# Language of the Snakes

## Prakrit, Sanskrit, and the Language Order of Premodern India

# Andrew Ollett

## COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

2016

# ABSTRACT

# Language of the Snakes

# Andrew Ollett

*Language of the Snakes* is a biography of Prakrit, one of premodern India's most important and most neglected literary languages. Prakrit was the language of a literary tradition that flourished from roughly the 1st to the 12th century CE. During this period, it served as a counterpart to Sanskrit, the preeminent language of literature and learning in India. Together, Sanskrit and Prakrit were the foundation for an enduring "language order" that governed the way that people thought of and used language. *Language of the Snakes* traces the history of this language order through the historical articulations of Prakrit, which are set out here for the first time: its invention and cultivation among the royal courts of central India around the 1st century CE, its representation in classical Sanskrit and Prakrit texts, the ways it is made into an object of systematic knowledge, and ultimately its displacement from the language practices of literature. Prakrit is shown to have played a critical role in the establishment of the cultural-political formation now called the "Sanskrit cosmopolis," as shown through a genealogy of its two key practices, courtly literature (*kāvya-*) and royal eulogy (*praśasti-*). It played a similarly critical role in the emergence of vernacular textuality, as it provided a model for language practices that diverged from Sanskrit but nevertheless possessed an identity and regularity of their own. *Language of the Snakes* thus offers a cultural history of Prakrit in contrast to the natural-history framework of previous studies of the language. It uses Prakrit to formulate a theory of literary language as embedded in an ordered set of cultural practices rather than by contrast to spoken language.

# Table of Contents

# List of Figures

# List of Tables

# Acknowledgements

I thank, first of all, my teachers, including all of the friends and colleagues from whom I still have much to learn. Evident throughout this dissertation is my debt to Sheldon Pollock, but even he probably does not know how great it is. Yigal Bronner, Allison Busch, Jack Hawley, and Sudipta Kaviraj were generous with comments and suggestions. There are many people who helped to make this dissertation better, perhaps without knowing it. These include participants in the MESAAS post-MPhil seminar (Yitzhak Lewis, Wendell Marsh, Timothy Mitchell, Omar Farahat, Kenan Tekin, Sahar Ullah, Casey Primel, and Nasser Abdurrahman), the INCITE program at Columbia (above all Bill McAllister), and the South Asia Graduate Student Forum (Fran Pritchett, Jay Ramesh, Joel Bordeaux, and Joel Lee), and discussions with many more, including Whitney Cox, Anand Venkatkrishnan, Owen Cornwall, Dalpat Rajpurohit, and Irene SanPietro. I am happy to thank the people at Columbia who made my research possible: Jessica Rechtschaffer, Michael Fishman, Irys Schenker, Sandra Peters, and Kerry Gluckmann. The L.D. Institute of Indology, the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, the Asiatic Society, and the Nepalese-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project all provided important manuscript materials.

A. N. Upadhye used to say, at the end of every preface,

*karmaṇyevādhikāraste*

यस्या मे शान्तिराद्यायामाख्यायां यवनायते ।

तस्यै सर्वस्वभूताया इदं सर्वं च सर्वदा ॥

# Chapter 1

# Prakrit in the Language Order of India

> What historical *a priori* provided the starting-point from which it was possible to define the great checkerboard of distinct identities established against the confused, undefined, faceless, and, as it were, indifferent background of differences?
>
> Michel Foucault[1]

"It should be understood that the people of India have a number of languages," wrote Mīrzā Khān in his *Gift from India* in 1674, "but those in which books and poetical works may be composed—such as would be agreeable to those who possess a refined disposition and straight understanding—are three."[2]

With these words, addressed to the son of the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb, Mīrzā Khān articulated

---

[1]  Foucault (1994 [1966]: xxiv).

[2]  Mīrzā Khān, *A Gift from India*, p. 53: *bebāyad dānist ki zabān-i ahl-i hind mutaʿaddid ast. ammā ānchi badān kitābhā o dīvānhā taṣnīf tuwān kard, o maṭbūʿ-i ṭabʿ-i salīm o ẕihn-i mustaqīm bāshad, bar sih gūnah ast...* The translation by M. Ziauddin is on p. 34. See also Keshavmurthy (2013).

1

an age-old principle of textuality in India: that of the *bhāṣātraya*, the "three languages." However numerous the languages of India are—and depending on your definition of "language," this number could easily shoot into the thousands—there were only a few that could serve the purposes of textuality, and especially the higher purposes of textuality that Mīrzā Khān alludes to.[3] This is not in itself surprising: it is universally the case that the languages of literature and science are fewer, more constrained, more rarified than the languages of day-to-day communication. But this rarification is not the only meaning of the schema of three languages: it defines languages, apportions them, assigns each a significance and a domain, in short it brings the vast and unruly world of language practices to order. It is a blueprint of what I will call a "language order."

Mīrzā Khān's three languages are Sanskrit, Prakrit, and the vernacular (*bhākhā*), which are more or less the same three that had appeared in schematic representations of literary language for the preceding 1500 years. But let's now turn to his description of Prakrit:

> Second, Parākirt. This language is mostly employed in the praise of kings, ministers, and chiefs, and belongs to the under-world, that is, the world that is below the ground; they call it Pātāl-bānī, and also Nāg-bānī, that is, the language of the lowest of the low, and of reptiles of mean origin, who live underground. This language is a mixture of Sahāskirt, mentioned above, and Bhākhā to be mentioned next.[4]

This passage is guaranteed to be perplexing for at least two reasons. For those who are familiar with Prakrit and its literature, this description seems, well, inaccurate. It is not immediately clear why Mīrzā Khān should have chosen to represent Prakrit as the Language of the Snakes, as only he and a handful of other 17th- and 18th-century authors do.[5] But it does not take an expert in the premodern

---

[3]   See Pollock (2011: 29 and 2006b: 89–105)

[4]   Mīrzā Khān, *Gift from India*, pp. 53–54: *duyum parākirt… o maḍẖ-i mulūk o wuzarāʿ o akābir beshtar badīn zabān goyand. o ān zabān-i ʿālam ast, yaʿni ʿālam-i ḳi zīr zamīn ast. o ān-rā pātāl-bānī goyand… o nāg-bānī nīz nām-and… yaʿnī zabān-i ahl-i asfal us-sāfilīn o mārān ḳi zamīnīyān o suflīyān-and. o ān murakkab ast az sahāskirt, ḳi sābiq maẕkūr shud, o bhākhā, ḳi baʿd az īn maẕkūr shawad.* The translation is based on Ziauddin's.

[5]   I return to this passage in the conclusion (p. 270).

literature of South Asia to see that this passage, besides being inaccurate, is deeply weird. What would it mean to be a "Language of the Snakes" in the first place? Is it a fictional language?[6] How can it simultaneously be the language of "the lowest of the low" and the language in which the highest of the high are praised?

This is an uncanniness that, as Foucault famously said of Borges' Chinese encyclopedia, shatters the familiar landmarks of our thought.[7] It begins in a register of descriptive ethnography ("the people of India have a number of languages") and then suddenly transports us to a world below the earth, crawling with snakes. It defamiliarizes the traditional categories of language—Sanskrit, Prakrit, and the vernacular. Even more importantly, it defamiliarizes the category of language itself. What kind of a thing is the language that Mīrzā Khān has in mind? It is obviously not a language in the sense of the *Linguistic Survey of India*: we can't send a linguist into the underworld and have him ask the resident serpents how they say a couple dozen words.

So long as scholars have known about Prakrit, they have debated its reality. Mīrzā Khān's description puts the debate into focus. What kind of reality does a language like this actually have? Suppose we cannot accommodate it within the familiar landmarks of our thought, within the this-worldly frame of positivist social science and within the series of dichotomies that are meant to exhaustively characterize a language and its uses: high and low, learned and popular, sacred and profane. How, then, can we accommodate it?

This dissertation attempts to answer a pair of questions. What is Prakrit? And how does it change the way we understand language, both in premodern India and elsewhere? In this introduction I will explain why it is necessary to ask such seemingly-naïve questions, and why it has taken a dissertation to begin to answer them.

---

[6]   This is a convenient place to point out that this dissertation is not, as some readers might expect, about the fictional language called "parseltongue" depicted in the *Harry Potter* novels.

[7]   Foucault (1994 [1966]: xv).

# Language Orders

One important starting-point for this investigation is Bakhtin's observation that "[a] unitary language is not something which is given (*dan*) but is always in essence posited (*zadan*)."[8] We might think that we have answered the question "what is Prakrit?" with a series of descriptions: what are its grammatical features, what texts are written in it, who wrote those texts, etc. For a language so little studied as Prakrit, much of this descriptive work remains to be done.[9] But Bakhtin's comment suggests that this is only the beginning. To ask "what is Prakrit?" is not just to ask what it is like, but to ask how, by whom, and for what purposes Prakrit was "posited" as a language over the course of its history.

It is far from obvious how this latter kind of question should be answered. For the purposes of this dissertation, however, I suggest that we think of Prakrit as a component of a larger *language order*. A language order is simply the way that languages, and all practices that "consist of language" (*vāṅmaya-*), are defined in relation to one another within a culture. We may think of it as providing the linguistic parameters for cultural practices, ranging from scratching one's name on the wall of a cave to composing a text on poetics. It is not a concept. It is a convenient cover-term for an impossibly complex configuration of ideas, texts, discourses, practices, agents, communities, and institutions.

India was home to one of the premodern world's most productive and dynamic textual cultures, and one of its distinctive characteristics is its use of a small number of languages that stand, almost literally, outside of space and time. The practices of stability and continuity are well-known in the case of Sanskrit: some families have been memorizing and reciting the exact same Sanskrit texts, down the the smallest details of accent, for more than twenty-five hundred years. But they apply *mutatis mutandis* to Prakrit as well. The Prakrit that Rāma Pāṇivāda wrote in 18<sup>th</sup>-century Kerala was self-

---

8    Quoted in Crowley (1996: 39).

9    There are a few reliable guides: von Hinüber (2001) and two works by Jagdishchandra Jain (1961, in Hindi; 2004, in English).

consciously identical to the Prakrit that Rājaśekhara wrote in 10ᵗʰ-century Kannauj, which was in turn self-consciously identical to the Prakrit that Hāla wrote in 1ˢᵗ-century Maharashtra. These are, of course, limit cases, but premodern India was exceptional in the stability of its textual languages, and thus it is an important site for thinking about how languages are posited as unitary over the course of their history.

Another characteristic of the textual culture of premodern India, which is less well-known today but was certainly taken for granted and occasionally remarked upon by premodern Indians themselves, is the deep and systematic interrelation between textual languages, not just on the level of their linguistic form but on the level of the practices, discourses, and imaginative worlds that they co-constitute. Even languages that modern linguistics has taught us to think of as genetically distinct, such as Sanskrit and Kannada, were situated by the people who wrote in them within a continuous, if capacious, frame of conceptualization and analysis.

Language, in short, was *ordered* in premodern India in a way that seems to have few parallels, premodern or modern. That is why, necessary though it seems to describe and account for this order, it seems preferable at this stage of research to simply state it as a fact, and to allow its features to emerge over the course of the dissertation. At the foundation of this language order was a dichotomy between Sanskrit and Prakrit. Built upon this "schema of co-figuration," as I have learned to call it from Naoki Sakai, are a range of other schemas: the three languages, such as we encountered above in Mīrzā Khān; the three and a half languages; the four languages; the six languages. Amid this apparent arithmetic confusion—which I discuss in detail in chapter 5—it is important not to lose sight of the fact that all of these schemas situate languages in complex relations with each other, and differentially assign them over the entire field of textual production.

Such a structure is certainly not hidden. It is explicitly announced in some of the most influential and well-read works of Indian literature, such as Daṇḍin's *Mirror of Literature*, and it reaches down into

every letter of every text. Nevertheless, only a few scholars have thought critically about the language order of premodern India as a whole. Sudipta Kaviraj discussed the history of the "internal economy of language" in India in an attempt to account for some of the differences between the imagination of language in the domain of the political in modern India and in modern Europe. And Sheldon Pollock's theorization of Indian literary culture depended on identifying and understanding its internal structure and principles, among which is the principle of "literary language as a closed set."[10]

I am not claiming that the language order of premodern India is absolutely unique or exceptional. What I am claiming, however, is that it is important not to assume that any particular framework that was developed in and for the modern West will completely account for the ordering of language practices in premodern India. The idea of a language order allows us to remain theory-neutral and prevents us from being theoretically naïve. A survey of the wide range of phenomena that linguistic anthropologists have placed under the rubric of "language ideology" shows, first of all, that hardly any of this work addresses the non-modern non-West, and secondly, that much of this work attempts to reduce the organization of language to putatively more basic categories such as prestige, distinction, legitimacy, and identity.[11] Whether or not this reductive maneuver is justified by the facts in a given case, the ways in which language is imbricated in social and political life does need to be carefully recovered from the facts rather than assumed as a given. There is no default language order.[12]

In the exploration of what language is, and what it means, in the non-modern non-West, we must not assume "a victory, or the right to a victory" for those concepts that have become thoroughly

---

[10]  Kaviraj (1992); Pollock (2003, 2006b).

[11]  Modern social science has naturalized these categories to the extent that they are used constantly and promiscuously in Indological scholarship, often without recognition of or attention to the domains and problems through which they were theorized in the first place (thus it has become common to speak of Sanskrit language practices "legitimating" political power without reference to Weber, or of Sanskrit language practices serving the purposes of "distinction" without reference to Bourdieu).

[12]  For language ideology, see Woolard and Schieffelin (1994); for philology as a corrective to modern social theory, see Pollock (2006b: 497–524).

naturalized in the modern West. This quote betrays that my own thinking about language orders has been guided by a broadly Foucauldian perspective, especially as applied to language by Naoki Sakai. I think of language orders as "discursive spaces" in which the production of texts is "controlled and dominated by presupposed conditions" which are, however, immanent in the discursive spaces themselves and not tyrannically imposed upon them from without; the spaces accommodate "regimes of narrating, reciting, listening, writing, reading, and translating and writing," each of these a "set of protocols and rules" that determine how these actions are to be performed.[13]

## The Prakrit Archive

Prakrit is one of the classical languages of India. Although the term "classical" is not particularly well-defined, and can invite some controversy, I invoke it here as a heuristic. To say that Prakrit is classical is to say, among other things, that it was the language of a longstanding literary tradition; that this tradition was central to the conceptualization of the literary; that this tradition represents a wide range of genres and disciplines, and it had a wide extension through time and space. The tradition of Prakrit literature examined here began in the 1st century CE and endured until the early 13th century, or in a more limited capacity, until the 18th century. Its forms were carefully described in about a dozen premodern grammars. And it was cultivated by learned people throughout and beyond India: certainly from Kashmir to Tamil Nadu, and from Sindh to Bengal, and it was at least known, if not studied, in Cambodia and Java as well.[14]

---

[13]   Foucault (2009 [1961]: xxviii); Sakai (1992: 4–5); Sakai (2009: 77). For the regimentation of discursive practices in classical India, see Pollock (1989).

[14]   A verse in praise of Yaśovarman of Ankor (ca. 900 CE) refers to a Prakrit court epic by Pravarasena (Barth 1885: 254 [434]e, LVII B v. 7): *yena pravarasena dharmasetuṃ vivṛṇvatā* (ed. *vivṛṇvata*) | *paraḥ pravaraseno 'pi jitaḥ prākṛtasetukṛt* || "He, called Pravarasena because of his excellent army, produced a Bridge of Dharma, and thereby conquered that other Pravarasena who merely produced a common bridge" (with a pun on both *pravarasena-* and *prākṛtasetu-*, both "a common bridge" and "the *Bridge* in Prakrit."

Sanskrit is typically and rightly thought of as *the* classical language of South Asia, answering to many of the same functions that Greek and Latin and Arabic answered to in their own worlds. But Sanskrit shared its classical status with Prakrit. It was not an even split by any means, even when we factor in the many Prakrit texts that have been lost, but Prakrit nevertheless formed a crucial component of the sphere of literate textuality in premodern India. It was explicitly recognized alongside Sanskrit as one of the very few languages in which literary texts could be composed, and it is represented in all of the classical literary genres: single-verse lyrics (*muktaka-*), courtly epics (*mahākāvya-*) both fictional and historical, drama (*nāṭya-*), romances in prose and verse (*kathā-*), and legends (*purāṇa-*).

For many authors, Prakrit texts were the shining examples of what literature could and should be, sometimes even outshining their Sanskrit counterparts. It was with a Prakrit verse that Ānandavardhana, in the 9th century, introduced his revolutionary concept of "suggestion." The verse came from what was then as now the best-known collection of Prakrit poetry, the *Seven Centuries* (ca. 1st c. CE).[15]

> *bhama dhammia vīsattho so suṇao ajja mārio teṇa*
> *golāaḍa-viaḍa-kuḍuṃga-vāsiṇā daria-sīheṇa*
>
> Go your rounds freely, gentle monk,
> the little dog is gone.
> Just today from the thickets by the Godā
> came a fearsome lion and killed him.

Ānandavardhana cited this verse for the simple reason that what is "suggested," namely that the monk should fear for his life, is the opposite of what is actually stated, namely that the monk should go about his business without a care. For sensitive readers knew, in accordance with longstanding conventions for reading Prakrit poetry, that the speaker was a woman trying to get a flower-picking

---

[15] W175 in the *Seven Centuries* (in general I cite verses from Weber's edition of the text and using his numeration); *Light on Suggestion* p. 16 (Kāvyamālā ed.); see Ingalls et al. (1990: 83), whose translation I cannot improve upon. The date of the anthology is discussed in chapter 3.

monk away from the place where she had arranged to meet her lover.[16] This verse would continue to be discussed for centuries after Ānandavardhana by those seeking to refute or reinforce his theories.[17] And Ānandavardhana would write a whole poem in Prakrit, the *God of Five Arrows at Play*, now lost), to exemplify his new theorization of literature.

The lyrics of the *Seven Centuries* helped to establish Prakrit as a literary language, and indeed helped to establish the category of "literary language" itself. Over the next several centuries, Prakrit texts such as *Rāvaṇa's Demise* by the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena II (early 5th c.) would become one of the models for the courtly epic, rich in description and poetic tours-de-force. The genre of the story (*kathā*), in particular, would be defined principally through its Prakrit exemplars, such as the *Story of Samarāditya* and the *Līlāvatī* (both ca. 8th c.). Prakrit was also used extensively in Indian theater. Its mimetic function there is well-known: it represents the speech of those who, for various reasons, are not to be represented as speaking in Sanskrit. But Prakrit's use in the theater is also closely linked to its use outside the theater for lyric poetry, riddles, jokes, and songs. Consider the example that Bhoja provides of Prakrit speech in his *Necklace of Sarasvatī* (*Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*, 11th c.):

> *tujjha ṇa jāṇe hiaaṃ maha uṇa maaṇo divā vi rattiṃ va |*
> *nigghiṇa tavaï balīṇaṃ tui juttamanorahāi aṃgāiṃ ||*

> I do not know your heart.
> But as for me, cruel one,
>    love torments my body,
>    wracked with longing for you,
>    ever more severely
>    day and night.[18]

---

[16] So Abhinavagupta (in his *Eye* commentary on Ānandavardhana's *Light*) and Ratnākara (who reproduces Abhinavagupta's notes in his explanation of all of the Prakrit verses cited in Ānandavardhana's *Light*, discussed in Masson and Patwardhan 1974). See also Dundas (1985: 17).

[17] By Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, an unknown theorist referred to in Abhinavagupta's *Eye*, Abhinavagupta himself, Mahimabhaṭṭa, and Mammaṭa. Bhoja's discussion of the verse is unconnected from the controversy surrounding Ānandavardhana's *Light*.

This is one of the key moments in the most famous Sanskrit play, Kālidāsa's *Recognition of Śakuntalā* (*Abhijñānaśakuntala* 3.13). When Śakuntalā is encouraged to write something to Duṣyanta, with whom she has fallen in love, this is what she produces: a verse in Prakrit in a mora-counting meter (*gīti*), exactly as we would encounter in the *Seven Centuries*. For the present purposes, it is enough to recognize that Śakuntalā's verse is not an imitation of speech, but an intertextual link to a world of love poetry in Prakrit.

As a language of systematic knowledge, Prakrit's scope was more limited. But in light of Sanskrit's near-total dominance of this domain, it is remarkable that Prakrit was used at all. We notice, first of all, that Prakrit was employed as the language of systematic knowledge about Prakrit itself: in grammar and lexicography, in metrics, and in the analysis of figures of speech. These are all discourses about literature, for it was the grammar and lexicon of literary texts, and not of everyday life, that they were concerned with. And although Sanskrit eventually supplanted Prakrit in most of these discourses, they complicate the story of Sanskrit as the exclusive language through which literary culture theorized itself. There are, besides, Prakrit texts on a range of "practical" subjects, ranging from alchemy and medicine to prognostication and gemology. One example is *Hara's Belt* by Mādhuka (*Haramekhalā*, 10th c.), a wide-ranging compendium of procedures (*yogamālā*).[19]

Besides being used for literary and scientific texts, Prakrit was used for religious purposes above all by the Jains, and it is largely as a "Jain language" that Prakrit is studied today. The boundaries between these three categories—literary, scientific, and religious—are fuzzy, but we can point to a number of key genres in this last category: the profusion of commentary on Jain canonical literature; stories meant to inculcate Jain virtues; stories about important Jain figures, legendary and historical; hymns

---

[18]   *Necklace of Sarasvatī* 2.17, the second example (p. 144).

[19]   Although the use of Prakrit in these domains still stands in need of explanation, it is notable that they are the same domains in which vernacular texts would later appear; see Pollock (2011: 29), and Jain (2004: 425–478), Bhattacharyya (1947), and Chintamani (1971).

to the founders of the religion; and systematic expositions of Jain doctrine. But Prakrit is hardly the only language that Jains used, nor did only the Jains use Prakrit for religious purposes: there are, for example, Śaiva *tantra*s and Vaiṣṇava devotional poems in Prakrit as well.[20]

Beyond being cultivated by members of disparate religious traditions, Prakrit was the language of a literature in which religious differences disappeared. It was, as Rājaśekhara and Bhoja said of literature more generally, non-sectarian.[21] No genre represented this better than the anthology or "treasury" (*kośa-*). Prakrit anthologies were produced by Brahmans (*Seven Centuries*), Buddhists (*The Brilliance of the Connoisseurs* [*Rasikaprakāśana*]), and Jains (*Topical Anthology* [*Vajjālagga*]), and it is only a slight exaggeration to say that, but for the invocations and colophons, we would not be able to identify the religious identity of their authors. It is no exaggeration at all in the case of the author of the 13th-century *Message Poem* (*Sandeśarāsaka*), who calls himself "the lotus of his family in Prakrit poetry": only his hint that his family comes from "the land of the Muslims" allows us to decode the Prakrit name he gives us, Addahamāṇa, as ʿAbd-ur-Raḥmān.[22]

Participants in the literary culture of India viewed Prakrit literature as an "inexhaustible treasury" that they held in common: after an initial investment by classical authors of the early first millennium, its resources—themes, figures, turns of phrase, even whole verses—were continually drawn down and replenished by poets, anthologists, and literary theorists. For example, the Jain monk Jineśvara included in his *Treasury of Gāthā-Jewels* (1194 CE) verses that had been circulating, in and outside of such anthologies, for nearly a thousand years. Jineśvara had no hesitation whatsoever about including

---

[20] See, for example, Cox (2006) and Hopkins (2002). For Jain literature in Prakrit one can consult (besides Jain 1961 and 2004) G. C. Chaudhari's *Jaina Sāhitya kā Bṛhad Itihāsa* (1973).

[21] Bhoja (11th c.) in *Illumination of the Erotic*, p. 398: *sāhityasya sarvapārṣadatvāt* (Pollock 2006b: 430 n. 103); Bhoja is adapting Rājaśekhara, *Analysis of Literature* p. 38: *sarvapārṣadatvāt kāvyavidyāyāḥ*.

[22] *Message Poem*, vv. 3 (*micchadeso*), 4 (*kulakamalo pāiyakavvesu*), 6 (*avahaṭṭha-sakkaya-pāiyaṃmi pesāiyaṃmi bhāsāe | lakkhaṇachaṃdāharaṇe sukaïttaṃ bhūsiyaṃ jehiṃ ||*).

verses in praise of Viṣṇu and Śiva in his collection.[23]

My heuristic definition of the classical omitted one important aspect: "when we call something classical, there is a consciousness of something enduring, of significance that cannot be lost and that is independent of all the circumstances of time—a kind of timeless present that is contemporaneous with every other present."[24] I maintain that this was once true of Prakrit literature. The *Seven Centuries*, for example, was a classical text in precisely this way, being read and commented upon and recreated for upwards of two millennia. But is it still true today?

To describe the state of Prakrit today, we might paraphrase what a medieval Jain monk said about one of the classics of Prakrit literature, the 1st- or 2nd c. *Taraṅgavatī* by Pādalipta: nobody recites it, nobody asks for it to be recited, nobody talks about it; it has become the exclusive preserve of scholars; nobody else can do anything with it.[25] Even people who work on premodern Indian literature are sometimes surprised to hear that whole texts were composed in Prakrit: if they think of it at all, they think of it as a mild deformation of Sanskrit used exclusively in theatrical contexts. And even the Prakrit portions of plays are always read in the Sanskrit translations that are always printed alongside them, or sometimes even instead of them. In circumstances like these, the complex intertextuality of the verse from the *Recognition of Śakuntalā* mentioned above (p. 9) will inevitably fall flat. But Kālidāsa is lucky to have his texts read at all in the 21st century. The same cannot be said of Pādalipta, whose *Taraṅgavatī* is lost, or Vairocana, whose *Brilliance of the Connoisseurs* remains unpublished. Even *Rāvaṇa's Demise* by Pravarasena struggles to find readers today, despite the fact that the Mughal emperor Akbar personally requested for this classic text to be explained at his court. Although this text and two commentaries on it have been published, I know of almost no critical scholarship on

---

[23]  "Inexhaustible treasury" was how Bāṇabhaṭṭa (7th c.) described the *Seven Centuries* (*Deeds of Harṣa*, v. 12).

[24]  Gadamer (2004 [1960]: 288).

[25]  See p. 116.

it.[26] Discerning readers of this dissertation will notice that much of the scholarship I engage with dates from the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and this is because scholars like Hermann Jacobi and George Grierson have often had the last word on these issues.

Prakrit is even more vulnerable than other classical languages to the various processes by which modernity dismisses, discounts, marginalizes, and fetishizes the non-modern. Take, for example, the official designation of "classical languages" that the Government of India has, since 2003, bestowed upon Tamil, Sanskrit, Kannada, Telugu, Malayalam, and Odia. Prakrit is missing from this list and likely will remain missing for some time. One reason for its absence is that it does not stand for a regional, national, ethnic or even a religious identity, which might serve as a bulwark against being forgotten. Prakrit texts are "homeless texts"; they figure in no-one's cultural politics and there is no-one to whom they belong.[27] A handful of attempts to make Prakrit a more important component of Jain religious education are exceptions which prove the rule.[28] Another reason is that Prakrit is so deeply embedded within Sanskrit culture. It is widely seen as a dialect of Sanskrit, with the implication that it fails to be a language in the full sense of the word. The Sanskrit "shadow" (*chāyā*) that is printed with Prakrit texts is not an invention of modernity, but reflects reading practices that go back at least a thousand years; translation, and particularly translation into Sanskrit, has long been one of Prakrit's conditions of intelligibility.

---

[26] The scholarship on the *Rāvaṇa's Demise* is represented, if not exhausted, by very focused linguistic studies (Roy 1989, 1998) and philological remarks (van Daalen 1991), and a desultory comment on the opening section (Boccali 2005).

[27] For "homeless texts" see Tavakoli-Targhi (2001: 8–15).

[28] The more successful examples are Syādvāda Mahāvidyālaya in Benares, founded in 1905, and the National Institute for Prakrit Studies and Research in Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa, founded in 1991.

# Unlocking the Language Order

If Prakrit is indeed a "minor" language in a certain sense—whether that means being a subordinate part of a language order dominated by Sanskrit, or constituting a minority of textual production in premodern India—it is nevertheless a grave mistake to equate "minor" with "unimportant": "there is nothing that is major or revolutionary," Deleuze and Guattari claimed, "except the minor."[29] Prakrit gives us an opportunity to reconceptualize and rehistoricize the language order of premodern India. It is the most important Indian language you've never heard of.

What we think of as the literature of classical India—its genres, its styles, its figuration, its tropes, and most of all the languages in which it was composed—exists within a framework that Prakrit texts played a crucial role in establishing. One of the organizing features of this framework was the contrast between Sanskrit and Prakrit, which gave each its name. This dichotomy came to inhere in the concept of language itself: to write a text in classical India meant to write it not just in language, but in a language. Any system of signs could be language, but only a well-defined cultural practice—defined, that is, by the exhaustive dichotomy of Sanskrit and Prakrit—could be *a* language. To simplify the picture slightly, prior to the 1st and 2nd century CE, the limited evidence that coins and inscriptions make available to us presents a continuum of Indic and Dravidian languages, but we have very little evidence for the names of these languages, or how people otherwise distinguished them. But after the 2nd century, in order to count as a text at all, a text had to be written in one of a small set of languages that were named and defined in relation to each other, and by far the most important of these languages were Sanskrit and Prakrit.

Prakrit was a very different kind of language than Sanskrit, however. Prakrit was essentially "in-between": neither Sanskrit, the preferred language of learned discourse, nor a regional vernacular; this is why the threefold schema, such as we find it in Mīrzā Khān, is so often invoked. It was also

---

[29]    Deleuze and Guattari (1986: 26).

ambiguous, being at once the language of a sophisticated and courtly literature and the language used to mimetically represent the speech of the uncourtly, unlearned, and unsophisticated. For these very reasons it was, and remains, important for thinking about the tensions inherent in textual language practices: between the ideal of a transregional discourse and the ineluctable imprint of the regional; between the discursive figure of the author and the social figure of the speaker; between being circulated and being read, spoken and understood.

The significance of Prakrit lies, further, in its role in the major historical articulations of language orders in India: specifically, the formation of the "Sanskrit cosmopolis" around the 2nd c. CE, and the process of vernacularization that began, or at least began in earnest, around the 9th c. CE.[30] I have already alluded to Prakrit's role in ushering in what is widely considered the "classical" period of Indian literature, a role that I believe has been vastly underestimated. Scholars have largely looked for the origins of classical literature (*kāvya*) in Sanskrit alone, either tracing its genealogy back to texts of Vedic Sanskrit, or positing a dramatic repurposing of Sanskrit from the liturgical to the expressive. Sometimes they have reached back into the Pāli texts of the Buddhist canon.[31] I will take up an old but mostly-forgotten suggestion that *kāvya* began as *kavva*, and that Sanskrit learned to be poetic from Prakrit.[32] My argument turns not so much on the chronological priority of Prakrit literature to Sanskrit literature, which remains doubtful in any case, but on the clear evidence that the constitutive features of *kāvya*/*kavva* in its earliest stages easily and frequently crossed the boundaries between these languages, and indeed other languages, such as Tamil.

Prakrit is similarly underappreciated as a catalyst of, and model for, the process of vernacularization.

---

[30] The historical framework is Sheldon Pollock's (1996; 1998; 2006b).

[31] For reviews of the "origins of *kāvya*" question, see Pollock (2006b: 77*ff.*), focusing on an ethnohistorical moment of invention in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*; Jamison (2004), focusing on the continuities between *kāvya* and the *Ṛg Veda*; Boccali (1999) and Rossella (2011), focusing on the *Songs of the Buddhist Monks and Nuns* in Pali.

[32] Garrez (1872).

15

I argue that Prakrit provided the regional vernaculars with the concepts with which to theorize themselves, including the concept of the regional itself (*deśya* or *deśī*). As profound as the differences are between Prakrit and the vernaculars in terms of the cultural work that each performed, it was often the case that the vernaculars were able to do this work at all because of the example of Prakrit. Further, we can distinguish between two groups of languages that followed very different trajectories of vernacularization based on their relationship to Prakrit.[33] Southern languages like Kannada and Telugu represented themselves in place of Prakrit in the framework that they took over from Prakrit grammar; Javanese, too, appears to fit into this group, but Tamil and Malayalam form a group somewhat apart because of their reliance on an independent Tamil grammatical tradition. Northern languages, by contrast, represented themselves as largely continuous with Apabhraṃśa, a language that was in turn largely continuous with Prakrit (I will consider it an "iteration" of Prakrit on p. 192). So long as they could be accommodated into these older categories, newer categories of self-definition more specific than simply "language" (*bhāṣā*) were rarely devised, and in stark contrast to the South, grammars— which depend upon and rearticulate such categorial distinctions—were never written.

## New Modalities of Language

This dissertation is not an attempt to translate the concepts and practices of language prevalent in premodern India into the terms in which we in the 21st century have grown accustomed to speaking of them. I offer a biography of Prakrit in part as a critique of some of the ways of thinking about language that are available to us, both within academic disciplines and beyond them into our own "vernaculars. We have many ready-made categories that are reflected in the adjectives that we frequently put before the word "language": literary, spoken, natural, artificial, vulgar, refined, technical, vernacular,

---

[33] For more on these two groups, see chapter 7.

cosmopolitan, national, prestige, elite, courtly, religious, and so on. But Prakrit stubbornly refuses to fit in most of them, or it fits into categories that we imagine to be mutually exclusive: the debate over its "artificiality," discussed below (p. 24), is a case in point. This intractability suggests that the major traditions of modern thought about language don't provide sufficient resources to theorize what Prakrit was. And this doubt naturally leads us to wonder whether the same traditions come up short when it comes to other languages—even the ones they they are most closely concerned with.

Let me be clear about what those major traditions of modern thought about language are. The history and structure of language are the domain of linguistics. The variation of language across social differentials is the province of sociolinguistics. Cultural attitudes about language are studied by linguistic anthropology. Literary history is probably most concerned with the use of language in literary texts, or what I will be calling textual language practices, and at an earlier time, philology had similar concerns. All of these traditions share an ontology of language which is basically historicist (language is a thing that exists in, and inevitably changes over the course of, history) and which awards primacy to speech instead of writing (speech is a first-order, and writing a second-order, system of signs). There have been searching critiques of this ontology, but no serious alternatives have been offered.[34] Most problematically, although we have a descriptive *notion* of literary language—the kinds of language that are used in literary texts—this ontology leaves no space for a *theory* of literary language.[35] There is language itself and its use in a literary text. The theory of the former is linguistics; the theory of the latter is rhetoric or stylistics. But what if there was no "language itself" apart from its use in a literary text?

Prakrit in particular, and the language order of premodern India in general, represents a challenge to these widespread assumptions. Whatever spoken language it might have been "based on," and

---

[34]    I am thinking of the critique of Rousseau and Saussure in Derrida (1997 [1976]).

[35]    Tambling (1988).

17

whatever this might mean, the practices of Prakrit for over a thousand years were *literary* practices. It is certainly not reducible to "Middle Indic" speech, as I will argue below (p. 27); hence it cannot be considered a "vernacular" in the usual sense of the word.[36] Let's provisionally adopt the model of social-scientific approaches to language, in which features of language practices are a "dependent variables" that need to be reduced to and thereby explained by an "independent variable." In the case of Prakrit, what could these independent variables be? It was never a national language, and it never possessed the kind of extension and boundaries that such languages are supposed to have. Nor was it the language of state administration, nor was it ever controlled by state institutions. It was never anyone's "mother tongue," and nobody ever thought of it as such; certainly nobody burned themselves in the street, or fasted unto death, for Prakrit.[37] It was never the language of intersectarian dialogue, and only rarely that of learned discussion. And it was a scriptural language only for a small minority— and even for them it was not the only such language.

How did it come to pass that in such a language, minor or not, literature would be written and studied by people of all religious persuasions throughout all of South Asia for a period of more than fifteen hundred years? Or more importantly, how *could* this come to pass? How must a culture think of language, how must it organize it and determine it and articulate it in systematic knowledge, in order to do such things with it? Clearly a theory of this kind of literary language would not merely treat it as a "modification" of spoken language for literary purposes, as it is usually conceived, but as a language that does not stand in need of spoken language at all either for its being or for its being-known, and as a language that properly belongs to a literary culture rather than to a community of speakers defined on social, religious, or political lines.

---

[36] Although Prakrit is very often conflated with vernacular speech, both in premodernity (see p. 105) and by modern scholars (e.g., Granoff 1989b: 330.

[37] As people did in Tamil Nadu to protest compulsory Hindi education (Ramaswamy 1997: 1) or demand the formation of a state for Telugu-speaking regions (Mitchell 2009: 1).

# Natural and Cultural Histories of Language

There are many avenues through which we might approach Prakrit, although two in particular seem to have taken on the status of exhaustive and exclusive alternatives. I am often asked whether I study the language *or* the literature. I am aware that this dissertation will appear to be a literary study. But above all I refuse the alternatives. In order to ask questions about the Prakrit language, one must first know what the Prakrit language is, where it is, how it is; one must know what it means for Prakrit to be a language. And in order to ask questions about Prakrit literature, one must know what this thing called "Prakrit" that qualifies and unifies it actually is.

These are not idle questions. There are major controversies regarding what I will call the "accessibility" of Prakrit: one has to do with accessing it through a very imperfect manuscript tradition, and the other with accessing it through the *ipsissima verba* of Prakrit texts. Both would seem to be problems of very narrow philological interest, but they reveal the fragile basis on which our knowledge of Prakrit rests. And they cast the literary–linguistic dichotomy in a new light. The linguistic perspective largely presupposes the historicist ontology of language mentioned above, and it tends to produce what I will call a natural history of language. It is much less clear whether the literary perspective has a commitment to a particular ontology of language; my impression is that "literary" in this context simply means "not linguistic." But this perspective does not produce a history *of* language in any case; language is an attribute of the literary texts that are the real subjects. What the dichotomy excludes is the model that I believe is most appropriate for understanding Prakrit—that of a cultural history of language.

The first question of accessibility is whether the Prakrit text transmitted in the manuscripts available to us accurately represents the text that the author himself wrote. Should the transmitted text be emended on the basis of our knowledge of what Prakrit is "supposed" to look like? Or—given that this knowledge is necessarily derived from other texts transmitted in manuscript form—is the

impulse to emend circular and hubristic?

One thing that was never in dispute is that the transmitted texts range from inaccurate to incomprehensible.[38] Knowledge of Prakrit was evidently far more difficult for scribes to come by than knowledge of Sanskrit in the period in which most of our manuscripts were produced, that is, between 1300 and 1800, and in many cases scribes clearly had no idea what they were copying. Furthermore, like Sanskrit, Prakrit was written in a variety of regional scripts, and each region, and sometimes each community, had its own orthographic conventions. The 18th-century scholar Ghanaśyāma complained loudly about a confluence of scribal error and scholarly cluelessness in one of his commentaries: instead of reading a circular mark as a sign of nasalization, "self-styled scholars" read it as a sign of consonantal doubling, and made censorious comments on the basis of their misreading.[39]

The question was thus not whether to emend the texts, but how, and in particular, whether we should revise the Prakrit of the manuscripts so that it matches the descriptions found in premodern grammars of Prakrit. In 1894, Theodor Bloch proposed to dispense with the Prakrit grammarians entirely: he argued that they could not be trusted to correctly describe the language of texts that were written centuries before them. He was criticized by scholars such as Sten Konow, Richard Pischel,

---

[38] There are exceptions: Viśvanātha, the 17th-century scribe of the *Moonlight of the Essence of the Bridge*, a synthetic commentary on *Rāvaṇa's Demise* (also known as the *Building of the Bridge*), was clearly well-acquainted with Prakrit. In the Jaisalmer collections there are several old manuscripts that were revised and corrected by scholars such as Pradyumna Sūri (mid-13th c.) who were similarly well-acquainted with Prakrit. But I can attest that these are exceptions.

[39] Ghanaśyāma, *The River of Amazement*: "Some self-styled scholars have made the mistake of reading the Prakrit phrase *viddhasālabhajjiā* instead of *viddhasālabhaṃjiā* on account of their belief that the circle on top of the letter, which usually represents nasalization, is a scribal mistake in some of the manuscripts for a circle to the side of the letter that represent the doubling of the consonant, and understanding this phrase as 'the wife and the brother-in-law that has been beat up' (*viddha-syāla-bharyā*), they claim that it is out of character with the poet, with the sentiment of the play, and with what actually happens in the play, as well as indecent. But they have wasted their time with this debate, since their theory is contradicted by Vicakṣaṇā's line in the third act, in which she says 'a statue (*śālabhañjikā*) was created,' and hence the title of the play is *Viddhasālabhaṃjiā*, 'The Pierced Statue.'" (*kvacit pustaka-prasūtyantareṣu lekhaka-hasta-doṣa-vaśād akṣara-mastaka-pārśvānusvāra-dvitva-vyañjaka-bindu-viśvāsena viddha-sāla-[bhajji]ā iti prākṛta-bhāṣā-pāṭham āśaṃkya viddha-syāla-bharyeti kavi-bhāva-nāṭikārtha-viruddham asaṃgataṃ ca vadanti paṇḍita[ṃ]manyāḥ kecid. bhrānta-pratiyoginas tu tucchāḥ, tṛtīyāṅka-praveśake "tadanuvādinī sālabhaṃjīā nimmāvidā" iti vicakṣaṇā-vākya-virodhād iti dik. tathā ca viddha-sālabhaṃjieti nāma yasyāḥ*).

20

and Alfred Hillebrandt who argued—although not precisely in these terms—that the knowledge systematized in Prakrit grammars reflects the same knowledge that the authors of Prakrit texts actually possessed.[40]

The discovery of manuscripts of a number of previously unknown Sanskrit and Prakrit plays at the beginning of the 20th century put the problem into focus. Several scholars ascribed these plays to Bhāsa, an early playwright (4th c. CE or earlier) of whom there are no other extant works. Does the Prakrit of these manuscripts, which diverges in several respects from the Prakrit taught by the grammarians and from the Prakrit of other plays, really represent an older stage of the language? The early presumption was that these manuscripts do indeed transmit an "archaic" variety of Prakrit which corroborates the ascription to Bhāsa. But recent work has shown that many of the alleged archaisms of "Bhāsa's Prakrit" appear in the manuscript tradition of other plays, and above all in South Indian manuscripts. These features have generally been edited out of the other plays, however, precisely because they conflict with the statements of the Prakrit grammarians.[41] The common wisdom now is to collect and report all of the possible manuscript evidence, and then to "chart a navigable course" between the manuscripts and the grammarians, although there are very few examples of what such a course would look like in practice.[42]

Let us suppose that we have an autograph copy of a Prakrit text, such as Rājaśekhara's *Karpūramañjarī* (early 10th c.). Is the language in front of us Prakrit?

Not necessarily. Rājaśekhara might have made mistakes, and mistakes are only possible if there is a standard exogenous to the text against which the language of the text can be judged. In the context

---

[40] Bloch (1893) and the critical review of Konow (1894), which refers to Hoernle (1873: 210); Pischel (1981 [1900]: §22); Hillebrandt (1984 [1912]).

[41] Printz (1921). See A. N. Upadhye's n. 35 in the introduction to *Kaṃsa's Demise*) and the work of Anna Aurelia Esposito (2004; 2008; 2010b; 2010a).

[42] von Hinüber (2001: §59), "zwischen den Handschriften und den Grammatikern einen gangbaren Mittelweg zu suchen." See also Steiner (1997: 157–208) and Steiner (2001), echoing Hoernle (1873: 210).

of our example, one such standard would be Prakrit grammar. The eminent Prakrit grammarian Mārkaṇḍeya (later 16th c.) faulted Rājaśekhara's Prakrit, and in 1901 Sten Konow accused Rājaśekhara of "confusing" two dialects of Prakrit, when in fact he should have his characters speak Māhārāṣṭrī in verse and Śaurasenī in prose. But how do we know that this principle, which was enunciated by Viśvanātha in the 14th c., would have been intelligible to, much less binding upon, Rājaśekhara in the 10th? Rājaśekhara himself never distinguishes between Māhārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī, but instead imagines Prakrit as one language, or at least one kind of language, alongside Sanskrit, Apabhraṃśa, and Paiśācī.[43]

This example simply illustrates the uncertainty we enter into once we begin to consider standards of language use exogenous to the text. The grammarians are one such standard, but really they are only a proxy for the language practices that they codify and thus enshrine as normative. These are, I argue, not conversational but textual practices; the language the grammarians sought to describe was that of the earliest classics of Prakrit literature, such as the *Seven Centuries* and *Rāvaṇa's Demise*. Is this, finally, Prakrit?

I think we need to say "yes" to this question, but I think there is also a fair amount of disappointment with this answer. On the one hand, texts such as the *Seven Centuries*, with its sympathetic vignettes of village life, appear to offer a window onto the real language practices of real people.[44] On the other hand, they only appear to do so: they are, after all, still texts, and most of them are courtly and sophisticated texts. George Grierson, one of the most influential philologists of

---

[43]  See Mārkaṇḍeya's *Sum-Total of Prakrit* 3.77, and Konow (2007 [1901]: 202); on the latter, see Ghosh's edition (the avowed purpose of which is to correct Konow's unwarranted interventions in the text) and Salomon (1982); *Mirror of Literature* 6.158*cd*–159: "Men who are not low, whose souls are purified (*saṃskṛta-*), speak Sanskrit; women of that status should use Śaurasenī, but they should use Mahārāṣṭrī in verses" (*puruṣāṇām anīcānāṃ saṃskṛtaṃ saṃskṛtātmanām | śaurasenī prayoktavyā tādṛśīnāṃ ca yoṣitām | āsām eva tu gāthāsu mahārāṣṭrīṃ prayojayet*). See p. 188 regarding Rājaśekhara's fourfold model of language.

[44]  And this was the view of the first generation of European scholars to read Prakrit: "Volkssprache" (Westergaard 1862: 86), "volkstümliche Charakter" (Weber 1870: 14).

his era and the director of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, framed the question as follows:

> Unfortunately we cannot accept this literature as illustrating the actual vernaculars on which it was founded. To adapt them to literary purposes the writers altered them in important particulars, omitting what they considered vulgar, reducing wild luxuriance to classical uniformity, and thus creating altogether artificial products suited for that artificial literature which has ever been so popular in India. These literary Prakrits cannot, therefore, be considered as representing the actual speech of the people at any epoch, although they are based on it, and a veil is drawn by them between us and it which it is not always easy to lift.[45]

Grierson was not the first to distinguish between literary Prakrit and "real vernaculars." But his views can be taken as representative of a philological tradition that persists to this day. Essential to the Griersonian vision is that literary languages can be used as evidence for reconstructing the "real" languages that underlie them, so long as we are sensitive to the distortions that literary languages introduce. Grierson confusingly called these "real" languages Prakrits as well: "For centuries the Aryan vernacular language of India has been called Prakrit, *prākṛita*, i.e., the natural, unartificial language, as opposed to Sanskrit, *saṁskṛita*, the polished, artificial, language."[46] Prakrit, the language of our texts, thus becomes an imperfect sign for Prakrit, the languages that are imagined to exist prior to it, both conceptually and historically. If this seems like a contradiction, then all we need is time: "Originally Prākrits were the spoken languages of the people and their true vernaculars," A. M. Ghatage wrote in 1936. "In course of time they were refined and polished greatly with the help of the grammarians and they were made suitable for literary expression."[47]

There may seem to be a great deal of prevarication (not to speak of Orientalism) in Grierson's conception of Prakrit: Prakrit is what the timeless Indians have always called their unartificial language;

---

[45]   Grierson (1927: 123).

[46]   Grierson (1927: 121).

[47]   Ghatage (2000: 105 = Ghatage 1936).  Ghatage is echoing the idea of "literarische Ausbildung" that was earlier formulated by, e.g., Bloch (1893: 12). See also the quotation from Rudolf Hoernle below (p. 122).

it is also, by a constitutive contrast with this first sense, the artificial language in which they have composed the artificial poetry they all like so much. Yet Grierson was in good company when he considered Prakrit to be an "artificial" language. Felix Lacôte noted in 1908 that "the Prakrits, in the strict sense which the grammarians give to this term, have no linguistic reality, or more precisely, they only have an indirect one."[48] To be spoken is to be real. To be written, and especially to be written in accordance with a complex of literary and grammatical conventions, is to be artificial. "From the moment they started writing in Prakrit," wrote Jules Bloch in 1914, "the authors were prisoners of the literary and grammatical tradition."[49]

If a language is "linguistically real" to the extent that it represents the language that people really spoke, then Prakrit clearly poses a problem. Take the example of Uddyotana's novel *Kuvalayamālā* of 779 CE. In a well-known bazaar scene, the narrator quotes small bits of eighteen different languages, some of which sound remarkably similar to the spoken languages of today, and none of which remotely resemble the the language of narration throughout the text that Uddyotana himself identifies as Prakrit.[50] It may well be the case that the gap between Prakrit and a "real" spoken language was smaller in the 1st century than it was in the 8th. But even then, Prakrit only allows us to speak in a very vague and speculative way about the "real" language or languages on which it is based. And this, scholars widely concluded, is a shame. If Prakrit doesn't allow us to make substantive claims about the "real" languages of India, then what good is it?

At the beginning of his *Grammar of the Prakrit Languages* (1900), which remains the standard reference work, Richard Pischel observed:

---

[48]  Lacôte (1908: 42): "Ainsi, les prâkrits, au sens étroit que donnent les grammairiens à ce terme, n'ont pas de réalité linguistique, ou, plus exactement, il n'en ont qu'une indirecte." The chapter in which Lacôte writes this is called "Caractère artificiel des prâkrits."

[49]  Besides Bloch (1970 [1914]: 15), see Konow (1894: 473, "Das litteräre Prakrit ist meiner Ueberzeugung nach nie eine lebendige Sprache gewesen") and Konow (2007 [1901]: 191).

[50]  *Kuvalayamālā* §246 (pp. 152–153).

> The Prakrit languages are thus "artificial languages" (*Kunstsprachen*) insofar as they have been significantly modified by poets for literary purposes. But they are not "artificial languages" if it is thereby meant that they are whole-cloth fabrications of the poets. Entirely the same account applies to them as to Sanskrit, which was neither itself the general language of everyday life (*allgemeine Umgangssprache*) of educated Indians, nor is based on such a language, but certainly harkens back to a dialect spoken by people that was, for reasons of politics or religious history, elevated to the status of a general literary language (*Litteratursprache*).[51]

I would unpack Pischel's telegraphic comments as follows: people expect Prakrit to be a popular language because it isn't Sanskrit, but it never was such a language; rather, we should think about Prakrit in *the same terms* in which we think about Sanskrit, namely, as a language that lives in its abundant literature. His comparison makes it clear that artificiality, however we understand it, is not unique to Prakrit, but constitutes a general condition of the languages of textuality in premodern India, and to some extent throughout the rest of the world. It has only become clearer since Pischel's time that whatever tradition we take up—the *Ṛgveda*, the Pāli canon of the Buddhists, the Ardhamāgadhī canon of the Jains—we are always dealing with a language that has been heavily redacted, revised, and transformed, both intentionally and unintentionally. Pischel's little-appreciated maneuver was to admit the artificiality of Prakrit provisionally, not to discount it as a "philologically worthless" sign of some other language, but to reappraise artificiality itself as an essential feature of the regimes of reading and writing that constitute Indian textuality in general.[52]

We can now distinguish two competing conceptions of language history. August Schleicher, one of the founders of comparative philology, represents the first:

---

[51]  Pischel (1900: §6); my translation differs slightly from Jha's (Pischel 1981 [1900]).

[52]  For Pāli, see von Hinüber (1982); for Ardhamāgadhī, see Jacobi (1884a). Pischel developed the idea of artificiality in conversation with other scholars in an early review (1873).

> Languages are organisms of nature; they have never been directed by the will of man; they rose, and developed themselves according to definite laws; they grew old, and died out. They, too, are subject to that series of phenomena which we embrace under the name of 'life'. The science of language is consequently a science of nature; its method is generally altogether the same as that of any other natural science.[53]

Schleicher advocates for a *natural history* of language, which tells the story of how languages change over time according to general laws, and crucially *not* according to human will. This is the history that philology and linguistics have attempted, and still attempt, to produce. Sanskrit and Prakrit can only ever furnish indirect evidence, important though it may be, in this kind of history. For they do not represent the spontaneously-evolving languages of common people, but fixed literary languages.[54]

The second conception is contained in Heinz Kloss' statement that "languages do not just grow and wither like plants."[55] Language is not just a natural object, but a cultural object. Language practices are cultural practices. And against those who claim that the *uses* of language are altogether distinct from the *structure* of a language itself, this perspective emphasizes that "languages themselves" are not immune to the categorizing, classifying, distinguishing, excluding, regularizing, and standardizing work of culture. Sanskrit and Prakrit can be the subjects of a cultural history of language, since they have been defined and deployed as cultural products all along. This approach does not ask how far the language of a given text can be used as evidence for a "real" language that exists outside of it, but what the real practices were that resulted in the text that we have in front of us. Cultural history complements natural history, but it also corrects it. It prevents us from speculating about

---

[53] Quoted in Crowley (1996: 11). One can also compare the titular metaphor of *The Life of Language* by William Dwight Whitney, a Sanskrit scholar who was instrumental in the establishment of linguistics as a discipline independent from philology.

[54] See Bubeník (1996: 15): "It is generally assumed that dramatic Prākrits do not represent the actual speech of the people they are supposed to typify. Nevertheless, they are based upon it and they remain for us pieces of valuable evidence regarding phonology, morphology and syntax of Middle Aryan dialects. This value diminishes with time." Along the same lines see Bloch (1970 [1914], 1965).

[55] Kloss (1967: 39).

"the linguistic situation" on the basis of naïve assumptions about the relationship between spoken language and written texts, and it encourages us to account for the linguistic parameters of cultural production: what kinds of languages were Sanskrit and Prakrit, how were they known and represented to the people who actually used them, and why are these languages—and virtually no others—used in literary texts for almost the entirety of the first millennium?

## Broad and Narrow Senses of "Prakrit"

In his *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Mâhârâshṭrî*, which was instrumental in introducing the wider scholarly public to Prakrit, Hermann Jacobi divided the "Indic languages"—or Indo-Aryan languages, as they are still somewhat unfortunately known in the English-speaking world—into three stages of development: Old Indic or Sanskrit, Middle Indic or Prakrit, and New Indic or Bhāṣā. The three-stage model is still generally accepted by linguists and philologists.[56]

Each stage has two names, which reflects Jacobi's commitments to the perspectives of both natural and cultural history. For "Old Indic," "Middle Indic," and "New Indic" are "etic" names that nobody who used these languages would have recognized; they represent the natural historian's attempt to classify these languages along a single developmental continuum. "Sanskrit," "Prakrit," and "Bhāṣā" are "emic" names. They represent the languages that were picked out, named, and used for literary purposes. And they coincide exactly with the three languages that Mīrzā Khān identified.

Jacobi's well-intentioned parallelism has given rise to a number of major misunderstandings. One is that the etic and emic terms are synonymous. They aren't. They are not co-referential, either: "Middle Indic" and "Prakrit" are not just the modern and premodern ways of picking out the same languages, or even the same kinds of languages. What underwrites this false equivalence is the idea,

---

[56]    Jacobi (1886a: §1); it is updated by Masica (1991: 50–55).

discussed above with reference to Grierson, that any language that deviates from Sanskrit in any way is and always was Prakrit. I will call this a "broad" definition of Prakrit. There is some warrant for this idea within the Indian tradition, but one major problem with it is that it empties the categories of "Sanskrit" and "Prakrit" themselves of any historical referentiality (besides that of premodern South Asia in general), and employs them as transhistorical categories of language—refined versus unrefined, artificial versus natural—despite the fact that the processes that give meaning to these categories are inevitably historical.[57]

The broad definition is typically adopted by scholars concerned with the natural history of language: given the project of tracing the genealogical relationship between the ancient, medieval, and modern languages of India, a sufficiently broad term is needed to encompass all of the forms of speech that might figure in this genealogy.[58] Hence "Prakrit" becomes a cover-term for languages that were never called Prakrit in ancient India: the languages of the Aśokan inscriptions; the languages of later inscriptions in India ("Monumental Prakrit," "*Leṇa* Prakrit," or "Stūpa Dialect") as well as in Sri Lanka ("Sinhalese Prakrit"); the language of the Theravāda Buddhist canon, now commonly known as Pāli; the vernacular Sanskrit of Buddhist literature in the early centuries CE ("Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit") the language of birch-bark scrolls from northwestern India (once "Gāndhārī Prakrit," but now usually just "Gāndhārī") to western China ("Niya Prakrit"); essentially, any piece of the linguistic puzzle between the Vedas and the appearance of the modern vernaculars, which is to say, the entire linguistic puzzle.[59] There are some good reasons for grouping these enormously diverse languages

---

[57]    See Salomon (1995: 301): "The basic assumption is that there is and always ways an absolute dichotomy between 'Sanskrit' and 'Prakrit' or, in modern terms, of OIA versus Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA)."

[58]    So Katre (1964: 2–3).

[59]    For Émile Senart's "Monumental Prakrit," see Salomon (1998: 76–77); for "Sinhalese Prakrit," Salomon (1998: 151). "*Leṇa* Prakrit" refers to the language of the rock-cut caves or *leṇa*s (Sanskrit *layana*-) in the usage of Richard Pischel (1981 [1900]: §7). "Stūpa Dialect" was proposed by Heinrich Lüders (1911: 62). For the relationship between Prakrit and "Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit" see Edgerton (1936). On "Niya Prakrit" see Burrow (1935–1937).

under the heading of "Middle Indic"; I am less sure that they should be grouped under the heading of "Prakrit."

For some scholars, including Richard Pischel and Oskar von Hinüber, "Prakrit" is a subset of "Middle Indic." It refers specifically to a set of literary languages, and Pischel took care to point out that this latter term did simply mean "languages that are used in literature," but "languages that are used *exclusively* in literature."[60] This narrower sense of Prakrit corresponds more closely to what premodern Indians meant by the word. And one of my contentions in this dissertation is that if we want to understand what Prakrit was, we need to start from what the people who actually use this word meant by it.

And what did they mean? In general, we can say that "Prakrit" (*prākṛta-*) referred to a particular language, distinct from Sanskrit, that was used in literary texts from around the 1ˢᵗ century CE onward. I argue that it was retroactively applied to the language of Jain canonical literature (which was also called Ardhamāgadhī or *ārṣa-*, the language of the sages), and it was very occasionally, and again retroactively, used to refer to the language of some but not all of the collections of Buddhist canonical literature. It was never applied to the language we now call Pāli. In fact we have the testimony of the 7ᵗʰ-c. philosopher Kumārila Bhaṭṭa that the languages of Buddhist scripture should not be called Prakrit (see p. 178). It was never applied to the language of inscriptions.

