Miii 191].

aḥaṃ rākṣasīdvīpasya madhyena āgacchāmi • I go to the island of the demonesses • [Miii 287].

THE NUMERAL.

The compound *śatasahasra* • 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., *caturaśītyā hayarathasahasraiḥ* • with eighty-four thousands of horse carriages • [L].

The following instance is peculiar: *dvecaturaśīti* (2 × 84) - *ratha-sahasrāṇi* • one hundred sixty-eight thousand chariots • [Mi 259].

THE COMPOUND.

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

The following compound formations are peculiar and noteworthy.

suhṛdbṛuva • one who calls himself a friend • [B 8.35].

upavāsoṣita • fasting a fast • [L 15].

svakasvaka • own • [L, S, D, M].

vṛddhavṛddha • old and old • [L].

nopama for *anupama* • unsurpassed • [L 160].

putradāram • son and wife • [Mi 3].

kākolūkā • crows and owls • [Mi 7].

yenakāmam • according to wish • [M].

yenakāmamgamā • going at will • [Mi 31]. Also in Pali.

devadevatā • gods and gods • [Mi 245].

nadīgaṅgā • the river Ganges •: *vayaṃ phaṇasaṅkramaṇa bhagavantaṃ nadīgaṅgām uttārayema* • we would help the Lord to cross the river Ganges through a bridge of our hoods • [D 55].

ehibhikṣukā • the call 'Come, O bhikṣu (*ehi bhikṣo*), be a student with the Tathāgata (*cara tathāgate brahmacaryaṃ*)' • [D, M, etc.].

jāyāpatikam • husband and wife • [D 259].

jīvantīśulā: *jīvantīśulām kārayati* • impales a woman alive • [D 417].

ardhaprahasantī • (a woman) half smiling • [Mii 72].

samasama • equal, rival • [Mii 75].

aśvavāniṣya • a trade in horses • [Mii 167].

vāhiravāhireṇa • outside and outside • [Mii 254].

kulakula: *kulakuleṣu bhikṣentā* • begging from house to house • [Miii 73].

sthavirasthavira • old and old, i.e., very old • [Miii 103].

diśodiśam • hither and thither • [Miii 146].

laṅghitabahubhiḥ for *bahulaṅghitaiḥ* [Miii 254 (G)].

śūnyaśūnya • all empty • [Saundarananda, 1.10].

ciracirāt • for a very long time • [D].

sarātrim • the whole night • [D 5].

atīkrāntātīkrānta: *vayaṃ devamanuṣyeṣu atīkrāntātīkrāntāḥ* • we among gods and men, have crossed (the stream of sorrow) • [D 47].

aṅgamaṅgāni • limbs and limbs, i.e., all limbs • [Miii 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 Buddhist Sanskrit, while the other construction, the active construction with *-ta-vant* is almost unknown.

The writers of Buddhist Sanskrit—Aśvaghoṣa not excepted—were very fond of putting a number of verbs one after another, mostly for the sake of emphasis. Thus : *imaṃ cāgāraṃ ādīptaṃ na jñānti 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]; *te kumārakāḥ... tad bhāṣitaṃ nāvabudhyante nodvijanti nottrasanti na samtrasanti na samtrāsam āpadyante na vicintayanti na nirdhāvanti nāpi jñānti na vijānanti kimetad ādīptaṃ 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].

Aśvaghoṣa was very fond of verbs. Thus, for instance : *ekaṃ vininye sa jugopa sapta saptaiva tatyāja rarakṣa pañca | prāpa trivargaṃ bubudhe trivargaṃ jajñe dvivargaṃ prajahau dvivargaṃ ||* • 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]; *ruroda mamlau virurāva jaglau babhrāma tasthau vilālāpa dadhyau | cakāra roṣaṃ vicakāra mālyam cakarta vaktraṃ vicakarṣa vastram ||* • (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 Buddhist Sanskrit generally. But in the works of Aśvaghoṣa they are too frequent. Thus : (1) verbs : *ajihīṣīt, acikīṣīt, avivakṣīt, adidhakṣīt, arurukṣat, yiyāsanti, parīpsanti,*

