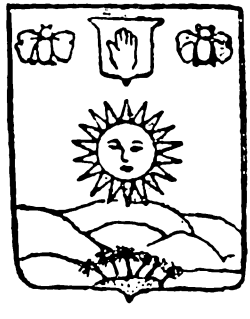
Building Centenary and Silver Jubilee Series: 17

PRAKRIT LANGUAGES
AND THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO INDIAN CULTURE

BY

S. M. KATRE



DECCAN COLLEGE
Post-graduate and Research Institute
Poona
1964

INDIAN INSTITUTE OF ADVANCED STUDY SIMLA

PRAKRIT LANGUAGES
AND THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO INDIAN CULTURE

DECCAN COLLEGE

Building Centenary and Silver Jubilee Series

17

PRAKRIT LANGUAGES AND THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO INDIAN CULTURE

BY

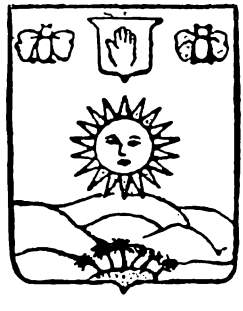
S. M. KATRE

DECCAN COLLEGE
Post-graduate and Research Institute
Poona

PRAKRIT LANGUAGES
AND THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO INDIAN CULTURE

by

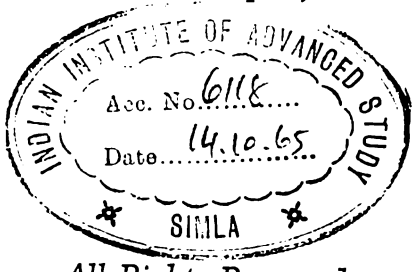
SUMITRA MANGESH KATRE, M.A., PH.D. (LONDON)
Director and Honorary Professor of Linguistics, Deccan College, and Editor, Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principles.



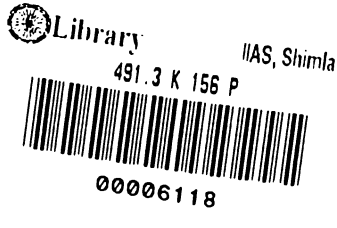
DECCAN COLLEGE
Post-graduate and Research Institute
Poona
1964

Code No.: BC 97

Second Edition : 1000 copies, October 1964



Price Rs. 5·00



Printed by S. Ramaswami at G. S. Press, 21, Narasingapuram Street, Mount Road, Madras-2 and Published by S. M. Katre for the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, Yeravada, Poona-6

TO

PARASHURAM KRISHNA GODE

FOREWORD

On the 15th of October 1964 the Deccan College celebrates the centenary of its main Building, and curiously enough this period coincides with the Silver Jubilee of the Postgraduate and Research Institute which, as successor to the Deccan College, started functioning from 17th August 1939 when members of the teaching faculty reported on duty. When I suggested to members of our faculty the novel idea that the centenary should be celebrated by the publication of a hundred monographs representing the research carried on under the auspices of the Deccan College in its several departments they readily accepted the suggestion. These contributions are from present and past faculty members and research scholars of the Deccan College, giving a cross-section of the manifold research that it has sponsored during the past twentyfive years. From small beginnings in 1939 the Deccan College has now grown into a well developed and developing Research Institute and become a national centre in so far as Linguistics, Archaeology and Ancient Indian History, and Anthropology and Sociology are concerned. Its international status is attested by the location of the Indian Institute of German Studies (jointly sponsored by Deccan College and the Goethe Institute of Munich), the American Institute of Indian Studies and a branch of the Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient in the campus of the Deccan College. The century of monographs not only symbolises the centenary of the original building and the silver jubilee of the Research Institute, but also the new spirit of critical enquiry and the promise of more to come.

S. M. KATRE

PREFACE

This is a reprint of a small book which I wrote at the invitation of SRI K. M. MUNSHI, worthy President and Founder of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, in 1945 as the third number of Bharatiya Vidya Series. It has been out of print for the past ten years, but a constant stream of requests for copies has reached the author. In the meantime Dr. Sukumar SEN, Khaira Professor of Indian Linguistics, Calcutta University has revised his original *Comparative Grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan* (published serially in *Indian Linguistics*) as a special publication of the Linguistic Society of India in 1960. Nevertheless the need has been felt for a small introductory volume, not written for the specialist, but written popularly on the basis of scientific material available. Scientific outlook has throughout been maintained and has not been sacrificed to achieve mere popularity.

Since the publication of the original book a great deal of work has been published in the field of Middle Indo-Aryan. Of particular significance is Professor Franklin Edgerton's Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Lexicon and the large number of Apabhramsa and other Prakrit texts which have appeared in print. The establishment of the Prakrit Text Society in Banaras is another corner stone in this edifice. In the same tradition may be mentioned the Nalanda Institute of Buddhist Studies and Vesali Institute of Jain Studies set up in Bihar. A resurgence of interest in the study of Pali and Prakrits may be seen in research and university circles not only in India but also outside. It is in this context that a slightly modified reprint of the first edition of this book is now being presented to the world of scholars in the humble hope that it has a minor function to play. Special thanks are due to the Manager and Staff of G. S. Press for the expeditious and excellent execution of fine printing.

S. M. KATRE

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The word *Prākṛta*—Europeanized as Prakrit—has been employed by our ancient Indian Grammarians and Literary Critics to indicate a number of languages and dialects, traces of which have been found in secular as well as religious literature from about the fifth century B.C. to the eleventh century A.D. covering a period of over sixteen centuries. Various definitions have been given by the Grammarians and Rhetoricians, based upon the etymology of the word, and the concensus of opinion is that it is derived from an original word *prakṛti* 'basis' through the modification of which we get the derivative *prākṛta* 'coming from or arising out of the basis.' Almost all are agreed that this basis or *prakṛti* is in reality 'the language of the gods,' Sanskrit; hence it follows that the Prakrit languages are nothing but the lineal descendants of Sanskrit as modified in their regional and temporal evolution; or in other words, languages derived ultimately from the common parent Sanskrit. This view is perhaps the earliest formulation, as yet undeveloped, of the concept of a family of languages, leading ultimately to the science of comparative grammar. Thus Sanskrit and the Prakrit languages together constitute one family of languages of which Sanskrit is the original basis or *prakṛti* and the Prakrits its later descendants, differentiated from it by several processes of evolution as determined by the two primary conditions of space (region or locality) and time. In this sense the Prakrits have been limited by the Grammarians and Rhetoricians of India to such languages and dialects as have appeared in certain types of literature, such as the Prakrits appearing in Sanskrit plays or the religious literature of the Jainas or in certain lyrical and epic literature, Hindu as well as Jaina. Thus among the principal languages so treated are Māhārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, Māgadhī,

Ārṣa or Ardhamāgadhī, Apabhraṁśa, varieties of Paiśācī, and several subvarieties of these appearing in specific works: witness, for example, Śākārī, Cāṇḍālī and Śābarī, as dialects of Māgadhī, etc., in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* ascribed to Śūdraka. But this classical definition excludes from the group Pāli, the language of the Southern Buddhist Canon, the dialects found in the Prakrit Inscriptions and coin legends since the period of Aśoka and in documents discovered outside India, such as the Kharoṣṭhī Dhammapada or the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions found in Chinese Turkestan. Even PISCHEL's great *Grammatik*, published in 1900 and the starting point of modern scientific investigation in the historical study of the Prakrits, suffers to this extent by excluding from its purview the vast linguistic material available in these dialects not covered by the orthodox definition of the term *prākṛta*. Practical reasons evidently prevented him from including the full implications of a wider definition in so far as the material then available to him was concerned, and he limited himself to the narrow definition of the term *prākṛta*, following mostly the classical definitions of the term.

It is, however, to Namisādhu, the famous commentator of Rudraṭa's *Kāvyālaṁkāra*, that we owe a surprisingly modern definition of the word *prākṛta*. According to him, the 'basis' or *prakṛti* of these languages or dialects is the natural language of the 'people' uncontrolled by the normative rules of grammarians, the common medium of expression and intercourse, as opposed to Sanskrit, the refined language of the gods and the learned. It follows, therefore, that the word *prākṛta* comprises the natural unrefined dialects of the common people and their descendants, forming one family of languages. In this connection it is worth noticing the peculiar use of this word made by Kālidāsa in his oft-quoted passage: *rājā prakṛtirañjanāt*, where it indicates the 'subjects' of a king, that is, the common people of his kingdom in their totality. If this wider definition is accepted our concept of the term naturally expands beyond the limits set by the efforts of both old and new grammarians, including PISCHEL, and

enables us to include within it a larger number of dialects and languages omitted by them.

In fact we need not rest here; we can still enlarge the meaning of this word to include several varieties of 'incorrect Sanskrit,' one of which, used by the Mahāyāna Buddhists in their Sanskrit works, has been known by the term of Gāthā dialect, but all of which we may call 'unrefined Sanskrit (which, though a contradiction in terms, is attested in three forms: Hindu, Buddhist and Jain) in order that the history of this branch or family of languages brought in by the invading Aryans since about the second millennium B.C. into India and which developed its new characteristics in Indian soil, may be studied in its completeness so as to give us a fairly correct and comprehensive picture of the cultural and other developments of that interesting period. In this extended sense we may replace the word Prakrit by the more general term Sanskritic; but the limitations of the first are perhaps more explicit in the second, since what was merely 'implied' by the basis *prakṛti* is here made explicit by equating the 'basis' with Sanskrit itself. But if this connotation is abstracted from the term Sanskritic by our new definition, we have a new technical term which is sufficient to include the whole family of languages transcending the widest formulations of the earlier grammarians. Still, as there is a possibility of mistaking the significance of this word, it cannot satisfy all the conditions which we demand from a technical term: simplicity, lack of ambiguity and directness. It is therefore necessary that we should seek to establish a new word which will serve our purpose admirably, without sacrificing simplicity at the altar of a highly specialized technical terminology.

But, before we do so, it is necessary to examine the word Sanskrit itself. This word signifies that the language denoted by it is 'refined, cultivated,' that is, perfected by the activities of grammarians. Pāṇini represents the height of its development and dominates the whole field of Sanskrit in so far as 'correct language' is concerned. But Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* recognizes certain nuances according to the locality in

which those forms are current, and includes these forms in 'correct' Sanskrit although such forms are not prevalent over the whole area where the standard Sanskrit is current. We are thus forced to extend the meaning to 'language current among the *śiṣṭas*,' that is, the medium of communication among the learned and cultivated in the country, the highest form of the language of culture. In this extended sense the word Sanskrit comprises not only the standard medium of culture throughout the length and breadth of *Āryāvarta*, but also the mediums current among the *śiṣṭas* in certain narrower localities within this wider area. In other words we have to recognize in Sanskrit, in its widest sense, not one standard language, but also many standard dialects differentiating themselves from each other through their regional characteristics, and each developing within its own region according to its chief characteristics in its temporal evolution. Thus, apart from its extension into regional dialects, we have also to take into account its evolution in its temporal context. Pāṇini himself distinguishes the language of the Vedic texts, the *Chandas*, from the language which he describes in his famous *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, the *bhāṣā* or "spoken medium' of the cultured people of his time. He also refers to the division of this *bhāṣā* as current among the *prācām*, *udīcām*, etc. Thus the term Sanskrit itself is not very clear as referring either to the language of the Vedic texts or to the later classical form of it, perfected by the schools of grammarians and affected by classical writers in their poetical, dramatical or rhetorical works and commentaries. In other words, the term is quite ambiguous, if we take the entire history of the family of languages brought into India by the incoming Aryans.

In order to find out a sufficiently well-established scientific term which does not possess such disabilities, we have to go back to the 'discovery' of Sanskrit by the Europeans towards the latter half of the 18th century. This so-called 'discovery' is the beginning of a new approach to the study of language in general. It was Sir William JONES who explicitly mentioned the remarkable similarities between Sanskrit, Greek and

Latin, and formulated a general theory that these languages together with Old Persian and probably the languages of the Celts belonged ultimately to a common source. It was, however, left to the scholars of the 19th century, beginning with BOPP 'the father of Comparative Philology,' to prove this remarkable proposition and adumbrate it into a new science, the Comparative Grammar of Indo-European languages, leading to similar studies of other families of languages like the Dravidian and Semitic. In this new science, Sanskrit, the language of the Vedas and the classical literature of India, occupied a central position, and together with the Iranian group of languages, constituted the Aryan branch of the Indo-European family of languages. The word *ārya* was employed in these languages to denote the 'cultivated man' who represented the culture enshrined within the literature in these languages, and thus became a convenient term to indicate that sub-branch of the Indo-European family system. The other members of this family are: (1) Hittite, (2) Tocharian, (3) Greek, (4) Latin and Celtic or Italo-Celtic, (5) Germanic, (6) Balto-Slavic, (7) Albanian and (8) Armenian. The Aryan family of this wider system thus consists of two branches: Iranian and Indian. The term Indian is, however, too wide to apply to this Indian branch of the Aryan family, since it has been discovered that there are other families of languages in India also which do not belong to the Indo-European system, such as the Dravidian and Munda or Kolarian. Hence the new term Indo-Aryan was employed to designate this Indian branch of the Aryan family, itself a branch of the wider Indo-European system, and has now become current even in Germany where it was once customary to speak of Vedic and Classical Sanskrit as Old Indian (*Altindisch*).

This new term Indo-Aryan is then sufficient for our purpose and satisfies all the conditions which we have laid down with reference to a technical term. It represents the language stream brought in by the invading Aryans towards the beginning or early half of the second millennium B. C. into India. This family developed all its individual characteristics which

differentiated it from Indo-Iranian in the soil of India, and it is customary to treat of this development into three sections: Old, Middle and New.

The older phase of Indo-Aryan, called Old Indo-Aryan, is represented in literature by the language of the Vedic texts beginning with that of the Ṛgveda, by Classical Sanskrit as defined by Pāṇini and Patañjali and as employed by Kālidāsa and others down to the present day; and in actual speech, by the dialects current among the Vedic Aryans up to the time of Pāṇini, and current among the *śiṣṭas* thereafter for a considerable period. Thus Old Indo-Aryan comprises both Vedic and Classical Sanskrit.

The second or middle phase, called Middle Indo-Aryan, probably dating from the 6th century B. C. consists of all the Prakrit languages, as defined by us in the widest sense of the word *prākṛta*. This phase continued down to about the 11th century A.D. when the third or the New Indo-Aryan stage commenced and is still active.

The periods indicated in the previous paragraphs are only approximate, for in the field of Indo-Aryan studies, exact dates prior to about 1100 A.D. can be recovered only in exceptionally few cases. During more than 3500 years Indo-Aryan has had a continuous, if somewhat disturbed, history. Nowhere else can one see this unbroken existence of a stream of language, represented in the literature of its people from such hoary antiquity up to the present day; and in this sense Indo-Aryan is unique in the history of any language-group in the world. Thus its central position within the Indo-European field is heightened by the fact that it has a continuous history within the sub-continent of India, although it has passed through several very interesting vicissitudes. In this long history, besides the refined Sanskrit which is still a living force, culturally speaking, the Prakrits, belonging to the Middle Indo-Aryan phase, have a fairly extensive significance. For, with the dispensation of Buddha and Mahāvīra, the Middle Indo-Aryan languages attained an ascendancy as cul-

tural languages, and for a period of nearly seventeen or eighteen centuries thereafter, remained as mediums of communication, oral as well as literary and religious, and a force to be contended.

Even from a purely temporal point of view the Middle Indo-Aryan (hereafter indicated by MIA) languages and dialects have had a more extended application than Old Indo-Aryan (OIA). Although Sanskrit, as the representative of OIA, never lost its supremacy completely during all these three millenniums or so, and time and again became a cultural unifier of the country as a whole, irrespective of the religious differences among its people, there were periods in the history of India when it was eclipsed by MIA languages, the first definite instance of which may be witnessed in the famous Aśokan Inscriptions. These Prakrit Inscriptions and coin legends continued for nearly eight centuries, and during the latter half of this period, competed with Sanskrit, both as media of intercourse and as cultural languages. Similarly the great religious Prakrits, Pāli and Ardhamāgadhī, carried on an extensive literature expressing the general cultural attainment of the people of those days, and are still of far greater importance as witness to the social, political and religious history of India than OIA. In other words, more cultural and historical material can be gathered from these literatures than from Sanskrit literature, vast and continuous as this latter is. It is necessary for us here to realize the fact that Sanskrit was essentially a language created by schools of grammar, a standardised speech and medium of literary expression, refined by the activities of countless grammarians from the days of *Prātiśākhyas,* culminating in the epoch of Pāṇini-Patañjali, when it became hedged in within the steel frame of their famous treatises, *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and *Mahābhāṣya.* But as we remarked above, we must not forget that Sanskrit was standardised and refined from a number of OIA dialects which were current from the days of the Ṛgveda itself, and which continued to exist side by side with the refined Sanskrit even during the days of Pāṇini and Patañjali and for centuries after-

wards, until MIA finally upset the stability of OIA as a spoken medium and made the change over to New Indo-Aryan easy of accomplishment. It is not the object of the present work to deal with these phenomena in great detail. But while we get acquainted with MIA languages and dialects it is also essential that we should have a correct picture of the OIA stage. The general impression among the non-specialists may tend to the belief that Sanskrit as they are acquainted with is the whole of OIA. As already mentioned, the existence of these OIA dialects is occasionally mentioned by Pāṇini and Patañjali: specialised forms or meanings current in specific areas, but not accepted within the general frame-work of refined Sanskrit in the whole of Āryāvarta. A detailed knowledge of these dialects is to be gained from a far more critical study of OIA material than has been possible hitherto. But it has been possible to notice these dialectical tendencies in OIA compositions sporadically, and without the help of MIA and NIA a further progress is not possible.

The object of the present work is to study in panoramic manner the general characteristics of these MIA dialects and languages in their relation to the main language of culture, namely Sanskrit, and Old Indo-Aryan, and to assess the contribution they have made to the general culture of the country during a period covering nearly eighteen centuries.

It is obvious that just as there is mutual influence on the members of a given family to whichever contiguous generations they belong, so also in the case of a family of languages there is mututal interaction between two—and for that matter, between *any two* — contiguous stages. Thus one of the aspects of our study is connected with the relationship existing between members of OIA and MIA without going into the details of their exact genealogical relationship—which is really a task for the specialist.

It follows from our wide generalisation regarding the term Prakrit that we have to consider a number of languages and dialects with the earlier grammarians did not include within

their scope, in order to make our study of MIA as comprehensive as possible. We can, therefore, divide the whole of the MIA linguistic material into several categories—not necessarily into temporal categories such as Old, Middle and Late Prakrit —according to the type of literature where these dialects are attested. In this manner we have the following scheme:

(1) Religious Prakrits : Pāli, the language of the southern Buddhist Canon and post-canonical works; Ardhamāgadhī the language of the oldest Jaina Sūtras, also described as Ārṣa; the Jaina varieties of Māhārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī, and Apabhraṁśa attested in the narrative literature forming an extensive branch of Jaina literature.

(2) Literary: Māhārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, Māgadhī; Paiśācī and Apabhraṁśa with their sub-varieties.

(3) Dramatic: Māhārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, Māgadhī and their varieties; Old Ardhamāgadhī attested in the plays of Aśvaghoṣa; minor dialects such as Ḍhakkī or Ṭākkī.

(4) The Prākrits described by the Grammarians; these include five or six dialects attested in Sanskrit plays and in MIA narrative literature such as Māhārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, Māgadhī, Paiśācī, Cūlikā Paiśācī and Apabhraṁśa, with several dialects. In this category we should include the description of Prakrits given in rhetorical or musical compositions such as Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* or the *Gītālaṁkāra* or Namisādhu's Commentary on Rudraṭa's *Kāvyālaṁkāra*.

(5) Extra-Indian Prakrits: the language of *Prakrit Dhammapada,* fragments of which were discovered in Khotan, written in Kharoṣṭhī characters; Niya and Khotanese Prakrit, the language of documents found in Central Asia.

(6) Inscriptional Prakrits: From the period Aśoka downwards, written in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī characters, found within the whole of India, and parts of Ceylon. Under these are also to be considered copper-plate grants and coin-legends, thus covering the whole domain of lithic and metal records.

(7) Popular Sanskrit: Hindu, Buddhist and Jain. These represent the spoken forms of the Indo-Aryans after OIA became fixed within the steel frame prepared by generations of grammarians, for in this popular literature we find traces of such usages which were not recognised as proper for refined Sanskrit of the classical variety.

Such is the extent of the MIA languages which we have to take into consideration for our picture of cultural India between 600 B.C. and 1100 A.D., as an additional source to Vedic and Classical Sanskrit literature.

CHAPTER II

SURVEY OF MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE

1. *Religious Prakrits.*

(*a*) Pāli originally meant 'a line, boundary, limit' and then extended to 'a line of text, sacred text, scripture' in opposition to the commentary on the sacred text. It designates the language in which the Tipiṭaka or the sacred canon of the Buddhists of Ceylon, Burma and Siam is composed. This school of Buddhism is known as the Hīnayāna to distinguish it from the Northern School of Buddhism which is known under the generic term of Mahāyāna. In addition to the canonical writings in this language we have a vast commentarial literature, generally known as the Aṭṭhakathā, and several poetic compositions.

Like all classical languages which have come down to us in literature of a highly stylized type, Pāli is not a uniform language, having clear-cut features. On the other hand it shows the influence of a large number of MIA languages and dialects in different stages of their evolution, although in its linguistic features it is the earliest representative of MIA. The composite nature of Pāli may be compared with a similar characteristic of OIA from Vedic to Classical Sanskrit, and we can distinguish several stages in its development.

1. The earliest stage of Pāli may be witnessed in the metrical *gāthās* which are seen interspersed with prose passages in the Pāli canon.

2. Next in order comes the language of the canonical prose passages, which, though archaic, still shows the process of modernisation when compared to the gāthic strophes.

3. The prose of early non-canonical works such as the *Milindapañha,* the language of the prose commentaries, etc.
4. The language of later poetical works which approximate to the pattern laid down for Sanskrit literature.