The appearance of "Prakrit" as a language name and the literature which it designates marks a major turning-point in the cultural history of language in India—a turning-point that is completely obscured if we continue to equate "Prakrit" with "Middle Indic." Moreover "Prakrit" designated a language that had a stable identity, such that it was equally possible to compose Prakrit texts in the 18ᵗʰ century

---

60 Pischel (1981 [1900]: §§1–2); von Hinüber (2001: §1). One of Pischel's favorite quotations comes from Pṛthvīdhara's commentary on the *Little Clay Cart* (p. 1): *mahārāṣṭryādayaḥ kāvya eva prayujyante*, "Mahārāṣṭrī and the other Prakrit languages are only used in poetry" (see Pischel 1873: 397). Pṛthvīdhara, however, did not mean what Pischel apparently thought he meant. *Kāvye*, I believe, is in contrast to *nāṭake*; Mahārāṣṭrī is not used in theater (and therefore not used in the *Little Clay Cart*) because it is used exclusively in "literature heard" (*śravyakāvya-*), that is, literature meant to be read or recited rather than performed onstage.

as in the 1ˢᵗ, and it therefore cuts clean across the linguistic periodization implied by "Middle Indic." Prakrit, put simply, is what Prakrit texts tell us they are written in: when the *Seven Centuries* proclaims that it is "Prakrit poetry" (*pāua-kavva-*), when the *Līlāvaī* or *Kuvalayamālā* proclaims that it is in the Prakrit language (*pāaae bhāsāe*, *pāiya-bhāsā-raiyā*), or when the *Topical Anthology* includes a whole section on the beauty of Prakrit poetry, we know what they are referring to, and it's not a stage in the historical development of a family of languages.[61] "Prakrit poetry," says a verse in the *Brilliance of the Connoisseurs*, "is like a beautiful courtesan: erotic, alluring, full of *rasa*, delicate, provoking excitement and desire, it captivates your heart."[62]

I therefore take "Prakrit" to refer to the language of a long-lived literary tradition. It was and is associated most closely with the lyric poetry of the *Seven Centuries*, but I revise its genealogy by bringing into consideration little-studied texts such as the *Taraṅgavatī*. The term was also applied to a variety of languages that are employed on the stage. These "dramatic Prakrits" or "scenic Prakrits" are given names that suggest they are based on the spoken vernacular of particular regions—Śaurasenī, Māgadhī, Āvantī, and so on. But I argue that these languages are invented for, and constrained by, the purposes of dramatic representation. They are not representations of regionally-differentiated speech. Moreover, even though these "scenic dialects" are the languages which today's readers most readily identify with Prakrit, it is clear that they were considered Prakrit only in a secondary sense: the *Treatise on Theater* (early centuries CE) conspicuously avoids grouping them under the general term "Prakrit," and Daṇḍin's *Mirror of Literature* (ca. 700) says that such languages "are also considered to be Prakrit," which primarily refers to something else.[63]

A final terminological issue is the name "Māhārāṣṭrī," or more correctly "Mahārāṣṭrī." This word

---

[61]   *Seven Centuries* W2; *Līlāvaī* v. 43; *Kuvalayamālā* p. 4 l. 11; *Topical Anthology*, *gāhāvajjā* (vv. 9–18).

[62]   v. 5: *siṃgāra-bhāva-suhaā sarasā varasuṃdari vva somālī | koḍḍa-maṇoraha-jaṇaṇī haraï maṇaṃ pāauttī hu ||.*

[63]   See chapter 5.

is typically used in the sense in which I have used "Prakrit": for, as Daṇḍin says in the *Mirror on Literature*, "people know that the preeminent Prakrit is the language based in Mahārāṣṭra, in which poems such as the *Building of the Bridge*, an ocean filled with the jewels of good poetry, have been composed."[64] We must be cautious, however, when using the term Mahārāṣṭrī. It is similar to other language-names, like Śaurasenī and Māgadhī, in that they are all named for a particular region: Mahārāṣṭra, Śūrasena (the region around Mathurā), Magadha (today's Bihar). But this similarity is deceptive, and it has led the natural and cultural histories of language getting dangerously mixed up.

Prakrit was called Mahārāṣṭrī because of its relative preponderance of lexical items that are not known from Sanskrit but rather from "what is commonly accepted in the region of Mahārāṣṭra." And in consequence of this, authors sometimes identified Prakrit as the regional language of Mahārāṣṭra.[65] The conventional theatrical languages, including Śaurasenī and Māgadhī, were called Prakrit because of their resemblance to "Mahārāṣṭrī." Unlike Mahārāṣṭrī, however, what distinguishes them is not so much their lexicon—which is largely equivalent to Sanskrit's—but their phonological features. And above all, Mahārāṣṭrī is primarily if not exclusively the language of "literature heard" (*śravya-kāvya-*), such as lyric poetry, whereas Śaurasenī and Māgadhī are exclusively languages of "literature seen" (*dṛśya-kāvya-*), that is, texts that are meant to be performed on stage. All of these languages belong wholly to transregional literary practices, but because of their names, scholars like George Grierson were eager to identify in them regionally-differentiated forms of popular speech: for Grierson, the Śaurasenī of plays represented a fixed point in the continuous development of language in Śūrasena from "Śaurasenī Prakrit" to "Śaurasenī Apabhraṃśa" to the Hindi of today. Heinrich Lüders thought that he found secure evidence of such a developmental continuum in the archaic Prakrit of Aśvaghoṣa's

---

[64]    1.34: *mahārāṣṭrāśrayāṃ bhāṣāṃ prakṛṣṭaṃ prākṛtaṃ viduḥ | sāgaraḥ sūktaratnānāṃ setubandhādi yanmayam ||*. The spelling *Māhārāṣṭrī* is a scholarly convention inaugurated by Jacobi (1886a); see Abhyankar (1955).

[65]    Harivṛddha (see p. 341): *marahaṭṭha-desa-saṃkeaehiṃ saddehiṃ*; *Līlāvatī* 1330: *bhaṇiyaṃ ca piyayamāe raïyaṃ marahaṭṭha-desi-bhāsāe*.

dramas, which he claimed represented a linguistic precursor to the language used by Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti.[66] I think that Lüders has overstated his case: however we are to explain the practice of representing certain characters as speaking in what the *Treatise on Theater* calls *bhāṣā*s—and this remains a very difficult question—this is only a small part of the story. We must be careful to avoid conflating the actually-attested language of Prakrit texts with the hypothetical languages of the regions they are thought to represent.

## Inventing, Figuring, Knowing and Forgetting Prakrit

This dissertation is a biography of Prakrit. But since languages aren't biological unities, despite the best efforts of 19th-century philologists to treat them as if they were, I will not organize it by the conceits of birth, life, and death. I will organize it, instead, by the things that people did with it. These practices are what gives Prakrit its unity and identity over the course of its existence.

First of all, it had to be invented. The claim that Prakrit was invented, or even the more modest claim that it has a beginning, may strike some readers as counterintuitive. Is Prakrit not the beginningless current of popular language, always coursing beneath the texts that happen to rise to the surface of history? Is it not the unspoken and unacknowledged other, in contrast to which the learned languages of South Asia, and above all Sanskrit, constantly shape and define themselves? But these questions take for granted the broad definition of Prakrit discussed above, and with it a slightly naïve and romantic conception of what Prakrit is. By contrast, I seek to trace the conditions under which a set of cultural practices, possessed of a determinate form and commonly recognized by the name "Prakrit," came into existence. I place its emergence in the Sātavāhana empire of the Deccan, which lasted roughly from the early 1st century BCE to the early 3rd century CE.

---

[66] Lüders (1911: 64).

The argument for Prakrit's invention has two parts. Chapter 2 offers the first attempt at a history of the inscriptional language practices of the Sātavāhanas and their contemporaries, integrating well-known inscriptions (such as Gautamī Balaśrī's eulogy of Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi at Nasik) alongside newer materials within a chronological framework that takes account of the latest inscriptional and numismatic evidence. I argue that an aestheticized "language of power" was crucial to the self-representation of the Sātavāhana kings from the dynasty's beginnings, and that their political conflicts with the Kṣatrapas between 50 CE and 150 CE resulted in the contestation and redefinition of this language of power.

Prakrit as we know it, however, is the result of the court co-opting, supporting, and directing a nascent literary culture that would, in turn, be defined by the aesthetics and cultural politics of the court. In chapter 3 I argue that, in works that were associated with the Sātavāhana court such as the *Seven Centuries* and the *Taraṅgavatī*, we can discern the self-conscious articulation of Prakrit *kāvya* as a new and independent cultural practice. This is certainly not the whole story of the origins of *kāvya*, but it is nonetheless an important part of it. I revise the early history of *kāvya* by arguing that courtly Prakrit and Jain Prakrit, which are almost always considered separate entities, were closely intertwined and together laid some of the most important foundations of the *kāvya* movement. Much of my discussion in this chapter focuses on the *Seven Centuries*, given that it is not just as a particularly beautiful and influential work of poetry, but a blueprint for how literary and courtly culture would relate to each other over the coming centuries.

In chapter 4 I provide a conspectus of some of features of this literature in an attempt to define more clearly what it meant to write in Prakrit, whether it was Hindu kings or Jain monks doing the writing. I listen, first, to its prized aural qualities—its "sweet syllables"—and reflect on the poetic possibilities that its phonology opened up. Then I discuss the metrical forms that were employed in Prakrit literature: I argue that mora-counting versification is a sign of the profound influence that

Prakrit literature had on a number of textual traditions, as it redefined what it meant to compose in verse. Lastly I examine some of the ways that Prakrit poems were collected and arranged in anthologies, and how this mode of presentation helped to constitute Prakrit literature as an intertextual field.

During and after its invention, Prakrit had to be figured: it had to be accommodated within a representational structure that would determine its limits and its relations to other languages. Prakrit was a constant and essential component of the threefold, fourfold, and sixfold schemas that mapped the language order of classical India. I will examine a range of literary and literary-theoretical texts in chapter 5 to make this case, starting with Kālidāsa's image of the twofold speech of Sarasvatī. Being inscribed into the foundations of a broadly-based linguistic imaginary gave Prakrit a classical status that it maintained for its entire subsequent history. It also assigned Prakrit a productively ambiguous status within the classical language order: it was identical to Sanskrit, yet opposite to it; both a language of high literature and, at least notionally, of "the lowest of the low"; unified as a category, yet divided into a seemingly arbitrary number of varieties and subvarieties.

Prakrit then had to be known. It needed to become an object of systematic knowledge, and in this case, of grammar, metrics, and lexicography. These discourses defined Prakrit, and they also provided the conditions for its transregional cultivation. They provided the conceptual tools for comparing Sanskrit and Prakrit, on the one hand integrating Prakrit more fully into a transregional episteme represented by Sanskrit, and on the other resulting in the recognition of "the regional" as a domain resistant to this kind of integration. As a result of these operations, Prakrit had one foot, so to speak, in the Sanskrit cosmopolis and the other in the nebulous domain of the regional. But as such, it provided an ideal model for vernacular literary cultures which sought to theorize themselves as both regional and cosmopolitan. My focus in chapter 5 will be on the earlier Prakrit grammars, including fragments of the earliest grammars in Prakrit and Vararuci's *Light on Prakrit*, as well as some early grammars of Kannada and Telugu.

Finally, Prakrit had to be forgotten, to disappear from the face of the earth and take up residence, according to Mīrzā Khān at least, in the realm of subterranean serpents. I relate its disappearance to the major reconfiguration of the language order that Prakrit itself had facilitated, the conceptualization and theorization of regional vernaculars: between the vernaculars and Sanskrit, which was given new roles to play, Prakrit was largely squeezed out of most of the genres in which it had been written. Although this reconfiguration took place over centuries, it is between the 12$^{th}$ and 13$^{th}$ centuries that its impact on textual production in Prakrit becomes clear. Prakrit texts were abridged, summarized, translated and adapted into Sanskrit, Kannada, and Telugu. It was kept alive in certain communities, including an ever-shrinking circle of learned Jain monks and the theatrical performers of Kerala, but interest in the language was increasingly antiquarian and scholastic. I end with the redetermination of Prakrit as the language of the snakes.

This dissertation thus follows Prakrit over the course of its existence. The goal throughout is to show what that existence consisted in rather than to document every single thing that it comprised. It is inevitable that there will be absences in such a project. I hope, however, to have established a framework for a new kind of narrative about Prakrit. The dissertation is not a study of any one text, or even genre. Some of the materials discussed here will be familiar to every student of Indian literature; some have been completely untouched by scholarship; some are presently available only in manuscript form. I have thought of it as a critical reorganization of the way we think of Prakrit, one that shifts the focus away from our own made-to-order definitions onto the structures that Prakrit was in actual fact embedded in: language schemas, language orders, textual traditions, literary cultures. It is critical not just toward particular classifications and historicizations of Prakrit, but toward the classifying and historicizing regimes that predetermine for us what kind of thing language is and thus what kind of thing Prakrit must be.

# Chapter 2

# Inventing Prakrit: The Languages of Power

Opera naturale è ch'uom favella,
ma così o così, natura lascia
poi fare a voi, secondo che v'abbella.

*Paradiso*, 26.130–132

## Introduction

This and the following chapter tell the story of how Prakrit began. I locate its beginning in the same set of transformations that made Sanskrit the preeminent language of culture and power in South Asia. In this story, Sanskrit and Prakrit are cognate cultural practices. The present chapter provides a historical and conceptual framework for those transformations, and the following chapter places the emergence of Prakrit as a literary language within this framework.

Between 50 BCE and 250 CE, the language order of India changed dramatically. This period saw

the emergence of a new kind of culture-power, as Sheldon Pollock has convincingly shown, as well as the emergence of a set of language practices that indexed and constituted it.[1] Certain languages were thus reinvented as "languages of power." Classical Sanskrit is the paradigmatic example: Sanskrit was already very old around 50 BCE, but its use as a language of literary and political self-expression, and the qualities of refinement and ornamentation that accompanied these uses, were very new. I argue that Prakrit was also an "old-new" language—a set of existing language practices that were reinvented by being deployed in new discursive contexts. The stable configuration of these two reinvented languages, Sanskrit and Prakrit, was the answer to a question that lies just beneath the surface of literary and political discourse around the turn of the millennium: if there is to be a "language of power," what should it be? Rather than focusing on a single moment of invention or reinvention, the story here focuses on the centuries-long process by which "languages of power" were continuously fashioned, defined, and contested.

A "language of power" can be a language used by political power as well as language that confers power on those that use it. This reflexivity is what Dante had in mind when he noted that what makes a language "illustrious" (*illustre*) is the fact that it both illuminates and is illuminated (*illuminans et illuminatum*).[2] Royal inscriptions attest to this reflexivity more directly than any other source. Because of their reference to persons and events, they are convenient for building up a historical framework for the cultural practices they attest to. But inscriptions, even more than other language practices, have a distributed agency that makes it difficult to ask about the intentions of individuals: behind every instance of inscription stands a complex of actors (donors, officials, scribes, and so on), and even more importantly, a cascade of previous instances, each of them linguistic acts that, in varying degrees, reaffirm and recalibrate the conventions of language. Moreover, there are gaps between what

---

[1]    Pollock (2006b).

[2]    *On vernacular eloquence* XVII.2 (Botterill  1996).

inscriptional sources tell us and what literary sources tell us about language practices in this crucial period of transition—the literary sources almost always representing a retrospective from a world in which the dichotomy of Sanskrit and Prakrit is taken for granted, and the inscriptional sources representing a world in which these categories are still very much being worked out. Relating the "hard" history of politics, economy, and administration to the "soft" history of culture, and doing so in a convincing and non-reductive way, is a difficult task, especially when so little is known for certain about the period in question. My use of "culture-power" in this context is not meant to solve the problem by hyphenation, but to draw attention to systematic relations between culture and power, even if those relations are not entirely understood.

My starting-point is the fact, perhaps well-known but very rarely remarked upon, that the Sātavāhana dynasty, which ruled most of central India between 50 BCE and 250 CE, is closely linked both with radical innovations in inscriptional discourse in this period and with the invention of Prakrit literature. This chapter will therefore largely stay within the geographic and temporal limits of the Sātavāhana empire, although some of the developments I discuss here have important parallels in the realm of the Kuṣāṇas to the north.[3] This story has three parts, which unfold roughly in sequence: first, the emergence of the very idea of a "language of power"; second, the competition among particular languages to achieve and monopolize this status; third, the consolidation of a stable language order in which each individual language is assigned a place.

One advantage of this account relates to what it is an account of: not the emergence of particular kinds of language use, but the emergence of a large-scale language order in which these uses find a place. Broadening the focus in this way allows us to see language practices that we would not otherwise see. Foremost among these previously-invisible practices is Prakrit, which has almost always been treated as a fixed point of departure for the process of sanskritization rather than as a practice

---

[3] The parallel between the Sātavāhanas and the Kuṣāṇas (but not the literary cultures over which they presided) was explored by Lévi (1936).

in its own right, or as I argue here, a counter-practice to Sanskrit. The theory of sanskritization itself will therefore have to be revised in light of these findings, and I offer some suggestions for revising it in the conclusion (p. 67). Another advantage is that the genealogy offered here accounts for some of the unique features of the classical language order. Why, for example, is Prakrit used at all in the classical literature of India? The answer must refer, in part, to the background of language practices against which this literature took shape. Finally, where most accounts focus on a single moment of emergence, this account foregrounds the trajectories, some extending over centuries, in which language practices are defined, refined, and ordered, as well as the networks of discourse in which these individual moments are situated.

While much of the evidence marshaled here has long been known to scholarship, it has proven notoriously difficult to situate in a convincing historical narrative.[4] Recent research, however, has provided a relatively stable consensus regarding the chronology of the later Sātavāhanas.[5] Thanks to this chronology, we can for the first time construct a convincing picture of language and power in the generations before Rudradāman, whose Junāgaṛh inscription of 150 CE previously provided us with the first fixed date in the history of Sanskrit as a language of power. The chronology of the early Sātavāhanas remains very provisional, but it will do no damage to the argument if the developments that I provisionally assign to the early 1st century BCE in fact occurred several generations earlier or later. A tabular chronology can be found in appendix A, and a list of the inscriptions referred to in this chapter (with square brackets, as [**N2**]) with bibliographic references can be found in appendix B.

---

[4]  The chronology of the Sātavāhana dynasty was a lively topic of Indological discussion, starting with Pargiter's *Dynasties of the Kali Age* (1913) and lasting into the 1970s. Almost all of this scholarship is based on Ussherian tabulations of the *purāṇa*s and, towards the end of this period, on extremely creative construals of the epigraphic evidence. The abundant numismatic evidence led to no convincing chronology until Bhandare's dissertation (1999).

[5]  The numismatic evidence analyzed by Bhandare (1999, 2006, 2011) and Cribb (1998, 2000) largely corroborates the chronology that Dehejia (1972) had developed on the basis of inscriptional paleography and formal comparison of architectural elements. More or less convergent with these results is Shastri (1999).

# Inventing a Discourse

Nāṇeghāṭ, or "Coin Pass," is a narrow pass through the Western Ghats, a few hours north of Pune in today's Maharashtra, that connects the coastal lowlands with the Deccan plateau. Here, around the beginning of the 1ˢᵗ century BCE, the Sātavāhanas—a family that had recently established control over large parts of what is now Maharashtra, northern Karnataka, and western Andhra Pradesh—created an unprecedented monument to its own power. A number of caves were excavated from the face of the cliff. The largest of these contained portraits of the royal family, carved in deep relief into the back wall [**Na2**], and an inscription listing the sacrifices the family had performed, carved into the two side walls [**Na1**]. The monument effectively provided a political reading of the physical geography of the region: whether entering or exiting the Deccan plateau, travellers would know who its overlords were.

The "Southern Path" (*dakṣiṇāpatha*) had already been on the map, so to speak, as a network of overland trade routes, but in the 1ˢᵗ century BCE it quickly became the space of the Sātavāhanas' political ambitions and underwent rapid economic integration and urbanization under their control.[6] Nāṇeghāṭ was a monumental argument for the Sātavāhanas being, as they claimed in the accompanying inscription and as they would define themselves for centuries afterwards, "Lords of the Southern Path" (*dakkhināpathapati*).[7]

The visual language of this argument was the rock-cut cave. This was an architectural form which was introduced under the Mauryas two centuries earlier but which became ever more closely associated with the Deccan under the patronage of the Sātavāhanas and other local dynasts.[8] The

---

[6] On the *dakṣiṇāpatha*, see Neelis (2011: 205–226). On political and economic integration and urbanization during the Sātavāhana period, see Ray (1986), Morrison (1995), Sinopoli (2001), Parabrahma Sastry (2008), and Skinner (2012).

[7] This title is applied to an unknown king (probably Śrī Sātakarṇi) at Nāṇeghāṭ [**Na1**], to Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi at Sannati [**SaA1**], to Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāvi at Nasik [**N2**], and to Śrī Sātakarṇi (probably Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi) in the Junāgaṛh inscription [**Juna1**]. It gives the title to Gokhale's (2008) collection of essays on the Sātavāhanas.

[8] General treatments of rock-cut architecture include Dehejia (1972) and Nagaraju (1981); see also Rees (2011).

Figure 2.1: The Nāṇeghāṭ Cave in 2014 (photo by the author)

largest concentration of rock-cut caves in India is in fact found in Junnar, quite close to Nāṇeghāṭ, used by Buddhists during the first centuries BCE and CE. Whereas every other rock-cut cave in the Deccan served a religious function, either as a living cell (*vihāra-*) or meditation hall (*caitya-*) for renunciant monks, the purpose of the cave at Nāṇeghāṭ seems to have been overtly and primarily political. Its sculptural representation of contemporary rulers was certainly without earlier known precedents.[9] Similarly unprecedented was its discursive representation of these rulers in a new kind of language—a poetry of politics, in stark and obvious contrast to the prosaic inscriptions of earlier kings—but before long the Sātavāhanas, their allies, and their rivals were all advancing their respective claims to power in this new idiom.[10]

The portraits are now completely effaced, and the inscription badly damaged. The visual focus of the back wall, and the subject of the inscription, however, appears to have been the king Śrī Sātakarṇi and the queen Nāganikā. Although major questions remain about its interpretation, the inscription gives us an idea of what kind of power this couple aspired to exercise and why this kind of power required a new kind of language to represent it.

The inscription can be divided into three parts. The first (lines 1–2 on the left wall) contains invocations and a date that is now lost; the second (lines 2–6 on the left wall) contains a eulogy (*praśasti*) of the Sātavāhana royal family, and the third (the remainder of the left wall and the entirety of the right wall) contains a list of Vedic sacrifices that the Sātavāhana royal family performed and their donations, on the occasion of those sacrifices, to the officiating priests (*dakhinā = dakṣiṇā*) and spectators (*pasapako = prāsarpakaḥ*). The invocations are addressed both to Vedic deities such as Indra and post-Vedic deities such as Saṃkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva (i.e., Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa), indicating a broad commitment to both *śrauta* and *smārta* varieties of Hinduism. In my reading, they also announce

---

[9]   See Bakker (2007: 21); the image-gallery of the Kuṣāṇa rulers at Māṭ, near Mathurā, is a later example (Lüders 1961: 131–147), as is the one at Surkh Kotal (Fussman 1989).

[10]  "Poetry of politics": Pollock (1996: 198).

the major themes of the inscription, similar in function to the introductory verses of later texts. With its introductory invocation to *dharma*, the inscription almost seems to refer to the controversy surrounding this important concept. For the renunciant monks with whom the rock-cut caves were primarily associated, it meant the teachings of people like the Buddha and Mahāvīra. Within the quickly-ramifying Vedic tradition, *dharma* ranged in meaning from "the divine principle that gave legitimacy and meaning to a worldly ruler," to Varuṇa, the "lord of *dharma*," to the sacrifices enjoined by the Vedas themselves.[11] The other theme is *dakṣiṇā*, hinted at by the invocation to the four "world-protectors" (*lokapāla*s) beginning with Yama, the guardian of the southern direction. For *dakṣiṇā* refers both to the geographic south and to the gifts made over to the Brahman priests who officiate at Vedic sacrifices. The two meanings converge in the phrase *dakṣiṇāpathapati*, which refers simultaneously to "the Southern Route" as a geopolitical space and to "the Path of the Cow" that is given as an offering to a sacrificing priest.[12] *Dharma* and *dakṣiṇā* are the key terms in the vision of political power on display at Nāṇeghāt. The Sātavāhanas sought to be kings rather than *de facto* rulers, and their performance of the Vedic rituals of consecration and sovereignty—such as the *rājasūya* and *aśvamedha*—entailed a performance of their powers of redistribution. The coins issued by Śrī Sātakarṇi and Nāganikā on the occasion of one of their horse sacrifices (see fig. 2.2), which are likely the same coins (*kāhāpanā*) referred to in the inscription, similarly reflect the fusion of two kinds of authority, one enacted through ritual and another disseminated through the instruments of exchange.

One obvious but nevertheless crucial aspect of this kind of power is its construction through literary language. While previous rulers, most notably Aśoka, represented their power in inscriptional discourse, the Sātavāhanas were the first to do so in an unmistakably literary style. The second

---

[11] The first legible invocation (line 1) reads *namo dhaṃmasa*; something has been lost prior to this. See Minkowski (2008) for the introductory verses of literary texts, with which the invocations of inscriptions (commonly *sidhaṃ* in this period) bear some as-yet-undetermined relation. For the Vedic and post-Vedic connotations of *dharma* see Olivelle (2004: 82).

[12] See *Āpastambaśrautasūtra* 21.5.10, 21.8.7; *Baudhāyanaśrautasūtra* 8.5:240.20, etc.

Figure 2.2: *Aśvamedha* coin of Śrī Sātakarṇi and Nāganika (courtesy of Shailendra Bhandare)

section of the inscription consists of about 300 syllables—most of them no longer legible—that make up a single sentence. Its syntactic core, "sacrifices were offered" ([*ya*]*ñehi yiṭhaṃ*), is an abrupt conclusion to a breathless series of long compounds that describe the royal family. These words abound in figures of sound, and specifically the alliterative pairs that later authors would call *chekānuprāsa*: for example, *sagara-giri-vara-valāya pathaviya pathamavīrasa*, "the foremost hero upon the ocean- and mountain-girdled earth," or the title *dakhināpathapati* itself.[13] The final phrase, which probably refers to Śrī Sātakarṇi's queen, Nāganikā, consists of at least five carefully-chosen compounds, each longer than the previous one: *māsopavāsiniya gahatāpasāya caritabrahmacariyāya dikhavratayaṃñasuṃḍāya yañāhutidhūpanasugaṃdhāya*, "fasting for months, practicing the austerities of the household, practicing the chastity of a widow, skilled in initiation, vows, and rituals, and fragrant with the incense she has offered in sacrifices." Note also the repetition of the word *yaṃña-* in different senses within adjacent words, which would later be called *lāṭānuprāsa*.[14]

---

[13] See Udbhaṭa, *Compendium of the Essence of Figures in Literature* 1.3 for the definition of *chekānuprāsa*.

[14] Bühler (followed by Sircar and Mirashi) inserted word-breaks to read *yañā hutā dhūpanasugaṃdhā*, but the following letter *ya* guarantees that this is another long compound describing Nāganikā (so also Gokhale 2004–2006: 250). See Bhāmaha, *Ornament of Literature* 2.8 and Udbhaṭa, *Compendium of the Essence of Figures in Literature* 1.8–10 for *lāṭānuprāsa*. Some of the more interesting controversies surrounding the interpretation of this inscription have

The style of this inscription is instantly recognizable to anyone familiar with the later tradition of literary prose. For the "essence of literary prose" was widely agreed to be a quality called "power" (*ojas*) that was defined by precisely the features we encounter in the Nāṇeghāṭ inscription: long compounds, a density of words, the repetition of words in various senses, and elaboration on a single subject, according to the earliest available discussion of the subject in the *Treatise on Theater* (early centuries CE).[15] In all of the literature prior to this inscription that we know of—whether in Sanskrit, Pāli, or Ardhamāgadhī—there was nothing quite like it. Indeed, the extreme density of compound words that characterizes the powerful style is found in none of the Indo-European languages that they are related to, and possibly no other language in the world. Conversely, the stylistic continuities between this inscription and later literary prose in Sanskrit and Prakrit cannot possibly be accidental. The origins of "power" as a quality of language can thus be traced to these early attempts to represent political power in language. It may have been imagined as a counterpart to the quality of "sweetness," which had already been theorized in Aśoka's time, and which was the dominant quality of lyric poetry as opposed to the poetry of politics.[16]

Vocabulary formed another component of this new language of power. The basic concepts, such as unlimited sovereignty, were inherited from the Vedic models that the inscription itself invokes so vividly, as well as from the Buddhist models that operate behind the scenes. In this inscription, however, they are refashioned and made more universal, imaginative, and idealized. Thus, rather than depicting themselves as "wheel-turning" emperors (*cakravartin-*) of ancient lore, the Sātavāhanas called

---

involved the eligibility of women to perform *śrauta* sacrifices; see Sankaranarayanan (1999).

[15] Daṇḍin calls power (*ojas*) the "essence of literary prose" (*gadyasya jīvitam*) in his *Mirror of Literature* 1.80. *Treatise on Theater* 16.105 reads: *samāsavadbhir bahubhir vicitraiś ca padair yutam | sānurāgair udāraiś ca tad ojaḥ parikīrtyate ||.* I follow Abhinavagupta's insightful commentary in my interpretation of this verse. I follow Amarasiṃha (*ojo dīptau bale*, 3.3.234) in translating *ojas* as "power," where a more conventional translation might be "vigor"; the word is cognate with *augustus*.

[16] Tieken (2006).

themselves *apratihatacaka-*, "whose wheels are unstoppable," an epithet that is similarly condensed and allusive: the "wheels" in question are those of the royal chariot, but perhaps also the "spheres" of political influence theorized in works such as the *Treatise on Power*. This term quickly became part of the standard vocabulary of kingship within the Sātavāhana sphere of influence.[17] This vocabulary singles out qualities such as martial valor that are not tied to any particular tradition or imagination of kingship, and represents them through timeless epithets rather than the narration of specific events. Power is not something the ruler enacts on specific occasions; as the Nasik inscription shows in greater detail (p. 51), it inheres in him always and essentially.

The final aspect of this inscription I will remark on here is the type of language it is written in. Although modern scholarship calls it Prakrit, it differs markedly from the literary Prakrit that would develop somewhat later within the Sātavāhana empire.[18] We have absolutely no evidence for the name that contemporaries would have used for the language of this inscription. To use purely etic terms, it is a western variety of Middle Indic, clearly continuous with the language of Aśoka's inscriptions in western India, that had become an epigraphic *lingua franca* by the 1st century BCE, evidently without ever having been standardized in any systematic way. The space in which this language circulated, its "linguistic volume," corresponded to the space of the Sātavāhanas' political ambitions.[19] The surfaces on which it was inscribed were usually the walls of rock-cut caves (*leṇa-*), or the architectural elements of a Buddhist *stūpa*. Inscription was the prerogative of the donor. To be able to use this language in the first place, the Sātavāhanas had to be donors. This is one of the reasons why donation is foregrounded in representations of the Sātavāhanas, and it also accounts for why rulers so ostensibly

---

[17]  The term *apratihatacakra-* was used by Khāravela, across the Deccan in Odisha, within a generation of the Nāṇeghāṭ inscription (see p. 49). It is probably referenced in the epithet *apatihatasaṃkapa-* "whose resolve to sacrifice was never impeded," of the Ikṣvāku rulers of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (late 3rd c. CE)

[18]  As noted by Jacobi (1886a: §13), who makes what I consider a faulty historical inference about this difference (cf. p. 81).

[19]  The term "linguistic volume" is Gramsci's (Lo Piparo 2010: 27).

devoted to *śrauta* rituals could also be represented as donors to Buddhist communities. There is no better example than the *stūpa* at Kanaganahalli, where reliefs of around the later 2nd c. depict the Sātavāhana rulers of generations past making donations to Buddhist monks (see fig. 2.3).[20]

The later traditions of royal eulogy (*praśasti-*) and literary prose (*gadyakāvya-*) which the Nāṇeghāṭ inscription anticipates are predominantly Sanskrit traditions. Indeed, after the 3rd century CE, it was increasingly unthinkable to compose a royal eulogy in any language other than Sanskrit. It is therefore important to emphasize that at this point, in the 1st century BCE, composing such a text in Sanskrit was equally unthinkable. In fact, the earliest surviving Sanskrit inscriptions of any sort are not much earlier than this one.[21] Tieken claimed that "there is something extremely absurd in the long enumeration in Prākrit of Vedic sacrifices and the fees paid to priests found in the Nānāghāṭ Cave Inscription... [w]ith it the Sātavāhanas seem to say: 'See how great and powerful we are despite the fact that we do not know Sanskrit.'"[22] Whether or not the Sātavāhanas themselves knew Sanskrit is unknowable and for our purposes irrelevant: what matters is that, in their world, political power never spoke Sanskrit. Sanskrit, moreover, was never composed in the "powerful" style that characterizes the Nāṇeghāṭ inscription. The dichotomy of Sanskrit and Prakrit as literary languages, I will argue, was one of the final results of the process that the Sātavāhanas set in motion. At this stage in the process, the very concept of a "language of power" was new, and what constituted it was not grammatical features but stylistic and aesthetic qualities.

The success of the Sātavāhanas' experiments can be gauged from the way they were imitated by their

---

[20]  See Fynes (1995) on the religious patronage of the Sātavāhanas. Zin (forthcoming) wonders why rulers who were not themselves Buddhists were so prominently depicted in the Buddhist art of Kanaganahalli.

[21]  The inscriptions of Hāthībāḍā and Ghosuṇḍī in the early 1st century BCE speak of the construction of a structure for worship of Saṃkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva; see Salomon (1998: 87).

[22]  Tieken (2008: 371 n. 82). Compare the surprise of Ācārya (1982: 27) at Gautamī Balaśrī's eulogy of her son (discussed at p. 51): *yah sacmuc āścarya kī bāt hai ki svayaṃ ko 'ek brahmaṇa' aur 'khatiyadapamānamadana' kahne vāle tathā vaidik evaṃ bhāgavatadharm kā punaruddhār karne vāle sātavāhan nareśoṃ ne prākṛt ko rājabhāṣā kā gaurav pradhān kiyā.*

Figure 2.3: Sātakarṇi making a donation to Buddhist monks at Kanaganahalli (Poonacha 2013: 415)

eastern rivals, the Mahāmeghavāhanas.[23] In a well-known inscription [**Ha1**] in the cave-complex at Udayagiri, near Bhubaneshwar in today's Odisha, the king Khāravela provided a year-by-year summary of his rule in a "powerful" style similar to that of the Nāṇeghāṭ inscription, and in a nearly identical language.[24] Khāravela there claims to have invaded Sātavāhana territories—specifically Ṛṣika, in today's Khandesh—"without a care for Sātakarṇi," the ruler whom the Nāṇeghāṭ inscription memorializes.[25] One outstanding feature of Khāravela's inscription, which served to enrich the transregional language of power, are its "narrative compounds," which express an action in a compressed and rapid way suitable to the powerful style.[26] Another is its carefully-calibrated prose rhythm, which arises from joining together words a similar prosodic shape.[27]

The concluding portion of the inscription, which is its most insistently literary, contains a number of echoes of the language used at Nāṇeghāṭ.[28] Whereas a Sātavāhana king was there described as

---

[23] Scholarship sometimes still refers to this dynasty as the "Cedis" (for example Fitzgerald 2009), on the basis of a rather difficult reading in Khāravela's Hāthīgumphā inscription. The records of other kings, however, use the title Mahāmeghavāhana (see appendix A).

[24] Lüders (1911: 62) had already recognized in this inscription an early *praśasti*. Some scholars have been troubled by the fact that Khāravela's inscription is in a western language rather than an eastern language, and have postulated either that Khāravela employed a western scribe (Barua 1929: 163) or that his aversion to the language of the people of Magadha was greater than his aversion to the language of the Sātavāhanas (Witzel 2006: 466). But there was only one language in which serious claims about political power could be advanced in Khāravela's time, and that was the western Middle Indic used also by the Sātavāhanas. In its year-by-year organization, Khāravela's inscription recalls those of Aśoka and ultimately, if indirectly, that of Darius as Behistun (Pollock 2006a: 180–181).

[25] Line 4: *dutiye ca vase acitayitā sātakaṇiṃ pacima-disaṃ haya-gaja-nara-radha-bahulaṃ daṃḍaṃ pathāpayati kañhabeṃnāgatāya senāya vitās[e]ti asika-nagaraṃ.* Reading *asika* for Barua's *asaka* and *kañhabeṃnāgatāya* with Jayaswal and Banerji (1929–1930) instead of Barua's *ka[liṃgā]gatāya ca.*

[26] See Cox (2013: 136) for a short discussion of these compounds. One example is *bh[ī]ta-tasite ca nikhita-chata-bhiṃgāre hita-ratana-sāpateye sava-raṭhika-bhojake pāde vaṃdāpayati,* literally "he made all of the Raṭṭhikas and Bhojakas, having been first terrified and then trembling, having had their parasols and pitchers cast away, having had their jewels and riches taken away, to bow at his feet."

[27] An example is *haya-gaja-nara-radha-bahulaṃ* (l. 4, "abounding in horses, elephants, men and chariots"). I have tried (and failed) to find examples in this inscription of metrical prose such as the *veḍha* discussed by Jacobi (1885) and Mette (1973).

[28] Of its literary qualities, the repetition of the key-word *caka* in different senses (*apatihata-caka-vāhana-balo caka-dhar[o] guta-cako pavata-cako*), a kind of *lāṭānuprāsa* (n. 14) can be mentioned.

49

*apratihata-cakasa*, "whose wheels are unstoppable," Khāravela is described as *apatihata-caka-vāhana-balo*, "whose wheels, mounts, and forces are unstoppable," a phrase which also echoes the family-names of Mahāmeghavāhana Khāravela and his Sātavāhana rivals. And whereas someone at Nāṇeghāṭ was described as *aṃgiya-kula-vadhanasa*, "who brings prosperity to the Aṅgika family," Khāravela is described as *ceta-rāja-vaṃsa-vadhanena*, "who brings prosperity to the line of Ceta kings."

Khāravela's inscription also provides us with a better sense than we get at Nāṇeghāṭ, because it is better preserved, of the kind of power that this new language was increasingly associated with. Its byword is "all" (*sava-*): the king, though himself a Jain layman, "honors all religious traditions," "sponsors the reconstruction of all temples," and "gives food and drink to all residents, to all royal officers, to all householders, to all Brahmans, as well as to all of the Jain and Buddhist monks, at a cost of hundreds of thousands."[29] This is faint evidence, but evidence nonetheless, for an incipient cosmopolitan vision that would later need to be expressed in a cosmopolitan language.

## The Question of Language

After a few generations of relative silence, the Sātavāhana rulers got back into the epigraphic habit around the middle of the 1ˢᵗ century CE. To this period belongs the inscription of the Queen Mother, Gautamī Balaśrī, the longest and most literary of all the extant Sātavāhana inscriptions [**N2**]. I date the inscription to around 103 CE, which would make it one of the earliest documents that is universally recognized to be a *praśasti*, a poem of praise.[30] In terms of its language, it clearly belongs to the same

---

[29]  *sava-pāsaṃḍa-pūjako sava-devāyatana-saṃkāra-kārako* in line 17; *sava-gharavāsinaṃ ca sava-rāja-bhatakānaṃ ca sava-gahapatikānaṃ ca [sava]-bamhaṇānaṃ ca pāna-bhojanaṃ dadāti arahatānaṃ [samaṇānaṃ ca] [pāna-bhojanaṃ] dadāti [sata-sahasehi]* in line 9.

[30]  My argument presupposes a date of ca. 84 CE for the death of Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi, which is supported by a variety of evidence (Seeley and Turner 1984; Bhandare 1999; Cribb 1992; Shastri 1996b; Cribb 1998, 2000). The essential points of this argument, however, are compatible with the older date of ca. 124 CE (Sircar 1966).

discourse of power that took shape several generations earlier. But as the inscription itself tells us, something had happened in the intervening years that fundamentally destabilized both the political order and the discursive practices of power. A completely different cultural politics underlies the inscriptions of the early 1st century BCE and the late 1st century CE.

Gautamī Balaśrī financed the construction of what would be called "The Queen's Cave" in what was already a well-established complex of rock-cut cells for Buddhist monks on a hill outside of Nasik. She used the prerogatives of patronage to inscribe onto its walls a long eulogy of her son, Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi, although he had died almost twenty years earlier. A fragmentary inscription from the base of a sculpture at Sannati ([**SaA1**], see fig. 2.4), in today's Karnataka, shows that the Queen's inscription was not a singularity: there was an "official story" about Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi that was propagated throughout the Sātavāhana empire through inscriptions. And quite a story it was. The central portion of the Queen's inscription reads as follows:

> ... crusher of the pride and arrogance of the Kṣatriyas, destroyer of the Scythians, Greeks, and Parthians, levier of taxes in accordance with *dharma*, delighting not in harming living beings even when his enemies have committed misdeeds, bringer of prosperity to the houses of Brahmans and the low-born, the exterminator of the Kṣaharāta line, the reestablisher of the glory of the Sātavāhana family, at whose feet the whole circle of kings bows, who put an end to the mixing of the four *varṇa*s, who was victorious in many battles over a confederation of enemies, whose flag of victory remained unconquered, whose capital city was impossible for enemies to assail, who inherited from his ancestors the extensive sounds of royalty...[31]

---

30    Nakanishi and von Hinüber restore [*vaseṭhi*] instead of [*gotami*] in the king's metronymic, which is inexplicable in view of the parallels to the Nasik inscription. I do not know where the Sannati stela is currently located (it is not at the Gulbarga museum, where many of the other stelae from Sannati are housed).

31    …*khatiya-dapa-māna-mada-nasa-saka-yavana-palhava-nisūdanasa   dhama-pajita-kara-viniyoga-karasa   kitāparādhe pi satu-jane apāṇa-hisā-rucisa dijāvara-kuṭuba-vivadhanasa khakharāta-vasa-niravasesa-karasa sātavāhana-kula-yasa-patithāpana-karasa   sava-maḍalābhivādita-ca*[*ra*]*ṇasa   vinivatita-cātuvaṇa-sakarasa   aneka-samarāvajita-satusaghasa aparājita-vijaya-patāka-satujana-dupadhasanīya-puravarasa   kula-purisa-paraparā-gata-vipula-rāja-sadasa…*   Later sources identify the sounds of royalty as five drums (*pañcamahāśabda*).
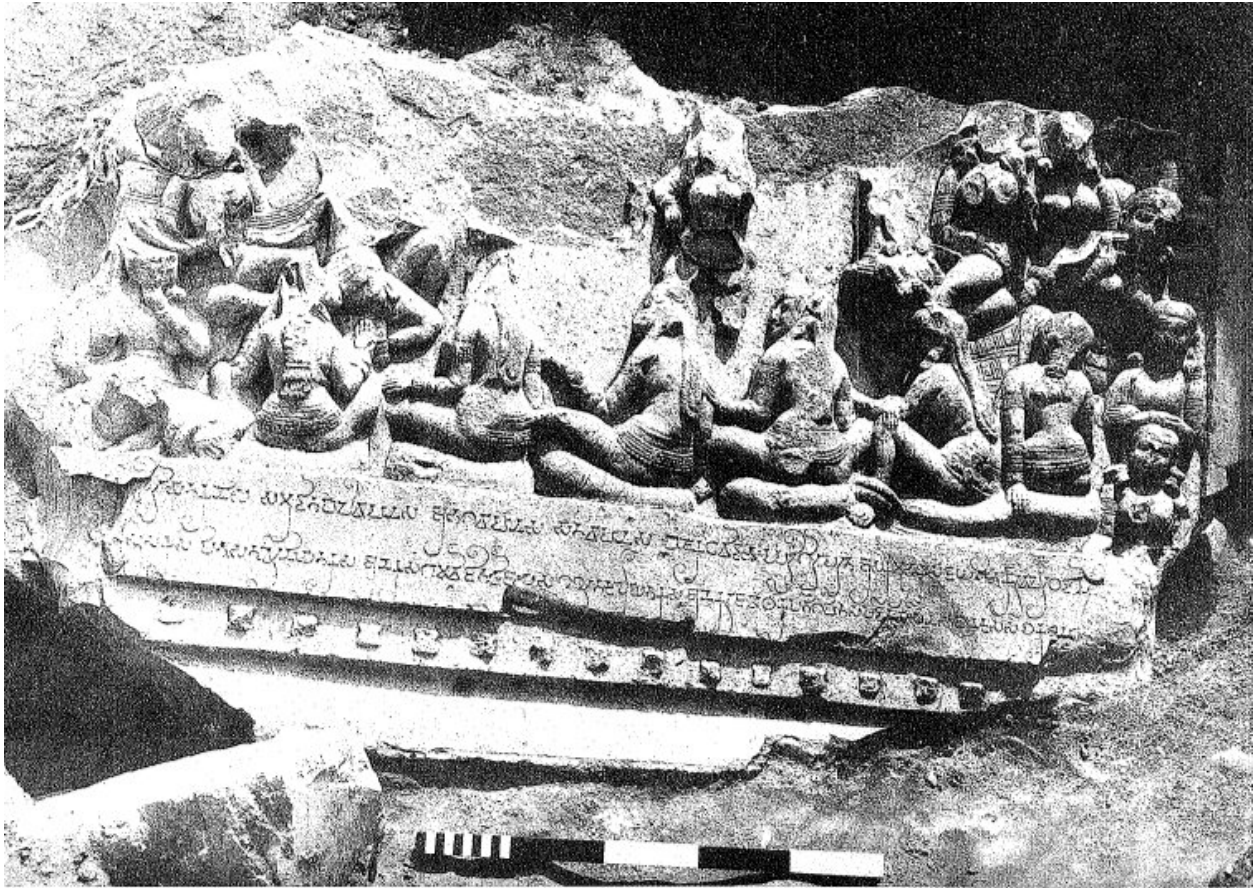
Figure 2.4: Fragmentary stela from Sannati with inscription commemorating Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi (from Varaprasada Rao 1995)

The events here alluded to have been reconstructed with reasonable certainty from other inscriptions and from numismatic evidence. Starting in the second century BCE, groups of Scythians—hereafter Śakas, as they call themselves in their inscriptions—migrated into northern India from central Asia. The leaders of these Śaka groups typically styled themselves Kṣatrapas, which had previously referred to the military governors of the Achaemenid empire. One of these groups, calling themselves Kṣaharātas, established a small kingdom in what was now Gujarat. In the middle of the first century CE, a ruler named Nahapāna made a successful gambit to wrest a number of key sites from the Sātavāhanas, probably intending to control the trade between India and Rome, which was then at its peak volume. Eventually, however, Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi retook all of these sites from Nahapāna and the local kings who had thrown in their lot with him.[32]

The eulogy of Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi incorporates a diversity of styles, ranging from highly compact and composite to punchy and analytic. It redeploys the figures of sound we encountered at Nāṇeghāṭ within new figures of sense: Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi's face, for example, is "as white as a lotus made to blossom by the rays of the sun" (*divasakara-kara-vibodhita-kamala-vimala-sadisa-vadanasa*). The version at Sannati includes a passage that plays with Gautamīputra's family name, as Khāravela did at Udayagiri: the king is "one whose forces and mounts are on the rise, one whose mounts are unstoppable, the Sātavāhana" (*samudita-bala-vāhanasa abhaga-vāhanasa sātavāhanasa*); at Nasik he is described as "one whose mounts have drunk the water of the three oceans" (*ti-samuda-toya-pīta-vāhanasa*). The final scene of the Queen's inscription at Nasik features a final battle attended by all kinds of mythological beings, in which the hero ascends directly into heaven from the shoulders of his elephant. Almost every aspect of these inscriptions suggests deep and systematic connections

[32] There are interesting recollections of this story in the Jain tradition. The commentaries on the *Āvaśyaka* (see Balbir 1993a: 60) and the *Prabandha of Pādalipta* relate that the Sātavāhana king sent an agent to Nahapāna in Bharuch who prevailed upon Nahapāna to spend all of his money on religious donation; when Nahapāna ran out of money, the Sātavāhana king beseiged Bharuch and killed Nahapāna. See also Klatt (1882: 252), who notes that Nabhovāhana (Nahapāna) ruled for 40 years according to Jain chronology (such a duration is corroborated by his series of portrait coins). For the most in-depth narrative of this conflict, based primarily on numismatic evidence, see Bhandare (1999).

with courtly poetry. Here it is sufficient to note, with A. B. Keith, that "the appearance of mannerisms of the later *Kāvya* ... implies current familiarity with the themes."[33] It is, in other words, one of the earliest examples of *kāvya* available to us. And it appears that political discourse of the Sātavāhanas had a significant, if largely indirect, influence on the imagination of power in *kāvya*.[34] This discourse is undoubtedly a "poetry of politics."[35]

What distinguishes the eulogy of Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi, and what has so far kept it out of the history of courtly literature, is the fact that it is not composed in either Sanskrit or Prakrit. Nearly all of the Sātavāhana inscriptions fit the same description. Like the earlier inscriptions at Nāṇeghāṭ and Udayagiri, these inscriptions are very often said to be composed in Prakrit, but only according to the principle that everything that is not exactly Sanskrit is Prakrit. In fact, it was noted long ago that in their inscriptions the Sātavāhanas "touch so closely upon Sanskrit that they seem rather to guard against it than to try to write it."[36] Their language is arguably closer to standard Sanskrit than to the language that the Sātavāhanas themselves—if we believe that the *Seven Centuries* was compiled by a Sātavāhana king (p. 87)—called Prakrit.

We must be careful to distinguish "our" questions regarding the language of Sātavāhana inscriptions from "their" questions. I am claiming that a "question of language" was posed abruptly in the middle of the 1st century CE: given that there is such a thing as a "language of power"— something established by the discursive practices of earlier generations of rulers—what should that

---

[33]  Keith (1920: 50). He, however, qualifies his praise: "This is deliberate art, however little we may admire it." Winternitz (1985 [1920]: 38) judged that the inscription had "all the characteristics of the style of ornate prose."

[34]  A few specific echoes can be singled out. "The one whose mounts have drunk from the waters of the three oceans" (*ti-samuda-toya-pīta-vāhanasa*) is echoed in a similar title, "overlord of the three oceans" (*trisamudrādhipataye*) applied to a king named Sātavāhana who briefly appears in Bāṇa's *Deeds of Harṣa* (7th c. CE). Another title, "the single archer" (*ekadhanudharasa*), recurs as a title of Dilīpa in Kālidāsa's *Dynasty of Raghu* (3.31, 5th c. CE).

[35]  Pollock, who coined the term "poetry of politics," recognizes in the Nasik inscription a "quasi praśasti" (Pollock 2006b: 79 n. 11).

[36]  Lévi (1904: 170).

language actually be? During this time, new practices were introduced and old practices were invested with new meanings. And as a result, the stakes of language choice were entirely different at the time of Balaśrī's inscription at Nasik than they were at the time of Nāganikā's inscription at Nāṇeghāṭ.

The most significant break with existing language practices that took place in this period was the use of Sanskrit in political inscriptions. This innovation must be attributed to the Kṣatrapas. And it is true that the Sātavāhanas overwhelmingly preferred to use Middle Indic in their inscriptions, while their Kṣatrapa opponents exhibited a greater willingness to use Sanskrit. We now know, however, that the Sātavāhanas did use Sanskrit in political inscriptions, if only rarely. The narratives of diametrically opposed cultural politics—of Kṣatrapas versus Sātavāhanas, foreigners versus native rulers, and Sanskrit versus Prakrit—need to be critically revised.

A pair of inscriptions sponsored by Uṣavadāta, Nahapāna's son-in-law, can serve as an example of the kind of experimentation that the Kṣaharātas engaged in, and allows us to better understand how and why Sanskrit came to figure in these experiments. One inscription [**N10**], found on the wall of a rock-cut cave at Nasik, exhibits the functional differentiation of language that would characterize many later inscriptions, where Sanskrit was used for "expressive" purposes and other languages are used for "documentary" purposes. The first part is a eulogy of Uṣavadāta in fairly correct Sanskrit, and the second part records in Middle Indic his donation of the cave and the accompanying cistern.[37] An inscription at Karle (ancient Valūraka), more than 100 miles away, contains a parallel version of the eulogy of Uṣavadāta, but in Middle Indic rather than in Sanskrit [**K13**]. The two texts are presented in table 2.1.

---

[37] For the distinction between expressive and documentary purposes see Pollock (2006b: 117–118). For the Nasik inscription of Uṣavadāta see Salomon (1998: 89–90); Damsteegt (1978: 212) also distinguishes a "eulogy" in "almost pure Sanskrit" from the rest of the inscription. Sircar (1965: 167 n. 2) notes only that "the language of the concluding part is different from that of the rest of the record." Witzel (2006: 467) claims that Uṣavadāta tried to write in correct Sanskrit but "fell back into the traditional Prākṛt" after a few lines, overlooking the functional differentiation. Tieken (2006: 108 n. 29) ignores this inscription.

[38] This line and the next are reversed in the Nasik inscription.

| Karle [**K13**] | Nasik [**N10**] | Translation |
|---|---|---|
| *raño khaharātasa khatapasa nahapānasa jā[ma]tarā [dīnī]kaputena usabhadātena* | *rājñaḥ kṣaharātasya kṣatrapasya nahapānasya jāmātrā dīnīkaputreṇa uṣavadātena* | By Uṣavadāta, the son-in-law of King Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapa Nahapāna, the son of Dīnīka, |
| *tigosatasahasa[de]ṇa* | *trigośatasahasradena* | the giver of three hundred thousand cows, |
| *nadiyā baṇāsāyā s[u]vaṇatathakarena* | *nadyā bārṇāsāyāṃ suvarṇadānatīrthakareṇa* | who established a holy site on the river Bārṇāsā through a donation of gold, |
| *… brahmaṇana ca soḷa[sa]gāma[d]e[na]* | *devatabhyaḥ brāhmaṇebhyaś ca ṣoḍaśagrāmadena* | who gave sixteen villages to the deities and Brāhmaṇas, |
| *prabhāse pūtatithe brahmaṇāna aṭhabhāyāp[r]a[dena]* | *prabhāse puṇyatīrthe brāhmaṇebhyaḥ aṣṭabhāryāpradena* | who gave eight wives to the Brāhmaṇas at the holy site in Prabhāsa, |
| *anuvāsaṃ pi tu satasahasaṃ bhojapayita*[38] | *anuvarṣaṃ brāhmaṇaśatasāhasrībhojāpayitrā* | who feeds hundreds of thousands of Brāhmaṇas every year, |
| | *bharukacche daśapure govardhane śorpārage ca catuśālāvasadhapratiśrayapradena* | who gave four-roomed rest-houses in Bharukaccha, Dáśapura, Govardhana, and Śūrpāraka, |
| | *ārāmataḍāgaudapānakareṇa* | who has made gardens, tanks, and wells, |
| | *ibāpārādādamaṇatāpīkarabeṇā-dāhanukānāvāpuṇyatarakareṇa* | who has established free crossings at the Ibā, Pārādā, Damaṇa, Tāpī, Karabeṇā, Dāhanukā, and Nāvā rivers, |
| | *etāsāṃ ca nadīnāṃ ubhato tīraṃ sabhāprapākareṇa* | and who has established public watering-stations on both banks of these rivers, |
| | *piṃḍītakāvaḍe govardhane suvarṇamukhe śorpārage ca rāmatīrthe carakaparṣabhyaḥ grāme nānaṃgole dvātrīśatanāḷiger-amūlasahasrapradena* | who gave thirty-two thousand coconut-tree stems at the village Nānaṃgola to the assocations of carakas at Pīṃḍītakāvaḍa, Govardhana, Suvarṇamukha, and Śūrpāraka, |
| | *govardhane trīraśmiṣu parvateṣu dharmātmanā…* | who was very pious in the Triraśmi hills at Govardhana… |

Table 2.1: Comparison of the introductory portion of Uṣavadāta's inscriptions (Karle = **K13**, Nasik = **N10**])

These inscriptions represent two sets of choices, and two sets of cultural-historical possibilities, regarding language use. The "Karle path" involved the use of Middle Indic for any and all purposes that required permanent inscription; it was a direct continuation of the language practices an earlier era. The "Nasik path" involved a differentiation of language. Sanskrit was used to reinscribe portions of discourse that had already been inscribed in Middle Indic at Karle, thus forming an association between Sanskrit and the permanence of iterability, and between Sanskrit and the kinds of discourse that merited this permanence: the expressive self-representation of political power. The creation of distinct discursive functions for Sanskrit implied the relegation of Middle Indic to other functions: the specific, the documentary, the occasional. By calling these different sets of choices "paths" I mean to connect them to their longer-term effects. The "Nasik path" leads somewhere: to the expansion of Sanskrit in political discourse at the expense of Middle Indic, to the devaluation and destabilization of Middle Indic, and to the redetermination of Sanskrit as not just a language of power but the language of power.

This reconfiguration occurred along aesthetic, and emphatically not religious or sectarian, dimensions. Indeed Uṣavadāta's inscriptions represent an economy of religious donation that cuts across sectarian boundaries: according to the Nasik inscription, Uṣavadāta purchased a field from a Brahman family, then donated it to the local Buddhist community along with a rock-cut cave, on the walls of which he recorded his prior donations to Brahmans. The use of Sanskrit for expressive purposes finds parallels in two other inscriptions, which together testify to the large geographic area in which these changes were rapidly taking place. An inscription from the reign of Śoḍāsa in Mathurā (early 1st c. CE) features a date in Middle Indic and a verse in Sanskrit in the *bhujaṅgavijṛmbhita* meter.[39] And a fragmentary inscription from Sannati [**SaZ1**], which was found close to the fragmentary eulogy of Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi, speaks of a deceased king—probably Gautamīputra himself—in

---

[39]    Lüders (1937–1938).

Sanskrit verses, one in the *vasantatilaka* meter and one in the *āryā* meter. This inscription probably dates to the period between 85 and 100 CE.

The Sātavāhanas put an end to the Kṣaharātas, but did not thereby put an end to the language question of the 1ˢᵗ century CE. In their inscriptions—most explicitly in the eulogy of Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi—they represented their victory as a return of social and political order. But some of these inscriptions remained only a few steps from those of Uṣavadāta. According to the cultural logic that governed inscription, what was inscribed should not and could not be uninscribed. The official documents of the "reconquista" reaffirm the traditional language practices of the Sātavāhanas, or more precisely, they "traditionalized" practices that previously had no cultural valence. The use of Middle Indic, which earlier generations had taken for granted, now contrasted with a different set of practices. Thus when the Sātavāhanas boast of restoring social and political order, and do so in Middle Indic, they are proclaiming a restoration of a cultural order as well. They had been forced to take a stand on the language question.

The Sātavāhanas were well attuned to the possibilities of language as an instrument of culture-power, and for these purposes they gave their strongest support to languages other than Sanskrit: the inscriptional Middle Indic of their ancestors, which became a vehicle for political literary prose, and the language of literature in the Deccan plains, which became a vehicle for courtly lyric. This does not mean that they were in principle opposed to the use of Sanskrit for such purposes, or that they "attempted to preserve Sanskrit in its ancient and pristine sacral isolation," although those possibilities remain open.[40] The mainstay of their cultural politics seems not to have been the strict confinement of Sanskrit to the ritual sphere, but rather the creation of a new sphere of culture-power in which Sanskrit did not already have a monopoly. It is ironic, but predictable in hindsight, that Sanskrit, once introduced into this sphere, would fill it to the exclusion of the languages that the Sātavāhanas

---

[40]    Pollock (2006b: 72).

themselves promoted.