jigīṣanti, jighṛkṣati [B]; (2) nouns : *didṛkṣā, vivakṣā, niścikramiṣā, vivatsā, jijīviṣā, cikīṣā, jighāṃsā* [B]; (3) present participles : *ārurukṣant, rirakṣiṣant* [B]; (4) adjectives : *niścikramiṣu, mumukṣu, nirmumukṣu, vijighāṃsu, yiyāsu, vijijñāsu, bubhukṣu, amumukṣu, pipāsu, titīṣu, didṛkṣu, jihīṣu, śuśrūṣu, prepsu, jigīṣu, jighāṃsu, didhakṣu* [B].

The middle voice is almost entirely absent in Buddhist Sanskrit (excepting of course the writings of Aśvaghoṣa). 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 Saddharmapundarīka, the Divyāvadāna, and the Mahāvastu. Thus : *kṣoditaṃ kṛtvā* • having pounded • [S 134]; *teṣāṃ ca stūpānāṃ pūjāṃ kariṣyati* • will worship the stūpas • [S 161]; *bodhisattvam... adhiṣṭhānaṃ kṛtvā* • having established the Bodhisattva • [S 405]; *āgamanam 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 [*svārthe nic* of the Sanskrit grammarians], e.g., *smārayati* for *smarati*.

THE TENSE.

THE PRESENT.

The present is very often an equivalent of the aorist : *avagāhyottarāt samudrāt pratyuttarati | pratyuttīrya samyag eva ṛddhyā viḥāyasā rājadhānīm āgatyopari antahpuradvāre 'kṣatam 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 kalpayitvā smṛtiṃ pratilabhate* • spending the day there he regained (his) memory • [Mii 264].

The present with the particle *sma* expresses durative past. Examples are too frequent to be cited. But very often such a present is a perfect equivalent of the perfect and the aorist.

THE IMPERFECT.

The past tense is indicated either by the perfect, the imperfect, and the aorist or by the present with *sma*, and sometimes with passive past participles in *-ta*. There is no syntactic difference between the imperfect, the perfect, and the aorist. Of these three the imperfect forms are the least frequent.

THE PERFECT.

In the Buddhacarita and in the Saundarananda the perfect forms by far outnumber the aorist. In the Buddhacarita the perfect occurs with about 145 roots and about 645 times,¹ while the aorist occurs with 11 roots and about 25 times. In the Saundarananda the third canto has nothing but perfect forms.

But in Buddhistic Sanskrit proper the perfect occurs very rarely.

In the Lalitavistara the perfect occurs with these roots: *sthā*, *stu* (*abhi*-), *ah*.

In the Saddharmapundarīka it occurs with these roots: *vac*, *sthā*, *ah*, *kr*.

In the Mahāvastu it occurs with these roots: *vac* (several times), *bhū*, *bhāṣ*, *hr* (*vi*-), *drś*.

[For the periphrastic perfect, see *infra*.]

THE AORIST.

In Buddhistic Sanskrit the aorist is the most living of the tense forms. In the Lalitavistara it occurs with the roots: *sthā*, *stu* (*abhi*-), *drś*, *praceh*, *bhū*, *vac*, *jñā*, *dhā* (*antar*-), *kr*, *śru*, *hr* (*vi*-), etc.; in the Saddharmapundarīka with the roots:

