CHAPTER --- 5

DIFFERENT LITERARY PRAKRITS (400 A.D. -600 A.D.)

The 5th chapter of the proposed research work is Different Literary Prakrits (400 A.D.-600 A.D.). This stage is designated as Second MIA. This stage actually contains five major dialects of Prakrits and these are Māhārāṣṭrī, Saurasenī, Māgadhī, Ardha-Māgadhī and Paścātī. The first four dialects are also known as dramatic Prakrits. Māhārāṣṭrī, Saurasenī and Ardha-Māgadhī are also known as religious Prakrits. But there is no Buddhist literature written in these dialects, still it is necessary to discuss the 2nd MIA as well as these dialects to complete the total range of MIA.

(I) MĀHĀRĀṢṬRĪ

According to a Prakrit grammarian, Māhārāṣṭrī is the standard Prakrit. Daṇḍin remarks: "Māhārāṣṭraṣrayāṃ bhāṣāṃ prakṛṭam prākṛtam viduḥ". As a matter of fact, the Prakrit grammarians framed the rules first for it, then for others. There are some special rules for others and the rest is like Māhārāṣṭrī. It has a magnificent literature of lyric poetry. The important literary instances of this Prakrit are "Gāthāsattasai" of Hūla (from 3rd to 7th century A.D.), "Rāvanavaho" or "Dahamuhavaho" or "Setubandho" (5th-6th century A.D.) of Pravarasena, "Gauḍavaho" of Bākpatīrāja [Bappairāja] (6th century A.D.) etc. The language originated in the Decan. But it is not easy to locate a fixed dialect area of Māhārāṣṭrī because the Māhārāṣṭrī songs were famous far beyond the boundary of Mahārāṣṭra. However, A.C. Woolner claimed that Māhārāṣṭrī is based on the Old spoken language of the country of the Godāvarī and bears many features that survive

128. ibid.

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as peculiarities of modern Māhārāṣṭrī. Māhārāṣṭrī was used in poem from the ancient days. According to Rākobi, Māhārāṣṭrī got this position near about the 4th century A.D. It can be mentioned here that the language of the ancient inscription (150-200 A.D.) of Māhārāṣṭra is similar to Pali. However, Māhārāṣṭrī was the language of epics and lyrics. Though the Prakrit grammarians framed the rules first for the Māhārāṣṭrī, but Sāuraseni is earlier than Māhārāṣṭrī. Māhārāṣṭrī is found in Sanskrit dramas, like Abhijñāna Śākuntalam of Kālidāsa, Ratnavali of King Harṣavardhana etc. Again, Karpūramaṇjarī of Rājaśekhara is an instance of the mixture of Māhārāṣṭrī and Sāuraseni, which is written in the Saṭṭaka style of drama.

PHONOLOGY OF MĀHĀRĀṢṬRĪ :

(1) SOUND SYSTEM :

VOWELS :— a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, e, o.

CONSONANTS :— k, kh, g, gh, ı, c, ch, j, jh, ū, ṭh, ḍh, ṃ, t, th, d, dh, n, p, ph, b, bh, m, y, r, l, v, s, h, ō, ū.

(2) TREATMENT OF SANSKRIT VOWELS IN MĀHĀRĀṢṬRĪ :

(i) Sanskrit vowel ‘r’ becomes ‘a’, ‘i’, ‘u’ and ‘ri’ in Māhārāṣṭrī.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SANSKRIT</th>
<th>MAHARASTRI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>apasṛta</td>
<td>osara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drṣṭi</td>
<td>diṅṭhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nirvṛta</td>
<td>nibbuo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭṛṣka</td>
<td>riccha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

131. Woolner, A.C., Introduction to Prakrit, op. cit.
133. ibid.
(ii) Sanskrit diphthongs ‘ai’ and ‘au’ becomes ‘e’ and ‘o’ in Māhārāṣṭrī.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{e.g.,} & \quad \text{SANSKRIT} & \quad \text{MĀHĀRĀṢṬRĪ} \\
gairīka & \quad \text{geria} \\
kaumudī & \quad \text{kornui}
\end{align*}
\]

But, sometimes Sanskrit diphthongs ‘ai’ and ‘au’ becomes ‘a-i’ and ‘a-u’ in Maharastri.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{e.g.,} & \quad \text{SANSKRIT} & \quad \text{MĀHĀRĀṢṬRĪ} \\
vairin & \quad \text{va-ira} \\
mauli & \quad \text{ma-uli}
\end{align*}
\]