Even after their victory over the Kṣaharātas, the Sātavāhanas had to adjust to a larger political reality in which their cultural practices, to whatever extent they were normative within their own empire, were not quite so normative outside of it. Most importantly, the Sātavāhanas found themselves in an uneasy alliance with the Kārdamaka rulers of Ujjayinī. Like the Kṣaharātas, these rulers were Śakas and called themselves Kṣatrapas, and like the Kṣaharātas they were receptive to the political powers of Sanskrit. In 150 CE, the Kārdamaka ruler Rudradāman produced what has been seen as one of the founding documents of the Sanskrit cosmopolis: a long eulogistic inscription in Sanskrit literary prose carved onto the face of a rock at Junāgaṛh. The history surveyed so far, however, puts us in a position to see this inscription somewhat differently, not as the sudden emergence of a new kind of discourse, but as one step—albeit more of a leap—in the dialectical development of a language of power. To trace this development, we need to start from about a hundred years earlier.

Why were rulers like Uṣavadāta receptive to the political uses of Sanskrit in the first place?[41] The texts that survive do not give us access to their intentions. One suggestion has been that these foreigners faced a severe "legitimation crisis"—their rule, as the *Yugapurāṇa* conveys in no uncertain terms, was thought to betide the end of the world—and hence they turned to Sanskrit in order to publicly demonstrate their acceptance of the sociocultural authority of the Brahmans.[42] There are, however, good reasons to be skeptical of this theory, both the general model of legitimation through the instrumental use of cultural signifiers, and the specific claim that Sanskrit was such signifier.

---

[41] Witzel's suggestion (Witzel 2006: 467) that the Kṣaharātas tried and failed "to imitate the classical Sanskrit used by their Kṣatrapa neighbors" (i.e., Rudradāman), is based on an outdated chronology (that of Sircar 1965). Nahapāna lived about a hundred years before Rudradāman.

[42] According to Lubin (2005: 94), the Kṣatrapas "demonstrate[d] the legitimacy of [their] rule by embracing the sacral authority of the brahmins." Witzel (2006: 467) invokes a general rule that "outsiders chose to follow local, native tradition and religion strenuously as they wanted to legitimize themselves in the eyes of their subjects (and neighbors)." Neither Lubin nor Witzel define legitimation or justify the extension of legitimation theory from 20th-century Europe to 1st-century India.

Orthodox Brahmans, the putative audience of this political theater, might even have regarded political self-glorification as an illegitimate use of their sacred language. Another theory emphasizes the very illegitimacy, according to the traditional understanding, of these new practices: foreigners were able to use Sanskrit in new ways precisely because they did not feel themselves to be bound by the sociocultural norms that kept Sanskrit strictly within the sphere of Vedic ritual. "In wresting from the schools and liturgy of the Brahmans their mysterious language," wrote Sylvain Lévi, these foreigners "raised up against the confused variety of local Prākrits an adversary which alone was capable of triumphing over it."[43]

My explanation relies on a distinction between discourse in Sanskrit, which necessarily involves a will to compose in Sanskrit, and discourse in "hybrid" languages—a term that has become standard despite problems with the metaphor of hybridity (p. 67)—which does not self-evidently involve such a will, however similar to Sanskrit such languages might appear to us. These practices are related to each other, but they are not two points on a sliding scale of "sanskritization": the willful use of Sanskrit took place against a background of "hybrid" language practices. There are political aspects to both practices, but the motivations and strategies behind them might have been much more different than is usually thought. In particular, the use of "hybrid" languages does not necessarily betoken a desire for prestige or legitimacy, or even correctness.

Polities of the 1st century CE were transregional in two senses. The Sātavāhana empire, from its very beginnings, incorporated smaller areas into a political supraregion that the Sātavāhanas themselves called "the Southern Path." The polities of the Kṣaharātas and Kārdamakas were organized as military governorships—satrapies, in the Achaemenid political model that they inherited—that migrated over enormous areas. In both types of polities, locally-dominant language practices must have come in contact with each other at the highest levels of official discourse. And as these two types of

---

[43]   Lévi (1904: 174). Pollock similarly argues that these foreigners "sought to turn Sanskrit into an instrument of cultural-political power of a new sort" (2006b: 72).

polities confronted each other over the course of the 1st and 2nd centuries CE, they borrowed, adapted, and contested each others' strategies for navigating the complexities of language use within their realms. The Kṣaharātas, for example, had used three scripts on their coins: Kharoṣṭhī, Greek, and Brāhmī, reflecting their movement from the northwest, where the erstwhile Indo-Greek kingdoms were located, to western and southern India. Upon contact with them, the Sātavāhanas adopted the practice of issuing portrait coins with bilingual legends. These coins featured Middle Indic on one side and Tamil on the other.[44] And while most of their coin series continued to have legends in Middle Indic, they experimented with legends in Sanskrit as well.[45]

Sanskrit played an increasingly important role in the language practices of the Kṣatrapas, but probably more because of the fact that they were migratory and in need of a workable *lingua franca* than because of the fact that they were foreign and in need of legitimacy. All of the Kṣatrapas, including the family of Rājūvula at Mathurā as well as the Kṣaharātas and Kārdamakas, are associated with what has been called "Epigraphic Hybrid Sanskrit."[46] This name is modelled on what Franklin Edgerton called "Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit," which encompasses any type of Sanskrit used by Buddhists that deviates in any degree from the standard Sanskrit defined by Pāṇini. Epigraphic Hybrid Sanskrit, too, encompasses any inscriptional language in which there is a mixture of standard Sanskrit forms with Middle Indic forms. The received wisdom is that this language represents an attempt to write in Sanskrit on the part of people who didn't actually know the language, and that what induced these people to make the attempt was the cultural superiority of the Brahmans—and particularly the Brahmans of Mathurā, from where Epigraphical Hybrid Sanskrit is thought to radiate.[47] The major

---

[44]   Rapson (1908 [1967]: xci) and Sircar (1963–1964c) called the language "Dravidian Prakrit"; it has since been interpreted as Tamil (Panneerselvam 1969; Krishnan 2002) or Telugu (Sarma 1973). Comparison with early Tamil inscriptions confirms their interpretation as Tamil (Mahadevan 2003: 199).

[45]   Bhandare (1999: 135).

[46]   Damsteegt (1978, 1989).

[47]   This is the view of Damsteegt (1978); see p. 223 (for the influence of Mathurā) and p. 208 (for the influence of

flaw of this account is that people were quite capable of writing correct Sanskrit, or of having it written, if they wanted to: Sanskrit and Epigraphical Hybrid Sanskrit sometimes appear side-by-side in the same inscription, as in Uṣavadāta's Nasik record.

The "sanskritization" of Middle Indic finds a better explanation in the fact that Sanskrit forms—which need not necessarily have been recognized as belonging to the Sanskrit language at all—were often the common denominator among the locally-dominant languages that the Kṣatrapas encountered on their distant campaigns. Forms such as *kṣatrapasa*, which look "sanskritized" in comparison to forms such as *khatapasa*, may be reflect the influence of relatively conservative languages such as Gāndhārī. In this case, as in many others, the case-ending may remain "unsanskritized" simply because most of the locally-dominant languages agree.[48]. On this account, sanskritization did not begin as sanskritization at all, but as a regression to the linguistic mean. A bottom-up explanation like this for such a broadly-based cultural phenomenon as sanskritization should be preferred on principle to top-down explanations that invoke the strategic use of cultural signifiers by a foreign elite. But they are not mutually incompatible: once the language of inscriptional discourse could be recognized as Sanskrit, which would perhaps involve its passing a certain threshold of "hybridity," then one could choose to compose in Sanskrit.

Where we do actually encounter Sanskrit in the inscriptions of the 1st and 2nd centuries—apart from verse, which is only ever inscribed in Sanskrit—it is a translation of an existing discourse. This can clearly be observed in Uṣavadāta's inscriptions, one of which is a translation into Sanskrit of the other. Both inscriptions, however, can be thought of more broadly as translations of a discourse of power that the Sātavāhanas had developed in previous generations. I claim that this is equally true of

_____

Brahmanical culture).

[48]  The Sanskrit form is *kṣatrapasya*; the Gāndhārī forms are *kṣatrapasa* and *kṣatravasa* (see the Gāndhārī Dictionary at `http://gandhari.org/n_dictionary.php`). All Middle Indic languages (including Gāndhārī) have the ending *-assa*, written *-asa* in the Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī scripts

the mature political Sanskrit of Rudradāman. All of the inscriptions prior to 150 CE that are dated to the reigns of Rudradāman or his grandfather Caṣṭana are simple memorials composed in Epigraphic Hybrid Sanskrit. It is only after he entered into a marital alliance with the Sātavāhanas, and only after open hostilities with the Sātavāhanas broke out, that Rudradāman could have wanted to, and could have been able to, produce the kind of inscription that he did at Junāgaṛh. Rudradāman's daughter, and the wife of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi, left a unique inscription in Sanskrit in the Kānheri caves just north of today's Mumbai [**Ka16**]. Rudradāman referred to his son-in-law in his Junāgaṛh inscription [**Juna1**] less than ten years later: he "acquired fame by sparing Sātakarṇi, the Lord of the Southern Path, because their relation was not remote, although he defeated him twice in a fair fight."[49] Rudradāman's reinvention of Sanskrit, which undoubtedly did "turn it into an instrument of cultural-political power of a new sort," took place in a context where discourses of power were being borrowed, adapted, transformed, and ultimately used against each other.

One advantage to seeing this reinvention as a kind of translation is that it privileges the connections between political Sanskrit and political Middle Indic—and the literary style and ornamentation that had come to define the latter—over the connections between political Sanskrit and religious Sanskrit. We all know that Vedic and classical Sanskrit are quite different. To the question of what, specifically, makes classical Sanskrit different, our answers would have to include its courtly ethos, its aestheticized and idealized view of the world, its rich inventory of figures of sound and sense, and its use of well-defined literary styles. All of these features appear for the first time in Middle Indic inscriptions. From this perspective we can see classical Sanskrit as a translation of the expressive discourses in Middle Indic that the Sātavāhanas helped to define, promote, and patronize.[50]

---

[49] Line 12: *dakṣiṇāpathapates sātakarṇer dvir api nīrvyām avajītyāvajītya saṃbaṃdhā[vi]dūra[ta]yā anutsādanāt prāptayaśasā.*

[50] Pischel's remark, "many a famous Sanskrit work, I think, will turn out to be an imitation of a Prâkrit original" (Pischel 1886: 13 n. 1), should thus be modified to reflect translation on the level of discourse rather than on the level of the individual work. I thank Sheldon Pollock for the reference.

# The Legacy of the Sātavāhanas

The Sātavāhana empire disintegrated around the second quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE, and in the following century what Sircar has called the "Age of Prakrit" ended as well.[51] In some places, the transition to the "Age of Sanskrit" was fairly immediate, as if all resistance to using Sanskrit as a public and political language disappeared with the Sātavāhanas themselves. The Śakas of Ujjayinī and their Ābhīra allies might have seen the demise of the Sātavāhanas as a victory for their own cultural politics. As an example, just a few steps away from the Queen's cave at Nasik, a Śaka woman named Viṣṇudattā recorded a donation in Sanskrit during the reign of the Ābhīra king Māḍharīputra Īśvarasena ([**N15**]). In much of South India, however, the transition to the "Age of Sanskrit" took several centuries, as the successors of the Sātavāhanas carefully negotiated their legacy. Yet even here, dynasties that began by issuing official documents in Middle Indic—the Vākāṭakas, the Kadambas, the Pallavas, the Śālaṅkāyanas—would all come to use Sanskrit for this purpose by the 5<sup>th</sup> century.

The choice to follow the cultural model of the Sātavāhanas or the Kṣatrapas of Ujjayinī, and thus to follow the "Karle path" or the "Nasik path," was an important part of this process, which we can see most clearly among the the Ikṣvākus of Vijayapurī, now known as Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The Ikṣvākus were the direct successors of the Sātavāhanas in the region, and there are continuities in the way they represented themselves. A number of inscriptions related to the founding of a monastic complex in the city contain a dual eulogy to the Buddha and to the founder of the Ikṣvāku dynasty, Śrī Cāntamūla, that resembles and at some points echoes the Sātavāhana inscriptions in language and style.[52] At the same time, the Ikṣvākus pursued marital alliances with the Kṣatrapas of Ujjayinī, after

---

[51]   Sircar (1939); for a more recent statement of the same view, see Menon (1996: 251).

[52]   From **Nag1** [C3] (of the Buddha): *sidhaṃ namo bhagavato devarāja-sakatasa supabudha-bodhino savaṃñuno sava-satānukampakasa jita-rāga-dosa-moha-vipamutasa mahāgaṇi-vasabha-[gaṃ]dhahathisa samma-sam[budh]asa dhātuvara-parigahitasa*; (of Śrī Cāntamūla): *mahārajasa virūpakhapati-mahāsena-parigahitasa hiraṇa-koṭa- go-satasahasa-hala-satasaha[sa-]dāyisa savathesu apatihata-saṃkapasa vāsiṭhiputasa ikhākusa siri-cātamūlasa*. Note the linking of the two passages by the word *parigahitasa*, and the connection between *apatihata-saṃkapasa* and the

64

which there appears to be a trend toward the use of Sanskrit in inscriptions.[53]   A somewhat later inscription [**NagZ4**] clearly demonstrates the continuing and parallel influence of these two families, Sātavāhanas and Kārdamakas, on the imagination of power at Vijayapurī: a local official named Śivaseba noted in Sanskrit his installation of an image of Viṣṇu Aṣṭabhujasvāmin "which neither the king Śaka Rudradāman of Avanti nor Viṣṇurudraśivalānanda Sātakarṇi of Vanavāsa"—belonging to family of Sātavāhana epigones—"were able to move from its original location at Sañjayapurī."[54] The legacy of the Sātavāhanas is explicitly invoked in other South Indian inscriptions.  The Tāḷaguṇḍa inscription of the Kadambas [**Tala1**], from the mid-5th century, refers to a temple that "pious kings such as Sātakarṇi, seeking to obtain the highest good, faithfully revered."[55]

Another aspect of the process of transition was the regionalization of Middle Indic. The language that the Sātavāhanas employed in their inscriptions was nearly identical over three centuries. But in the 3rd c. CE, smaller regions were no longer subject to the centralized authority of the Sātavāhanas, which had mediated the entire history of inscription, and perhaps of textuality more broadly, in many of these regions. What we see in a wide variety of post-Sātavāhana inscriptions, rather than the sudden emergence of regional languages, are forms of Middle Indic with amplified regional particularities,

---

*apratihata-cakasa* of Nāṇeghāṭ and the *apatihata-bala-vāhano* of Udayagiri (see fn. 17).  A longer eulogy of the Buddha is found on inscription G.

[53]   No Sanskrit inscription is dated to the reigns of Śrī Cāntamūla (r. ca. 225–240) or Vīrapuruṣadatta (r. ca. 240–265); Sanskrit inscriptions appear in the reign of Ehuvula Cāntamūla (r. ca. 265–290) and Rudrapuruṣadatta (r. ca. 290–315).  One of Vīrapuruṣadatta's wives was Rudradharabhaṭṭārikā, "daughter of the mahārāja of Ujjayinī" (*ujanikā-mahāra-balikā mahādevi rudradharabhat[ā]rikā*, in **Nag1**, inscription B 5), and one of Ehuvula Cāntamūla's wives—and the mother of Rudrapuruṣadatta—was Vammabhaṭṭa, "the daughter of a Mahākṣatrapa" in **Nag63**.

[54]   For this reading and interpretation see Salomon (2013):  *saṃjayapur[ī]to yo rāj[ā]bhi āva[nta]kena śakena Rudradām[e]na vānavāsakena [ca] viṣṇurudraśivalānanda[sāta]karṇṇinā [s]th[ā]nāto pi na cālito.*

[55]   Verse 33 (in an obscure *mātrāsamaka* meter):
*sayiha bhagavato bhavasyādidevasya siddhyālaye siddha-gāndharvva-rakṣo-gaṇais sevite*
   *vividha-niyama-homa-dīkṣā-parair brāhmaṇai snātakai stūyamāne sadā-mantra-vādaiś śubhaiḥ |*
*sukṛtibhir avanīścarair ātma-niśśreyasaṃ prepsubhis sātakarṇyādibhiś śraddhayābhyarccite*
   *idam urusalilopayogāśrayaṃ bhūpatix kārayām āsa kākusthavarmmā taḍākam mahat ||*

a language which was "neither wholly popular, nor entirely regulated."[56] Ikṣvāku inscriptions, for example, sometimes change initial *s* to *h*, and sometimes write etymological voiced stops as voiceless. Both are clearly features of a South Dravidian substrate.[57] Many inscriptions of this period exhibit features that are also found in literary Prakrit, but which are more likely to be taken from the spoken language of the Central Deccan than from literary texts: the change of initial *y* to *j*, the continuative in *-ūṇa*, the loss of contrast between retroflex and dental nasals, or the locative in *-amhi*.[58] These tendencies are neither inexorable nor irreversible: regionalisms can be found in an early inscription [**Mal1**] of Viṇhukaḍḍa Cuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi, a ruler of northern Karnataka, but not in a later inscription of the same ruler [**Ba2**].

One final trend in post-Sātavāhana inscriptions helps us to understand the transition to the "Age of Sanskrit." Increasingly these inscriptions feature formulas, prayers, and verses, and these in increasing proportions. These are the fragments of discourse which stood outside of their own time and which could have been, and in fact often were, iterated across inscriptions. And these fragments are mostly written in Sanskrit: this includes seals and auspicious phrases [**Va1, Pall3**], invocations [**Pat1**], royal genealogies [**Va1**], and imprecatory verses [**Pall4, Sal1, Sal2, Sal3**]. The most stringent discursive regularity of all is that verse of any kind, in any inscription, is in Sanskrit.[59] As we have already seen, the distinction between Sanskrit and Middle Indic engenders new discursive functions: Middle Indic becomes the language of the occasional, that which is strictly delimited by time and place, while Sanskrit becomes the language of the permanent. This distinction clearly leads to a kind of inflation:

---

[56] Pischel (1981 [1900]: 8 n. 5).

[57] For the loss of initial *s* see Burrow (1947); the pronunciation of post-nasal or intervocal stops as voiced is a general feature of many South Dravidian languages (such as Tamil) in which voice is not contrastive.

[58] These are found in the inscriptions of the Sālaṅkāyanas [**Sal1, Sal2, Sal3**] (the relatively late inscription of Hastivarman II [**Sal4**] shows a promiscuous mixture of Sanskrit and Middle Indic words), the Bāsim plates of the early Vākāṭakas [**Va1**], and the Pātagaṇḍigūḍem plates of Ehuvula Cāntamūla [**Pat1**].

[59] The one (very early) exception is Rāmgaṛh (Falk 1991).

if all inscription is meant to be permanent in some sense, then why should one ever use the language of the occasional and impermanent?

The outcome of these processes was the total obsolescence of Middle Indic as an inscriptional language. If it was unthinkable to use Sanskrit to commemorate political power at the beginning of the Sātavāhana empire, it was unthinkable not to use Sanskrit within a few generations of its dissolution. The way that the Sātavāhanas represented political power, however, far outlasted the languages that they represented it in. They stand at the beginning of the genealogy of political eulogy (*praśasti*) in India, a discursive form in which culture and power were co-constitutive, and thus one of the most important forms of the Sanskrit cosmopolis.[60] The influence of the Sātavāhana rulers, "whose mounts have drunk from the water of the three oceans," can be heard even in the titles given to the Gupta emperor Candragupta II, "lord of the three oceans" and "one whose glory has tasted the water of the four oceans," who was after all related by marriage to the Vākāṭakas, once feudatories of the Sātavāhanas and at the time of Candragupta II their most powerful successors.[61]

## Conclusion

The foregoing account has implications for the way we think of two interrelated phenomena, the sanskritization and literarization of discourse. However little we know about them, they are important to any story we might want to tell about culture and power in premodern India.

Sanskritization is a general term for the process by which a discourse that had previously been in some other language comes to take on features of Sanskrit more or less completely. It has almost always

---

[60]  See Pollock (2006b: 115–161) on *praśasti*. Sircar (1939) already appreciated the influence of the Sātavāhanas on subsequent political discourse.

[61]  *ti-samuda-toya-pīta-vāhanasa* [**N2**]; *trisamudranātha-* (in the Kevala Narasiṃha temple inscription, [**Va5**]), *catur-udadhi-salilāsvādita-yaśā* (in the Pune plates of Prabhāvatīgupta, [**Va2**]).

been studied in relation to sets of evidence that are limited by medium, region, and sect, for example the birch-bark scrolls belonging to Buddhist communities in Gandhāra, although it is acknowledged to have been an "overall linguistic trend which transcended sectarian divisions."[62] Sanskritization is still commonly described, if not quite conceptualized, as a process of "hybridization," although the limitations and liabilities of hybridity as a governing metaphor are increasingly well-known. A hybrid is often so called simply because it does not fit into the categories that we have grown accustomed to using. And often widely divergent uses of language are grouped together as constituting a "hybrid" for precisely this reason, and hence philologically and historically important distinctions are lost.[63]

The tendency has been to look for Brahmans behind every process of sanskritization, and to postulate them when they can't be found. There are some striking contradictions and equivocations in this approach: the same Brahmans who are said to have so vehemently resisted the "culture of writing" introduced by Buddhism, and to have declared that Sanskrit must never be written down, are also said to have somehow come to defend not just a culture of writing, but a culture of writing Sanskrit in particular, which thereby "regained its status of a religiously legitimized literary language."[64] The developments discussed in this chapter allow us to be more specific and more circumspect about the relations between script, language, religion, and social identity.

From the perspective of the agents involved in them, it may even be inaccurate to call these processes "sanskritization" to begin with. First, although the language practices that we identify with Sanskrit had been around for quite a long time, the recognition of those practices as constituting a distinct

---

[62]   Salomon (1998: 85–86).

[63]   See Salomon (2001) and Salomon (1995: 302): "the tendency has been... to view, and sometimes dismiss, the hybrids as some sort of exceptional and 'artificial' linguistic construction, or to attribute them to some vaguely stated 'influence' of Prakrit on Sanskrit or vice versa." For the problems of hybridity, see Flood (2009: 150–151); for a criticism of Franklin Edgerton's expansive definition of "Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit," see Brough (1954).

[64]   Strauch (2012: 150); see also Bronkhorst (2010).

language with the name "Sanskrit" is in all likelihood a product of this very period.[65] The first evidence of a clear differentiation between Sanskrit and non-Sanskrit in inscriptions is found in Uṣavadāta's Nasik record. Second, it was possible to produce Sanskrit-like forms simply by defaulting to the forms that would have been recognized or recognizable across the large regions that the political actors of the 1st and 2nd c. CE traversed. And hence many of the practices we consider to be "sanskritized" or "hybridized" do not necessarily reflect a will to write in a language called Sanskrit at all. Third, scholarship generally fails to distinguish between the preconditions and causes of sanskritization. If Brahmans, prestige, and the need for legitimation were all these processes required, there is no reason why they should have occurred in the 1st and 2nd c. CE, or indeed why they should not be occurring right now. It is only when we look at cultural changes, and above all the creation and contestation of a poetry of politics between the Sātavāhanas and the Kṣatrapas, that we can understand the genuinely new roles that Sanskrit and its others occupied in the 1st c., and the complex ways in which these roles redetermined the languages that occupied them.[66] The evidence simply does not permit a reduction of language practices to religious determinants.

Literarization is a slightly more elusive phenomenon. In the usage of Sheldon Pollock, it is the process by which a language is rendered appropriate for literary expression, as distinguished from literization, the process by which a language is put into writing.[67] In the context of discourse as a whole, rather than of particular languages, I assign literarization a slightly different meaning: the process by

---

[65] See, with deep reservations, Bronkhorst (2011: 18): according to his reading of early Indian sources, "different languages, each exhibiting its own structure, do not exist. Ultimately there is only Sanskrit, and other languages in principle share its structure." In this connection it is interesting to note that the Rabatak inscription of Kaniṣka (Sims-Williams 2004) from around 130 CE refers to the "Indian" (υνδοοαο, *hindwa*) form of several names.

[66] So, rightly, Strauch (2012: 151) says of Gandharan Buddhist literature: "... the process of sanskritization did not only involve a *linguistic* shift within the boundaries of Buddhist literature but did also include a *cultural* change which implied a more intensive confrontation with new branches of non-Buddhist literature composed in Sanskrit."

[67] These processes had been known to earlier scholars (Jacobi 1886a calls the first "Ausbildung" and the second "Verschriftlichung"), but not their relationship to each other.

which an existing discourse takes on "literary" features, whatever those features are and however they are defined, or by which a new discourse characterized by these features is created (see p. 125). I have traced the literarization of the language of inscriptions, starting from the early 1st century CE to the 4th and 5th centuries CE, when the authors of political inscriptions could explicitly and unproblematically call their compositions "literature" (*kāvya-*). The key actors in this history are the Sātavāhanas, who were the first and among the most influential practicioners of the poetry of politics. The literarization of political discourse over which they presided ran parallel to the literarization of literary discourse, or in other words, the emergence of a discourse that was conscious of itself as literature. This was *pāuakavva-*, Prakrit poetry, and its emergence and relation to the wider field of textual production is the subject of the following chapter.

# Chapter 3

# Inventing Prakrit: The Languages of Literature

> Consciousness finds itself inevitably facing the necessity of *having to choose a language*. With each literary-verbal performance, consciousness must actively orient itself amidst heteroglossia, it must move in and occupy a position for itself within it, it chooses, in other words, a "language."
>
> Michael Bakhtin[1]

## The Two Histories of Prakrit Literature

A précis of the early history of Prakrit literature might run as follows: Prakrit was the language of courtly poetry in the Deccan in the first half of the first millennium CE, and its major landmarks

---

[1]     Bakhtin (1981: 295).

include the *Seven Centuries*, an anthology of lyrics attributed to a king of the Sātavāhana dynasty named Hāla, as well as *Hari's Triumph* by Sarvasena and *Rāvaṇa's Demise* by Pravarasena, both epics by kings of the Vākāṭaka dynasty in present-day Maharashtra. Prakrit was also the language of the texts produced by Jain monks in around the same period, whether they take the form of commentaries on a canonical text, recastings of the narratives of other traditions (such as the *Wanderings of Vasudeva* by Saṅghadāsa, a Jain version of Guṇāḍhya's *Great Story*, or the *Deeds of Padma* by Vimala, a Jain version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*), or entirely new stories (such as Pādalipta's *Taraṅgavatī*).

In this chapter I want to focus on the "also." What I offer here is not just a reading of Prakrit's earliest known works, but an attempt to read them together, as works that represent and define "Prakrit" in the singular. The way that the history of Prakrit literature has usually been told—to the limited extent that it has been told at all—splits it into two histories. One of these is "courtly" and "Brahmanical," and the other is "popular" and "Jain."[2] This bifurcation is not just a convenient way of organizing texts and authors which, like most such conveniences, can easily become facile and reductive. It has become foundational to way that Prakrit is understood today—as a generic term for a group of languages, and their associated literary practices, that do not have much to do with each other. This separation of Prakrit's history into "Jain" and "non-Jain" strands, however valid it may be for understanding the literary production of a later period, is deeply misleading for the earliest period. It may well be the case that these strands are so closely intertwined that we might have to abandon the vocabulary of separation altogether. This is very plausibly the case for the Prakrit-producing literary culture of the western Deccan: the "non-Jain" *Seven Centuries* and the "Jain" *Taraṅgavatī* were thought to come from the very same court.

The two histories of Prakrit converge upon a very obscure but very important period. The

---

2     Alsdorf (2006 [1965]: 15–16). The only comprehensive history of Prakrit literature that I know is Jain (1961) which is organized into Jain and non-Jain sections (Jain 2004 presents much of the same material in English). For the conceit of "two histories" and its critical potential see Kaviraj (2003) and especially Chakrabarty (2000).

standard literary histories represent the first centuries of the common era as a "dark age": few literary productions survive from this period, and of those that do survive, almost nothing specific is known about their dates, authors, and places of composition. The idea of a "dark age" belongs to the same figure as that of a "golden age" under the Guptas in the 4th and 5th centuries, which was proposed by Max Müller in the 1880s.[3] Although the chronology that Müller proposed is now completely discredited, the idea of a "golden age" had more staying power. We can briefly consider two discoveries that did more than anything else to discredit Müller's theory. Georg Bühler's work on Indian inscriptions convinced him that the literary practices that Müller associated with the Guptas had existed for centuries prior to the Guptas. And the discovery of Aśvaghoṣa's poems, which likewise antedated the Guptas by several centuries, meant that golden-age poets like Kālidāsa were not the first of their kind.[4] These discoveries had the effect of reframing Müller's "golden age" not as a period, but as a set of cultural practices that distinctively characterize that period; these practices might have existed, and according to Bühler did exist, long before that period. Even with this reframed idea, however, there is a danger that the practices of the golden age will become the subject of any history at all, and that everything will be classified as either an instance of such practices, as as a precursor to or epigone of such practices, with the evaluative dimensions that both of these terms imply.

For these reasons, although the history of Prakrit literature is very closely bound up with the history of Sanskrit literature, I do not want to take "Sanskrit literature" for granted as the lens through which we understand and historicize it. This means I will try to avoid narratives of the "pre-classical," a practice that both leads to and fails to itself become classical.[5] These narratives hold that Prakrit

---

[3] Winternitz (1985 [1920]: 37), Keith (1920: 223–226), Lienhard (1984: 64). For the golden age see Müller (1883); the idea is reprised in Ingalls (1976).

[4] Bühler (1890); Lévi (1908) contains a short *aperçu* of the discovery and reception of Aśvaghoṣa's works (and was followed in 1909 by Haraprasad Shastri's discovery of *Handsome Nanda*).

[5] See Wright (1966), who uses the designation "non-classical," partly as a provocation.

literature is a precursor to Sanskrit literature, embodying the same style, themes and outlook but in a less developed and less sophisticated way, or rather represents what Sanskrit literature had to turn away from in order to become refined and courtly.

At the same time, however, I do want to focus my narrative upon a specific set of cultural practices: those of *kāvya*, commonly but not unproblematically rendered as "classical," "courtly," or "belletristic" literature. The form of the word *kāvya* implies that we are dealing in the first instance with Sanskrit. My contention is that the emergence of Sanskrit *kāvya* cannot be separated from the emergence of Prakrit *kavva*, that the two are linked in a strong sense. One is not straightforwardly derivative of the other. Rather, the multidirectional translation of themes, styles, and genres was a crucial part of the practice of literature in this early period. This is not simply to gainsay the historical priority of Sanskrit as a language of *kāvya*. Hermann Jacobi had long ago refuted a version of the argument that classical Sanskrit literature was made up of translations from Prakrit originals.[6] Nor is it simply to interrupt the continuity of Sanskrit textuality from the oral hymns of the *Ṛgveda* to the courtly lyrics of Kālidāsa and beyond. It does mean, however, that non-Sanskrit texts, and above all Prakrit texts, need to be taken much more seriously when the origins and early development of *kāvya* are discussed. And it refocuses this discussion, too, from a question of historical or ethnohistorical priority (which texts, which authors, which languages were the first, or were believed to be the first, to realize this new discursive form?) to a question of historical possibility (what are the sociocultural contexts within which this new form of discourse could arise?).

One of my motivations for refocusing the discussion is, admittedly, my doubt that a convincing answer to the first question can ever be found. We have heard that Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* is the first *kāvya*, but that Aśvaghoṣa's poems are the first *kāvya*s that can be placed in history, but that Patañjali knows about *kāvya* already in the second century BCE, but that the *caṅkam* poems represent a Tamil

---

6    Jacobi (1894).

74

tradition of *kāvya* that antedates and influences the Sanskrit and Prakrit tradition, but that there may be further precedents in Vedic literature, and so on. On top of this, I argued in chapter 2 that the inscriptions of the 1st and 2nd centuries CE represent a transformation in inscriptional discourse from mundane and pedestrian to elevated and literary, and that we must describe some of these inscriptions, both Sanskrit and Middle Indic, as *kāvya*. The multiplicity of possible beginnings, far from sinking the whole enterprise of theorizing the beginnings of a practice, suggests that we should ask about the role that each of these putative beginnings plays in a broader "*kāvya* movement" that spanned the subcontinent and embraced Sanskrit, Prakrit and quite possibly Tamil in its early stages—the 1st and 2nd centuries CE—and eventually came to include languages as disparate as Tocharian, Sinhala, and Javanese.

What I called the "*kāvya* movement" is but one component of what Sheldon Pollock has called the "Sanskrit cosmopolis." This was a cultural-political formation, lasting roughly from the 2nd to the 12th century and spreading over much of southern Asia, that was imagined through the universalizing discourses of Sanskrit.[7] The history of Prakrit literature, together with the history of inscriptions, suggest that cosmopolitan culture was not originally or essentially indexed to Sanskrit language practices. My argument in this chapter is that the Sātavāhanas and their successors in the Deccan channelled cultural energies into Prakrit literature, and that this literature represented an ideal of courtliness and sophistication that increasingly came to define cosmopolitan culture in South Asia. The forms of literary discourse, like those of inscriptional discourse, "Sanskritized" as they spread throughout South Asia. Importantly, however, the process of Sanskritization did not push Prakrit literature into obsolescence: in contrast to the Middle Indic of inscriptions, Prakrit remained a possibility for literary expression for more than a thousand years. Further, by foregrounding the separation of courtly poetry from religious storytelling, the two histories of Prakrit provide a way of

---

7    Pollock (1996, 2006b).

75

talking about one set of tensions inherent in the "Sanskrit cosmopolis": literature and its forms of knowledge were imagined to be the common property of groups that had mutually exclusive religious commitments, and was for the same reason a site of intense appropriation, contestation, and exclusion.

What distinguishes the "Jain" and "non-Jain" histories of Prakrit from each other is a constellation of criteria which it will be useful to review briefly and schematically.[8] The themes of love and heroism are prominent in both kinds of literature, but in Jain Prakrit these are explicitly subordinated to the theme of liberation. The principal genres of courtly Prakrit are the single lyric verse (*muktaka*) and a kind of epic that later authors would call the "great poem" (*mahākāvya*); the former is typically in the *gāthā* meter, and the latter in the *skandhaka*. That of Jain Prakrit is the story (*kathā*), whether told in verse or prose or a mixture of the two. Courtly Prakrit, especially the epic, is highly stylized and makes use of a range of figures of sound and sense, whereas the literary pretensions of Jain Prakrit are less conspicuous. The language of Jain Prakrit has always seemed distinctive to modern scholars, not only for its archaism and the influence of Ardhamāgadhī, the language of the Jain scriptures, but because it was written in a special orthography that employed the letter *y* as a hiatus-filler. These linguistic and orthographic differences are related to the different histories of transmission: different groups of people were reading, studying, commenting upon, and referring to these texts. The history of transmission is in turn related to their different social sites: courtly Prakrit, of course, being associated with royal courts and the networks of literary culture they sustained, and Jain Prakrit with temples, religious schools, and pilgrimage sites. Finally, these different locations point toward the different actors involved in each tradition: kings, courtiers, and local elites on the one hand, and monks and their lay communities on the other.

One of the goals of this exercise is to subject all of these criteria to critical examination. The first move is to doubt whether these differences are essential and originary. They certainly were codified

---

8    For further details on the formal characteristics of Prakrit literature see chapter 4.

only relatively recently, above all through the work of Hermann Jacobi and Ernst Leumann in the late 19th century which demarcated "Jain Prakrit" from "Prakrit."[9] The second move is to replace the retrospective of the present, and the two millennia of appropriation and exclusion that are bound up in it, with a prospective from the very beginnings of Prakrit literature: what would a history of Prakrit literature that is not already bifurcated into Jain and non-Jain traditions look like?

## Prakrit's Kings

Everyone knows that literature in India began with Vālmīki, the sage who transformed his grief (*śoka-*) into metrical verse (*śloka-*) and told the story of Rāma. Vālmīki is the first poet (*ādikavi-*) and the *Rāmāyaṇa* is the first poem (*ādikāvya-*).[10] What is this thing called "literature" that begins from the *Rāmāyaṇa*? Is it Sanskrit literature? Is Sanskrit already hidden inside the term "literature"? Was Prakrit contained within the tradition that began with Vālmīki, or does it have a beginning of its own?

Around 1600 CE, Lakṣmīnātha Bhaṭṭa suggested, in a commentary to a work on vernacular meters called the *Prakrit Piṅgala*, that there is space at the beginning for more than just Vālmīki, if we're willing to countenance different beginnings for each literary language. If Vālmīki is the "first poet" in Sanskrit, then Piṅgala is the "first poet" of vernacular literature (*bhāṣā*). The first poet in Prakrit, according to Lakṣmīnātha, is Śālivāhana, the legendary king to whom the *Seven Centuries* is ascribed—the most popular, the most influential, and to all appearances the earliest work of Prakrit literature.[11] And although nobody else articulated his priority in precisely this way, as far as I am aware, this king was widely viewed as one of the key figures, if not the key figure, in the Prakrit tradition.

---

[9]  Jacobi (1908–1909).

[10]  Warder (1990 [1974]: §§613–662); Pollock (2006b: 77*ff.*).

[11]  Comm. on *Prakrit Piṅgala* v. 1 (p. 2 in Kāvyamālā edition): *saṃskṛte tv ādyakavir vālmīkiḥ, prākṛte śālivāhanaḥ, bhāṣākāvye piṅgalaḥ.*

Viśveśvara, who lived in the 18th century, praised the author of the *Seven Centuries* by calling his work the "archetype" (*prakṛti*) of which all subsequent literature is an "ectype" (*vikṛti*)—including, most obviously, Viśveśvara's own *Seven Centuries*, where this verse appears.[12]

This king was known by several names. The forms Śālivāhana and Śālavāhana appear relatively late in the tradition. Early sources call him by the name of Sātavāhana or Hāla.[13] The former is the family-name of the dynasty that ruled much of the Deccan between the early 1st c. BCE and the early 3rd c. CE (see chapter 2). Later authors seem to use it primarily in reference to a single individual.[14] The name Hāla is included in the list of Sātavāhana kings found in the *purāṇa*s.[15] This is no guarantee that there actually was a king named Hāla in the Sātavāhana line, given the occasional unreliability of the *purāṇa*s and the complete absence of corroborating evidence from coins and inscriptions.[16] But the fact that Hāla was used as a personal name is corroborated by epigraphic evidence, and the forced derivation of *Hāla-* from *Sāta-* or *Sātavāhana-* proposed by several scholars must be abandoned.[17] The

---

[12]   *Seven Centuries of Āryās* v. 38: *prākṛtamayaṃ nibandhaṃ vitanvatā śālavāhananṛpeṇa | kāvyānām itareṣāṃ tadvikṛtitvaṃ kathitam arthāt ||.*

[13]   Joglekar (1946).

[14]   One exception is the Jain monk Rājaśekhara. He is forced to conclude that Sātavāhana is a family name (*sātavāhanakramikaḥ sātavāhana iti*) by a chronological discrepancy: one king of this name, he says, was a contemporary of Vikramāditya in 57 BCE, and another was a contemporary of Kālakācārya in 466 CE (*Twenty-four Prabandhas*, p. 152).

[15]   Hāla is 17th on the unified list provided by Pargiter (1913: 36), preceded by Ariṣṭakarṇa (a name that must either be a corruption or a false Sanskritization) and followed by Mantalaka (who is mentioned in the label-inscriptions at Kanaganahalli **KanA94**).

[16]   Gokhale (1988) claimed to have discovered a coin of Hāla, but Gupta (1993) showed that her reading is impossible. For the necessity to supplement the *purāṇa*s with material sources in the evaluation of their historical claims, see Bhandare (2006).

[17]   A minister named Hāla is mentioned in an inscription from Kuḍā (Burgess and Indraji 1881: 15); a similar form, Hālaka, is attested on a Brāhmī label on an ostrakon from Egypt dating to around the 2nd c. CE (Salomon 1991: 733). For the derivation see the introduction to Upadhye's edition of the *Līlāvaī*, p. 43, Sircar (1968: 207), and Warder (1990 [1974]: §771); Gopalachari (1941: 42) derives the name from *sātakarṇi* rather than from *sātavāhana*. Warder identifies Hāla with Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāvi, evidently because he was one of the dynasty's greatest kings and most likely to have patronized a great work of literature.

names are used interchangably in literary works and lexicographers treat them as synonyms.[18]

There are many stories about Sātavāhana in Indian literature, but those I will highlight here involve his patronage of Prakrit literature.[19] According to a well-known story, Sātavāhana was in despair after an embarrassing incident: as he was splashing one of his wives with water in the pool, she said "don't throw water on me!" (*modakaiḥ pūraya*), which the king took to mean as "throw laddus at me!" When the tray of laddus came out, she berated him for not knowing the first thing about Sanskrit grammar. She told him that he should have analyzed *modakaiḥ* into *mā udakaiḥ*. The sources differ regarding what comes next, but as it's told in the *Twenty-four Prabandhas*—a collection of popular tales compiled by the Jain monk Rājaśekhara in 1349—Sātavāhana propitiated the goddess of language, Bhāratī, with a three-day fast, as a result of which he became a great poet and wrote hundreds of texts. Once he asked the goddess for his entire city to become poets for an afternoon, and on that day a hundred million Prakrit verses were composed, which the king then compiled into the anthology called *Sātavāhanaka*.[20] A similar story is told in an anonymous commentary to the *Seven Centuries*. There, Sātavāhana entreats the goddess Bhāratī to stay in his palace with him. She consents to do so only for two and a half days, during which time everyone associated with the palace spontaneously started to compose poetry and

---

[18]    In one of his Sanskrit lexicons, the *Wishing-Stone of Meanings*, Hemacandra lists *Hāla* and *Sātavāhana* as synonyms (3.376). Similarly Kṣīrasvāmin, in his commentary to *Amara's Treasury* 2.8.2, quotes a verse that gives *Hāla* and *Śālivāhana* as synonyms. In his *Garland of Regional Nouns*, Hemacandra lists *Hāla* as a synonym of *Sālāhaṇa* (8.66), *Kuṃtala* as a synonym of *Hāla* (2.36), and *Caüraciṃdha* as another synonym of *Hāla* (3.7). In the latter two cases, Hemacandra explains *Hāla* as *Sātavāhana* in his Sanskrit commentary. Hemacandra evidently thought, along with Rājaśekhara before him, that Hāla-Sātavāhana was a king of the Kuntala region in what is now northern Karnataka. The name Caturacihna means that he used the signature *catura*, a fact for which Hemacandra is the only authority. Hāla and Sātavāhana are used interchangeably in the *Līlāvatī* and the *Twenty-four Prabandhas* of Rājaśekhara.

[19]    Sources for these stories (many of which have been assembled by Upadhye 1970: 6–12 and Ācārya 1982) include, from Jain narrative literature, *Twenty-four Prabandhas*), pp. 136*ff.*, *Wishing-Stone of Prabandhas*, pp. 10*ff.*, *Collection of Old Prabandhas*, pp. 11*ff.*; *The Many Places of Pilgramage*, pp. 59*ff.*, as well as the related *prabandha*s of Pādalipta and Nāgārjuna in these texts and in the *Deeds of the Promoters*; the *Līlāvatī* and the *Vīracarita* (Jacobi 1876); the relevant sections of the Kashmiri versions of the *Great Story* (Kṣemendra's *Cluster of Blossoms from the Great Story* and Somadeva's *Ocean of the Rivers of Story*); and sections of Bāṇa's *Deeds of Harṣa* and Daṇḍin's *Story of Avantisundarī*).

[20]    *Twenty-four Prabandhas*, pp. 147–148.

prose in the Prakrit language. It was these compositions that Sātavāhana then selected and arranged into seven centuries.[21]

Both of these stories describe the composition of the *Seven Centuries* as a supernatural event of collective effervescence.[22] Sātavāhana was instrumental in both bringing this event about and in transforming it into a textual artefact. We can read these stories along with another one, related by Merutuṅga in 1304, that brings the narrative closer to real-world practices of patronage. When Sātavāhana is told that he owes his good fortune in the present life to an act of selfless generosity in a previous life, he committed himself to giving away his wealth. He gathered all of the poets and scholars and offered forty million gold pieces for just four Prakrit verses, and then he arranged the verses that were produced on this occasion into a "an anthology seven centuries in extent and bearing the title *Sātavāhana*."[23] The patron, in all of these stories, creates an extraordinary circumstance by manipulating ordinary proportions in some way—either by paying an enormous amount for a small number of verses, or by having an enormous number of verse generated in a short span of time—and the site of this manipulation is invariably the royal court.

These point of origin for all of these stories is the *Seven Centuries* itself. One of its first verses (W3) reads:

> Seven hundred ornate verses amid a crore
> were put together by Hāla, dear to poets.[24]

---

[21] Weber (1874: 348): *prākṛtamayaṃ gadyapadyamayaṃ kāvyaṃ kartum upacakramire.*

[22] For "collective effervescence" see Durkheim (1995 [1912]).

[23] *Wishing-Stone of Prabandhas*, pp. 10–11: *sa śrīsātavāhanas taṃ pūrvabhavavṛttāntaṃ jātismṛtyā sākṣātkṛtya tataḥprabhṛti dānadharmam ārādhayan sarveṣāṃ mahākavīnāṃ viduṣāṃ ca saṅgrahaparaḥ catasṛbhiḥ svarṇakoṭībhir gāthācatuṣṭayaṃ kṛtvā saptaśatīgāthāpramāṇaṃ sātavāhanābhidhānaṃ saṅgrahagāthākośaṃ śāstraṃ nirmāpya nānāvadātanidhiḥ suciraṃ rājyaṃ cakāra.*

[24] *satta saāiṃ kaïvacchaleṇa koḍia majjhaārammi | hāleṇa viraïāiṃ sālaṃkārāṇa gāhāṇaṃ ||.* Numbers prefixed with W refer to Weber's 1881 *editio princeps*, from which I take the text unless otherwise noted. A crore is ten million.

The most obvious meaning is that Hāla selected seven hundred verses out of a much greater number. But it also suggests a comparison between the verses of this anthology (*kośa*) and the contents of a royal treasury (also *kośa*), and thus the very equivalence between literary wealth and monetary wealth that Merutuṅga's story turns on.[25] Another verse in the anthology mentions the Sātavāhana king (W467), comparing him to Śiva by reading the same word in two different meanings:

> There are only two who are capable of
> elevating the family of Pārvatī, or
> uplifting families fallen on hard times:
> Pārvatī's beloved husband, and the Sātavāhana king.[26]

The *Seven Centuries*, according to a unanimous literary tradition, is the product of the royal court of the Sātavāhanas, who ruled almost the entire Deccan from the 1st c. BCE to the early 3rd c. CE, with a few branches of the family hanging on for a few generations afterwards in some places. This "courtliness" is the key to our knowledge and understanding of this text, and of the entire tradition that traces itself back to this text. Its connection with the Sātavāhana court, however, has been subject to doubts. And although these doubts have little bearing on the courtly character of the *Seven Centuries* in general—this is evident from a reading of the text itself—they do bear on the dating of the anthology and its role in literary history. Here I will review a few arguments against a 1st- to 3rd-century date and explain why they are unconvincing.

One argument is based on the language of the text. The *Seven Centuries* exhibits the lenition of intervocalic consonants to a greater degree than either inscriptions of the Sātavāhana period or

---

[25] This interpretation was proposed by Sohoni (1964).

[26] *āvaṇṇāi kulāiṃ do ccia jāṇaṃti uṇṇaïṃ ṇeuṃ | gorīa hiaadaïo ahavā sālāhaṇaṇariṃdo ||*. The first word may mean "connected with Pārvatī" (*āparṇa-*) or "fallen on hard times" (*āpanna-*); the idea is that it's impossible for anyone (other than Śiva himself) to enhance the status of Pārvatī's family by marriage, since she is the daughter of the already-exalted Himālaya mountain. The verse is unanimously ascribed to Poṭṭisa, whom tradition regards as a minister of Sātavāhana (as in the *Līlāvatī*), although the printed text of Pītāmbara's commentary mistakenly associates the author-name with the preceding verse.

the language of, for example, Aśvaghoṣa's dramas (early 2nd c. CE).[27] But the assumption that every language undergoes the same development at the same rate is demonstrably false, especially when we are talking about literary languages. Luigia Nitti-Dolci likened this argument to trying to figure out the date of Dante's works by comparing his Italian to the language of present-day Lithuanian peasants: we would probably that Dante's language represents a "later stage of linguistic development," but that doesn't mean that Dante came later.[28] A more serious problem is the discrepancy between the languages of literature and the languages of inscription, which was itself highly literarized, in what I take to be the same political formation. But apart from the evident conservatism of the inscriptional language, it is likely that the language of the *Seven Centuries* was meant to be distinctive, conforming more to the poetics of sweetness (p. 129) than the poetics of power (p. 44).[29]

The second type of argument, formulated first by D. R. Bhandarkar, has the following structure: if the *Seven Centuries* were really as old as the ascription to Hāla would make it, then a whole slew of cultural references—the use of the seven-day week, skull-carrying ascetics, the romance of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, the Greek loan-word *horā* and the Persian loan-word *bandī*—would occur for the first time in this text, and that simply can't be the case. Nearly a century later, we know that some of these terms and concepts appear much earlier than Bhandarkar thought, but in any case the argument *ex silentio* is not at all probative.[30] We have every reason to expect the *Seven Centuries* to be full of firsts, if it is in fact one of the first works of a new kind of literature. One argument of this type merits special consideration because it appeared to provide a definitive terminus post quem. Bhandarkar identified

---

[27] Lenition is the softening of consonants (such as the intervocalic *t* in *mata-*, softened to *mada-* and finally *maa-*).

[28] For the language of Aśvaghoṣa's dramas see Lüders (1911). Authors who have made this argument include Weber (1881), Keith (1920: 224) and Jacobi (1886a: §14); for their refutation see Nitti-Dolci (1972 [1938]: §214).

[29] For the conservatism of the inscriptional language see Warder (1968).

[30] Bhandarkar (1917: 189). The Greek word *horā* could have been introduced as early as the 2nd c. BCE, when Greeks began to play an important role on the Indian political scene. It is discussed at length in Sphujidhvaja's *Yavanajātaka* ("Greek Genethlialogy"), which was composed in 149 CE. For the seven-day week, see Bennedik (2007), who does not mention the *Seven Centuries*. I thank Somadeva Vasudeva for the reference.

Vikramāditya, who is mentioned as a paragon of generosity in W464, with Candragupta II, who ruled in the late 4th and early 5th century. But a long and persistent tradition places the "first" Vikramāditya at 57 BCE, at the beginning of the era that bears his name. Bhandarkar's premise, that no-one could have referred to Vikramāditya before Candragupta II, raises more problems than it solves, despite D. C. Sircar's subsequent efforts to establish this point.[31] A 1st- or 2nd-century date for the *Seven Centuries* remains to be disproven.[32]

The fact that the *Seven Centuries* is a collection has provided scholars with an escape clause for the problem of its date: whatever date we assign to "the anthology itself," and whatever we understand by that phrase, individual verses might come and go. V. V. Mirashi argued on several occasions that the "core" of the *Seven Centuries* dates to the age of the Sātavāhanas, but it received additions until at least the 7th century.[33] Mirashi looked at the author-names attached to individual verses by some commentaries on the text and sought to identify their names with persons that are already known to us. But this project is flawed for several reasons. First, Mirashi identified the "core" of the *Seven Centuries* with those verses, which numbered 430 at the time of Weber's 1881 edition, that are found in all recensions of the text. But determining which verses are original is not simply a matter of checking whether a verse is present in all recensions; it requires us to have a convincing theory of the textual transmission, which neither Weber nor Mirashi had, and which we might never have. And given that the text itself proclaims its length, there is no way that we can equate the 430 shared verses with the 700-verse original. Secondly, Mirashi uses the attributions found in the commentaries uncritically, without venturing a theory of where these attributions come from and how they came to be associated

---

[31] See Sircar (1969). Legends about Sātavāhana make him a rival and contemporary of Vikramāditya (as in the *Vīracarita*).

[32] A 1st-century date has long been favored by people uninfluenced or unconvinced by Weber's and Bhandarkar's arguments; see, for example, Smith (1902: 660) and Konow (1894). See also the reference to Gopalachari (1941) in note 34.

[33] Mirashi (1945, 1947, 1948), all reprinted in his *Studies in Indology*, vol. 1. See Sohoni (1999) for a criticism.

with some but not all recensions of the *Seven Centuries*. At risk of belaboring the point, Mirashi credits Pītāmbara's attribution of four verses to Vākpatirāja, whom he identifies with the 7*th*-century author of *Gauḍa's Demise*, and he assumes that these verses are later additions. But Bhuvanapāla and Ājaḍa attribute three of these verses to different authors. And two of these four verses, despite being 7th-century additions according to Mirashi, are found in the set of 430 verses common to all recensions which, also according to Mirashi, "may have formed the original kernel of the work."[34]

One of Mirashi's points, however, speaks to the courtliness of the *Seven Centuries* in a different way. The lists of authors include a large number of names that end in -*rāja* or -*deva*. These lists thus suggest that many of the people who contributed to the *Seven Centuries* were, or at least were later thought to be, members of royal families. Some corroboration can be found in the *Līlāvatī*, a novel in Prakrit verse, probably of the 8th c., in which Sātavāhana figures as the hero. Among Sātavāhana's ministers in that text are Kumārila and Poṭṭisa, who are both noted as the authors of verses in the commentaries to the *Seven Centuries*. It is impossible at this point to say whether the narrative of the *Līlāvatī* is based on the attributions of the commentarial tradition, or the other way around.[35] But combining them gives us a more specific, and in my view quite plausible, account of the double authorship of the *Seven Centuries*. The authors whose verses comprise this text were participants in a literary culture that was centered on Hāla's court. Their verses are just not "courtly" in the thin sense of merely being composed at a court, but in the thick sense: their authors "discovered their collective consciousness

---

[34] See Mirashi (1960c: 80, 85). I do not know where he cites Pītāmbara's commentary from, but the verses he mentions as 616, 617, and 618 are found as 619, 620, and 621 in the edition of Jagdish Lal Shastri (matching the numeration of Weber's 1881 edition). W619, W620, and W621 appear in Bhuvanapāla and Ājaḍa's recension in a different position and are assigned completely different authors. Pītāmbara attributes W95 to Vākpatirāja, but the corresponding name is spelled as Bappayarāya in Ājaḍa's commentary, and assigned to W96. The form Vākpatirāja found in Pītāmbara and Bhuvanapāla may be a false Sanskritization; I strongly suspect that the original form was Bapparāya, an author who is quoted in *Svayambhū's Meters* (4.2.7). Only W621 and W95 (as well as W96) are common to all recensions in Weber's edition. The idea of a 1st- or 2nd c. "kernel" is also found in Gopalachari (1941: 42).

[35] A manuscript of Bhuvanapāla's commentary at the LD Institute in Ahmedabad notes in the margin that Poṭṭisa, to whom W4 is ascribed, is Hāla's minister.

in the experience of life at a court," and their verses are an expression of this consciousness. There is a poetic sensibility, style, and technique that runs throughout the *Seven Centuries*.[36]

I want to emphasize here how new this way of producing literature was, and how new, in turn, the kind of literature it produced was. Previously, any texts that achieved the condition of "permanence," in Christian Novetzke's apposite term, were either religious in character, such as the Vedas or the canonical texts of the Jains and Buddhists, or belonged to a tradition of epic storytelling, such as the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*.[37] Later theorists of all persuasions categorically refused to bestow on religious texts the status of "literature" (*kāvya*), however poetic the hymns of the *Ṛgveda* or the songs of Buddhist monks and nuns in the *Tripiṭaka* might seem to us.[38] The epics, by contrast, were often regarded as literary productions. But they were still regarded as products of mythical sages in time out of mind. But here, on the banks of the Godāvarī river, people who were interested and invested in literature gathered at the Sātavāhana court. And thus set of social identities and cultural practices converged around a new and decidedly this-worldly concept of "literature."[39]

This movement coincides with and partakes in the emergence of a culture of *kāma* within the prosperous Sātavāhana empire: art of the period, from royally-sponsored meditation halls cut into the sides of mountains to the funerary stelae of private individuals, prominently features the pursuit of pleasure in its depictions of lovers and courtesans. At Kanaganahalli, it is the sensuous depiction of courtly life that ties the sculptural program of the newly-excavated *stūpa* together, from the scenes of

---

[36] The quotation is from Zumthor (1992 [1972]: 5–6), in reference to 12th-century Europe. Tieken (2001: 111) also suspects that "the gāthās were composed only at the moment of their inclusion in the Sattasaī."

[37] Novetzke (2008).

[38] See p. xxiii of Hallisey's translation of the *Songs of the Buddhist Nuns*.

[39] Verse 468 from the *Topical Anthology* (*Vajjālagga*), which was compiled some time after the *Seven Centuries*, memorializes Hāla: *purisavisesena saïttaṇāi na kulakkameṇa mahilāṇa | saggaṃ gae vi hāle na muyai golā païṭṭhāṇaṃ ||* "They say women are faithful if they come from good families. But that's not true: they are faithful if they have a good husband. Even when Hāla went to heaven, the Godāvarī river did not leave her master's place, the city of Pratiṣṭhāna" (reading *païṭṭhāṇaṃ* as both *pratiṣṭhānaṃ* and *pati-sthānaṃ*).

traditional Buddhist lore to scenes depicting the Sātavāhana kings.[40] And we should not forget that the *Kāma Sūtra*, which integrates literary pursuits into a more broadly aestheticized and eroticized lifestyle, was produced in the immediate aftermath of the Sātavāhana empire, around the middle of the 3rd c. CE.[41] With the *Seven Centuries*, courtly culture produced for itself a textual artefact of a type that had previously been confined to the spheres—however loosely defined these are—of ritual, religion, and their associated forms of knowledge. Nor was the Sātavāhana court a singularity. Around the same time, that is to say in the early 2nd c. CE, there was an explosion of literary activity at the court of the Kuṣāṇas further to the north, if legends connecting the Buddhist poets Aśvaghoṣa and Mātṛceṭa with this court have any basis in fact.[42] And although its chronology has been vigorously contested, the most recent research suggests that the Tamil *caṅkam* literature is contemporary with, and does not simply look back to, the Cēra, Cōḻa and Pāṇṭiya chiefs of the early centuries CE.[43] One way of looking at this phenomenon, in all of its occurrences, is as the transference of the figures (*alaṅkāra*s), characteristics (*lakṣaṇa*s), and qualities (*guṇa*s) that had served to amplify, strengthen, and beautify language into a new and independent domain. Verse W3, discussed above (p. 80), says that the verses of the *Seven Centuries* have "figures" or "ornaments" (*sālaṃkārāṇa*), possibly suggesting a definition of the literature *per se*. The emergence of literary discourse is closely linked to the literarization of discourse that we traced in inscriptions in the previous chapter. Literature suddenly became a thing

---

[40]    Desai (1985: 18–28) records the common interpretation of couples (*mithuna*s) as auspicious symbols in sculptural art of the Sātavāhana period, but also notes their decorative function and the prominence of the erotic (*śṛṅgāra*) in the decorative program of rock-cut caves and *stūpa*s; see also Meister (1979: fn. 1). I know of no art-historical study of the stelae from Sannati and environs, which depict the decedent or decedents in scenes of revelry and relaxation (for images see Sarma and Rao 1993). For Kanaganahalli, see Poonacha (2013) and Zin (forthcoming).