¹ The following roots occur with the perfect in the Buddhacarita: *arc*, *āp*, *i*, *kam*, *kamp*, *kāṅkṣ*, *kāś*, *kuc*, *kr*, *kram*, *krīḍ*, *kruś*, *kṣip*, *kṣubh*, *gad*, *gam*, *gal*, *gā*, *gāh*, *gup*, *granth*, *ghūrṇ*, *cake*, *car*, *cal*, *chid*, *jan*, *jap*, *jalp*, *ji*, *jīva*, *jṛmbh*, *jval*, *tap*, *tam*, *tuṣ*, *tr*, *tyaj*, *tras*, *dā*, *drś*, *drū*, *droṣ*, *dhā*, *dhṛ*, *dhya*, *nad*, *nand*, *nam*, *naś*, *nind*, *nī*, *nṛt*, *pat*, *pad*, *pā*, *puṣ*, *prch*, *plu*, *phull*, *bandh*, *barh*, *budh*, *bhaj*, *bhā*, *bhāṣ*, *bhās*, *bhid*, *bhī*, *bhuj*, *bhr*, *bhram*, *bhrāj*, *man*, *mā*, *muc*, *mud*, *muṣ*, *mr*, *mṛś*, *yā*, *rakṣ*, *rañj*, *rabh*, *ram*, *rāj*, *ru*, *ruh*, *lap*, *labh*, *lamb*, *lih*, *lī*, *vac*, *vand*, *valg*, *vā*, *vās*, *vij*, *viś*, *vṛdh*, *vṛṣ*, *vyath*, *śak*, *śam*, *śaṅs*, *śās*, *śī*, *śuc*, *śram*, *śru*, *śvas*, *sad*, *sañj*, *sah*, *siñc*, *sū*, *sr*, *srj*, *srp*, *sev*, *skhal*, *stambh*, *stu*, *sthā*, *snā*, *opṛś*, *sphūrj*, *smi*, *smṛ*, *śru*, *śvaj*, *śvan*, *han*, *has*, *hā*, *hr*, *hrṣ*, *heṣ*, *hrī*, *hva*.

bhū, *vac*, *drś*, *pad* (*ut*-), *bhañj* (*pra*-), *ji* (*parā*-), *sthā*, *kr*, *kr* (*vi*-), *sad* (*ni*-), *śru*, *dā*, *kṣip*, etc.; in the Mahāvastu with the roots: *kr* (*vi*-), *drś*, *kr*, *vac*, *śru*, *sthā*, *bhū*, *sad* (*ni*-), *jñā*, *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 syntactical difference between the aorist and the perfect, e.g., *idam avocat bhagavān, idam vaditvā sugato hyathāparam etad uvāca śāstā* '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 dānī tataḥ yānapātrāto pratināvam āruhiṣyati* '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: *kāmaṃ khalu me śākyā tīkṣṇena śastreṇa aṅgamaṅgāni chindensuḥ sampradālensuḥ na tveva rāhulaśīrisya svakasya putrasya nācikiṣyam* 'Śākyas may well chop or pound (my) limbs with sharp weapons, yet I never shall not divulge (it) to my son Rāhulaśrī' [Miii 258].

[See Periphrasis, *infra*.]

THE PERIPHRASTIC FUTURE.

The periphrastic future does not occur in Buddhistic 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 doṣo bhavitā mamāpi* 'would this defect accrue to me also?' [3.32]; *na punar ahaṃ*

¹ In the Buddhacarita the simple aorist occurs with the roots: *i* (*adhi*-), *kr*, *gam*, *car*, *tap*, *bhū*, *śak*, *yaj*, *vac*, *śī*, *hā*; the reduplicated aorist with *jval*, *bhid*, *han*, *hr*, *kr*, *rakṣ*, *vac* and *dih*.

kapilāhvayaṃ praviṣṭā • I will not again enter (the city of) Kapila(-vāstu) • [5.84].

THE PERIPHRASTIC PERFECT.

The periphrastic perfect is not more frequent than the simple perfect in Buddhistic Sanskrit. In the Lalitavistara it occurs only with *sthā(pra-)*, e.g., *pratiṣṭhāpayām-āsa* [43]; in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka with 15 roots,¹ all with the auxiliary *as*; in the Mahāvastu it does not occur at all.

In the Buddhacarita the periphrastic perfect occurs with about 22 roots giving about 32 forms—20 with the auxiliary *as*, 7 with *kr*, and 5 with *bhū*. Three instances occur where the auxiliary is separated from the principal root by an intervening word²: *mātr̥ṣvasā mātr̥samaprabhāvā saṃvardhayām ātmajavad babhūva* • the aunt (mother's sister), prevailing as the mother, reared (him) up as her own son • [2.19]; *divyair viśeṣair mahayām ca cakruḥ* • they worshipped (him) with celestial preparations • [6.58]; *tataś ca taiḥ pratyarcayām dharmabhrto babhūva* • then with those he honoured the sages in turn • [7.9].