(3) TREATMENT OF SANSKRIT CONSONANTS IN MĀHĀRĀṢṬRĪ:

(i) All intervocalic single voiced non-aspirate plosives, i.e., ‘k’, ‘g’, ‘c’, ‘j’, ‘t’, ‘d’, ‘p’, ‘v’ and ‘y’ are elided.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{e.g.,} & \quad \text{SANSKRIT} & \quad \text{MĀHĀRĀṢṬRĪ} \\
pṛākṛta & \quad \text{pāua} \\
vigalīta & \quad \text{vialia} \\
niśicara & \quad \text{nisiara} \\
indrajāla & \quad \text{indaāla} \\
lālīḥ & \quad \text{laāo} \\
hṛdayaṁ & \quad \text{hiaaṁ} \\
nipuṇa & \quad \text{nīṇa} \\
dhrūvaṁ & \quad \text{dhuaṁ} \\
prīya & \quad \text{pia}
\end{align*}
\]

(ii) All intervocalic voiced aspirated plosives are reduced to ‘-h-’.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{e.g.,} & \quad \text{SANSKRIT} & \quad \text{MĀHĀRĀṢṬRĪ} \\
vimukha & \quad \text{vimuha}
\end{align*}
\]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Marathi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>meghala</td>
<td>mehala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pathika</td>
<td>pahia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madhu</td>
<td>mahu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abhinava</td>
<td>ahiṇava</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(iii) Before voicing (and spirantization) and final elision (or reduction to '-h-') an unvoiced non-aspirate is sometimes aspirated.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Maharashtra</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chāyāki</td>
<td>* chāyākhī &gt; * chaāhī &gt; chaāhī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sphāṭika</td>
<td>* sphāṭikha &gt; phaṭīha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(iv) Dental 'n' generally changed to cerebral 'ṅ', but sometimes retained.

(v) Semi-vowel 'y' is changed to 'j' at initial position.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Maharashtra</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yuvatī</td>
<td>juai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(vi) Occasionally intervocalic '+s+' is changed to '+h-'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Maharashtra</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>anudivasāṁ</td>
<td>anudihāṁ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(vii) The conjunct 'ks' becomes 'ccha'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Maharashtra</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>laksūṁ</td>
<td>lacchī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(viii) The conjunct 'tm' becomes 'pp'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Maharashtra</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ātman</td>
<td>appā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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(2) Sāurusenī

There is not much literature in other Prakrits except Māhārāṣṭrī. Sāurusenī is originated in the Madhyadeśa, the home of Sanskrit and named after the Sūrasena, the country round Mathurā. 136 It has close affinity with Sanskrit. A.C. Woolner claimed that due to close kinship with Sanskrit, it was overshadowed and owing to the continuous influence of Sanskrit, it failed too much independent progress. 137 However, Sāurusenī is therefore partly archaic and partly artificial. 138 So, we get the Sāurusenī as the usual Prakrit of the prose portions in Sanskrit and Prakrit dramas. In the dramas, it is spoken by ladies and Vidūṣaka and in the Camphor cluster (Karpūramāṇjarī) even by the king. The references for Sāurusenī used in my work are Sanskrit dramas like Abhijñāna Śākuntalam, Rāmāyaṇa, Mṛcchakaṭakam etc and the Prakrit drama, viz., Karpūramaṇjarī. The frequent use of Sāurusenī is found as the language of ladies, children, eunuchs, astrologers, the insane and the sick in the dramas. 139

PHONOLOGY OF SĀURASENĪ

(1) SOUND SYSTEM :

VOWELS :— a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, e, o.

CONSONANTS :— k, kh, g, gh, n, c, ch, j, jh, ṭ, d, ṭh, ḍh, ṇ, t, th, d, dh, n, p, ph, b, bh, m, r, l, v, s, h, ŋ.

(2) TREATMENT OF SANSKRIT VOWELS IN SĀURASENĪ :

(i) Sanskrit vowel 'ṛ' becomes 'a', 'i' and 'u' in Sāurusenī.

  e.g., SANSKRIT         SĀURASENĪ
      tṛṇaka              tanaga

136. Woolner, A.C., Introduction to Prakrit, op.cit.
137. ibid.
139. Katre, S.M., Prakrit Languages and their contribution to Indian Culture, op.cit.


(ii) Sanskrit diphthongs 'ai' and 'au' become 'e' and 'o' in Śaurasenī.