[41]    See Ali (2004: 72) and Chakladar (1990 [1929]: 30–33). The most convincing argument for this date is the fact that the text refers to Kuntala Sātakarṇi (possibly belonging to the so-called "Banavāsi branch" of the Sātavāhanas, who ruled in the 3rd c.) and the Ābhīras (who also ruled over various parts of India immediately after the breakup of the Sātavāhana empire in the 3rd c.), but not to the Guptas.

[42]    For these legends see Lévi (1903).

[43]    See Wilden (2014: 8), placing the earliest collections in the 1st c. CE.

that could be pointed at and named.

The *Seven Centuries* itself tells us the name of this new discourse in a programmatic introductory verse (W2):

> Prakrit poetry (*pāuakavvaṃ*) is nectar.
> Those who don't know how to recite it or listen to it
> make love into a science.
> How are they not ashamed?[44]

This verse is a declaration of independence. Certainly of what it calls "Prakrit poetry," but also, I would argue, of poetry itself. The contrast here is not between Prakrit poetry and other kinds of poetry, or poetry in other languages, but between a literary and an analytic sensibility. Herman Tieken has pushed this contrast as far as possible, taking the *Seven Centuries* and the *Kāma Sūtra* of Vātsyāyana as representatives of two diametrically opposed ways of thinking about love and sex. The *Kāma Sūtra*'s concern with classification and categorization ("fingernails are either long, short, or medium"), according to Tieken, is precisely what the *Seven Centuries* ridicules and stakes itself out against.[45] In my view the verse is more general. The literary enterprise it initiates is not simply a reaction to a science of erotics in Sanskrit, and Tieken's reading of the *Seven Centuries* through the interpretive lens of the *Kāma Sūtra* reduces it to poetry of class-based condescension (as discussed below, p. 89). Rather, this verse creates a space for learned discourse about love and pleasure by rejecting the models for learned discourse that were currently on offer. The reading and exact significance of the word I translated as "making love into a science" is unclear, but it seems to refer to the "obsession" (*tatti*) with "facts" (*tatta*) or "systems" (*taṃta*) that not only characterizes the *Kāma Sūtra*, but almost every type of learned discourse prevalent in India around the turn of the millennium.

---

[44] *amaaṃ pāuakavvaṃ paḍhiuṃ souṃ ca je ṇa āṇaṃti | kāmassa tattatattiṃ kuṇaṃti te kaha ṇa lajjaṃti ||* (Tieken reads *taṃta-* for *tatta-*). Also discussed in the following chapter. Note that this is missing from the recension of Bhuvanapāla and Ājaḍa (and of Upādhyāya Lakṣmīdhara, who follows their recension for the first hundred verses).

[45] Tieken (2001: 73–79); Khoroche and Tieken (2009: 2–6).

The alternative model of learned discourse proposed here is "reciting and listening to" Prakrit poetry. There is no contradiction in foregrounding the performative quality of this literature at the beginning of a written text. Prakrit literature, as it is defined and modelled by the *Seven Centuries*, consists in stable textual artefacts, above all the single-verse *gāthā*, which are nevertheless only fully realized in their performance. And the ideal context of performance was the *goṣṭhī*. We learn first from the *Kāma Sūtra* that *goṣṭhī*s were gatherings in which men who were "peers in knowledge, intelligence, character, wealth, or age" sat with courtesans and discussed cultural subjects, including literature. One of the places where such gatherings could occur is the court (*sabhā*). The poet and theorist Rājaśekhara (9th/10th c.) saw the organization of these gatherings as one of the key functions of royal power, and named Sātavāhana as an example in this respect.[46] The *goṣṭhī* is implied in the above verse as the site where "Prakrit poetry" is performed, and where "reciting and listening to" (*paḍhiuṃ souṃ ca*) includes all of the practices linked to this performance, such as evaluation, criticism, and discussion.

The history of courtly Prakrit begins with this collection, which is in fact a strange kind of beginning, and in the view of some scholars, not really a beginning at all. If Sātavāhana merely selected verses from a tradition that existed before him then the *Seven Centuries* is a *terminus ad quem*, rather than a *terminus post quem*, of the "Prakrit poetry" that it announces. For a generation of scholars that considered spontaneous beginnings improbable or impossible, the *Seven Centuries* can only represent the culmination of a long tradition, over the course of which the Prakrit language was "built up" (*ausgebildet*) and made ever more suitable for literary expression. This is a period of what the medievalist Paul Zumthor called "formation," in contrast to the moment of "manifestation" in which a text first becomes visible to us in the historical record. In this kind of narrative, the texts that are actually written down and transmitted in manuscript form are like fossils of a living literary culture

---

[46] *Kāma Sūtra* p. 53: *veśyābhavane sabhāyām anyatamasyodavasite vā samānavidyābuddhiśīlavittavayasāṃ saha veśyābhir anurūpair ālāpair āsanabandho goṣṭhī, tatra caiṣāṃ kāvyasamasyā kalāsamasyā vā. Analysis of Literature* (*Kāvyamīmāṃsā*) p. 55: *tatra yathāsukham āsīnaḥ kāvyagoṣṭhīṃ pravarttayet bhāvayet parīkṣeta ca, vāsudeva-sātavāhana-śūdraka-sāhasāṅkādīn sakalān sabhāpatīn dānamānābhyām anukuryāt.*

that was once much more widespread, and much richer in content, than it appears to us now.[47] Such a narrative also inflects Prakrit poetry itself as a more broadly-based and popular phenomenon than the courtly productions, such as the *Seven Centuries*, through which it is memorialized. The courtliness of this literature, according to this story, is an accident of transmission, whereas its popular character is its essence that the very name Prakrit—as in *prākṛtajana*, "the common man"—refers to. The "popular origins" narrative finds apparent confirmation in the content of the *Seven Centuries* itself. As is well-known, this collection is centrally concerned with village life, and its recurring characters are all "common people": the ploughman, the village headman, the hunter, the bandit, and the women who pick flowers, grind grain, and watch the paddy-fields.[48]

The "popular origins" narrative, besides serving as an account of where and how this literature developed, also serves as a way of reading and understanding it, according to which the verses depict the joys and hardships of village life from the inside. Take a verse such as the following (W169), which seems unambiguously sympathetic:

> Nothing remains to be done in the fields
> but the farmer doesn't come back home,
> avoiding the pain of a house made empty
> by the death of his dear wife.[49]

Immediately after Weber proposed the "popular origins" narrative, a number of scholars stepped up to propose a counter-narrative of "courtly origins."[50] In recent years this counter-narrative has been

---

[47]   Jacobi (1886a: §14), also Bühler (1890) and Konow (1894), all of whom place the origins of *kāvya* in the forgotten past; Zumthor (1992 [1972]: 35).

[48]   See, e.g., Mirashi (1960a): "the poets belonged to all ranks of the society from the king to the peasant." Weber (1881) called the Prakrit of the *Seven Centuries* a "lebendige Volkssprache" (XXIII). For further examples see Tieken (2001: 54). For a critical response see Boccali (2009).

[49]   *ṇikkammāhi vi chettāhi pāmaro ṇea vaccae vasahiṃ | muapiajāāsuṇṇaïagehadukkhaṃ pariharaṃto ||*

[50]   Beames (1872: 222): "That this work represents a collection of popular songs is highly improbable"; p. 222: "Although they are full of allusions to rural scenery and occupations, they appear to bear no greater marks of being

89

taken up, and taken to its furthest conclusions, by Herman Tieken. For Tieken, this literature is not "courtly" simply in the sense that its landmark texts were compiled in proximity to a court. It is "courtly" in the further sense that it represents the perspective of the cultured, elite, and urbane man—the *nāgaraka* described in the *Kāma Sūtra*—who looks upon village life with condescension. The premise of the *Seven Centuries*, according to Tieken's reading, is the sophistication of courtly elites, which they demonstrate to each other by making jokes at the expense of common people. The key insight that Tieken has, which may be obvious to most readers but which runs counter to the "popular origins" narrative, is that this literature was not necessarily composed by the same kinds of people who figure in it as characters. It is "not a poetry of the village but … about the village."[51] Tieken thus reads the above verse (W169) as an implicit distanciation of the speaking subject from the subject of the verse: whereas the farmer's wife was all he had, the courtly sophisticate has an endless supply of female companionship in his multiple wives and courtesans.[52]

Both of these ways of reading Prakrit poetry turn on a series of diametrical oppositions: urban and rural, courtly and popular, elite and non-elite. They represent, accordingly, an "internal" and "external" hermeneutic, according to which the perspective of the speaker is either collapsed onto the perspective of those of whom he speaks, or is instead a total inversion of it. My own reading of these poems, and the way they have always been read within the Indian tradition, is based on a rather different premise. This literature is "courtly" in both the thin and thick sense, but the "thick" sense is not simply, as Tieken would have it, the haughty disdain of urban elites for the frustrations

---

real songs of the peasantry, than the insipid couplets of the bergers and bergères of Louis XIV's court did to the utterances of the gaunt starving peasantry of France at that epoch."

[51] Tieken (2001: 79).

[52] Like many other readers of this literature (including the traditional commentators), I find little within the verse or even in the conventions of reading Prakrit poetry to recommend Tieken's interpretation. But the word "empty," or more precisely "emptied out" (*suṇṇaïa*), does invite a comparison with the empty temples where the *Seven Centuries*' villagers often had their liasons, and might add to the farmer's disappointment.

90

of village life. Rather, it is that the village was a *topos*, a fictionalized and conventionalized place, onto which the drama of courtly life was projected. This place served as a site of exploration: of rhetorical and descriptive possibilities, of social mores, and of emotional depths.[53] In the anonymous characters of Prakrit poetry—and they are always anonymous—courtly elites could see reflections of themselves which were all the more striking precisely because of the enormous social differences that Tieken has highlighted.

What makes the *Seven Centuries* a courtly text, what allows us to read it as one, is thus not only the circumstances of its composition, or even what its individual verses say, but rather the way in which they say it. "Clever speech," *chekokti*, is the current that runs throughout the *Seven Centuries*, and which Bhuvanapāla enshrined in the title to his 11th-century commentary on the text, the earliest available as of today.[54] The set of practices included within "clever speech" includes saying one thing while intending to convey the opposite, speaking two different messages to two different people using the same words, expressing the inexpressible through signs and gestures, and generally all manners of indirection, verbal and otherwise.

These consummately literary practices are also consummately courtly practices: "savoir dissimuler," Cardinal Richelieu is said to have remarked, "est le savoir des rois."[55] For the poets of the *Seven Centuries*, these practices were modelled in the most exemplary way by the inhabitants of the village (*gāma-*), even more so the poor village (*kuggāma-*). The interactions between a girl and her mother-in-law, between a lonely wife and a traveller, between two young lovers, between a young wife and

---

[53]  Compare Friedhelm Hardy's note in his introduction to Govardhana's *Seven Centuries of Āryās* (p. xxi): "Albrecht Weber, the first scholar who worked seriously on the *Sattasaī*, mistakenly thought that Hala's collection represented 'peasant poetry' merely because farmers are spoken of in some of the verses. In fact, the opposite is true: in Hala, peasants are specifically marked because they are outside the poets' own milieu."

[54]  Tieken too considers clever speech to be one of the Seven Centuries' themes, but this is an "exception" to the general pattern Tieken (2001: 68–72). For the date of Bhuvanapāla see Vasudeva and Chiarucci (2011).

[55]  Smith (1985: 100).

her older co-wives, or between a girl and her friend-turned-messenger were no less complicated, and required no less skillfulness in the manipulation of language, than the interactions that occurred at the royal court. Similarly the village provided a model for the pursuit of sensual pleasure—arranging sexual encounters with each other is a full-time job for the characters in the *Seven Centuries*—not only for the elites of the Sātavāhana court itself but for the merchants, traders, landowners, and officials who enjoyed unprecedented prosperity under Sātavāhana rule and who participated in the culture of *kāma*.

Thinking of the *Seven Centuries* as "pastoral" helps us avoid the literary-historical and interpretive faults that follow from thinking of it as "pure popular poetry" or its alleged opposite, "pure courtly poetry." It is courtly poetry about everyday life; it uses the village and its inhabitants and the natural world to fill out the repertoire of "clever speech." And as such it bears comparison with other pastoral genres that are, in some ways, much better known. Nobody believes that the goatherds of Theocritus or Virgil are true to life in any significant way, but neither are they objects of scorn or condescension from these poets who spent their lives in the company of kings and emperors; in their work "the reader is invited to embrace the beguilement of the song while remaining conscious that its spell is illusory."[56]

This reading of the *Seven Centuries* is not new. It is borne out by the text itself and by the tradition that it began, and it was favored by some 20th-century scholars.[57] In one pair of verses (W637 and W638), someone is looking at the village "from the outside":

---

[56]    Gutzwiller (2006: 401).

[57]    Cf. Winternitz (1985 [1920]: 108): "these Prākrit lays are not in fact folk-songs in the real sense of the word, but probably popular models of imitated creations of Indian ornate poets, who strove not only for describing the life and activity, above all the life of love, but would also reflect in the feelings and sentiments of the country girls and country lads, the herdsmen and cowherdesses, the female gardener, miller's wife, the hunter and the labourer." Lienhard (1973: 115): "… there can be no doubt that the *Sattasaī* presents a poetry of very elaborate design and an extremely refined taste and thus is far from being unconventional and simple."

Those people who live in a mountain village are really lucky.
Nothing stops them from making love.
The hedges grow thick
and the reed-thickets sway in the wind.[58]


In the mountain villages of these parts
the hedges blossom with *kadamba* flowers,
the rock surfaces are clean,
the peacocks are happy,
the sounds of waterfalls echo—
all so charming.[59]

We can distinguish three levels of meaning in these verses. The first is the text's meaning, which is what the words actually say. The second is the speaker's meaning, which arises on the understanding, or presupposition, that all of these verses are spoken by one person to another person. This is a meaning which the commentaries standardly supply. The tension between the text's meaning and the speaker's meaning would later fuel a debate about meaning in literature that would last centuries.[60]

Gaṅgādhara, for example, puts the first in the mouth of a woman who is arranging a tryst with her lover, and the second in the mouth of a messenger who is trying to induce her friend's lover to come to the village under description. The speaker's meaning elicits anything that is left unsaid in the text's meaning. In the first verse, of course, sex is mentioned explicitly, and the only question is

---

[58] W637: *dhaṇṇā vasaṃti ṇīsaṃkamohaṇe vahalasaddalavāīe | vāaṃdolaṇahallaṃtaveṇugahaṇe giriggāme ||*. I translate this reading of Bhuvanapāla (679), which seems better than the vulgate reading (which has *pattala* for *saddala* and *oṇavia* for *hallaṃta*).

[59] W638: *papphullagharakalaṃbā ṇidhoasilāalā muiamorā | pasaraṃtojjharakalaalamaṇoharā iha giriggāmā ||*. I again follow Bhuvanapāla (680).

[60] For a discussion of the logic of the commentaries on the *Seven Centuries* see Dundas (1985). Abhinavagupta noted that one can only appreciate these verses by "establishing a contextual foundation by conjecturing for the verse the appropriate speaker on the given occasion" (*New 'Dramatic Art'*, vol. 1 p. 281: *tathā ca tatra sahṛdayāḥ pūrvāparam ucitaṃ parikalpya īdṛg atra vaktāsminn avasare ity ādi bahutaraṃ pīṭhabandharūpaṃ vidadhate*). I thank Sheldon Pollock for the reference and translation. For the debate, which focused on the 9th-century *Light on Suggestion* and its claim that "suggestion" (*dhvani*) is the key to literary meaning, see McCrea (2008).

93

how everything else in the verse relates to it. (The thick hedges hide the lovers from sight, and the wind provides cover for the lovers rustling the reeds in the thicket.) But in the second, the context of the verse—both its position after W637 in the anthology, as well as the dramatic context that the commentaries help us to supply—guides us to a meaning that remains implicit, which is again the suitability of mountain villages for illicit affairs.[61]

In both cases, there is a third meaning. We can call it the reader's meaning, in contrast to the previous two. These verses are meaningful for the reader not because he is salaciously interested in the affairs of the fictional characters, but because something about the way these affairs are arranged and communicated has some interest or relevance to him. Because there is potentially an infinite number of such readers, this meaning is the most difficult to pin down. Yet the interest in obliquity, in indirection, in meaning without saying, is relatively constant. A key word in the *Seven Centuries* is *vaṃka-*, "crooked," which unites the graceful indirection of speech with the suggestiveness of glances and gestures.[62]

A verse worth mentioning in this connection, even though it is found in a much later collection, makes the alignment of these three meanings on the axis of "cleverness" a bit clearer. It is from Jineśvara's *Treasury of Gāthā-Jewels* (1194 CE):

> Where can you find speech that's crooked?
> Where you find glances of half-closed eyes?
> Where sighs?
> In a village that's full of clever people.[63]

---

[61] W705 might also be mentioned, although it occurs only in Pītāmbara's text and a few other versions of the vulgate: *gāmāruha mhi gāme vasāmi ṇaaraṭṭhiiṃ ṇa āṇāmi | ṇāariāṇaṃ païṇo haremi jā homi sā homi ||* ("I grew up in the village, I live in the village, and I know nothing of city life. But I snatch away the husbands of city women. I am what I am.").

[62] See, for example, W174: *vaṃkacchipecchirīṇaṃ vaṃkullavirīṇa vaṃkabhamirīṇaṃ | vaṃkahasirīṇa puttaa puṇṇehi jaṇo pio hoi ||* ("Their glances are crooked. Their speech is crooked. Their walk is crooked. Their laugh is crooked. You have to be really lucky, my boy, to end up as their lover.")

"Clever people" are the imagined speakers of the "crooked speech" (*vaṃkabhaṇiāi*) represented by Prakrit poetry. But they are also, necessarily, the poets who thought of these clever sayings in the first place and the readers who take such delight in thinking about them, deconstructing and reconstructing them, and imitating them. The worlds of the court and of the village converge in this category of "clever people" (*chaïlla-*, *viaḍḍha-*) and its defining practice of "crooked speech." And although this "hinge" between the rustic characters of the *Seven Centuries* and its courtly readers is very often what the interpretation of its verses turns on, in a number of cases the hinge itself is foregrounded, such as W720:

> He looked at her, and she didn't look back.
> The simple girl wouldn't talk to him.
> She didn't even greet him properly.
> Just from this, clever people figured it out.[64]

We, as the readers of this verse, are asked to put ourselves in the position of the "clever people" in the village (*chaïlla-*) and figure out what is going on between him and her. The commentators all agree that the girl is trying to hide her attraction, but nevertheless makes her efforts legible to certain kinds of readers.[65] Other verses thematize the difficulty of this kind of communication in the village, which contributes to its scarcity value.[66]

---

[63] 255: *vaṃkabhaṇiyāiṃ katto katto addhacchipicchiyavvāiṃ | ūsasiyaṃ pi muṇijjaï chaïllajaṇasaṃkule gāme ||*.

[64] W720 (found only in some versions of the text, Weber's ξπχRST as well as Bhuvanapāla 534): *diṭṭhāi jaṃ ṇa diṭṭho saralasahāvāi jaṃ ca ṇālavio | uvaāro jaṃ ṇa kao taṃ cia kaliaṃ chaïllehiṃ ||*.

[65] Here is Bhuvanapāla: "She does not want just anyone to figure out that she is attracted to him. But the very means by which she conceals her feelings ends up guiding the inference of clever people" (*iyaṃ asminn anurakteti mā kaścid ajño jānātv iti ya eva svābhiprāyagopanopāyas tasyāḥ sa eva chekalokasya tadīyāśayonnayanaṃ jātaṃ*). Patwardhan, in his translation, has reached the exact opposite conclusion: "clever observers drew their own conclusions (about her vanishing love for him)."

[66] W163: *vaṃkaṃ ko pulaïjjaü kassa kahijjaü suhaṃ va dukkhaṃ va | keṇa samaṃ va hasijjaü pāmarapaüre haaggāme ||* ("Who will send me a crooked glance? Who can I tell my joy and sorrow? Who will I laugh with, in this damned village filled with farmers?").

Another verse, W428, takes on a metaliterary significance by iconically collapsing the speaker's meaning into the reader's meaning:

> They are a pleasure to fondle,
> weighty, with hardly a gap in between them,
> adorned by nothing but their natural marks—
> whom do they not delight, these breasts
>> which are like poems,
>> a pleasure to analyze,
>> dense with meaning,
>> no extraneous words,
>> adorned with figures.[67]

This simile involves a number of other figures: "embrace" (*śleṣa*), where two separate meanings converge in a single expression, and "condensed expression" (*samāsokti*), where two separate subjects are discussed at once.[68] Pītāmbara says that the speaker is a woman who is indicating her friend's sexual availability by paying her breasts a compliment. In this case we see the critical function of distanciation that the interpretive conventions perform: they offer "plausible deniability" to the readers of Prakrit poetry by confining its eroticism to an imagined world of speakers. Simultaneously, however, this distanciation is undermined. The pleasures of literature and sexual pleasure are "embraced" so tightly that the reader cannot pull them apart—certainly not in this verse, but perhaps not in the rest of the *Seven Centuries*, either. Among the people who produced and consumed the *Seven Centuries*, sexual pleasure was not merely symbolic of the pleasures of literature; the two were mutually-reinforcing components of a lifestyle that was organized around the pursuit and aestheticization of pleasure.

---

[67] W428: *parimalaṇasuhā garuā aladdhavivarā salakkhaṇāharaṇā | thaṇaā kavvālāa vva kassa hiae ṇa laggaṃti ||*. The verse is 428 in Bhuvanapāla and 431 in Pītāmbara. For the technical term *lakṣaṇa* in this verse, see Raghavan (1973 [1942]: 2).

[68] Warder (1990 [1974]) is convinced that "embrace" is a technique characteristic of later literature, and he suspects verses that employ "embrace" of not being original. I do not share his skepticism. For the history of "embrace," see Bronner (2010), who argues that it became a central technique in Sanskrit prose, as opposed to an occasional device, with Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā* in the 6th c. CE. See the discussion of W364 just below.

I will conclude this discussion of the *Seven Centuries* by looking at two examples of its "crooked courtliness" and then at the implications that my reading has for literary history. W364 is one of the few verses ostensibly addressed to a king. It uses "embrace" to compare a king's heart to the sky:

> Who on earth could cover up something so extensive, so pure, and so lofty
> as your heart—or for that matter the sky—apart from
> a cloud-breast?[69]

This is a standard example of royal eulogy (*praśasti*), which is one of the main modalities of later courtly literature in Sanskrit and Prakrit. We might easily imagine that it was composed by a member of the king's court and then included in this collection of because it happens to mention the word "breast" (*paoharaṃ*). This is how Bhuvanapāla understands the verse. But this is Prakrit poetry, the defining principle of which is that things are not what they seem. Gaṅgādhara tells us that we should imagine the verse as spoken not by a poet, but by a procuress (*veśyāmātṛ-*) who uses a clever compliment (*cāṭūkti-*) to recommend a courtesan to the king. The fictional situation that Gaṅgādhara imagines has the effect of blocking our inference from the eulogistic content of the verse to the intention, on the part of the poet who actually composed the verse, to eulogize a king.

Similar is W726:

> Your heart is made out of pure nectar,
> your hands dispel longing,
> O moon-faced one,
> where can this fiery valor of yours,
> which consumes your enemies,
> possibly reside?[70]

---

[69] W364: *ko 'ttha jaammi samattho thaïuṃ vitthiṇṇa-ṇimmaluttuṅgam | hiaaṃ tujjha ṇarāhiva gaaṇaṃ ca paoharaṃ mottum ||. paoharaṃ* means both "cloud" and "breast," and the adjectives apply to both the sky and the king's heart (*vitthiṇṇa-* means "extensive" and "generous"; *ṇimmala-* "clear" and "pure"; *uttuṃga-* "elevated" and "noble"). Bhuvanapāla (314) notes *svāminaṃ kavir upagāthayitum idam āha.*

The apparent contradiction (*virodha*) in this verse is between valor, which is always figured as fiery, and three cooling substances: nectar, water (implied in "your hands dispel longing," because royal donations were accomplished by pouring out a jug of water), and moonlight (emanating from the moon-like face). But whereas Ājaḍa thinks that the verse refers to a valorous king, Sādhāraṇadeva and the anonymous commentator of χ actually imagine that the verse refers to a woman, who is being flatteringly—and perhaps ironically—compared to a king. These verses, like W467 (p. 81), certainly presuppose the court as the context against which their meanings emerge, even if they do not unambiguously point to it as the site of their own production. The text constitutes the court as a possible site of meaning in the same way that it so constitutes the village.

The tradition which looks back onto the *Seven Centuries* as one of its foundational texts was fascinated by its ability, first of all, to say two contradictory things at once. This "cleverness" or "indirection" of language (*chekokti-*, *vakrokti-*) was the essential principle of Prakrit poetry. But the *Seven Centuries* was more than a collection of such sayings. It was a literary icon of this principle, a text that uniquely managed to be two contradictory things at once: rustic yet courtly, erotic yet sensitive, superficially simple but complex on further analysis, close to the language of everyday life yet unmistakably literary and refined. Bāṇabhaṭṭa thematizes this quality of the *Seven Centuries* in his well-known praise of Sātavāhana at the beginning of the *Deeds of Harṣa* (7th c.):

> Sātavāhana has made an inexhaustible and urbane treasury
> of well-turned verses, all in the same meter,
> like jewels of proven quality.[71]

---

[70] W726 (only in χ, R, S, and Ājaḍa's comm.): *amiamaaṃ cia hiaaṃ hatthā taṇhāharā saaṃhāṇaṃ | caṃdamuhi kattha ṇivasaï amittadahaṇo tuha paāvo ||*. χ is alone in reading *caṃdamuhi*; the others read *caṃdamuha*. Weber considers the construal with a king to be 'unstreitig besser' than the construal with a woman. Ājaḍa notes that the adjective *amittadahaṇo* can also be given another meaning, "neither Sūrya nor Agni."

[71] *Deeds of Harṣa* 14: *avināśinam agrāmyam akarot sātavāhanaḥ | viśuddhajātibhiḥ kośaṃ ratnair iva subhāṣitaiḥ ||*. The

Bāṇa's readers would have known well that the *Seven Centuries* is set in the village (*grāma-*), so his description of the collection as "urbane" (*agrāmya-*), which literally means "not of the village," must be taken as a reference to Sātavāhana's ability to transform what looks at first glance like village poetry into something that sophisticated connoisseurs of poetry, including King Harṣa's own court poet, can appreciate. The Jain monk Uddyotana, in his novel *Kuvalayamālā* (779 CE), refers to the same apparent contradiction in his own praise of Hāla: the king, like alcohol (*hālā*), was able to give the "playful eloquence of speech even to farmers."[72]

The "Prakrit poetry" that the *Seven Centuries* announces is not just poetry in the Prakrit language, but it does mark one beginning—albeit not the only beginning, as we will see—of poetry in the Prakrit language. Like the poetry itself, the language is neither *grāmya* nor *agrāmya*, different both from the vernacular of common people and from the Sanskrit of learned discourse, as it was from the language of contemporary inscriptions. The dominant view regarding the literarization of this language is that it took place gradually and organically over a long period of time.[73] The alternative view is that Prakrit was engineered as a literary language specifically in order to serve as the medium for the new kind of literature represented by the *Seven Centuries*. Herman Tieken ventured that this language is a mocking imitation of the speech of villagers, "as far removed from Sanskrit as possible."[74] While I differ radically from Tieken regarding the poetics of the *Seven Centuries*, I agree that there is some interaction between its poetics and its language, although it is difficult to be precise about what it is. As I argue in chapter 5, Prakrit was conceived of as both the same as and opposite from Sanskrit.

---

word *jāti* can refer to the origin of the jewels or the metrical form in which the verses of the *Seven Centuries* are composed (alternatively, to the trope of "pure description," better known as *svabhāvokti-*, sometimes found in its verses).

[72] *Kuvalayamālā* p. 3: *bhaṇiivilāsavaïttaṇacollikke jo karei halie vi | kavveṇa kiṃ paütthe hāle hālā-viyāre vva ||*. The verse is difficult to understand; Chojnacki (2008) suggests reading *bollikke* ("inclined to talking," or so this word seems to mean in its only other occurrence in the *Kuvalayamālā*).

[73] See note 47 above.

[74] Tieken (2001: 78).

It was the distinctive language of a new discourse that set itself against existing learned discourses in Sanskrit—and in order to be set against them, it had to have some kind of common ground with them—while remaining more or less intelligible to readers of Sanskrit. The pioneers of this literature perhaps found a suitable model in the language practices of the Jain community (see p. 122).

Rājaśekhara (9<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> c.) relates that Sātavāhana enjoined the use of Prakrit in his palace, just as Sāhasāṅka enjoined the use of Sanskrit. What kings do, Rājaśekhara intends us to understand from these examples, is fix the price of products in the marketplace of culture. Whatever Prakrit may have been and whatever it may have been called before Sātavāhana and his associates compiled their influential collection of lyrics in this language, it became something altogether different afterwards. It became a literary language whose special power—its seemingly-innate eroticism and suggestiveness—was recognized and appreciated by people who cared about literature. And the class itself of "people who cared about literature" was virtually called into existence by the *Seven Centuries*, which became the common property of, and a model for, a courtly literary culture.

The courtliness of the *Seven Centuries* bears on the relationship between Prakrit and Tamil poetry. Since most of the scholarly discussion of the *Seven Centuries* has been focused through this problem, it warrants a mention here, but since the issues are complex and beyond the scope of this study, it will be a very brief mention. George Hart argued that all of the distinctive features of Prakrit poetry, from its nature-symbolism to its metrical forms, are adapted from Dravidian culture, and thus Prakrit poetry has a close genetic relationship with *caṅkam* poetry in Tamil that Hart dates to roughly the same period.[75] The parallels between Prakrit and Tamil poetry are indeed suggestive, but scholars remain divided over what exactly they are suggestive of, in large part because there has been no consensus regarding how to situate either Prakrit poetry or Tamil poetry into a coherent and convincing historical

---

[75] Hart (1975, 1976).

narrative.[76] The Tamil tradition, however, seems to have known the *Seven Centuries*, if that is the text that Nakkīraṉār and Mayilainātar call, tellingly, *Cātavākaṉam*.[77]

One of the ways in which the Vākāṭaka kings of the Deccan followed in the footsteps of their immediate predecessors, the Sātavāhanas, was their encouragement of and participation in literary production. And as for the Sātavāhanas, literature for the Vākāṭakas meant Prakrit literature. Two of the classics of Prakrit literature are ascribed to Vākāṭaka kings. The earlier of these is *Hari's Victory* (*Harivijaya*) by Sarvasena, who ruled from Vatsagulma (modern Bāsim) around 330–350 CE.[78] Bhoja provides a few dozen quotations from this work, which is otherwise lost. Its subject is Kṛṣṇa's theft of the Pārijāta tree from Indra's heaven in order to give it to his wife Satyabhāmā. The later is *Rāvaṇa's Demise* (*Rāvaṇavadha*), or as it is more widely known, *Building the Bridge* (*Setubandha*), by Pravarasena II. This king ruled first from Nandivardhana (modern Nagardhan), the traditional seat of the Vākāṭakas, and later from the eponymous Pravarapura (modern Mānsar) in the first half of the 5th century. Pravarasena II's regent in the early days of his reign was his mother Prabhāvatīguptā, herself the daughter of Candragupta II Vikramāditya. Their marital alliance with the Guptas seems to mark a turning-point not just in the political fortunes of the Vākāṭakas, but in their language practices as well. As noted in the previous chapter, Prabhāvatīguptā's numerous inscriptions, all composed in confident and relatively elaborate Sanskrit, represent a decisive shift away from Middle Indic. It is also significant that *Hari's Victory* and *Rāvaṇa's Demise* narrate the deeds of Viṣṇu, in his forms as Kṛṣṇa and Rāmacandra respectively. These works seemingly partake of the same devotion to Viṣṇu that

---

[76] I thus agree with Lienhard, who was one of the first to highlight these parallels (Lienhard 1973: 116): "I do not think that an obvious solution can be found for this problem at present." See also Lienhard (1971). Tieken (2001) argues exactly the opposite of Hart, viz. that Tamil poetry is modelled on Prakrit poetry.

[77] See Mayilainātar's *urai* on *Naṉṉūl* v. 48 and Nakkīraṉār's *urai* on the first section of the *Iṟaiyaṉār Akapporuḷ*. See also Zvelebil (1973). I thank Blake Wentworth for his comments on these passages; he suggests that in the understanding of Mayilainātar and Nakkīraṉār the *Cātavākaṉam* should have been a Tamil poem.

[78] See Mirashi (1963: xxix). Mirashi has discussed the literary activities of the Vākāṭakas in several publications (e.g. 1960b). The fragments of *Hari's Victory* can be consulted in V. M. Kulkarni's monograph.

animates the *purāṇa*s compiled in roughly the same period, particularly the *Harivaṃśa Purāṇa* and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*. They also came to represent a literary style that later authors called Vaidarbhī (after Vidarbha, the heartland of the Vākāṭakas) or Vatsagulmī (after Sarvasena's capital).[79] Primarily due to the influence of Daṇḍin's *Mirror of Literature*, the Vaidarbhī style was widely understood to represent the highest possibilities of literary achievement. And although Daṇḍin and his commentators usually give Sanskrit examples of this style—as they do for every topic in the *Mirror*—we should remember that its identity and basic character were established by a group of Prakrit texts.

Pravarasena neatly summarizes the powers of literature towards the beginning of *Rāvaṇa's Demise* (1.10):[80]

> Knowledge increases.
> Fame spreads.
> Virtues take hold.
> The deeds of great men are heard.
> Is there anything about *kāvya*
> that doesn't draw us in?

This sentiment is so deeply ingrained in the tradition that it sounds cliché. Bhāmaha and Mammaṭa, just to take two prominent examples, start with it as one of the self-evident axioms of poetics. Yet a number of points bear emphasis here. First, Pravarasena is among the first to articulate this idea. Secondly, in contrast to the limited scope that the *Seven Centuries* announced for itself—*pāuakavva* was, as a counterpart to learned discourses on love, still in the end concerned with love—Pravarasena's *kavvālāvā* speaks directly and effectively to all domains of human life. Or those domains, at any rate, that most mattered to the publics that courtly literature was addressed to: the cultivation of knowledge, the pursuit of public recognition, the fashioning of the self as an ethical subject, and the propagation of a set of ethical and cultural ideals. It seems fitting that this ambitious vision of the

---

[79]  Mirashi (1951); note the reference to *vacchomī* (*vatsagulmī*) at the beginning of Rājaśekhara's *Karpūramañjarī*.

[80]  *parivaḍḍhaï viṇṇāṇaṃ saṃbhāvijjaï jaso viḍhappaṃti guṇā | suvvaï suurisacariaṃ kiṃ taṃ jeṇa ṇa haraṃti kavvālāvā ||*.

powers of literature frames a narrative of conquest. *Rāvaṇa's Demise* tells of the capture of Laṅkā and the defeat of Rāvaṇa by Rāma and his allies. It is not just a courtly poem, but an imperial poem. Finally, Pravarasena enunciates this universalist vision of literature in Prakrit. Prakrit was by no means the universal language of literature at Pravarasena's time—he was, after all, the grandson of Candragupta II Vikramāditya, one of Sanskrit literature's legendary patrons—but literature was increasingly becoming Prakrit's exclusive function, the one domain in which Sanskrit did not completely displace it.

## Three Myths of Continuity

In the foregoing I have stressed the discontinuities of courtly Prakrit: it was a way of using language that had little historical precedent, and it helped to distinguish an emergent sphere of literature *per se* from the discourses that surrounded it. The other history of Prakrit literature does not have a beginning. Jain Prakrit is usually represented in a way that foregrounds its continuity along three dimensions, which tend to puncture whatever social, historical, and even linguistic boundaries we might draw around it. My purpose here is to explicitly lay out what these continuities are. If it can be shown that they are myths—not in the sense that they are completely untrue, but in the sense that they represent a very particular and interested vision of the past—then Jain Prakrit, like its courtly counterpart, might turn out to have had a beginning as well.

The works of Jain Prakrit are, first of all, represented as continuous with the traditions of Jain teachings. The terms "canonical" and "post-canonical" reflect this continuity: they do not simply refer to texts composed at different historical times—in fact the historical time of many texts are very indeterminate—but texts that take a position within the temporality of Jain tradition. This is a linear temporality marked out by the succession of teachers.

The *Wanderings of Vasudeva* (*Vasudevahiṇḍi*) provides an example of the work that this first concept of continuity does. This Prakrit text, composed by the monk Saṅghadāsa in the early centuries of the

common era, is now well-known as an early and evidently faithful adaptation of Guṇāḍhya's *Great Story*, which was itself composed around the 1st c. CE, and according to some traditions at the Sātavāhana court.[81] But in Saṅghadāsa's text, the adaptation of the *Great Story*—in which Vasudeva takes the place of Guṇāḍhya's hero Naravāhanadatta—is preceded by a section called "the origin of the story" (*kahuppattī*). There, Saṅghadāsa tells us that the story he is about to tell "has come down through the lineage of teachers." After narrating the stories of Jambūsvāmin and Prabhava, the leaders of Jainism in the generations after Mahāvīra, he comes to Mahāvīra himself, and it is through Mahāvīra that the story of Vasudeva is ultimately narrated.[82] Saṃghadāsa's historical vision leap-frogs over his principal source, Guṇāḍhya's *Great Story*, by several centuries.

The second kind of continuity is between Jain language practices and demotic, "everyday" language practices. Where the first refers to continuity over time, this is a synchronic continuity between different discursive spheres. Whereas other traditions create and maintain boundaries that separate the language of the tradition from the language of the surrounding world—the stereotype here is of the Brahmans jealously guarding the Sanskrit language like a secret—the Jains, according to this conceit, tended to dissolve those boundaries and to speak to the common people in a language they could comprehend.[83] It is true that a number of authors do emphasize the demotic character of Prakrit, but they do so at a time when this character was surely no more than notional, and in contexts that make it clear just how notional it was.

---

[81] See, besides the edition, Jain (1961: 381–393), Jain (1977), and Jain (1997). The author of the *Wanderings*, who held the title *vācaka*, was different from Saṅghadāsa Kṣamāśramaṇa, who composed a *bhāṣya* on the *Bṛhatkalpasūtra*. The *Great Story* is connected to Sātavāhana in its Kashmiri versions (the *Ocean of the Rivers of Story* and *Cluster of Blossoms from the Great Story*), but not elsewhere.

[82] *Wanderings, Kahuppattī* (pp. 1–26); on p. 1, *guruparaṃparāgayaṃ vasudevacariyaṃ saṃgahaṃ vannaïssam*.

[83] Winternitz (1972 [1927]: 475): "… for the Jains, more than any other sect, have in their writings, and especially in their exceptionally comprehensive narrative literature, never addressed themselves exclusively to the learned classes, but made an appeal to other strata of the people also." Alsdorf (2006 [1965]: 15): "The Jains, however, have always possessed a particular affinity for Prākrit as well as for the later popular languages."

To critically examine this second kind of continuity, we can begin from a story that was told about Siddhasena Divākara. Siddhasena was a Jain teacher who was widely believed to be a contemporary of Candragupta II Vikramāditya (ca. 380–415 CE). His principal works marked the entry of Jain thought into a wider philosophical conversation between Buddhists and Brahmins.[84] But according to later hagiographic texts, Siddhasena was a Brahmin who never quite shook his preference for Sanskrit. He was converted to Jainism when his formidable Sanskrit learning was defeated by the folk wisdom and popular appeal of the Jain monk Vṛddhavādin. Even after his conversion, however, he was embarrassed on behalf of the Jain community that their scriptures were written in Prakrit rather than in Sanskrit. So he offered to translate them into Sanskrit. The elders found this suggestion so reprehensible that Siddhasena was forced into exile from the community for twelve years. Siddhasena's suggestion amounted to a betrayal of the very ethos of populism and accessibility that had brought him over to Jainism in the first place. In this story, as Phyllis Granoff has pointed out, Sanskrit stands for exclusivity and the privileges of birth, while Prakrit stands for inclusivity and the value of wisdom over mere learning.[85]

This is, in other words, a story about how Jains understood their own language practices. Within the story, the use of Prakrit is motivated by a fundamental commitment to making Jain doctrines accessible to the widest possible spectrum of people. But outside of the story, wgge have some reason to believe that it was actually the other way around: that later authors thought that Jainism was inclusive and "demotic" *because* its scriptures happened to be written in Prakrit. As far as I know, one of the earliest explicit statements about Prakrit's demotic character comes from Haribhadra Sūri, perhaps around the 7th or 8th century, in a widely-quoted verse from his *Daśavaikālika Ṭīkā* which is

---

[84] Balcerowicz (2001) argues that of the two philosophical works ascribed by tradition to "Siddhasena," the *Right-minded Reasoning* (*Sanmatitarka*) in Prakrit is more than a century older than the *Incarnation of Logic* (*Nyāyāvatāra*) in Sanskrit; he calls the author of the former Siddhasena Divākara and the author of the latter Siddhasena Mahāmati.

[85] See Granoff (1989b: 340*ff.*) and Granoff (1990).

tellingly written in Sanskrit:

> Those who know the truth
> have produced Prakrit scriptures
> for the benefit of children, women, the slow-witted and the uneducated,
> and for men who want for ethical standards.[86]

Haribhadra is here reflecting on and trying to motivate the language that he has inherited through the Jain tradition—more than a millennium, of course, after the scriptural dispensation of which he speaks. But he was one of the first Jain teachers to use both Sanskrit and Prakrit extensively, and we might suspect that he was also one of the first to really think of the choice between Sanskrit and Prakrit as a choice between two audiences, a learned elite and the unlettered masses. This dichotomy is a product of the representation of Sanskrit and Prakrit as complementary language practices, identical but opposed, which I will discuss in chapter 5. At the same time, Haribhadra's own use of Prakrit subverts this dichotomy. His Prakrit poetry, represented by *The Story of Samarāditya* for example, is no less learned, and I would venture to say no more accessible to the unlettered masses, than any of its Sanskrit counterparts. And the verse quoted above occurs in a work that attempts to make clear the meaning of a Prakrit text, or a text that Haribhadra in any case understands and represents as a Prakrit text, through a Sanskrit commentary. There is, in other words, something slightly disingenous about the claim that Prakrit is demotic in the context of Haribhadra's own literary production, even if it may be true—I emphasize *may*—that Prakrit was demotic to begin with.

Siddharṣi, a poet of the early 10th century, exemplifies how notional the demotic character of Prakrit was. At the beginning of his *Endless Stream of Likenesses and Births*, he notes that "Sanskrit and Prakrit are the two languages worthy of preeminence, and among them Sanskrit resides in the hearts of self-styled scholars, while Prakrit, beautiful to the ear, awakens true wisdom even in children."

---

[86] *bāla-strī-mūḍha-mūrkhāṇāṃ nṝṇāṃ cāritrakāṅkṣiṇām | anugrahārthaṃ tattvajñaiḥ siddhāntaḥ prākṛtaḥ kṛtaḥ ||* (*Daśavaikālika Ṭīkā*, quoted in Gandhi 1927: 73). For the date of Haribhadra, see Jinavijaya (1988 [1919]).

Why, then, has Siddharṣi written his large collection of stories in Sanskrit? "Nevertheless, the Prakrit language doesn't appeal to them. If you have the chance, you should please everyone: hence, by that principle, this work is composed in Sanskrit."[87]

A third of continuity is the underlying identity of Jain language practices, and their common identification as Prakrit. This is both a synchronic and a diachronic concept: the former because it organizes language taxonomically under the rubric of Prakrit, and the latter because this taxonomy encompasses the whole history of Jain language practices, at least for the first millennium of Jainism. The language of Mahāvīra's original teachings, collected in the canonical texts called *aṅga*s according to the Śvetāmbaras but lost forever according to the Digambaras, was called Māgadhī or Ardhamāgadhī by the Jains themselves. Precisely at what point Jains came to regard this language, or indeed any other language, as Prakrit, or a variety of Prakrit, is very difficult to say. The late-canonical *Sthānāṅga Sūtra* and *Anuyogadvāra Sūtra* do mention a division of language into Sanskrit and Prakrit, but context makes clear that it applies to literary (or more precisely musical) practices rather than scripture.[88] In the 12th century, the Śvetāmbara monk Hemacandra viewed the language of the canon as a Prakrit "of the sages" (*ārṣam*), and dedicated a surprisingly small portion of the rules of his Prakrit grammar to this variety. Modern scholars have followed suit. According to the influential classification of Richard Pischel, the Jains employed three principal varieties of Prakrit: Ardhamāgadhī in the canonical texts of the Śvetāmbaras; Jain Śaurasenī in the doctrinal literature of the Digambaras; and Jain Māhārāṣṭrī in the commentarial and narrative literature of both sects.[89]

All three of these continuities are invoked in the proposition that the language of the Jain tradition

---

[87] *Endless Stream of Likenesses and Births*, vv. 51-53: *saṃskṛtā prākṛtā ceti bhāṣe prādhānyam arhataḥ | tatrāpi saṃskṛtā tāvad durvidaghdahṛdi sthitā || bālānām api sadbodhakāriṇī karṇapeśalā | tathāpi prākṛtā bhāṣā na teṣām api bhāsate || upāye sati kartavyaṃ sarveṣāṃ cittarañjanam | atas tadanurodhena saṃskṛteyaṃ kariṣyate ||*

[88] See p. 164.

[89] See his grammar (1981 [1900]: §§16–21).

is, and always was, Prakrit, and that the use of Prakrit is part of what characterizes Jainism as an inclusive and egalitarian religion in contrast to the Brahmanical traditions, which insisted on using the obscure and exclusive language of Sanskrit.[90] No less a scholar than Ludwig Alsdorf described Jain literature as "an uninterrupted tradition on the soil of the motherland," organically developing from "anti-brahmanic, popular linguistic origins" and an "inclination to a popular tongue."[91] There are aspects of this representation that are plausible, if sentimental and indigenist. But it should be clear that such representations trade on a threefold continuity—between Jain literature and Jain teaching, between the various languages of Jainism, and between these languages and the languages of the everyday—which is hardly as obvious as Alsdorf takes it to be. By the time that Jain communities were assembling, comparing, and commenting on their canonical scriptures in the 5th and 6th centuries, there was little doubt that Sanskrit would have been equally if not more intelligible than the languages of Jain scripture and commentary, for the monastic and lay communities alike. The rationale for using Prakrit must therefore be sought in the history of Jain language practices.

## Prakrit's Monks

I will focus in this section on some of the literature composed in "Jain Māhārāṣṭrī," given that the connections and divisions imposed on Prakrit literature by this very name, first coined by Hermann Jacobi, constitute the forestructure through which we read and understand it.[92]

The name refers to a set of linguistic characteristics that, on the one hand, separate this language

---

[90]   See Puṇyavijaya et al. (1968: 18): "The *Vedas* are a monopoly of the *Brāhmaṇas*, that is, no one else can understand them; in opposition to this, Lord Mahāvīra and Buddha proclaimed that knowledge should be easily accessible to all without any discrimination whatsoever."

[91]   Alsdorf (2006 [1965]: 15–16).

[92]   Jacobi (1879: 17); see also Alsdorf (2006 [1965]: 19).

from Ardhamāgadhī.[93] These linguistic differences roughly correspond to differences of genre and, by the same token, chronological differences—but only roughly. Scholars have traced the influence of Ardhamāgadhī on the language of later Jain literature, as well as the influence of "Jain Māhārāṣṭrī" on the transmission of the Ardhamāgadhī scriptures.[94] The use of "Jain Māhārāṣṭrī" is thus associated primarily with the cluster of texts that Ludwig Alsdorf called "late canonical and postcanonical verse literature." One distinctive characteristic of this literature, according to Alsdorf, was its metrical form, the *gāthā*, which is all but absent from earlier literature. I argue below that the *gāthā* is indeed one of the diagnostic features of Prakrit literature (p. 137), and the extensive use of this verse-form in "Jain Māhārāṣṭrī" thus links it closely with non-Jain literature such as the *Seven Centuries* while distinguishing it from chronologically earlier layers of Jain texts.

On the other hand, the name "Jain Māhārāṣṭrī" establishes the language as parallel to, and therefore also distinct from Māhārāṣṭrī pure and simple ("reine Māhārāṣṭrī" as Oskar von Hinüber revealingly calls it), the language of non-Jain Prakrit literature.[95] There is a double exclusion at work here: first and most obviously of non-Jains from "Jain Māhārāṣṭrī," which is by definition a language that can only be used by Jains to do things that only Jains would ever want to do, such as write commentaries on Jain canonical texts; secondly, however, it excludes Jains from the category of "Māhārāṣṭrī." This exclusion has become one of the organizational principles of Indian literary history. The texts that fall under the category of "Jain Māhārāṣṭrī" are typically considered in connection with the Jain scriptures and the non-canonical texts that either supplement them or stand in their place. They are not made to play any significant role in the history of "classical literature," or what the tradition itself called *kāvya*,

---

[93]  Such as the use of *-o* rather than *-e* in the masculine nominative singular, the loss of sibilant clusters (*-mmi* rather than *-ṃsi*), and the advanced lenition of intervocalic consonants (*kaa-* rather than *kaḍa-*).

[94]  See, for example, Alsdorf (2006 [1965]).

[95]  von Hinüber (2001: §53).

and certainly not in its formative stages.[96]

One of the reasons for this separation is the Jains' "marked" status throughout Indian history. For the people who constructed the curriculums of literature in premodern India—most of whom, with a few late exceptions, were not themselves Jains—Jain literature was usually Jain first and literature second. I think this markedness has more to do with the Jains being a religious minority than with any principled evaluation of the religious or ethical content of the texts under consideration. One would be hard-pressed to claim that Bhāravi's devotion to Śiva, for example, is more neutral or subdued than the Jainism of Uddyotanasūri. Generally speaking, although Jain authors acknowledged the influence of non-Jain authors, non-Jain authors rarely returned the favor.[97] One example is the typology of stories that Ānandavardhana, a devotee of the Goddess, gives at the end of his *Light on Suggestion*: it is only from the adaptation of this passage at the hands of the Jain monk Hemacandra that we know that certain genres in Ānanda's typology are represented principally, if not exclusively, by Jain narratives, and indeed Ānanda's typology itself probably derives from the Jain poet Haribhadra.[98]

In this sense, Indian literary culture, as defined and represented by Brahmanical authors such as Kālidāsa, Bāṇabhaṭṭa, Rājaśekhara, and Bhojadeva, was not quite so "cosmopolitan" as it sometimes represented itself. At the same time, Jain scholars and authors were enthusiastic and innovative, if often unacknowledged, participants in this cosmopolitan culture. We can thus think of the particular kind of cosmopolitanism represented by the literary practices of premodern India as similar to Habermas's idea of the "bourgeois public sphere" as it was critically reformulated by scholars such as Michael

---

[96]   Warder (1990 [1974]) is the exception, since the canonical literature of the Jains does not fall under the scope of his study. Jain Māhārāṣṭrī texts are treated by Winternitz in a separate volume from classical literature, and they are absent in Keith's and Lienhard's histories. Jain's (1961) chapter on narrative literature (*kathāsāhitya*) includes all Jain authors, and his chapter on poetry (*kāvyasāhitya*) involves all non-Jain authors (with the exception of Hemacandra).

[97]   One exception is Abhinanda, whom I discuss below (p. 119).

[98]   Jacobi (1908–1909).

Warner.[99] Part of what made it such an attractive ideal is that it was in principle open to anyone who had the requisite knowledge, skills, and creativity—although the uneven distribution of those qualities in premodern India prevents us from taking the further step of calling it a democratic ideal—regardless of their sectarian persuasion. This ideal, however, bestowed legitimacy on actual practices that were often far less inclusive than the ideal would suggest: literary practices, for example, that were constituted by the values of particular communities and their interests. This tension, in turn, was productive: not of a successive and inexorable broadening of cosmopolitan culture in practice, as Habermasian public spheres, but of a seemingly-endless variety of cultural formations that hybridized the cosmopolitan ideal with more or less substantive, and more or less rigid, religious and ethical commitments.

Early Jain literature often thematizes its marginalization from a mainstream literary tradition. I have already mentioned the founding myth, according to which the sage Vālmīki produced the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the first poem, by transforming his grief into verse. This is supposed to be the foundation not of Brahmanical literature, but of literature period. The Jain monk Vimala produced an alternative story, called The *Deeds of Padma* (*Paümacariya*), which directly challenged both the chronological priority and the truthfulness of Vālmīki's version.[100] The story of Rāma was in fact the story of Padma, which—like the story of Vasudeva for Saṅghadāsa—was transmitted in a line of Jain teachers that stretched all the way back to Mahāvīra himself.[101] Vimala's story is related through the mouth of Mahāvīra's disciple Gautama, and it is occasioned by King Śreṇika's severe doubts about the version of the Rāma story that he was familiar with. How could the powerful Rāvaṇa be defeated by monkeys?

---

[99] Warner (2002).

[100] Although Vimala never names Vālmīki, there is no doubt that Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* was his primary source and the object of his critique (Chandra 1970: 234*ff*.; Kulkarni 1990: 218*ff*.).

[101] *Deeds of Padma* 1.8: *nāmāvaliyanibaddhaṃ āyariyaparaṃparāgayaṃ savvaṃ | vocchāmi paümacariyaṃ ahāṇupuvviṃ samāseṇa ||*; cf. also 118.102.

Why would the compassionate Rāma shoot a golden deer, or for that matter kill Vālin? People who promote false teachings (*kusatthavādīhi*), the king infers, must have manipulated these stories for their own purposes.[102] Gautama confirms: it's all a lie that wicked poets (*kukaïṇo*) have told in their delusion.

Vimala lays claim to an authentic and unaltered version of the Rāma story. Scholars, of course, were never convinced, and they have tended to argue the opposite: that Jains pilfered the narratives of other traditions—that is, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, and the *Great Story*—to serve their own didactic ends.[103] I suggest viewing the Jain versions of these works not just as "Jain versions," but as attempts to lay the foundation-stones for a new literary tradition. The language of this new tradition was Prakrit, in contrast to Vālmīki's Sanskrit. And this tradition, unlike Vālmīki's, would be not just open to Jain voices, but dominated by them. Sheldon Pollock has shown that the adaptation of the great epics was one of the key strategies by which new literary traditions both announced themselves and found their cultural-political orientation. In Pollock's account, this process is a component of vernacularization, and it begins—so far as we can tell—with Peruntēvaṉar's production of a Tamil *Mahābhārata* in the 9ᵗʰ c.[104] Against this theoretical background, Vimala's production of a Prakrit *Rāmāyaṇa* and a Prakrit *Lineage of Hari*, the latter now lost, as well as Saṅghadāsa's production of a Prakrit *Great Story* raise several important questions. Why transcreate at all? Why transcreate these texts? And what is the tradition in which these transcreations place themselves?

One important starting-point for the tradition of "Jain Māhārāṣṭrī" is the tradition of commentary

---

[102] *Deeds of Padma* 2.105*ff.*, especially 117 (*aliyaṃ pi savvam eyaṃ uvavattiviruddhapaccayaguṇehiṃ | na ya saddahanti purisā havanti je paṇḍiyā loe ||*); 3.8*ff.* (*paümacariyaṃ mahāyasa ahayaṃ icchāmi pariphuḍaṃ souṃ | uppāiyā pasiddhī kusatthavādīhi vivarīyā ||*), and especially 3.15 (*na ya rakkhaso tti bhaṇṇaï dasāṇaṇo ṇeya āmisāhāro | aliyaṃ ti savvam eyaṃ bhaṇaṃti jaṃ kukaïṇo mūḍhā ||*).

[103] E.g., Ghatage (1934–1935a): "But in all these species of literature Jainism cannot claim originality in both conception and execution"; Kulkarni (1990: 5), without protest: "Modern scholars like Jacobi, Glasenapp and Winternitz hold that *the mythology of the Jains is to a great extent derivative*" (italics in original).

[104] See the extensive discussion of Pampa's Kannada Bhāratam (ca. 950) in *Language of the Gods* (2006b: 354–363), and p. 384 for the reference to the "first vernacularization of the epic in South Asia" (Peruntēvaṉar's *Pārataveṇpā*).

on the canonical texts of Jainism. These commentaries are among the earliest, and probably the most copious, productions in the Prakrit language. I say "the Prakrit language" advisedly, because their language is generally identical to the language of the literary works produced by Jains and non-Jains alike in the early centuries of the common era.[105] Any history of Prakrit literature must account for the striking connections between the discourses of commentary and literature. But none have, so far, for several reasons. First, the myths of continuity would have us believe that these discourses themselves do not have a beginning, that they represent processes of exegesis and diegesis that have been going on continuously since the days of Mahāvīra. Second, the dating of the commentarial discourse is extremely difficult, in part because there is no evidence whatsoever for its date apart from its association with particular Jain teachers, and their dates in turn are difficult to establish with any confidence, ranging from the 3rd c. BCE to the 6th c. CE. And third, the dating of the literary discourse is just as uncertain. I think, however, that we can begin to connect some of these moving parts by relating them within a field of Prakrit textuality that appeared not much earlier and not much later than the 1st c. CE.

The commentarial literature is notoriously complex, but its chronologically earliest layer is agreed to be a set of "explanations" (*niryukti*s) composed in Prakrit *gāthā*s and attributed to the teacher Bhadrabāhu. These are, more precisely, versified lists of topics for oral explanation.[106] One Bhadrabāhu, who is said to have led a group of Jain clerics to Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa in today's Karnataka when a famine threatened the Jain community in North India, is believed to have been a contemporary of Candragupta Maurya. But many scholars have resisted identifying this Bhadrabāhu, who would have lived in the early 3rd c. BCE, with the author of the *niryukti*s. The leading authorities on Jainism place Bhadrabāhu, the author of the *niryukti*s, in the 1st c. CE.[107] Bhadrabāhu's explanations set into

---

[105] For some of the differences, see Balbir (1989).

[106] For the *niryukti*s of the *Āvaśyaka Sūtra*, as well as the best introduction to the *niryukti* literature in general, see Balbir (1993b). The word *niryukti-* is the conventional Sanskritization of the Prakrit *nijjutti-*, which represents *nirvyukti-*.

[107] Balbir (1993b: 39); Dhaky (2004: 138); Schubring (1962: 84). See Dhaky's article for a complete survey of the

motion a process of commentary in Prakrit that continued for several centuries, and these centuries were decisive for Jainism as a religion: between the 1ˢᵗ and 5ᵗʰ c. ᴄᴇ, the foundational texts were revised and expanded, Jainism split into two major sects, and in a series of councils the community attempted to constitute a stable canon of scripture. The common typology of commentary in Jainism distinguishes between the original "explanations" (*niryukti*s), the expanded "discussions" (*bhāṣya*s), also in Prakrit verse, and more "granular" commentaries (*cūrṇi*s) in Prakrit prose.