WITH THE PRESENT INDICATIVE OF *as* AND THE IMPERFECT INDICATIVE OF *bhū*.

In the Buddhacarita and in the Divyāvadāna the passive past participle with the present indicative of *as* is often used for the finite verb form, e.g., *asti...dṛṣṭaḥ* • is seen • [D 70]; and in the Lalitavistara and in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka with the imperfect³ of *bhū*, e.g., *aham...magadheṣu prakrānto'bhūt* • I went to Magadha • [L 299]; *samādhim samāpanno'bhūt* • was absorbed in meditation • [S 19].

¹ *ointayāmāsa, cintayāmāsuḥ, anuvicintayāmāsa, āmantrayāmāsa, abhipravaraṣayāmāsuḥ, abhipravādayāmāsuḥ, ārocayāmāsuḥ, niryātayāmāsuḥ, pravartayāmāsa, saṃpreṣayāmāsuḥ, avalokayāmāsa, pravartayāmāsuḥ, dhārayāmāsuḥ, vedayāmāsuḥ, deśayāmāsuḥ, praj-vālayāmāsa, pratiṣṭhāpayāmāsa, ādīpayāmāsa.*

² In the Raghuvamśa two such instances occur: *taṃ pātayām prathamam āsa papāta paścāt* " (the arrow) felled it and then fell itself " [9.61]; *prabhraṃśayām yo nakuṣaṃ cakāra* " who caused Nakuṣa to fall " [18.36].

Peculiar as well as interesting is the following instance from the Buddhacarita, where the finite verb *asmi* • I am • has been used for the regular pronoun *aham*: *mā bhūn matis te nṛpa kācid anyā niḥsaṃśayaṃ tad yad avocam asmi* • may you have no other thought, O king; certain it is that I have said • [1.72]. This idiom appears sporadically in the epics as well as in classical Sanskrit. Mallinātha, in his commentary on the Kirātārjunīya [3.6], says that *asmi* is an indeclinable used for the first personal pronoun. He quotes the Gaṇavyākhyāna as his authority and cites an example: *dāse kṛtāgasi bhavaty ucitaḥ prabhūṇāṃ pādaprahāra iti sundari nāsmi dūye* • a kick to the offending servant is proper for the masters: so I do not grudge, O beautiful lady •. There are other examples too: *candra-graheṇa vinā nāsmi rame* • unless you take the moon I do not play •. Occasionally *asti* is used for the third person. Boehtlingk and Roth quote the Vāmanapurāṇa (5.2.82) for a corresponding use of *asi* for the second person. This idiom has evident connection with the periphrastic future forms, *dātāsmi* and *dātāham* • I shall give •—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: *yaś ca me dharmam deśitam ājānīyāt na ca mām sa viheṭhayet* • he who shall understand the dharma taught by me, shall not hate me • [L 524]. *yadā tvam naradatta śṛṇuyā¹ buddho loka utpanna iti tadā tvam gatvā tasya śāsane pravrajeh¹ tat te bhaviṣyati dīrgharātram arthāya hitāya sukhāya* • 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 benefit, good and happiness • [L 123].

¹ Hortative Future.

In the following instance the optative is correlated to the future : *sa ced asāv imaṃ dharmam śroṣyaty ājñāsyati tasyai-vāhaṃ prathamam dharmam deśayisyē na ca mām sa viheṭhayet* • if he hears and understands, to him shall I first divulge my dharma; (and) he shall not spite me • [L 524].

In the Saddharmapundarika the optative has regularly been used in narration; e.g., *tad yathāpi nāma śāriputreha syāt kaścid eva grāme vā nagare vā...gṛhapatiḥ...mahac cāsya niveśanaṃ bhavet...ekadvāraṃ ca tan niveśanaṃ bhavet...tasya ca puruṣasya bahavaḥ kumārakāḥ 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 kula-putrāḥ kaścid eva vaidyapuruṣo bhavet...tasya...bahavaḥ putrā bhavyeṣu sa ca vaidyaḥ pravāsagato 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 : *sā tena ceṣṭālalitenā bhartuḥ sātṥyena cāntar-mānasā jahāsa | bhavec ca ruṣṭā kila nāma tasmai lalāṭajihmām bhrukuṭim cakāra* ॥¹

THE IMPERATIVE.

