ON BUDDHISTIC (HYBRID) SANSKRIT
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I

Before the publication of Franklin Edgerton’s Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary (1953) the language of the scriptures of the Northern Buddhists—such as the Mahāvastu, the Lalitavistara, the Divyāvadāna etc—was known as Buddhist Sanskrit. The amended nomenclature seems to have been accepted by scholars without a demur. But is the insertion of the word ‘hybrid’ at all necessary or desirable?

The early Buddhist scriptural works that seem to have been produced in the northern half of the sub-continent of India, as known to us, are either in Middle Indo-Aryan (Prakrit) or in a style of Sanskrit more or less removed from the language to which Pāṇini had set the standard. The Prakrit texts (mainly represented by the Kharosthi Dhammapada) are written in the current language in the North-Western mountainous region where Sanskrit did not appear to have been much cultivated before the Christian era progressed a few centuries. The Buddhist scriptural works in “Sanskrit” belonged to the plains of the Madhyadesa and to the eastern region. No manuscript of the “Sanskrit” texts is written in Kharosthi, which lacked the long vowels and therefore was unsuitable for Sanskrit. The Gilgit Manuscripts of the Vinaya Vastu (edited by N. Dutt) are written in the Brahmi script.

The northern Buddhist texts do not present an identical language or dialect but they do represent a language style where beside the pure (i.e. Paninian) Sanskrit words are used along with Old Indo-Aryan words not formed according to Pāṇini, the words that are Prakritic (i.e. Middle Indo-Aryan) and the words that present an Old Indo-Aryan base and a middle Indo-Aryan suffix (ending or formative) and vice-versa. But the proportion of the three types of words are not the same in the texts. In some texts the first type of words preponderates, in some the second type and in some the third type—but all in different degrees. The three types may be thus illustrated.

(i) Old Indo-Aryan (not found in classical Sanskrit): kampe ‘it trembled’ (perfect ending but no reduplication of the root); pṛcchitā ‘(she was) asked’ (the suffix -īta added to the present stem instead of the root); imā (neuter plural; Vedic); pratiṣṭhitātva ‘having dropped down and forward for salutation’ (-tvā attached to a root compounded to prepositions); etc.

(ii) ratana ‘jewel’ (as in saptaratanamayam); dāni (for idānīm); āsī (for āsīt); yenimā (Sandhi form; for yenemā); etc.

(iii) (a) Buddhāna ‘of the Buddhas’ (buddha+MIA gen. pl. ending), naravarasmin ‘in the superior man’ (naravara+MIA loc. sg. ending); purānaśateh ‘with a hundred purana coins’ (purāṇaśata+MIA+ehi instr. pl. ending); abhūṣī ‘it occurred’ (a-bhū+MIA ending, third per. sg.); etc.

(iii) (b) bhesyati ‘it shall be’ (OIA bhū+OIA-isyati); dhārenti ‘they hold’ (MIA dhāre+dhāravyati+OIA-anti); okasto ‘come down to’ (MIA
Buddhistic Sanskrit is not a hybrid language although its words are often not homogeneous. The overall pattern or structure of the language is an Old Indo-Aryan language that was much akin to Sanskrit but unlike it was not rigidly controlled by the grammarians. It was a free kind of language that was used by ordinary men, not aspiring for Brahmanical scholarship or veneration. It was what may be called Spoken Sanskrit. By its nature it was an unstable literary or business language varying according to time and place. To call such a language "hybrid" is not correct. Buddhistic Sanskrit was not an artificially made up language fashioned by fusing Sanskrit and the Prakrits. Any language whether spoken or literary, including the Pidgin and Creole etc has its distinct basic or seed language, however, inscrutable it may be. As regards the vocabulary there is no language which is not more or less heterodox. There is bound to be some borrowed element. In the case of Buddhistic Sanskrit its indebtedness in this respect is heavy. But that is only natural. Both Sanskrit and the Prakrits were influential contemporary speeches which controlled between them their career which ultimately vanished into Sanskrit.

Buddhistic Sanskrit was not a hieretic language; it was a general language, the spoken Sanskrit of the few centuries before and after Christ. It was used as an administrative language in Madhyadesa by Kanishka and his successors. The Sarnath Buddhist Image Inscription of Kanishka (Epigraphia Indica VIII p.173 ff), the Set-Mahet Image and Umbrella Staff Inscription of the same (Ep. Ind. VIII p. 180 f; p. 291), the Mathura Stone Inscription of Huvishka (Ep. Ind. XXI p. 60 f) etc are written in almost the same language as Buddhistic Sanskrit. It also appears in a few documents from Niya region. I quote below the Inscription of Huvishka which refers to the establishment of an alms or charity house. The date of the inscription is the year 28, probably the Saka year 106 A.D.).