The Pāli Canon has come down to us under the title of Tipiṭaka 'three baskets' divided into three main groups entitled Vinaya-piṭaka, Sutta-piṭaka and Abhidhamma-piṭaka, dealing respectively with the discipline of the Buddhist order, points of religion or religious doctrine and the higher subtleties of the doctrine. The Vinaya-piṭaka consists of (1) Suttavibhaṅga, divided into *Mahāvibhaṅga* and *Bhikkunīvibhaṅga ;* (2) Khandhakās consisting of *Mahāvagga* and *Cullavagga* and (3) the *Parivāra.* The Sutta-piṭaka consists of five Nikāyas or 'collections': (1) *Dīghanikāya,* (2) *Majjhimanikāya,* (3) *Saṁyuttanikāya,* (4) *Aṅguttaranikāya* and (5) *Khuddakanikāya,* the last of which is a miscellaneous collection of shorter texts: 1. Khuddakapāṭha, 2. Dhammapada, 3. Udāna, 4. Itivuttaka, 5. Suttanīpāta, 6. Vimānavatthu, 7. Petavatthu, 8. Theragāthā, 9. Therīgāthā, 10. Jātaka, 11. Niddesa, 12. Paṭisambhidāmagga, 13. Apadāna, 14. Buddhavaṁsa and 15. Cariyāpiṭaka. The Abhidhammapiṭaka consists of seven work: 1. *Dhammasaṅgaṇi,* 2. *Vibhaṅga,* 3. *Kathāvatthu,* 4. *Puggalapaññatti,* 5. *Dhātukathā,* 6. *Yamaka* and 7. *Mahāpaṭṭhāna.*

The earliest non-canonical Pāli literature, following the canonical literature up to about 500 A.D. consists of several works such as the *Nettipakaraṇa, Peṭakopadesa, Suttasaṁgaha,* etc. of which the most famous is naturally the *Milindapañha.* The *Dīpavaṁsa* also belongs to this category. This period is followed by the commentarial epoch when all the great commentaries on the three Piṭakas were composed. Most of these are ascribed to Buddhaghosa. One of the best known works in this category is the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā,* a sort of commentary on the Jātaka verses covering 547 stories of the so-called previous lives of Buddha. Similarly the *Dhammapa-*

daṭṭhakathā, slightly younger than the *Jātaka* collection, is very well known for its story motif. Among the great commentators are to be enumerated Buddhadatta, Ānanda and Dhammapāla. Equally important for the history of Buddhism is the chronicle literature, the most outstanding example of which is the *Mahāvaṁsa.* All this literature was composed between the fifth and eleventh centuries A.D. To this epoch also belongs the first grammatical work in Pāli, the Grammar of Kaccāyana.

The period from about the 12th century A.D. marks the sub-commentarial literature, the Ṭīkās and late compositions such as the *Dāṭhāvaṁsa* of Dhammakitti or the *Pajjamadhu* of Buddhapiya. Grammatical activity was also much in evidence, and the style became very ornate, indicating the stylized form of the language and the slavish imitation of the standards laid down for late classical Sanskrit. Besides grammar, lexicogaphy is indicated by *Abhidhānappadīpikā* of Moggallāna and rhetorics by *Subodhālaṁkāra* of Saṁgharakhita.

Regarding the antiquity of Pāli literature there is difference of opinion. Although the kernel of the tradition preserved in the Pāli cannon may go back to the period of the Buddha himself, it is not possible to discover such parts with any certainty. The traditional account of the three Buddhist Councils cannot be taken as evidence for the existence of the entire canon at such an early period, but we can reasonably accept that certain parts of the canon were already in existence at the time of Aśoka in the 3rd century B.C. when the third Council is supposed to have met under the Presidentship of Tissa. But the language of this early canon cannot be the same Pāli as it has come to us today. With the spread of Buddhism over the whole area comprising the Mauryan Empire immediately following Aśoka, the teaching of the Buddha must have been carried out in the various provincial languages and when the canon was finally reduced to a uniform tradition, Pāli must have been influenced by these different provincial languages, thus forming a complete literary medium. Moreover the stratification of the cannon is also proved by the

differences observed in the language of various sections of the canon.

It is generally accepted on the evidence contained in the Inscriptions of Aśoka (particularly the edict of Bairāt or Bhābrū) that by B.C. 249 the Vinaya and Sutta divisions of the Pāli Tipiṭaka were already in existence. Besides the mention of seven important texts Aśoka mentions 'All that the Lord Buddha has said, is well said.' Similarly the inscriptions of the famous stūpas of Bharhut and Sānchi point out to a similar conclusion and railings and gateways of these stūpas are covered with reliefs representing the life of the Buddha, witnesses to a well-developed Buddha legend. Many of the reliefs, illustrating fables and tales, have their titles inscribed, in the case of the stūpa of Bharhut; these short inscriptions prove that the reliefs depict Jātakas, and most of these have been traced to the Jātaka books of the Tipiṭaka. Moreover the votive inscriptions, both at Bharhut and Sānchi, refer to monks as *bhāṇaka* 'reciter', *sutantika* 'Sutta reciter', *pacanekāyika* 'knower of the five Nikāyas', *peṭakin* 'knower of the Piṭakas' and *dhammakathika* 'preacher of the doc rine'. All this evidence clearly indicates that before the second century B.C. there was already in existence a collection of Buddhist texts called 'Piṭakas', with five Nikāyas consisting of suttas, etc. The *Milindapañha,* a work whose authentic portion very likely belongs to the first half of the first century A.D. bears full evidence to the existence of the Tipiṭaka at this period. Similarly Buddhist Sanskrit literature also testifies to the antiquity of the Pāli tradition. The Pāli texts surpass all other literary productions of the Buddhists, both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, both as sources for our knowledge of early Buddhism as well as from a purely literary point of view.

We can therefore assume that Pāli as a medium of literary and religious expression had a long career since the third century B.C. up to about the eleventh century A.D. after which it became merely a language affected by the learned, like Sanskrit. It had already become stereotyped during the period

of the Great Commentaries, the *Aṭṭhakathās,* but still retained a simplicity which is lacking in later productions, as a result of the increasing influence of the Sanskrit literature which formed a model to these late writers.

The text of the Pāli Tipiṭaka is preserved for us today in manuscripts written in three different scripts: Simhalese, Burmese and Siamese. Besides the printed editions in these three scripts, the Pāli Text Society of England has already published almost the whole of the canon, with its commentaries, in Roman Transliteration, while the labour of Indian Buddhist scholars is slowly giving us these texts in beautiful Devanāgarī print. With these last a new era of Pāli studies begins in India, the original home of Buddhism, with what effect only the future can decide.

(b) Ardhamāgadhī is the name given to the language in which the oldest Jaina Sūtras are composed, the so-called Canon of the Śvetāmbara Jainas. In fact the word *Ardhamāgadhī bhāṣā* or *Addhamāgahā bhāsā* occurs in the Canon itself as the language in which Mahāvīra carried on his religious discourses. In Sanskrit, however, the name *Ārṣa* is given to this language, and it is so described in grammatical literature, written in Sanskrit. While Pāli is characterised by the fact that like Sanskrit, it had its own grammatical treatises written in that language itself, Ardhamāgadhī falls in line with other literary Prakrits, having its grammar described in Sanskrit treatises. But just as Sanskrit is considered 'the language of the gods', so also this Ardhamāgadhī or Ārṣa is spoken of as the language of gods.

This Ardhamāgadhī Canon of the Śvetāmbaras consists, at the present day, of the following texts:

I. The twelve Aṅgas: 1. Āyāra, 2. Sūyagaḍa, 3. Thāṇa, 4. Samavāya, 5. Viyāhapannatti, 6. Nāyādhammakahāo, 7. Uvāsagadasāo, 8. Antagaḍadasāo, 9. Aṇuttarovavāiyadasāo, 10. Paṇhāvāgaraṇāim, 11. Vivāgasuya, and 12. Diṭṭhivāya.

II. The twelve Uvaṅgas: 1. Uvavāiya, 2. Rāyapaseṇaijja, 3. Jīvābhigama, 4. Pannavaṇā, 5. Sūrapannatti, 6. Jambuddī-

vappannatti, 7. Candapannatti, 8. Nirayāvaliyāo, 9. Kappavaḍiṁsiyāo, 10. Pupphiyāo, 11. Pupphacūlāo and, 12. Vaṇhidasāo.

III. The ten *Paiṇṇas*: There is no definite order among these lists of Paiṇṇas, and arranged according to their inner contents they are, 1. Causaraṇa, 2. Bhattaparinnā, 3. Saṁthāra, 4. Āurapaccakkhāṇa, 5. Mahāpaccakkhāṇa, 6. Candāvijjhaya, 7. Gaṇivijjā, 8. Taṁdulaveyāliya, 9. Devindatthaya and 10. Vīratthaya.

IV. The six *Cheyasuttas*: 1. Āyāradasāo, 2. Kappa, 3. Vavahāra, 4. Nisīha, 5. Mahānisīha, and 6. Pancakappa. Instead of this last Jīyakappa by Jinabhadra is also mentioned.

V. Individual Texts: *Nandī* and *Aṇuogadārā* (*iṁ*).

VI. The four *Mūlasuttas*: 1. Uttarajjhāyā or Uttarajjhayaṇa, 2. Dasaveyāliya, 3. Āvassayanijjutti and 4. Chanijjutti.

Since the twelfth aṅga is now lost, and references to it are to be found only in all kinds of information given in other texts, the Jaina Siddhānta traditionally consists of 45 works as enumerated above. But actually the number of canonical works mentioned in various places in the canon itself varies between 45 and 50.

Regarding the antiquity of this canon, the Śvetāmbara Jainas themselves record the following tradition. The original doctrine was contained in fourteen Puvvas taught by Mahāvīra to his first disciples, the Gaṇadharas or 'heads of schools.' But this knowledge was soon lost, as only one original disciple is credited with having handed them down, and they were only preserved during six generations more. During the time of Candragupta Maurya of Magadha, the Thera Bhadrabāhu was the head of the Jaina community, and owing to the twelve years' famine, he migrated to South India with a number of his disciples, while Sthūlabhadra, the last of the monks having a knowledge of the fourteen Puvvas, became the head of the community which remained in Magadha. As a result of the terrible famine the sacred texts were threatened with extinc-

tion, since those knowing different parts of the Puvvas themselves could not long survive the privations caused by the famine. So a Council was called at Pāṭaliputra, at which the eleven Aṅgas were compiled and the remnants of the fourteen Puvvas were united to form the twelfth Aṅga called *Diṭṭhivāyā*. When the adherents of Bhadrabāhu returned to Magadha, there was a schism between those who remained in Magadha and those who returned there, and the Jaina community was divided into the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras, the latter of whom refused to recognize the authority as well as the authenticity of the reconstructed canon.

Just as the original Puvvas were lost within two centuries of the passing away of Mahāvīra, necessitating a revision of the existing materials at the time of Candragupta Maurya,—the rapidity of this destruction being due in great measure to the unprecedented nature of the long famine—so also in the centuries following this revision, the Canon was again in danger of being lost altogether, and a second Council was convened at Valabhi sometime during the second half of the fifth or the first half of the sixth century A.D. under the presidentship of Devaḍḍhi (Sk. Devarddhi Kṣamāśramaṇa), for the purpose of collecting the sacred texts and writing them down. The *Diṭṭhivāya* had already disappeared by this time, reducing the number of Aṅgas from twelve to eleven.

In this manner, Jaina tradition itself does not ascribe an antiquity higher than the fifth century A.D. to the present form of the Śvetāmbara canon. Although this second revised version of the Canon is supposedly based on the older texts some of which can be traced back to Mahāvīra himself, the language of these texts cannot be very old. As we shall see later, one of the dialects found in the fragments of Aśvaghoṣa's plays is an older phase of Ardhamāgadhī, as current in the second century A.D., and is more archaic than the language of the Canon.

According to this tradition the pontiff Suhamma is said to have compiled the Master's words in the Angas and Uvangas. Certain individual texts, like the fourth Uvanga (ascribed to

Ajja Sāma), are supposed to have been composed by later authors. In this manner Bhadrabāhu is the author of *Piṁḍa-nijjutti* and the *Oghanijjutti,* and Sejjambhava (the fourth in descent from Mahāvīra) the author of *Dasaveyāliya,* while the *Nandī* is ascribed to Devaḍḍhi himself. Thus, even if the earlier texts mentioned by tradition were available, their linguistic value would have been unequal. Regarding the existence of these texts, we have some inscriptional evidence of the first two centuries after Christ about the split of the Jainas into Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras, and references to monks as *vācaka* 'reader', evidently of sacred texts. Bas-reliefs and inscriptions attest to the knowledge of Mahāvīra as early as in the first century A.D.

After the fixation of the canon at Valabhī, the Ardhamāgadhī language ceased to be a medium of literary composition so that these canonical works circumscribe the extent of the literature in this language. Although the Jainas remained as the most prolific writers after this for some considerable period, they employed some more developed media for their literary work, including Sanskrit and the vernaculars at a later stage. We might therefore consider the period of development of this particular medium as the three centuries or so following Aśvaghoṣa, up to the period when the canon was finally revised and put into shape in Valabhi, that is between the third to the beginning of the sixth century A.D.

The name Ardhamāgadhī has been variously interpreted, and principally as (1) having half the nature of Māgadhī and as (2) current in half the Magadha country. There is no doubt that in some respects such as the nominative singular of masculine nouns in *-a* with the *-e* ending, Ardhamāgadhī shares the same features as Māgadhī.

Manuscripts of the canon are found in various Indian scripts, but primarily the Jaina variety of Devanāgarī is employed. Both paper and palm-leaves have been utilised as writing material, and some of the manuscripts reach back to considerable antiquity in so far as Indian manuscripts go.

Ardhamāgadhī, like Pāli, shows a difference according as it is found in verse or in prose; the language attested in the verses is more archaic than that in the prose section. The most archaic type is seen in the *Āyāraṅga*, and next in order come *Sūyagaḍanga* and the *Uttarajjhayaṇa*.

(c) Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī is primarily the language of the non-canonical works of the Śvetāmbaras, consisting mainly of collections of stories. The name was first given to this language by Herman JACOBI who edited a number of these tales in his *Erzählungen*. The most important text in this language is naturally the *Āvaśyaka* narratives, so rich in story motifs. This language is found in a pure form in the *Paümacariya* of Vimalasūri (c. 2nd-3rd century A.D.). An older form of this language is seen in certain Cūrṇis, Kathānakas and the *Vasudevahiṇḍi* of Sanghadāsa. The Nijjuttis consist of very concise explanations in the Āryā verse in this language. JACOBI's *Erzählungen* is mostly dependent upon Devendra's commentary on the *Uttarajjhayaṇa*. A very late semi-historical work, the Tīrtha-Kalpa by Jinaprabhasūri composed between 1326 and 1331 A.D. is partly written in this language. Haribhadra (8th century A.D.) employed this medium in the verse portion of his famous *Samarāicca Kahā;* the prose is, however, mixed with certain peculiarities of Śaurasenī. The language of *Uvaesamālā* of Dharmadāsa corresponds to a later form of Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī, and proves, at any rate, that the tradition of the contemporaneity of the author with Mahāvīra is not based upon facts; the existence of a commentary on this work as early as the 9th century proves its popularity prior to this period. An inscription dated Saṁvat 918 (A.D. 861) found near Ghaṭayāla, a village situated about twenty miles to the north of Jodhpur, recording the foundation of a Jaina temple by a chief entitled Kakkuka, is also composed in this dialect. In this manner we observe that Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī has been attested since the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. and continued as late as the fourteenth century in a slightly younger form.

Some of the shorter works in this language are the *Kālakācāryakathānaka*, the *Ṛṣabhapañcāśikā*, and the legend of the fall of *Dvāravatī*, which have been edited and published

by European scholars in the *Journal* of the German Oriental Society during the nineteenth century.

(*d*) Jaina Śauraseni is the name given to the principal language in which the Digambara Jaina Canon is composed. Partaking of the chief characteristics of Śaurasenī (intervocalic unvoiced dentals *-t-* and *-th-* of OIA > voiced dentals in Śaurasenī *-d-* and *-dh-* and influenced greatly by the language of the Śvetāmbara Canon or Ardhamāgadhī, this language has a rich literature which needs investigation still. Attempts of European scholars to fix the name of this language, such as Daigambarī, etc., are without any historical geographic or sectarian basis, and connote either too much or too little.

The *Pavayaṇasāra* of Kundakunda (*c.* 100 A.D.) is one of the earliest and best known works composed in this dialect. In fact most of the works coming down to us from Kundakunda are in this dialect. The works available in this language are not all yet published: the following works which were available to PISCHEL before 1900 and examined by W. DENECKE during the first quarter of the present century prove the appropriateness of the name given to the language: Vaṭṭakerācārya's *Mūlācāra ;* Kārttikeyasvāmin's *Kattigeyāṇupekkhā,* and Kundakunda's *Chappāhuḍa, Samayasāra* and *Pañcatthikāya.*

The Digambara Jaina Canon, mostly composed in Jaina Śaurasenī, must have been composed since the beginning of the Christian Era, or slightly earlier ; but the language which has come down to us does not show the characteristics which we except from such an early MIA dialect. Further, the absence of critical editions increases the handicap in the correct evaluation of the dialect and its true position in Indo-Aryan. But this much is certain, that the name given to it by PISCHEL is surprisingly correct, that it must have developed in South India as it shows very little influence of the Deśī element characteristics of other Prakrits, and a great influence of Sanskrit and Ardhamāgadhī.

(*e*) Apabhraṃśa as a medium of religious and literary expression has been greatly utilized by the Digambaras, and thanks to the activities of JACOBI and ALSDORF in Europe and of VAIDYA, JAIN and UPADHYE in India, a large number of text are now available in print. PISCHEL had very little material for Apabhraṁśa when he wrote his *Materialien* in 1902, and for nearly fifteen years thereafter no good text was available until JACOBI published his edition *Bhavisattakahā* in 1918, followed by *Sanatkumāracaritam* in 1921. Thereafter a regular series of works has been published in India. The *Paramappayāsa* of Joindu (*c.* 600 A.D.) is an early mystical work composed in this language. The name Puṣpadanta, author of perhaps the greatest work in this language, the *Mahāpurāṇa,* and several smaller narrative poems like the *Jasaharacariu* and the *Ṇāyakumāracariu,* is worthy of mention among Apabhraṁśa authors. He is assigned to *c.* 1000 A.D. The *Karakaṇḍacariu* is ascribed to the poet Kanakāmara.

The Jainas have also utilized this language along with others in their compositions. Thus Hemacandra's *Kumārapālapratibodha* is written partly in Sanskrit and Apabhraṁśa, but for the most part in Prakrit. The *Supāsanāhacariyaṃ* of Lakṣmaṇa Gaṇin, composed in 1143 A.D. contains 68 Apabhraṃśa verses. A voluminous *Kathākoṣa* by Śrīcandra containing 53 tales is written in this language. As late as 1600 A.D. Hemavijaya wrote his *Kathāratnākara* consisting of 258 stories, written mostly in elaborate Sanskrit prose, interspersed with stanzas in Sanskrit, Māhārāṣṭrī, Apabhraṁśa, Old Hindi and Old Gujarati. Thus Apabhraṁśa as a language of religious and literary expression was in use among the Jainas since the sixth century A.D. The period of Puṣpadanta, about the tenth century A.D. must be consisted the zenith of Apabhraṁśa literature so far as Western India is concerned.

Apabhraṁśa was also used in the East of India by the Northern Buddhists. The *Dohākoṣa* of Kāṇha and Saraha is in this dialect, the first of whom is ascribed to *c.* 700 A.D. According to Vinītadeva (8th century A.D.) the Sammitīya sect of Buddhists employed Apabhraṁśa, the Mahāsaṅghikas Prakrit and the Sthaviravādins Paiśacī.

2. *Literary Prakrits.*

(*a*) Māhārāṣṭrī has been considered a Prakrit *par excellence* by Daṇḍin and it has been the usual practice of the Grammarians to treat this language first in their grammars, describing in detail all its chief characteristics, while the rest of the dialects are merely given a scanty mention with only a few rules devoted to them in comparison. Of the considerable literature which must have flourished in this language we have traces in the famous *Sattasaī* of Hāla and the Vajjālagga of *Jayavallabha,* anthologies of lyrics which must have been composed by a large number of poets. Several commentaries on the *Sattasaī* record the names of these poets, but as yet a systematic study is necessary before we can recover sufficient information of these authors and their other compositions. These lyrical songs, containing liquid sounds so characteristic of Māhārāṣṭrī, must have been composed for musical singing. It would appear from the manuscript tradition of this *Sattasaī* that there were at least six different recensions, and that originally the name of the particular composer was attached to each stanza. The commentators of the vulgate mention 112 names, Bhuvanapāla mentions 384 names, and there is no agreement in the assignment of different verses. The date assigned to this anthology varies between the third century at the earliest and the seventh at the latest. The second anthology, the *Vajjālagga,* is by Jayavallabha, a Śvetāmbara Jaina, and like the Sattasaī, presupposes a rich literature in this language. Unfortunately no names have been given in it of the composers of the different verses. In 1336 A.D. a Chāyā was written by Rathadeva on the *Vajjālagga.*

Just as Māhārāṣṭrī is the chief instrument for lyrical songs, so also it is one of the chief mediums for composition of artificial epic poetry. Chief among these epics are to be mentioned the *Rāvaṇavaho* of Pravarasena known in addition as *Dahamuhavaho* or by its Sanskrit title *Setubandha* and the *Gaüḍavaho* of Bappaïrāa. The first of these was already famous at the time of Bāṇa, in the seventh century A.D. since

he mentions it in the introduction to the *Harṣacarita*. A reference to it in Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* suggests a still earlier date for the work. The text of this important work is preserved in three recensions, and a fourth is presupposed by the Sanskrit translation *Setusaraṇi*. The author of the second epic is Vākpatirāja who lived under the king Yaśovarman of Kanauj (7th-9th centuries A.D.). *Gaüḍavaho* is not divided into cantos like other Mahākāvyas and the stanzas are continuously enumerated. The same author is said to have composed another artificial epic in Prakrit called *Mahumahavijya*, of which several stanzas have been quoted in rhetorical works.

Among the literary Prakrits Māhārāṣṭrī is unique, for the other languages like Śaurasenī and Māgadhī in which we do expect to find some literature, but unfortunately do not (except in Sanskrit plays), have left no trace at all. It is only when we turn to Paiśācī and Apabhraṁśa that we notice some kind of literature attested, although in the former nothing has come down to us.

(*b*) Paiśācī is the language in which Guṇāḍhya's famous *Bṛhatkathā* is said to have been composed. Unfortunately this great work has disappeared, leaving its traces only in the rich kathā literature in Sanskrit preserved in Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara* and Kṣemendra's *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*. Recent investigations by the German scholar Ludwig Alsdorf have proved the influence of this ancient work on the kathā literature of the Jainas also, and particularly the *Vasudevahiṇḍi* of Sanghadāsa shows many traces of it. Our knowledge of this language must, therefore, depend entirely upon the artificial rules of Grammarians which have, however, come down traditionally.

According to Buddhist tradition, already referred to above, the Sthaviras, one of the four main schools of Vaibhāṣikas, are said to have used Paiśācī as their literary medium, but of this no trace is available to us.

There are references to this language and its dialects in the treatises of grammarians, but except perhaps for a few

stray quotations, possibly from the lost *Bṛhatkathā*, and special compositions of the grammarians themselves to illustrate their rules, or the few verses in polyglot stotras, there is not much literature in evidence. In fairly late Sanskrit plays such as the *Hammīramadamardana* (between 1219 and 1229 A.D.) or the Moharājaparājaya (1229-32 A.D.) a few characters are made to speak a dialect of Paiśācī.