The imperative is very rarely used in a future sense and appears correlated with the future : *mātare samāgacchatu mā iha anāhāro mariṣyati* • let him join the mother, so that he may not die of starvation • [Miii 131-32]. *mādharmena rājyaṃ kāraya mā narakaparāyaṇo bhaviṣyasi* • 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 vilamba* • do not tarry • [M]; *mā...tiṣṭhata* • do not stand • [S 106]; *mā bhavanto'smin ..abhiramadhvam* • do not make merry in this • [S 79].

¹ "She, at that gracefully expressed disloyalty of her husband, laughed within herself; she was angry at him for show, and (hence) put up a frown with the forehead tucked" [Saundarananda, 4.15]. See the Conditional, *infra*.

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

The passive imperative occurs several times in the Lalitavistara : *iyam bhagini suvarṇapātrī kiṃ kriyatām* • 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'nuttarāṃ samyaksambodhim abhisambuddho na bhaviṣyati saṃsāre saṃsaranto bhagavanto yattakā etāni chattrāṇi tattakāni cakravartirājyāni kārayiṣyet* • 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 : *tām sundarīm cen na labheta nandaḥ sāvā niṣeveta na taṃ natabhrūḥ | dvandvaṃ dhruvaṃ tad vikalaṃ na śobhetānyonyahīnāv iva rātrīcandrau* • had not Nanda won her, or had she, the arch-browed one, not accepted him, surely the couple, thus eclipsed, 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 aheṣiṣyata bodhayan jaṇaṃ kṣurairiḥ kṣitau vā'py akar-iṣyata dhvanim | hanusvanaṃ vā'janayiṣyad uttamaṃ na cā'bha-viṣyan mama duḥkham iḍṛṣam* • if (the horse) had neighed

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 jalpa sāhasini* "do not talk, O daring lady");
- (3) the future : *mā me...bhaviṣyati* "may it not be" [M]; *mā iha anāhāro mariṣyati* "may he not die here of starvation" [Miii 131-32];
- (4) the present : *mā me bhūya āgacchasi* "do not come to me again" [Mi 244]; *so'pi taṃ bhikṣum dṛṣtvā śaṅkī saṃvṛtto mā me bhikṣu imamhi adhiṣṭhānamhi dūṣaya-tīti* "he too, on seeing the bhikṣu, became anxious, (thinking,) 'may he not defile this place'" [Mi 244]. *mā'si tṛṣṭaḥ, mā tṛṣṭo'si* "be not thirsty" [D 9, 11],

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 precativē that I have noted occurs in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka where it has been used along with the future and not differentiated in sense from the future: *yo me jyeṣṭhaṃ dharmam anupradāsyaty arthaṃ cākhyāsyati tasyāhaṃ 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 ayaṃ bhūmipatir yathoktaḥ* • 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., *mandamāṇaṃ samprasthitaḥ* • 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...brahmacaryaṃ samprakāśitavān* • 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.

¹ One instance however occurs in L.—*anuṣṭhitavantaḥ* [476].

In the Buddhacarita: *ūcivān* • said • [3.43]; *upeyivān* • came • [5.8]; *sameyivān* • came • [5.10]; *upajagmivān* • arrived • [12.2]; *tasthuṣi* • sat • [7.36].

In the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka the only occurrence is *upeyivān* [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 Aśvaghoṣa, which, strictly speaking, do not belong to Buddhistic Sanskrit proper. Thus: *tam prekṣya kasmāt tava dhīra vāṣpaḥ* • seeing him why, O firm one, (does) your tears (flow)? • [B 1.68]; *ato me dhyānāni labdhvāpy akṛtārthataiva* • so though obtaining the dhyānas, still (there is) my unsuccess • [B 1.82]; *na cāpy akṛtvā bhavati siddhiḥ* • not having done, the success cannot come • [L 41 (G)]; *tān drṣtvā tasya kāruṇyam utpannam* • seeing them his pity was excited • [D 7]; *śrutvā...kiyantaṃ kuśalam bhavet* • having heard (it) how much good can accrue? • [S 345 (G)]; *sarvasya janasya tāṃ drṣtvā 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 *khalu* [P 3.4.18]. A similar idiom sometimes appears in Buddhistic Sanskrit; e.g., *kiṃ tarhi devāṃś ca manuṣyāṃś ca saṃvācya* • what is the good of having lived among the gods and men? • [D 70].