The readiest explanation for the use of Prakrit in this extensive commentarial discourse is simply that it was the spoken vernacular at the critical time and place in which this literature took shape. In composing, memorizing, reciting, and commenting upon texts in Prakrit, Jain monks were unknowingly laying the foundations for Prakrit textuality outside of the relatively narrow confines of their religious texts. Indeed, one of the reasons why there has been so little scholarly reflection on Vimala's or Saṅghadāsa's use of Prakrit as a literary language is that it seems a *fait accompli*: Prakrit was, in fact, the only language that Jain monks of this earlier period ever used.

But even if the use of Prakrit as a religious language was one of the preconditions for the subsequent use of Prakrit as a literary language, it was never a *fait accompli* that Prakrit would be used for literature. Sanskrit provides a useful parallel. It was used as a religious language for a thousand years before its sudden reinvention as a language of political power and imaginative literature; this reinvention did not simply entail Sanskrit's extension into new discursive spheres, but fundamental changes in the way the language was cultivated and deployed. This appears to be the case with Prakrit as well: rather than seeing the development of "Jain Māhārāṣṭrī" literature as slow and inevitable accumulation of religious material, we can discern a group of texts that employ the same language and verse-forms as commentarial discourse, but for completely different purposes and with completely different results.

This group of texts includes the *Wanderings of Vasudeva*, Vimala's *Deeds of Padma*, and Pādalipta's

---

evidence regarding Bhadrabāhu. For the legend of Bhadrabāhu's migration to the South, see Ohira (1982: 126).

*Taraṅgavatī*. These are texts that have just barely survived into the age of print, or in the case of the *Taraṅgavatī*, survived only in later abridgements. Many similar texts have been lost, including Vimala's *Lineage of Hari*. Nobody really knows when any of these texts were composed, but references in other texts place most of them before the middle of the 1ˢᵗ millennium.[108] Vimala's date is particularly controversial because he tells us that he completed the *Deeds of Padma* 530 years after Mahāvīra's death. Most reckonings would thus place him in the 1st century CE, which is as obvious to some scholars as it is impossible for others.[109] I see no reason to doubt that these texts are broadly contemporaneous with the efforts of Bhadrabāhu and later teachers to comment on the Jain scriptures, and also with the efforts of Hāla to stake out a role for Prakrit within literary discourse. They can thus be seen as a link between two textual cultures: one that saw itself as literary, and engaged in a dispute over the boundaries and definition of the literary, and one that employed textuality as a way of preserving and elaborating upon the doctrines of Jainism. For most of these texts, however, the specific connections to both of these cultures—to say nothing about the historical circumstances of their composition—remain obscure.

---

[108] In some cases, later texts furnish a *terminus ad quem*, for example Jinabhadra's mention of the *Wanderings of Vasudeva* in a commentary dated to 610 CE (Cort 2010: 313). *Taraṅgavatī* and another lost text, *Malayavatī*, are mentioned in a late canonical text, the *Anuyogadvārasūtra* (*sūtra* 308), which in turn can only be dated by reference to the Council of Valabhī in the mid-5ᵗʰ c. at which the Śvetāmbara canon was finalized. *Magadhasenā* is mentioned with *Taraṅgavatī* and *Malayavatī* in the *Niśīthaviśeṣacūrṇi* (Jain 1961: 376), and Pādalipta himself is mentioned as a contemporary of King Muruṇḍa in the somewhat earlier *Niśīthasūtrabhāṣya*, v. 4460.

[109] Later Jain traditions fixed Mahāvīra's death at 526 BCE, so 4 CE, or perhaps a couple of generations later (we do not know what date Vimala himself accepted for Mahāvīra's death), will not be far off the mark. Jacobi (1918: 59*, pp. 8*ff.*), pp. 8ff., argued that Vimala's acquaintance with Greek astrology places the text in the 3ʳᵈ c. CE. See also the introduction to the edition of Jacobi and Jinavijaya, Winternitz (1972 [1927]: 477 n. 3), who cites Ernst Leumann's view that a 1ˢᵗ c. date is "incontestable," Keith (1920: 34), and Warder (1990 [1974]: §853), who notes that Vimala "may be regarded as among the earliest pioneers of Māhārāṣṭrī literature."

# Pādalipta's *Taraṅgavatī*

Pādalipta's *Taraṅgavatī* is the missing piece that links the two histories of Prakrit literature to each other.[110] As noted above, this text only survives in later abridgements. Bhadreśvara included a synopsis of the story in 425 verses in his *Book of Stories* (12th c.). Another, longer version (about 1640 verses) is called *Taraṅgalolā*. According to one possible reading of its final verse, it was composed by one Yaśas at an unknown date, for reasons he notes at the beginning:[111]

> Pādalipta composed a long story called *Taraṅgavatī*, full of regional words, intricate and extensive. It features captivating water-lilies in some places, star-crossed lovers in others, and in others, the six passions that are difficult for other people to defeat. Nobody recites it, nobody asks for it to be recited, nobody talks about it. It has become the special preserve of scholars; nobody else can do anything with it. That's why I have collected the verses that Pādalipta wrote and removed the regional words to create this abridged story, in the hope that it will not entirely disappear from the hearts of other people. I beg forgiveness from that monk.[112]

The "regional" words that, according to the author, got in the way of non-scholarly readers understanding the text are words that cannot easily be analyzed as deriving from Sanskrit. The use

---

[110]  For this text and its later abridgements see Warder (1990 [1974]: §§835–850), Chaudharī (1973: 335*ff.*) and Jain (1961: 373–381), who notes (373): *suprasiddh pādaliptasūri sab se pahle jain vidvān haiṃ jinhoṃne taraṃgavatī nāmkā svataṃtra kathā-graṃth likhkar prākṛta kathā-sāhitya meṃ ek naī paraṃparā ko janm diyā.* Leumann (1921) translated the abridgement into German (although his translation focuses on the narrative and thus abridges most of the extended descriptions). The only printed edition is Bhayani's, which also provides a Gujarati translation (the basis for Siṅghavī's Hindi translation); Thomas Oberlies is preparing a new edition (p.c.). I have unfortunately not been able to consult Vijayaśīlacandrasūri (2005).

[111]  *Taraṅgalolā* 1640: *hāiya-purīya-gacche sūrī jo vīrabhadda-nāmo tti | tassa sīsassa lihiyā jaseṇa gaṇinemicaṃdassa ||.* Warder (1990 [1974]: §839) attributes the text to Yaśas. It is sometimes (e.g., Jain 1961; Chaudharī 1973) attributed to Nemicandra instead of Yaśas. The relevant section of Bhadreśvara's *Book of Stories* was included by Harivallabh Bhayani in his edition of the *Taraṅgalolā*. See also Malvania (1983), who notes that Bhadreśvara produced a synopsis of the *Taraṅgavatī* before including it in his *Book of Stories* (p. 82).

[112]  *Taraṅgalolā* 5–9: *pālittaeṇa raïyā vittharao taha ya desi-vayaṇehiṃ | nāmeṇa taraṃgavaī kahā vicittā ya vipulā ya || katthaï kuvalāiṃ maṇoramāiṃ aṇṇattha guvila-juyalāiṃ | aṇṇattha chakkalāiṃ duppariallāi iyarāṇaṃ || na ya sā koi suṇeī na puṇo pucchei neva ya kaheī | viusāṇa navara joggā iyara-jaṇo tīe kiṃ kuṇaü || to ucceūṇa gāhāo pālittaeṇa raïāo | desī-payāiṃ mottuṃ saṃkhittayarī kayā esā || iyarāṇa hiyaṭṭhāe mā hohī savvahā vi voccheo | evaṃ viciṃtiūṇaṃ khāmeūṇa ya tayaṃ sūriṃ ||.* The translation is tentative.

of such words was a distinctive feature of Prakrit in both its Jain and non-Jain varieties, and defining these words was the primary task of its associated forms of knowledge (see chapter 6).

Unlucky as the loss of Pādalipta's original is, Harivallabh Bhayani has shown using parallel texts that *Taraṅgalolā* is a relatively faithful abridgement of *Taraṅgavatī*.[113] Pādalipta was remembered as an important Jain teacher, and hence many stories about his life and career can be found in Jain narrative literature.[114] In fact, he was important enough for there to have been at least two of him, just like there were—at least according to some scholars—at least two Nāgārjunas, two Siddhasenas, and two Haribhadras. M. A. Dhaky argued convincingly that there were three: the existence of our Pādalipta, the author of the *Taraṅgavatī*, is attested in late-canonical and post-canonical texts of the early 1st millennium CE; another adept by this name was associated with the pilgrimage site of Śatruñjaya and probably lived in the late 7th and early 8th century; a third Pādalipta, the author of a Jain ritual manual, was probably associated with the court of Kṛṣṇa III in Mānyakheṭa in the 10th century.[115] The stories about Pādalipta have hardly been studied, but they predictably aggregate details from a range of Jain sources about the various Pādaliptas. As an example, Pādalipta's teacher is said to be Āryanāgahastin of the Vidyādhara lineage, which would be consistent with an early 1st-millennium date, but the monks who actually taught in Jain lore are said to be Maṇḍana and Saṅgrama, who are the teacher and teacher's teacher respectively of the later Pādalipta.[116] Some of the details related in the stories of Pādalipta, however, point to an authentic tradition about events of the 1st century, such as the conflict between

---

[113] Bhayani (1993b).

[114] The earliest narrative I refer to is the *Prabandha of Pādalipta* in Prakrit, edited by R. M. Shah from an unfortunately lacunose manuscript dated to 1235 CE (Shah's edition includes a selection from Bhadreśvara's *Book of Stories* [*Kathāvalī*]). Later sources include the *Deeds of the Promoters* (*Prabhāvakacarita*) of Prabhācandra, dated to 1278 CE, pp. 28–40, and Jinabhadra's *Collection of Narratives* (*Prabandhāvalī*), dated to 1210 CE, pp. 92–95 in the *Purātanaprabandhasaṅgraha*.

[115] Dhaky (1974, 2002), and White (1996: 61), Balcerowicz (2001) and Williams (1965). Alexis Sanderson (p.c.) contends that the third Pādalipta is at least a century later (see Sanderson 2011).

[116] Dhaky (1974).

Sātavāhana and Nahapāna.[117]

The *Taraṅgavatī* is a novel in Prakrit verse, and specifically in the *gāthā* meter that is closely associated with Prakrit literature. It uses the strategy of emboxed narration that is common in the story literature of India, but in this case—as in later stories for which it served as a model, such as Uddyotana's *Kuvalayamālā* and perhaps also Daṇḍin's *Avantisundarī*—the stories span several human lifetimes. The recollection of past lives is the event that propels the narrative forward and at the same time backward. The central motif, which later authors usually mention in connection with *Taraṅgavatī*, is the pair of ruddy sheldrakes (*cakkāya*s) who are reborn as the lovers Taraṅgavatī and Padmadeva.[118]

The story takes place in Kauśāmbī, and later authors tell us that Pādalipta himself was a native of Kośala, both in present-day Uttar Pradesh. But it was at the court of Sātavāhana in Pratiṣṭhāna, according to a unanimous tradition, that Pādalipta achieved lasting literary fame. The Jain *prabandha*s related that Pādalipta already had worked in the courts of Muruṇḍa in Pāṭalīputra, of Bhīma in Oṃkāra, and finally of Kṛṣṇa in Mānakheṭa before he was summoned to the Sātavāhana court at Pratiṣṭhāna.[119] There Pādalipta composed a "completely new work," the *Taraṅgavatī*, and explained it at court.[120] The work reportedly pleased the king but provoked criticism, jealousy, and accusations of plagiarism from other court poets and intellectuals. In response, Pādalipta faked his own death, whereupon his rivals

---

[117]  See *Prabandha of Pādalipta* vv. 272*ff.* (where Nahapāna is called Naravāhana; I suspect that *naranāha-* is also a modernization of *ṇahavāṇa-*); the *Book of Stories* by Bhadreśvara (12th c.) calls the king Nahavāhana (see p. 95).

[118]  For example *Tilakamañjarī* 23: *prasannagambhīrapathā rathāṅgamithunāśrayā | puṇyā puṇāti gaṅgevā gāṃ taraṅgavatī kathā ||* ("The meritorious story of *Taraṅgavatī*, where pairs of sheldrakes reside, purifies the earth like the Ganges, with its *clear and deep waters / clear and profound style*").

[119]  The name Muruṇḍa suggests the period of Śaka and Kuṣāṇa supremacy in Pāṭaliputra before the Guptas (possibly contemporaneous with the Sātavāhanas), and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa ruled Mānyakheṭa in the 10th c. As noted above, the hagiographical accounts conflate details from the lives of three different Pādaliptas.

[120]  *Prabandha of Pādalipta* vv. 317–318. See also the story of Pādaliptasūri in the *Deeds of the Promoters*: v. 332 (*kathā taraṅgalolākhyā vyākhyātābhinavā puraḥ*); *Twenty-Four Prabanadhas* p. 28 (*ekāṃ ca taraṅgalolāṃ nāma campū rājño 'gre navāṃ nirmāpya sadasi vyācakhye prabhuḥ*). The fact that these *prabandha*s call the work *Taraṅgalolā* suggests that this later redaction of the *Taraṅgavatī* was already available in the 13th c.

finally admitted that they fabricated the charge of plagiarism.

It is very significant that Uddyotana, in composing the eulogy of previous poets at the beginning of his novel *Kuvalayamālā* (779 CE), begins with two verses that mention Pādalipta and Sātavāhana together, and then one that focuses on Pādalipta:

> The words of Pādalipta, Sātavāhana, and the Chappaṇṇayas[121] are like a lion's roar, and I'm like a young deer. How can I even *take a step / write one word*?
>
> Pādalipta, whose mind was pure, whose virtues were deep, and who had the power to put the highest truths into writing,adorned Hāla in literary gatherings (*goṣṭhī*s) like a necklace,
> which had pure jewels, a strong cord, and was rich in gems of the highest quality.
>
> He is like the Himalaya, and his *Taraṅgavatī* is like the Ganges River that flows from it: pairs of ruddy sheldrakes make it beautiful, and causes delight with the charm of its royal geese.[122]

Immediately afterwards he praises Sātavāhana in a verse noted above (fn. 72). Abhinanda evoked this relationship in his *Deeds of Rāma* (8th or 9th c.):

> The excellent poet Śrīpālita was cherished by Hāla with the highest honor, the works of Kālidāsa achieved unparalleled fame through the enemy of the Śakas, Śrīharṣa brought to fruition the speech of the prose poet Bāṇa, and Śrīhāravarṣa has taken Abhinanda into his kind treatment constantly.[123]

---

[121] The Chappaṇṇayas are a mysterious group of poets, presumably of the Sātavāhana age, who are sometimes mentioned in later works (by Daṇḍin, Abhinavagupta, etc.). A collection of Prakrit verses published by Upadhye (as an appendix to his edition of the *Saptaśatīsāra* of Vemabhūpāla) circulated under the name *Verses of the Chappaṇṇayas* (*Chappaṇṇayagāhāo*), although this work is evidently later and different form the work that Abhinavagupta knew. See Bhayani (1993d), Balbir and Besnard (1993–1994), and Balbir (1995–1996).

[122] *Kuvalayamālā*, p. 3: *pālittaya-sālāhaṇa-chappaṇṇaya-sīha-ṇāya-saddehi | saṃkhuddha-muddha-sāraṃgao vva kaha tā payaṃ demi || ṇimmala-maṇeṇa guṇa-garuyaeṇa paramattha-rayaṇa-sāreṇa | pālittaeṇa hālo hāreṇa va sahaï goṭṭhīsu || cakkāya-juvala-suhayā rammattaṇa-rāya-haṃsa-kaya-harisā | jassa kula-pavvayassa va viyaraï gaṃgā taraṃgavaī ||.* The last verse might rather be translated as a *samāsokti*, as Chojnacki does (2008: 28): "Elle donne le bonheur avec ses paires de tadornes – ses stances –, et apporte la joie avec ses oies royales – sa grâce –, cette Ondine qui émane du noble Pādalipta comme la Gaṅgā du Mont noble, j'ai nommé la Taraṃgavaī."

In Pādalipta the courtly and the Jain histories of Prakrit are crossed, or rather, they have not yet been separated from each other. Pādalipta was a leading participant in the literary culture that was associated with Hāla's court. As Bhayani demonstrated, several verses of Pādalipta's are included in the *Seven Centuries*, and were likely excerpted or adapted from the *Taraṅgavatī*. Even if there is only a small number of verses shared between these texts, which are in any case incompletely preserved, they nevertheless point to a nexus of commonalities in form and content that are disguised by the distinct categories of "courtly poetry" and "Jain narrative literature." The language is similar: what sets the *Taraṅgavatī* slightly apart, both from the *Seven Centuries* and later literature in "Jain Māhārāṣṭrī," are its archaic features, which may also be regionalisms or colloquialisms. I note below (p. 216) that some of these features, which are typically associated with "archaic Jain Māhārāṣṭrī," are in fact described by the Prakrit grammarians, who are usually seen as describing a non-Jain literary language.[124] The *Taraṅgalolā* has several orthographic features that are typically associated with Jain texts, but I doubt both whether these features were present in the original *Taraṅgavatī* and whether the features in question are diagnostic of a specifically Jain version of the language.[125] The style is also very similar. It is self-consciously literary, and it abounds especially in figures of sense. The goal, even in Pādalipta's narrative poem, is always to present a thought in a striking and elaborated way within the scope of a single verse. The meter of such verses is exactly the same in both texts.

---

[123]  *Deeds of Rāma*, opening of chapter 33: *hālenottamapūjayā kavivṛṣaḥ śrīpālito lālitaḥ khyātiṃ kām api kālidāsakṛtayo nītāḥ śakārātinā | śrīharṣo vitatāra gadyakavaye bāṇāya vāṇīphalaṃ sadyaḥ satkriyayābhinandam api ca śrīhāravarṣo 'grahīt ||*. Pālita is an alternative Sanskritization of his Prakrit name, Pālittaya (see p. 122 below).

[124]  I include, for example, the aorist in *-īa*, which is completely absent from both "courtly" Prakrit and Jain Prakrit of a later date, as well as suffixed pronouns such as *tayaṃ*, and a first-person present in *-aṃ* (see the extract in n. 126 for some examples, and see Bhayani 1993b; for comparison to the language of the *Wanderings of Vasudeva*, see Alsdorf 1936 and Esposito 2011).

[125]  The features are the use of the hiatus-filler *y* (called *ya-śruti*) and the use of dental rather than retroflex nasals in word-initial position and word-interally when geminated; both are typically found in Jain Prakrit texts, and they are mentioned by the Jain grammarian Hemacandra, but they are also found, for example, in the two poems about the tortoise that holds up the earth that Bhoja had inscribed in the 11th c. (see p. 253). Hoernle had these doubts already in 1880; see his note on p. iv of his edition of Caṇḍa's *Definition of Prakrit*.

What's more, the *Taraṅgalolā* does not steer clear of eroticism—although it is hardly as frank as the *Seven Centuries*—but rather channels it towards its own didactic ends. The opening scene of the novel, for example, has the nun Suvratā going out for alms with her students and captivating a neighboring housewife with her beauty. She says:

> Never in a dream, in a statue, in a painting, or in stories have I ever seen or heard of a woman as beautiful as this nun. What is she? A bouquet of loveliness put together by attractiveness? Or has the moonlight in all its beauty come down to earth? Could it be that creator has put the whole essence of youth into carefully making this slender girl, with all of her beauty and good qualities? If she looks so good with her head shaved, I can only imagine how stunning she was before! Her body is covered in dirt, and she wears no jewelry, but I can hardly take my eyes away from her. My gaze constantly wanders over every part of her body, eager to take it all in, stopping only to think how beautiful it is. Even the apsarases would feel an attraction to such a beauty, joined as it is with the nun's grace, and capable of lighting up one's heart, unlike anything else in the world. The goddess Lakṣmī herself has left her lotus-pool, put on a nun's clothing, and come to my house, manifested by our generosity.[126]

There are faint echoes, or anticipations, of the *Seven Centuries* in these verses, particularly W234 and W271.[127] Pādalipta's specialty, to judge by quotations in later authors, was his striking descriptions of nature: the thunderous nights of the monsoon, the flight of a flock of parrots (a verse that appears

---

[126] *Taraṅgalolā* 43–50: *na ya suviṇae na leppe na cittakamme kahāsu ya bahūsu | diṭṭhā va suyā va mae ajjā iva suṃdarā mahilā || lāyaṇṇeṇa ghaḍiyā kā ṇu hu sohagga-maṃjarī iṇamo | pattā va caṃda-joṇhā rūva-guṇa-samaṇṇiyā ihaïṃ || kiṃ hojja payāvaïṇā iṇamo vara-juvaï-savva-sāreṇa | rūva-guṇa-samāüttā savvāyara-nimmiyā suyaṇu || jaï tāva erisaṃ se muṇḍiya-bhāvae hojja lāyaṇṇaṃ | āsīya gihittaṇae rūva-sirī kettiyaṃ maṇṇe || bhūsaṇa-rahiesu vi kiha va tāva jalla-maïlesu aṃgesu | jattha ṭhiyā me diṭṭhī tatto na varajjaï caleuṃ || savvaṃgesu animisā pecchaṇalolā mae surūvaṃ ti | laggaṃtī laggaṃtī kahiṃci hiṃvāviyā diṭṭhī || ajjāe kaṃti-jutte aṇaṇṇa-sarise maṇa-pāsāya-kare | accharasāṇaṃ pi bhave maṇoraho erise rūve || mottūṇa ṇa paüma-vaṇa-saṃḍaṃ gahiya-nevacchā | gharamaïgayā bhagavaī dāna-guṇa-paḍoccayā lacchī ||*. There are various textual problems and uncertainties.

[127] W234: *jassa jahiṃ cia paḍhamaṃ tissā aṃgammi ṇivaḍiā diṭṭhī | tassa tahiṃ cea ṭhiā savvaṃgaṃ keṇa vi na diṭṭhaṃ ||* (trans. Khoroche and Tieken 2009: "On whichever part of her body / One's eye falls first / There it stays. / No one has ever seen the whole of her body.") W271: *kaha sā ṇivvaṇṇijjaü jīa jahāloiammi aṃgammi | diṭṭhī duvvalagāi vva paṃkapaḍiā ṇa uttaraï ||* (trans. Khoroche and Tieken 2009: "How can I describe her? / Once you see her body / You cannot take your eyes off it: / They are like a helpless cow / Stuck in the mud.")

in the *Seven Centuries*), the rush of water-buffalo into a lake, or the clear night sky.[128] Yet the above passage shows that the Jain monk was not aloof from the culture of *kāma* that surrounded him. Legend has it that he owes his name to this very inclination. The young monk, then named Nāgendra, was coming back from begging alms, and made up an alliterative verse as he was walking: "A mango from the red-eyed girl, a fig from the girl with flower-like teeth, and fresh rice congree from the newly-married girl: that's what I have in my pot."[129] On hearing this, his teacher Āryanāgahastin called him Palitta, because his young student, who sought alms from the pretty girls, was "inflamed" (*pradīpta-*) by lust. Nāgendra said that he would prefer to be called Pālitta—which is to say, he wished to have his teacher's power of flight that came from an ointment applied to the feet (*pādalipta-*). Āryanāgahastin was impressed enough with his student's cleverness that he gave him the magic formula.

A. K. Warder acutely observed that the *Taraṅgavatī* was "a contrasting counterpart, as it were, to the lyrics collected by Sātavāhana, in the same new language."[130] Pādalipta and Hāla were indeed the co-creators of Prakrit literature, each concerned with pushing the new discourse in a certain direction, but borrowing from and overlapping heavily with each other in the process. They were an odd couple. Hāla, if his opening verse is any indication, was a devotee of Śiva, but the *Seven Centuries* wears its religion so lightly that some scholars have tried to read out of it, or into it, the philosophy of hedonistic materialism (Cārvāka or Lokāyata).[131] Pādalipta was, of course, a Jain monk, and his novel concludes with Taraṅgavatī and Padmadeva accepting the Jain faith and becoming clerics.

---

[128] See Bhayani (1993b) and p. 152 below.

[129] *aṃbaṃ taṃbacchīe apupphiyaṃ pupphadaṃtapaṃtīe | navasālikaṃjiyaṃ navavahūi kuḍaeṇa me dinnaṃ ||* (*Deeds of the Promoters*, *Deeds of Pādalipta Sūri*, v. 38). This story is also related in Jinabhadra's *Prabandhāvalī* (in *A Collection of Old Prabandhas*) and, most clearly, in Rājaśekhara's *Twenty-four Prabandhas* (p. 25); it was probably in the missing portion of the *Prabandha of Pādalipta*.

[130] Warder (1990 [1974]: §839).

[131] Sohoni (1999). Later Jain texts naturally made him convert to Jainism.

The storied relationship between Hāla and Pādalipta, I think, was not one of mere contemporaneity or financial patronage: each partner brought unique resources to the literary enterprise they were jointly involved in. Pādalipta, for his part, was well versed in Jain lore, which was at that very moment being collected and reformulated in the massive commentarial project of Bhadrabāhu: Pādalipta and Bhadrabāhu share a language, Prakrit, and a metrical form, the *gāthā*, which they each employed in their own way to redefine the discursive parameters of Jainism. It is possible that Buddhist communities, who must have constituted a large portion of the population under Sātavāhana rule, also used Prakrit in similar ways, although we have very little evidence in this regard. The edifying stories of Jain preachers, however, did not in themselves count as literature, at least according to the new standards of literature that were emerging around the 1ˢᵗ c. CE. It was only when Pādalipta was pulled into Hāla's court, and made to "adorn his literary gatherings" (*goṣṭhī*s), that the old art of Jain storytelling was transformed into a new kind of literature. Just as subsequent poets looked back upon the *Seven Centuries* as the prototype of the single-verse lyric (*muktaka*), subsequent poets looked upon upon the *Taraṅgavatī* as the prototype of the story or novel (*kathā*). Even before the Pādalipta and his *Taraṅgavatī* were known to scholarship, Rudolf Hoernle had suspected that Prakrit literature owes its origins to a process similar to what I have just described: "The Brahmanical opponents of the Jains... who employed the Sanskrit language for their religious and all higher literature, condescended to employ the literary Prákrit, created by the Jains, only for purposes of secular literature of a lower class (erotic and dramatic poetry, etc.) and, in doing so, subjected the language to a high degree of pedantic artificialization."[132] Leaving aside Hoernle's Victorian disdain for the pedantic and artificial, it does seem that courtly Prakrit owes much to the active involvement of Jain poets, and conversely, that Jain uses of Prakrit depended on the standard set by courtly literature for their wide dissemination and intelligibility.

---

[132]  Hoernle (1880: lxii).

# Conclusions

This chapter has focused on the emergence of Prakrit literature, by which I mean *pāuakavvaṃ*, the conjuncture of both Prakrit and literature in their strict senses. I have traced this emergence from two different perspectives: the eroticized world of courtly lyric, and the didactic world of Jain narrative. My conclusion is that both camps cooperated in the production of this new discursive phenomenon. If we look at an author like Uddyotana, we see that he could look upon both Hāla and Pādalipta equally as forebears. Yet the memory of literary culture came to be increasingly circumscribed by religious affiliation. Hāla was converted to Jainism centuries after his death, although it was primarily because of the high literary quality of the *Seven Centuries* and not the alleged Jainism of its author that staid and celibate monks continued to read, copy, and imitate this extremely erotic text. Pādalipta, for his part, was more or less erased from the memory of Hāla's court in Brahmanical sources. He is absent, for example, from the *Līlāvatī*, which makes Hāla and several of his co-authors characters in a fantastic romance. In this text, Hāla's closest advisor is Nāgārjuna. Jain traditions make Nāgārjuna out to be a student of Pādalipta, but they are probably later elaborations to the well-known association of the Buddhist master Nāgārjuna and a Sātavāhana king, and the author of the *Līlāvatī* would not have known them. Still, Pādalipta's absence is still striking.[133] He is also absent from the list of famous Prakrit poets that Rājaśekhara gives in his *Karpūramañjarī*.[134] Most of all, his *Taraṅgavatī* is now a permanent absence in Indian literary history.

    I have zeroed in on a moment when Prakrit literature was given the form that it would take for

---

[133] On Nāgārjuna and Sātavāhana, see Lévi (1936: 101*ff.*); Walser (2005) identifies the king, plausibly in my view, with Gautamīputra Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi (see Warder 1968 for the suggestion that it is Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāvi). The later Jain traditions that make Nāgārjuna a student of Pādalipta (for which see Granoff 1994) might be based on the figure that M. A. Dhaky calls "Pādalipta II," a Jain adept associated with Śatruñjaya around the 7th or 8th century, who may indeed be connected to the adept (*siddha*) and alchemist Nāgārjuna, who is distinct from the 2nd-century Buddhist philosopher.

[134] See p. 347.

more than a millennium afterwards. The still-dominant view is that Prakrit means "language of the common people." But when authors of the 8th, 10th, or 12th centuries wrote Prakrit, they wrote in the specific literary language pioneered by Hāla and Pādalipta around the 1st or 2nd century CE. This is a crucial moment not just for Prakrit, but for Indian literature as a whole. This was the period in which the foundations of classical literature were established, from its figural vocabulary to its repertoire of genres to its linguistic parameters. Subsequent authors remembered Hāla and, to a lesser extent, Pādalipta as important starting-points of their traditions. And although they became legendary in their own right, they are among the earliest historical figures—as opposed to mythical sages—to appear in the genealogy of *kāvya* that poets provide.[135] The *Seven Centuries* in particular was one of the most widely read and appreciated works of literature in India. Although much will of course remain obscure about the invention of Prakrit, there is much that we can piece together from the available evidence: the Sātavāhana court and its culture of *kāma*, the convergence of courtly culture with discursive practices of the Jain community (represented by Pādalipta's participation in Hāla's literary gatherings), and the pursuit of literature for its own sake (represented by the *Seven Centuries*' "declaration of independence"), rather than literary techniques as a spice to add to other discourses.

Finally, I want to clarify what I mean by the "emergence," "invention" or "creation" of Prakrit literature, and of Prakrit as a literary language, since these terms are all likely to be misunderstood as implying a conscious effort to create something that did not exist before, like Esperanto. Literarization is the double movement by which a language is employed for expressive purposes and becomes invested with a literary expressivity. Part of literarization is the emergence of new discursive spheres, new genres and practices to occupy them, and new disciplines to regulate them. The languages of literature are constituted as such by this process. As counterintuitive as it sounds, I would claim that a person

---

[135] Pollock (1995).

125

can speak, recite, or sing in Prakrit only after a literary culture has identified its language as Prakrit, just as someone can only quote Shakespeare after Shakespeare. It is possible that people used forms identical to Prakrit in their speech before the invention of Prakrit under the Sātavāhanas, just as it is possible that someone might have uttered "the time is out of joint" before *Hamlet*. But I call using Prakrit, and quoting Shakespeare, "language practices" precisely because there are rules to the game, implicit or explicit models to be followed. Literarization involves the building up of those models and the production of texts in accordance with them. Thus literarization is always accompanied by a rarification of discourse. What is elevated to the level of literature, through magnificent acts of generosity and miraculous acts of insight, is only a fraction of discourse, and what has survived in manuscript form is an even smaller fraction. The world was full of languages around the 1st c. CE, but literature could only be composed in a handful of them. It was not inevitable that Prakrit would become one of them, but it did.

# Chapter 4

# The Forms of Prakrit Literature

This chapter contains three reflections some of the formal features of Prakrit literature, which can help to provide a characterization of Prakrit from the inside. The inside/outside distinction I invoke here does not refer to the position of the person doing the characterizing, that is, as either within the literary culture or, as in the case of modern readers and scholars, outside of it.[1] It refers instead to characteristics that are internal to the texts as opposed to those that emerge upon comparing Prakrit with other language practices. We will see in chapter 5 a set of literary texts that characterize Prakrit through its relationship with Sanskrit, or more precisely, by reference to a schema encompassing both Sanskrit and Prakrit that operates at the level of the language order as a whole. And we will see in chapter 6 a set of grammatical texts that place Prakrit in a field of systematic comparison with Sanskrit. This chapter, by contrast, characterizes Prakrit as a literary language positively and independently of any comparison.

What, if anything, makes language practices literary? What does it mean to insist, as I do, on the literariness of Prakrit? To the surprisingly small degree that this important question has been asked at

---

[1]    As is the usage of Pollock (2003).

all, the answers have typically taken the *via negativa*: to characterize a language practice as literary seems to require comparison with non-literary language practices.[2] But there are seemingly insuperable problems with this approach in the case of Prakrit, and perhaps for other literary languages as well. Like the "lingua *oc*" of the Troubadours, it is as a literary language practice that we recognize and define Prakrit in the first place. All of our evidence for it, and for any non-literary language practices with which it might stand in some relation, comes from texts. And texts are not audio recordings: they are always produced in discursive regimes that determine the character of the language they employ, and there are serious questions whether the "mimetic" modes open in such regimes—such as the mode of representing low characters as speaking debased languages in Sanskrit plays—are, or were meant to be, representative of real-world language practices.

But what if we no longer saw the discursive regimes in which Prakrit is embedded as a "veil" that separates us from Prakrit's true origins?[3] What if, instead, these regimes revealed the features that distinctively characterized a text as a Prakrit text? Allison Busch's study of the "expressive range" of courtly literature in Brajbhāṣā provides an example: literary language practices are neither pulled off a shelf, nor invented from scratch, but come to be seen as providing "resources" for new forms of expression that amplify the aesthetic power of the language itself.[4] I pursue a similar strategy in this chapter by focusing on the resources that Prakrit makes available at three levels. For a Prakrit text is constituted on the level of phonology by its "sweet syllables" (*mahurakkharāṇi*) which give it a musicality that is easy to hear but difficult to define; on the level of its versification by its meters, which give it a complex rhythmic character that has proven similarly difficult to define; and on the level of the composition as a whole by its "unbound" (*anibaddha-*) character, which encourages the

2   Erich Auerbach, a scholar of literary language if ever there was one, wrote (1993 [1958]: 249) that "[a] literary language is distinguished from the general language of daily life by its selectivity, homogeneity, and conservatism."

3   Grierson (1927: 123), quoted above at p. 23.

4   Busch (2011b: 65–101).

collection and dispersion of its verses throughout a vast field of literary textuality.

## Sweet Syllables

In the introduction (p. 30) I quoted one of the metapoetic verses with which Vairocana began his anthology, the *Brilliance of the Connoisseurs*. There he described Prakrit poetry as "tender" (*somālī*). In the *Topical Anthology*, too, Jagadvallabha has collected a number of metapoetic verses, several of which foreground the "sweet syllables" of Prakrit poetry. Here is one example:

> Interspersed with regional words,
> made of sweet syllables put into metrical form,
> graceful, with meanings plain and powerfully clear—
> that's how Prakrit poetry should be recited.[5]

What exactly does it mean for Prakrit's syllables to be sweet or tender? The oldest definition of "sweetness" in literature holds it to be the quality whereby something can be savored again and again without becoming dull or tiresome.[6] I will approach sweetness from a slightly different angle. Prakrit has a certain aural quality which, according to both its admirers and its critics, makes it especially suitable for song. To be more specific about what this quality is, we will need to go deeper into Prakrit's phonology.

John Beames complained that the *Seven Centuries*, one of the only Prakrit texts he had access to, was "emasculated stuff": "the author ruthlessly massacres consonants and long vowels to suit his rhyme or rhythm, or to secure a more harmonious turn to his verse."[7] His comments anticipated a view

---

[5] V. 28: *desiyasaddapaloṭṭaṃ mahurakkharachaṃdasaṃṭhiyaṃ laliyaṃ | phuḍaviyaḍapāyaḍatthaṃ pāiyakavvaṃ paḍheyavvaṃ ||*. See also p. 170 for a similar verse from the same collection. Patwardhan understands the Prakrit name Jayavallaha to represent Jayavallabha, but I think Jagadvallabha is more likely.

[6] Tieken (2006).

[7] Beames (1872: 223).

that would become widespread in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries: that Prakrit as we know it has been "substantially modified for literary purposes."[8] Prakrit was thus characterized as a *Kunstsprache*, a language of literary artifice. But this characterization was hardly ever argued out. In part that is because the negative sense of "artificial" implies a contrast with an unartificial or natural language which is, almost by definition, permanently inaccessible to us. Prakrit's supposed failure to faithfully represent this unartificial language made it "useless," as Beames said, for philological purposes. Richard Pischel was much more forgiving, but he too saw Prakrit's artificiality in a negative sense, as an impediment to a truly philological conspectus of the Middle Indic languages. Here I will look more closely, and more positively, at Prakrit's *Künstlichkeit*: what are the features that were thought to make Prakrit suitable for composing the musical lyrics with which it was most closely associated?

Beames obliquely alluded to the modification of vowel length. There are certainly cases of shortening and lengthening, but I think these phenomena are hardly indicative of a "modification" of the language for poetic purposes. There are only a handful of words that are subject to these processes, and they seem to be conditioned by phonological factors. One example are the adverbs corresponding to Sanskrit *yathā* and *tathā*: each has two variants in Prakrit (*jahā/jaha* and *tahā/taha*), but the distribution in the *Seven Centuries* shows that the long-vowel variant is usually conditioned by a preceding *ṇa*.[9] Similarly, almost all of the cases of vowel lengthening involve a preverb (for example *pāaḍa-*, from *prakaṭa-*, in the above verse from the *Topical Anthology*), and preverbs were almost always accented in such formations in earlier stages of the language.[10] Poets certainly took advantage of this kind of variation, but it is unlikely that they manipulated the length of vowels solely because of the

---

[8]   Pischel (1900: §12), "zu Kunstzwecken lautlich verändert." See Pischel's complete judgment at p. 24 above.

[9]   See *Light on Prakrit* 1.9 (10 words). I argued (2012) that *jahā* was metrically reshaped to *jaha* in order to fit into the optimal template of the moraic trochee.

[10]  See *Light on Prakrit* 1.2 (11 words, of which 10 involve prefixes). For some remarks on accent in Prakrit and related languages, see Jacobi (1893; 1898, also translated into English in Jacobi 1960).

exigencies of meter or rhyme.

What about the "massacre" of consonants? There are a number of phenomena to be noted here. First, Prakrit has a smaller inventory of consonants than Sanskrit as a result of the elimination of place-of-articulation contrasts. Thus there are three sibilants in Sanskrit (*ś, ṣ, s*), which are respectively articulated at the palate, alveolar ridge, and teeth, but only one sibilant in Prakrit (*s*); similarly, Sanskrit distinguishes dental and retroflex nasals (*n, ṇ*), even if their occurrence is largely determined by phonological context, but in Prakrit there is no significant contrast between the two.[11] Second, Prakrit does not permit combinations of heterorganic consonants (sounds articulated at different places in the mouth). This means that all such combinations become homorganic (articulated at the same place), which includes doubled consonants (as in *akkhara-* from *akṣara-*) or combinations with a homorganic nasal (as in *ciṃdha-* from *cihna-*). Third, single intervocalic consonants are subject to extensive lenition, literally "softening," which it is tempting to gloss in this context as "sweetening." Aspirates are generally reduced to *h*, losing their place of articulation, and unaspirated stops are generally elided altogether. Cumulatively, these processes often produce forms which are mostly vowels with very few consonants: the word *prākṛta-* itself, which becomes *pāua-* (or *pāia-* or *pāaa-*), is one example.

Taken together, these processes result in two features that we might call musicality and indeterminacy. Musicality refers to the reduction of consonant sounds in general and to the reduction of place-of-articulation contrasts in particular. In Prakrit, in contrast to Sanskrit, the consonant with which one syllable ends and the consonant with which the following syllable begins *must* share the same place of articulation (i.e., they must be homorganic: *sutti-* not *śukti-*, and *kappa-* not *kalpa-*). And the reduction of place-of-articulation contrasts encompasses, obviously, the loss of a place of articulation altogether, such as the loss of the intervocalic consonant in the words *mṛga-* "deer," *mṛta-* "dead," or *mada-* "lust," all of which appear in Prakrit as *maa-*. Indeterminacy refers to this latter

---

11   In some manuscripts, only *ṇ* is written; in others, *n* is written when it stands at the beginning of a word or when doubled, and *ṇ* is written elsewhere.

phenomenon, where a single Prakrit word has multiple meanings that each correspond to a different Sanskrit word. Of course, no language is completely "determinate" in this sense, and Sanskrit has its fair share of polysemous words.[12] But the phonology of Prakrit has greatly amplified its indeterminacy relative to Sanskrit.

Both musicality and indeterminacy might be imagined to be as useful in literature and song as they are useless, or even harmful, in other domains of language use: could people really have made themselves understood through forms such as *maa-*? Regardless of whether we view these features of Prakrit phonology as *sprachwirklich*—and I see no reason in general why we shouldn't—we might nevertheless try to understand their contributions to the literariness of Prakrit.

We can begin from the theory of alliteration (*anuprāsa-*), the repetition of certain speech-sounds within a given unit of context. Indian literary theorists recognized varieties of alliteration that were distinguished by the character of the speech-sounds that were repeated. Perhaps the earliest such classification is that of Harivṛddha, who distinguished eight *bhaṇiti*s or "modes of speech." Rudraṭa distinguished six varieties, and Bhoja distinguished twelve.[13] The musicality of Prakrit lends itself to some of these and not others: the defining characteristic of what Bhoja calls the "stiff" (*kaṭhora-*), for example, is the combination of *r* and velar consonants (*k*, *kh*, *g*, *gh*), which is impossible in Prakrit. Prakrit does indeed lend itself to the varieties called the "sweet" (*madhura-*) and the "soft" (*komala-*), which in Bhoja's system are characterized by the use of *anusvāra* and the use of *r* and *ṇ* respectively (Rudraṭa's "sweet" variety seems to combine both of these characteristics). Here I simply want to highlight Prakrit's suitability for alliterative composition in general, on account of its consonants combining exclusively with themselves or with their corresponding nasal consonants.

---

[12] See, in general, Bronner (2010). One example is *sāraṅga-* in Kālidāsa's *Cloud Messenger*, v. 21 (see Mallinātha's comment thereon).

[13] *Ornament of Literature* 2.19–21; *Necklace of Sarasvatī* 2.82–86. For Harivṛddha see appendix C.

I also want to draw attention to a type of alliteration that is common in Prakrit but impossible in Sanskrit, and which theorists who operated in Sanskrit seem to have struggled to define: the repetition of nothing. Because of the extensive lenition of intervocalic consonants, Prakrit often has nothing between vowels besides a hiatus, which Sanskrit tolerates in only a handful of rare words.[14] Bhoja quoted a verse from *Rāvaṇa's Demise* to illustrate a type of alliterative composition he called the "powerful" (*ojasvin*):

> *pattā a sībharāhaa-dhāu-silāala-ṇisaṇṇa-rāia-jalaaṃ |*
> *sajjhaṃ ojjhara-pahasia-dari-muha-ṇikkanta-vaüla-maïrāmoaṃ ||*

> They reached the Sahya mountain,
> where the clouds,
>     resting on the exposed rocks,
>     covered them in mist and took on their colors,
> and where the laughing of waterfalls
> and the wine-like smell of *bakura* flowers
>     issued from the mouths of the caves.[15]

We can detect here a number of alliterative pairs (*sajjhaṃ/ojjhara-*) which happen not to alliterate in Sanskrit (*sahyaṃ/nirjhara-*), but only one instance of the doubling or repetition of retroflex consonants that Bhoja identifies as the characteristic of "powerful" alliteration.[16] This verse does exhibit the density of compound words that characterizes the "powerful" as a compositional quality (*guṇa-*) rather than as a mode of alliteration (*anuprāsa-vṛtti-*), and it seems likely that this competing understanding of the "powerful" motivated Bhoja's choice of this example. But there is an alliterative quality to this verse

---

[14] Such as *praüga-* "foreyoke" and *titaü-* "sieve."

[15] *Necklace of Sarasvātī* 2, ex. 191 (p. 240) = *Rāvaṇa's Demise* 1.56. I cite the verse from *Rāvaṇa's Demise* because the text of the *Necklace of Sarasvatī* is very imperfect.

[16] *Necklace of Sarasvatī*, 2 ex. 191 (p. 240): *seyaṃ mūrdhanyānāṃ prathama-caturtha-pañcama-dvitais tadāvṛttyā ca prāyo jāyate*. The sound *ṭ* and *ḍh*, which seem to be specifically required by Bhoja's characterization, are absent altogether from the verse he quotes, and the sound *ṇ* is doubled/repeated only in the word *ṇisaṇṇa-*.

which Bhoja surely perceived, namely the density of hiatus, which is in fact only possible in Prakrit poetry.

The aural qualities that distinctively characterize Prakrit are all related to its massive reduction of place-of-articulation contrasts: consonants combining with themselves or with a placeless nasal, and never with heterorganic consonants, made it inherently alliterative, and the elimination of consonants altogether in certain contexts brought vowels into contact with each other. These qualities, I contend, are what premodern authors had in mind—even if only at the back of their minds—when they described Prakrit poetry in general as sweet, soft, and tender. The musicality of its phonology was thought to align particularly well with the musicality of its metrical patterns (discussed below, p. 137), and perhaps also with the musicality of its performance.[17]

Indeterminacy was put to use in poetry in a variety of ways. We have already encountered verses in the *Seven Centuries* which depend on a single word being understood in two different meanings (pp. 81, 95, 96), and in other Prakrit texts there are "apparent contradictions" (*virodhābhāsa*s) that depend upon reading a word in two different senses.[18] But there are verses called *galitaka*s in which a certain type of "bitextuality"—getting different meanings out of the same sequence of letters—is a constitutive feature of the composition. Since *galitaka*s were only ever composed in Prakrit, these verses might help to make the case that the "sweet syllables" of Prakrit were used for specific literary purposes.

---

[17]    Bhoja defines the *ākṣiptikā dhruvā* in his *Necklace of Sarasvatī* as a verse that serves only to introduce a particular melody, and he cites a Prakrit *gāthā* as an example (Raghavan 1963: 370).

[18]    For example, *Līlāvatī* 66: *kuvaī vi vallaho paṇaïāṇa taha ṇayavaro vi sāhasio | paraloya-bhīruo vi hu vīrekka-raso taha cceya ||*. King Sātavāhana is described as "beloved to his wives, although he is a bad husband (or: lord of the earth); strenuously active, although his enemies have been humbled (or: devoted to statecraft); delighting in acts of valor, although afraid of the world beyond (or: afraid of rebirth in hell for conduct unbefitting to his life as a king)." Of course apparent contradiction occurs often in Sanskrit texts as well; we will see one in an inscription from Cambodia later on (p. 197).

All of the known examples of *galitaka*s "in the wild" come from *Rāvaṇa's Demise*, although a few more varieties are defined and exemplified by Virahāṅka and Hemacandra. The other courtly epics in Prakrit that are now lost, *Hari's Victory* and *Rāvaṇa's Victory*, also contained *galitaka*s.[19] These verses are characterized by a particular kind of end-rhyme: the exact same syllables are repeated, but they must mean something different. This feature, known as *yamaka* or "twinning," is certainly difficult to realize—Daṇḍin discusses it in the "difficult" (*duṣkara*) chapter of his *Mirror on Literature*—but Prakrit has the advantage of relative indeterminacy. Here is one example from *Rāvaṇa's Demise*:

> *añjaṇa-rāaeṇa saï dhūsarantaāiṃ*
> *gaṇḍa-alesu khalia-visamosarantaāiṃ |*
> *sura-bandīṇa ṇaaṇa-galiāiṃ aṃsuāiṃ*
> *kappa-laāṇa jattha maïlenti aṃsuāiṃ ||*

> Always dusky with lamp-black,
> trickling down over their cheeks,
> the tears from the eyes of the imprisoned nymphs
> darkened the garments
> on the branches of the *kalpa* trees.[20]

As often in these *galitaka* verses, Pravarasena utilizes the fact that a single Prakrit word, such as *aṃsua-*, might have more than one meaning, corresponding in this case to *aśru-* "tear" and *aṃśuka-* "garment" in Sanskrit. Other strategies for making the rhyme work involve the manipulation of word-boundaries and the use of pleonastic suffixes such as we see in this verse: *dhūsarantaāiṃ*, *osarantaāiṃ*, and *aṃsuāiṃ* all involve the suffix that Sanskrit grammarians call *svārthe ka*, which in Prakrit functions

---

[19]   See, e.g. *Collection of Mora- and Syllable-Counting Meters* 4.29 (the other varieties are scattered throughout this chapter) and *Teaching on Meter* 4.25–28. Bhoja refers to an older view among scholars that the *galitaka* verses of the three major Prakrit court epics are interpolations. Hemacandra has reproduced Bhoja's comment, although he takes Sarvasena to task for including pointless descriptions in the *galitaka* verses of *Hari's Victory*, so we may assume that he did not subscribe to the view that the *galitaka*s were interpolated. See Raghavan (1963: 802–803) and *Teaching on Literature* pp. 461–462.

[20]   9.82 (reading *rāaeṇa* for Goldschmidt's unmetrical *rāeṇa*).

as an *-a-* suffix due to the loss of intervocalic *-k-*.

A comparison with Sanskrit offers, by way of a baseline, a convenient way of talking about what was distinctive about Prakrit in terms of the possibilities its musicality and indeterminacy opened up to poets. But these features do not in themselves depend on the comparison with Sanskrit: a word such as *aṃsua-* will have the same semantic range regardless of how we choose to define that range. This is important, because as much as a text such as *Rāvaṇa's Demise* seems to be mediated by Sanskrit— certainly for readers who accessed it through Sanskrit commentaries—the text itself does not *need* to be understood through a layer of Sanskrit meanings that lies underneath the Prakrit surface. Indeed the large number of unanalyzable (*deśī*) words poses a problem for Sanskrit mediation, either as a reading practice or as a theory of how the text was originally composed and understood.[21]

Some of the representations of Prakrit in Indian literature as soft, delicate, tender, and so on might give us the impression that it was a specialized cant used exclusively for erotic poetry within the broader domain of Sanskrit textuality, and this is the impression that scholars of the late 19th and 20th centuries actually had. My argument is that Prakrit had certain sonic and semantic capacities that poets exploited effectively. Their exploitation does not amount to the creation of a language from scratch, but it does result in Prakrit being linked in the literary-cultural imaginary with a range of aesthetic properties. These efforts did not depend on the mediation of Sanskrit for their efficacy, but provided a model of literary language for a world of textuality that included Sanskrit and Prakrit side-by-side.

---

[21]    Roy (1998).

# Quavering Verses

Prakrit is a literature of *gāthā*s.[22] The word *gāthā* etymologically means a sung verse (from the root *gā* "sing"). It would therefore seem that the *gāthā* as a metrical form connects Prakrit to a realm of musical performance that, at least according to one recent account, is largely excluded from the realm of literate and literary textuality represented by *kāvya*.[23] Yet I argued that Prakrit *gāthā*s, such as we find them in the *Seven Centuries* and the *Taraṅgavatī*, are an essential part of the genealogy of *kāvya*, and constitute some of the earliest unambiguous specimens of it. The *gāthā*, like Prakrit itself, thus seems to stand between two categories that have been essential for conceptualizing and historicizing cultural practices in India: on the one hand, the oral, musical, and sung; on the other, the literate, textual, and recited. In this section I describe what is distinctive about Prakrit versification, and I venture a number of claims about the role of Prakrit versification practices and metrical knowledge in the history of literature and textuality more broadly in India.

*Gāthā* is an old Indo-European word. Its Avestan cognate *gāϑā*, which is probably more widely known, refers to the songs ascribed to Zarathushtra that constitute the oldest and most sacred texts of Zoroastrianism. The earliest attested uses of the word *gāthā* in India are unsurprisingly connected with the chanting of Vedic hymns. Later Vedic texts cite a number of verses—referred to as *śloka*s and *gāthā*s—that are unattached to any particular tradition of Vedic recitation.[24]

None of these earlier traditions exhibit the unique metrical structure that characterizes the Prakrit *gāthā*. Avestan and Vedic verse are syllable-counting, and it appears that particular forms of syllable-counting verse are an Indo-European inheritance.[25] The Prakrit *gāthā*, however, belongs to a class of

---

[22]   See Vyas (1962: §§161–162).

[23]   Pollock (2006b: 288).

[24]   Horsch (1966).

[25]   For Avestan verse, see most recently Kümmel (2013). For Indo-European verse, see Meillet (1923), Kuryłowicz (1970),

verse forms that is regulated by *gaṇa*s rather than by syllables. A *gaṇa* is a "group" of moras, and a mora is a prosodic unit: it is what a light syllable (˘) has one of, and what a heavy syllable (–) has two of. Light syllables for our purposes are those that contain a short vowel and no final consonants; all other syllables are heavy. On top of a given framework of *gaṇa*s may be overlaid a seemingly endless variety of "surface forms," consisting of particular syllabic configuration. The only rule of *gaṇa*-counting verse in general is that a heavy syllable, which consists of two moras, must never cross a boundary between *gaṇa*s. These meters, which the tradition generally called *jāti*s, are hence very flexible.[26] The metrical equivalence of two light syllables and one heavy syllable, which is absent with a few exceptions from earlier syllable-counting meters in India, underlies the entire system of *gaṇa*-counting verse.

The mora, although it is defined prosodically, could serve as unit of time as well. It is thus a unit of rhythmic equivalence: a *gaṇa* of four moras, for example, should have the same duration regardless of the particular configuration of syllables in which it is realized. Hence *gaṇa*-counting meters, in contrast to syllable-counting meters, can be thought of as having an inherent "beat." A meter that consists of a sequence of four-mora *gaṇa*s can be recited in "common time."

Most *gaṇa*-counting meters, and above all the Prakrit *gāthā*, exhibit additional forms of rhythmic regulation. A *gaṇa* might be realized with a syncopated or unsyncopated rhythm. At this finer level of analysis, "rhythm" does not simply arise from the way light and heavy syllables are strung together, but from the way that syllables are parsed into prosodic feet. The parsing of syllables into prosodic feet is a phonological procedure that Prakrit verse has incorporated into its metrical grammar, and the details of this procedure need not concern us here.[27] The upshot of foot-parsing is that word-boundary

---

Nagy (1974).

[26]   Some authors counted 81,920,000 "surface forms" of the *gāthā* (*Definition of the Gāthā* 51, *Mirror for Poets* 2.6); others rightly disputed this number, because it did not take co-occurrence constraints into account (Govinda on Virahāṅka's *Collection of Mora- and Syllable-Counting Meters*, 4.107). See Cappeller (1872: 81–85) for examples of the manipulation of these possibilities for poetic effect.

[27]   See Ollett (2012).

plays an important role in characterizing the rhythm of a *gaṇa* as syncopated or unsyncopated: thus, for example, the shape ◡|◡◡◡ patterns with the "syncopated" shape ◡–◡, while ◡◡|◡◡ patterns with the "unsyncopated" shape ––.

The alternation of rhythms is built into the deep structure of the Prakrit *gāthā*: the odd *gaṇa*s must be unsyncopated, and some but not all of the even *gaṇa*s must be syncopated. But writers on metrics recognized a particular type of *gāthā* in which this rhythmic alternation appears on the surface. This is the *capalā*, a "modulating" verse that realizes all of the even *gaṇa*s with the syncopated shape ◡–◡, surrounded on either side by a heavy syllable to reinforce the contrast. Writers distinguished variants that were "front-modulating" (*mukhacapalā*) and "back-modulating" (*jaghanacapalā*), depending on whether the first or second line exhibited this pattern. Their primarily motive in doing so, however, seems to have been to elicit a pair of double meanings: among the cast of characters in Prakrit erotic poetry is the woman who says just a little too much (*mukhacapalā*) and the woman who moves her hips just a little too much (*jaghanacapalā*) to be above suspicion.[28] The Prakrit *gāthā* ends with another built-in syncopation—a single light syllable towards the end of its second line—which is what allows us to recognize the two-line verse as a discrete metrical unit.

These quavering verses, with their endless variety of syllabic patterns and their subtle alternations playing out over a stable rhythmic framework of *gaṇa*s, are the mainstay of Prakrit literature. *Gaṇa*-counting meters are found in other literatures, and other metrical forms are found in Prakrit. But they are "Prakrit meters" in a sense that goes beyond the fact that they are common in Prakrit. The *gāthā* is the preeminent meter of Prakrit verse, even more than the *śloka* is for Sanskrit, or the *dohā* for Apabhraṃśa. To write in Prakrit was, to a very large extent, to write in *gāthā*s or related *gaṇa*-counting meters. Less appreciated, but perhaps more historically significant, is the converse: to write in *gāthā*s was to write in Prakrit, in a sense which I will attempt to clarify here.

---

[28]    For these varieties see Ollett (2013).

It is well-known that there are no traces of *gaṇa*-counting verse in Vedic literature, or indeed in any Sanskrit texts prior to Patañjali's *Great Commentary* (ca. 2nd c. BCE). These meters occur for the first time in the canonical literature of the Buddhists and the Jains, and hence in the "Middle Indic" languages we call Pāli and Ardhamāgadhī. Both canons, however, represent texts that were transmitted orally for centuries before being "committed" to writing. The scare-quotes are necessary because, far from fixing the text in a determinate and inalterable shape, the technology of writing introduced completely new possibilities of revision, expansion, and interpolation. Thus, despite containing material that may well go back, in some form, to the time of Buddha and Mahāvīra, and hence to the 6th/5th century BCE, the texts as we have them are products of the early centuries CE. The cut-off point might be taken to be the 5th c., the time of Buddhaghosa's commentaries in the case of the Pāli canon and of the council of Valabhī in the case of the Ardhamāgadhī canon.