As regards the date of Guṇāḍhya only a lower limit can be fixed on objective grounds. His work is referred to by Daṇḍin; the earliest Sanskrit version of it is the *Bṛhatkathā-ślokasaṁgraha* by Buddhasvāmin (*c.* 8th century A.D.). The Jaina version found in *Vasudevahiṇḍi* places the original before the 6th century A.D. Dravidian adaptations also show that the *Bṛhatkathā* must have existed about this time, according to traditional accounts. The same tradition also makes Guṇāḍhya a contemporary of Sātavāhana, and if it is to be believed, his date will be taken up to the beginning of the Christian Era. The cumulative effect of all these facts shows us that Paiśācī must have developed in the early centuries of the Christian Era. The venue of this language has been a matter of much lively discussion and controvery among scholars; but it may safely be assumed that the Paiśācī dialects had their original habitat in the North-West of India.

(*c*) Apabhraṁśā as a literary medium, divorced from its purely religious function, was very much in evidence during the early part of the second millennium A.D. A large number of stanzas quoted by Hemacandra and others, when not self-composed, must belong to this literature. Some of these verses have already been traced to religious compositions; but a major part may belong to secular literature. An interesting work discovered recently is the *Sandeśarāsaka* of one Abdur Rahman (Ap. Addahamāṇa), written in the fashion of the famous Dūta-kāvyas. A vast literature in this language is yet to be recovered from the manuscript-funds now lying distributed among the various private, sectarian and public libraries in India, particularly in the unexplored Bhaṇḍāras of the Jainas.

3. *Dramatic Prakrits.*

Chief among the Dramatic Prakrits are naturally Māhārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī and Māgadhī. In the Sanskrit plays generally, ladies who speak Śaurasenī in prose, utilize Māhārāṣṭrī in their songs. We have already mentioned the vast lyrical literature in Māhārāṣṭrī, and this fact is also borne out by the songs occurring in Sanskrit plays. Śaurasenī occupies the first place among the dialects used in the prose passages of Sanskrit plays. It is more frequently the language of ladies, children, eunuchs, astrologers, the insane and the sick. Māgadhī is also utilized in the Dramas, but it is preserved in a much worse condition than Śaurasenī. In the *Mṛcchakaṭika* it is spoken by the Śakāra, his servant Sthāvaraka, the shampooer Kumbhīlaka, Vardhamānaka, the two Cāṇḍālas and Rohasena; in Śākuntala, the fishermen and two policemen, and Sarvadamana. The Māgadhī spoken in *Mṛcchakaṭika* has been classified into several dialects as Śākārī, Cāṇḍālī, etc. Māgadhī is generally spoken by menials, dwarfs, foreigners, and Jaina monks.

The tradition of using Prakrit dialects in Sanskrit plays is certainly very old. In the earliest plays that have come down to us in fragments, from the pen of the famous Aśvaghoṣa, there is evidence of the use of Prakrit along-side Sanskrit. Only we find that the language attested in these fragments is very much archaic as compared with the specimens found in other plays. This is quite understandable, as the fragments are very ancient, almost contemporaneous with the author, whereas the oldest copies of other plays hardly reach back to 1300 A.D. LÜDERS has classed the dialect of the Duṣṭa as Old Māgadhī, of the courtesan and the Vidūṣaka as Old Śaurasenī, and of the Tāpasa as Old Ardhamāgadhī. The next earlier specimens are to be found in the plays ascribed to Bhāsa, but the exemplars of these specimens are comparatively very recent, and found mostly in South India, with the peculiar orthography of the South which gives an archaic appearance to all Prakrit dialects found in southern manuscripts. But the most important and the richest drama for a study of Prakrit is the *Mṛcchakaṭia* ascribed to Śūdraka.

This tradition of the mixture of languages in Sanskrit plays had become almost fixed by the time the Prakrits ceased to be spoken mediums, and in consequence, the dramas composed after 1100 A.D. even so late as the seventeenth century, employ an artificial Prakritisation of Sanskrit to suit the rules laid down by rhetoricians and grammarians. Just as artificial Prakrit works were composed right down to our own era, even if sporadically, so also the different Prakrit dialects, as described by grammarians, have been utilized in later compositions. Originally, however, we shall have to assume, on collateral evidence, such as, for instance, the Niya Prakrit documents of the third century A.D. and the large number of Prakrit inscriptions from the third century B.C. to the fourth century A.D., that the Prakrits utilized by Aśvaghoṣa, Bhāsa, Śūdraka or Kālidāsa must have been drawn from current mediums in those days, slightly stylized to emphasize the tendencies in those dialects, and therefore a little exaggerated, at most. But the same cannot be said of later plays which must have been composed after these dialects had almost ceased to exist in the form in which we find them in those plays, for we find a conscious attempt at following dictates of grammarians.

Besides the main dialects mentioned above, grammarians and commentators refer to two dialects of Śaurasenī, Prācyā and Āvantī (with Dākṣiṇātyā) differentiated from it by mixture with Māhārāṣṭrī, and certain morphological idiosyncracies. The Vidūṣaka in *Mṛcchakaṭika* speaks Prācyā, according to the statement of Pṛthvīdhara; similarly Vīraka speaks Āvantī, while, according to PISCHEL, Candanaka, a southerner, speaks Dākṣiṇātyā. This same play also gives a sample of Śākārī, a special dialect of Māgadhi spoken by the king's brother-in-law, but which is identified as a dialect of Apabhraṁśa by Pṛthvīdhara. The dialect called Ḍhakkī of Ṭākkī is spoken by Māthura, the owner of the gambling house and the gambler accompanying him. Similarly Paiśācī has been utilized in several Sanskrit plays, but in a very limited manner. The material for a detailed study of their characteristics is so limited that unless fresh mate-

rial is discovered it is not possible to trace the relationship between these dialects. The late MIA dialect Apabhraṁśa is attested in several songs in Kālidāsa's *Vikramorvaśīyam* but the genuineness of these stanzas sung by Purūravas has been called into question, and the decision is not unequivocal.

Thus the Dramatic Prakrits offer us speciments covering a period of over fifteen centuries beginning with the Christian era. Except for the fragments of Aśvaghoṣa's plays, the exemplars of the remaining plays do not generally go back to a period prior to 1300 A.D. It was this feeling which dominated the attitude of PISCHEL and his followers in ascribing greater authority to the doctrines established by grammarians like Vararuci and Hemacandra than to the evidence of the manuscripts themselves. The documents for a study of Dramatic Prakrits are to be found written practically in all the Indian characters, from Śāradā in Kashmir to Grantha in the South. The fragments of Aśvaghoṣa's plays, are however, written in an early Brāhmi character of the Kuśāṇa period.

4. *The Prakrits described by Grammarians.*

The principal Prakrits described by Grammarians have already been mentioned in the preceding sections. Vararuci, the author of the oldest available Prakrit Grammar, mentions Māhārāṣṭrī, Paiśācī, Māgadhī and Śaurasenī. To these four Hemacandra adds Cūlikāpaiśāci or Paiśācikā, Apabhraṁśa and Ārṣa. Trivikrama, Lakṣmīdhara, Siṁharāja, Narasiṁhā and others follow the classification of Hemacandra (leaving out or excluding Ārṣa or Ardhamāgadhī). These six languages, namely Māhārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, Māgadhī, Paiśācī, Cūlikāpaiśācī and Apabhraṁśa have given a title to several Prakrit grammars beginning with the compound expression *Ṣaḍ-bhāṣā*. It is only when we come down to Markaṇḍeya that we notice altogether sixteen languages as opposed to the above six. He divides Prakrits into four classes: *bhāṣā, vibhāṣā, apabhraṁśa* and *paiśāca*. Among the *bhāṣā*, he includes Māhārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, Prācyā, Āvanti and Māgadhī (excluding Ardhamāgadhī) Dākṣiṇātyā and Bāhlikī;

under vibhāṣāḥ he mentions Śākārī, Cāṇḍālī, Śābarī, Ābhīrikī, Śākkī rejecting Oḍrī and Drāvidī); he also traces back the 27 varieties of Apabhraṁśa to three principal types: *Nāgara, Vrācaḍa* and *Upanāgara.* Of the eleven Paiśācī dialects enumerated he accepts the three, *Kaikeya, Śaurasena* and *Pāñcāla.* In this he is in agreement with Rāmatarkavāgīśa and Puruṣottama.

The general methods employed by all grammarians is almost similar. Māhārāṣṭrī, as the principal Prakrit (LASSEN's *Practritica praecipua*), is given the first place, and all its chief characteristics of phonology and morphology described in great detail. The remaining languages are then given as exceptions to the general rules holding for Māhārāṣṭrī, and respectively for the following languages described.

A fairly large number of grammars have come down to us. The earliest is evidently that of Vararuci, entitled *Prākṛtaprakāśa,* with a commentary by Brāmaha under the name of *Monoramā.* This is the oldest commentary on Vararuci's text. In addition there are two other commentaries, *Prākṛtasañjivanī* by Vasantarāja, and *Prākṛtasubodhinī* by Sadānanda, which are well known. There is also a verse commentary called *Prākṛtamañjarī.* Similarly the *Prākṛtapāda* of Nārāyaṇa Vidyāvinoda, long recognized as a commentary on Kramadiśvara's *Saṁkṣiptasāra,* is now regarded as a commentary on Vararuci, as its six paricchedas are seen to correspond exactly with the first seven chapters of Vararuci.

Fairly old, as far as Prakrit grammars are concerned, is Caṇḍa's *Prākṛtalakṣaṇa.* He deals with Māhārāṣṭrī, and the Jaina Prakrits (Ārṣa or Ardhamāgadhī, and Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī and Jaina Śaurasenī).

The best known and the most complete Prakrit grammar is that by the famous polymath Hemacandra of Gujarat (A.D. 1088-1172), comprised within the eighth chapter of his *Siddhahemacandra,* accompanied by his own commentary. He deals respectively with Māhārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, Māgadhī, Paiśācī, Cūlikāpaiśācī and Apabhraṁśa. A general rule making the

application of his other rules optional for Ārṣa is the only mention of Ardhamāgadhī in his grammar. Hemacandra's own commentary to his grammar has come down to us in two recensions, *Bṛhatī* and *Laghu vṛttis*, the latter of which is entitled *Prakāśikā*. An etymological commentary called *Haimaprākṛtavṛttiḍhuṇḍhikā* or *Vyutpattivāda* was composed on this Vṛtti by Udayasaubhāgyaṇin. On this eighth chapter of Hemacandra there is also a commentary called *Prākṛtaprabodha* by Narendracandrasūri.

Like Hemacandra, Kramadīśvara composed a Sanskrit grammar entitled *Saṁkṣiptasāra*, the eighth chapter of which is devoted to Prakrit. In a large measure he follows Vararuci. His exact date is unknown, but it has become generally accepted that he must be placed between Hemacandra and Bopadeva between the 12th and 13th centuries A.D. Although there are several commentaries on the Sanskrit portion of his grammar no commentary on the eighth chapter has come down to us.

The so-called Eastern School of Prakrit Grammarians consists of Puruṣottama, Rāmaśarman and Mārkaṇḍeya. The *Prākṛtānuśāsana* of Puruṣottamadeva is known exclusively from a single manuscript preserved in the Nepalese Library at Khatmandu, written in Nevari characters, bearing the date 385 of the Nepalese era, corresponding to A.D. 1265. The *Prākṛtakalpataru* of Rāmaśarman Tarkavāgiśa is known from a manuscript which records its date as Śaka 1608 (A.D. 1686), and it is generally presumed that he belongs to the last quarter of the 16th century. The *Prākṛtasarvasva* of Mārkaṇḍeya Kavīndra is better known than the previous two grammars. Mārkaṇḍeya lived in Orissa during the reign of Mukundadeva (A.D. 1664-92) and this date is generally accepted; but there are several Mukundadevas who ruled in Orissa, and it is by no means certain which Mukundadeva is meant. All these three grammars divide the Prakrits into *bhāṣā, vibhāṣā, apabhraṁśa* and *paiśācika*. After Māhārāṣṭrī, these grammarians study Śaurasenī, Prācyā, Āvantī and Māgadhī under the first division *bhāṣā*. Mārkaṇḍeya and Rāmaśarman mention Bāh-

likī, Ardhamāgadhī (and Dākṣinātyā), but as merging in Āvantī and Māgadhī respectively, so far as the first two are concerned. Then the remaining three, *vibhāṣā*, *apabhraṁśa*, and *paiśācika* are studied.

The *Prākṛtavyākaraṇa* (*vṛtti*) of Arivikrama follows in general the grammar of Hemacandra. The author is placed somewhere in the 13th century A.D. In contrast to the Eastern School of Prakrit Grammarians, Trivikrama belong to the so-called Western School, of which the other representatives are Siṁharāja and Lakṣmīdhara, with their *Prākṛtarūpāvatāra* and *Ṣaḍbhāṣācandrikā* respectively. Similarly Appayyadīkṣita's *Prākṛtamaṇidīpa* belongs to this School. Under this class may also be mentioned Śubhacandra's *Śabdacintāmaṇi*.

There are a number of other works known by name such as the *Prākṛtakāmadhenu* or *Prākṛtalaṅkeśvara* ascribed to one Rāvaṇa of which we have a notice in MITRA's *Catalogue* and *Prākṛtacandrikā* of Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita or Śeṣakṛṣṇa, which are not available in print.

It is clear from the foregoing account that we have a series of Prakrit grammars from very early times, up to almost the end of the seventeenth century, covering almost all aspects of the principal dialects used in Sanskrit plays and Prakrit literature. The value of these grammars, especially from Vararuci to Hemacandra, lies in the fact that they are anterior to all Mss. which we generally possess, and although coming down to us in rather indifferent exemplars, are more accurate than the remaining class of Mss. as dealing particularly with language. In so far as their observations go we have to accept the testimony of the grammarians to correct the obvious faults of the late exemplars of Prakrit texts. But as is obvious from a study of Pāli and Inscriptional Prakrits, the grammarians have eschewed these documents, and to that extent, their observations are limited and tend to become artificial. In fact a comparative study of the Prakrit grammarians themselves will show that, apart from the common agreement in a large number of rules, their *differentia* are indications of an artificial

canalising of probable tendencies, exaggerating the minor idiosyncracies of the different languages with which they deal. The later the grammarian the more apparent is that tendency at classifying and differentiating. It is this same tendency which makes Mārkaṇḍeya record 27 varieties of Apabhraṁśa or 11 varieties of Paiśācī. It is also obvious from many faulty equations contained in these grammars that their authors did not take into account the whole of Old Indo-Aryan into account, but limited themselves only to Classical Sanskrit, as when Hemacandra equates Pk. *khambha-* with Sk. *stambha-* rather than with Vedic *skambha-*. But in spite of all these minor faults, these grammars still remain for us the chief authorities for the six principal Prakrits used in different branches of literature.

(*b*) To these grammars we should add such compendiums as Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* which describe the characteristics as well as the usage in literature of Prakrit dialects. A vast commentarial literature on works of rhetorics, including the originals, deal with varieties of Prakrit either linguistically or as citations from old literature to illustrate the particular figure of speech. Some knowledge of Prakrits is gained from the commentary of Namisādhu to Rudraṭa, or of Pṛthvīdhara on *Mṛcchakaṭika*. So far these specimens of Prakrit literature have not been taken up for serious study.

(*c*) For a study of Prakrit vocabulary, particularly the so-called Deśī words, there are two old lexicons, Dhanapāla's *Pāialacchī* and Hemacandra's *Deśīnāmamālā*, which give us a fairly large sample of such words arranged in a scientific manner. They are invaluable for a study of the history of Prakrit words (even though Deśī), for many of them are not met with in the existing Prakrit literature. Dhanapāla's date is, according to himself, the latter half of the tenth century, and his work was composed in Vikrama Saṁvat 1029 or A.D. 972.

5. *Extra-Indian Prakrits.*

(*a*) The *Kharoṣṭhī* or *Prakrit Dhammapada*, also called *Manuscript Dutreuil de Rhins*, consists of remarkable fragments of a birch-bark codex which the ill-starred French tra-

veller, M. DUTREUIL DE RHINS, acquired in Khotan in 1892. The larger part of these fragments had already been acquired by M. PETROWSKY, Russian Consul General at Kāshgar, through whose mediation they were sent to the Imperial Academy at St. Petersburg. The actual find spot of these fragments is not known, but the Kohmari cave on the hill of Gośṛṅga was alleged to be the source from which these fragments were recovered by some natives. The *Dutreuil de Rhins* Manuscript is now in Paris while the larger collection of fragments called the *Petrowsky Manuscript* is in Petrograd. Through the courtesy of the Russian scholar Serge D'OLDENBURG who deciphered and adjusted these fragments, they were placed at the disposal of the French scholar Emile SENART who found that these two collections formed part of but a single document which he edited in 1897. Since then European and Indian scholars have paid sufficient attention to this remarkable work, and this has resulted in a revised edition of the text by B. L. BARUA and S. MITRA of the University of Calcutta and a definitive edition, *The Gāndhārī Dhammapada*, by John BROUGH, University of London.

The language of these remarkable fragments closely resembles the dialects of the North-West of India. Jules BLOCH, on a close examination of its phonological and other characteristics, has come to the conclusion that the original of this *Kharoṣṭhī Dhammapada* must have been written in India in the North-West with the dialects of which it forms a single group. The title *Kharoṣṭhī Dhammapada* is due to the characters in which these fragments are written. On palaeographic grounds the date of these fragments is accepted as c. 200 A.D.

(*b*) Sir Aurel STEIN discovered a large number of Kharoṣṭhī Documents in Chinese Turkestan during several expeditions led by him. The first expedition of 1900-01 brought in certain documents which have been transcribed and edited by the three scholars A. M. BOYER, E. J. RAPSON and E. SENART and published by the Clarendon Press at Oxford in 1920. All these documents come from Niya, the ancient Cadota which lay on the extreme edge of the kingdom bordering on Khotan. The second expedition during 1906-7 discovered documents at

Niya, Endere and Lou-lan Sites, and these have been edited and published by the same three scholars in 1927. The third expedition during 1913-14 brought in further documents from the Niya and Lou-lan sites and were edited and published in 1929. These three volumes entitled *Kharoṣṭhī Inscription* discovered by Sir Aurel STEIN in Chinese Turkistan form the basis of our study of the language of these documents written in an Indian Prakrit. In 1937 T. BURROW published a small monograph on the language of these documents, and his conclusion may be briefly indicated here. The documents are written in a variety of Indian Prakrit that was used as the administrative language of Shan-Shan or Kroraina in the third century A.D. The texts range over a period of at least eighty-eight years, and the date is approximately fixed by a Chinese document, found in the same heap with a number of Kharoṣṭhī tablets, which is dated A.D. 269. The bulk of these texts comes from Niya, and the language may therefore be termed Niya Prakrit. From phonological and other considerations the original home of the language of these documents appears to be N. W. India, probably in the region of Peshawar. It agrees closely with the (post-Aśokan) Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions from N. W. India and (slightly less closely) with the Prakrit version of the *Dhammapada*. Moreover, it shows sufficient characteristics in common with the modern Dardic languages to be assigned definitely to that group, and among these languages it would seem to be most closely allied to Torwali.

Most of these documents are of an official nature, such as directions from the king to magistrates, deeds of sale, private letters and lists of various kinds. A complete English translation has (London, 1940) been published by T. BURROW in the Royal Asiatic Society's James G. Furlong Series. A peculiarity of this Kharoṣṭhī, as contrasted with its Indian prototype, is that it has distinct signs not only for representing long vowels and vocalic *r*, but also for spirants which do not exist in Indian Prakrits so far as documentary representation is concerned.

6. *Inscriptional Prakrits.*

The earliest Prakrit Inscriptions which have come down to us are those of the great Maurya Emperor Aśoka. They are inscribed in two scripts, Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī, the last being used only for Rock Edicts at Shahbazgarhi (about 7 miles N. E. of Mardān) and at Mānsehra. These inscriptions are usually divided into six categories as follows:

(1) Rock Edicts: Besides the Kharoṣṭhī edicts mentioned at Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra, the Brāhmī Rock Edicts have been found at Girnar (Junagarh), Kālsī (16 miles from Mussoorie on the road to Chakrata), Dhauli (18 miles from Cuttack), Jaugaḍa (18 miles N. W. N. of Ganjam) and Sopāra (3 miles from Bassein).

(2) Minor Rock Edicts have been found at Rupnath (Jabalpur district), Sahasrām (between Moghal Serai and Gaya), Bairat (in Jaipur State); Brahmagiri, Śiddāpura and Jaṭinga Rāmeśvara (in Mysore State); at Maski and Kopbāl (Hyderabad State) and at Yerraguḍi (Kurnool District).

(3) Pillar Edicts are distributed over Delhi-Topra (brought to Delhi from Topra in the Ambala district by Sultan Firoz in 1356 A.D.), Delhi-Mirat (brought from Mirat by the same Sultan in 1356 A.D.), Allahabad-Kauśāmbi, and Radhia and Mathia (in the Champaran district of Bihar), and Rāmpūrvā.

(4) Minor Pillar Edicts are found at Sārnāth, Sānchī and Allahabad Kauśāmbī.

(5) Pillar Dedications are found at Rummindei and Niglive in Nepal territory.

(6) Cave inscriptions are found in the Barābar and Nāgārjuni Caves in the Gaya district.

It will be seen from the distribution of these inscriptions that practically a major part of India is covered by them. They are representative of four distinct groups, Western, North-Western, Eastern and Central (including the Southern). In content, size and distribution they are unrivalled in the

entire domain of Indian Inscriptions, and remind us to a certain extent of the Old Persian Inscriptions of Darius.

(b) Brāhmī Inscriptions, other than those of Aśoka, are also distributed in different parts of India and belong to different periods of time, covering more than ten centuries. But the chief of these fall within the period between 300 B.C. and 400 A.D. Grouped according to regions they fall into five categories: Western, North-Western and North-Eastern, Central and Southern. The total number of inscriptions is certainly round about 2000, but they are of unequal value. Some of them are extensive, while others, such as those at Sānchi, hardly cover more than a line, and give very little linguistic material. Practically all donative inscriptions are standardised in formula except for the name of the donor which may change from inscription to inscription. Khāravela's inscription at the entrance of the Hāthigumpha Cave is well-known. Similarly the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Inscriptions are fairly extensive in length, as also the inscriptions of the Andhra kings in Western India.

A number of Brāhmī inscriptions are found in Ceylon from about 200 B.C. to he 4th or 5th century A.D. The oldest of these are either cave or rock inscriptions. Of these the cave inscriptions are found all over the island, the shortest containing the name of the donor, and the longest, besides the name and title of the donor, those of his father and a stereotyped dedicatory phrase. The rock inscriptions are of various age and character and are generally found near tanks and relate the dedication of the tank to a temple. Linguistically they are richer than the cave inscriptions, and the oldest of these are nearly as old as the cave inscriptions. The language of these Brāhmī Inscriptions is of the same type as the Middle Indian Prakritic dialects in phonology as well as in morphology, and GEIGER has termed it Sinhalese Prakrit.