¹ *taṃ hainaṃ drṣtvā bhīr viveda* "seeing him fear came upon (them)" [Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 11.6.1.7]; *tān bhūmau patitān drṣtvā...mahāṃś trāso 'bhavan mama* "seeing them fallen on the ground a great fear arose in me" [Rāmāyaṇa, 3.21.10]; *raso'py asya paraṃ drṣtvā nivartate* "seeing the Supreme his desire vanishes" [Gīta]; *dīpānantaraṃ rājya taṃ niśamya pratiṣṭhitam | pūrvam pradhūmito rājānāṃ hrdaye'gnir ivotthitaḥ ||* "hearing of him as established in his dominions...the fire...became aflame" [Raghuvamśa, 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 anupūrveṇa kāyabalasthānaṃ janayitvā sujātaye grāmikāye madhupāyasam grhītvā nāganandīkālasamaye yena nadī nairāñjanā tenupasaṃkramitvā nadyāṃ nairāñjanāyāṃ gātrāṇi śitalīkṛtvā yena svastiko yāvasikaḥ tenopasaṃkramitvā svastikaṃ yāvasikaṃ tṛṇamuṣṭiṃ yācitvā yena bodhiyaṣṭi tenopasaṃkramitvā bodhiyaṣṭiye purato anyatarāya tṛṇasaṃstaram prajñāpayitvā bodhiyaṣṭiṃ triṣkṛtyo pradakṣiṇīkṛtvā niṣīdi paryāṅkam ābhuñjītvā ṛju prācīnābhīmukho purimaṃ kāyam praṇidhāya pratimukhāṃ smṛtim upasthāpayitvā* 'then I, O bhikṣus, generating physical strength and vigour, (and) accepting sweet porridge from the village maiden Sujātā, (and)...going to the river Nairāñjanā, (and) cooling the limbs in the river Nairāñjanā, (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 paraṣparasya upagr̥hya kācid vāmadakṣiṇāto vikṣiptagātrā kāsāñcit mukhāto lālā sravati* '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 rūpeṣu dvipādeṣu puṇyakṣetreṣu kuśalāni 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 asmākaṃ śrīsaubhāgya-sampat sarvāsau buddham bhagavantam āgamyā* 'whatever

beauty, fortune or wealth we have, all those are owing to the lord Buddha' [D 95]; *mālatim āgamyā* 'due to Mālatī' [Mi 313].

ārabhya 'beginning', 'regarding'; see *supra*.

upādāya 'taking' : *tam eva divasam upādāya* 'from that very day' [D 25]; *yad upādāya rājā vipravāsito tād upādāya devo na varṣati* 'since when the king was banished since then the god does not rain' [Miii 44].

uddiśya 'having detected'; see *supra*.

niśritya 'resorting to' : *dakṣiṇam kukṣiṇi niśritya tiṣṭhati* 'remained in the right side of the womb' [D 98].

saṃdhāya 'having fixed' : *tam...saṃdhāya* 'with reference to it' [D 89].

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

Other phrases :

iti kṛtvā 'thus having done', 'therefore', 'because' : *dāsakaś cirāyatīti kṛtvā pālako'bhīhitah* 'as the servant was making late, Pālaka was addressed' [D 5]; *na ca vaireṇa vairāṇi śāmyante iti kṛtvā imaṃ ślokaṃ uvāca* 'he uttered the verse because (he thought that) enmities are not removed by enmity' [Mi 157].