Both sets of texts have an internal chronology in which the use of *gaṇa*-counting meters is centrally implicated. Ludwig Alsdorf has shown that the oldest layers of these texts employ the "old *āryā*," an archaic version of the *gāthā* that was discovered by Hermann Jacobi in 1884. The use of the *gāthā* in its classical form is limited to chronologically later layers.[29] According to the picture sketched by Alsdorf, we have in both canons an "early" layer in which just one *gaṇa*-counting meter, the old *āryā*, is used sporadically alongside the more frequent syllable-counting meters such as *anuṣṭubh* and *triṣṭubh*, and a "later" layer in which the classical *gāthā* is found. Alsdorf suggested that the "later" layer of the Jain canon was later than the "later" layer of the Pāli canon on the grounds that the *gāthā* is the preferred verse form in the former, but still relatively rare in the latter. He thus claimed that the Pāli canon was constituted at a time before the *gāthā* had become "the metrical fashion of the epoch." Roy Norman

---

[29]   Alsdorf (2006 [1965]: 74–105), Alsdorf (1966), Alsdorf (1967); see also Bruhn (1996). On the old *āryā* see Jacobi (1884b). Warder (1967) has a useful discussion of the *gāthā*s in the Pāli canon as a whole, but he does not elicit the consequences for internal chronology as clearly as Alsdorf. I do not, by the way, agree with all of Alsdorf's conclusions—he sometimes argues that a text is later simply because it does not seem to represent "authentic" Buddhism or Jainism (2006 [1965]: 90–91)—but the general chronological scaffolding seems secure.

argued, equivalently, that the Buddhist community which would ultimately be responsible for putting the Pāli canon together had moved to South India right around the time when the *gāthā* was gaining popularity in the North.[30]

What is the significance of use of the *gāthā* in the later portions of the Pāli and Ardhamāgadhī canons? The very limited scholarly discussion on this question frames it within the two processes of "development" (or "borrowing") and "popularization."[31] The first refers to the transformation of existing verse forms into new ones; it is the historical process which "metrical etymology" traverses. The *gāthā* is said to have developed from the syllable-counting meters of an earlier metrical repertoire by according greater and greater scope to the techniques of contraction (replacing two light syllables with a single heavy syllable) and resolution (replacing a single heavy syllable with two light syllables) until we can no longer call the meters "syllable-counting" at all. The evidence for such a process comes from "transitional forms" that are partly syllable-counting and partly mora-counting. These include the late Vedic and early Pāli/Ardhamāgadhī *triṣṭubh*, which sometimes employs contraction and resolution; the *vaitālīya* and *aupacchandasika*, which are mora-counting at the beginning of the line and syllable-counting at the end of the line; and finally the old *āryā*, which is mostly mora- or *gaṇa*-counting but more strictly regulated than the classical *gāthā* as to its alternating rhythm. According to an alternative hypothesis, however, the *gāthā* did not develop from the syllable-counting meters we encounter in earlier Sanskrit texts, but was borrowed from a Dravidian tradition of versification. This tradition would have to be old enough for the "early" portions of the Pāli and Ardhamāgadhī canons to borrow from it, and thus it would have to be much earlier than the existing corpus of Tamil literature.

These accounts do not explicitly tell us how, much less why, this process of development or borrowing got started. Was there a period of experimentation? Were there some influences from

---

[30] Alsdorf (2006 [1965]: 74); Norman (1987).

[31] I refer to the works of Jacobi (1884b, 1886b), Schubring (2004), Alsdorf (2006 [1965], 1966, 1967), Hart (1975), and Norman (1987).

other traditions, Dravidian or otherwise, and what was the nature of these influences? Or should we assume that traditions are always developing, generating new verse forms and sloughing off old ones? Some of this explanatory work is done, albeit implicitly, by the second process of "popularization": however it starts out, the *gāthā* became the preferred form of all metrical composition. Being popular, in the sense of being frequent within a corpus of texts, is very easy to conflate with being popular, in the sense of being demotic or current among the common people. There is thus a temptation, most clearly visible in A. K. Warder's account, to explain *gaṇa*-counting versification as a popular-demotic movement. And if it is the canonical texts of Buddhism and Jainism where the *gāthā* and related meters first occur, then that may be because of their willingness to speak the language of, and sing the songs of, the common man. On this explanation (which I disagree with, cf. p. 103), the *gāthā* is a fundamentally Prakrit meter because both the verse form and the language are popular practices—a coalition against Brahmanism and its allies, syllable-counting verse and heterorganic consonant clusters.

I would like to offer a different way of thinking about the changes in versification practice from the earlier to the later layers of the Pāli and Ardhamāgadhī canons. These traditions were Prakritized. It has long been known that the Pāli canon, in particular, was "Sanskritized" over the course of its transmission, and by this word we understand the replacement of earlier Middle Indic forms, whether morphemes such as *-ttā* or lexemes such as *bambhaṇa-*, with their Sanskrit equivalents (*-tvā* and *brāhmaṇa-*).[32] These replacements indicate that the textual tradition that would later be identified as "Pāli" came under the influence of a Sanskrit textual tradition. Although "influence" is a slippery term, we have a close parallel in the tradition that we have come to identify as "Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit": texts like the *Divine Stories* and *Extensive Play of the Bodhisattva* employ a Middle Indic language that has been Sanskritized to an even greater degree than the Pāli canon. But before Sanskritization, there was Prakritization.

---

[32]  Geiger (1956 [1916]); von Hinüber (1996).

By this term I mean the transformation of a textual tradition through the language, versification, and aesthetics of Prakrit literature. This process is somewhat more difficult to put into evidence than Sanskritization, but only because our eyes have been trained to the superficially-obvious differences between Sanskrit and *all* varieties of Middle Indic. What if we trained our eyes to the more subtle differences between Prakrit and other kinds of Middle Indic? We have already seen that a distinctively Prakrit kind of versification enters into the Pāli and Ardhamāgadhī traditions at some point in their history. We might also see that the texts that feature *gaṇa*-counting meters prominently, if they can be assigned a date at all, date from around the 1st c. CE or afterwards.[33]

The Jain tradition, at least, provides relatively clear evidence for this sea-change in versification practices. Although the new *gaṇa*-counting meters like the *gāthā* appear in some canonical texts, most of these texts are rather late (post-1st c.), and as noted above, Alsdorf showed that the vast majority of *gāthā* verses in early texts such as the *Uttarādhyāyana Sūtra* that are considered to be earlier are interpolations from a later period. But of what period specifically?

The Jain canon is embedded in an extensive exegetical literature, one layer of which—called "explanations" (*niryukti*s)—is composed entirely in Prakrit *gāthā*s. As we saw above (p. 112), these "explanations" reflect an expansion and transformation of the Jain scriptural tradition associated with the teacher Bhadrabāhu, and dates to around the 1st c. CE. We can see the transformation clearly when we compare the *gāthā*s of the *Āvaśyaka Niryukti* with the *anuṣṭubh* verses of the *Mūlācāra*, which, as Nalini Balbir suggests, represents an older version of the same tradition.[34]

What else, besides a new kind of versification, betokens the Prakritization of these traditions? The "explanations" are well-known to be linguistically distinct from the texts they purport to explain, although the habit of referring to both languages as "Prakrit," as well as extensive mutual influences

---

[33]   Vyas (1962) notes (§161) *uttarī bhārat meṃ mātrik gāthāoṃ kā pracār īsvīṃ san ke śurū ke āspās kī den hai.*

[34]   Balbir (1993b: 53–55).

over the course of their transmission, have rendered this difference much less conspicuous. Dalsukh Malvania has noted in passing that manuscripts of the Jain scriptures without commentaries look more like Ardhamāgadhī, and manuscripts with commentaries look more like Prakrit ("Jain Mahārāṣṭrī").[35] We may therefore even speak of a double Prakritization. The first phase is the commentarial elaboration of the Jain canon in the language and meters of Prakrit literature; the second is the conceptual and, to a smaller degree, linguistic redetermination of the canonical texts themselves as Prakrit texts.

We do not encounter such linguistically-distinct layers in the Pāli canon. But once again, if we look closely, we can see that the use of the *gāthā* indexes other differences. Take the example of the *Songs of the Buddhist Nuns*. This is a collection of verses attributed to the first few generations of Buddhist nuns, which has been considered a "precursor" to the Prakrit poetry of the *Seven Centuries* and to the entire tradition of *kāvya*.[36] It is not just a coincidence that the two longest and most expressive poems, those of Isidāsī and Sumedhā, are the only ones to utilize the *gāthā*. The new verse form betokens a new way of using language, one that is aware of and attentive to its expressive powers. The closest intertext of these poems is not, to my mind, the *Seven Centuries*, but rather Pādalipta's *Taraṅgavatī* (p. 116), in which the title character tells the story of her conversion in expressive— but not scandalously suggestive—Prakrit *gāthā*s. The chronological priority of the Buddhist *Songs* to Pādalipta's *Taraṅgavatī* is not entirely self-evident; I do not take it for granted, as some scholars do, that the entire Pāli canon was fixed by the 2nd century BCE.[37] But even if no certainty can be reached on this specific point, the later portions of the Pāli canon seem to draw from a wider literary discourse in Prakrit that was taking shape around the 1st c. CE.

The claim that the textual traditions of Buddhism and Jainism were "Prakritized" before they

---

[35]  Puṇyavijaya et al. (1968: 19–20); see p. 107 above.

[36]  See Charles Hallisey's introduction (xxiii) to his translation, as well as Lienhard (1975), Boccali (2007) and Rossella (2011).

[37]  Rossella (2011: 7), and K. R. Norman (300 BCE, cited in Hallisey, p. xxxiii).

reached their final form does stand in need of further confirmation. It would imply, however, that traditions of versification, just like the languages in which they subsist, do not grow and wither like plants; and that instead of connecting the use of the *gāthā* in Pāli and Ardhamāgadhī texts with a completely hypothetical practice of demotic versification, we might connect it with the actually-existing practices of Prakrit literature—which, as I have emphasized at several points, are not necessarily demotic practices. Prakritization is not necessarily popularization. My central claim is that the *gāthā* is not only common in Prakrit texts, but distinctively characterizes Prakrit as a discursive formation. Of course, the *gāthā* does not exclusively occur in Prakrit, or even "Prakritized" texts: it has a long history of use in technical Sanskrit, from *śloka-kārikā*s in Patañjali's *Great Commentary* (2nd c. BCE), to the argumentative verse of Nāgārjuna's *Dispeller of Disputes* (2nd c. CE) and Īśvarakṛṣṇa's *Verses on Sāṃkhya* (3rd c. CE?). In Sanskrit, however, its flexibility was a great convenience and permitted the accommodation of technical terms, as Helmer Smith argued. In Prakrit, by contrast, it formed the basis of the entire tradition.[38]

The *gāthā* is, I believe, the only verse form to have entire works written about it: the first, although its date remains uncertain, is the *Definition of the Gāthā* by Nanditāḍhya.[39] But other works on metrics—above all Virahāṅka's *Collection of Mora- and Syllable-Counting Meters* (ca. 8th c.) and Svayambhū's *Meters* (9th c.)—provide a glimpse onto a lost world of Prakrit versification that was much more varied than its Sanskrit counterpart. As the title of Virahāṅka's work suggests, the repertoire included both the syllable-counting meters (*vṛtta*s) that were typically used in Sanskrit literature as well as the mora-counting meters (*jāti*s) that were more often used in Prakrit literature. The most popular of the mora-counting meters, besides the *gāthā*, was an "acatalectic" variant called the *skandhaka* that

---

[38]    Smith (1949–1950).

[39]    The *Definition of the Gāthā* is dated to the 10th c. or later, since in its present form it contains a quotation from Rājaśekhara's *Karpūramañjarī*. But it also shares some verses with texts that are indisputably older (see appendix C), and "Nanditāḍhya" is cited by the commentator on Abdul Rahman's *Message Poem* for verse forms that are not discussed in the *Definition* in its present form. Probably there were several versions of Nanditāḍhya's treatise.

was employed in Prakrit courtly epics, such as *Hari's Victory* and *Rāvaṇa's Demise*. But this category also included various kinds of rhymed verse, including the *galitaka*s we encountered above (p. 134) and *khañjaka*s. These works defined a large number of strophic forms in which simple verse forms were combined.

These strophic compositions take us back to the theme with which this section began: Prakrit's dual status as a language of literate textuality of a high order, as well as a language closely associated in its metrical practice with musical performance. There are very few actual examples of strophic compositions, which I believe reflects a tension between these two roles. Let us consider the example of a theatrical performance. The text of the play is itself a poem, and is usually referred to as a *kāvya*. The performance of the play, however, is not simply a realization of all of the elements that are contained in the text; it exceeds the text in some significant way. Does a Prakrit song belong to the text or to the performance? We might compare the Prakrit song to the ode in a Greek play: a play of Aristophanes, on the one hand, would include odes composed specifically for that play, integral to its meaning, and transmitted with it in the manuscript tradition; but a play of Menander, on the other hand, would include odes drawn from a popular repertoire and omitted from the text of the play in the manuscript tradition. Within the play, the Prakrit song is an intertext that links it to a tradition of lyric poetry and song, but as such it does not belong unambiguously to the play itself.

The Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa songs that appear in some manuscripts of the fourth act of Kālidāsa's *Urvaśī Won by Valor* are the most challenging example of this ambiguity: are they Kālidāsa's own compositions—which would make them the earliest examples of Apabhraṃśa verse available—or were they added in the course of time?[40] But we may conclude with a less controversial example. Harṣa's *Ratnāvalī* demonstrates the way in which the Sanskrit play encompasses a range of Sanskrit and Prakrit genres, and the song of Madanikā in the first act has been recognized as an outstanding example of

---

[40]    See Velankar's discussion in his introduction to the text.

the Prakrit strophic lyric:[41]

> *kusumāuhapiadūaaṃ maülāvaṃto cūaaṃ |*
> *siḍhiliamāṇaggahaṇao pāaï dāhiṇapavaṇao ||*
> *viasiavaülāsoao icchiapiaamamelao |*
> *palivālaṇaasamatthao tammaï juaīsatthao ||*
>   *ia paḍhamaṃ mahumāso jaṇassa hiaāiṁ kuṇaï maüāiṃ |*
>   *pacchā viṃdhaï kāmo laddhappasarehiṁ kusumabāṇehiṃ ||*


The southern breeze is here, bringing buds to
the mango, the dear messenger of the God of Love,
slackening anger and quarrels,
making the *bakula* and *aśoka* trees blossom,
bringing pining lovers together,
while groups of young girls gasp for air,
incapable of waiting any longer.
  Thus does the spring month first soften people's hearts,
  then, when his flower-arrows find an opening,
  the God of Love pierces them.


This is a quintessentially Prakrit song, in its language, versification, and theme. The first two verses are *khañjaka*s, made up of rhyming quarters of 13 moras each (with the rhythm ‿◡– at the end), and the song is completed with a *gīti* (or *udgātha*), a variety of the *gāthā* in which both halves are of equal length.


# Inexhaustible Collections

Prakrit is a literature of *gāthā*s, but this latter word does not simply refer to the language's most popular and most characteristic metrical form. The *gāthā* is the poem, syntactically and semantically complete

---

[41]    *Ratnāvalī* 1.13–15; see Svayambhū's *Meters* 4.1 (*pūrvabhāga*, p. 114). I have taken the reading from Svayambhū; editions of the *Ratnāvalī* (and I only have access to uncritical editions) read the language more in the convention of theatrical Prakrit (Śaurasenī).

on its own, that takes this form: the whole world of the poem must be contained in its two lines. The earliest and most influential work of Prakrit literature, the *Seven Centuries*, is made up of such poems. And it was principally through such anthologies that Prakrit literature was known and studied, both in the premodern and (after Weber's publication of the *Seven Centuries* in the 1870s and 1880s) the modern world. There were, of course, many other genres. Jain narrative literature in Prakrit, which flourished between the 8th and the 12th centuries, far exceeds anthologies in sheer volume. But the anthology always retained a special connection with Prakrit in the literary imagination.

It is, to begin with, the only genre represented by Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain authors. But the sectarian affiliation of the compiler has very little to do with the actual content of the anthology, which is often taken from other poets in any case. The *Treasury of Gāthā-Jewels* (*Gāthāratnakośa*, 1194 CE) is a case in point: Jineśvara begins the collection with verses in praise of the Jina, Brahma, Viṣṇu, Śiva, and Sarasvatī taken from earlier literature.

This additive and syncretic character is one of the anthology's key features. We see, in the first few pages of Jineśvara's anthology, verses from the *Seven Centuries*, from Vākpatirāja's *Gauḍa's Demise*, from the earlier Jain *Topical Anthology*, and remarkably, from the *Great Story* of Guṇāḍhya. The anthology is central to Prakrit literature because it defines and presents "Prakrit literature" as a field of intertextuality.

A collection was called a "treasury" (*kośa-*), and the verses contained therein were often likened to gold and jewels.[42] Daṇḍin distinguished the "treasury" from "aggregation" (*saṅghāta-*), but it is difficult to tell whether he is following an older tradition.[43] The distinction, according to both Ratnaśrījñāna and Vādijaṅghāla (both 10th c.), is that the treasury features verses on various themes

---

[42]  See Bāṇa's verse praising the *Seven Centuries* (p. 98), as well as *Treasury of Gāthā-Jewels* 2. V. 7 of the *Brilliance of the Connoisseurs* is relevant here, and I provide the text because it has not yet been published: *vimalo suvaṇṇa-gaṭhio ṇāṇālaṃkāra-bharia-bahalattho | vaïroaṇeṇa raïo gāhā-raaṇassa rehae koso ||*. The reading *-raaṇāṇa* makes better sense.

[43]  *Mirror of Literature* 1.13.

while the aggregation presents verses on a single theme. Vādijaṅghāla offers the *Constellation* of Bappabhaṭṭi, discussed below, as an example of a treasury and the Tamil anthologies (*draviḍasaṅghāta-*) as examples of aggregations.[44] According to Taruṇavācaspati, however, the treasury differs from the aggregation in that it contains verses from various authors, and Bhoja also uses the authorship criterion to distinguish the two genres in his *Illumination of the Erotic*.[45]

Daṇḍin's remarks, or rather the various interpretations of his unusually cryptic categorization, raise what I consider to be the two primary issues in the study of anthologies as a genre: their formal organization and their authorship. The history of the genre is another important issue, but it will suffice to note here that the anthology is present from the very beginnings of Prakrit literature—and also of Tamil literature—and that Hari Ram Acharya has traced the influence of the *Seven Centuries* on later anthologies in Sanskrit.[46] This is a major point of difference between Sanskrit and Prakrit as literary traditions. As a literature of *gāthā*s, Prakrit is and always has been a literature of anthologies, many of which precede the earliest anthologies of Sanskrit literature by centuries. Although Bhartṛhari, Amaruka and Ravigupta offer outstanding examples of the single-author collection in Sanskrit, nearly all of the first-millennium examples of the multiple-author "treasury" (*kośa-*), as Daṇḍin called it, are in Prakrit: the various versions of the *Seven Centuries*, the *Topical Anthology*, and the several texts circulating under the name of the Chappaṇṇayas.[47] The history of the Sanskrit "treasury" must be seen against this Prakrit backdrop.[48]

---

[44] Read *kośo 'py anekabhinnārthagāthāgrathito gāthākośaḥ kṛṣṇasāraḥ tārāgaṇa iti* with Upadhye (1974).

[45] 11.353–354 (p. 674). Bhoja is followed by Hemacandra in his *Teaching on Literature* 8.12–13 (with the *Crest-Jewel of Ornaments* thereon), who also brings in Abhinavagupta's remarks on the *paryā/paryāya* (see below).

[46] Ācārya (1982: 128–154).

[47] For Ravigupta's little-known anthology of *āryā* verses, composed sometime before it was translated into Tibetan in the 9ᵗʰ century, see Hahn (2007) and the *Treasury of Āryās* referred to in the bibliography.

[48] The Prakrit backdrop is missing, for example, from Knutson's (2006) brief account of the history of Sanskrit anthologies.

Extent is the most obvious way of characterizing an anthology that has no overall thematic organization, and this is how the *Seven Centuries* received its name. But why are its verses counted in groups of a hundred, and why are there seven of them? Sohoni suggested that the model was the *Bhagavadgītā*, which also contains around 700 verses, and that Hāla actually intended for it to be an anti-*Bhagavadgītā*. But there is little evidence for this interpretation. Equally unconvincing is Acharya's suggestion that the phrase "seven centuries" (*sattasaī*) simply sounds better in Prakrit than other candidates.[49]

The commentators to the *Seven Centuries* had known that verses in the anthology sometimes cluster around a given theme or word. Herman Tieken elaborated on this "linking" as an organizational feature, but it is not nearly as systematic as that found, for example, in Kālidāsa's *Cloud Messenger*, where almost every verse is linked to the preceding verse by a repetition of a word.[50] The verses of each century are, for the most part, "unbound" (*anibaddha-*), as Bhāmaha would later call literature of this type.[51] They are thus vulnerable to rearrangement, as appears to have happened often in the history of the *Seven Centuries*. Apart from the different order of verses in the two major recensions (represented by Gaṅgādhara's and Bhuvanapāla's commentaries), a commentator named Sādhāraṇadeva and the anonymous collator of Weber's "first Telinga recension" took it upon themselves to rearrange the text into topical groups called *vajjā*s or *paddhati*s. Compilers such as Jagadvallabha and Jineśvara would employ this formal device in their *Topical Anthology* and *Treasury of Gāthā-Jewels* respectively. Harivallabh Bhayani has shown that these *vajjā*s are identical, in function and etymology, to the *paryāya*s mentioned by Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta.[52]

---

49 Mirashi (1960c) argued that the text was originally titled *A Treasury of Gāthās* (*Gāthākośa*); Sohoni (1999); Ācārya (1982: 56–57).

50 Tieken (1978); Schubring (1955). Balbir (1995) systematically studied these formal structures as they are found in Jain literature, and showed that they were known to Indian readers (as "chain-composition" or *śṛṅkhalābandha-*).

51 *Ornament of Literature* 1.30.

52 Bhayani (1993a). The Sanskrit word *vrajyā* is a back-formation from the Prakrit *vajjā*.

The arrangement into *vajjā*s seems to be a formalization of the thematic grouping evident in collections of verses composed by a single author. Vairocana's *Brilliance of the Connoisseurs*, the date of which remains unknown, moves from topic to topic in a natural but not formally explicit sequence: from a reflection on the qualities of good readers, for example, to a reflection on the qualities of good lovers. Bappabhaṭṭi's *Constellation*, of the later 8th century, exhibits a similar arrangement. The *Constellation* was arranged by Bappabhaṭṭi's friend Śaṅkuka, who composed "index-verses." Each index-verse names two to five verses by a keyword in each. Often, but not always, Śaṅkuka mentions the theme or topic according to which he has arranged the verses. Here is one example:

> Vādin! How can we praise you?
> You are the one who praises,
> as shown by these five verses:
> *susiyattaṇa*, *bahulakkhaya*, *sirīsa*,
>    *jaladugga*, and *vāraṇārī*.[53]

The five verses whose keywords are mentioned in the index-verse are all eulogies of a king. But the index-verse serves another important function: it maintains the attribution of the verse to its author.[54] The practice of composing index-verses (*dvāra-gāthā*s) is as old as Prakrit textuality itself. In composing their "explanations" (*niryukti*s) and "discussions" (*bhāṣya*s) on canonical texts, Jain commentators enumerated topics for discussion in index-verses. This practice was redeployed to strengthen the fragile bond of authorship in Prakrit literary culture. Unbound verses, which collectively represent a great deal of Prakrit literature, are not just unbound from larger structures of meaning, but from the formal and material structures that often served as the locus of attribution. We can think of the anthology not only as a site of collection, where these unbound verses could be

---

[53]  *Constellation* v. 46: *susiyattaṇa-bahulakkhaya-sirīsa-jaladugga-vāraṇārīhiṃ | gāhāhiṃ pasaṃsaṃtaṃ vādi kahaṃ taṃ pasaṃsemo ||*. I have not translated the keywords because all of them involve a double-meaning.

[54]  So Bhayani (introduction to the *Constellation*, p. 7): "This was a traditional device to record and protect the authorship of stray verses." See also Upadhye (1974).

integrated into such a structure, but as a site of dispersion: being anthologized in one work or in one manuscript—and it is often impossible to distinguish between the two—is simply a temporary stopover in the life of a Prakrit *gāthā*.

We are used to distinguishing between a literary work itself and its reception or afterlife, or between an original "meaning" and a "significance" for later readers. But Prakrit *gāthā*s exist entirely in their reception: *esse est legeri*. The recognition of this fact motivated Śaṅkuka to preserve his friend's *gāthā*s by anthologizing them, fitting them out with index-verses, and writing them down in manuscript form— to transform them into structure, we might say, borrowing a term of Gadamer's.[55] One example will serve to illustrate the processes of constant recontextualization in which the life of a *gāthā* consists.

The *Mirror for Poets* is a Prakrit text on metrics of the 13th c. In exemplifying some varieties of the *gāthā* distinguished by their number of heavy syllables, a commentator on this text, probably not far removed from the time of the *Mirror*, adduces the following verse:

> *gajjaṃte khe mehā phullā nīvā paṇacciyā morā |*
> *naṭṭho caṃdulloo vāsāratto halā patto ||*
>
> The clouds are thundering in the sky.
> The *kadamba* is in bloom.
> The peacocks are dancing.
> The moonlight is gone.
> The first night of the monsoon is here, my friend.[56]

This is one of the only verses that the commentator ascribes to a specific author, and that author is Pādalipta. Not too long before it was cited in the *Mirror* as an example of the *brāhmaṇī* variety of *gāthā*, which has the maximum number of heavy syllables (27), the learned Jain monk Hemacandra cited the first few words of this verse as an illustration of two grammatical rules in his *Siddhahemacandra*

---

[55]  Gadamer (2004 [1960]: 110–119); the (specious) distinction between meaning and significance is Hirsch's (1967).

[56]  Ex. 36 on *Mirror for Poets* 2.8.7. See Bhayani (1993b).

(mid-12th c.).[57] Hemacandra, however, does not identify the author. Neither does Bhoja, one of Hemacandra's principal sources, who cited the verse on two occasions. First, as an example of the "inferential" kind of reason (*jñāpaka-hetu-*) in his *Illumination of the Erotic*, and second, as a variety of the "forward-and-backward-looking" kind of inference (*sāmānyataḥ*) in his *Necklace of Sarasvatī* (both early 11th c.).[58] Here we have three authors citing the same verse: one for its metrical features, one for its grammatical features, and one for its logical features. Yet the verse itself is found in no extant work of Prakrit literature. Where did these authors encounter this verse, and how did the anonymous commentator of the *Mirror for Poets* know that Pādalipta was its author?

I think it is possible that these authors all cited the verse from Pādalipta's now-lost *Taraṅgavatī*. But if this verse managed to escape oblivion, it is because it was cited; and if it was cited, it is because it was citeable. The survival of Pādalipta's poetry, as well as the survival of its attribution to Pādalipta, has taken several courses. First, and most obviously, there is the tradition of the *Taraṅgavatī* (including later retellings by Bhadreśvara and Yaśas), to which Pādalipta's name is attached as an author. Yet even here it might be recalled that Pādalipta, according to Jain legend, was accused of plagiarizing the *Taraṅgavatī* from one of his colleages at the Sātavāhana court.[59] But there is also the anthology tradition, and further, there are the indirect traditions of "accidental anthologies": those texts like the *Mirror for Poets* and Svayambhū's *Meters* which, in the course of exemplifying a set of metrical or grammatical phenomena, end up assembling an anthology of verses. Another example is the *Commentary on the Suggestive Verses* of Ratnākara, which assembles and revises Abhinavagupta's commentary on the Prakrit verses cited in Ānandavardhana's *Light on Suggestion*.

---

[57]  *Siddhahemacandra* 8.1.187, about the transformation of aspirates into *h* (*anāder ity eva, gajjaṃti khe mehā*) and 8.3.132, about the use of *ātmanepada* endings. See also Bhayani (1998: no. 73).

[58]  *Illumination of the Erotic* 10.226 (p. 571; see also Kulkarni 1988: no. 136, p. 69); *Necklace of Sarasvatī* 3.153 (p. 383; see also Kulkarni 1988: no. 98, p. 359).

[59]  See v. 319 of the *Prabandha of Pādalipta*.

We know very little about the way that anthologies, especially Prakrit anthologies, were produced. The seminal text of this tradition is of course the *Seven Centuries*, but this is a typically problematic case: with our earliest direct witness, the commentator Bhuvanapāla (ca. 11ᵗʰ c.), we intercept the tradition nearly a thousand years into its history. By this time, authors had for hundreds of years been citing verses "from the *Seven Centuries*," which is to say verses that are also found in later manuscripts of the *Seven Centuries*. In fact, nobody actually attributes these verses to this work; if the verses are attributed at all, they are attributed to a particular author. Svayambhū's metrical handbook provides an example: a verse that he attributes to Pādalipta is identical to W75 in the *Seven Centuries*, which the commentators likewise attribute to Pādalipta. While I do not share the skepticism of earlier scholars regarding these attributions ("worthless" according to A.B. Keith), no serious research has been done on them, and it is not at all clear where they come from.[60] Take, as another example, verse W394: "In the spring, the peacock cranes its neck to drink a drop of water from the tip of a blade of grass, as if it were a pearl pierced by an emerald thread." This is a rare case of agreement between the commentators regarding the authorship of the verse: Bhuvanapāla, Ājaḍa, and Pītāmbara all assign it to Pādalipta. But how do they know? I speculate that the *Seven Centuries* probably was the source of many of these citations, but that it once circulated with a large complement of intertexts and paratexts—including a list of authors and perhaps collections of the works of individual authors—that has been substantially winnowed over the course of its transmission.

A related problem are the *Verses of the Chappaṇṇayas* that are mentioned by a number of authorities, from Daṇḍin to Uddyotana to Abhinavagupta. Although an anthology of gnomic verses with this title has come to light, it is unlikely to be the one that Abhinavagupta knew, which seems to have

---

[60]  *Svayambhū's Meters* 1.4 (*pūrvabhāga*) = W75: *ua pommarāamaragaasaṃvaliā ṇahaalāu oaraï | ṇahasirikaṃṭhabbhaṭṭha vva kaṃṭhiā kīrariṃcholī ||*. See Keith (1920: 223 n. 5), Tripathi (1984: 294), and Winternitz (1985 [1920]: 114 n. 3), and more optimistically Pischel (1981 [1900]: §13).

[60]  *maragaasūīviddhaṃ va mottiaṃ piaï āaaggīvo | moro pāusaāle taṇaggalaggaṃ uaaviṃduṃ ||*.

been predominantly composed of erotic verse.[61] Who are these Chappaṇṇayas? What texts did they produce? How were these texts known and read? What accounts for the apparent divergence between the texts that circulated under their name? Have the Chappaṇṇayas, like Theognis, given their name to a permeable corpus of verses?

Prakrit *gāthā*s live in the complexities of collection and dispersion, of citation and recontextualization, skipping over and across the transmission histories of individual texts. Within Indian literary culture, their "unbound" character was prized and celebrated, as it allowed individual verses to speak to different purposes from within different texts—but it was also a liability, as it made over to future generations the responsibility of transmitting verses faithfully and preserving their attribution. We may even think of all Prakrit *gāthā*s as fragments: not just the stray verses of now-forgotten poets such as Abhimānacihna that have been preserved in accidental anthologies such as Syavambhū's *Meter*, but the verses that are transmitted to us in intentional anthologies as well. Thus, because they are so sensitive to the dynamics of premodern literary culture, Prakrit *gāthā*s show us both how little we presently understand of these dynamics and how we might attempt to understand them in the future.

---

[61] See Upadhye's introduction as well as Balbir and Besnard (1993–1994), Balbir (1995–1996), and Bhayani (1993d).

# Chapter 5

# Figuring Prakrit

> The unity of a language is represented always in relation to
> another unity.
>
> Naoki Sakai[1]


> Equivalence in difference is the cardinal problem of language...
>
> Roman Jakobson[2]


## Introduction

The most straightforward way to determine what Prakrit was is to look at how it was represented, that is, how it appeared from within the literary and intellectual culture of premodern India. If chapters

---

[1]    Sakai (2009: 83).

[2]    Jakobson (1959: 233).

2 and 3 offered a largely diachronic account of Prakrit's invention as a literary language, this chapter provides an analysis of Prakrit's synchronic position within the order of literary languages. It follows an ongoing attempt to "figure out," by representing it in figures, Prakrit's relation to other languages. What is remarkable is that no one seems ever to have thought that such an analysis was even necessary: scholars have focused their explanations, as reductive as they tend to be, on why certain kinds of people used Prakrit, or were represented as using Prakrit, rather than why Prakrit was available to those people in the first place.

In what follows, I adopt Naoki Sakai's idea of a "schema"—itself adopted from Kant—to characterize the language order of premodern India. My idea of a schema is historicist and constructivist, like Sakai's but completely unlike Kant's. The problem Sakai addressed with this idea is the "unity" of a language.[3]

On the one hand, it is second nature for us to count languages, that is, to represent them as unified objects that can be enumerated in a series. Sanskrit and Prakrit are no different in this respect than English, Japanese, Russian, and French. The discrete character of language is essential to almost everything that we can think to do with language. "Narrating, reciting, listening, reading, writing and translating" are all performed in a way that presupposes and reproduces the differences between languages.[4] For any given language, the unity of that language, and thus its ability to be counted alongside other languages, is given as well. On the other hand, it is still *second* nature. We would like to believe that our representations of language "cut nature at the joints," but the closer we look, the further we get from finding any.[5] We find, instead, that what holds a language together, and what

---

[3]    Sakai (1997, 2009).

[4]    Sakai (2009).

[5]    *Phaedrus* 265ᵉ: τὸ πάλιν κατ᾽ εἴδη δύνασθαι διατέμνειν κατ᾽ ἄρθρα ᾗ πέφυκεν, καὶ μὴ ἐπιχειρεῖν καταγνύναι μέρος μηδέν, κακοῦ μαγείρου τρόπῳ χρώμενον "[the alternative to classing different elements together under classes is] being able to distinguish them again by their classes, where the joints are, and trying not to make a hack-job of any piece like a bad butcher."

categorically separates it from others, is not any intrinsic property, but effective fictions that we are collectively the authors of.

A schema is, in Kant's words, "the representation of a general procedure by which the imagination supplies its image to the concept" of which it is the schema.[6] It is a "mediating representation" ("vermittelnde Vorstellung") that allows us to bring the messy and gradient language practices as we encounter them in "the real world" under discrete and ordered categories.[7] Schemas perform the work of figuration, classification, and categorization that enable us to think of languages as objects. It is through the representational work of schemas that Prakrit became a language: an internally-homogeneous and discrete object, differentiated from other such objects—and above all from Sanskrit—as species of a genus. But the effects that schemas have thus go far beyond the representational work that they do. They provide us with concepts with which we can reflect upon, evaluate, and regulate our own uses of language as well as the range of social practices that intersect with language use. This results in a feedback loop: concepts are based on practices, practices are based on concepts, and thus the objects and relations that a schema posits come to form part of the world that the schema is meant to represent. A schema can thus be seen as a blueprint for, rather than merely a picture of, a language order.

Schematism, the capacity or even requirement to produce schemas, may be "an art hidden in

---

[6] "Diese Vorstellung nun von einem allgemeinen Verfahren der Einbildungskraft, einem Begriff sein Bild zu verschaffen, nenne ich das Schema zu diesem Begriffe" (Kant 1998 [1787]: 242 = A140, B179). Compare Brian Stock's formulation (1998: 13): "A schema is a pattern of information already shaped in discursive or narrative form in the mind."

[7] As an example of the general kind of "mediating representations" that schemas provide, we can recall Goethe's experiments with the "morphology" of plants. Goethe attempted to redescribe plants that he encountered in nature as formal or morphological modifications of each other, such that all plants could be related in this manner as modifications of an originary template (an "Urpflanze"). The template is the necessary starting-point for any possible plant which both bounds the category and encompasses all of its internal diversity. It is not a composite picture of actual plants, but a mediating representation: "if [Schiller] takes for an idea what to me is an experience," Goethe wrote, "then there must, after all, prevail some mediation, some relationship between the two." See Heller (1952: 5), cited in Monk (1990).

the depths of the human soul," but a schema itself is a historical artifact.[8] It is located in the "deep knowledge" of a culture, and it underlies the particular ways of speaking about and using language that are prevalent within that culture. It is like Foucault's "historical *a priori*," although this formulation confusingly reverses its Kantian origins. I prefer Sanskrit's more suggestive, more specific, and more culturally proximate notion of *vyavasthā*: it is a single figure that encompasses and imposes order on an enormous diversity of practices.

The approach adopted in this chapter differs radically from the method by which Indological scholarship has traditionally attempted to understand "language talk" in premodern India, namely by invoking the paradigm of sociolinguistics and reading the sources as a proxy for attitudes toward and beliefs about language in the various segments of premodern Indian society. Among the many methodological and epistemological liabilities in this approach is the tendency to view language as a "dependent variable" and social distinctions as the "independent variable," which, when combined with the tendency to view religion as the most important source of social distinctions in premodern India, produces facile equations between Brahmans and Sanskrit, for example, or Jains and Prakrit (see p. 17). The tendency to treat Sanskrit and Prakrit as transhistorical categories is another liability that makes it difficult to see when and how people began thinking of and representing language in these terms.[9] This tendency is explained in part by Hermann Jacobi's intentional conflation of the emic terms Sanskrit and Prakrit with the etic terms Old Indic and Middle Indic (p. 27).

My approach differs less radically from the one developed by Sheldon Pollock, and shares with it the goal of denaturalizing such familiar concepts as Sanskrit and Prakrit by tracing out their history.[10]

---

[8] "Dieser Schematismus unseres Verstandes, in Ansehung der Erscheinungen und ihrer bloßen Form, ist eine verborgene Kunst in den Tiefen der menschlichen Seele, deren wahre Handgriffe wir der Natur schwerlich jemals abraten, und sie unverdeckt vor Augen legen werden" (Kant 1998 [1787]: 242 = A141, B189).

[9] See n. 57 in chapter 1. To take just one example, Deshpande (1993) uses the terms "Sanskrit" and "Prakrit" with reference to texts composed before Sanskrit and Prakrit came into use as designations for languages.

[10] Pollock (1996, 2003, 2006b).

But where Pollock minimizes the differences between Sanskrit and the other members in the "closed set" of literary languages, I am interested in the logic of internal differentiation within this set. And where Pollock assigns a nomothetic function to many of the representations discussed here—according to which they recommend the use of those languages that meet a given criterion of cosmopolitanism ("their availability across region, ethnie, sect, and time")—the schematic functions that I assign to these representations provide the linguistic parameters of the entire field of textuality, simultaneously defining what can be expressed and what language it can be expressed it.

This chapter departs from earlier scholarship in one other significant respect. Just as the preceding chapters enabled us to challenge the historical priority of Sanskrit by considering alternative points of origin for *praśasti* and *kāvya*, this chapter enables us to challenge the conceptual priority of Sanskrit by focusing on the relational figures through which languages were represented. According to the schemas reconstructed here, Sanskrit and Prakrit defined each other, contrasted with each other, and complemented each other. This approach complements a history of Sanskrit and Prakrit that begins with the language order they co-constitute, around the 1st c. CE, rather than projecting them backwards as timeless categories of speech.


## The Archetypal Schema

The archetypal schema underlies the language practices of "classical India," the literary and intellectual culture of India from the 2th to the 12th century CE. It helps us to understand one of the common-sense meanings of "classical India," namely a culture where Sanskrit and Prakrit co-constituted the parameters of textual production. This characterization closely resembles Pollock's characterization of the "Sanskrit cosmopolis." One reason I have adhered to the older term is simply to avoid confusion: "Sanskrit cosmopolis" is really a metonym, based on the importance of Sanskrit to the entire cultural order, but in this chapter I am interested precisely in Sanskrit's others.

The representations that the archetypal schema provides procedures for constructing are the statements in which participants in literary and intellectual culture articulated an understanding of their own language practices. Many of these texts are "classical" in the further sense that they are foundational within their respective discourses. They reflect an understanding of language that has a long history of effects. This is why I call the schema presented here archetypal: other ways of understanding language in India presuppose it as a template.

The most common formulation of this schema is the *bhāṣātraya*, "the three languages": Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Apabhraṃśa. This is the figure that Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin present in the two foundational works in the discourse of poetics, the *Ornament of Literature* and the *Mirror of Literature*. This is just one form of the schema—not everyone who attempted to make sense of the language practices of literary and intellectual culture enumerated precisely three languages—but I take it to be representative of a broad consensus regarding the number of languages, their identity, and their relationship to each other. Its archetypal status is easily illustrated by the fact that the fourfold and sixfold schemas that begin to emerge in the 9th century incorporate and expand upon the threefold schema (p. 200).

Four important features characterize this archetypal schema: the opposition between Sanskrit and Prakrit; the identity of Sanskrit and Prakrit; the totality of the practices the schema represents; and the iterability of its distinctions. Together these give the language order of classical India its unique shape: the central dichotomy of Sanskrit and Prakrit, the asymmetrical relation between the two, and the peripheral position of Apabhraṃśa. The role and status of a language within a language order are the result of a complex configuration of factors on the level of schematic representation. "Cosmopolitan" and "vernacular" are two of the roles that may be available, but they do they exhaust all of the possibilities—Prakrit does not easily fit into either category—and it would be a mistake to understand them as universal categories of culture.

# Opposition

At the core of the basic schema lies a binary opposition between Sanskrit and Prakrit. Generally, one can speak of opposing two things which already exist, or of an opposition that creates two things which did not exist before. It is the latter sense that I intend here. Sanskrit and Prakrit exist in a "schema of co-figuration," where the representation of one determines the representation of the other.[11] There are two aspects of the schema of co-figuration that I would like to emphasize at the outset, because they lead to a different understanding of the relationship between Sanskrit and Prakrit than what one commonly encounters in scholarship.

One aspect is the prior indeterminacy of the objects under co-figuration. The schema does not simply apply contrasting attributes to each member of the pair—although this is one of its important functions—but it defines what each member of the pair is. Although we tend to see the opposition between Sanskrit and Prakrit as an opposition between two languages, it is only as a result of a schematic representation that we can oppose Sanskrit and Prakrit as languages in the first place. This claim opens up the possibility that Sanskrit and Prakrit were not always what they currently seem to be. For example, Sanskrit and Prakrit are figured in the *Treatise on Theater* not as languages but as two distinct types of actors' lines (see p. 177).

The second aspect is the lack of a prior independent existence for each of the objects under co-figuration. Co-figuration implies that the emergence of Sanskrit and Prakrit as objects of representation was more or less simultaneous. Of course there is a sense in which Sanskrit existed prior to the Sanskrit–Prakrit dichotomy. But this type of Sanskrit, the language of Vedic texts, was quite different from that which we commonly call "classical"—the language that the archetypal schema delineates—and in fact there is no evidence that it was even called "Sanskrit" much before the 1st or 2nd century CE. Exactly the same can be said of Prakrit. Co-figuration replaces the question of whether

---

[11]   Sakai (2009).

Sanskrit or Prakrit came first—the answer to which depends entirely on one's chosen definitions—with an answerable question about what phenomena the words "Sanskrit" and "Prakrit" were applied to.

One kind of opposition is built into the words Sanskrit and Prakrit themselves. The words form, as George Grierson noted, a "naturally correlated pair."[12] The word *saṃskṛta-*, from the verb √*sam-s-kṛ* means in the broadest terms "what has been elaborated."[13] The word *prākṛta-* means what exists in, or has come from, the source (*prakṛti-*).[14] In contrast to Sanskrit, it refers to the original state of something prior to elaboration. Hence Grierson contrasted them as "artificial" and "unartificial."

The words *saṃskṛta-* and *prākṛta-* did not start out as designations for languages. It seems likely that they were employed for this purpose in order to represent the practices they designated as opposites. This interpretation is consistent with the ritual connotations of *saṃskṛta-*, according to which Sanskrit is speech that has been "purified" for ritual use. This term, as Sheldon Pollock argues, forges an association between Sanskrit and the early history of its use in ritual contexts, but it is important to note that it is used only after the "prestige economy" of Sanskrit had expanded beyond the sphere of ritual alone.[15] One of the earliest known uses of the word *saṃskṛta-* to refer to a language occurs in Hanumān's consideration of how he should address Sītā in the *Sundarakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*: "If I present a *saṃskṛtā* speech, like a twice-born, she will mistake me for Rāvaṇa and get scared. I must address her with a human (*mānuṣam*) speech, full of meaning."[16] This passage contrasts

---

[12] Quoted in Kahrs (1992: 245) from Grierson's review of Pischel's *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*.

[13] According to traditional glosses. *Mādhava's Commentary on Verbal Roots* glosses *saṃskaroti* as *alaṃkaroti* "adorn, elaborate" (p. 511). The *Kāśikāvṛtti* glosses the term *saṃskāra-* several times as "attributing excellence to something that already exists" (*sata utkarṣādhānaṃ saṃskāraḥ*, e.g. on *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 4.4.3).

[14] The word is derived from the base *prakṛti-* with the suffix *aN*. The relevant *sūtra*s are: *prāg dīvyato 'ṇ* (4.1.83), *tatra bhavaḥ* (4.3.53), and *tata āgataḥ* (4.3.74). The difference in meaning between "existing in" or "come from" the source will be discussed below.

[15] Pollock (2006b: 45).

[16] *Rāmāyaṇa* 5.28.18–19*ab*: *yadi vācaṃ pradāsyāmi dvijātir iva saṃskṛtām | rāvaṇaṃ manyamānā māṃ sītā bhītā*

163

Sanskrit as the language of twice-born Brahmans such as Rāvaṇa with the language of humankind as a whole. We can view this passage, as Pollock does, as a reflection of the social and discursive limitations that applied to the use of Sanskrit in the centuries preceding the *Rāmāyaṇa*'s composition. But we can also view it as a reflection of a set of circumstances that did not exist long before this passage itself was composed. The first circumstance is an increased distance between languages, in Kloss's sense of "Abstand," or at least an increased awareness of this distance, relative to Patañjali's time. As is well known, Patañjali represented incorrect words as local deviations from the corresponding correct words rather than systemic deviations that might possess a logic and structure of their own.[17] The second circumstance, closely linked to the first, is choice. The necessity of choosing a language, and the knowledge of doing so, is a special feature of literature and radiates from literature into other discourses. Pollock is certainly right to connect the *Rāmāyaṇa*'s consciousness of its own language with its self-declared status as the first work in an entirely new type of expressive literature.[18] Hanumān's dilemma is the same as Vālmīki's. Whenever language is an object of choice, we require a schema to tell us what the choices actually are.

We don't know when the *Rāmāyaṇa* was composed. The 1st century BCE seems likely. Around this time, and continuing into the early centuries of the common era, Jain monks were collecting, revising, and expanding a body of canonical literature. In a long discussion of music that several canonical texts share, it is observed that the language of song can be either Sanskrit or Prakrit.[19] This rather accidental passage reveals to us both the circumstances in which language is an object of choice and

---

*bhaviṣyati || avaśyam eva vaktavyaṃ mānuṣaṃ vākyam arthavat |*. See Cardona (1998: 646) and von Hinüber (2001: §2).

[17]   Kloss (1967); Bronkhorst (2011: 15–18).

[18]   See Bakhtin (1981: 295), quoted at the beginning of chapter 3, and Pollock (2006b: 45).

[19]   *Sthānāṅga Sūtra* 553 (7.74), p. 674 l. 5 (*sakkatā pāgatā ceva duvidhā bhaṇitīo āhitā*); *Anuyogadvāra Sūtra* 260 (*gāthā* 53), p. 305 l. 3 (*sakkayā pāyayā ceva bhaṇiīo hoṃti duṇṇi u*). I would guess that these *gāthā*s date to sometime between the 2nd and 4th century.

what the choices were in such circumstances. Just as the Vedic scriptures never proclaim that they are composed in Sanskrit, the Jain scriptures never proclaim that they are composed in Prakrit, and only mention Sanskrit and Prakrit in a passage that clearly concerns the practices of literary culture and music.

The most compelling illustration of co-figuration occurs in a passage from Kālidāsa's *Birth of Kumāra* (early 5th c.). During the wedding celebration of Śiva and Pārvatī, Sarasvatī congratulates the couple:

> Sarasvatī praised the couple with a speech that she delivered in two ways:
> one purified by *saṃskāra* to the excellent groom,
> and one that could easily be understood to the bride.[20]

Kālidāsa here imagines the speech of Sarasvatī, the goddess of language and literature, in accordance with the same schema that distinguished Sanskrit and Prakrit as literary languages. In the literary culture that Kālidāsa inhabited, Sarasvatī did in fact speak two languages; Kālidāsa composed the *Birth of Kumāra* in Sanskrit within generations of Sarvasena composing *Hari's Victory* in Prakrit. The earliest available commentary on this passage, Vallabhadeva's, explicitly identifies Sarasvatī's "speech delivered in two ways" with Sanskrit and Prakrit.[21] This passage is therefore a self-conscious reflection, from one of the foundational figures of *kāvya*, on the language practices of *kāvya* itself. Its wording even anticipates the wording of later works of poetics that sought to divide up the sphere of "textuality" (*vāṅmaya-*) on the basis of language (see p. 185 below).

Kālidāsa's image shows us not just the dichotomization of literary language into Sanskrit and Prakrit, but some of the specific contrasts that create this dichotomy. One contrast etymologically

---

[20]  *Birth of Kumāra* 7.90 (in Kale's edition with Mallinātha's commentary) or 7.89 (in Murti's edition with Vallabhadeva's commentary): *dvidhā prayuktena ca vāṅmayena sarasvatī tan mithunaṃ nunāva | saṃskārapūtena varaṃ vareṇyaṃ vadhūṃ sukhagrāhyanibandhanena ||*.

[21]  Vallabha *ad loc.*: *varaṃ pāṇigrahītāraṃ saṃskārapūtena saṃskṛtena, vadhūṃ tu sukhenākleśena grāhyaṃ bodhyaṃ nibandhanaṃ racanā yasya tena, prākṛtenety arthaḥ.* Mallinātha quotes Vallabhadeva almost *verbatim* in his commentary to this verse.

defines Sanskrit as the language that is "purified by *saṃskāra-*"; Prakrit's lack of *saṃskāra-* is implicit here but explicitly stated in other texts.[22] It has proven difficult to say what *saṃskāra-* means in this context because the word originally referred to the consecration of ritual objects and only by extension to language. There were many ways in which a language might be thought to possess *saṃskāra-*: it could be consecrated for ritual use; it could be endowed with a certain kind of power or prestige; it could be validated by the teachings of grammarians; it could be produced by people who have been instructed in these teachings; it could be produced with care and attention; or it could be all of these things. In this context, *saṃskāra-* likely refers in the first place to the rules enunciated by Pāṇini, around the 4th century BCE, that defined Sanskrit as a discrete and unitary language—without, however, using the word "Sanskrit" in reference to this language. Co-figuration implies that Prakrit is projected as the opposite of Sanskrit across all of these senses.

A verse from Vākpatirāja's *Gauḍa's Demise* (early 8th c.) provides a further example of these contrasts: "The loveliness of Sanskrit words unfolds through the beauty of Prakrit, and the splendor of Prakrit through the excellence of Sanskrit's *saṃskāra*."[23] What Prakrit uniquely contributes to a work is "beauty," whereas Sanskrit's unique contribution is *saṃskāra-*, which in this context might mean grammatical perspicuity—the quality that enables Vākpati's work to be appreciated in a court where the preferred medium is Sanskrit. For Vākpatirāja, Prakrit can possess *saṃskāra-*, but only by borrowing it from Sanskrit.

Another contrast that emerges from Kālidāsa's verse is that Prakrit is simple and Sanskrit is difficult.

---

[22]   Prakrit is "devoid of the quality of *saṃskāra-*" in the *Treatise on Theater* (*saṃskāra-guṇa-varjita-*; see p. 176). In *On Sentence and Word* 1.147, Bhartṛhari also defines a deviant form (*apabhraṃśaḥ*) as "devoid of *saṃskāra-*" (*śabdaḥ saṃskārahīno yo gaur iti prayuyukṣite | tam apabhraṃśam icchanti viśiṣṭārthaniveśanam ||*), and we will see later (p. 173) that he framed this definition with Prakrit in mind.

[23]   *Gauḍa's Demise* 65: *ummillaï lāyaṇṇaṃ paaa-cchāyāe sakkaa-vāṇaṃ | sakkaa-sakkārukkarisaṇeṇa paaassa vi pahāvo ||* (65). I do not accept van Daalen's translation of *paaa-* as "the subject under discussion" and *sakkaa-* "perfect," related in Bodewitz (1998: 42–43). The word *paaa-* can be derived from *prākṛta-* by Vararuci's rule *ad āto yathādiṣu vā* (*Light on Prakrit* 1.10), and his commentator Vasantarāja actually includes the word *prākṛta-* in the *yathādi-gaṇa* (see *Resuscitation of Prakrit* p. 13).

A Sanskrit sentence is conceived as an elaborate complex of discrete grammatical elements; it was defined by this complexity, a literal "putting-together" or *saṃskāra-*. Thus a *topos* in Prakrit literature is that Prakrit is easier than Sanskrit because it does not require the in-depth grammatical knowledge that Sanskrit does.[24] Earlier we encountered a similar representation of Prakrit among Jain writers who wished to depict their scriptures, which they claimed were composed in Prakrit, as inherently more accessible to the unlettered masses than the scriptures of other religious traditions, which they represented as being in Sanskrit: "Out of kindness to children, women, simple and stupid men, and to men who want to have good conduct," wrote Haribhadra, "those who know the nature of things composed the scriptures in Prakrit." (p. 105). Above I suggested that such representations depend on and reinforce a myth of continuity between Prakrit and demotic language practices. It will be clear from the following chapter that for nearly the entire period with which we are concerned here, Prakrit was no less of a learned language than Sanskrit was, and Prakrit had grammars and lexicons just as Sanskrit did. And difficulty and complexity are, of course, relative concepts: no doubt that there were people for whom Sanskrit was more easily intelligible than Sanskrit and *vice versa*. The important point here, however, is that Prakrit was consistently represented as essentially different from Sanskrit in this respect, from its first literary monuments onward.

I have already discussed in chapter 3 the ways in which the earliest Prakrit literature explicitly positioned itself against Sanskrit, representing itself as a discourse that was about—if not exactly for and by—common people, *prākṛta-jana-*, rather than scholars and ritual specialists. And in that connection I referred to one of the programmatic verses of the *Seven Centuries*, which I repeat here:[25]

---

[24]   For example, *Līlāvatī* vv. 41–43. See also the passage from the *Kuvalayamālā* discussed below (p. 189).

[25]   See p. 87.

167

Prakrit poetry (*pāuakavvaṃ*) is nectar.
Those who don't know how to recite it or listen to it
make love into a science.
How are they not ashamed?

This passage is probably the earliest example of the word *prākṛta-* (*pāua-*) used in connection with a language, and hence complements the earliest use of the word *saṃskṛta-* in the passage from the *Rāmāyaṇa* discussed above. This verse turns on a contrast that illuminates what "Prakrit poetry" is. On the one side stand those who exercise themselves in scholarly disputes. On the other side stand those who compose and appreciate "Prakrit poetry," a phrase that could imply the poetry of common people in contrast to scholars, or common poetry in contrast to sophisticated scholarly discourse, besides poetry in the Prakrit language.[26] Prakrit and its other, Sanskrit, thus align onto the discourses of *kāvya* and *śāstra* and the social personas associated with them: sensitive litterateurs and dried-out debaters. This verse hints at the possibility that these two languages can complement each other and inhabit the same social space.

The most extensive early discussion of this shared social space jointly inhabited by Sanskrit and its others is Vātsyāyana's *Kāma Sūtra* (late 3rd–early 4th c.). In the course of describing the day-to-day activities of the urbane man (*nāgaraka-*), Vātsyāyana has him attend a *goṣṭhī*, which is "when men of equal knowledge, intelligence, character, wealth and age, accompanied by courtesans, sit down together to discuss suitable matters, either in a courtesan's house, the court, or one of their own houses." What takes place there is "critical discussion of literature and fine arts," followed by the appreciation of beautiful women.[27] Later on, Vātsyāyana cites a few verses concerning *goṣṭhī*s from an older source.

---

[26] I thus understand all significations of the compound *pāua-kavvaṃ* at once: *prākṛtānāṃ kāvyam*, *prākṛtaṃ cedaṃ kāvyaṃ ca*, and *prākṛtabhāṣāyāṃ kāvyam*.

[27] *Kāma Sūtra* p. 53: *veśyābhavane sabhāyām anyatamasyodavasite vā samānavidyābuddhiśīlavittavayasāṃ saha veśyābhir anurūpair ālāpair āsanabandho goṣṭhī, tatra kāvyasamasyā kalāsamasyā vā. tasyām ujjvalā lokakāntāḥ pūjyāḥ, prītisamānāś cāhāritāḥ*. See the discussion on p. 87.

One of them claims that "one who participates in discussions in *goṣṭhī*s, neither exclusively in Sanskrit (*saṃskṛtena*) nor exclusively in the regional language (*deśabhāṣayā*), will become highly esteemed in the world."[28] This verse is another early use of the word *saṃskṛta-* in reference to a language. The opposition is between the "regional language" (*deśabhāṣā-*) and Sanskrit, which is figured as transregional in contrast. Prakrit is not explicitly mentioned here, although I consider it likely that the term "regional language" here refers to Prakrit, which is the only language besides Sanskrit and probably Tamil for which we have evidence of literary production in the early 1st millennium.

This verse commends a "middle way" between the exclusive use of Sanskrit and the exclusive use of the regional language. This might mean that Sanskrit should be used in some contexts and that the regional language should be used in others, or it might mean that both Sanskrit and the regional language should be employed in similar contexts.[29] In either case, this verse locates both of them in the same social space, namely the *goṣṭhī*, and in the same individual, namely the *nāgaraka-*. The fact that Sanskrit and Prakrit were figured as opposites does not mean that they were relegated to entirely different social and discursive spheres.

The literary culture that Prakrit partially constituted was overwhelmingly dominated by men, as Vātsyāyana's descriptions of *goṣṭhī*s show. But Prakrit was represented as being more understandable to women and more open to women's participation than Sanskrit, and for these reasons preferred by women to Sanskrit, as we see in the verse from the *Birth of Kumāra*. Sanskrit and Prakrit conform to a pattern in which social exclusivity of high culture generates parallel traditions which purport to offer the same kind of content but with fewer restrictions. Sanskrit was "high," and accessible only to people

---

[28]    *Kāma Sūtra* p. 60: *nātyantaṃ saṃskṛtenaiva nātyantaṃ deśabhāṣayā | kathāṃ goṣṭhīṣu kathayaṃl loke bahumato bhavet ||* (the verse is also quoted by Bhoja at *Necklace of Sarasvatī* 2.12, p. 142).

[29]    Yaśodhara's comment (*nātyantam iti, kaścid eva saṃskṛtaṃ vetti deśabhāṣāṃ ca*) means that people who know both Sanskrit and the regional language are rare, and that one should switch between them in order to avoid boring or alienating those who only know one language. But the point of the verse is that knowledge of both languages is normative.

of a certain social status, while Prakrit was "not quite so high" and in principle open to everyone.

The comparative accessibility of Prakrit is a commonplace in Prakrit literature. A verse from the *Topical Anthology*, an collection of Prakrit poetry compiled near the end of the 1st millennium, says: "Prakrit poetry is playful and has sweet syllables; it is adored by young women and is erotic. So who is going to recite Sanskrit?"[30] The effect, as in the other programmatic passages we have seen so far, is to claim the territory of poetry for Prakrit, and especially poetry that has love as its central theme. Prakrit poetry is a discourse that notionally includes men and women; it is a poetry that not only speaks *about* women, but a poetry in which women speak and are spoken to.

Prakrit was not just favored by young women, according to these representations, but figured as a young woman. Some manuscripts of Rājaśekhara's *Karpūramañjarī* read a verse in the prologue that claims that "Sanskrit compositions are harsh, but a Prakrit composition is soft; the difference between these two is as great as between a man and a woman."[31] A verse from Jayasiṃha Sūri's *Explanation of the Garland of Advice* (*Dharmopadeśamālāvivaraṇ*, 860 CE) uses an impressive triple-entendre to imagine the Prakrit language—here called "the language of Mahārāṣṭra," *marahaṭṭhayabhāsā*—as a beautiful woman:

---

[30] *Topical Anthology* v. 29: *lalie mahurakkharae juvaījaṇavallahe sasiṃgāre | saṃte pāiyakavve ko sakkai sakkayaṃ paḍhiuṃ ||.* The same verse is quoted in the *Treasury of Gāthā-Jewels*, v. 20.