`This hall of piety (i.e. charity house) is established as a perpetual endowment by Pracinaka the Lord of the Kharasalera the governor of charitable institutions, son of Sarukamāna. From out of that deposit (vṛddhitah) the interest (śuddha: Bengali sud) should be spent month by month for the maintenance of Brahmans (who come) from the four quarters to the hall of piety. Day by day at the gate of the hall of piety should be stocked freshly made (sādyah: Bengali sājo) barley meal 3 Ādhakas, 1 Prastha of salt, 1 Prastha of tamarind (literally, acid stuff), 3 jars of green peas, and 5 earthenware bowls. These are for charity to the destitutes and also for the hungry and the thirsty. Whatever merit there goes to the Son of Divinity, Sāhi..."
Spoken Sanskrit, the basic language of the typical Buddhistic Sanskrit, as for instance in the Mahavastu, has the following characteristics in general.

1. The phonological pattern is almost the same as that of classical Sanskrit. There are, however, exceptions.

a. There are Middle Indo-Aryan vocables which show the expected simplification.

b. There is no rigidity of Sandhi rules. It follows the Sandhi rules of MIA. The final visarga after a vowel other than a is more often dropped than retained. The final -aḥ becomes more often -o than not; e.g. nando ca bhikṣuḥ; vanato ānetva; etc.

c. The final -n generally becomes -ṇ. e.g. bhagavan, balavan, mahattarakam (acc. pl. masc.); etc.

d. The length of the stem vowel is as often retained as not; e.g. sarvābhibhū ‘All overcome’ (nom.sg.); sarvābhibhuni (acc.sg.); sarvābhibhūṣyav-bhūṣya (gen. sg.). There is always metrical shortening when necessary.

e. There is often samprāṣāraṇa of ya and va: e.g. viriyanti (viryan).

2. Morphological characteristics are as follows.

a. The dual number is replaced by the plural as in MIA e.g. duve gandhamahattarakam ‘the two leading spice merchants’ (acc.); duve asthānsu ‘the two stayed’.

b. The noun stems ending in consonants are lost as in MIA, leaving a few fossils such as rajñāḥ, bhagavān, bhagavataḥ, arhan, arhatām, etc. The gender remains unchanged. Thus: pariṣā (for pariṣut).

c. The a-declension influences all other non-feminine declensions. Thus: ṛṣīya (gen. sg.), bhikṣūṣya (gen. sg.), bhrātarān (acc. pl.).

d. The ablative singular is formed with the adverbial suffix -tas; e.g. vanato (for vanāt).

e. The regular locative singular ending for the non-feminine is -smin. But the regular form for the a-stems is also current; e.g. lokamin as well as loke.

f. The ending for the instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive and locative singular fem. is -(a)ye (-yāi, the OIA dative singular).

g. The ending for the instrumental, dative, ablative and locative plural for all stems is -hi (-bhis).
h. The personal pronouns have developed some additional forms such as mamam (acc. sg.), maye, tvaye (inst. sg.) etc.

i. In the conjugation of the verb the Atmanepada forms are replaced by the Parasmaipada, even in the passive voice. A few Atmanepada forms survive in the verses mainly.

j. The -a- (and -aya-) conjugation predominates. The -ya- conjugation survives in the passive. The other conjugations survive sporadically.

k. The root bhū-(bhavati) generally becomes bho-(ho-) and bhe-; e.g. bhoti, bhọṣyati, bheṣyati; etc.

l. The gerundial suffix -tvā generally stands for -ya also, e.g. pratiṣrutvā. Sporadically -ya stands for -tvā, e.g. bandhiya (bandhya, for baddhvā).

There is an additional suffix -tvāna, e.g. karitvāna, kṛtvāna, dattvāna, vijahitvāna, etc.

m. There is only one form of the finite past tense. It is a mixture of the perfect, the acrīst and the imperfect. There are also relics from the old; e.g. abhuṣi (3. sg. pl.); asi (1.3 sg.); etc.

3. The more important syntactical characteristics are as follows.

a. There are many new idioms in the use of the cases. Thus: bhagavatā (instr. of the cause) te amanuyakā palānā 'on account of the Lord the non-humans fled'; kālena kālam 'from time to time'; imasya satasarhasrasya (gen. of exchange) kesaram 'the perfume bought by hundred thousand coins'; etc.

b. The compound verb also presents fresh idioms. Thus: āhāraṁ karisyāmi 'I shall eat (it)'; prahāraṁ dattvā 'having beaten up.'