\text{e.g.,} \quad \text{SANSKRIT} & \quad \text{ŚAURASENĪ} \\
\text{bhairava} & \quad \text{bherava} \\
\text{kautuka} & \quad \text{kodua}

(3) \text{TREATMENT OF SANSKRIT CONSONANTS IN ŚAURASENĪ} :—

(i) Unlike the principle of a dropping or omitting singular consonants between vowels in Śaurasenī, such dropping is not frequent.

\text{e.g.,} \quad \text{SANSKRIT} & \quad \text{ŚAURASENĪ} \\
\text{sarasvati} & \quad \text{sarassadi}

(ii) Intervocalic '-t-' and '-th-' are reduced to '-d-' and '-dh-' respectively.

\text{e.g.,} \quad \text{SANSKRIT} & \quad \text{ŚAURASENĪ} \\
\text{gata} & \quad \text{gada} \\
\text{lata} & \quad \text{lada} \\
\text{kautuka} & \quad \text{kodua} \\
\text{kathaṁ} & \quad \text{kadhaṁ} \\
\text{drstipatha} & \quad \text{diṭṭhivadha}

(iii) Sometimes instead of being dropped or reduced to '-h-', a consonant between vowels is doubled in Śaurasenī.

\text{e.g.,} \quad \text{SANSKRIT} & \quad \text{ŚAURASENĪ} \\
\text{eva} & \quad \text{evva}

(iv) Sometimes instead of 'h' in Sanskrit, we find an aspirate 'dh' in Śaurasenī.

\text{e.g.,} \quad \text{SANSKRIT} & \quad \text{ŚAURASENĪ} \\
\text{iha} & \quad \text{idha}
(v) The conjunct ‘ks’ becomes ‘kkh’.

\begin{align*}
\text{e.g.,} & & \text{SANSKRIT} & \text{ŚAURASENĪ} \\
& & \text{prekṣita} & \text{pekkhia} \\
& & \text{pratyacakṣitum} & \text{pacchacakkhiduṁ} \\
& & \text{gurud.ṛkṣiṇā} & \text{gurudakkhipā}
\end{align*}

(vi) Intervocalic ‘-nt-’ sometimes becomes ‘-nd-’.

\begin{align*}
\text{e.g.,} & & \text{SANSKRIT} & \text{ŚAURASENI} \\
& & \text{śakuntalā} & \text{Soundalā} \\
& & \text{antaḥ} & \text{ande}
\end{align*}

(vii) Simplification of double consonant is less frequent than in Māhārāṣṭrī and Ardha-Māgadhī.

\begin{align*}
\text{e.g.,} & & \text{SANSKRIT} & \text{ŚAURASENĪ} \\
& & \text{yasmin} & \text{yahim}
\end{align*}

(3) MĀGADHĪ

Māgadhī is the dialect of the eastern borders of Aryan Culture. It is the Prakrit of the east.\textsuperscript{140} Its geographical center was in the ancient Magadha.\textsuperscript{141} The earliest evidence with which Māgadhī have a connection is that of the language of the Asokan inscriptions (i.e., Eastern group of dialects of Jaugada and Dhauli).\textsuperscript{142} A short inscription of the Jogīmārā Cave written in Old Māgadhī language has been mentioned earlier (1\textsuperscript{st} chapter). Again, in the previous chapter, we see that we got Old Māgadhī form in the fragments of Aśvaghosa’s drama. Beside that, the Sanskrit dramas are the most important source for

\textsuperscript{140} Woolner, A.C., introduction to Prakrit, op.cit.
\textsuperscript{141} ibid.
\textsuperscript{142} Jha, M., Māgadhī and Its Information, (Calcutta : Sanskrit College. 1967). p.18.
the study of the language. The application of various dialects of Prakrit enriched the Sanskrit plays Mṛčchakaṭākam and Abhijñāna Śākuntalam. In the Mṛčchakaṭākam it is spoken by the Śākara, his servant Sthāvaraka, the shampooer Kumbhilaka (who later on became a Buddhist monk), the valet of Vasantasena, Vardhamānaka and the servant of Čārudatta, the two Çaṇḍālas, Rohasena. Čārudatta’s little son (though in some manuscripts Rohasena speaks in Saurasenī). 143 In Śākuntalā, the fishermen and two police men and Sarvadamana speaks in Māgadhī. 144 Again, in the drama, Nāgānanda of Harṣavardhana of later period (606 A.D. – 648 A.D.) servants speak Māgadhī. 145 Māgadhī is therefore generally spoken by menials, dwarfs, foreigners and Jain monks also. 146

PHONOLOGY:

(1) SOUND SYSTEM :