(c) Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions, other than those of Aśoka, are found mostly in the North-West of India, defined by an area extending from 69° to 73° 30′ E. and from the Hindu Kush to about 33° N. The easternmost limit is, in the Punjab,

at Māṇikiāla. There are two inscriptions from Kāngrā where Kharoṣṭhī is used in addition to Brāhmī, and there is another record at Karnāl, further east, where this alphabet is used. A well-known inscription in Mathurā on the Jamnā is in Kharoṣṭhī, although Brāhmī is the natural character for this region. There is even a Kharoṣṭhī record from Patna. Nevertheless the North-West is the proper region for Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions to be found.

The inscriptions mentioned under (*b*) and (*c*) above appear on different types of writing material such as rock or stone, copper-plate, silver scroll or vase, ordinary vase, gold-plate and silver-plate, seals, pedestal and image, potsherds and even writing boards; bronze caskets, terra-cotta plaque and bricks. Jars, lamps, clay sherds or potsherds, cornelian, etc. play an important rôle for these inscriptions.

(*d*) Another important source for a study of the Middle Indo-Aryan dialects is found in the early coinage system of India. These coins fall into two main classes, uninscribed (and unattributed) and inscribed (or otherwise capable of attribution, with some degree of accuracy, to some particular period or area). The first class consists of four types: Early single type silver coins belonging to North-Western India; they are thick, slightly bent bars of silver stamped with wheel or sun-like designs. Silver Punch Marked coins; uninscribed Cast Copper coins and Punch-Marked Copper Coins. For our purpose this class is of little value. The fifth type constitutes the second class, consisting of inscribed coins either in Greek, Brāhmī, Kharoṣṭhī or early Nāgari characters. These are made of gold, silver or copper.

Inscribed coins have been found in many parts of India. They belong to a period ranging from a little earlier than 300 B.C. downwards. The earliest inscribed Indian coin—that of Dharmapāla—is found in the site of Eram (in the Saugor district of the Central Provinces) and it cannot be later than the third century B.C. It bears the legend *Dhamapālasa* read round the coin from right to left, written in Brāhmī. The first coin to exhibit legends in both the Greek and the Kharo-

ṣṭhī scripts is a square copper coin of the Demetrios (*circa* 200 B.C.); the Kharoṣṭhī legend on three sides of a winged thunderbolt reads: *maharajasa aparijitasa Dime.* Coins with purely Greek legends date from Alexander the Great's retreat from the Punjab (326 B.C.). To commemorate his victories he struck a medal; it is interesting to note that about the same time an Indian prince, Sophytes (*Saubhūti*), struck a silver coin in Greek style.

Thus from the latter half of the fourth century B.C. down to the Gupta period we find a great number of coins bearing Prakrit legends, and despite their cryptic nature, we get evidence of the continuous use of Middle Indo-Aryan dialects in India, particularly in the North-West. This evidence is of great value not only for the many historical names to be found in the coin legends, but also for the phonetics of Middle Indo-Aryan and Greek when parallel legends occur in Prakrit and Greek.

7. *Popular Sanskrit.*

As already mentioned in the first chapter, Popular Sanskrit is to be classed as a Middle Indo-Aryan dialect. We may consider this type of Sanskrit as (*a*) the approximation of some Middle Indo-Aryan medium to the classical type or higher literary medium, Sanskrit, as a result of a conscious attempt on the part of the popular writers or (*b*) the natural mixture of classical Sanskrit with incorrect forms as current in the vernacular of the period. The first view has correspondence in the chemical field as a 'compound', while the second view corresponds to a 'mixture'. When we have, for instance, a form like *bhikṣu-sya* (genitive singular of the vocable *bhikṣu*-'mendicant') we can consider it as due to analogy with *rāma-sya, kṛṣṇa-sya,* breaking the historically correct form in *-as* (*hareḥ, viṣṇoḥ*); or else we can conceive of it as a hypersanskritisation of the MIA form *bhikkhu-ssa* (cf. *aggissa,* as opposed to *bhikkhu-ṇo, aggi-ṇo* etc.) where the termination *-ssa* has become normal through the working of analogy. In the first case we actually see a MIA. process working in Popular Sanskrit, reducing it to another member of

MIA; in the second case we see the conscious approximation of MIA to a Sanskrit pattern. In either case we gather the forces which tend to reduce OIA into its MIA descendant, and if these tendencies are collated with similar factors in MIA we shall be able to see how exactly OIA transformed itself in its temporal evolution into MIA. What we may miss in actual MIA texts which have come down to us in a highly artificial form becomes evident and in actual formation in these Popular Sanskrit Dialects.

These Popular Sanskrit Dialects may roughly be divided into three classes according as the medium is used by the Buddhists (chiefly Mahāyānists), the Jainas or the Hindus.

(*a*) Buddhist Sanskrit: For a comprehensive survey of Buddhist Sanskrit literature the best book to consult is WINTERNITZ's *History of Indian Literature,* volume II, pages 226-401. When the texts like the *Mahāvastu* (edited by SENART in 3 volumes, Paris 1882-97) became available to linguists the study of Buddhist Sanskrit or what was termed the 'Gāthā dialect' became possible. Such works as the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, Lalitavistara, Jātakamālā, Avadānaśataka* are written in this 'mixed' or hybrid Sanskrit of which a detailed study has now been made by the American Scholar Franklin EDGERTON. EDGERTON calls this dialect Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit. One of the latest texts published in this class of literature is the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* edited by J. NOBEL of Marburg. All these texts are rich in MIA constructions and their variants offer a great deal of instruction to the linguistician and the text-critic.

(*b*) It is again due to an American Scholar (and incidentally a teacher of EDGERTON), Maurice BLOOMFIELD, that we have the first formulation of the dialectal characteristics of Popular Jaina Sanskrit (in his paper contributed to *Antidoron* or *Festschrift Wackernagel*). More recently the studies of Dr. A. N. UPADHYE (introduction to *Varāṅgacarita*) and of Mr. Mulk Raj JAIN (*Citrasenapadmāvatīcaritra,* introduction) have brought out the MIA traits of this dialect. All the Jainas have, as a rule, preserved their commentarial literature and

original compositions free from such MIA features; still the Prakrit and Vernacular tradition which characterised all their principal activities and enriched the literature in Indian dialects, has left an abiding mark even on their purely Sanskrit compositions addressed to the lay public. Thus in commentaries, in story literature and other popular types of composition in Sanskrit we notice this Middle Indo-Aryanisation creeping in and providing us with rich material for completing our scientific survey of MIA dialects.

(c) In just the same way the epics and purāṇas (including Tantric and technical literature), written by the Hindus, provides us the third source of popular Sanskrit, forming part of Middle Indo-Aryan studies. Since the very first attempts of Europeans at composing scientific grammars of Old Indo-Aryan, including both Vedic and Classical types of Sanskrit, we observe that the dialects found in popular works like the *Rāmāyaṇa* or the *Mahābhārata* have foromed part of these studies. It will be noticed from such studies that the irregularities of Epic Grammar have been explained mostly on the ground of metrical or popular needs, as exceptions to the general rules holding good for classical Sanskrit, which is itself a normalization and selective standardisation of the rich Vedic features. But it is only recently that the correct significance of such aberrations is being understood. The archaisms, innovations, and the new vocables and forms seen in this literature are truly indicative of MIA features. We shall only refer here to PARGITER's theory of the Prakrit origin of this literature to indicate the MIA features seen in these compositions.

Particular attention must be drawn in this connection to the critical edition of *Mahābhārata,* being published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Poona. On the basis of the critically constituted text it is now possible, and now only for the first time, with some degree of scientific accuracy, to describe the chief features of Epic Grammar. There is no doubt that when such a grammar is compiled, our knowledge of Middle Indo-Aryan will be greatly increased and we shall be in a position more correctly to appreciate the

contribution of Middle Indo-Aryan to our linguistic and cultural inheritance.

We have indicated above some of the principal sources of Middle Indo-Aryan material for our panoramic survey of Prakrit languages. It is not possible to indicate more than a few typical types under each head, and accordingly the preceding survey has been very brief. The interested scholar may refer to the select bibliography at the end which will introduce him to the main sources so necessary for a detailed study of these interesting literatures.

One word may not be out of place here as a warning against the indiscriminate use of the source material. With very few exceptions we have practically no critical editions of important MIA texts (Pāli, Ardhamāgadhī and Jaina Prakrit Apabhraṁśa, and Popular Sanskrit, Dramatic Prakrits, etc.) and any conclusions based upon unsifted material are likely to be thrown overboard as soon as critical editions are available. Only a true objective philological approach is the surest foundation for this study.

CHAPTER III

LINGUISTIC FEATURES OF MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN

It is not possible within the limits set for this study of Middle Indo-Aryan to enter into any great details about the comparative grammar of MIA languages enumerated in the last chapter. But it is necessary for us to know the chief characteristics of these languages which separate them from the dialects of Old Indo-Aryan. For a detailed comparative grammar there is as yet no single work which takes into account the entire MIA material described briefly in the preceding chapter; on the other hand the individual grammars like PISCHEL'S great *Grammatik* are purely descriptive and linguistically weak, while BLOCH'S *L'indo-aryen* is too succint and brief, covering the whole field of Indo-Aryan linguistics, in a panoramic, survey. An attempt is made here to point out the chief features of these languages from a linguistic point of view. Recently a *Comparative Grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan* by Sukumar SEN has been published by the Linguistic Society of India.

The first characteristic which strikes even the uninitiated is the absence of Old Indo-Aryan vocables in these Middle Indo-Aryan languages. Whereas Mahāṭhī or Hindi, even from their most ancient stage, exhibit a large percentage of OIA vocables in their texts by the side of inherited New Indo-Aryan vocables, the MIA dialects show purely MIA forms of words. Dravidian literature produced at about the same time shows, on the other hand, over three quarters of its vocabulary to be derived from Sanskrit as loan-words. The question naturally arises whether this actually represents the exact state of affairs. If we assume that it does, then we have to consider Sanskrit as having stayed dormant for a whole millennium as a vernacular as well as a literary medium, which is quite con-

trary to what we know about Sanskri literature which had such a glorious revival during the Gupta age in India. From about the fourth century A.D. Sanskrit inscriptions are seen in Greater India. There are moveover a large number of inscriptions in mixed Sanskrit and Prakrit, showing the use of both languages as current at a given period, over a large part of India. It is, therefore, an open question whether these two mediums were used by different classes of people which did not often come into direct contact with each other, Sanskrit being used by the learned and cultured classes while Prakrit became the vehicle for the general population. One explanation of this strange abhorence of OIA vocabulary in its loanword aspect may be in the stylizing of MIA grammar and dialectal forms, but at best, it is a weak argument, for as compared with Sanskrit, the grammatical activities of Prakrit scholars are a negligible quantity. Purism in literature could explain this divergence, but even this assumption is invalid when we consider the whole of Buddhist Sanskrit and Hindu Epic literature produced during the same period. It is a problem worth investigating, for no theory of the revival of Sanskrit learning or of Brahminical revival during the Gupta age can explain such a peculiar fact, which breaks down as soon as we come to modern Indo-Aryan literature, whether Jaina or Hindu.

The second factor which will be noticed by the lay scholar in so far as MIA vocabulary is concerned is the absence of certain combination of sounds so common in Sanskrit and the total absence of a few sounds altogether. Technically speaking, these peculiarities are classed under a branch called Phonology, the science of deriving, or to be more exact, of positing a correspondence between the sounds of one language with a second cognate language or languages. If we consider, then, the development of the MIA sound system from its predecessor OIA, we shall be building up a system of correspondences between the two, helping us in understanding, in general, the transformation of one group into the other in its historical evolution, so far as the inherited vocabularly is concerned. The vocabulary of MIA (as that of any language

historically attested) may be classed into different categories such as (1) inherited from the common parent, through the natural evolutionary process, (2) borrowed from the parent or (3) borrowed from other cognate or (genetically speaking) unrelated languages as loan-words. So far as MIA is concerned, the second class does not exist, as we mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Now it often happens that a fairly representative part of this inherited vocabulary may be identical, in its sound system, with the parent vocabulary. Indian grammarians have termed such vocabules as *tat-samas.* Thus the words *kara-* and *caraṇa-* are identical in both Old and Middle Indo-Aryan and classed as tatsamas. But a still larger proportion of the vocabulary is not so identical in its sound system, and yet, the correspondences existing between the two sound systems is so close as to be predictable on the basis of a few illustrations, enabling us to derive the later from the earlier stock. This class has been termed *tad-bhava,* thus MIA *vijjā* < OIA *vidyā,* or MIA *sejjā* < OIA *śayyā,* etc. The third class defined above corresponds to what the Indian grammarians have classed as Deśī words, that is, vocables not derivable from OIA. So if we have to study the correspondences existing between OIA and MIA in their sound systems, our remarks will naturally have to be confined to the inherited form of the vocabulary.

Phonology

OIA possessed the following sound system: Vowels:—*a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, ṛ, ṝ, ḷ, e, ai, o, au.* Consonants:—*k; kh; g; gh, ṅ, c, ch, j, jh, ñ; ṭ, ṭh, ḍ; ḍh; ṇ; t; th; d; dh, n; p, ph, b, bh, m; y, r, l, v; ś, ṣ, s; h; ḷ* (in Vedic, Pāli and Paiśācī).

Of this sound system MIA in general has lost the diphthongs *ai* and *au,* and the rare vocalic *ḷ* which is seen only in OIA *klp-.* Vocalic *ṛ* is lost in all MIA dialects except in Niya and the Apabhraṁśa of the grammarians. Of the nasals *ṅ ñ* is preserved only in Pāli, *ñ* in Pāli and Māgadhī and also in Niya. Vedic *ḷ* is preserved only in Pāli and Paiśācī (including Cūlikāpaiśācika). Of the three sibilants *ś, ṣ* and *s,* except in the North-Western Prakrit, either *ś* (in the East) or *s* (in other

MIA dialects) remains; in Niya and other N-W. Prakrits all the three are preserved. In Niya Prakrit there are spirant *g'*, *j'* and *d'* in addition to the consonants represented in OIA.

Vowels: The diphthongs *ai* and *au* have reduced themselves to *e* and *o* respectively (and further to *i* and *u*) in all MIA dialects; thus OIA *gautama-* > P. *gotama-*, Amg. *goyama-*, etc. Vocalic *ṛ* has reduced itself normally into *a*, *i* or *u* (and in a few cases with a prefixed *r*); in Niya the regular treatment is *ri* which is written *ri*, *r* and *rṛ*. From a study of a large number of examples scholars have come to the conclusion that the *a*-treatment is characteristic of the West (represented by Girnar in Aśokan inscriptions) and the *i*-treatment of the North-West (represented by Shabazgarhi) including Khotan where we see that *ri* is the common treatment. The *u*-treatment is found especially in the presence of labials, and in kinship terms. Changes in the remaining dialects are not so well marked. A few examples will make this clear.

Sk. *kṛtá-* > Aś. G. *kata-*, K. *kaṭa-*, S. M. *kiṭa-*, DJ etc. *kaṭa-*, Niya *kiḍa-*.

Changes in the rest of the vocalic system may be classified as changes occurring in (*a*) quantity or (*b*) quality or both. It is a characteristic of MIA as a whole that a long vowel is shortened in the presence of an anusvāra or a geminated consonant. Thus Sk *Śāstṛ-* > P. *satthā* or Sk. *sītām* > Pk. *sīyaṁ*. If MIA *metta-* corresponds to OIA *mātra-* we have a change in quantity as well as quality; the reason for this change will be explained by comparative grammarians as due to contamination with forms in OIA like *mitra-* etc. A change of quality alone is seen in the correspondence OIA *madhyama-* > MIA *majjhima*. Generally speaking changes in the initial syllable concern quality. Exceptions to this rule are explained by comparative grammar; for instance, MIA *metta-* may correspond directly to Indo-European * *metrom-* (whence we have OIA *mātra-*) rather than with OIA *mātra-*, in which case the *ĕ* of MIA before the geminated *tt* is derived from IE. **e* in a metrically heavy syllable. We shall leave such explanations to comparative linguists and concern our-

selves mainly with the general linguistic features of MIA. Changes in quality require a special investigation and an individual explanation dependent upon the factors connected with those vocables.

Consonants: Turning our attention to the consonants, we observe several features in MIA which separate these dialects from OIA. In the first place all MIA vocables end in vowels, and this is achieved by (*a*) dropping the final consonant of OIA as in *vidyut* > *vijju-*, or (*b*) adding a vowel to the final consonant as in *śarad* > *sarada-*. We also observe that initially, as a very general rule, all the single consonants remain unaltered, the main exceptions being *n*, *y*, *ś* and *ṣ*. *n-* > *ṇ-* in all grammatical Prakrits, followed in Sanskrit plays, etc. (but not in the fragments of Buddhist Plays); *y-* > *j-* except in Mg. Where the distinction between the three sibilants has been destroyed, *ś* and *ṣ* in all positions tend to become the dental *s* or all the three reduce themselves to *ś* as in Mg. There are certain special changes which occur such as cerebralization, aspiration, etc. which require a knowledge of comparative grammar for a proper explanation. Examples of these exceptions are: OIA *nayoti* > P. *neti*, Pk. *ṇei;* OIA *yathā* > Pk. *jadhā*, Mg. *yadhā;* OIA. *śrāvaka-* > Aś. Sm. *śravaka-* G. *sravāpaka-*, K. *sāvaka-*, etc.

In order to appreciate the changes which occur in the consonantal system in other positions in the vocables it is necessary to enter into the elementary technical aspect of this consonantism. The consonants are divided into (*a*) stops or mutes consisting of *k, kh, g, gh, c, ch, j, jh, ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, t, th, d, dh, p, ph, b, bh;* (*b*) nasals: *ṅ, ñ, ṇ, m;* (*c*) semi-vowels: *y, r, l, v;* (*d*) sibilants: *ś, ṣ, s;* (*e*) aspirate: *h*. The stops are again divided into (*a*) voiced: *g, gh, j, jh, ḍ, ḍh, d, dh, b, bh,* (*b*) unvoiced: *k, kh, c, ch, ṭ, ṭh, t, th, p, ph* or (*c*) non-aspirate: *k, g, c, j, ṭ, ḍ, t, d, p, b* and (*d*) aspirate: *kh, gh, ch, jh, ṭh, ḍh, th, dh, ph, bh*. The general phonetical aspect of this system is explained by the terms themselves. Thus when the air is expelled through the vocal organs and the particular sounds are produced, we distinguish vowels from consonants

by the absence or presence of any hindrance in the air passage. This hindrance takes the aspect of a stoppage of the air passage, and this stoppage may be complete or partial, and there are gradations of consonants from stops right up to the vowels. The place where the sound is produced determines its class such as guttural, palatal, cerebral, dental or labial. There are many intermediate classes with which we are not concerned in Indo-Aryan for our present study. The characteristic of a stop, then, is the complete stoppage of the breath in some part of the buccal cavity (the nose passage being closed at the same time) and afterwards opening the passage to let the imprisoned air escape. The act of closing the passage is technically called 'implosion' and of opening the passage is called 'explosion', and the sound itself so produced is called a 'plosive.' When the vocal chords do not vibrate the stops so produced are called unvoiced; when they vibrate they produce the voiced stops. All vowels are voiced, as also the semi-vowels and the nasals. When the mouth passage is closed at a time when the nasal passage is kept open, the class of consonants produced are called nasals. The semi-vowels partake of the characteristic of vowels in having the buccal cavity almost open but modulated by means of the tongue or the lips. The sibilants are produced by a very small opening in the buccal cavity through which the air forces itself with a hissing sound along a channel formed by the tongue. When a stop is accompanied by a heavy breathing it becomes aspirated.

It will be clear from the above description of the system of sounds that between the vowels, in the production of which there is no special effort, and the stops, which require a special effort marked by what we termed implosion and explosion in the closing of the vocal passage (which is technically called 'occlusion') there is a graded series of sounds of increasing difficulty requiring greater and greater effort. The natural disinclination of human beings, like the inertia of matter, tends towards the line of least resistance, and this general tendency will be seen in the slow evolution of MIA languages from the OIA stage as attested by the correspondences existing between them.

We have considered the correspondences existing between the initial and final consonants (single) of Old and Middle IA. The third position for the single consonant is therefore non-initial and non-final, in the interior of a vocable. Technically such a position will be described as intervocalic, as standing between two vowels; for in the initial position the single consonant is the first member of a syllable, and in the final position the last. If we notice the phonological aspect a stop between two vowels requires a strong effort on the part of the speaker to retain its true characteristic, and this effort is strongest in the case of the unvoiced stop, less strong in the case of voiced stop and weaker still in the case of a spirant or affricate. Finally in the case of vocalisation the stop may altogether lose its characteristic closure or occlusion. A comparative study of MIA dialects shows us all these correspondences as we descend down in point of time.

The earliest stage seen in Aśokan inscriptions and in Pāli shows us the retention of intervocalic stops subject to the general nature of the dialect (e.g. *ś* in the East and *s* elsewhere limit the number of consonants in MIA as compared with OIA, and the retention must concern only the number of consonantal sounds existing in the particular dialect of MIA). But this retention is not absolute. Traces of voicing stops are to be seen: Aś. bh. *adhigicya*<OIA *adhikṛtya* or *-vadikā* of kq., *-vaḍikyā* of T < OIA *-vāṭikā*, but they come up as exceptions rather than as a rule. The same state of affairs is seen in the case of other Prakrit inscriptions from the third century B.C. up to nearly the second or third century A.D. The Buddhist Fragmentary Plays still retain the unvoiced intervocalic stops. On the other hand the Niya documents of the third century A.D. show not only the voicing of *k, c, ṭ, t, p, ś, s* and probably *ṣ* but also the spirantising as *g' j' d'*. Notice the absence of the dental from this last process. In the lyric Māhārāṣṭrī most of these intervocalic stops lose their occlusion completely; thus *kai* stands for *kavi-, kati, kapi-*, etc. Śaurasenī retains intervocalic *-t-*, etc. as *-d-* like Māgadhī, while the remaining intervocalic stops lose their occlusion. This artificial phonological distinction distinguishes vocables as belong-

ing either to M on the one hand or to Mg and Ś on the other. Thus OIA *gacchati* will remain as *gacchati* in Aśokan and other old inscriptions, in Pāli and in Aśvaghoṣa's plays; in Ś and Mg. the corresponding forms will be *gacchadi, gaścadi* reduced still further in M to *gacchaï* through probably an intermediate form * *gacchad'i* where *d'* is the spirant corresponding to the stop *d*.

In the case of aspirated stops the same process is seen leading up to the final loss of occlusion leaving only the aspirate in position, as in the series OIA *atha* > Ś *adha* > M *aha*. This loss of occlusion takes place gradually through voicing and spirantising.

There will be a few sporadic cases where the opposite tendencies will be apparent. Some of these are given as characteristic of Paiśācī such as the devoicing of voiced dentals in the initial and intervocalic positions: *Tāmotara-* > OIA *Dāmodara*, *tātisa-*<*tādṛśa-*, etc. A number of such cases occur in Pāli, Aśokan inscriptions or Niya documents: Pa. *mutiṅga-* <OIA *mṛdaṅga-;* Aś.*Kamboca-* < OIA *Kamboja-;* Niya, (for initial only) *canati* < *janati*. Initial devoicing is also a characteristic of Dravidian. Except in Paiśācī the number of such cases is strictly limited.