[31] *Karpūramañjarī* 1.7 (p. 5 in the edition of Konow; Ghosh's edition lacks this verse): *parusā sakkaabandhā pāuabandho vi suumāro | purisamahilāṇaṁ jettiam ihantaraṃ tettiam imāṇaṃ ||.*

Teeming with charming words,
manifesting the theme of love,
and bejewelled with lovely sounds,
the language of Mahārāṣṭra is like a woman—
    walking attractively,
    revealing her intentions,
    and decked with gold and jewels,
and like a forest—
    laced with lovely paths,
    where you can see mynah birds,
    and clothed in beautiful leaves.[32]

Prakrit is here, as in the verse just quoted from the *Topic Anthology* figured as "soft," referring to its characteristic lenition ("softening") of intervocalic consonants (p. 129). But the comparanda that Jayasiṃha Sūri chooses are motivated by the content of Prakrit poetry just as much by its form: the *Seven Centuries* is full of women arranging meetings with their lovers in the forest.

It is the nature of "not quite so high" culture that there is something higher than it. What Prakrit gained in being represented as more broadly accessible than Sanskrit (whether or not it actually was more accessible), it lost in exclusivity and thus prestige. Prakrit authors attempt to close the prestige gap by presenting the differences between Sanskrit and Prakrit as superficial and irrelevant to meaning that the text itself conveys (see p. 175). One verse from the *Topical Anthology* figures Sanskrit and Prakrit as two equivalent options for expressing a given sense: "Sanskrit or other than Sanskrit, depending on who has come to listen, it is the meaning that produces a special kind of *rasa*, never before experienced. Isn't it amazing?"[33] The form of the binary here, Sanskrit and non-Sanskrit, has two implications. One is that the binary becomes a merism for all language: there is nothing not encompassed by either "Sanskrit" or "non-Sanskrit." The second is that Sanskrit is the unmarked

---

[32] P. 4: *salalia-paya-saṃcārā payaḍiya-mayaṇā suvaṇṇa-rayaṇellā | marahaṭṭhayabhāsā kāmiṇī ya aḍavī ya rehaṃti ||.*

[33] *Topical Anthology* 7: *sakkayam asakkayaṃ pi hu attho soyārasaṃgamavaseṇa | appuvvarasavisesaṃ jaṇei jaṃ taṃ mahacchariaṃ ||.*

171

member of the Sanskrit–Prakrit pair. This asymmetry comes out of an older view, represented for example by the grammarian Patañjali, that makes the language that Pāṇini described language as such without any further specification. For the entire classical period, composing a text in Sanskrit required no apology or explanation, whereas composing a text in Prakrit often did. This is one form of Sanskrit's discursive dominance, and of its superposition within the language order that Pollock has referred to as "hyperglossia."[34]

One Sanskrit work that does comment on its own choice of language is Govardhana's *Seven Centuries of Āryās*, a collection of lyrics in Sanskrit produced in eastern India around 1200 CE. But this is because Govardhana conceived his work as a Sanskrit response of Hāla's *Seven Centuries*:

> It took *force*
>     to turn this poetry, whose *rasa* is most suited to Prakrit,
>     toward Sanskrit,
> just like it took *Balarāma*
>     to turn the Yamunā, whose water naturally flows down,
>     toward heaven.[35]

This comparison may carry a suggestion that Sanskrit represents a diversion from the "natural" course of language represented by Prakrit, or it may simply have served to situate Sanskrit, the "language of the gods," in its rightful heavenly place. The purpose of the comparison, however, is to emphasize the difficulty in transforming the kind of "speech" (*vāṇī*) for which Prakrit had long been thought appropriate or even obligatory—namely, standalone verses of a predominantly erotic character in the *gāthā* meter—into Sanskrit.

Most of the above passages that help us recover the representations of Prakrit current in the language order of classical India come from literary texts. But the opposition of Sanskrit and Prakrit

---

[34] Pollock (2006b: 50). Note that Pollock considers Sanskrit and "the Prakrits as we know them" to have been "equally high diglossically," that is, jointly positioned far above the "protoregional speech forms."

[35] *Seven Centuries of Āryās* 52: *vāṇī prākṛtasamucitarasā balenaiva saṃskṛtaṃ nītā | nimnānurūpanīrā kalindakanyeva gaganatalam ||*. See Knutson (2014: 47–71) for more about Govardhana's poetics. The verse was discussed by Pischel (1874: 31) and Weber (1881: xxvi).

is not limited to these sources. When I describe the schema as "archetypal," part of what I mean is that it supplies a general framework for thinking about and talking about language within all of the domains of culture. One particularly important domain, besides the literary, is systematic thought about language. The discussion that I highlight here comes from Bhartṛhati's *On Sentence and Word*, a seminal work on the philosophy of language from the 5th century CE.

Bhartṛhari implicitly juxtaposes Sanskrit and Prakrit by presenting two opposing views about what is correct and what is incorrect in language use:

> "The language of the gods was brought into confusion by incompetent speakers."—but on this point, people who hold it to be non-eternal have the opposite opinion.[36]

The prose commentary on this slightly-obscure verse seems to get Bhartṛhari's intention right. The first half represents a view according to which Sanskrit, the "divine language," was once pure, but over time became corrupted by the accumulated mistakes of careless speakers. This view places Sanskrit at the root of all current language practices, and also accounts for the deviation (*apabhraṃśa-*) of those language practices from each other and, of course, from Sanskrit. The "opposite" view referred to in the second half sees Sanskrit not as the root of all language practices, but as a secondary elaboration and codification of pre-existing language practices. Proponents of this view call these originary practices "Prakrit," which can be analyzed as meaning "existing in the original." Bhartṛhari also alludes to this position in his *Light* on the *Great Commentary*, an incomplete gloss on Patañjali's treatise.[37] Under this view, words are correct not because their use leads to merit (*dharma*), as Patanjali had argued when trying to establish the purposes of grammar, but only because they accord with

---

[36] *On Sentence and Word* 1.154: *daivī vāg vyatikīrṇeyam aśaktair abhidhātṛbhiḥ | anityadarśināṃ tv asmin vāde buddhiviparyayaḥ ||.*

[37] *kecid evaṃ manyante. ya evaite prākṛtāḥ śabdāḥ ta evaite nityāḥ. prakṛtau bhavāḥ prākṛtāḥ* (see Houben 1994a: 4 and Kahrs 1992: 241). For this derivation of *prākṛta-* see fn. 14. I agree with Houben's suggestion (1994a) that Bhartṛhari is referring to Jains in both passages.

conventions. Accordingly, it is Prakrit words that are correct, while Sanskrit words represent an unsuccessful attempt to "dress up" language.[38] It is nearly certain that the "others" to whom Bhartṛhari refers are Jains who employed Prakrit for literary, religious and philosophical texts and who defended their language practices with arguments similar to those summarized in the prose commentary to *Word and Sentence*.[39] It is because Prakrit had become an important counterweight to Sanskrit in Jain intellectual circles, as well as in literary circles beyond Jainism, that Bhartṛhari can represent an argument for its originary status. Bhartṛhari's Prakrit, in other words, is not just any language that deviates from Sanskrit, but the specific language or languages that Jains defended as legitimate for religious and philosophical use.[40]

The co-figuration of Sanskrit and Prakrit is one of the key features of the archetypal schema of language in classical India. Sanskrit and Prakrit are two discrete objects, and objects of broadly the same type, but they contrast across multiple dimensions. The dimensions highlighted in this brief survey include the social (the comparative accessibility, however notional, of Sanskrit and Prakrit to women), the aesthetic (the harshness of Sanskrit and the softness of Prakrit), the discursive (the affinity of Prakrit for *kāvya* and of Sanskrit for *śāstra*), the grammatical (the presence of absence of *saṃskāra-*).

---

[38] *Commentary* on *On Sentence and Word*, p. 238: *anityavādinas tu ye sādhūnāṃ dharmahetutvaṃ na pratipadyante, mallasamayādisadṛśīṃ sādhuvyavasthāṃ manyante, te prakṛtau bhavaṃ prākṛtaṃ sādhūnāṃ śabdānāṃ samūham ācakṣate. vikāras tu paścād vyavasthitaḥ yaḥ sabhinnabuddhibhiḥ puruṣaiḥ svarasaṃskārādibhir nirṇīyata iti* "But people who say that Sanskrit is non-eternal do not accept that correct words are a source of merit, and instead think that determining a word's correctness, like scoring a wrestling match, depends on conventions. They explain Prakrit as a collection of correct words, since it 'originates in the source.' The modifications that confused people have subsequently imposed upon it are clearly perceptible in the cause of special accents and so on." See Houben (1997: 337) and Kahrs (1992: 24). Note, incidentally, that the *anityadarśin*s referred to in *On Sentence and Word* 1.154 do not maintain that language as such is non-eternal, but only that the Sanskrit language is non-eternal, as against Houben (1994a: 7, 1997: 338) and Bronkhorst (1993: 407).

[39] Compare, for example, the Jain monk Namisādhu's discussion of Prakrit in his commentary (dated 1068) to Rudraṭa's *Ornament of Literature* 2.12, as well as Prabhācandra's attack on the position that only Sanskrit words properly denote their meanings in his *Moon to the Night-Lily of Reasoning* (*Nyāyakumudacandra*), discussed briefly in Dundas (1996).

[40] Thus I disagree with Houben (1996: 185), who says that *prākṛta-* in this context "may include all kinds of spoken and written prakritic languages and varieties … perhaps including those we would consider non-Indo-aryan."

Sanskrit was figured as "the language of the gods," and at this stage, Prakrit was contrastively figured as "the language of men." These differences render them complementary rather than incomparable; they constitute the twin parameters of discourse.

# Identity

The archetypal schema also represents Sanskrit and Prakrit in a particular and at first glance paradoxical relationship that I call "identity-in-difference." All schemas represent languages as identical in the minimal sense in that they are species of a genus. But a more substantive kind of identity obtains between Sanskrit and Prakrit, which are considered to be made out of the same linguistic stuff.

The strongest case for the identity of Sanskrit and Prakrit was made by the 10th-century poet Rājaśekhara in the prologue to his Prakrit play, *Karpūramañjarī*:

> The particular meanings are the same,
> and the words are the same—
>   even if they undergo some change.
> A literary work is a special kind of composition,
>   whatever language it happens to be in.[41]

The conclusion of this verse might lead us to think that the poet can choose whatever language he wishes, since every language has words and meanings that can be combined to make literature. But that is not the argument that Rājaśekhara makes, nor is it an argument that Rājaśekhara would make. For Rājaśekhara makes very clear in his other works his opinion that literature could only be composed in four languages—Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhraṃśa, and Paiśācī (see p. 195)—and this verse

---

[41]  *Karpūramañjarī* 1.8 (Konow) or 1.7 (Ghosh): *atthavisesā te ccia saddā te ccea pariṇamantā vi | uttiviseso kavvaṃ bhāsā jā hou sā hou ||*.

is a defense, in Prakrit, of writing a play in Prakrit.[42] The argument is rather that if the definition of literature applies to a work in Sanskrit, then it should apply equally to a work in Prakrit. It is not simply that Prakrit is capable of conveying the same meanings as Sanskrit, or that Prakrit words differ only superficially from the corresponding Sanskrit words, but that Prakrit shares with Sanskrit the particular (-*visesa*-) words and meanings in which literariness consists. Their underlying identity ensures that Sanskrit can be "transformed" (*pariṇamantā*) into Prakrit, in the way that milk, and only milk, can be transformed into curd.

Transforming Sanskrit into Prakrit is precisely what the discourse of Prakrit grammar accomplishes: it explicitly figures Sanskrit as an archetype (*prakṛti*-) that can be systematically modified to produce Prakrit as an ectype (*vikṛti*-), although the domain of such relations included only a part of the Prakrit language. I will limit my discussion here to one text which includes the earliest available Prakrit grammar, the *Treatise on Theater* ascribed to Bharata; chapter 6 will discuss other texts in this tradition.

The *Treatise on Theater* is a compilation of knowledge related to theater probably produced between the 3rd and 4th century CE. It offers one of the earliest systematic accounts of literary language in India. Language was a primary concern to the compilers because "verbal representation" (*vācikābhinayaḥ*) was essential to all ten major forms of theatrical performance, and was thus considered to be "the body of theater."[43] The *Treatise on Theater* is the earliest text to clearly and systematically distinguish between Sanskrit and Prakrit, and it is the text that most clearly presents the relationship of "identity-in-difference" of Sanskrit and Prakrit.[44]

---

[42]  The verse answers the producer's question about why the author of the *Karpūramañjarī* "abandoned Sanskrit and started a work in Prakrit" (*tā kiṃ ti sakkaaṃ pariharia pāiabandhe paaṭṭo kaī*, *Karpūramañjarī* p. 3; Ghosh mistakenly reads *pāia*-).

[43]  *Treatise on Theater* 14.2*ab*: *vāci yatnas tu kartavyo nāṭyasyeṣā tanuḥ smṛtā |*.  Different are the minor forms (*uparūpakāṇi*), which are "minor" precisely because they privilege song and dance over verbal representation.

[44]  The *Treatise on Theater* offers "the first fully enunciated theory of 'Sanskrit'" (Ali 2004: 171) and contains "the first

176

The discussion of language occupies the first 62 verses of chapter 17 of the *Treatise on Theater*. In this section, "Sanskrit" and "Prakrit" are terms used as modifiers not of language (*bhāṣā*), but of *pāṭhya-*, the actors' lines. Abhinavagupta's detailed commentary (11th century) makes it clear that *pāṭhya-* is not just the text of a play, which the *Treatise on Theater* generally calls *kāvya-*, but the precise way in which the language of the text is realized on the stage.[45]

There are exactly two kinds of lines, Sanskrit and Prakrit.[46] The *Treatise on Theater* defines Prakrit as follows:

> A Prakrit line is exactly the same as Sanskrit, but reversed: it is devoid of the quality of *saṃskāra*. It consists in various intermediate grades.[47]

Prakrit is, paradoxically, both "the same as" and the "reverse of" Sanskrit. What distinguishes them, as we saw above, is the presence or absence of *saṃskāra-*, which Abhinavagupta plausibly understands in this context to be the "care" that results in the "maintenance" of the language in an identical state. Abhinavagupta explains that Sanskrit and Prakrit have an identical linguistic substratum (*prakṛti-*), but Prakrit "comes from" that substratum "in the form that it takes without *saṃskāra-*"—invoking the standard analysis of *prākṛta-* as "what has come from the *prakṛti-*."[48]

The *Treatise on Theater*'s definition of Prakrit involves a further paradox. If Prakrit lacks the very quality of *saṃskāra-* that provides a language practice with stability, it must be a "deviation" (*apabhraṃśaḥ*), a practice that is characterized by the absence of the regularities (*niyamaḥ*) by which a

---

textual usage of the term Sanskrit to refer to a language or discrete style of speech" (Ali 2004: 171 n. 88). For a walk-through of the *Treatise on Theater*'s account of language, see Lidova (2012).

[45] The word *pāṭhyam* consists of the root *paṭh* ("in the sense of an audible voice," *vyaktāyāṃ vāci*) followed by the *kṛt* suffix *NyaT. New Dramatic Art* vol. 2, pp. 365–366: *pāṭhaviśeṣam arhati, yatnena vā paṭhanīyaṃ, viśiṣṭena rūpeṇa vā paṭhanārham, āntaracittavṛttivaśād eva vā tathā paṭhituṃ śakyam, ācāryayatnena vā paṭhanīyam iti pāṭhyam.*

[46] 14.5*ab*: *dvividhaṃ hi smṛtaṃ pāṭhyaṃ saṃskṛtaṃ prākṛtaṃ tathā.*

[47] 17.2 *etad eva viparyastaṃ saṃskāraguṇavarjitam | vijñeyaṃ prākṛtaṃ pāṭhyaṃ nānāvasthāntarātmakam ||.*

[48] *New Dramatic Art*, p. 366: *tatra prākṛtasya sāmānyalakṣaṇam āha. saṃskṛtam eva saṃskāraguṇena yatnena parirakṣārūpeṇa varjitaṃ prākṛtam, prakṛter asaṃskārarūpāyā āgatam.*

language is constituted as a unity. And if this is the case, then any attempt to explicitly formulate the regularities of this practice—as the *Treatise on Theater* set out to do—is doomed to fail. Abhinavagupta poses the problem succinctly—"what regularity can a 'deviation' possibly have?"— and he answers with a creative interpretation of the last quarter of the verse: Prakrit owes its regularity to its conventional acceptance (*prasiddhiḥ*) within specific regions (*deśaviśeṣāḥ*), in contrast to Sanskrit, whose regularity is prior to its conventional acceptance in any particular place.[49]

The *Treatise on Theater*'s definition of Prakrit raises the question of how can we think about regularity outside of the paradigmatic regularity of Sanskrit. There was, however, no need for its compilers to reinvent the wheel. To answer this question, they availed themselves of existing literature about the definition and analysis of Prakrit. First, the *Treatise on Theater* presents the standard threefold classification of Prakrit words that was also presented in early grammars of the language that are now lost (see p. 223): Sanskrit-identical (*samānaśabdaṃ*), Sanskrit-derived (*vibhraṣṭaṃ*), and regional (*deśīgatam*).[50] Then it quotes from and adapts some of these lost grammars to produce a "mini-grammar" of Prakrit in two complementary sections.[51]

It is worth noting, in connection with *Treatise on Theater*, one other important passage in which

---

[49] *New Dramatic Art* vol. 2, p. 366: *nanv apabhraṃśānāṃ ko niyama ity āha—nānā yāny avasthāntarāṇi deśaviśeṣās teṣv ātmā niyatasvabhāvo yasyāṃ, deśaviśeṣeṣu prasiddhyā niyamitam ity eva saṃskṛtā eva vācakāḥ, anumānāt tv anye, te tv anyatve prasiddhiṃ gatā ity uktam.* The word on which Abhinavagupta's interpretation depends, *avasthāntaram*, is a generic description of internal differentiation in the *Treatise on Theater* and applies to everything from theater itself to moustaches. Examples include 1.112 (*nānāvasthāntarātmakam*, of theater); 12.30 (*avasthāntarasaṃśrayā*, of movements) and 12.144 (*nānāvasthāntarātmakam*, of movements); 18.110 (*nānāvasthāntarātmakaḥ*, of the *bhāṇa*); 19.144 (*nānāvasthāntarātmakaḥ*, of theater) and 19.147 (*nānāvasthāntaropetam*, of the *nāṭakam*); 21.66 (*avasthāntaram āsādya*, of clothing), 21.115 (*nānāvasthāntarātmakam*, of moustaches), 21.135 (*nānāvasthāntarataḥ*, of men's clothing), 21.153 (*nānāvasthāntarātmakam*, of headwear); 25.39 (*avasthāntaram āsādya*, of representing cold weather); 32.398 (*śokāvasthāntarāśrayam*, of a type of song); 34.241 (*avasthāntare... kṛtā*, of *siddhi*).

[50] 17.7: *trividhaṃ tac ca vijñeyaṃ nāṭyayoge samāsataḥ | samānaśabdaṃ vibhraṣṭaṃ deśīgatam athāpi ca ||.*

[51] For the Prakrit verses quoted therein see appendix C. Verse 17.6–9 are Prakrit *gāthā*s, parts of which are also quoted in the *Definition of the Gāthā* of Nanditāḍhya (date unknown) and the *Dhavalā* and *Jayadhavalā* commentaries by Vīrasena and Jinasena (composed in 9th-century Karnataka). They are likely adopted from an earlier grammar, possibly Harivṛddha's (see chapter 6). 17.10-23 are composed in Sanskrit *āryā*s. For more on the *Treatise on Theater*'s grammar of Prakrit see Nitti-Dolci (1972 [1938]: 61–92).

Prakrit furnished an example, or rather *the* example, for thinking about regularity outside of Sanskrit. That is Kumārila Bhaṭṭa's discussion of the language of Buddhist scriptures in his *Explanation of the System* (ca. 7th c.). He claims that the authority of the Buddhist scriptures must be rejected because they fall under the *Mīmāṃsā Sūtras'* category of "illegitimate compositions." They are illegitimate, he claims, because they are "not even Prakrit." "Those texts are composed in mostly incorrect words from the Māgadha and Dākṣiṇātya languages and their degraded forms," he says, and after quoting a verse in a Middle Indic language, he complains that it is "more degraded than the degraded regional languages with which we are familiar." The examples that he gives show his familiarity with literary Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa. One of these examples is the word *saṃskṛta-*, which appears in the degraded language of the Buddhists as *saṃkaḍa-*. He says that the "correct incorrect" form, as familiar from Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa, should be *sakkaa-*.[52] Prakrit provided to Kumārila a model of how words could be correct, in the sense of conforming to some standard, while at the same time being incorrect, in the sense of deviating from Sanskrit.

To return to the *Treatise on Theater*, we have almost no evidence for what languages were in fact used on stage before this text was compiled. A few fragments of Aśvaghoṣa's otherwise-lost plays from the early 2nd c. seem to use a more archaic version of the languages we find in later plays.[53] The *Treatise on Theater* itself provides many examples of *dhruvā* songs in Chapter 32 that are composed

---

[52] *Explanation of the System* 1.3.6.12 (p. 237): *māgadha-dākṣiṇātya-tad-apabhraṃśa-prāyāsādhu-śabda-nibandhanā hi te*; later on in the same discussion (p. 239): *kimuta yāni prasiddhāpabhraṣṭadeśabhāṣābhyo 'py apabhraṣṭatarāṇi bhikkhave ity evamādīni, dvitīyābahuvacanasthāne hy ekārāntaṃ prākṛtaṃ padaṃ dṛṣṭaṃ, na prathamābahuvacane saṃbodhane 'pi* (we observe the ending *-e* in a Prakrit word in the accusative plural, but not in the nominative plural or the vocative), *saṃskṛtaśabdasthāne ca kakāradvayasaṃyogo 'nusvāralopaḥ, ṛvarṇākārāpattimātram eva prākṛtāpabhraṃśeṣu dṛṣṭaṃ na ḍakārāpattir api*. See also Yoshimizu (2015: 53–54), who reconstructs the passage that Kumārila cites as follows: [*ya*]*thā ukkhitte loḍammi ukkheve atthi kāraṇam | paḍaṇe ṇatthi kāraṇam aṇ*[*ṇaṃ*] *ubbhave-kāraṇ*[*āt*] *||* (I would read *kāraṇā*) [*ev'*]*ime sakkaḍā dhammā* (I would read *saṃkaḍā*) *saṃbhavanti sakāraṇā | akāraṇā viṇas*[*s*]*anti aṇ*[*ṇam*] *uppattikāraṇāt ||* (again *kāraṇā* is to be preferred).

[53] Lüders (1911).

179

in what also appears to be a rather archaic language.[54] Both of these texts are very difficult—one on account of its fragmentariness, the other on account of its corruption—but it certainly appears that their language does not agree in all of its particulars with the language that the *Treatise* describes in Chapter 17, as Luigia Nitti-Dolci was among the first to note.[55] I do not think that this difference can support the claims about the historical development of the Prakrit language, or languages, that Heinrich Lüders and Manomohan Ghosh have extracted from it. As Abhinavagupta tells us, Bharata's purpose was simply to give a general indication of how Prakrit sounded, and the rules formulated by other texts and integrated into chapter 17 served that purpose adequately.[56]

The next sections map the distinction between Sanskrit and Prakrit onto the plurality of language practices of the theater. Scholars usually take for granted a model that organizes these language practices into two sets: Sanskrit, which contains only itself, and "the Prakrits," which contains all of the languages besides Sanskrit, such as Śaurasenī, Māgadhī, and so on.[57] This model has come to dominate modern scholarship in part because it came to dominate premodern thinking about language (p. 182). For this reason it is important to note that it is completely absent from the *Treatise on Theater* itself. The work instead offers two *alternative* models, one for relating the specific language economy of the theater to the dichotomy of Sanskrit and Prakrit in the literary-cultural sphere, and one for relating it to the messy world of language beyond it.[58]

The first model involves a fourfold classification of language (*bhāṣā*) which supervenes upon, rather

---

[54] Ghose (1932, 1933).

[55] Nitti-Dolci (1972 [1938]: 82 = §325).

[56] *New Dramatic Art* vol. 2, pp. 371–372: *muninā ca dig darśitā, vistāravijijñāsuḥ prākṛtadīpikādikam avalokayet. utpalaviracitāyāṃ ca sūtravṛttau paddhatau ca sphutaṃ pūrṇaṃ ca sarvam astīti tatrādaraḥ kāryaḥ.* See Raghavan (1980) for a short note on Abhinavagupta's knowledge of Prakrit grammar, and further p. 218.

[57] "The term *prākṛtam*, as referring to the totality of literary Prakrits, which are opposed as a whole to the *saṃskṛtam*, should therefore have arisen in dramatic theory" (Pisani 1957: 188).

[58] As noted first by Alsdorf (1975 [1941]).

180

than replaces, the twofold classification of lines into Sanskrit and Prakrit.[59] This relates to a distinctive feature of theater *vis-à-vis* other kinds of literature: it alone has "speakers" (*vaktṛ-*) who pronounce its "text."[60] The four types are "superlanguage" (*atibhāṣā*), "noble language" (*āryabhāṣā*), "birth language" (*jātibhāṣā*), and "other-origin" (*yonyantarī*). The first two types are identified with Sanskrit.[61] The last type is spoken by animals; all that is said about it is that it "rests upon theatrical convention" (*nāṭyadharmīpratiṣṭhitā*). The third type, "birth language," is spoken by human beings, and it is said to be "twofold," involving both Sanskrit and Prakrit. The following verses specify the "birth language" by assigning either Sanskrit or Prakrit to human speakers. These assignments are well-known and do not need to be reviewed here.[62]

The *Treatise on Theater* then presents a second model that does not involve the categories of Sanskrit and Prakrit at all: "Alternatively, if they so choose, producers may employ the regional languages, for the text (*kāvyam*) of a play arises in various regions."[63] The category of "regional languages" includes seven "languages" (*bhāṣā*: Māgadhī, Āvantī, Prācyā, Śaurasenī, Ardhamāgadhī, Bāhlikā, and Dākṣiṇātyā) and seven "sublanguages" (*vibhāṣā*: Śakārī, Ābhīrī, Cāṇḍālī, Śābarī, Drāmiḍī, Āndhrī, and Vānaukasī). The names of the languages refer to regions, but it is important to keep in mind that "regions" in this sense are constituted by people rather than places: Māgadhī is the language of the Magadhas, not of Magadha. The names of the sublanguages refer to people whose presence in a place was not enough to constitute it as a region according to the socio-cultural perspective that the

---

[59] 17.25: *bhāṣācaturvidhā jñeyā daśarūpe prayogataḥ | saṃskṛtaṃ prākṛtaṃ caiva yatra pāṭhyaṃ prayujyate ||*.

[60] This is Abhinavagupta's interpretation (*saṃskṛtaprākṛtarūpaiva bhāṣā vaktṛbhedāc caturvidhā saṃpanneti darśayati saṃskṛtaṃ prākṛtaṃ ca pāṭhyam iti*, *New Dramatic Art* vol. 2, p. 372).

[61] Abhinavagupta mentions one interpretation, which he does not agree with, according to which "superlanguage" differs from "noble language" in the same way that Vedic Sanskrit differs from classical Sanskrit (*vaidikaśabdabāhulyād āryabhāṣāto vilakṣaṇatvam asyā ity kecit*, *New Dramatic Art* vol. 2, p. 372).

[62] See Nitti-Dolci's translation (1972 [1938]: 61–92).

[63] 17.46: *athavā chandataḥ kāryā deśabhāṣā prayoktṛbhiḥ | nānādeśasamutthaṃ hi kāvyaṃ bhavati nāṭake ||*.

*Treatise on Theater* represents. This model has its own rules of language assignment, but they refer to theatrical rather than social roles: leading men, leading ladies, rogues, jesters, and so on. The default language of this model appears to be Śaurasenī.[64]

These two models might represent different traditions of theatrical practice. But whatever their origins, it is only by combining them into one that we can produce the familiar model in which a unitary Sanskrit is set over a plurality of Prakrits. Dhanañjaya, a scholar of dramaturgy of the 10th century, is perhaps the first to make this combined model explicit. He understands "Prakrit" and "regional language" as synonyms—making Śaurasenī and Māgadhī varieties of Prakrit, as Daṇḍin did in the early 8th century—and says that "Prakrit, particularly Śaurasenī, is used by women and low-status men," in contrast to high-status men, who use Sanskrit. As one moves from the top to the bottom of the social hierarchy, the language practices become less unified and more regionalized: "low characters speak the language of the region to which they belong."[65]

The *Treatise on Theater*'s discussions of language raise important questions about representation: how a schematic model can represent the language practices of a literary form, and how these language practices themselves represent the world outside the theater. This section ends with a recommendation to "take from the world whatever is not spoken of here," and most scholars have assumed that the languages the *Treatise on Theater* describes are "literary versions of the actual languages."[66] But imitating is not the only way of representing, and on my interpretation, the literary languages are not "versions of" the spoken vernaculars for which they are named in any significant sense. The *Treatise on Theater* gives us to know that certain characters are entitled to use a transregional language, as Sanskrit

---

[64] I take 17.45, which assigns Śaurasenī to *śuddhajāti* characters, to belong to this section.

[65] *Ten Forms* 2.64–66: *pāṭhyaṃ tu saṃskṛtaṃ nṝṇām anīcānāṃ kṛtātmanāṃ | liṅginīnāṃ mahādevyā mantrijāveśyayoḥ || strīṇāṃ tu prākṛtaṃ prāyaḥ śaurasenyadhameṣu ca | piśācātyantanīcādau paiśācaṃ māgadhaṃ tathā || yaddeśaṃ nīcapātraṃ yat taddeśaṃ tasya bhāṣitam | kāryataś cottamādīnāṃ kāryo bhāvavyatikramaḥ ||.*

[66] 17.62: *atra noktaṃ mayā yat tu lokād grāhyam budhais tu tat*; Rajendran (2005: 219).

is unambiguously characterized by its contrast with the regional languages. At the same time, they give us to know that other characters are not entitled to use this language; we must therefore imagine them as speaking the language of the region to which they belong. But it does not follow that these characters must actually speak some form of the language of the region to which they belong. A commitment to linguistic realism of this kind would entail enormous practical problems: everyone, from the author of the play to the actors to the audience, would be required to master an impossibly broad variety of language practices. Abhinavagupta gestures towards this explanation when he remarks that the limitation of "languages" and "sublanguages" to seven each serves to exclude the infinite variety of spoken dialects.[67]

In my view, the models presented by the *Treatise on Theater* offer a compromise solution to this problem. Sanskrit and Prakrit would become the principal languages employed in the theater. This maneuver brought the language practices of the theater into conformity with those of the wider literary culture to which the theater now belonged, where Sanskrit and Prakrit had long since been established as the primary languages of expressive textuality. But in order to keep open the possibility of representing a plurality of languages on the stage, Prakrit was split up into a small number of subvarieties which could be thought of as different types of "regional languages." The differences between these subvarieties and their Prakrit substratum were carefully constrained so as not to transgress the limits of intelligibility. The language practices of the theater were thus limited by the principle of identity-in-difference: the different languages were minor modifications of the same linguistic substratum. Nowhere is this clearer than in Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava*, where the Sanskrit-speaking hero Mādhava, impersonating Mālatī's Prakrit-speaking friend Lavaṅgikā, pronounces a verse that can be understood in both languages simultaneously.[68]

---

[67] *New Dramatic Art* pp. 376–377: *sā* (sc. *vibhāṣā*) *tattaddeśa eva gahvaravāsināṃ prākṛtavāsināṃ ca, etā eva nāṭye tu.*

[68] *Mālatī and Mādhava* 6.10: *sarale sāhasarāgaṃ parihara rambhoru muñca saṃrambham | virasaṃ virahāyāsaṃ soḍhuṃ tava cittam asahaṃ me ||* ("You simple girl, give up your love of excitement. Forget your rash enthusiasm, love. It is

The last section of the discussion of language in the *Treatise on Theater* is concerned to reintroduce the regional characteristics which otherwise would not find expression in a theater which primarily employed the the standardized and increasingly transregional languages of Sanskrit and Prakrit. This section begins with a proscription on the representation of the languages of certain groups (*jātis*): "in theatrical productions, the text should not be made to reflect the language in the case of groups such as Barbaras, Kirātas, Āndhras, and Dramilas."[69] What these groups may have in common is their outsider status, at least in the social imaginary of Sanskrit drama. But it is naïve to read this statement as evidence of a "sociolinguistic attitude" according to which the language practices of these despised groups were denigrated and avoided. It simply states that the languages of these groups— including at least a few Dravidian languages—are too far from Sanskrit and Prakrit to share a stage with them: it enforces the principle of identity-in-difference. Regional languages that differed less radically from Sanskrit and Prakrit could be represented, but only according to certain conventions that simplified their bewildering diversity and multiplicity into a small number of diagnostic differences. These conventions would allow a listener to recognize, for example, the word *māṇavaü* as "northern," *māṇavao* as "western," and *māṇavae* as "eastern," like similar shibboleths in English ("y'all" indicating the American south, "youse guys" Philadelphia, "yinz" Pittsburg, and so on).

The *Treatise on Theater* gives an exhaustive account of what it means for Sanskrit and Prakrit to be "the same" and yet "opposite" each other. Its redactors used Sanskrit and Prakrit as the anchor-points for a continuum of literary language practices. Given that verbal representation was the "body of theater," the continuity of language practices was essential to maintaining theater's bodily integrity. This continuity can be seen as a space of translation, in the etymological sense of moving back and forth, across the divisions instituted by the schema. This kind of translation, however, forecloses

---

horribly worrying, this separation of yours: my heart cannot bear it.").

[69]  17.56: *na barbarakirātāndhradramilādyāsu jātiṣu | nāṭyaprayoge kartavyaṃ kāvyaṃ bhāṣāsamāśritam ||* (ed. *-āṅghra-*, impossibly). This is the original context of the verse, which appears earlier as 17.44.

the possibility of translation in the sense familiar to us: precisely because Sanskrit and Prakrit are figured as an underlying unity under different kinds of transformation, there was no need to actually translate a Prakrit text into Sanskrit or vice versa. And in fact the earliest translations from Prakrit into Sanskrit—never the reverse—known to me date from the 11th century, when the language order begun to shift in such a way as to marginalize Prakrit.[70]

## Totality

Another basic feature of the schema under consideration here is the totality of the practices it schematizes. The space constituted by Sanskrit and Prakrit expands to fill the entirety of literary language; any languages that are not encompassed within this space are not literary. There are different ways of representing this totality, for example the merism "Sanskrit and non-Sanskrit."[71] By far the most important representation is what I call the "enumerative totality," which expands the binary structure of Sanskrit and Prakrit into an *n*-ary structure. The earliest and most influential example of such an enumerative totality is the "three languages"—Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Apabhraṃśa—formulated by the founding fathers of the discourse of poetics, Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, around the turn of the 8th century.[72]

Bhāmaha is perhaps the first to claim that literature as a whole (*kāvya-*) can be exhaustively

---

[70] See p. 259 below. For Amitagati's Sanskrit translation of the *Dharmaparīkṣā* in the 11th c., see p. 91 of Upadhye's introduction to the *Kuvalayamālā*. There are earlier works, such as Raviṣeṇa's *Legend of Padma* (*Padmapurāṇa*, 678 CE), which may be considered translations *lato sensu*, but are better considered independent retellings (in this case of the *Deeds of Padma* by Vimala Sūri).

[71] See p. 171 above and compare Bhāmaha's *Ornament of Literature* 1.28*cd* (*saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛtā ceṣṭā kathāpabhraṃśabhāk tathā*).

[72] See Bronner (2012) on the dates of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, and see Pollock (2006b: 90–93) on their discussion of literary language.

divided up into Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Apabhraṃśa.[73] Daṇḍin invokes a metaphor to make the status of this division clear: it is the "body of literature" (*śarīraṃ kāvyānāṃ*) that can be analyzed in terms of language, in contrast to "ornaments" (*alaṅkāraḥ*), the term under which the tradition had gathered figures of sound and sense and which supplied the title of Bhāmaha's work.[74] The body of literature was textuality itself, "what was made of language" (*vāṅmayam*), which in Daṇḍin's scheme was "predominantly Sanskrit, Prakrit, or Apabhraṃśa, or mixed."[75]

The "body of literature" was a metaphor of substance as opposed to accident: a text without figuration was plain, and perhaps not even literature, but a text without language was impossible. It was also a metaphor of unity. So long as "the whole of literature" is conceived as an "organic unity of the highest order"—a unity that the discourse of poetics presupposed and sought to theorize—then the languages in which literature subsists can be thought to constitute an "organic unity" as well.[76] Rājaśekhara's famous image of "literature man" (*kāvyapuruṣa-*) is a reinterpretation of Daṇḍin's metaphor which makes the "four languages" (Daṇḍin's three with the addition of Paiśācī) into actual body parts: Sanskrit is the face, Prakrit the arms, Apabhraṃśa the groin, and Paiśācī the feet.[77]

The "three languages" served as a top-level classification of literature. The word "predominantly" (*bhūyaḥ*) in Daṇḍin's formulation does not mean that literary works may rarely be composed in other languages; it means that every single literary work is either predominantly composed in one of the three languages—which Pollock has therefore called "primary languages"—or, in the case of the theater,

---

[73]   *Ornament of Literature* 1.16*cd*: *saṃskṛtaṃ prākṛtaṃ cānyad apabhraṃśa iti tridhā.*

[74]   *Mirror of Literature* 1.10: *taiḥ śarīraṃ ca kāvyānāmalaṅkāraśca darśitaḥ | śarīraṃ tāvadiṣṭārthavyavacchinnā padāvalī ||.*

[75]   *Mirror of Literature* 1.32: *tad idaṃ vāṅmayaṃ bhūyaḥ saṃskṛtaṃ prākṛtaṃ tathā | apabhraṃśaś ca miśraṃ cety āhur āptāś caturvidham ||.*

[76]   See Bakhtin (1981: 4).

[77]   See *Analysis of Literature* pp.  5–10, and compare *Vāgbhaṭa's Ornament* (*Vāgbhaṭālaṅkāra*) 2.1 (influenced by Rājaśekhara's formulation): *saṃskṛtaṃ prākṛtaṃ tasyāpabhraṃśo bhūtabhāsitam | iti bhāṣāś catasro 'pi yānti kāvyasya kāyatām ||.*

involves a tightly-constrained "mixture" of languages.[78] Bhāmaha implicitly and Daṇḍin explicitly map these languages onto literary genres.[79]

To enumerate, according to a well-known principle of Vedic hermeneutics, is to exclude.[80] Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa never fully comprehended the domain of language practices, even textual language practices, at any point in Indian history. We can make sense of this apparent disconnect between theory and practice by highlighting two related features of enumerative totalities in general.

First, they are totalizing representations rather than representations of a totality. Take, for example, the story of Guṇāḍhya's renunciation of the "three languages" related in the *Ocean of the Rivers of Story*, a 12th-century collection of tales in the tradition of the *Great Story*, of which Guṇāḍhya himself is thought to be the author. Guṇāḍhya loses a bet with his colleague Śarvavarman about how long it will take to teach Sanskrit grammar to King Sātavāhana, and in consequence he gives up "Sanskrit, Prakrit, and the regional language, the three languages that are possible for human beings."[81] This leads him to learn "the fourth language," that of inhuman ghouls called Piśācas, while living with them in the forest (see p. 198).[82] This story uses the rhetoric of *n*-ary structures to make the "three languages" representative of human culture as a whole, in contrast to the "fourth" language, which represents its very opposite.[83] Despite the claim that they represent all of human culture, the figure

---

[78] Pollock (2006b: 112). Ratnaśrījñāna interprets the word *bhūyaḥ* to simply mean "moreover" (*punaḥ*, which may be right; the point about "primary languages" stands.

[79] *Ornament of Literature* 1.30ab: *anibaddhaṃ punar gāthāślokamātrādi tat punaḥ* (note that *gāthā*s are in Prakrit, *śloka*s are in Sanskrit, and *mātrā*s are in Apabhraṃśa); *Mirror of Literature* 1.37: *saṃskṛtaṃ sargabandhādi prākṛtam skandhakādi yat | osarādir apabhraṃśo nāṭakādi tu miśrakam ||.*

[80] *Mīmāṃsā Sūtra* 1.2.42 (*parisaṃkhyā*).

[81] *Ocean of the Rivers of Story* 1.6.147–148: *śrutvaivaitad asaṃbhāvyaṃ tam avocam ahaṃ ruṣā | ṣaḍbhir māsais tvayā devaḥ śikṣitaś cet tato mayā || saṃskṛtaṃ prākṛtaṃ tadvad deśabhāṣā ca sarvadā | bhāṣātrayam idaṃ tyaktaṃ yan manuṣyeṣu saṃbhavet ||.* Konow (1894: 477) was one of the first to appreciate the importance of this passage.

[82] The language of the ghouls is called the "fourth" at *Ocean of the Rivers of Story* 1.7.29, when Guṇāḍhya greets Kaṇabhūti (*dṛṣṭvā tvāṃ svāgataṃ kṛtvā caturthyā bhūtabhāṣayā*).

[83] Malamoud (1981: 36) showed that the final element is a "residue defined negatively by the absence of a characteristic

187

of the "three languages" foregrounds Sanskrit and Prakrit and thus represents human culture from a privileged, educated, and courtly perspective. His story transforms the languages of the Sātavāhana court into the languages of literary culture and then into the languages of human civilization.

Rājaśekhara makes the same point even more clearly: "The language of the gods is worth hearing, and the Prakrit languages are naturally sweet. Apabhraṃśa is very pleasant, and there are choice works in the language of the ghouls. There are different paths, but these are the ones that are preferred. The one who writes in all of these is indeed a master poet."[84] There are more languages than those enumerated in the schema, but these four are the only ones that matter. Nor do all four matter equally. Rājaśekhara called himself "skilled in all languages," but he did not write any significant works in Apabhraṃśa or Paiśācī.[85] He advanced his claim to total expertise on the basis of his Prakrit compositions: for many poets could write in Sanskrit, but few—perhaps even none—had attempted to write an entire play in Prakrit, as Rājaśekhara did. Sanskrit and Prakrit metonymically represented the totality of literary languages, and even if Sanskrit remained Rājaśekhara's preferred medium, Prakrit represented for him the seldom-gained summit of literary expertise.

Second, the enumerative totality is an integrated unity. Daṇḍin was more concerned than Bhāmaha to demonstrate that the languages of the schema were internally related. Perhaps this is because, as a resident of Kāñcīpuram in the Tamil country in the early 8th century, he was exposed to different literary cultures that each had their own linguistic parameters. Daṇḍin offers the standard threefold classification that systematically relates Prakrit to Sanskrit, and under the category of "Prakrit" he

---

common to the first three terms." His example is the list of *varṇa*s, where the fourth *varṇa*, the Śūdra, is defined by the absence of the ritual entitlements that make each of the first three *varṇa*s "twice-born."

[84]  *giraḥ śravyā divyāḥ prakṛtimadhurāḥ prākṛtadhurāḥ subhavyo 'pabhraṃśaḥ sarasaracanaṃ bhūtavacanam | vibhinnāḥ panthānaḥ kim api kamanīyāś ca ta ime nibaddhā yas tv eṣāṃ sa khalu nikhile 'smin kavivṛṣā ||* (Cited in the introduction to the *Analysis of Literature*, p. XLIII; it is also quoted by Bhoja at *Necklace of Sarasvatī* 2.17, p. 143).

[85]  *Karpūramañjarī* p. 3: *savva-bhāsā-cadureṇa*. I doubt that Rājaśekhara had ever personally seen a single work in the language he called Paiśācī.

188

explicitly groups the manifold languages of "literature seen" (*dṛśyakāvya-*) with the unitary language of "literature heard" (*śravyakāvya-*). Daṇḍin represented the latter not simply as Prakrit but as a variety of Prakrit associated with the region of Mahārāṣṭra, where some of the classics of Prakrit literature were composed. Yet by regionalizing Prakrit in this way, and turning it into "Mahārāṣṭrī," he allowed it to fit within the model of "regional languages" first sketched in the *Treatise on Theater*. Daṇḍin may have been following earlier discussions, but his own discussion proved enormously influential.[86] This maneuver simultaneously turned "Prakrit" into "a Prakrit," and opened the designation of "Prakrit" to an open-ended list of other languages. At the same time, Daṇḍin restricts this designation to languages that are "similar" (*tādṛśī*) to Śaurasenī, Gauḍī, and Lāṭī—notionally covering the northern midlands, the Ganges plain in the east, and present-day Gujarat in the west—and then only in the context of representing conversations (*vyavahāreṣu*) in plays.[87] The "preeminent Prakrit," Mahārāṣṭrī, remains the only "primary" language in the reordered class.

Within the literary culture whose practices it schematizes, the figure of the "three languages" was widely understood to be total in these senses. Uddyotana's Prakrit novel *Kuvalayamālā* (778 CE) furnishes an important example in which Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa represent all of the languages that are "possible among human beings." Dhanadeva is a merchant who has been shipwrecked in a distant land, and after escaping cannibals and man-eating birds, he finally finds a quiet place in the forest to rest. He falls asleep under a tree, but immediately wakes up to the chattering of the ghouls (*piśāca*s) who inhabit the forest. It takes him some time to identify the language that he hears, because he needs to compare it to Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Apabhraṃśa before finally deciding that it must be the "the fourth one, the language of the ghouls" (*caütthā bhāsā pesāyā*):

---

[86]    *Mirror of Literature* 1.34: *mahārāṣṭrāśrayāṃ bhāṣāṃ prakṛṣṭaṃ prākṛtaṃ viduḥ | sāgaraḥ sūktaratnānāṃ setubandhādi yanmayam ||*.

[87]    *Mirror of Literature* 1.35: *saurasenī ca gauḍī ca lāṭī cānyā tādṛśī | yāti prākṛtam ity eva vyavahāreṣu sannidhim ||*. See Pollock (2006b: 91).

He listened and thought: "Wait a minute. What is this language that I hear being spoken? Hmm. Well, it can't be Sanskrit, because that is harsh like the heart of a wicked person, difficult to understand with its hundreds of horrible options for forming all of the different words, compounds, indeclinables, prefixes, case endings, and genders. And this isn't like that. So could it be Prakrit? Hmm, that's not it, either, because that is pleasant like the words of good people, made up of the nectar that streams forth when great men churn the ocean of life that constantly surges with the waves of all learning, with compositions of various types that perfectly join their sounds and words together. And this certainly isn't like that. So might it be Apabhraṃśa, then? Hmm, it's not that either, because that is a mountain stream that gushes with floodwaters from the downpours of the first springtime clouds, rolling and swelling with the steady and unsteady waves that are the words of Sanskrit and Prakrit both pure and combined, alluringly harsh and gentle like the words of a lover in playful anger. And this isn't like that at all..."[88]

The basic principle of this representation is the opposition between Sanskrit and Prakrit. Sanskrit is the sum of its grammatical parts much in the way that Latin was an assemblage of third-person passives and ablative plurals to generations of British schoolchildren, and associated with the tedium and terror of learning those distinctions. Prakrit, the language in which Uddyotana composed the *Kuvalayamālā*, is not necessarily natural and spontaneous, but it is figured as more closely aligned with lived experience, and thus more pleasant and more appropriate to literary compositions. There is an ethical difference, too: Sanskrit is aligned with wicked people—perhaps the sanctimonious and hypocritical Brahmans that Uddyotana's teacher, Haribhadra Sūri, lampooned in his *Rogue Stories*— while Prakrit is cultivated by good people, preeminent among whom are Jain monks like Uddyotana

---

[88] *Kuvalayamālā* p. 70, §137: *āyaṇṇiūṇa ya ciṃtiyaṃ ṇeṇa, 'are, kayarīe uṇa bhāsāe eyaṃ ullaviyaï keṇāvi kiṃ pi? hūṃ, are sakkayaṃ tāva ṇa hoi. jeṇa taṃ aṇeya-paya-samāsa-ṇivāovasagga-vibhatti-liṃga-pariyappaṇā-kuviyappa-saya-duggamaṃ dujjaṇa-hiyayaṃ piva visamaṃ. imaṃ puṇa ṇa erisaṃ. tā kiṃ pāyayaṃ hojja? hum, taṃ pi ṇo, jeṇa taṃ sayala-kalā-kalāva-mālā-jala-kallola-saṃkula-loya-vuttaṃta-mahoyahi-mahāpurisa-mahaṇuggayāmaya-ṇīsaṃda-biṃdu-saṃdohaṃ saṃgghaḍiya-ekkekkama-vaṇṇa-paya-ṇāṇārūva-virayaṇā-sahaṃ sajjaṇa-vayaṇaṃ piva suha-saṃgayaṃ. eyaṃ puṇa ṇa suṭṭhu. tā kiṃ puṇa avahaṃsaṃ hohii? hūṃ, taṃ pi ṇo, jeṇa sakkaya-pāyaobhaya-suddhāsuddha-paya-sama-visama-taraṃga-raṃgata-vaggiraṃ ṇava-pāusa-jalaya-pavāha-pūra-pavvāliya-giri-ṇai-sarisaṃ sama-visamaṃ paṇaya-kuviya-piya-paṇaïṇī-samullāva-sarisaṃ maṇoharaṃ. eyaṃ puṇa ṇa suṭṭhu...'*

190

himself.[89] Apabhraṃśa is not represented as an entirely distinct third language but as a recombination of Sanskrit and Prakrit.

Uddyotana is well aware that other kinds of languages exist; he even represents a number of "regional languages" in a market scene later on in the novel.[90] But the "three languages" are the languages of the court—as the description of the court of Dṛḍhavarman shows—and the languages of the literary culture that Uddyotana himself, and the protagonists of his novel, participated in.[91]

Svayambhū offers another compelling metaphor of totality in the introduction to his *Deeds of Padma* (9th c.). There, he compares the Rāma story to a great river that has flowed throughout the generations, and he compares the two banks of the river to Sanskrit and Prakrit. This is likely a reference to his predecessors, Vimala's *Deeds of Padma* in Prakrit and Raviṣeṇa's *Legend of Padma* in Sanskrit: the literary tradition prior to Svayambhū is divided into just two languages in the same way that a river has just two banks.[92]

A final example of what the enumerative totality represents can be drawn from a passage in Bilhaṇa's *Deeds of King Vikramāṅka*, composed in 11th-century Karnataka but looking back in the following excerpt on the poet's home town in Kashmir:

> What can I say about Pravarapura?
> It's a source of wonder,
> filling the ears with the nectar of so many marvellous stories,
> where the Sanskrit and Prakrit languages
> resound in every single house
> as if they were the mother-languages
> even of women, to say nothing else.[93]

---

[89]  It is not certain that the author of *Rogue Stories* (*Dhūrtākhyāna*) is identical to the Haribhadra that Uddyotana identifies as his teacher.

[90]  *Kuvalayamālā* pp. 152–153 (§246). Other examples are given in Upadhye's useful introductory note (pp. 77*ff.*).

[91]  *Kuvayalamālā* p. 16, §40: *keettha pāyaya-pāḍhayā, keittha sakkaya-pāḍhayā, aṇṇe avabbhaṃsa-jāṇiṇo.*

[92]  *Deeds of Padma* 1.2.3: *sakkaẏa-pāẏaẏa-puliṇālaṅkiẏa* (sc. *rāmakahā-ṇaï eha kamāgaẏa* at the beginning of this *kaḍavaka*).

Here Sanskrit and Prakrit form a binary structure that contrasts with the *janma-bhāṣā*s, literally "birth languages," that one might have expected housewives to speak. This binary represents "culture" with all of the tensions and aspirations of the English word: the "works and practices" in general that define us as members of a group, and those of intellectual and artistic creativity in particular.[94]

## Iterability

The distinctions that operate over a schema as a whole can be reinscribed onto its constituent parts. This process of iteration results in fractal representations, rather than the *n*-ary representations we have surveyed in the preceding sections. In contrast to the diachronic expansion of a schema through the introduction of new distinctions, the iteration of existing distinctions is synchronic. The representations produced by iteration run parallel to each other, while those produced by expansion follow upon each other in history.

Apabhraṃśa furnishes the major example of iteration within the language order of classical India. The term "Apabhraṃśa" itself, meaning "deviation," has a longer history than either "Sanskrit" or "Prakrit" in Indian discourses on language. Patañjali used it as a synonym for incorrect words, and his usage was recognized by Daṇḍin: "with reference to scientific works, anything other than Sanskrit is called Apabhraṃśa."[95] The qualification is necessary because, by Daṇḍin's time, Apabhraṃśa had acquired a more specific meaning. It referred to a literary language besides Sanskrit and Prakrit, and thus Daṇḍin defines Apabhraṃśa, with reference to literary works, as "the language of people such

---

93  *Deeds of King Vikramāṅka* 18.6: *brūmaḥ sārasvata-kula-bhuvaḥ kiṃ nidheḥ kautukānāṃ tasyānekādbhuta-guṇa-kathā-kīrṇa-karṇāmṛtasya | yatra strīṇām api kim aparaṃ janma-bhāṣāvad eva pratyāvāsaṃ vilasati vacaḥ saṃskṛtaṃ prākṛtaṃ ca ||.*

94  Adapted from Williams (1983: 90).

95  *Mirror of Literature* 1.36*cd*: *śāstre tu saṃskṛtād anyad apabhraṃśatayoditam.* The best short introduction to Apabhraṃśa is Bhayani (1989); Siṃh (1971 [1952]) includes a more comprehensive survey.

as the Ābhīras." The Ābhīras were a group who came to political prominence in the twilight of the Sātavāhana empire, around the mid-3ʳᵈ c. CE, but Daṇḍin's statement provides all we know about their association with Apabhraṃśa as a literary language.[96] It is significant that this newcomer into the field of literary languages was given the very name that was formerly used to denominate all non-Sanskrit language practices. Prakrit was Apabhraṃśa, in this basic sense of a "deviation," before Apabhraṃśa was Apabhraṃśa. In other words, Apabhraṃśa slid into the position in the language order occupied by Prakrit. Not only that, it was imagined and represented in very much the same way as Prakrit was. Daṇḍin's commentator Ratnaśrījñāna (10ᵗʰ century) mentions a tradition that analyzed Apabhraṃśa into exactly the same four categories into which earlier teachers had divided Prakrit.[97]

Apabhraṃśa is thus seen as the result of a kind of mitosis of Prakrit. This representation aligns with the relationship between Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa in practice, for these languages often occupy the same discursive space: works in Apabhraṃśa include prologues in Prakrit; Prakrit anthologies include verses in Apabhraṃśa; Apabhraṃśa verse forms were used occasionally in Prakrit, Prakrit verse forms were used abundantly in Apabhraṃśa; the same authors composed works in both languages. Abdul Rahman, the 13ᵗʰ-century author of the *Message Poem* (*Sandeśarāsaka*) in Apabhraṃśa, expressly represents himself as a Prakrit poet, and for good reason: not only does the *Message Poem* include several Prakrit *gāthā*s, but it engages with Prakrit intertexts at nearly every turn.[98] It is with some justice, then, that Herman Tieken has sought to see Apabhraṃśa as "a Prakrit," by which he means that Apabhraṃśa literature is essentially Prakrit literature written in a different language.[99]

Another clear example of iteration comes from the way that Abhinavagupta understood the

---

[96]  *Mirror of Literature* 1.36*ab*: *ābhīrādigiraḥ kāvyeṣv apabhraṃśa iti smṛtāḥ*. For the Ābhīras, see Sircar (1939: 242).

[97]  See Ratnaśrījñāna on *Mirror of Literature* 1.36 (p. 25): *apabhraṃśo 'pi prākṛtavac caturdhā smaryate. yad uktam— śabdabhavaṃ śabdasamaṃ deśīyaṃ sarvaśabdasāmānyam | prākṛtavad apabhraṃśaṃ jānīhi caturvidham āhitam || iti.*

[98]  *Message Poem*, vv. 4, 6 (see fn. 22 on p. 11).

[99]  Tieken (2008).

categories of language laid out in the *Treatise on Theater*. What Bharata calls a "language" (*bhāṣā*) is a deviation (*apabhraṃśaḥ*) from Sanskrit, and what Bharata calls a "sublanguage" (*vibhāṣā*) is a deviation (*apabhraṃśaḥ*) from a language.[100] Another example might be drawn from the use of the concept in Prakrit grammar. In this discourse, Sanskrit figured as the archetype (*prakṛti-*) and Prakrit as the ectype (*vikṛti-*): Prakrit words were derived from Sanskrit words by a set of transformational rules. When Prakrit grammar grew to encompass the languages of the theater, Śaurasenī and Māgadhī occupied the position of ectypes in relation to Prakrit, which was repositioned as an archetype. Just as in the *Treatise on Theater*'s typology, a procedure of derivation connects Sanskrit to Prakrit, and the same procedure connects Prakrit to Śaurasenī and Māgadhī. In the influential grammar composed by Hemacandra, the *Siddhahemacandra*, the final stop on this itinerary is Apabhraṃśa. Iteration within this schema comes to an end with Apabhraṃśa, perhaps because Apabhraṃśa—whatever specific practices this term referred to—is always axiomatically configured as the furthest stop away from the starting-point that is Sanskrit. The same logic operates in the eastern Prakrit grammars, for example in Mārkaṇḍeya's *Sum-Total of Prakrit*, although here it is the *paiśācika* languages that are the last stop, after *bhāṣā*s, *vibhāṣā*s, and *apabhraṃśa*s.

The scope of Bhoja's discussion of language in his *Illumination of the Erotic*, like the *Siddhahemacandra* which is modelled on it, is the totality of literary culture.[101] But whereas Hemacandra represents each successive language as a transformation of the preceding, Bhoja proceeds by iterative divisions. His starting point is the "three languages." Regarding Apabhraṃśa, Bhoja simply arranges six regional (or notionally-regional) varieties under the subdivisions of "high," "middle," and "low." Regarding Prakrit, Bhoja synthesizes two existing classifications, one which recognized a number of "regional" varieties of Prakrit (Śaurasenī, Māgadhī, etc.), and one which classified Prakrit

---

[100]  *New Dramatic Art* p. 376. One of the "sublanguages" is Ābhīrī, which is named for one of the same communities with which Daṇḍin would later associate literary Apabhraṃśa.

[101]  See *Illumination of the Erotic* 3, pp. 164–166 (translated at Pollock 2006b: 581–582).

words on the basis of their derivational distance from Sanskrit (*tatsama-*, *tadbhava-*, *deśya-*; see p. 178). Bhoja's "Prakrit" is divided into "natural" (*sahajam*), "derived" (*lakṣitam*), and "distorted" (*śliṣṭam*). The first category is for a kind of language that is independent of grammar, either because it is identical to Sanskrit (*saṃskṛta-samam*) or because it has no relationship to Sanskrit at all (*deśyam*); the second includes the main varieties of Prakrit which are grammatically derived from Sanskrit, *mahārāṣṭram* and *śaurasenam*; the third includes languages which are more distant from Sanskrit (such as *māgadham*) or at least more obscure to the grammarian (such as *paiśācam*); the latter are similar in status to the *Treatise on Theater*'s "sublanguages," in that they are second-order deviations.