**VOWELS** :— a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, e, o.

**CONSONANTS** :— k, kh, g, gh, ē, c, ch, j, jh, ī, ṭ, ṭh, ď, ḍh, ň, t, th, d, dh, n, p, ph, b, bh, m, y, l, v, s, h, ř.

(2) TREATMENT OF Sanskrit VOWELS IN MāGADHĪ :

(i) Sanskrit vowel ‘ṛ’ becomes ‘a’, ‘ī’, ‘u’ and ‘e’ and with drs, it becomes ‘ri’.

e.g.,   Sanskrit | MāGADHĪ
--------+----------
vrddha | vaddha
mṛdu  | midu
nivṛttāḥ | niutte
dṛṣṭam   | dekkhiam
ṛṣā      | erisā

143. ibid.
144. Katre, S.M., Prakrit Languages and their Contribution to Indian Culture, op.cit.
145. Jha, M., Māgadhī and Its Information, p.29, op.cit.
146. Prakrit Languages and their Contribution to Indian Culture, op.cit.
(ii) Sanskrit diphthongs 'ai' and 'au' becomes 'e' and 'o' in Māgadhī.

\[\text{e.g.,} \quad \begin{array}{ll}
\text{SANSKRIT} & \text{MĀGADHI} \\
\text{sauhrdaih} & \text{sāhida}
\end{array} \]

(3) TREATMENT OF SANSKRIT CONSONANTS IN MĀGADHI:

(i) 'l' replaces 'r'.

\[\text{e.g.,} \quad \begin{array}{ll}
\text{SANSKRIT} & \text{MĀGADHI} \\
\text{mahāratna} & \text{māhāladana} \\
\text{dhīvara} & \text{dhīvala} \\
\text{cārudatta} & \text{cāludatta} \\
\text{svara} & \text{sāla}
\end{array} \]

(ii) Palatal 's' replaces cerebral 'ṣ' and dental 's'.

\[\text{e.g.,} \quad \begin{array}{ll}
\text{SANSKRIT} & \text{MĀGADHI} \\
\text{esaḥ} & \text{eṣe} \\
\text{ghoṣanā} & \text{ghoṣanā} \\
\text{bhāsuraṁ} & \text{bhāṣulaṁ} \\
\text{svara} & \text{sāla} \\
\text{kāṁsyā} & \text{kāṁsā}
\end{array} \]

(iii) 'y' stands for 'j' and vice-versa.

\[\text{e.g.,} \quad \begin{array}{ll}
\text{SANSKRIT} & \text{MĀGADHI} \\
\text{jānuka} & \text{yāṇua} \\
\text{jana} & \text{yaṇa} \\
\text{yāvat} & \text{jāva}
\end{array} \]

(iv) Intervocalic '-d-' (original / derivative).

\[\text{e.g.,} \quad \begin{array}{ll}
\text{SANSKRIT} & \text{MĀGADHI} \\
\text{samāsāditam} & \text{samāsādide}
\end{array} \]
(v) The palatal nasal is preferred in conjuncts.
    e.g., Sanskrit rajna > Magadhi lanna

(vi) Conjunct groups with a sibilant are preserved.
    e.g., Sanskrit prstå > Magadhi puścidā
         matsa > maśca
         preksate > paśkadi

(4) ARDHA-MĀGADHĪ

In the previous chapter we found the Old form of Ardha Māgadhī in the fragments of Aśvaghoṣa’s drama. Actually, it is a transition variety between Śaurasenī and Māgadhī. 147 It is more archaic than Śaurasenī and it is very much influenced by Sanskrit. 148 In the drama named Karṇabhāra of Bhāsa, Indra and two warriors speak in the language with which Ardha-Māgadhī have close resemblance. Actually, Ardha-Māgadhī is the language of Jain literature.

Some salient features of Ardha-Māgadhī is given below:

(i) The elided intervocalic consonants are often represented by the ‘y’-glide.
    e.g., Sanskrit sāgara > Ardha-Māgadhī sāyara.

(ii) Cerebralisation of dentals is much more common than elsewhere.

(iii) Intervocalic voiced plosives sometimes remain.
    e.g., Sanskrit lokasmin > Ardha-Māgadhī logamsi.

(iv) The conjunct ‘-ss-’ is often reduced to ‘-s-’ with a lengthening of the preceding vowel.

   e.g., Sanskrit varṣa > * vassa > Ardha-Māgadhī vāsa.