One of the chief features of OIA is the number of combinatory consonants where each consonant can combine with a certain number of other consonants either as the first or the second member, subject only to general rules of euphony. Thus an unvoiced stop can combine only with an unvoiced stop or a voiced stop with a voiced one only. Thus theoretically *k* can combine with *k, kh, c, ch, ṭ, ṭh, t, th, p, ph* only among the stops as *g* can with the voiced stops *g, gh, j, jh, ḍ, ḍh, d, dh, b, bh*. Nasals can combine with any stops, while the semivowels with the entire system of stops and nasals, and the sibilants with all the preceding sounds. Out of these theoretically possible groups OIA does not possess all the groups.

In order to understand the correspondences existing between the OIA and MIA consonant clusters it is necessary to reiterate here the strength of consonants based generally on

the physical efforts necessary to produce them: (*a*) stops, (*b*) nasals and (*c*) *l, s* (including *ś* and *ṣ*), *v, y, r.* The study of correspondences between Old and Middle IA shows us that gradually the different consonant clusters of OIA reduced themselves in MIA to double consonants through assimilation: *kk, kkh; gg, ggh; jj, jjh; ṭṭ, ṭṭh; ḍḍ, ḍḍh; tt, tth; dd, ddh; pp, pph; bb, bbh; ññ, ṇṇ, nn, mm; *ṇṇh>ṇh; *nnh>nh; *mmh>mh; yy, ll, ss, śś, vv; *llh>lh.* This assimilation is of two kinds: 'progressive' as in OIA *mukta-*>MIA *mukka-* (really>OIA **muk-na-*) where the first modifies the second, or 'regressive' as in OIA *bhakta-*>MIA *bhatta-* where the second modifies the first. A third type of assimilation is seen in OIA *ruddha-*<**rudh-ta-* which may be called reciprocal, but there are no clear examples of this in MIA. The general law as deduced from a study of actual correspondences existing between OIA and MIA is that corresponding to a combination of two consonants of equal strength in OIA we have a doubled group of the second consonant and to a group of two consonants of unequal strength in OIA we have in MIA the doubled group of the stronger one (as in *bhakta->bhatta, matkuṇa->makkuṇa-* etc.; *lagna->lagga-, janman>jamma unmāda->ummāa-,* etc. *paśyati>passati, bilva->billa-, sarva->savva-* or *sabba* in the East, etc.). This rule, with a few dialectal peculiarities, holds good for such consonant clusters both initially and intervocally. The main disturbing agency here is svarabhakti as in *śrī>siri, hrī>hiri,* etc. Similarly the assimilatory process effected by palatals on dentals (*vidyā>vijjā, dyotate>joaï*) or the aspiration caused by the presence of the sibilants (*hasta-hattha-, iṣṭhā>iṭṭhā, paścāt>pacchā, vatsa->vaccha-, pakṣa->pakkha-* etc.) are more or less regular laws in MIA. Dialectally we have the OIA *rv* or *vr>vv* almost everywhere except in the East (not attested in Aśokan inscriptions) and in Pāli, where it is regularly *bb* (*pūrva>pubba-, kurvanti>kubbanti* etc.). Like the law of palatalisation there is also the law of cerebralisation, but the examples under this law are much more restricted.

When a consonant nexus or cluster consists of more than two members in OIA it usually takes the form (1) nasal, semi-

vowel or sibilant+stop+semi-vowel or (2) stop+sibilant+ semi-vowel: (1) *ca-ndr-a, ū-rdhv-a-, rā-ṣṭr-a-* or (2) *u-tsr-a-* etc. MIA correspondences show the assimilation of the entire group by the stop as in MIA. *canda-, uddha-, raṭṭha-*, etc., subject to such laws as cerebralisation or palatilization as in MIA. *uḍḍha-* or *ubbha-* < OIA *ūrdhva-*. Here too the strongest in the group assimilates the weaker consonants.

It is to be noted, however, that this harmonisation or levelling down of consonant clusters has not taken place even in the same region at one definite period. We observe, for instance, in the North-Western inscriptions of Aśoka, as also in canonical Pāli that consonant clusters wih *r* are preserved, while the remaining groups have been reduced by assimilation.

The brief descriptive survey of the phonological correspondences existing between OIA and MIA given above shows us how the rich phonological structure of OIA has been broken down and reduced in MIA, complicating the history of the vocable, as in MIA *satta-* which can correspond to OIA *sakta-, śakta-, satva-, satra-, sapta, śapta-*, etc. We have not entered into the detailed ramifications of this phonological aspect which is one of the main divisions of comparative grammar. The principal lines of development indicated above will be sufficient for our purposes of understanding the chief features of the MIA vocabulary which MIA has inherited from OIA. We have, therefore, omitted from our consideration the rich vocabularial content which MIA has borrowed from non-IA language groups.

Turning our attention to the contour of these vocables in actual composition or literary work, we also notice that the simplificatory process which affected the shape of the vocables has also affected the morphology of MIA.

Morphology.

We have naturally to take into account two main systems, nominal and verbal. In the case of nouns, pronouns, numerals, etc. which form the first system, we have already noticed that all vocables end in vowels in MIA. So the rich declensional system of OIA is now reduced to the vowel-ending type only.

This must not be taken to mean that the old system broke down altogether. Since MIA inherits its grammar from OIA, survival of the older forms will be seen in both early and late MIA, but the law of analogy which is levelling down the rich morphological system of OIA is giving standardised forms derived from the MIA bases themselves driving out slowly the historically derived forms. Thus the form *bhikṣu-sya* seen in Buddhist Sanskrit is the type which drives out the historically derived *bhikṣ-oḥ,* as will be seen in other MIA dialects.

Again the first thing to be noticed is the complete loss of the dual in MIA morphology; only the singular and the plural survive. The three genders remain. In number the declensional cases, however, have reduced themselves; the dative merges with the genitive, leaving only a few historical survivals here and there. In late MIA the Instrumental merges into the Locative. The majority of stems are reduced to (1) masculine and neuter in *-a, -i, -u* and (2) feminine in *-ā, -i, -ī, -u, -ū.*

Terminations.

Terminations in MIA are more or less subject to the same phonological changes which affect the general form of the vocable. Hence there is always the possibility of two different terminations of OIA converging into a single termination of MIA, causing confusion where everything was clear before. Thus OIA *putrāt* and *putrāḥ,* the Ablative and Nominative plurals both result in MIA *putrā* or *puttā,* and unless the context is very clear there will be difficulty in construing the forms. In order to get over this difficulty MIA introduces certain innovations by extending the termination or by incorporating the features of a substitute termination differing in its evolution from itself and therefore diverging from the common resultant in MIA. Thus Pāli incorporates the termination *-smāt* from the pronominal system of OIA and possesses the following three forms *dhammā, dhammasmā, dhammamhā;* on the other hand in Aśokan inscriptions and the anonymous Prakrit dialect of the Buddhist Fragmentary Plays an extended *-(ă/ī/ŭ) to* is found. In a similar manner when the Accusative plural and the Locative singular coincide

in Pāli as in *dhamme,* Pāli takes over the pronominal *smin* to get over this difficulty: *dhamme,* besides *dhammasmiṁ* or *dhammamhi.* In this manner what was lost through the phonological evolution was made good by extension or substitution of terminations.

There are a certain number of terminations which characterise the entire group of nouns, irrespective of whether they are masculine, neuter or feminine or whether they end in -*ā̆,* -*ī̆,* or *ū̆.* If we consider them here our understanding of the MIA situation will be made clear. These terminations are:

Accusative singular	: -*ṁ* (optional only in the case of neuters ending in -*i* or -*u*).
Instrumental and Ablative plurals	: -*hi* (before which -*a*>*e* and other vowels, if short, lengthen).
Locative plural	: -*su* (before which -*a*>*e* and other vowels, if short, lengthen).
Genitive plural	: *naṁ* (before which short vowels lengthen).

The forms quoted above are from Pāli, the oldest of MIA languages in a linguistic sense. In other MIA languages there may be slightly different forms such as, for instance, Instrumental plural in -*hiṁ* or -*hĭ,* Ablative plural with extension in -*hiṁto,* etc. But the general features remain the same, whichever dialect we take into account.

Next in simplicity is the feminine type, whatever the ending, and we have the following scheme:

Instrumental, Dative Ablative, Genitive, Locative singular	: -*ya* (for base in -*ā*) -*yā* (for other bases, before which long vowels, -*ī* and -*ū* shorten).

We have to remember in addition that except in rare cases the Dative coincides with the Genitive.

Remembering again that we are making Pāli the basis of MIA comparison, we notice the next simpler type as the masculine and feminine nouns ending in *-ĭ* and *ŭ*:

Nominative singular	: No termination (the base remains unaltered). E.g. *aggi, bhikkhu, jāti, nadī, dhenu, sassū.*
Nominative and Accusative plurals	: identical: (a) lengthening of the final vowel, or (b) *-ayo, avo* for masculines, *-iyo, -uyo* for feminines.

Finally we have masculines and neuters in *-a* and neuters in *-i* and *-u*. Here the nominative singular masculine is *o* and plural *-ā,* as previously mentioned. The Accusative plural of the masculine is *-e*. Neuter plurals are obtained by adding (*-ni*) before which the short vowel of the stem is lengthened. The Instrumental singular of *-a* stems is in *-ena,* of the rest in *-nā;* the Genitive for all is *-ssa* or for *i* and *u* stems alone is *-no*. Other forms were discussed above such as Ablative and Locative singular in *-smā* and *-smiṁ*.

It is not necessary for us to consider the correspondences between all the cognate dialects since a knowledge of the phonological correspondence gives us the proper terminations for each dialect taken up for study. It will be seen from the above analysis of the chief features of MIA declensional system that the number of terminations altogether is reduced to less than half, and all the complexities of OIA morphology are simplified here. Occasionally we shall find the survival of OIA forms as in *aggayo, bhikkhavo* in Pāli as contrasted with the more regular *aggī, bhikkhū* in the Nom. Acc. plurals.

While studying the chief features of MIA phonology we have not paid sufficient attention to the distinguishing features of the classical Prakrits as defined by Indian gramma-

rians. The three chief Prakrits mentioned by them are Māhārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī and Māgadhī, and they typify the linguistic habits of the West, Centre and East of India. In their stylized forms, as described by the grammarians or as exemplified in extant literature, they canalize the tendencies seen in these regional languages.

Māgādhī (Eastern group): The three sibilants are reduced to the palatal *ś*: *r* is changed to *l*, whatever its origin in OIA. *y* remains and replaces *j*, and where we expect a group *jj* in Śaurasenī, or Māhārāṣṭrī, we have *yy* in Māgadhī. The palatal nasal remains, and groups containing the sibilant remain without assimilation. The termination *-as* of OIA reduces itself to *-e* in Mg. so that the Ablative singular *-to* of Pāli etc. becomes *-de* in Mg. Intervocalic dentals are preserved as voiced dentals (cf. Śaurasenī) while the stops are lost.

Śaurasenī (Central group) : Dental sibilant alone remains; dialect based on standard OIA. Intervocalic dentals remain voiced, while other stops lose their occlusion. OIA nom. sg. *-as*>Ś *-o*.

Māhārāṣṭrī (Western group: All intervocalic stops lose their occlusion; sibilants reduced to dental *s*. OIA nom. sg. *-as*>M *-o*.

If the general history of the development of MIA dialects is taken into account we shall be in a position to visualize the morphological features of MIA into their three main lines of development as indicated above. Hence we have eschewed the *minutiae* of the full MIA morphological system in its historical setting.

Verbal system: OIA was very rich in its verbal system, consisting of three main types: Present, Perfect and Aorist forms, with the Indicative, Imperative, Optative or Potential, Subjunctive or Injunctive and Conditional Moods. The future and the Imperfect are seen in the Indicative Mood only. This complex system with its three persons and three numbers was reduced to a more uniform type in classical Sanskrit where

the subjunctive was lost, and the moods did not affect all the three systems of Present, Perfect and Aorist with the exception of the Indicative (the other moods operating only with the present system in classical Sanskrit). Thus already in OIA there was a tendency to reduce the rich verbal system exemplified in the prose texts of the Brāhmaṇas to the staid classical type, where despite the verbal forms, the nominal sentence with its new development of participial forms rendered possible the innovations of NIA through a rapidly dwindling verbal system of MIA.

Among MIA languages Pāli alone keeps vestiges of OIA richness in verbal forms by keeping the Aorist forms for the past time. But as we come down from Aśokan inscriptions we notice that the Indicative consists of three persons and two numbers: singular and plural:

Singular	1.	*-mi*	Plural	1.	*-mo*
	2.	*-si*		2.	*-tha, -dha-, -ha*
	3.	*-ti, -di, -i*		3.	*-nti*

Moreover the different types of thematic and athematic bases (ordinarily classed by Sanskrit grammarians into nine, or ten if the causatives and causative-like forms are taken into account) are reduced to thematic types, occurrences of athematic types being due to survival from OIA conjugated forms. Thus these six terminations do the work for practically the whole of the rich OIA system which have reduced themselves into this single type. It is one of the main characteristics of MIA to represent to the Middle and Passive voices by the terminations of the active voice.

In addition to the present system the aorist form in *-itthā* covers all persons and numbers in MIA. The Optative reduces itself to the termination *-jjā* to which the present terminations may be added, if necessary. The Imperative terminations of the 2nd person are plur. *-tha-, -dha, -ha;* sing. zero, *-su* or *-hi;* of the 3rd person are: sing. *-atu, -adu* or *-au;* plu. *-antu*. Further down in MIA, during the Apabhraṁśa stage even this simple system breaks down.

Of the non-finite forms the present participle is formed generally with *-māna,* but examples of the active in *-anta-* are not wanting. In the inscriptional and other Prakrits the middle *-māna-* drives the other out. The past passive participle ends in *-ita, -ida-* or *-ia-* according to the nature of the dialect. The Infinite ending is *-tuṁ, -duṁ* or *uṁ* or *-ittae.* The Absolutive or Gerund is characterised by *-ia* in Śaurasenī, *-iūṇa-* in Māhārāṣṭrī, *-ittā* or *-idūṇa* in Ardhamāgadhī, etc. It is only in these forms that MIA compares favourably with Vedic rather than with classical Sanskrit.

The sketch given above is very brief; for greater details the reader must be referred to the descriptive grammars of PISCHEL, SEN and GEIGER. It is clear from this survey that the correspondences existing between OIA and MIA teach us the indubitable fact that MIA has passed through a severe simplificatory process resulting in its less complicated grammar.

In the matter of syntax all the Prakrit languages follow the model of Sanskrit, and the word order is, at least in prose, more or less the same. There are no important details in which MIA differs considerably from OIA in syntax, even in the matter of the position of enclitics.

Vocabulary.

The Religious Prakrits, on account of their vast literature, have a very rich vocabulary; not so, however, is the case with other types of Prakrit, and here the number of vocables is more limited. We have already seen that MIA possesses three types: inherited (1. tatsama— and 2. tadbhava—) and 3. loan-words from non-cognate dialects. The question of the real Deśī element is outside the scope of our present survey. But if it is dealt with properly and on purely scientific lines it will throw a great deal of light on the cultural relationship existing between Indo-Aryan and non-Aryan within India.

Prakrit Grammarians sometimes distinguish between the various dialects by the particular words used in them. For

instance the vocables *puravа-*<OIA *pūrva-* is supposed to be Śaurasenī, as elsewhere it is either *puvva-* or *pubba-*. Similarly *hage* is characteristic of Māgadhī. But leaving aside such exceptions MIA vocables as inherited from OIA show only minor variations according to the phonological development of dialects.

The distinction between the many-sided development of Prakrit vocables is an indication of the richness of the OIA system. For instance the verbal base √*kṛ-* of OIA attests the following forms:

karati	: MIA *karati, kara-i, karei* (< **karayati*)
karoti	: MIA *karoti, karodi, *karoi*
kurvati	: Pa. *kubbati,* MIA *kuvva-i.*
**karyati*	: MIA *kajja-i,* Pa. *kayirati.*

It may be noted that not all the OIA forms are attested in classical Sanskrit.

While inheriting OIA vocables MIA has not only changed their phonological aspect generally, but also on occasions changed the sense or significance, gender etc. Of course such examples are fortunately not large. Technical terms in Jaina Philosophy have assumed in many cases new significances not to be found in OIA. Similarly MIA *vaṭṭā* (feminine) corresponds to the neuter *vartman-* of OIA. These are but a few illustrations of the possible changes which occur in the inherited MIA vocabulary, and a study of such traits forms part of the science of Synonymics and Comparative Etymology.

CHAPTER IV

THE CONTRIBUTION OF MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN TO OLD AND NEW INDO-ARYAN

We have already seen in the preceeding chapters that Old Indo-Aryan consists of not only Classical Sanskrit, but also the rich Vedic dialects, the literary traces of which are found in Vedic literature. The period covered by these two distinct phases of OIA, namely Vedic and Classical Sanskrit, is almost as vast as that during which the MIA languages developed and contributed so vitally to the common culture of India. But while the Vedic grammar is very rich and complicated, Classical Sanskrit has become less complex but more normalised, losing the rich morphological character of the earlier Vedic language by sacrificing the various morphemes and keeping strictly to single morphemes selected out of the earlier ones by natural growth. On the other hand Classical Sanskrit has outgrown the limited Vedic vocabulary—which in itself is not inconsiderable and developed to an amazing extent. But these two phases : (*a*) contraction and normalisation of grammar and (*b*) expansion in vocabulary, are not isolated facts in the development of OIA. They are connected in a very vital manner with the increasing contact with the native element in India during the Aryan expansion over this subcontinent. It will be our endeavour in this chapter to see to what extent the MIA languages themselves affected the OIA in the systematisation and expansion of OIA.

Before proceeding to our main object in this chapter of evaluating the contribution that MIA has made towards the development of OIA—which at first sight appears to be a contradiction in terms, but on deeper perusal shows us that any two contiguous stages of linguistic development influence each other in their formation—we may quote here a few pas-

sages from Jules BLOCH's clear analysis of the problem in his Furlong Lectures delivered during 1928.[1]

"Speaking broadly, we may say that the Veda, and more specially the Ṛgveda, is a corpus, not a work; it marks not the beginning but the end of literary history, which may have begun before Aryans came into India;.... it is an invaluable document to the linguist, as the textual tradition of it has been admirably preserved; so that we gather from it a knowledge not only of a definite state of the Sanskrit language, but also a long evolution of it: as there are found in the Veda side by side wonderful archaisms and typical Prākritisms.

"There has not been one Sanskrit, developing normally, so to say, in one line: Sanskrit literature consists of different literary languages differing not only in date, but in psychological and social character. The oldest, which was considered sacred, gave a model, but not birth, to the later ones: but to the linguist's view classical Sanskrit is made up of elements similar to the Vedic, but essentially differing from it as widely as Pāli or Prākrit.

"But the Sanskrit of that time is no longer the Sanskrit of the Veda. Even in the Upanishads, it was no longer a purely clerical language, imprisoned in very ancient stylistic traditions; a new life has been infused in it from the Kṣatriya being admitted to higher culture: archaisms disappear, grammar gets simpler; style, still deprived of charm and refinement, has the virtue which the linguist appreciates so much, naturalness.

".... What had Sanskrit become in the classical period? Its main features are: a more contracted and normalised grammar; and, on the other hand, a hugely expanded vocabulary. .... I just recall a few points: of the different terminations of the instrumental, only one is kept (sg. *devena, madhunā;* pl. *devaiḥ;* the same for the n. pl. *devāḥ, bhuvanāni, nāmāni*); the number of verbal forms undergoes very great reduction: those especially which admit of stem-shiftings, like nasal presents, root-aorists, have a tendency to dis-

[1] *BSOS* 5.719-56.

appear. This accounts for contraction of the grammar; as to its normalization, I may mention the re-introduction of the termination *āyāḥ* of the fem. sing., which in the Brāhmaṇas was replaced by the dative termination; or the distinction between *dhenoḥ* and *bhuvaḥ*, according to the length of the stem, and a tendency to replace both by *dhenvāḥ, bhuvāḥ;* the creation of the 3rd sg. precative *bhūyāt* instead of the older *bhūyāḥ;* the middle voice extended to whole verbs when the present stem admitted it; the replacement of the partitive genitive in the complement of verbs by the accusative: or the universal use of the dual number, when two things are in question, which is not its use in the ancient period. And so on.

"As to the vocabulary, no wonder it extended enormously, as Vedic works expressed only a part of the life and thoughts of one class of society. This view is corroborated by the fact that in classical Sanskrit many words are found which can be identified as inherited from Indo-European. But there are, on the other hand, also words which are of 'Prākrit' origin (I use Prākrit here as the language of the subjects, *prakṛti*)."

Even with regard to the large number of words which can be proved to be of IE origin to be found in classical Sanskrit, it would be interesting to find out how they have been introduced: whether from unrecorded OIA dialects vestiges of which may time and again be found in some form or other in Vedic literature, or from MIA dialects which must have existed when classical Sanskrit began its literary career and in its turn helped the cultural unification of India.

Our ancient grammarians like Pāṇini and Patañjali occasionally refer to certain OIA vocables which appear to be confined to definite regions outside of which they would not be considered as current forms. For instance the Vārttikakāra mentions: *vartakā śākunau prācām* which, in this particular significance appears to have been confined to the Eastern or Magadhan part of India; this has left its trace in Pāli *vaṭṭakā* 'quail'. The question naturally arises: is *vartakā* to be considered an OIA word? The fact that the Vārttikakāra confines its usage to the East shows that, though it was not

current in the whole of India in that particular meaning, the vocable itself must be considered as OIA; but not necessarily the sense which is restricted to a particular area. It may just happen in such cases that the meaning developed in some MIA dialect of that region, and was extended to the OIA cognate in that region, but not elsewhere. In the absence of objective tests this hypothesis remains to be proved. But it points out to us that there are two aspects which we must consider while taking account of the contribution that MIA has made towards the expansion of OIA: the form of the vocable and its significance. Thus when Patañjali says that the forms like *vaṭṭadi, āṇapayati* are current in a particular region, we observe the manner in which MIA forms of vocables get added to OIA vocabulary, just as in the case of *vartakā* we notice the extension of meaning which may be the contribution of MIA.

The grammarians themselves do not help us in the study of this interaction. Their main concern is with what is *śiṣṭa* and what is not; and in this classification they give us glimpses of the validity of currency of *śiṣṭatva* in its space-context. If we could also study the validity of currency in its time-context, we shall be in a position to see how the extension or normalization or simplification has taken root and the manner of its unfoldment. There are two facts which we must take into account. OIA and particularly classical Sanskrit has not been a strict vernacular: it has long remained the language of culture, becoming the property of scholars and in gradually decreasing manner a direct document of any spoken tongue. But in course of time it has dominated every branch of IA to such an extent that we cannot study it apart from the vernaculars in the midst of which it has developed. Thus those who developed the vernaculars themselves were the *śiṣṭas*, complete masters of the OIA idiom, and in both literatures we must discover, even if it is in infinitesimal proportion, the mutual influence of the one on the other. So far as OIA is concerned, we may classify them into two categories: (*a*) vernacularisation and (*b*) hypersanskritisation. The adoption, for instance, in OIA of such forms as *āṇapayati* would amount to vernacularisation of OIA, while reconstructing a

given MIA vocable into its probable OIA shape, as in Sk. *prasabham*: Vedic. *pra-sah* (probably through MIA **-sabbha-* < OIA *sah-va-*). We should then see how far vernacularisation and hypersanskritisation have affected the growth of classical Sanskrit.