ādau kṛtvā 'taking at the lead' : *manasāpi tāsām pramado-ttamānām 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].

samitīm asamitīm kṛtvā 'making the meeting no meeting; i.e., dissolving the meeting' [D 41].

so'haṃ tasya vacanam avacanam kṛtvā mahāsamudram avatīrṇah 'I, disregarding his advice, set sail in the ocean' [D 41].

Compound verbs : *śleṣam dattvā* (for *śīṣtvā*) 'having embraced' [D 64]; *prahāram dattvā* (for *prahr̥tya*) 'having

beaten • [D 31]; *śraddhayā gacchanti* (for *śraddadhāti*)
• believes • [D 17].

THE SENTENCE.

The Divyāvadāna shows a peculiar idiom of suppressing the finite verb; e.g., *pūrveṇa krośamātram gatvā mahat candanavanam* • there is a great forest of sandalwood on going just a *krośa* to the east • [113]; *tatra tena puruṣeṇa tāmrapaṭṭaiḥ pādau baddhvā tām parvatām vīryabalena laṅghayitvā sapta kṣārānadyaḥ...sapta kṣārānadīḥ samatikramya triśaṅkur nāma parvataḥ* • there the man having mailed his feet with 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 Triśanku (appears) [D 106].

In the Mahāvastu a verb is sometimes repeated in the same sentence probably for emphasis: *syāt khalu punar bhikṣavo yuṣmākam evaṃ syāt* • thus, O bhikṣus, it may occur to you • [ii 72, etc.]. Cf. *uttisṭha pāpa caura asti nāma tvaṃ rājakulam dharṣayasi* • rise, you villain thief, you indeed (dare to) break into the royal palace • [ii 168].¹

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., *kaliṅgeṣu dantapuram nāma nagaram* • in the province of Kalinga there (was) a city called Dantapura • [Miii 361]; *asmakeṣu godāvarī nadī* • in the country of the Asmakas there (is) the river Godāvarī • [Miii 363].

THE CORRELATIVES.

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

¹ It may be that *iti* is understood and *asti* has for its nominative *etat* understood. *Iti* is very often suppressed in Buddhistic Sanskrit, e.g., *āśrauṣīt...uttisṭhasya śreṣṭhisya dhītā abhiyo bhikṣur bhagavatā...samyaksambodhaye vyākṛto* "the daughter of the merchant Uttiya heard that the bhikṣu Uttiya has been instructed by the lord in the perfect realisation" [M 44].

correlatives in classical Sanskrit but in Buddhistic Sanskrit the order is generally reversed: *sa sārtha tāvads gato yāvat prabhātam* • the caravan set out then when it was dawn • [D 5].
na tāvad aham punarapi kapilavastu mahānagaram pravekṣyāmi yāvan me nānuttarā samyaksambodhir 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: *svapiti kumāro maharṣe muhūrtam āgamaya yāvad utthāsyati* • the prince sleeps, O great sage; wait a moment till the prince wakes • [S 117].

yena...tena • where...there •: *yena bhagavāms tenāñjalim praṇamya* • having bowed to the direction where the lord (was) • [L 6, 7]. Sometimes *tena* is suppressed: *te'pi sarve yena bodhimandapraṇatā abhūvan* • all of them bowed to the direction of the Bodhi seat • [L 341]. Sometimes *yena* is correlated to *tatra*: *yena daridravīthi tatrāsmākam āhāracivaram alpakṛcchrenaivotpadyate* • where (there is) the slum there our food and raiment can easily be got • [S 103].

api . api • both...and •: *api bhikṣavo vītarāgatvād api paryupāsitatvāt* • both for loss of attachment, O bhikṣus, and for reverence • [D 57].

yac ca...yac ca • both...and •: *yac ca kāśyapena samyaksambuddhena yac caitarhi bhagavatā* • both by Kāśyapa the perfectly Awakened One and by the lord now • [D 77].

yenāntareṇa...tenāntareṇa • while...then •: *yenāntareṇa pañca śākyakumārasatā mātāpitṛṇām mitrajñātisālohitānām ca pratisammodenti tenāntareṇa upāli prathamataram pravrajito* • while the five hundred Śākya youths were remonstrating with their parents, kinsmen and relatives, in that interval Upāli was the first to take holy orders • [Miii 180].