(v) The conjunct ‘-sm-’ becomes ‘-ms-’.

   e.g., Sanskrit asmi > Ardha-Māgadhī arśni.

(5) PAIṢĀCĪ

Paiṣācī has been mentioned by the Prakrit Grammarians. A.C. Woolner assumed three reasons regarding its naming and these are — (i) Bhūtabhāṣā — the language of demons, (ii) language of uncivilized community including some Apabhraṃśa and some non-Aryan languages and (iii) Paiṣācī dialect of the Prakrit grammarians (Hemacandra) with a sub-dialect, Cūlikā Paiṣācī. 149 Gūṇāḍhya’s Bṛhatkathā is a famous work written in Paiṣācī, but the original work is lost. 150 We got reference only in the Kathā Literature in Sanskrit preserved in Somadeva’s Kathāsaritsāgara and Kṣemendra’s Bṛhatkathāmahājanī. 151 Beside that, according to Buddhist tradition, the sthāviras, one of the four main schools of Vaibhāṣikas used Paiṣācī for this sacred literature, but unfortunately we have no trace of it. 152 Though the original work of Bṛhatkathā is lost, but we got several tales of it in Sanskrit translations. 153 A remarkable point is that the Shāhēzgarhi Edict (North-Western) of Asoka has resemblance with this dialect in a number of particulars. 154 However, Paiṣācī is, therefore, reached to us by scanty references and secular quotations by Prakrit grammarians.

149. Woolner, A.C., Introduction to Prakrit, p.68, op.cit.
151.ibid.
152. ibid.
154. Introduction to Prakrit, op.cit.
Salient features of Paisācī is given below:

(i) Devoicing of intervocalic voiced plosives and affricates.
   e.g., SANSKRIT PAIŚĀCĪ
e.g., nagara nakara
   rājā rācā
   kandarpa kantapp

(ii) Non-elision of intervocalic plosives.
   e.g., SANSKRIT PAIŚĀCĪ
e.g., megha mekha

(iii) Sanskrit 'p', 'l', 'ṭ', 's' > 'n', 'l', 's', 's' respectively in Paisācī.
   e.g., SANSKRIT PAIŚĀCĪ
e.g., guṇena gunena
   kamala kamaḷa
   pradesa patesa

(iv) ‘-y-’ie retained.
   e.g., SANSKRIT PAIŚĀCĪ
   e.g., yuṅka yutta.

   e.g., SANSKRIT PAIŚĀCĪ
e.g., rājñāḥ raṉā or raṇa
   kanyakā kaṇākā
   punya puṇīṇa

(vi) The conjuncts ‘ry’, ‘sn’, ‘ṣṭ’ becomes separated svarabhakti vowel and became ‘ria’,
   ‘sina’, ‘ṣaṭa’.

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The aforesaid literary Prakrits have also several sub dialect of them. The famous Prakrit grammarian Purusottama mentions Pracya, spoken by Vidūṣaka in Mṛchakaṭākam closely resembled with Sauraseni. Again, Avanti participates equally the characteristics of both Māhārāṣṭrī and Sauraseni, which is spoken by Viṅkaka (according to Pischel) in the same drama. Besides these two Puruṣottama also mentioned Dīkka or Tākka or Taṅka, a sub language where Sanskrit and Sauraseni mingled and this is also spoken by Mathurā, the owner of the gambling house and the two gamblers accompanying him of the same drama. Chandaka, a southerner, speaks Dākṣinātya, which is not very much different from Avanti. Magadhi have also three dialects — Sākari, Cāndali and Sāvāri. Sākari, a sub dialect (vibhasa) of Magadhi, which is spoken by king’s brother-in-law of the same drama. Cāndali is a degenerate or corrupt form of Magadhi and Sauraseni is a dialect of Magadhi. Cāndali is also found in Mṛchakaṭākam.

Māhārāṣṭrī, Sauraseni and Magadhi with their sub varieties are literary as well as dramatic Prakrit. With these Arda-Magadhi and Paisaci and its sub dialect Culikā Paisaci are found in the works of the eminent Prakrit Grammarians. The second MIA stage ends here.

156. Sen, S., A Comparative Grammar of Middle Indo Aryan, p.27, op.cit.
157. ibid.
158. Prakrit Languages and their Contribution to Indian Culture, op.cit.
159. ibid.
160. Prakrit Languages and their Contribution to Indian Culture, op.cit.
162. ibid.
163. A Comparative Grammar of Middle Indo Aryan, p.28, op.cit.
164. Prakrit Languages and their Contribution to Indian Culture, p.25, op.cit.

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