As a matter of fact we notice a certain amount of prakritisation or vernacularisation in the language of the Ṛgveda itself, explained by modern linguists as due to the influence of the primary Prakrit languages which must have been current along with OIA dialects at a time the hymns came to be compiled. In a large number of words certain MIA traits are very easily discernible: cerebralization, words containing cerebals resulting from certain MIA tendencies; *i* for *ṛ* in forms like *śithira-; cch* for *-ps-; jy-* for *dy-;* MIA diaresis in forms like *puruṣa-* < **pūrṣa-;* the form *kuru* for older *kṛṇu* (> **kuṇu*), etc. We may now consider, so far as general OIA is concerned, some of these MIA characteristics which go to form the rich vocabulary of OIA.

One of the chief characteristics of MIA is the early loss of OIA *ṛ*, replaced by MIA *a, i* or *u,* with or without a preceding *r*-sound. The presence of this **ṛ* is very often betrayed by a cerebral arising out of a dental: thus Sk. *bhaṭa*<*bhṛta* 'soldier'; Ved. *-kaṭá-* in *vi-kaṭa-*, classical *utkaṭa-* < Ved. *kṛtá-* from base √*kṛ*.

ṛ : *ra-* : in *krata-* : *gṛta-* in inscriptions; *bhrakuṭi-, bhrakuṁsa-* < *bhṛ-*.

As a real 'prakritisation' *ṛ* appears as *i* in Ved. *śithilá-* : Ved. *śrath-* going back to OIA **śṛtha-*, seen in MIA *siḍhila-* whose *-ḍh-* goes back to *-dh* in the presence of *ṛ;* similarly Sūtra *śingh-* 'to smell': *śṛṅkh-;* S. *saṁiddha-*: *saṃṛddha-*. Vedic *iṭánt-* and the base *iṭ-* (besides *aṭ-* cf. Sk. *atate* attested in *atithi-*) shows the two bases to be connected with **ṛ-ṭ-*.

u for *ṛ*: ĀpŚS. *tvaṣṭumantas*: VS. *tváṣṭṛmantas;* later *kroṣṭu-* < *Ved. kroṣṭṛ-* 'jackal'. This earlier *ṛ* may be reconstructed on the basis of certain cerebral sounds for original dentals as in Ved. *kūṭa-* 'house' (<**kṛta-* ?). Among such

vocables WACKERNAGEL includes Ved. *kúṇāru-*, later *kuṇi-*, 'having a withered arm' Ved. *pṓṇya-*, B. *puṭa-*, B. *sphuṭ-*, U. *muṇḍa-* 'shaved', S. *kuṭila-* 'crooked', *kuṇḍa-* 'bowl', cl. *uṭaja-* 'hut', *kuṭ(ṭ)-* 'to crush', *kuṭṭima-* 'artificial', *kuṭhāra-* 'axe', *kuṇḍ-* 'to mutilate', *guṇikā* 'tumor', *nipuṇa-* 'clever, adroit', *guḍa-* 'molasses', *uḍupa-* 'moon': *ṛtu-*. To this category also belongs S. *guccha-* <**gṛpsra-* and cl. *mudhā*: Ved. *mṛdh-* (cf. Ved. *mṛṣā*: Ved. *mṛṣ-*). In the expression *luṣabha-* we notice the change *lu*: *ṛ* (<*ṛṣaba-*).

A characteristic vernacularisation is Sk. *iṅgāla-* 'red or live coal' < Sk. *aṅgāra-* which occurs in Naiṣadhacarita 1. 9.

Another MIA characteristic is the loss of diphthongs *ai; au*, which are generally replaced by the monophthongs *e, o* respectively and further by *i, u*:

Ved. *asmai*: T. B. *asme;* V. S. *kevarta-*: T. B. *kaivarta;* AV. *rouhiṇa-*: *rohiṇ-;* TS. *auṣadhīṣu*: MS. *oṣadhīṣu*—RV. *gamadhyai*: TS. *gamadhye;* TS *voḍhave*: KS. *voḍhavai;* RV. *meṣyai*: *meṣye*. VS. *svaupaśā*: MS. *svopaśā*.

The change *e*: *ṛ* has been assumed in Vedic *geḥá-* 'house', *gehyà-* 'house-rat' Ved. *gṛhá-*, as also for *edh-*: *ṛdh-* 'to increase'.

Similarly JACOBI and others have seen Prakritic influence on cl. Sk. forms like *āgāra-*: *agāra-*, *khalīna-*: *khalina-* etc.

The contraction of *-aya-* to *e* is another MIA characteristic, and where it is attested in OIA we shall have to assume MIA influence on OIA. Such an influence has been assumed for the Vedic trisyllabic *tredhā́* (< **trayadhā́*?), *śréṇi-* (<*śráyaṇi-*). Even surer is the evidence for *o*<*ava*: Buddhist Sanskrit *poṣadha-*<B. *upavasatha-* 'day of fast'; dhātupāṭha *oṇati* <cl. Sk. *apanyati;* lexical *yonala*<*yavanāla-*, *loṇatṛṇa-* < *lavaṇa-tṛṇa-* 'kind of grass', *loṇāra-* 'kind of salt' < *lavaṇá-*. A few examples of this change are seen in the Yajurveda: VS. *tóto*, TS. *tóte*: MS. K. *táva táva;* Ved. *śroṇá-*, Saṁh. *śloṇá-* 'lame, limp', B. *ślóṇya-*: B. *ślavaṇa-*, S. *śravaṇa-;* Saṁh. *śroṇā́* 'a constellation': AV. cl. *śrávaṇa-;* VS. TS. *kṣayaṇāya*: MS. *kṣeṇāya;* AV. *srotyās*: KS. *sravatyas*.

The entire question of svarabhakti, especially when the consonant nexus contains *r*, or *r* and a sibilant, is considered by a number of scholars as due to MIA influence. Thus Pa. *posa-*, *purisa-*, *porisa-*, and Pk. *purisa-*, by the side of Sk. *pŭruṣa- pūruṣa-* 'man' show the primitive OIA form to be **pŭrṣa-* from which the Vedic *pūruṣa* is derived through svarabhakti.

Similarly in the forms beginning with *i u* before *l r* like Saṁh. *iláyati* 'keeps still', *irajyáti* 'rules', *iradhate* 'endeavours to gain', *ŭrarī-kṛ-*, *ŭri-kṛ-* 'to extend', etc. or *iyakṣ-*, *irasy-*, *iṣidh-*, *iṣkṛ-*, the epenthetic *i* is considered as due to analogy with MIA *itthī*, *thī* < OIA *strî* (and Gātha *istrī*).

Turning our attention to OIA consonantism we observe similarly a good number of MIA traits.

Voiced: Unvoiced stops: A number of Vedic examples are available: AV. *gulphá-*: Ved. *kulphá-* 'ankle.' B. *gárta-*: Ved. *kartá-* 'hole'; Ks. *upolaba-* (written *upolava-*): Ms. *upolapá-* 'shrub-like'; S. *taḍāga-*: B *taṭāka-*, lex. *taḍāga-* 'lake, sea, etc.,' cl. *taṭa-* 'shore'; cl. *laguḍa-*: S. *lakuṭa-* 'faggot'; cl. *madi(kā)*: Saṁ. *matyā-*: B. *matī-kṛ-* 'to harrow'; cl. *uḍupa-* 'moon' < *ṛtupa-;* cl. *jūṭa-*: B. *cūḍa-*. While these examples show different strata of OIA, we can see this phenomenon even in the same old period as in Ved. *árbhaga-* 'young'; *árbhaka-* 'small'; *túj-* 'offspring, children', *tujáye*: *túc-*, *toká-; pṛc-*: B. *avaprajjana-* 'end of the warp of a web'; MS. *girikébhyaḍḥ*: VS. *kirikébhyaḥ;* K. *kusidāyī*: MS. *kusitá, kusitāyī* 'a kind of demonic being,' cf. Ts. *kúsīda-*, AV *kusūla-* (< * *kusūda-*); similarly in the inscriptional forms *lipikara-*, *libikara-* 'scribe'.

On the other hand we have instances of unvoiced stops for earlier voiced stops: B. *vibhītaka-*: Ved. *vibhīdaka-* Terminalia Bellerica ; B. *vi-iṅk-* 'move to and fro' : Ved. *ing-;* S. *prātar-avaneka-* 'morning ablution': Saṁh. *prātar-avanegá-* ; cl. *paṇḍa-* 'eunuch' : Saṁh. *baṇḍá-* 'maimed'; cl. *sphic-*, *sphig-*: Ved. *sphigī* 'buttock': This reminds us of the regular Paiśācī characteristics of devoicing voiced intervocalic stops.

A number of vacables showing an aspirate as against an unaspirated stop of an earlier stage appear suspect as MIA loanwords. Thus Sk. *guph-* 'to weave' is cognate with Ved. *guṣpitá-*. Similarly aspirated unvoiced stops have changed to voiced aspirates in the intervocalic position in a number of cases: dhātup. *nāth-, nādh-,* are attested in Vedic *nādhitá-*: *nāthitā-*; *Madhurā* (quoted by Patañjali): *Mathurā;* similarly the form *śṛṅkhāṇikā* 'mucus' appears later in the form *siṅghāṇikā* under MIA influence.

Turning our attention to consonant clusters we observe that the normal internal sandhi rules of OIA have already incorporated the laws of cerebralization and palatalization. Dentals coming into contact with cerebrals or palatals become respectively cerebrals or palatals. Similarly euphony requires voicing or unvoicing of stops in a cluster of two or more stops, depending upon the circumstances of the consonant sandhi. Thus we have *ud-gacchati* (<*ut-*), *citra- ratna-, ugra-* etc. when the *-t-* of *ut-* is voiced in combination with the *g-* of *gacchati,* but remains unchanged in combination with *-r-* or *-n-* as second member. But there are a number of vocables in OIA which show that consonant assimilation so characteristic of MIA has also affected them, demonstrating thereby the incursion of MIA vocables in OIA, albeit in a hypersanskritised form. The following examples show the existence of both forms: assimilated and unassimilated, in OIA:

citkaṇakantha-: Ganap. *cikkaṇakantha-* name of a place; *avadigye* from *dáyate* for *didye.* WACKERNAGEL is of opinion that these are entirely due to MIA influence. Actually in Aśokan inscriptions we note a similar change in Khalsi *nikyam*: OIA *nítyam.* We have already seen that Ved. *kṛcchrá-* is derived from OIA **kṛpsrá-,* the assimilated *cch* arising from an earlier *-ps-,* of which another example is *guccha* (hypersanskritised later in the lexicon form *gutsa-*) from OIA **gṛpsa-* (cf. S. *grapsa-, glapsa-* 'bunch, tuft').

While dwelling upon OIA *ch* or *chh,* we also observe a number of vocables where OIA *ch* or *cch* goes back to an earlier *kṣ* or *ts,* as exemplified below: *kṣ* to *cch-*: AV *ṛcchá-*

rā 'the part of an animal's leg between the fetlock joint and the hoof': VS. *ṛkśalā;* a number of AV manuscripts have *cháva-, paricchavá-, paricchīt*: *kṣavá-, parikṣavá-* 'frequent or ill-omened sneezing', *parikṣit* 'surrounding extending'. Daśakumāracarita already attests to the use of *churikā* 'knife': Ved. *kṣurá-*. In the Great Epic of India, and later literature, similarly, the forms *kacchā-* and *kakṣā-* appear side by side. Similarly the lexicon form *accha-* 'bear' is connected with *ṛkṣa-*, showing both MIA characteristics *ṛ*: *a* and *kṣ*: *cch*. In a similar manner classical Sk. *lāñcha- na-* has been connected with B. *lakṣaṇa-* 'sign'. *ts* to *chh-*: classical Sk. *ucchanna-* 'lost, destroyed' for Samh. *útsanna-; ucchādana-* cleaning or rubbing: B. *utsādana-; maccha-* 'fish': Ved. *mátsya-; vaccha-* 'child': Ved. *vatsá-*, whence lex. *dīrgha-vacchika* 'crocodile', *vacchala-*: classical *vatsala-*. Similarly the lex. form *ucchūra-* corresponds to older *utsūra-*. The lex. form *gutsa-* has already ben cited above as an example of hypersankritisation.

Another interesting case of assimilation due to MIA is *jj*: *jy* in classical *sajja-* 'ready, prepared' from S. *sajya-* 'strung, having bow string' whence epic *sajjati* < B. *sajyáte, sassajjatur, sajjayati,* ec. Similarly in *lajj-* attested in A.B 3,22,7 *lajjamānā* from *rajyate* 'becomes red'. Parallel with this is the change *jj*: *dy* in epic *ujjānaka-*: Samh. *udyāna*.

An intermediate stage of assimilation is already seen in Ved. *jyótiṣ-* 'light', by the side of later *jyotáyati, jyótati* from an earlier *dyut-*. The MIA change of initial *y* to *j* is seen in the form *jātudhāna-* occurring in Kādambarī, corresponding to earlier *yatudhāna-*, and in the base *jobh-* 'future': Samh. *yabh-*.

WACKERNAGEL has also shown that the occurrence of *jh* in OIA is seldom due to earlier inherited vocables, and except in the three words *jájjhatī* 'lightning', B *ujjhityai* 'to abandon, for abandoning', and *jhaṣá-* the remaining occurrences are prakritisms such as *jajjh-*: *has-*. Of special interest are the forms of *kṣar-* occurring as *jhar-* where *kṣ* has resulted in MIA *jh*, and reincorporated in OIA vocabulary.

The most important category, however, where MIA influence is clearly visible, is in the case of the cerebrals. While OIA ordinarily cerebralised dentals in contact with cerebrals in a consonant nexus, MIA distinguishes itself in extending this process to intervocalic dentals or to dentals in contact with a *r* or *l* sound, or immediately following vocalic *r*. The type *-kaṭá-* < *kṛtá-* has already been discussed elsewhere. Other examples which may be cited here are: Ved. *kartá-* 'hole': *kāṭá-;* Saṁh. *avaṭá-* 'hole': Ved. *avár.* Saṁh. *káṭa-* 'mat' < *kṛt-* 'to spin'; B. *āḍhyá-* 'rich': Ved. *ṛdh-* 'to increase'. A. S. *paṭhati*<**pṛtháti,* cf. Ved. *prathati,* ep. *prathate;* U. *muṇḍa-*: Ved. *mṛḍ-; guṇṭhayati* 'covers up' < **gṛntháti* 'ties up', cf. *grathnâti, granthati; choṭayati* 'wrenches', *chuṭ-, chuḍ-* <**chṛt-, chṛḍ-* 'to eject', *naṭati* 'dances': **nṛtáti,* cf. *nṛtyati.*

Dhātup. *aṭṭate, aṭṭayate*: 'afflicts': B. *ārtta-* 'afflicted'; BSk. *aṇṭhati* < Sk. *arthate; kuṭṭayati* 'divides, crushes' < *kṛntati, kartati;* with its parallel form **cṛt-* we obtain forms like *cuṭ-, cuṭṭ-, caṭ, cuṇḍ-, cuṇṭ-* meaning 'slipping, shortening, cutting.' Similarly the lexicon form *gaḍayitnu-*: *gardayitnu-* indicate the same feature.

This last may be an extension of a linguistic development in MIA which existed in primitive OIA form. For we have already in OIA forms cerebrals when other cognate IE languages show a dental following a *r-* sound, as in Ved *káṭuka-,* later *kaṭu-*: Lithuanian *kartùs* 'bitter'. FORTUNATOV has demonstrated that such cerebralisation has taken place in OIA when in cognate IE languages an *l-* sound preceded the dentals: as in *khaṇḍa-,* Gk. *kladarós;* Lith. *skéldeti.* What was lost in historical OIA was preserved in MIA and this tendency separated a number of vocables which later found a fresh place in OIA itself.

In a general way we may conclude that wherever OIA shows the presence of a cerebral which cannot be explained from an earlier dental in the pre-OIA stage, we may definitely expect the particular vocable to be an incorporation from MIA, either of an inherited form or of a loanword in MIA itself.

In the classical Sk. *sundara-* 'beautiful' linguists see the effect of a MIA development of Vedic *sūnará-* through an intermediate **sunnara-;* the form *vaiśvāndara-*: *vaiśvānara-* is already found in Inscriptions.

The change of *vṛ-*: *ru-* is also considered MIA, for which the most notable examples cited are *vṛkṣá-*: *rukśá-* (cf. Aśoka *lukṣa-*, Pa. *rukkha-*) and *rudh-*: *vṛdh-* 'to go'. But GRAY's detailed study poses different IE etymologies for the first example (*JAOS* 60.361-9).

y for *j;* as in Māgadhi is to be found in late *yāmātṛ-*: *jāmātṛ-*, *yāmi-*: *jāmí-*.

Similarly the interchange of *y* and *v* is also a well-established characteristic of MIA, found also in a number of OIA words: the Yajurveda shows the variants *ātatāyín-* and *ātatāvín-*, 'murderer'; *sṛkāyín-*, *sṛkāvín-;* noteworthy are further MS. *manāyī*: K.ŚB. *manāvī*: TS. *áhantyāya*: K. *ahantvāya-*.

A very peculiar but quite definite MIA trait is the reduction of the group dental + *l* to *ll*, attested, however, in a number of well-known OIA vocables: AV. *kṣullaká* < **kṣudlá-* which is a by-form of VS. *kṣudrá-* 'small'; lex. *bhalla-* <**bhadla-* as in *bhadrá-* 'auspicious'; so also classical *pallava-* < *pad-lava-*.

MIA *ll* for *ly* is seen in S. *śallaka-* < VS. *śályaka-* epic *malla-* 'athlete' < **malya-* (cf. *bála-* 'strength'), similarly MIA *ll* for *lv* is found in the written forms *nalla*, *pallala-* for classical *nalva-*, 'furlong', S. *palvala-*.

The interchange between *m* and *v* may also be due to MIA traits in OIA and is fairly frequent: TA. *śmañc-*: Ved. *śvañc-* (cf. Ved. *tuvam*: Pa *tumam-*); MS N. *dhamanī*: ApŚ. *dhavanī* (*-m-* < *-v-*) or VS. *ramṇātu*: TS. *raṇvatu*.

A certain loss of occlusion of intervocalic single *-dh-*, so characteristic of MIA, is seen in the terminations *-mahe*, *-mahi*, *-mahai*, *-vahe*, *-vahi*, *-vahai* as attested by other cognate IE languages: Av. *-maide*, *-maidī*, Gk. *-metha*. On the other hand the termination for the imperative 2nd person

singular *-dhi* is also seen in its parallel but reduced from *-hi*. Such a loss of occlusion is seen in a number of parallel vocables: *hitá-* < *-dhita-*, base √*dhā-* < *sahá-* in compounds; *rohit-, rohitá-, lohíta-* 'red': *lodhá,* 'a red beast', AV. *rudhirá-* 'red', Gk. *erothrós,* German *rot; gāhate, gāhá-*: *gādhá-*; *róhas-*: *ródhati*;—similarly there is an interchange between *-bh-* and *-h-*: *hasta-gṛhya-*: *gṛbḥ-*; *kakuhá-*: *kakúbh-*; *bárjaha-* 'high' with suffix *-ha-* < *-bha-* attested in Ved. *ṛṣ-bḥá-*. The interchange between *gh* and *h* is to be seen in the parallel forms √*argh-*: √*arh-*.

A number of examples have been cited as due to popular dialectal incursions into OIA: cl. *vāh-*: Ved. and later *bādh-* 'to vex'; dhp. *luh-* from earlier *lubh-* 'to desire, covet'; dhp. *śraṁh-*: Ved. *śrambh-* 'to trust, confide'; *sahāya-* 'companion, helper': Ved *sakhāyam* 'frienship'; cl. *siṁhāṇaka-* 'mucus': S. *śṛṅkhāna-*; dhp. *suh-* 'to feel happy': Ved. *sukha-*. Similarly in the expression *hāva-bhāva-*, the first *hāva* is a MIA incorporation by OIA of *bhāva-*. Analogous to this is cl. *hela,* lex. *heli-* 'play, sport': *khela-, kheli-* (already due to MIA influence on OIA).

If we now consider the variety of the vocables which have been incorporated into OIA from MIA, it will at once be noted that they are sufficiently large to justify us in assuming the continuous effect that popular dialects were having on OIA, and in particular the MIA dialects. The discussion above in general takes into account primarily well-documented vocables from Vedic downwards. If we confine our attention to Buddhist or Jaina Sanskrit or the late lexical works, the number of such incorporations increase in proportion to their modernity. Our survey has principally set itself to discover the phonological changes occurring in these incorporations. No study of the semantic influence of MIA on OIA has been made consistently so far, but it may be expected that such changes will not be inconsiderable.

We may now turn our attention to the manifold contribution that MIA has made towards the development of the modern Aryan vernaculars of India, more technically called

the new Indo-Aryan languages. Though unlike MIA languages the NIA show constant influence of OIA in the large proportion of Sanskrit loan-words, the inherited vocabulary of every NIA dialect or language is considerably large. Even such a small branch of the NIA, the Nepāli language, with its literature, records, in Professor TURNER'S Dictionary, round about 26,000 entries of which, on TURNER'S own showing over 5,000 words show that they are descended from corresponding words in Sanskrit, naturally through MIA descent. These display a quite regular correspondence between the sounds of Nepali and Sanskrit and MIA. This represents over 19 per cent. of the total vocabulary. A large percentage of the loan-words in Nepali (and for that matter, any other NIA language) is naturally from Sanskrit itself.

As regards the etymologies of inherited vocables, the following observations of TURNER will not be without interest: "For an inherited word first is given the Sanskrit word from which it is derived, then such Middle Indian forms (Pali, Prakrit, etc.) as can be ascertained, and lastly, following always the same order, cognate forms from the other modern Indo-Aryan languages. In some cases only a Middle Indian form can be given (and even when a Sanskrit word is quoted it may often be only a late sanskritisation of a middle Indian word). In other cases no ancient form at all may be available, but only cognate forms from other modern languages. With words of this class it has sometimes seemed advisable to reconstruct, from what is known of the phonological equations of Indo-Aryan, a hypothetical form which may carry the history of the word in question a little further back, and perhaps enable some other investigation to establish its origin from another source."

These 'some cases' when the etymology can only reach back to some MIA form are quite large even for such a little-developed literary medium as Nepali. If these observations are extended to more important literary mediums like Bengali, Marathi or Gujarati with a larger literature and a longer period of development, their number will grow surprisingly

big. The large number of MIA words which do not apparently show any inherent connection with OIA have yet left a striking trace in the NIA languages.

We have thus two sources of development, so far as NIA vocabulary is concerned, in its inherited form: (*a*) from OIA through MIA and (*b*) from MIA alone with no earlier history capable of being traced at present with the material at our disposal.

Before proceeding to a discussion of the issues involved we may briefly enumerate here the chief linguistic peculiarities of common NIA, without going into individual details. We may observe the following general facts:

1. General reduction and loss of final vowels inherited from MIA except in very few cases where traces of the final vowel are seen.

2. Preservation of the penultimate vowel in quantity.

3. Loss of prepenultimate vowels except in the initial syllables, first through reduction of all vowels to the neutral vowel *a* which is later glided over in current pronunciation.

4. Preservation in general of the quality of the initial syllable inherited from MIA.

5. Reduction (except in Panjabi) of the double consonants inherited from MIA to single consonants with compensatory lengthening of the vowel in the initial syllable (except in Sindhi where the original OIA quantity of the vowel is preserved).

6. In morphology, increasing use of postpositions to express syntactic relationship in the place of cases already lost in the Apabhraṁśa stage and reduced to two only: direct and oblique;—Nominal verb formations for past and future tenses.

A study of individual cases is both interesting and instructive. The NIA cognates for 'a place of wrestling, playground, place for athletics' are as follows: Guj. *akhāḍo*, Mar. *akhāḍā*, Hindi *akhāṛā*, Nep. *akhāṛā*. Of this the Nep. form is a loanword from Hindi. TURNER connects these form with Pali

akkhavāṭo 'fence round a wrestling-ground'. Now following his principles he should have derived all those forms from Sk. *akṣavāṭaḥ*, but as this is only a word found in lexicographical works, he connects it with the Pali form as 'ascertained' from Pali literature. The question now arises as to whether Pa. *akkhavāṭa-* is derived from Sk. *akṣavāṭa-* or vice versa. In the first alternative, TURNER's observation that Kashmiri *akahār* is a 'lw. with *kh*, not *ch*' and Mar. *akhāḍā* a 'lw. with *kh*, not *s*' is apposite since OIA *-kṣ-* < *cch* in the MIA ascendants of Kashmiri and Marāṭhī. But in giving this etymological equation no remark is made regarding Panjabi *akhāṛā* whose *-kh-* can only go back to a single intervocalic *-kh-* of MIA. For the *-kkh-* of Pali *akkhavāṭa-* would normally remain in Punjabi. It is, therefore, clear that just as Nep. *-ṛ-* indicates the vocable to be a loanword from Hindi, so also Panjabi *-kh-* indicates that it is a loanword in Panjabi also from the same source. There is a second lexicon form *akśapāṭaḥ* which TURNER considers as a sanskritisation of MIA **akkhavāḍa-*. On the other hand if Pa. *akkhavāṭa-* is considered as the original basis of all NIA forms, then the difficulty with Kashmiri and Marāthī *kh* disappears and gives as the normal inherited forms from MIA **akkhavāḍa-* which appears in a hypersanskritised form in Sk. lex. *akṣapāṭa-*, or *akṣavāṭa-*. Thus it is a MIA contribution to NIA vocabulary, and also to OIA.

A number of vocables for common household articles also show a MIA origin in opposition to OIA. Thus Mar. Guj. *gādī* 'raised seat'; Panj. *gaddi*, H. *gadī* 'cushion' all go back to MIA **gadda-* or **garda-* which may or may not be finally connected with OIA *gárta-* 'high seat'. Words of a similar nature are NIA *gājar* 'carrot', *gāḍī, gāṛī gāre* 'carriage', < *gaḍḍī gāy gāī 'cow'*, < *gāvī, gārā, gāro, gār* 'mortar' < *gāṛa-;* a very important word is NIA *ghar* 'house' < MIA *ghara,* (and not OIA *gṛha-*) itself < IE **gʷhoro-* 'fire, hearth, heat.' In this chapter it is not necessary for us to go further into the question of the exact number of such vocables. On every page of TURNER's *Nepali Dictionary* will be found a number of

words which are not derived from OIA but which show, by the different cognates in NIA that they must be descended from some MIA form or another. TURNER has himself reconstructed these forms as words of non-Indo-European, uncertain or unknown origin. But further research will show that a number of these reconstructions will ultimately prove to be of MIA character, as for instance, **aṅgaüccha-* 'towel which goes to earlier **aṅga-puccha-*, **aṅga-puñcha-*, < OIA *-proñchati.*

Further lists of such vocables will merely add to the bulk of this chapter without proving anything further; nor is such proof required to perceive what is by now obvious: that MIA has contributed linguistically to Old and New Indo-Aryan and is the strong link which connects the Old with the New.

Since comparative grammar had not developed when the Prakrit Grammarians compiled their treatises, many of such vocables found both in the vernaculars of the day as well as in Prakrit literature were classified by them either as Deśī words or as Dhātvādeśas. Whatever their ultimate origin: Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan or Indian they have largely come through the MIA stage, and in this sense MIA has not only passed on the inherited Indo-Aryan *Sprach-gut* but enriched with this incorporated material as well. The unravelling of the threads which run so closely and in a well-knit manner is a field for specialist studies, the fruit of which we have gathered here, in as non-technical a manner as possible.

CHAPTER V

CONTRIBUTION OF MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN LITERATURE TOWARDS ARTS AND SCIENCES

In the second chapter we have seen in a panoramic manner the extent of Middle Indo-Aryan literature under certain specific heads, and in the fourth the general influence of these dialects both on Old and New Indo-Aryan languages and dialects. But our picture of the cultural contribution of MIA to general Indian culture will not be complete if we do not take into consideration the manner in which MIA influenced the civilised life of India during a period of approximately seventeen centuries—from the advent of Gotama Buddha and Mahāvīra—and the variety of such contribution. It must never be imagined that for this whole period it was only MIA which contributed the necessary stimulus for cultural, political or religious achievements of a fundamental character, for while religious and social reform necessitated the wide-spread use of MIA as the common medium of expression, exposition or proclamations by royal edicts, the general background of OIA as represented by classical Sanskrit retained its inevitable hold on the śiṣṭas, and though temporarily eclipsed, regained its pre-eminent place shortly during the glorious Gupta Age in every sphere of literature. Thus within the first six centuries of the Buddhist and Jaina dispensation we notice the revival of the six systems of Indian philosophy in their codified sūtra form: similarly the greatest masterpieces of Sanskrit literature in prose, and the highest authority for Sanskrit Grammar, the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali, was composed during the second century B.C. Though the dates of Sanskrit poets and dramatists of the early centuries are still controversial matters, we may place Aśvaghoṣa in the first century A.D. In this manner we can observe the continuity of Old Indo-Aryan literary acti-

vities from the Vedic age downwards, now slowly developing with the passage of centuries and again making a rapid advance within one century or even a single reign, with fluctuations either retarding or speeding up the natural process of development. It is not possible for us here to delineate even briefly the causes which have affected this complicated history of Indo-Aryan literature; that is a subject which only prolonged research and higher textual criticism can attack with sufficient weapons. What is acually possible for us at this stage is to see the way in which Middle Indo-Aryan literature developed, the period when it was most virile, the fundamental contributions which such a literature made towards arts and science as well as the general make-up of the cultured life of letters.

It may not be without interest to recall here the place of MIA in the decipherment of the Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī scripts. The clue to their decipherment was obtained from bilingual coins struck by the Greek princes who ruled over part of Afghānistān and the Panjab from c. 200 B.C. to about 25 B.C. These coins regularly bear on the obverse a Greek legend giving the name and titles of the king, and on the reverse a translation of this legend in MIA and one of these Indian scripts or characters. As a first step towards the decipherment of these alphabets the names of the kings in their Indian guise were identified by PRINSEP with their Greek equivalents. The clues thus obtained gradually led to the explanation of the Indian titles on the coins with their Greek equivalents, and led, after many years of patient work and research, to the decipherment of long inscriptions found in many parts of India, engraved on stone or copper-plates. Thus in a sense although scripts are not strictly confined to Middle Indo-Aryan dialects, the MIA legends on coins established the values of these scripts.

Considering the sources from which materials may be drawn for the reconstruction of the history of Ancient India, we notice three: (*a*) the literatures of the Brahmins, Jains and Buddhists; (*b*) inscriptions on stone or copper-plate,

coins and seals; and (*c*) the accounts of foreign writers, chiefly Greek, Latin and Chinese. Of these it will be noticed that under (*a*) the literature of the Jains and Buddhists are chiefly in MIA dialects. Similarly from the fourth century B.C. up to the fourth century A.D. the principal inscriptions and coins are witnesses to the employment of MIA dialects. While no one disputes the allegedly supreme position of OIA in connection with the reconstruction of protohistoric India, there is every possibility of this position being challenged when we enter the so-called 'historic' period beginning with the dispensation of the Buddha and of Mahāvīra. Recent research, while emphasising the position of the Purāṇas as good sources for traditional history, has indubitably shown that the collateral evidence based on MIA sources as found in Buddhist and Jaina texts is of first rate importance to check or modify the results so obtained. In fact at one time it was even the fashion to give excessive credence to Buddhist sources for the reconstruction of early Indian history. Although such a position is no longer tenable, the importance of MIA literature for the proper evaluation of India's great past, particularly during the dawn of the historical period, is now being recognized.

Before we turn our attention to the manifold contributions which MIA has made towards the cultural life of Ancient India in the domains of arts and science we may dwell a little longer on the linguistic aspect already considered in the earlier chapters. Whereas we have to-day very little material to study the dialects of OIA occasional traces of which are still to be found in Vedic literature, we notice that the MIA is very rich in dialectal material. In fact we have a better picture of the vernaculars of the early historical period in India in the rich inscriptional material from the third century B.C. to the fourth century A.D., without taking into account the large body of literary Prakrits. When during this period OIA is generally represented by Classical Sanskrit which had already become stvlized so far as its grammar is concerned, we observe that MIA offers us the surest foundation for a comparative study of Indo-Aryan dialects. We have already mentioned in the

introductory chapter that the first unformulated theory of the family of languages developed on Indian soil. Chief among these sources are the contemporary inscriptions of Aśoka distributed all over the sub-continent of India, which afford us a good picture of the dialectal variety current in different regions. By their extent, variety and general content, these inscriptions are not only the most useful linguistic aids to our understanding of the richness of MIA dialectology, but they also serve the purpose of picturing before our eyes the social, religious and political life of Aśoka's period. With a few notable examples, subsequent inscriptions in MIA are mostly short dedicatory lines, and linguistically speaking, give us little material for a reconstruction of MIA except in a very restricted sphere.

On the other hand the rich religious literature in Buddhism and Jainism has given us, albeit in a stylized form, sufficient linguistic material for filling in the gaps existing in our picture of inscriptional Prakrits. But far greater than their linguistic value is their richness of contents which afford a more or less complete social, religious and political picture of an age so rich in its general contribution to civilisation. We have already noted the extent of the Pāli Buddhist Canon which spread in Ceylon, Burma and Siam. This penetration of the Pāli Canon in Ceylon resulted in the introduction of an Indo-Aryan dialect within that region, and from the Aśokan period or a little later, lithic records in Brāhmi characters and an Indian Prakrit are found well distributed over the whole island. Old and Modern Singhalese are derived from this early Prakrit, influenced naturally to a very great extent by the hybrid Pali of the Southern Buddhist Canon. Thus a MIA language conquered spiritually as well as linguistically this great island which must be considered a part of India, although separated from the great Indo-Aryan family group by a powerful and highly developed Indian group: the Dravidian family of languages. Though the Pāli Canon travelled over to Burma and Siam and fundamentally affected the culture of these countries, no such linguistic conquest was possible. But

the traces of this cultural conquest can still be found in the large mass of Aryanised *nomina propria*.

In a similar manner we observe the expansion of Buddhist Sanskrit works beyond the natural boundaries of India, giving rise to Chinese and Tibetan versions of the original texts, either in transliteration or in translations. Although Buddhist Sanskrit has been often classified as a 'mixed dialect', it is MIA according to our wide definition of the term MIA. But of more immediate interest are the Kharoṣṭhī Version of the *Dhammapada* and the Kharoṣṭhī documents found in or around Niya in Khotan or Chinese Turkestan. They show to us that MIA not only flourished in the NW of India so as to give us a special version of the famous *Dhammapada*, but extended even to this Central Asian territory as an official language during the early centuries of the Christian Era. It may particularly be noticed here that this expansion of MIA beyond the natural confines of India is specially due to the activities of the Buddhists. At a much later date it will be found that Hindu Sanskrit penetrated into Greater India; but the first chapter in such an extra-Indian expansion was written by the followers of the Buddha.

While the Buddhists in India continuously began using Sanskrit as the official medium of their literary activities, they did not forget the MIA basis of their original culture and literary achievements, and this is seen in the various recensions and versions in different Central Asian languages and dialects which have now come to light. But it is chiefly to the Jainas that we have to look for maintaining MIA in a state of continuous employment for secular and religious purposes, and for consciously encouraging the vernacular languages of the country. This is not to be construed as belittling the contributions of the Jainas to classical Sanskrit literature and therefore to OIA; even in this particular phase they have an honoured place in the history of Sanskrit literature as may be seen from catalogues of Sanskrit manuscripts. The earlier vernacular literature in Southern India is, for example, entirely or almost wholly influenced by Jaina spirit; especially rich are Kannada and Tamil in such early compositions.

The chief field for MIA literature has always been religious; thus starting with the Inscriptions of Aśoka, the oldest documents in MIA inscribed on stone, we notice that the main object of these records is the inculcation of Dhamma, the true basis of life here and hereafter; it is only incidentally and by way of illustration that secular aspects are mentioned, and even so they are sufficiently vivid to enable historians to reconstruct the brilliant period of Mauryan rule in India. Naturally Pāli and Ardhamāgadhī literature must contain within themselves the philosophical, religious and ethical teachings of the two great Teachers of Humanity, Buddha and Mahāvīra. The central ethical concept which both these religions emphasised and ultimately imprinted on the national consciousness was the doctrine of Ahimsā, both gross and subtle, physical and extra-physical. The idea of non-violence is native even to Vedic and early Indian literature; but this particular emphasis which characterises the general philosophical outlook of the modern Indian in general is a direct result of the teachings of Buddha and Mahāvīra contained within MIA literature in the beginning and later spread throughout this sub-continent in the modern vernaculars—Indo-Aryan as well as Dravidian. It is this same influence which can be seen in the modern political doctrine of 'non-violence' in thought, word and deed.

But the manner in which the great religious doctrines were conveyed to the common man appears to be a characteristic peculiarity of this early MIA literature. Fables, parables and stories illustrate each doctrine much better and in a more illuminating manner than a well-reasoned logical argument would. The loss in the development of a rigorous logical basis is more than compensated by the clear scientific outlook on life and the wider appeal to man. This naturally leads us to the primary contribution that MIA has made in the field fables, stories, parables and narrative literature.

While it is generally assumed that the didactic fable originated in early Vedic literature, its incorporation into the literaure of the people, apart from religious literature, is a

clearly later phase. From the evidence of early classical Sanskrit literature it would appear, for instance, that the beast fable was actually current before the two epics *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* or the great Grammarian Patañjali, but as KEITH says, 'we cannot say with any certainty whether fables had yet come to be reduced to literary form of any kind.' While the fable literature developed in Sanskrit in the justly famous *Pañcatantra,* with its complicated cycle-system, and the interweaving of tales within tales, MIA developed an independent system. The *Jātaka* tales, for instance, incorporated these fable materials to illustrate the deeds and greatness of the Buddha and his contemporaries in their previous births. The monumental evidence at Bharhut proves that these fables had already been incorporated into the Buddhist canon as a great living force. The question is still open whether the Prakrit fable literature is the precursor to the *Pañcatantra* and works of that type. It is clear that the *Pañcatantra,* whatever its origin be, is in a more developed form and therefore cannot be, contemporaneous with the simple fable literature incorporatedin the Pāli *Jātaka* tales. On the other hand these simple fables seem to have continued their existence for a considerable time, as we notice their occurrence in the *Dhammapada-Aṭṭhakathā.* Pāli literature is, therefore, very rich in fables, and makes a marked and definite contribution to this type of literature. No study of world fable-literature, can therefore, be complete without a reference to the MIA fable literature and its influence, direct or indirect, on the development of such literature.

These fables are scattered throughout the Buddhist Pāli canon, and in the Jaina *Nijjuttis.* The *Jātaka* book in particular typifies the later MIA contribution to Indian literature, as its contents classify themselves into: 1. Fables, most of which, like the generality of Indian fables, aim at teaching *nīti* or worldly wisdom and a few inculcate moral teachings. 2. Fairy tales, including the animal fables. 3. Short anecdotes, humorous tales and jokes which have nothing religious about them. 4. Novels and even long romances abounding in adventures. 5. Moral narratives. 6. Didactic and

gnomic verses or sayings, and 7. Pious legends. Just as in these great Pāli commentaries, so also in the extensive commentaries of the Jainas we observe that incorporation of very many ancient, historical or semi-historical traditions on the one hand, and of a vast mass of popular narratives, fables, fairy-tales, on the other. The Jainas, like the Buddhists, and later Hindus, delighted in adorning all their religious sermons with the telling of stories, religious or secular, converting the latter for elucidating Jaina doctrines, and exploited the inherent Indian tendency towards the story literature. A great majority of these tales, narratives or fables, extends down the centuries, but even the narratives contained in the later Sanskrit commentaries go back to the earlier sources as evidenced by the fact that the stories here are given, not in the correct Sanskrit language, but in their natural and earlier medium of narration: the Prakrit or the language in which these stories had come down to the commentators from their predecessors. The most important commentaries for this purpose are those of Śāntisūri and Devendra on the *Uttarajjhayaṇa;* the most interesting tales have been excerpted from them by the late Professor JACOBI in his famous *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭri* published in 1886.

Before turning to the immense Kathā literature we might consider the very effective contribution that MIA literature has made towards lyrics, gnomic and didactic poetry. Many of the verses found, for instance, in the ancient *Suttanipāta* of the Pāli canon, contain important relics of ancient ballad poetry which must have been extremely common during the early Vedic period. Besides such ballads, the single stanzas are very often terse moral dicta and have the characteristic of the later gnomic or didactic verses found both in Sanskrit and in Prakrit. Such indeed are the magnificent verses of the *Dhammapada,* universally recognized as belonging to world-literature, and of which versions are found in a number of languages. Ascetic poetry too is found in large abundance in the justly famous *Thera-* and *Therī-gāthās,* and some of these psalms can compare with the best produced in any literature in the world. Particularly striking is the *Therī-*

gāthā as it contains, more than the *Theragātha,* pictures of real life, poignant, pathetic, illustrating the ennobling influence of the Dhamma on their natural lives by these Lady Elders or Therīs. The importance of these pictures for our knowledge of the social conditions, and especially the social position of woman in ancient India has been sufficiently recognized. Comparable to the *Dhammapada* of the Buddhists are some sections of the Jaina *Dasaveyāliya,* consisting of sayings pertaining to the monastic life; this work also in connected with an abundant narrative literature which is contained in the commentaries. In particular the ballad of Rājīmatī, as given in *Uttarajjhayaṇa,* is illustrated in the second section of this book. This *Uttarajjhayaṇa,* is comparable in many resrespects with the Buddhist *Suttanipāta* and *Dhammapada,* and these two go together to enhance the incorporation of narrative literature in the Jaina canon. In both we find many sayings which excel in aptitude of comparison or the pithiness of language. Ballad poetry, especially the itihāsa dialogues and ascetic legends, abounds here. In a real sense these Jaina and Buddhist ballads are nearer to the people than the Purāṇa legends and stories which later affected the religious life of the Hindus. Their warm style, essential human appeal, and the absolute lack of artificiality gives them that stamp which characterises, for instance, the songs of Mira or Kabir, of Narsi Mehta or Tukaram, and has a universal appeal which cannot be denied. They are thus the living expression of the soul of a people, untrammelled by the artificial rules of rhetorics or of grammarians, pouring out in unceasing refrain directly from the heart of the poets.

It is particularly in the field of the Kathā literature that MIA seems to excel itself and to give a definite stamp to Indian narrative literature. While the national epics of India like the *Rāmāyaṇa* or *Mahābhārata* have influenced the entire literary output of the nation, both within classical Sanskrit and the modern vernaculars of both Northern and Southern India, not to speak of Buddhist and Jaina literature, the first place must necessarily be given to the lost *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya for, it vies with the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* as the

ultimate source of all incidents around which a good national literature may be built up or has actually been built up. We can therefore say with KEITH that one of our really serious losses in Indian literature is the disappearance of the *Bṛhatkathā* as one of the great store-houses of Indian literary art. Alleged to have been written in the Paiśācī dialect of MIA, its existence is attested by early literary references, by an inscriptional reference (c. 875 A.D.) in Cambodia and by several Sanskrit and Prakrit versions of it found in India. While the great epics of India tried to have a final basis on Dharma and Mokṣa, and gave a definite religious bias to all the literature based on them, the *Bṛhatkathā* was more or less entirely a secular work, and introduced the purely romantic concept in Indian literature. It would be difficult to assess the influence of this lost work on the Sanskrit and Prakrit literature of India. Many of the Sanskrit plays revolving round the Udayana legend, and perhaps a few romances may have resulted of which no trace seems to be left. ALSDORF has shown the traces of the influence of Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā* in the early Jaina *Māhārāṣṭrī* work *Vasudevahiṇḍi.*

Of the great romances Sanskrit literature boasts of Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita,* Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā,* Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* (a rare example of contemporary biography presented in the form of romance) and *Kādambarī* a regular romance, besides a number of campūs. If any other romances existed, no trace of them is found to-day. But if we turn to the Jainas we find them as writers of historical *Caritras,* semi-historical narratives and particularly greater tellers of tales and romances which are plainly religious in character. Many of the Caritras are composed in Prakrit and describe the lives of individual Jainas. One well-known work of this class has been edited by JACOBI as *Sanatkumāracaritam,* a part of the bigger *Neminãhacariu* of Haribhadra in Apabhraṁśa, written in 1159 A.D. Another voluminous work of this type is the *Supāsanāhacariyam* by Lakṣmaṇa Gaṇin, composed in the year 1143 A.D. The semi-historical prabhandhas are mainly written in Sanskrit, but show the same literary style which the *caritras* and other narratives possess and appear to continue

gāthā as it contains, more than the *Theragātha,* pictures of real life, poignant, pathetic, illustrating the ennobling influence of the Dhamma on their natural lives by these Lady Elders or Therīs. The importance of these pictures for our knowledge of the social conditions, and especially the social position of woman in ancient India has been sufficiently recognized. Comparable to the *Dhammapada* of the Buddhists are some sections of the Jaina *Dasaveyāliya,* consisting of sayings pertaining to the monastic life; this work also in connected with an abundant narrative literature which is contained in the commentaries. In particular the ballad of Rājīmatī, as given in *Uttarajjhayaṇa,* is illustrated in the second section of this book. This *Uttarajjhayaṇa,* is comparable in many resrespects with the Buddhist *Suttanipāta* and *Dhammapada,* and these two go together to enhance the incorporation of narrative literature in the Jaina canon. In both we find many sayings which excel in aptitude of comparison or the pithiness of language. Ballad poetry, especially the itihāsa dialogues and ascetic legends, abounds here. In a real sense these Jaina and Buddhist ballads are nearer to the people than the Purāṇa legends and stories which later affected the religious life of the Hindus. Their warm style, essential human appeal, and the absolute lack of artificiality gives them that stamp which characterises, for instance, the songs of Mira or Kabir, of Narsi Mehta or Tukaram, and has a universal appeal which cannot be denied. They are thus the living expression of the soul of a people, untrammelled by the artificial rules of rhetorics or of grammarians, pouring out in unceasing refrain directly from the heart of the poets.

It is particularly in the field of the Kathā literature that MIA seems to excel itself and to give a definite stamp to Indian narrative literature. While the national epics of India like the *Rāmāyaṇa* or *Mahābhārata* have influenced the entire literary output of the nation, both within classical Sanskrit and the modern vernaculars of both Northern and Southern India, not to speak of Buddhist and Jaina literature, the first place must necessarily be given to the lost *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya for, it vies with the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* as the

ultimate source of all incidents around which a good national literature may be built up or has actually been built up. We can therefore say with KEITH that one of our really serious losses in Indian literature is the disappearance of the *Bṛhatkathā* as one of the great store-houses of Indian literary art. Alleged to have been written in the Paiśācī dialect of MIA, its existence is attested by early literary references, by an inscriptional reference (*c.* 875 A.D.) in Cambodia and by several Sanskrit and Prakrit versions of it found in India. While the great epics of India tried to have a final basis on Dharma and Mokṣa, and gave a definite religious bias to all the literature based on them, the *Bṛhatkathā* was more or less entirely a secular work, and introduced the purely romantic concept in Indian literature. It would be difficult to assess the influence of this lost work on the Sanskrit and Prakrit literature of India. Many of the Sanskrit plays revolving round the Udayana legend, and perhaps a few romances may have resulted of which no trace seems to be left. ALSDORF has shown the traces of the influence of Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā* in the early Jaina *Māhārāṣṭrī* work *Vasudevahiṇḍi.*

Of the great romances Sanskrit literature boasts of Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita,* Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā,* Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* (a rare example of contemporary biography presented in the form of romance) and *Kādambarī* a regular romance, besides a number of campūs. If any other romances existed, no trace of them is found to-day. But if we turn to the Jainas we find them as writers of historical *Caritras,* semi-historical narratives and particularly greater tellers of tales and romances which are plainly religious in character. Many of the Caritras are composed in Prakrit and describe the lives of individual Jainas. One well-known work of this class has been edited by JACOBI as *Sanatkumāracaritam,* a part of the bigger *Nemināhacariu* of Haribhadra in Apabhraṁśa, written in 1159 A.D. Another voluminous work of this type is the *Supāsanāhacariyam* by Lakṣmaṇa Gaṇin, composed in the year 1143 A.D. The semi-historical prabhandhas are mainly written in Sanskrit, but show the same literary style which the *caritras* and other narratives possess and appear to continue

the same MIA tradition which is at the back of all these activities.

Here naturally comes the consideration of the rich *purāṇic* literature of the Jainas, written both in Sanskrit and in Prakrit, including Apabhraṁśa. Arising from the numerous fairy tales, legends, fables and traditional stories, we have not only an extension of the field into narrative, biographical and semi-historical literature, but also an epic literature in the shape of the purāṇic literature, where the Jainas have absorbed the MIA literary traditions of the Hindus including the epic material. It has already been pointed out in earlier chapers that the language of the Hindu Purāṇas shows a MIA basis although the result appears to be a mixutre of correct with incorrect Sanskrit. The Jaina Purāṇas are written in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa, not to speak of the modern Indian vernaculars, particularly the Dravidian Kannaḍa. One of the earliest of these is the *Paüimacaria* of Vimalasūri, giving us the story of Paüma or Rāma, and is therefore one version of the famous Rāma story. Similarly the Great Epic of India has been adapted by the Jainas and the earliest is the *Harivaṁśapurāṇa* of Jinasena, completed in 783 A.D. written, however, in Sanskrit. One of the biggest works in Apabhraṁśa is the *Mahāpurāṇa* of Puṣpadanta. Thus along with the Hindu Purāṇas which attest to the use of MIA medium as the original of these works, the Jaina Purāṇas also indicate to the contribution that MIA has made in the development of this traditional history. Kannaḍa, Tamil and other languages bear witness to the ever increasing desire on the part of the Jaina teachers to reach the largest number of human beings in the propagation of their religious doctrines. In this manner the biggest contribution towards the preservation of MIA as a literary medium, and the development of the actual vernaculars of the people when there was little encouragement for such development from the Hindus or Buddhists who reclaimed the older medium Sanskrit for their learned compositions is from the Jainas.

One particular contribution of the Jainas towards narrative literature is the religious novel, the *dhammakathā*. The

earliest testimony in this direction comes from the *Taraṅgavatī* of Pādalipta (MIA Pālitta) Sūri which has not come down to us in its original form but only in a shorter version of 1643 Prakrit stanzas written about 1000 years later under the title *Taraṅgalolā*. Pālittasūri is already mentioned as *Taraṅgavaikāra* in the *Aṇuogadārā*, and scholars believe that for this reason the work must have been written prior to the 5th century A.D. This work must have been one of the prototypes of the Prakrit poem *Samarāiccakahā* by Haribhadra who calls his poem a Dharmakathā. The work is written in prose with verse passages of varying length inserted between. The style is simple and pellucid, and despite the use of long compounds and ornate poetical pieces, not so elaborate as that of Bāṇa or Subandhu. The history of the hero is traced through nine rebirths and thus continues the good old tradition which we see in the Buddhist *Jātakas*, Avadānas or earlier Jaina texts.

There are many romantic novels written entirely in verse, such as the famous *Bhavisattakahā* in Apabhraṁśa by Dhaṇavāla, or the *Malayasundarīkathā* in which an unknown poet appears to have worked popular fairy-tale themes into a romantic Jaina epic of a similar nature.

In addition to this very rich Kathā literature which exceeds in extent any similar class of literature in OIA, the Jainas have contributed a series of *kathānakas* or little stories, so many of which were already included in the commentaries and frequently written down into independent work, and occasionally elaborated into ornate poems. A very famous work in this line, and very often read or recited by monks at the end of the recital of the Kalpasūtra is the Prakrit *Kālakācārya Kathānaka*. A number of these works are also found in Sanskrit, but from general considerations we can at once see how the MIA tradition was extended to Sanskrit in order to win over the learned non-Jainas to this religion. In fact Siddharṣi, author of the allegorical novel *Upamitibhavaprapañca Kathā*, openly asserts that he is not using Prakrit because Prakrit is for the uneducated, but only Sanskrit in order to win over to the doctrine the educated from their heretical views.

As a further extension of this type of literature we notice a number of MIA Kathākośas which utilize this rich material. In general the verses are in Prakrit while the text is in Sanskrit which shows distinct traces of MIA and is in consequence called 'bad Sanskrit' by previous scholars. Śrīcandra's *Kathākośa* in Apabhraṁśā cannot be an isolated event, as we find a number of similar Prakrit and semi-MIA works being composed from the eleventh century up to the beginning of the seventeenth century A.D.

It would thus follow from a consideration of all the important contributions to general Indian narrative literature that MIA occupies an undisputed and prominent place as the most prolific in this respect, and if not actually originating this type of literature, at least of developing it and keeping it alive throughout as a very active means of giving expression to religious experiences.

We have already made some reference to lyric poetry in MIA in connection with the *Thera-* and *Therī-gāthās*. While lyrics are not specially confined to MIA as any history of Sanskrit literature would prove, we also observe that contemporaneously with the progress of this Sanskrit lyric, there was taking place the development of a Prakrit tyric, not religious this time, but purely secular, which passed from Prakrit into Apabhraṁśa and later into the modern vernaculars. While secular lyrics developed, there was side by side, with the the religious revival of the great Vaiṣṇava school of Bhakti or divine amour, a sublimation of this secular lyric into a divine longing for union with God. But nevertheless the origin of the Prakrit lyric which lies at the basis of such a sublimation is essentially secular in character. The best known of such lyric poetry has come down to us in an anthology ascribed to Hāla consisting of over 700 lyrics. As KEITH remarks Prakrit lyric as we have in the *Sattasaī* comes before us with a definite character of its own which is not reproduced in Sanskrit. These lyrics, whatever their ultimate origin, have a closeness to life and common realities which is hardly to be seen in any OIA composition of a similar nature. It is also possible that they were meant to be sung. Their

main content is with the varied forms of love which are brilliantly portrayed, and if the physical aspects are sublimated, quite capable of expressing the metaphysical or mystical experience of the soul moving towards her destined goal of union or one-ness with the Divine. How far this lyric poetry in Prakrit affected the growth of the special religious poetry of the Vaiṣṇavas is a matter for further research; but the evidence clearly points out that this lyric poetry ultimately gave rise to the various songs, religious and essentially devotional, which have been sung in Old Gujarati, Old Bengali or Old Marathi, as in Avadhi or Braj. Nothing like this is seen in Sanskrit except in the religious hymns and the collection of songs as in Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* and the Sanskrit collections made by the followers of Caitanya.

This naturally leads us to the further question of music and song. If the lyrics, in the true sense of the term, were meant to be sung, what was the development of music in India? The antiquity of this very likely goes to the Sāmaveda tradition, but material is very scanty for reconstructing the entire history of this tradition from such ancient times. While in medieval and even perhaps earlier works written in Sanskrit the science of music is dealt systematically, there is also the inevitable fact that many of the commentaries and independent works on the subject, like Nānyadeva's *Bharatabhāṣya* quote extensively from Prakrit literature for their song material. It is, therefore, inconceivable that MIA had no influence on the development of such an important folk-art as music. We notice, for instance, that in the play *Vikramorvaśīya,* the king, when extremely dejected and in a fitness of madness, breaks into Apabhraṁśa songs. Even if these songs are deemed as interpolations and not original, the fact remains, and admittedly proves the employment of some MIA medium for singing purposes. In fact most of the introductory songs in Kālidāsa's plays are in Prakrit, and if that be attributed to the fact that the character is generally a lady and must therefore use Prakrit only according to convention, it can be counterargued that ladies are known to speak or sing in Sanskrit in these plays. And the character *naṭī,* if true, to

life, illustrates the point that music is more in favour with the ladies than with men. Thus, despite the convention, we observe the link between Prakrit songs and music in Sanskrit dramatic representations.

A further consideration of the very extensive rhetorical literature in Sanskrit shows the evidence of MIA influence on the growth of such concepts in Alaṁkāra. No work is free from quotations as illustrations of Prakrit stanzas from various known and unknown materpieces of literature for the particular topic discussed. How far MIA literature itself is responsible for the development of the science of Indian poetics is a subject which is beyond the scope of the present writer; but it would be certainly interesting to discover why Indian rhetoricians quoted from Prakrit texts, and to find out the instances where the illustrations are entirely drawn from Prakrit sources.

Closely connected with Music as a folk-art is Dancing. Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra* which is an encyclopaedic work, itself shows in many sections the great influence of MIA. There is a section of Prakrit languages, and if the technical terms for various aspects of the science are considered, the number of Prakritisms would be astonishing. Having such an intimate connection with the life of the people, it is inconceivable that during the long evolution of MIA from the days of Buddha and Mahāvīra, the dialects had no effect either on the terminology or the development of this art. It is unfortunate that no technical treatise exists independently in Prakrit on music or dancing. Pāli has slavishly imitated Sanskrit with a few treatises on Alaṁkāra. We must therefore be circumspect in making any claims for MIA in this direction. From collateral evidence we notice that a knowledge of Sanskrit was considered necessary for an accomplished musician or dancing-master; but on the other hand there is a contemptuous reference to a naṭa or 'dancer' in a subhāṣita which indicates that the *apaśabdamṛga* which is trying to escape from the arrows of the Vaiyākaraṇa-kirāta finds shelter in the mouth of the 'dancer' etc., giving credence to the belief that a dancer need not be an accomplished Sanskritist.

Arising out of these aspects of music and dancing, or perhaps simultaneous with them, is the aspect of MIA metrics. The usual classical Sanskrit metres are measured by the number of syllables; but the metres in which the sum-total of morae only is fixed—differentiated from the *akṣaracchandas* by the designation *mātrācchandas*,—allowing however for a variation of the number of syllables, subject only to certain restrictions, appear to have come from popular poetry. If the treatises on Prakit versification are studied it will be clear that these *mātrācchandas* or *tālavṛttas* are indeed the norm of Prakrit poetry. This naturally indicates that the 'popular poetry' referred to above can only have been a MIA contribution to Indian metrics. Without entering into technical details we may say at once that these *tālavṛttas* or *mātrācchandas* not only affected the metrics of classical Sanskrit poetry, but have effected their entry into the new Indo-Aryan vernaculars in the popular metres found, for instance, in *Rāmacaritamānas*, or in the popular Marāṭhī *ovī*. Prof. VELANKAR has shown that the Marāṭhī ovī derives directly from the Apabhraṁśa ardhacatuṣpadī. In fact on examination all the popular north Indian vernacular *mātrācchandas* or *tālavṛttas* appear to have been inherited directly from corresponding MIA metres, with necessary modifications. This capacity for variation was indeed favourable for adoption of the verses for singing, and must be connected with the fine arts of singing and dancing, all charateristics of popular folk-poetry. One of the most comprehensive texts dealing with this kind of metrics is Hemacandra's *Chandonuśāsana*, the relevant chapters of which have been recently edited by Prof. VELANKAR in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

In the domain of philosophical concepts, however, MIA literature has been subordinated by the more profound treatises composed in Sanskrit. The great religious activity which culminated in the teachings of Gotama Buddha and Mahāvīra was at the same time the initiator of fresh investigations by the Brahminical schools which, in their turn, seem to have influenced the doctrines of these schools. The codification of

the six systems of philosophy must have been coeval or subsequent to the formation of the Buddhist and Jaina canons. Comparable to the founders of the various schools of philosophers who wrote great commentaries on the codified systems, we have the great Mahāyāna philosophers who preceded Śankara such as Nāgārjuna, Vasubandhu and Asaṅga. Though these philosophers composed their treatises originally in Sanskrit, their acquaintance with MIA sources must be assumed, as comparative study would soon demonstrate. At the same time it may be recalled that by avoiding the recondite philosophical style, the ethical basis of religion and the spirit behind all the logical or metaphysical or even mystical concepts was illuminated by apt fables and parables which, at bottom, attest to a keen realization of the truths contained within the system. That was the main object of the MIA literature: to bring home the realization in one's life here and in this very birth the highest goal which always escapes philosophical systems, however subtle, wonderful and brilliant they might be. By avoiding too much reliance on the mental aptitude of the human brain and thought-power, the doctrines of the Buddha, for instance, time and again insist upon practical realization. That is the great difference between OIA and MIA literature in this direction, and in this sense MIA is very near to the literature produced in NIA. The main difference between MIA and NIA in this field is the fact that MIA is coloured entirely by Hīnayāna Buddhist or pure Jaina traditions, whereas NIA has inherited the pan-Indian philosophy which incorporates and synthesises all these different schools and sects into an all-sweeping devotional religion, satisfying the different grades of development.

It is not necessary for our purpose to go further into individual ideas and concepts as developed by MIA philosophical literature in comparison with OIA. Any history of Indian Philosophy will illustrate this development with proper authorities cited in their natural evolution. The question of the development of different ideas with reference to the three principal religions: Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina will not necessarily throw any light on the claims of MIA for certain basic

concepts. Nevertheless as the basic texts of at least early Buddhism and of Jainism are in MIA we shall have to assume that so far as these two religions are concerned, a deep knowledge of MIA was essential, although for purposes of learned exposition and discussion OIA triumphed over MIA for this particular purpose.

Many secular as well as scientific phases have been touched by MIA literature, and we can briefly enumerate the contributions that such a literature has made towards the propagation of certain scientific subjects.

If we study works on Indian medicine, written in Sanskrit, the first thing which strikes us is the bad quality of the medium used, not to speak at times of certain terms, mostly of a tecnnical nature, which appear to be non-sanskritic. We may extend this observation to the technical terms of many sciences and arts, and we shall find on further investigation that a number of them can be proved to belong to MIA. The problem before us is not the investigation of the elements which go to make up Indian culture, whatever the ultimate source be; we are entirely concerned with the contribution that MIA has made towards this culture-complex. In the University of Nalanda as well as at Taxilla, for hundreds of years, all branches of secular knowledge, including medicine, as well as philosophy and theology were developed. The medium in which such works have come down to us is the 'Hybrid Buddhist Sanskrit' of EDGERTON or the 'Mixed Sanskrit' of other scholars. A good number of these works were translated into Tibetan and Chinese, and it is of interest to note that among the manuscript finds at Khotan and elsewhere a number of medical treatises have been discovered. Most of these are either Tocharian or some Middle Iranian versions of original 'mixed Sanskrit' texts.

That the Jainas, with their unusual flair for classification, paid singular attention to different branches of medicine and towards medical knowledge in general is proved by many references in their texts. Thus, for instances, the Taṇḍula-Veyāliya-Païṇṇa gives in a dialogue, mixed in prose and verse,

between Mahāvīra and Goyama as usual, details on physiology and anatomy, the life of the embryo, the ten ages of man, etc., the number of bones and sinews. This knowledge of embryology is quite astonishing. Similarly anatomical knowledge had reached a high level. In a sense the Jainas have contributed in literature a good part of secular knowledge, always ultimately with the object of drawing the mind away from the world to the final truth about oneself, so that we find in their canonical and non-canonical literature evident traces of such contributions in several directions, not the least of which is this knowledge of the human body.

Especially in the field of Astronomy and Astrology do we find a rich literature in the Jaina Canon. The fifth, sixth and seventh Uvaṅgas of the Canon deal with astronomy, geography, cosmolgy and the division of time. They are detailed expositions of the Jaina concept of these branches of science.

It would perhaps interest scholars to know that many gems of knowledge in these directions are hidden in the Pāli and Ardhamāgadhī Canons. For instance in the Aṅguttaranikāya of the Pāli Canon there is a section in which Ānanda questions Buddha about the powers of the Buddha so far as the extent in the Universe in which the Buddha-light can be seen and the Buddha-voice can be heard. If this fairy-like conversation is reduced to actual figures and worked out as a problem in arithmetic, it would be surprising to see a figure which emerges with reference to the extent of our three-dimensional Universe which very nearly coincides with that which the modern theory of relativity shows to be the limit of the Universe. Whether these agreements are mere coincidence by chance or whether there was an actual system which enabled the ancients to arrive at such surprisingly modern conclusions can only be proved by future research and by the discovey of many such agreements.

We have shown here a bare outline of the different aspects of civilised life in which MIA has made some contribution; but this will suffice to show the manifold contribution that the Prakrit languages have made towards the develop-

ment of arts, literature and science, and to enrich the life of India for almost fifteen centuries from 500 B.C. to about 1000 A.D. Along with OIA, and paticularly as a result of the Buddhist expansion into Asia, this cultural heritage was extended into China and Tibet, and other Central Asian divisions. The material which is being recovered or already recovered has engaged the attention of two generations of scholars; many new languages have been discovered, and a number of 'lost works' have been recovered from Chinese and Tibetan or Central Asian translations. The scope of MIA has thus extended not only over a vast geographical area but an equally vast cultural domain, the results of which are just beginning to make themselves felt. The influence of Buddhism in particular on the European and American nations is worth watching, especially when the war clouds have cleared and there is quiet and peace to think more deeply and more personally.

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the contributions of MIA are especially to be seen in the domain of the spiritual life; while the actual contribution of MIA to the cultural life of India is vast and varied, there is a certain unity and grandeur in the unfoldment of the spiritual life which this literature makes it possible for us to perceive, even if dimly.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Such is the vast field of MIA literature and such the varied aspects of the contribution that this literature has made towards the development of our modern languages, literary modes and general culture. We have seen how even OIA has not escaped the inevitable influence which MIA has brought to bear upon it in its ponology or morphology and consequently upon the vocabulary. As further research unfolds to us the vitality of this literature and its ever-increasing contributions, we shall probably be able to trace such development with greater precision in its space-time context. There are many aspects which this volume has not touched, especially in the field of gaphic arts.

Before us there lies a field which has not been properly tilled; there are parts in it which have not been approached, a few parts but dimly seen. Behind us lie the activity of over six generations of modern scholars who have discovered this vista for modern scientific investigation, but that which has been accomplished, pales into mere insignificance before that which lies ahead of us. It would not be surprising to know that as in Sanskrit, so also in Pāli and the Prakrits very few texts have been scientifically edited. Critical editions of Pāli or Ardhamāgadhī texts belonging to their respective Canons are quite rare, although there are honorable exceptions to the general rule.

At a time when the entire world has been convulsed in an all-destructive war, when cultural values have temporarily lost their intrinsic worth, it may appear like a cry in the wilderness—the *araṇya-ruditam* of Sanskritists—to lay stress on the past rather than on the future. The lessons of History may be left to the Historians themselves; but for the man in the street there is growing need of the spirit to discover that in us which transcends all these terrestrial activities, destructive or constructive, in order to establish a true concept of

life and humanity. In this task the study of these ancient or medieval contributions to an understanding of essential human nature will have great future significance.

Industrialization and rationalisation of industry is the great modern cry. We have seen what this leads to: if the pace of modern science is not brought into consonance with the spiritual development of man, the result is chaos, utter and complete destruction. The reason is not far to seek. In our modern development we have divorced the things of the spirit from the things of earth, in direct opposition, for instance, to what we find in the Jaina literature where even earthly or material things were not scorned but were made to subserve the spiritual ends of man. In bridging this insurmountable modern gulf between spirit and matter—not theoretically, as the moderns have certainly gone further in this direction, but practically, in actual realisation and action, this rich literature embedded in dusty codices, lying uncared for in the vaults of sacred or profane libraries, has still a value for us which far transcends the frail appearance of the manuscripts themselves. We have a duty not only to ourselves but to all future generations as yet unborn, to preserve this ancient heritage and hand it over to them, enriched by our lives and experiences, as a surer foundation for the building up a future of humanity which rises above these elemental forces.

It was not for nothing that the ancient scriptures, whether they are Hindu, Buddhist, Jain or Christian, have differentiated between the forces of light and the forces of darkness, the *suras* and *asuras,* Buddha and Māra, God and Satan. And they have always chosen rightly. It would appear, however, that since the Industrial Revolution, the the development of the spiritual aspect of man has not kept pace with the development of material life, and once again the balance of power between these contending forces has been disturbed. A spiritual regeneration of humanity of such a vast basis is now necessary and if we have to avoid repetition of frequent cataclysms of this nature, we should march on towards such a recovery of the spirit.