The principle of iteration explains why the representations of language we encounter in Indian texts, although they do differ from each other, differ in systematic and tightly-constrained ways. We can formulate for them a set of "implicational universals," a term that linguists use to describe the necessary occurrence of one feature given another feature. If a representation distinguishes two languages, then one of them must be Sanskrit. If it distinguishes three, then Sanskrit and Prakrit must be two of the three. And if it distinguishes more than three, then it must include Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Apabhraṃśa. These implications build in some latitude, since there is always at least one indeterminate slot, but the other slots are determined by the schema under analysis here.

## The Half-language

To say that the schema described above is archetypal is, in the first place, to recognize its primacy in ordering language practices over a vast domain of textual production. In fact, the large-scale formation that has been described as "classical India," and more recently as the "Sanskrit cosmopolis," can be reframed in terms of these ordered language practices: it is the world in which textuality is governed by the schema of cofiguration of Sanskrit and Prakrit. It is not simply the world in which these specific languages are employed, but the world in which the use of these languages is essentially linked to the

195

exercise and maintenance of culture-power. As Sheldon Pollock has argued at length, this was not only, and perhaps not even primarily, due to military conquest, colonization, trade, or the spread of religious ideas.[102] Absolutely essential to the determination of Sanskrit and Prakrit as languages of culture-power were schematic representations such as we have seen in this chapter.

Prakrit has generally been omitted from this story, as the very phrase "Sanskrit cosmopolis" suggests. But once we recognize that languages are constituted as what they are only within larger structures that I call language orders, we must recognize also that Sanskrit depends on Prakrit and *vice versa*, both historically and conceptually. As I have tried to show, the words Sanskrit and Prakrit only come to be used to designate language practices in around the 1st c. CE, and are used to designate them contrastively within a new sphere of literary textuality whose limits they jointly define. Apabhraṃśa appears somewhat later, but when it does, it appears within the framework already established by the opposition, identity, and totality of Sanskrit and Prakrit. Textuality in the Sanskrit cosmopolis was never simply Sanskrit textuality, but it was configured by the identity-in-difference of Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Apabhraṃśa.

This schema is archetypal in the further sense that it admits of modifications. Arguably, the language order it describes was only uprooted and replaced by European colonialism. This leaves more than 1500 years of language practices that were subsumed under a wide variety of schemas that can generally be seen as ectypal modifications of the archetypal schema presented above, as well as language practices that remained more-or-less outside of the unified language order or constituted a kind of counterpart to it. Śrīnātha, the 14th/15th c. Telugu poet, can serve as a good example of both. In composing literature in Telugu at all, he was certainly breaking away from the model of the "three languages." He was, however, not rejecting it but extending it. He styled himself a "lord among poets in the eight languages." The following sections will explain how the schema was extended from

---

[102]  Pollock (2006b: 133).

three to eight, but for the moment it will suffice to note that Śrīnātha includes among these languages Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Apabhraṃśa alongside Telugu. Despite this expansion, a number of important language practices remained unintegrated in his schema, above all those introduced by the Bahmani Sultans just to the west: Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. Śrīnātha is well aware of these languages, and praises one of his patrons for his mastery of them, but does not—and perhaps cannot—integrate them into a single representational schema with the "eight languages."[103]

These concluding sections will examine just two modifications of the archetypal schema: the addition of Paiśācī as a "half-language," and later as a full language, alongside Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Apabhraṃśa; and the expansion of this schema of three and a half or four languages into the enduring schema of six languages. I focus on these modifications in particular because the first illustrates the power of the schema to conjure an entire language from nothing, as it were, and the second represents a major redetermination of Prakrit as a concept and as a category.[104]

All the way in Cambodia, around 900 CE, the king Yaśovarman I was described on an inscription as "a Guṇāḍhya who hates Prakrit" (*guṇāḍhyaḥ prākṛtāpriyaḥ*), a contradiction which resolves to "rich in virtues and no lover of what is base."[105] Guṇāḍhya was the author of the *Great Story* (*Bṛhatkathā*), which has been called one of the three streams of Sarasvatī alongside the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[106] The *Great Story* itself, however, is lost: all we have are retellings in Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Tamil.[107]

---

[103]  Narayana Rao (1995: 34–35).

[104]  For a longer discussion of Paiśācī, see Ollett (2014), the key points of which are summarized here; the major contributions to the question include Grierson (1906); Lacôte (1908); Master (1943); Sani (1985); von Hinüber (1981), and von Hinüber (1985).

[105]  Barth (1885: 277 [457], LVIII C15).

[106]  See Govardhana, *Seven Centuries of Āryās*, v. xxxiv: *śrīrāmāyaṇabhāratabṛhatkathānām kavīn namaskurmaḥ | trisrotā iva sarasā sarasvatī sphurati yair bhinnā ||*.

[107]  In Sanskrit: the *Ocean of the Rivers of Story* (*Kathāsaritsāgara*) by Somadeva, the *Cluster of Blossoms from the Great Story* (*Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*) by Kṣemendra, and *Verse Summary of the Great Story* (*Bṛhatkathāślokasaṅgraha*) by Budhasvāmin, for all of which see Lacôte (1908). In Tamil: the *Great Story* (*Peruṅkatai*), for which see Vijayalakshmy (1978, 1981, 1982). In Prakrit: the *Wanderings of Vasudeva* (*Vasudevahiṇḍi*) by Saṅghadāsa, for which see Jain (1977).

It seems to be always already translated, for the earliest mention of it in the sources available to us is an inscription in which the Gaṅga king Durvinīta claims to have rendered it into Sanskrit.[108] Yaśovarman's reference to Guṇāḍhya might lead us to think that the *Great Story* was composed in Prakrit. But Daṇḍin seems to have considered it an exception to the rules of textuality he himself enunciated. Stories (*kathā*), he tells us in the *Mirror of Literature*, are composed in all languages but most commonly in Sanskrit. The exception is "the wonderous *Great Story*, which is composed in *bhūtabhāṣā*."[109]

There has been an enormous amount of discussion about what this *bhūtabhāṣā* was and what its characteristics were. In a maneuver that will by now be familiar, scholars have attempted to identify this language with the spoken vernacular of one or another group. The crucial maneuver has been the identification of Daṇḍin's *bhūtabhāṣā* with the language that ghouls (*piśācas*) are imagined to speak and are, on a few occasions, represented as speaking. The identification with *bhūtabhāṣā* with Paiśācī, as this imaginary language was so called, rests on the interpretation of the compound as a "language of the dead." But I believe that Daṇḍin meant to describe the language of the *Great Story* as a "dead language": a language of the literary past. This *bhūtabhāṣā* was neither Sanskrit nor Prakrit nor Apabhraṃśa. It was incompatible, for reasons that are lost to us, with the principles of textuality that governed the classical language order, and that is why the only text ever known to have been composed in this language, the *Great Story*, seems to have always been known through translations.

The earliest Kannada authors present a schema that distinguishes between Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Kannada. But in the 10th century, a number of authors designated Paiśācī as a "half language."[110] It is

---

[108] Uttanūr plates of Durvinīta (Ramesh 1984: 82): *devabhāratīnibaddhavaḍḍhakathena*.

[109] *Mirror of Literature* 1.38*cd*: *bhūtabhāṣāmayīṃ tv āhur adbhutārthā bṛhatkathā*.

[110] Ponna in his *Śāntipurāṇa* (*nōḍire pēḷva mūṟuvare bhāṣegaḷam*; see Rice 1882: 301) and Nāgavarman in his *Ocean of Meters*: *saṃskṛtaṃ prākṛtam apabhraṃśaṃ paiśācikam emba mūṟuvare bhāṣegaḷoḷ* (Master 1943: 43–44; Pollock 2006b: 370. As Master notes, the *Royal Road for Poets* of the preceding century only distinguished between Sanskrit, Prakrit, Old Kannada (*paḷagannaḍa*) and Kannada (*kannaḍa*), cf. v. 1.41: *sakkadamuṃ pāgadamum ad- akkuṃ bagedante*

"half" a language precisely in the sense that Daṇḍin suggests: important literature has been composed in it, but unlike the "three languages," no new literature could be composed in it. But does their use of the word Paiśācī suggest that it was really thought of as the language of goblins?

I argued that the appearance of Paiśācī within schemas of language after Daṇḍin's time was the result of a literary joke gone wrong—or perhaps gone right. Uddyotana Sūri tells us that he included some passages in languages other than Prakrit in the *Kuvalayamālā* "for fun" (*koūhaleṇa*).[111] In a scene I've already mentioned (p. 189) the merchant Dhanadeva finds himself surrounded on a desert island by a horde of ghouls (*piśāya*s) who speak ghoulish (*pesāyā*). The language of this scene might plausibly be modelled on that of the *Great Story*, as a dead language that Uddyotana cleverly repurposed as the language of the undead. The Kashmiri retellings of the *Great Story* in the 11th c. say that Guṇāḍhya composed the work in ghoulish, precisely because he took a vow that prevented him from using the three languages current among men (see p. 187), but significantly this detail is absent in all of the earlier retellings of the story, and in my view it reflects a retrospective identification of the dead language in which the work was composed as the language that Uddyotana calls Paiśācī. Whatever the truth is, Paiśācī went from being a non-language in the enumerative schemas of the 7th/8th centuries to being a half-language, and later on a full language, in subsequent representations. And although being counted as a language did not necessarily mean that literature was written in it, Uddyotana's experiment would be repeated by later authors.

---

*samaṟi pēḻal.*

[111] *Kuvayamālā* §7, p. 4 l. 12: *koūhaleṇa katthaï para-vayaṇa-vaseṇa sakkaya-ṇibaddhā | kiṃci avabbhaṃsa-kayā dāviya-pesāya-bhāsillā ||.*

# The Six Languages

The transformation of Paiśācī from non-language to language is just one part of an important refiguring of language practices that took place shortly before the 9th c.: the threefold schema of Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa was replaced by a sixfold schema that added Śaurasenī, Māgadhī, and Paiśācī. The earliest text to exhibit this refiguration is Rudraṭa's *Ornament of Literature*, composed in Kashmir in the early 9th century.[112] Śaurasenī and Māgadhī, as we saw above (p. 181), were used exclusively in the theater, which had in the generations before Rudraṭa become the analytical focus of Kashmiri theorists of Sanskrit literature. As is well-known, during the reign of Jayāpīḍa (779–813), Bhaṭṭa Udbhaṭa began a tradition of studying and commenting upon the *Treatise on Theater* in Kashmir. The shift in focus to "literature seen" (*dṛśyakāvya-*), as opposed to "literature heard" (*śravyakāvya-*), entailed a shift of focus from monoglossic to polyglossic genres. In the theater, language was not predetermined by genre, but could be an object of choice and purposeful manipulation.

One of the principal techniques of language manipulation is *bhāṣāśleṣa*, in which a verse is spoken in two or more languages at the same time, either with the same meaning or with different meanings.[113] This provides a way of manipulating the language assignments in a play—for instance, a character who is "supposed" to speak Sanskrit may speak Prakrit and *vice versa*—as well as a clever way of saying two different things to two notionally different groups of people.[114] But it also provides a way of surreptitiously modifying the language of a composition in "literature heard," which otherwise does not

---

[112] *Ornament of Literature* 2.12: *prākṛta-saṃskṛta-māgadha-piśācabhāṣāś ca sūrasenī | ṣaṣṭho 'tra bhūribhedo deśaviśeṣād apabhraṃśaḥ ||*. See Jacobi (1918: 81*), who also noted that Rudraṭa was the first to express the idea of the "six languages".

[113] See Hahn (2012), and see the verse of Bhavabhūti cited above (fn. 68).

[114] One of Bhoja's examples (*Necklace of Sarasvatī* 2 ex. 164) praises Viṣṇu (in Sanskrit) and Śiva (in Paiśācī) simultaneously: *rucirañjitārihetiṃ jananamitaṃ sāmakāyamakalaṅkam | santamamitaṃ ca mānaya kamalāsanamabhivirājantam ||* (for a translation see Ollett 2014: 444–445).

admit of such changes. Hence we find *bhāṣāśleṣa* verses in works such as Bhaṭṭi's *Poem* and Śivasvāmi's *Rise of Kapphiṇa*. Bhoja's discussion of the "type" of language (*jāti-*) in his *Necklace of Sarasvatī* reflects this new theoretical orientation according to which language is an object of choice, and therefore something about which judgements of propriety (*aucitya-*) can be rendered. This represents a major departure from Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin. For Rudraṭa and Bhoja, language does not just constitute the "body" of literature but could itself become an "adornment."

Rudraṭa's "six languages" provided the basis for a new kind of linguistic knowledge that was textualized in the form of the multilingual grammar. The earliest datable text that might be called a multilingual grammar is in fact Namisādhu's commentary on the *Ornament*, completed in 1069. While commenting on Rudraṭa's exposition of the "six languages," Namisādhu provides a short description of each of them, referring to rules that he has either taken from earlier grammars (perhaps Harivṛddha's lost, which he quotes elsewhere) or inferred from actual texts (such as Uddyotana's *Kuvalayamālā* in the case of Paiśācī). Other multilingual grammars from around this time include the "expanded" version of the *Light on Prakrit*, with chapters on Śaurasenī, Māgadhī, and Paiśācī (see p. 218), and Kramadīśvara's *Distilled Essence*. The most complete and most influential grammar of this type was Hemacandra's *Siddhahemacandra* (mid-12th century), which adopts Rudraṭa's "six languages" as its organizing principle and defines Sanskrit, Prakrit, Śaurasenī, Māgadhī, Paiśācī, and Apabhraṃśa in turn. For most authors after Hemacandra, that there were six languages was common knowledge.[115]

---

[115] This common knowledge is contained in the following verse: *saṃskṛtaṃ prākṛtaṃ caivāpabhraṃśo 'tha piśācikī | māgadhī śaurasenī ca ṣaḍbhāṣāś ca prakīrtitāḥ ||*. It appears in some manuscripts of the *Definition of Prakrit* (*Prākṛtalakṣaṇa*)ascribed to Caṇḍa (see Hoernle's ed., p. 52) as well as Amaracandra's *Commentary on the Wish-Granting Vine of Literature* (*Kāvyakalpalatāvṛtti*, p. 8).

# Conclusions

The schema that I have presented in this chapter underlies the representation of language in classical India. It supplies the basic categories—including the languages themselves—and calibrates a complex set of relations, constituting a framework within which language can be thought. The overall picture that emerges from this schema should now be clear. Sanskrit and Prakrit are mutually constitutive languages, closely related to each other but contrasted across a number of dimensions. Even further from Sanskrit in the direction of Prakrit is Apabhraṃśa. These three languages form a coherent unity. They are the only languages in which literature can be composed, and they thus represent the linguistic parameters of a literary culture.

This picture closely matches the actual practices of literature from the 2nd to the 9th century, from Kashmir to the Kaveri river. This picture has two particularities, in comparison with later imaginations of language in South Asia, that I will simply note here; many other particularities could be discerned if the comparative lens were turned to literary cultures outside of South Asia. The first is that language is imagined as monocentric. It does not matter whether Sanskrit or Prakrit is taken to be the center, since they are imagined to be identical at a deeper level in any case. The word Prakrit itself suggests a relationship to a single "source" (*prakṛti-*). On this model, all languages are related to each other through the central source. There is no possibility of a polycentric language order of the kind that the Pāṇṭiya rulers of the area around Maturai in Tamil Nadu fashioned in the 9th century, in which Sanskrit and Tamil were accorded something approaching equal status and authority.[116] The second particularity is that vernacular textuality is not just absent but unthinkable within this schema. There is plenty of evidence that Prakrit and especially Apabhraṃśa were thought of as regional languages (*deśabhāṣā*s). This does necessarily imply that regional languages as we understand them were in

---

[116] See Tieken (2001) on the invention of a Tamil literary tradition under the Pāṇṭiyas. This marks a radical break with preceding language practices and linguistic imaginaries, despite claims that "political Tamil" existed under the Pallavas as well (Francis 2013).

turn thought of as Prakrit or Apabhraṃśa: as the following two chapters show, regional languages were indeed represented as Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa, but this was part of the process of vernacular literarization that took place centuries after the foundations of the Sanskrit cosmopolis, including the archetypal schema of its language order, had been laid.[117]  For much of the first millennium, the regional was not conceived as a source of authority or legitimacy in itself, but was rather defined negatively, as a site of difference from transregional Sanskrit.

The classical schema made Prakrit an object of imagination, representation, and knowledge. The following chapter will examine in detail the systems of knowledge that Prakrit was the object of, grammar and lexicography, and the concepts and strategies that were developed in these systems. One of these concepts is "the regional" (*deśya-*), which links the classical language order to the vernacular language orders that followed it.

---

[117] Ravikara (also known as Śrīpati) quotes the following verse at the beginning of his commentary on the *Prakrit Piṅgala*: *deśabhāṣāṃ tathā kecid apabhraṃśaṃ vidur budhāḥ | saṃskṛte prākṛte vāpi rūpasūtrānurodhataḥ | apabhraṃśaḥ sa vijñeyo bhāṣā yā yatra laukikī ||*.

# Chapter 6

# Knowing Prakrit

## Prakrit Knowledge

The history of Prakrit is closely bound up with the history of knowledge about Prakrit. In this chapter I examine the discourses in which this knowledge was systematically articulated. To see precisely how these discourses constituted Prakrit as a stable and coherent object of knowledge, we need to look at them at two different resolutions. At a lower resolution, what we see are texts that are situated in traditions, and the important question is how the traditions of Prakrit grammar, metrics, and lexicography develop in tandem with Prakrit literary traditions. At a higher resolution, what we see are conceptual strands that run throughout these texts, structuring them and tying them into larger discursive configurations. The extension of concepts formulated in order to account for Prakrit into new domains of textuality was crucial to the process of vernacularization, although modern scholarship has ignored or minimized the provenance of these concepts.

Just what was systematic knowledge of Prakrit? In the middle of the 12th century, the Jain monk Hemacandra composed a number of works in which he sought to synthesize the knowledge that was

necessary to participate fully in literary culture.[1] This knowledge was organized into the four domains of grammar, lexicography, metrics and poetics, each the subject of separate works by Hemacandra himself. There is much that is new in this configuration, but it exhibits two features that characterize systematic knowledge of Prakrit over its long history: first, it is dispersed over interlocking domains; second, it is a literary-cultural knowledge, which is clear enough in the case of metrics and poetics, but must be emphasized in the case of grammar and lexicography. The "contexts of use" (*prayogaḥ*) with which grammarians and lexicographers were concerned were always literary contexts. To illustrate his own rules, Hemacandra very often quotes verses from literary works such as the *Seven Centuries* and *Rāvaṇa's Demise*, and very rarely from the Jain scriptures.

Prakrit knowledge was thus philological. For this characterization I invoke a heuristic distinction between philology, which is oriented towards texts, and linguistics, which is oriented towards language—"heuristic," of course, because texts are made out of language, and language, for most of human history, can only be accessed through texts.[2] Although the primary object of Prakrit knowledge was language, it was never language *per se*, but language that either was, or could be, deployed in literary texts. Prakrit knowledge was not a "model of" a linguistic reality with an independent existence, but a "model for" the continuous recreation—through reading, commenting, anthologizing, recombining, and composing anew—of literary traditions. We risk misconstruing the enterprise entirely if we conceive of it on the model of linguistics, either in its Pāṇinian or modern incarnations.[3]

The central component of this configuration was grammar. The "centripetalizing" force of grammatical discourse in the modern world—its ability to determine or redetermine language as a

---

[1]   See Bühler (1936) on the career of Hemacandra and the probable sequence of his works.

[2]   A reading list on the disciplinary identity of philology would start with Pollock (2009) and Pollock et al. (2014). I find Auerbach's (1961 [1948]: 9–37) description of the discipline to be the most straightforward (I owe my acquaintance with this text to Yashin 2011). For philology in India, see Ciotti (2013: 29–34) and Pollock (2014).

[3]   As done by, e.g., Subrahmanyam (2011). For "model of" and "model for" see Geertz (1993 [1973]).

single object with a single source of authority—has long been recognized. It has been particularly important in shaping the national languages which modern subjects have identified with and cathected upon.[4] But grammar is not an invention of modernity. In this chapter I adopt a two-pronged strategy for recovering what Prakrit grammar was, and more importantly what it did, in premodern India.

On the one hand, I argue that Prakrit grammar was just like any other grammatical discourse. These discourses do not simply list, or provide the rules for generating, forms of a given language. They teach people to think of the language under description, of language in general, and of culture more broadly, through a certain set of models, concepts, and relations.[5] Since Prakrit grammar is seen as a tiny and obscure subject, lacking both the sophistication and dynamism of Sanskrit grammar, and hence hardly studied at all, I want to emphasize this point: anyone in premodern India who thought in any depth about the relationships between different languages, or between cultural practices delimited by language—in a word, about polyglossia—used concepts which originated in Prakrit grammar.

On the other hand, I argue that Prakrit grammar was different. We can think about these differences using the terms that grammatical discourse in India itself provides. It consists of a set of rules, called a *lakṣaṇam* ("that which defines"), which serves to characterize a set of linguistic phenomena, called a *lakṣyam* ("that which is defined"). With regard to the former, Prakrit grammar is very closely related to Sanskrit grammar, but because it needs to define one language in terms of another—because it is interlingual rather than intralingual—it has certain concepts, strategies, and techniques of its own.[6] With regard to the latter, Prakrit grammar describes a very different kind of language from Sanskrit or the regional vernaculars, not to speak of modern national languages. There were never, to our knowledge, any communities that defined themselves by their use of Prakrit, no

---

[4]    "Centripetal" is a term of Bakhtin's (1981); see also Joseph's (2004, 2006) general surveys and Crowley (1996: 39*ff.*).

[5]    For the idea of grammars of culture see Pollock (1985, 1989).

[6]    The distinction between interlingual and intralingual is based on Jakobson (1959).

"Prakritikas" comparable to Kannadigas or Tamilians, nor did Prakrit ever approach Sanskrit's broad acceptance as a language of learning that cut across such communities. It was, for most of its history, an exclusively literary language, and the enterprise of Prakrit grammar could not but reflect the fact that the language belonged to an elective subculture of experts and connoisseurs, if it belonged to anyone.

This approach requires going behind the descriptive–prescriptive dichotomy, and by that I mean examining the complex relationships between *lakṣyam* and *lakṣaṇam*, and between grammar and its uses and effects, that are preprocessed and flattened out by the terms "descriptive" and "prescriptive." The descriptive–prescriptive distinction was explicitly made in Indian grammatical traditions, and it dissolves upon closer analysis even in the 20th-century projects that explicitly identify with one or the other modality.[7] Yet it retains a heuristic value. Conceiving of Prakrit grammar as a "descriptive" enterprise would require us to identify the specific forms of language that it sought to describe at various points in its history; conceiving of it as "prescriptive" would require us to identify its specific practical applications. But because these conceptions are only heuristic, we should not expect to find, in the first case, a stable object language represented by a fixed corpus of texts, and in the second, and a coherent regulative agenda. Ultimately these tasks will take us back to the ontology of the languages for which Prakrit grammar serves as an epistemology: where, when, for whom, in what contexts, and given what preconditions did they exist?

## An Archaeology of Prakrit Knowledge

*Our* history of Prakrit knowledge starts in the middle of *its* history. The earliest contributions to Prakrit grammar and lexicography that we can reliably locate in time and space were composed in

---

[7] See Joseph (2006: 19): "Grammarians don't 'discover' verb conjugations; neither do they invent them out of whole cloth; we don't actually have a word for what they do."

the 10ᵗʰ and 11ᵗʰ centuries, long after these discourses first took shape. These include the *Prakrit Lakṣmī* of Dhanapāla (972) and Namisādhu's commentary (1069) on Rudraṭa's *Ornament of Literature*. Earlier texts survive in the discourse of Prakrit metrics, but these too carry indications of a longer prehistory that is lost to us. The scarcity of surviving works is probably due to the "Hemacandra bottleneck." Hemacandra's writings became the primary reference point for the systematic knowledge of Prakrit almost as soon as the ink was dry, and consequently earlier works were no longer studied and transmitted. Much has been lost, and much that survives cannot be dated with certainty. An example of the latter is Caṇḍa's grammar, which has circulated in various forms and under various names, and has been assigned to the last centuries BCE (by Hoernle) and the early second millennium CE (by Bloch) and various times in between.[8]

What I offer in the following pages is an archaeology of Prakrit knowledge, although more in the spirit of Cuvier than Foucault. It is an attempt to construct a historical narrative on the basis of texts that resist it: lost texts, fragmentary texts, poorly-preserved texts, corrupt texts, authorless texts, imaginary texts, mythical texts. The fact that we cannot always link these texts to names, places, and dates does not mean that they lie outside of history. Nor is the history of Prakrit knowledge as a discourse identical with the chronology of the individual texts that constitute it. My archaeology attempts to recover the overarching goals of these texts, their scope and analytical techniques, their principal intertexts, and the changes that the discourse underwent.

The materials that do survive suggest that Prakrit knowledge began at the court of the Sātavāhana kings in the early centuries of the first millennium CE. This should come as no surprise after seeing in chapter 3 the leading role that Sātavāhanas played in inventing and patronizing Prakrit literature. It also appears that the earliest works of Prakrit literature presuppose a body of systematic literary knowledge. The *Seven Centuries*, for example, is strikingly unified in metrical form and language.

---

[8]     Pischel (1981 [1900]: §34); Nitti-Dolci (1972 [1938]).

There are scattered indications that the very people responsible for giving the *Seven Centuries* its final shape—above all the author-editor known to tradition as Sātavāhana—were also responsible for theorizing the grammatical, lexical, and metrical forms in which Prakrit literature consisted.[9]

On seven occasions in his Prakrit lexicon, Hemacandra refers to Sātavāhana's Sanskrit definitions of Prakrit words. The words cannot be traced in the *Seven Centuries*, so Hemacandra must be either paraphrasing or quoting another work. The latter seems more likely, given that most of the references can be read as parts of an *anuṣṭubh* verse, although Hemacandra may be using an intermediate source.[10] Virahāṅka and Svayambhū, writing around the 8th and 9th centuries respectively, also refer to Sātavāhana in the context of Prakrit metrical forms, and notably forms that do not occur in the *Seven Centuries*.[11] Ghanaśyāma, an author of the 18th century, refers to "Śālivāhana" as a lexical and grammatical authority who wrote a work called the *Moonlight of Prakrit* (*Prākṛtacandrikā*). Some, but not all, of these references involve a Prakrit word being defined with a Sanskrit synonym in an *anuṣṭubh* verse (or a reference that can plausibly be reconstructed as such), and it is possible—although by no means certain—that Ghanaśyāma was quoting from the same work as Hemacandra.[12] This work seems to have been a practical handbook to Prakrit composition, covering the basic points of grammar

---

[9]    In the following I make a few meager additions to the material gathered by H. C. Bhayani (1975 [reprinted 1993c] and 1997).

[10]   Vaidya (1926–1927: 66).

[11]   Svayambhū quotes a verse of Hāla as an example of the verse-form *śārdūlavikrīḍita* at 1.47.2 of his *Meter*, and quotes a verse of Sālāhaṇa as an example of the verse-form *udgīti* at 1.4.2 (*pūrvabhāga*). He also refers to the dhavalas of Sālāhaṇa at 8.18. Virahāṅka refers to Sālāhaṇa as an authority (along with Bhuaāhiva = Bhujagādhipa and Vuḍḍhakaï = Vṛddhakavi, see below) on *dvipadī*, a kind of strophic form, at *Collection of Mora- and Syllable-Counting Meters* 2.8–9.

[12]   See *River of Amazement*, ostensibly composed by Ghanaśyāma's wives Sundarī and Kamalā but bearing the clear imprint of Ghanaśyāma's own pretentious, fault-finding, and hyper-allusive commentarial style and idiosyncratic vocabulary, p. 102 (*madhye syād antarantareti śālivāhanaḥ*; *antarantarā* is used in a Sanskrit verse, but Ghanaśyāma often quotes Sanskrit lexica to explain Prakrit words, and I see no reason why the reverse should not be true), p. 117 (*ettaham etta-tthaṇīti śālivāhanaḥ*), and p. 157 (*milāamāṇety etat hasamāṇā hasantī ca hasamāṇeti dig iti prākṛtacandrikāyāṃ śālivāhanokteḥ sādhīyaḥ*).

as well as points of usage and vocabulary.[13]

Another author only known to us from fragments is Harivṛddha. He is often mentioned in the same breath as Sātavāhana, and its seems likely that he was his contemporary. A few of his verses are quoted by Ratnaśrījñāna (10th c.) and Namisādhu (11th c.). What is unique about these verses is that they are written in Prakrit, using the *gāthā* verse-form typical of Prakrit literature. Similar verses are quoted without attribution in other works, including the *Dhavalā* and *Jayadhavalā* of Vīrasena and Jinasena (9th c. Karnataka), the *Treatise on Theater*, Nanditāḍhya's *Definition of the Gāthā*, and Caṇḍa's *Definition of Prakrit*. Together they show that knowledge about Prakrit was articulated, and probably was first articulated, in Prakrit. The grammatical fragments provide a broad characterization of Prakrit phonology and morphology rather than concise transformational rules in the style of either Pāṇini's grammar of Sanskrit or later grammars of Prakrit.[14] The most important, and to all appearances the most influential, idea in Harivṛddha's fragments is the "metagrammatical" classification of Prakrit itself, which I discuss later (p. 223). These verses also show, however, that knowledge of Prakrit was never limited to knowledge of the forms of the Prakrit language, but was always oriented toward literary practice. One verse of Harivṛddha enumerates eight varieties of speech (*bhaṇiti*s), which largely coincide with what later authors would call alliterative styles (*anuprāsa-vṛtti*s).

Luigia Nitti-Dolci saw in the grammatical fragments an abortive attempt, on the part of Jain scholars, to describe the language in which the texts of their tradition were composed, in contrast to the language of secular and courtly texts. She saw Caṇḍa's *Description of Prakrit* as a synthesis of

---

[13]    On points of Prakrit grammar Ghanaśyāma defaults to Vararuci's *Light on Prakrit*, which was presumably more comprehensive.

[14]    All of the Prakrit-language fragments of Prakrit grammars discovered to date are collected in appendix C (Nitti-Dolci 1972 [1938]: §845 referred to them as "some *āryā*s on grammatical generalities and some isolated *sūtra*s"). Harivṛddha and Sātavāhana are mentioned together in a verse quoted by Bhoja (in both the *Necklace of Sarasvatī* and the *Illumination of the Erotic*), in a passage from Rājaśekhara's *Karpūramañjarī*, and in the *Collection of Mora- and Syllable-Counting Meters* (see n. 11 above). See also Bhayani (1975). The name "Old Hari" also provides some slight evidence for the poet's antiquity. For the date of the *Definition of the Gāthā*, see fn. 39 on p. 145.

this material, which was "neither abundant nor properly classified."[15] As I argued earlier, however, the separation of Jain and non-Jain varieties of Prakrit—what scholars now call Jain Māhārāṣṭrī and Māhārāṣṭrī—would have made little sense to the people who actually wrote in these languages (see p. 108). Nor it is clear that the authors of these Prakrit verses were themselves Jains. What will become clear, however, is that Harivṛddha saw himself as defining a field of Prakrit literature rather than a field of Jain literature that happened to be written in Prakrit.

At least one text, the *Mirror of Figures*, testifies to the existence of a discourse on poetics in Prakrit. Although the *Mirror* tells us little that we didn't know from Sanskrit sources, it may well be earlier than most of those Sanskrit sources. I believe that this text represents the discourse on poetics prior to Bhāmaha (late 7th c.), a period for which we otherwise have only fragmentary evidence.[16] For the moment, however, the position of the *Mirror of Figures*—and works of systematic knowledge in Prakrit more generally—in the history of poetics must remain an open question.

We are on more solid ground when it comes to metrics. We have two major treatises on metrics written in Prakrit, Virahāṅka's *Collection of Mora- and Syllable-Counting Meters* and Svayambhū's *Meters*, and both refer to a handful of earlier authors. Svayambhū lived in the later 9th c.; he wrote Apabhraṃśa epics about Rāma (*Deeds of Padma*) and Ariṣṭanemi (*Deeds of Ariṣṭanemi*). The identity of Virahāṅka remains a mystery. Velankar put him between the 6th and 8th centuries.[17] I suspect, although I cannot prove, that the *Collection* is an early work of the brilliant 8th-century poet, doxographer, and philosopher Haribhadra before his conversion to Jainism. The name Virahāṅka refers to his use of the word *viraha* as a "signature" (*aṅka*, *cihna*, or *lāñchana*) that poets worked into the

---

15    Nitti-Dolci (1972 [1938]: 221–222 = §845).

16    I will make this argument in a separate paper.

17    For Svayambhū see Bhayani (1989: 26–28). Svayambhū's 9th-century date is based on a reference to the Seuṇas, who formed their own polity in the region of present-day Pune only in the second quarter of the 9th century. For Virahāṅka see Velankar's introduction, §20.

concluding verses of their works. The only author I know to have used this signature is Haribhadra, but the signature *viraha* ("separation," usually of two lovers) is slightly odd for a Jain monk, and explanations of it in Jain sources seem forced. Haribhadra might thus have used the signature *viraha*, "separation," when he was young, and after his conversion to Jainism, reinterpreted it as *bhavaviraha*, "separation from worldly existence."[18] A possible corroborating instance is the *Prakrit Lakṣmī*, written by Dhanapāla in 972 CE, who would later convert to Jainism and write the *Tilakamañjarī* and *Fifty Verses for Ṛṣabha*.[19]

Prakrit metrics is not just Sanskrit metrics in Prakrit. Although it defines and exemplifies all of the syllable-counting meters used in Sanskrit literature, called *vṛtta*s, its real focus is on the mora-counting meters that distinctively characterize Prakrit literature, called *jāti*s; this dual aspect is referenced in Virahāṅka's title. Prakrit metrics defines many more of these *jāti*s than Sanskrit metrics does, and in fact many more than are actually attested in the surviving literature. Svayambhū in particular gives us some insight into the richness of Prakrit literature at his time, quoting from authors such as Jīvadeva and Śuddhasvabhāva whose works are otherwise completely lost.

A number of other early authors are merely mentioned, or briefly quoted, in later works. Unsurprisingly, many of those who made contributions to lexicography and metrics were themselves poets, as we know from the fact that other authors have quoted their verses or from the fact that they are identified by literary *noms-de-plume*. One author whom Svayambhū quotes is Abhimānacihna ("the poet who used the signature 'pride'"), the author of a lexicon in Prakrit cited frequently by Hemacandra. These quotations confirm the impression that the systematic knowledge of Prakrit developed side-by-side with Prakrit literary practice throughout the first millennium CE.

---

[18] Later biographies attribute his use of this signature to the suicidal depression that he felt after the death of two of his nephews (Granoff 1989a: 109); for Haribhadra's date see Jinavijaya (1988 [1919]) and Williams (1965). The 12th-century commentator on the *Collection*, Gopāla, has not access to any information about Virahāṅka.

[19] See the introduction to the *Prakrit Lakṣmī* by Bühler and Klatt (1879).

As the distance from its original circumstances of composition grew, and as it was rearranged, integrated into other texts, and lost, this earlier material was imagined to belong to "time out of mind," and was accordingly reattributed to sages of the mythical past.[20] Sometimes such reattribution occurred even in the absence of temporal distance, for reasons that are still difficult to determine. The best-known case is that of the *Vālmīki Sūtras*, a grammar of Prakrit that was, as the name implies, thought to have been composed by the semi-mythical author of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. A. N. Upadhye has argued convincingly that these *Vālmīki Sūtras* are none other than the *sūtras* composed by the Jain monk Trivikramadeva in the 13th c., which were reattributed to Vālmīki by later Hindu authors.[21] Another example is Pāṇini. Starting, it seems, with Bhoja in the 11th century, a number of authors believed that the most influential Sanskrit grammarian had also written a grammar of Prakrit. The few quotations from this alleged grammar make it hard to believe that its author was Pāṇini, who in any case lived several centuries before people began thinking about Prakrit as a language.[22]

The attributions to Pāṇini and Vālmīki locate the origins of Prakrit knowledge in the founding figures of the Sanskrit grammatical and literary traditions respectively, and thus affirm the prevalent understanding of Sanskrit and Prakrit by making them literally cognate traditions. The "eastern grammarians" (Puruṣottamadeva, Laṅkeśvara, Rāmaśarman, Mārkaṇḍeya) likewise refer to several mythical sages—Śākalya, Bharata, Kohala, and Kapila—under whose names various systems of knowledge circulated, of which only the *Treatise on Theater* ascribed to Bharata survives.[23]

It might be argued that the ascription of works of Prakrit lexicography and metrics to Sātavāhana is parallel to the ascription of Prakrit grammars to Vālmīki and Pāṇini, in that the author's celebrity

---

[20]   See Renou (1938: 167): "Dès lors qu'il est devenu courant, à partir d'une certaine époque, de citer «honoris causa» des grammariens, soit fictifs, soit du moins n'ayant eu aucune part dans la confection des sūtra où leur nom est allégué."

[21]   Upadhye (1941a, 1956).

[22]   See Raghavan (1950) and Pischel (1981 [1900]: §31). The fragments quoted by Malayagiri are *vyatyayo 'py āsām* (sc. *vibhaktīnām*) and *liṅgaṃ vyabhicāry api*. Konow (1894) believed that Pāṇini really did write a Prakrit grammar.

[23]   See pp. 124–130 of Acharya's edition of Mārkaṇḍeya's *Sum-Total of Prakrit*.

precedes and occasions the ascription. The reason I credit the former and not the latter is that Prakrit literature was the basis for Sātavāhana's celebrity, whereas the others were known first and foremost for their contributions to Sanskrit literature and its forms of knowledge and were only associated with Prakrit much later. Further, there are deep connections between the literary productions of the Sātavāhana court and Prakrit knowledge-forms that either do not exist, or can easily be explained otherwise, in the other cases.

The earliest Prakrit grammar that survives in its entirety—or, as we will see, in more than its entirety—is the *Light on Prakrit* ascribed to the legendary figure of Vararuci. The earliest and most widespread traditions about Vararuci make him one of the ministers of king Nanda, who ruled the Gangetic plain just prior to Alexander the Great's forays into India. He is, however, also counted among the "nine jewels" of the court of Candragupta II Vikramāditya. Several texts besides the *Light* circulate under his name, most notably a one-act play called *Both Go to Meet* and a collection of one hundred gnomic verses. A verse-commentary on the Light, called *A Cluster of Blossoms of Prakrit*, gives Vararuci the family-name Kātyāyana, which evokes—if it does not identify him with—the famous author of a set of critical notes (*vārttika*s) on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. The basis for the ascription of the *Light* to both Vararuci and Kātyāyana was the identity of the two authors, the former being understood as a personal name and the latter as a family name.[24]

From one perspective, then, the authorship of the earliest and most important grammar of Prakrit is thus beset with philological difficulties. The fragile originary connection between a man and his work, moving forward through time, collides against the will to remember otherwise—to reach

---

24  See Nitti-Dolci's (1972 [1938]) seminal discussion of the *Light on Prakrit*, with the observation that the text was often simply called the *Prākṛtasūtra*s by (some) premodern authors. Westergaard (1862: 82–88) lists nine different Kātyāyanas. Kātyāyana as a minister of Nanda appears in the *Kalpanāmaṇḍatikā* of Kumāralāta (Lévi 1908, who incorrectly attributed it to Aśvaghoṣa), the *Ocean of the Rivers of Story* of Somadeva, the *Avantisundarī*, and the Jain *niryukti*s discussed by Balbir (1989: 513). For *Both Go to Meet*, see Venkatacharya (1968); for the *Gāthāśataka*, extant only in Tibetan translation, see Hahn (1983). For the traditions that identify Vararuci with the grammarian Kātyāyana, see Nitti-Dolci (1972 [1938]: 2), Scharfe (1977: 162), Bloch (1893: 9), and *A Cluster of Blossoms* vv. 3–4 on 1.1, as well as the *Ocean of the Rivers of Story* 1.2.1: *nāmnā vararuciḥ kiṃ ca kātyāyana iti śrutaḥ.*

back into the past and overwrite it, to reassign identities, to constantly reauthorize the text. From another perspective, the solution to this problem is ultimately not a judgment about the historicity, or lack thereof, of these criss-crossed traditions, but an understanding of the motivations, logics, and mechanisms of attribution. For these we have a parallel in the oldest extant grammar of Pāli, which is likewise attributed to Kātyāyana (Kaccāyana in Pāli). Centuries after the historical Kātyāyana composed his *vārttika*s on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, his name—and that of Vararuci, with whom he was identified—was attached to projects that sought to apply the principles and techniques of Sanskrit grammar to Middle Indic languages.

These projects can be seen as part of a broader movement to "liberate" these techniques, so to speak, from the tradition of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, with the goal of bringing to order a wider variety of language-practices.[25] This movement, which propelled Sanskrit beyond its ritual confines into its new role as a language of power, started with the *Kaumāralāta* and the *Kātantra*, both composed in the early centuries of the common era.[26] The *Light on Prakrit*'s debts to the tradition of *Kātantra* have been overlooked, perhaps because they are obvious. Besides some overlap in their technical terminology, the *sūtra*s of both works, unlike those of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, are arranged topically. The *Light* also puts its very brief treatment of nominal suffixes at the end of a chapter on "miscellaneous rules," and the section on nominal suffixes in the *Kātantra* is believed to be a secondary addition by none other than Vararuci-Kātyāyana. Perhaps because of what many perceived to be his critical attitude towards Pāṇini in his *vārttika*s, Vararuci-Kātyāyana was the go-to sage for authorizing additions and interventions in these new non-Pāṇinian systems.[27]

---

25  See Gornall (2014: 530) for a "broader 'grammatisation'" that includes Pāli.

26  Pollock (2006b: 169–171). Kumāralāta is, incidentally, the earliest source for the legend of Vararuci-Kātyāyana in his *Kalpanāmaṇḍatikā*.

27  On topicality, see Liebich (1919: 10). The list of topics, however, is very different: the *Kātantra* deals with sandhi, nouns, and verbs; the *Light* with the transformations affecting vowels, single consonants, conjunct consonants, then a "mixed" set of rules, and then nominal morphology, verbal morphology, verbal roots, and indeclinables. See the

The *Light* that Vararuci, as we may continue to call him, shone on Prakrit came from the Sanskrit grammatical tradition. His use of Sanskrit as a metalanguage, of concise transformational rules, and of technical terms and abbreviations sets the *Light* far apart from the general descriptions of Prakrit contained in the floating Prakrit verses discussed above. It became the most popular and most widely circulated grammar of Prakrit, used directly or indirectly as a source by every single subsequent grammar.[28]

What did the *Light* shine on exactly? It has repeatedly and rightly been emphasized that the *Light* is not a grammar of Prakrit in the broad sense of "Middle Indic." The language it defines, as scholars were quick to notice, is substantially similar to the language of the Prakrit literary tradition, represented above all by the *Seven Centuries*. Nitti-Dolci in particular insisted that the *Light* is not general or extensive enough to serve as a grammar of a language, but must instead be seen as a grammar of a text. She speculated that Vararuci sought to describe the language of an anthology that was similar to, but not identical with, the *Seven Centuries* as it has been transmitted to us. Its purpose, she claimed, was to assist people who already knew Sanskrit to compose verses in Prakrit like those found in that anthology.[29]

The *Light* is a grammar of a literary language, but the crucial question, which Nitti-Dolci glosses over with her assumption of a text "similar to but different from" the *Seven Centuries*, is: exactly what

---

opening verse of the *Resuscitation of Prakrit*. For *taddhita* suffixes in the *Kātantra* see Cardona (2008). For the overlap in technical terminology (*āmantraṇa-* for "vocative," *bhūta-* for "past," *bhaviṣyat-* for "future," etc.), see Renou (1938: 164–165). To Vararuci was also ascribed an early lexicon (Liebich 1919: 12).

[28] Alsdorf (1975 [1941]: 140), following Nitti-Dolci, summarizes the *Light*'s importance as follows: "Auf Vararucis Beschreibung der Māhārāṣṭrī gehen die Māhārāṣṭrī-Abschnitte sämtlicher andern Grammatiken zurück, auch Hemacandras, auch der östlichen: Vararuci spielt hier eine Rolle, die cum grano salis der Pāṇinis für das Sanskrit vergleichbar ist." Similarly Renou (1938: 160). Alsdorf's emphasis is directed against Grierson, who believed that Vararuci belonged exclusively to the "eastern" school of Prakrit grammarians.

[29] Nitti-Dolci (1972 [1938]: §269, §272, §275). This was already obvious to Bloch (1893: 11–12): "Jedenfalls ist es klar, dass Vararucis regeln sich auf die sprache der Mahārāshṭrī-literatur beziehen, und da Hāla von anfang an als standard werk diese poesie galt, wird er sicher auch einbegriffen werden müssen."

literature was composed in the language that the *Light* describes? Against the common equation of "literary Prakrit" with "grammatical Prakrit," there stands the fact that many forms either directly mentioned in or presupposed by the *Light* are not attested in the extant classics of Prakrit literature such as the *Seven Centuries*. This in itself is not surprising, because much of this literature has been lost. More striking is the fact that some forms taught by Vararuci have turned up only in quite early Jain texts. The best example is the past tense in -*īa*, which appears in the *Light* but which was not noted in any literary texts prior to 1936, when Ludwig Alsdorf found it in the *Wanderings of Vasudeva*.[30] Another example is the locative singular form of the first-person pronoun *mae*, which is likewise mentioned in the *Light* but which Anna Aurelia Esposito has only recently spotted "in the wild"—again, in the *Wanderings of Vasudeva*.[31]

It seems very plausible to me that the *Light on Prakrit* was composed with such texts in mind— not just the *Wanderings of Vasudeva*, but romances in verse like the *Taraṅgavatī*. It has often been remarked (starting with Hermann Jacobi) that Jain texts in Prakrit deviate from the rules established by grammars like Vararuci's, and this deviation licenses us to speak of "Jain Prakrit" (or "Jain Mahārāṣṭrī") distinct from the language Vararuci sought to describe.[32] But as I noted above (p. 103), we need to be careful of overstating the continuities within the use of Prakrit by Jains and understating their continuities with the use of Prakrit by non-Jains. Forms taught by Vararuci that occur in Jain literature and nowhere else have greater weight in the question of the grammar's target language than forms occurring in Jain literature and nowhere else that are not taught by Vararuci. It may even be possible that the *Light on Prakrit* was composed by Jain author in a Jain literary milieu, and like Trivikrama's transformation into Vālmīki, non-Jain authors found it necessary to reattribute the text to Vararuci-

---

[30]   *Light on Prakrit* 6.23 (*īa bhūte*); Alsdorf (1936: 325); Balbir (1989: 510).

[31]   *Light on Prakrit* 5.92 (*ṅau ca maï mae*); Esposito (2011: 37).

[32]   Jacobi (1908–1909).

Kātyāyana.

Little can be said with certainty about the textual history of the *Light*. Nitti-Dolci died soon after publishing her study, and her call for a "critical edition of Vararuci based on all the commentators and all the grammarians who have drawn materials from his work" has gone unheeded.[33] I doubt very much that Bhāmaha, the author of the popular *Manoramā* commentary on the *Light*, is identical to the scholar of the late 7th century who wrote the *Ornament of Literature*. Vīrasena and Jinasena in the 9th century do not seem to have been aware of the *Light*. Abhinavagupta, in the 11th century, does refer to the *Light* in a little-known passage where he glosses "half-Sanskrit" by mentioning the opinion of others that it refers to "Prakrit itself, defined in accordance with the rules pronounced by Vararuci and so on, and distinct from the regional languages such as Śaurasenī."[34] This is, to my knowledge, the earliest datable reference to the text, alongside quotations of the *Light* in the commentaries of Bhuvanapāla on the *Seven Centuries* and Harṣapāla on *Rāvaṇa's Demise* (both 11th century). Despite his reference to Vararuci, Abhinavagupta himself seems to have been more familiar with a lost work called *Illustration of Prakrit* (*Prākṛtadīpikā*) and Utpaladeva's commentary thereon, which he recommends to his readers. One might have expected Abhinavagupta to have known the *Manoramā* commentary on the *Light* if it was really composed by the well-known scholar of poetics.[35]

One event in the *Light*'s textual history, however, is worth remarking upon, since it signals a fundamental shift in the orientation of Prakrit knowledge. As Nitti-Dolci demonstrated, the "Prakrit"

---

[33] Nitti-Dolci (1972 [1938]: §273). The best reference remains the conspectus edition of Baladeva Upādhyāya (1972), which prints the recensions of Vasantarāja (and the anonymous *Cluster of Blossoms*) and Bhāmaha separately.

[34] *The New Dramatic Art* vol. 4, p. 385 (comm. on 32.382): *apare vararucyādipraṇītaprākṛtalakṣaṇānvitaṃ śaurasenyādideśabhāṣādyatiriktaṃ prākṛtam evārdhasaṃskṛtaṃ iti manyante*. This confirms that the version of the *Light* known to Abhinavagupta did not define Śaurasenī; Bhāmaha's commentary also does not extend to the chapter on Śaurasenī. See also n. 56 in ch. 5.

[35] See the introduction to Ghosh's edition of the *Wish-Granting Tree of Prakrit* (pp. xvii–xviii) for further arguments against the identification of Bhāmaha with the Kashmiri poetician. For Abhinavagupta's remarks see *New Dramatic Art* on *Treatise on Theater* 17.17 (p. 372).

that Vararuci's *Light* originally illuminated was singular. At some point, however, chapters were added to describe Paiśācī, Māgadhī, and Śaurasenī. These additional chapters represent a pluralization of the category of "Prakrit." Previously, knowledge of Prakrit meant knowledge of the grammar, lexicon, and metrical forms of Prakrit literature. This was "literature heard" (*śravyakāvya-*). Since Prakrit did not have, or only rarely had, the status of a primary language in "literature seen" (*dṛśyakāvya-*), the Prakrit used on the stage was not a primary object of systematic knowledge. Pluralization made Prakrit into a genus, and it made the "regional languages" of the theater such as Śaurasenī and Māgadhī into species of this genus. The language of Prakrit literature, which had earlier been known simply as "Prakrit," was brought under this new logic of regional specificity and reconceptualized as "Māhārāṣṭrī." Rather than standing above the other languages, Māhārāṣṭrī now stood alongside them (see p. 188).

The languages added to the *Light* confirm that the pluralization of Prakrit implied thereby is the same pluralization evident in Rudraṭa's expansion of the archetypal schema from three to six languages, which, as noted above (p. 200), attends a shift in analytical focus from monoglossic to polyglossic forms. From this point on, knowledge of Prakrit had a very different shape. It was, first of all, knowledge of "the Prakrits"; second, it was primarily but not exclusively oriented towards the theater; third, it formed part of an increasingly large and interconnected body of literary-cultural knowledge, at the apex of which was poetics (*alaṅkāraśāstra*).

It was in this context that Hemacandra compiled his grammar of the "six languages" around the middle of the 12th century. To understand Hemacandra's position in the history of Prakrit grammar, it is useful to pair him with another 12th-century scholar, Puruṣottamadeva. Hemacandra was a Śvetāmbara Jain monk who spent most of his career at the Cāḷukya court of Aṇahilavāda, in the north of today's Gujarat, patronized first by Jayasiṃha and then by Kumārapāla. His works span, and in many ways define the boundaries of, the totality of literary-cultural knowledge; he is known as *kalikālasarvajña-*, "an omniscient of the Kali age." And he was, according to George Grierson, the

founding figure of the "Western School" of Prakrit grammar. Puruṣottamadeva represents the "Eastern School," which Grierson traces back to Vararuci. He was a Buddhist from eastern India. Besides his *Grammar of Prakrit*, he wrote a large number of Sanskrit lexicons and a commentary on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.[36] For both Hemacandra and Puruṣottamadeva, the care of Prakrit was part of the care of language, and this care in turn had much stronger links to a cosmopolitan literary and intellectual culture than it did to the particular religious traditions with which Hemacandra and Puruṣottama were affiliated. Hemacandra offers only a few comments about the specific features of the language of Jain scriptures—*ārṣa* Prakrit, as he calls it—in comparison to the language of poetry, which he quotes in abundance.[37]

Scholars have justly criticized Grierson's idea that there existed two separate "schools" of Prakrit grammar, one prevalent in the east and one in the west.[38] The curious persistence of Grierson's historiography warrants a longer critique, but three main problems can be summarized here. The first is the very idea of a "school." If it means a fixed set of core doctrines that are elaborated and defended by its members, and if belonging to a school means self-consciously identifying with it to the exclusion of other schools, then there have never been "schools" of Prakrit grammar. Grierson's "schools" are made up of authors who tend to rely on common sources, and thus a more appropriate term—although still problematic for reasons discussed below—is "traditions." The second is the idea that these schools were regional. For Grierson, the regionality of these schools was not simply a question of where their authors are located on a map, but a promise, which turned out to be false, that these schools would address the linguistic particularities of their respective regions. Besides this false equivalence between an author's regionality and the regionality of the language he describes, Grierson also constructed a

---

[36]   Nitti-Dolci (1938).

[37]   Alsdorf (1975 [1941]: 141); Upadhye (1941b: 169 n. 27). See also Upadhye (1931–1932: 51), who expected the Jain monk Śubhacandra (16th c. Rajasthan) to discuss Jain varieties of Prakrit and was likewise disappointed.

[38]   Upadhye (1941a: 171) calls Grierson a "sentimental propagandist of his terminology."

false equivalence between the regionality of a tradition and the regionality of its sources. There are authors whose works are transmitted only in eastern India, among them Puruṣottama, Rāmaśarman, and Mārkaṇḍeya. But this does not imply that their principal source, Vararuci, came from eastern India as well, since his work was known everywhere from Kashmir to Kerala. The final problem is use of the figure of "two schools" to structure the history of Prakrit grammar. This figure creates the false impression that two schools developed in parallel and in isolation from each other. But all of the "western" grammarians discussed by Grierson relied directly or indirectly upon the "eastern" *Light on Prakrit*, and "eastern" writers like Mārkaṇḍeya relied heavily on the "western" Hemacandra. The differences between the "western" Hemacandra and the "eastern" Puruṣottama, for example, largely reflect differences in how this source material has been refashioned; they do not do not amount to a radically different theories of Prakrit or radically different descriptions of the language.

In defense of Grierson's theory, however, it must be admitted that Puruṣottama, Rāmaśarman, and Mārkaṇḍeya constitute a somewhat separate and localized tradition. They were much more concerned with the languages used on the stage, and although they incorporate Vararuci's grammar in its entirety, they appear to have utilized a larger body of early material on this subject than Hemacandra or his followers had access to. All of them operate with a top-level classification of *bhāṣā*s, *vibhāṣā*s, *apabhraṃśa*s, and *paiśācika*s that appears to be an elaboration (by Kohala?) of the schema we find in Bharata's *Treatise on Theater*. But they also refer to authors, foremost among whom is Śākalya or Śākalya-Māṇḍavya, whose account was closely related to the one given in the *Treatise on Theater*.[39]

The history I have reconstructed for the systematic knowledge of Prakrit prior to Hemacandra can be articulated into three phases. In the final phase, Prakrit and Sanskrit are both objects of the same systematic knowledge. Prakrit needs to be accessed through Sanskrit: in the case of Hemacandra's grammar, this literally meant getting through seven books of Sanskrit grammar for the treatment of

---

[39]    Nitti-Dolci (1972 [1938]: §§415*ff.*).

221

Prakrit in the eighth. In this phase Prakrit is a container and template for a multiplicity of languages that occur in the domain of theater or "literature seen," where these languages co-occur with Sanskrit.

In the preceding phase, Prakrit and Sanskrit exist in their respective traditions of "literature heard," and they are each objects of separate discourses of knowledge. These discourses themselves, however, are articulated in Sanskrit through the conventions of the Sanskrit grammatical tradition. This is the phase in which Sanskrit forms of knowledge are deployed in order to fully account for Prakrit difference, and it is best represented by the original version of the *Light on Prakrit*.

In the earliest recoverable phase, knowledge of Prakrit is articulated in Prakrit and without much reference to Sanskrit forms of knowledge. As an example, sometimes the same metrical forms that are used in Sanskrit and treated in Sanskrit metrical treatises are defined somewhat differently in Prakrit metrical treatises. It was in this phase that Prakrit difference was first enunciated under the category of "the regional" (*deśī*), and knowlege of Prakrit was thus articulated under this name (*deśīśāstra*). A fitting representative of this phase is Harivṛddha, but it encompasses almost the entire discourse of metrics (Virahāṅka, Svayambhū) and lexicography (Dhanapāla) prior to Hemacandra.

These phases do not, of course, divide the history of Prakrit knowledge into discrete and non-overlapping segments. Instead they represent different ways of constituting Prakrit as an object of knowledge. The logic of one phase can, and often does, continue into subsequent phases: this is exemplified by the chapters added to the *Light on Prakrit*, or by the stray rules in Caṇḍa's *Description of Prakrit* that brusquely characterize other varieties of Prakrit. These "phases" might even be differentiated more by audience than by time: as Nitti-Dolci emphasized, works like the *Light* were intended for an audience whose knowledge of Prakrit was mediated by Sanskrit, whereas the works that I assign to the first phase were largely intended for people who read and engaged with Prakrit literature without the mediation of Sanskrit. By describing them as "phases," I mean to evoke a model of additive development, in which knowledge is received, revised, and reenunciated, rather than

the Griersonian model of spontaneous generation, in which the entirety of a tradition's content and principles are present at the moment of its foundation.[40] An important feature of my additive model is that the concepts of the earlier phase are foundational concepts upon which the whole subsequent history of the discourse depends.

## Grammar, Metagrammar and the Regional

One of these foundational concepts is the division of Prakrit into three categories. The earliest discussions of such a division occur in Bharata's *Treatise on Theater* and in Daṇḍin's *Mirror of Literature*, and luckily Daṇḍin's 10th-century commentator Ratnaśrījñāna quotes several passages from Harivṛddha on the subject.[41] All of these discussions imply what Ratnaśrījñāna makes explicit: under this analysis, Sanskrit is singular, and Prakrit is plural. Its plurality, however, does not consist in the plurality of Prakrit languages such as Śaurasenī and Māgadhī, but in the plurality of aspects in which Prakrit appears in relation to Sanskrit.[42] "Sanskrit-identical" Prakrit (Daṇḍin's *tatsamam*) appears identical to Sanskrit. "Sanskrit-derived" Prakrit (Daṇḍin's *tadbhavam*) can be understood as a systematic modification of Sanskrit. Finally, "Regional" Prakrit (Daṇḍin's *deśī*), has no perceptible relation to Sanskrit at all.[43]

---

[40]  Grierson imagined the history of Prakrit grammar to be an elaboration of two contraposed "base texts," Vararuci in the east and Hemacandra in the west, as noted above (p. 220). But even Nitti-Dolci comes close to suggesting that there were "two independent theories" of Prakrit, as Renou (1938: 161) points out.

[41]  *Treatise on Theater* 17.3; *Mirror of Literature* 1.33*ff.* with Ratnaśrījñāna's commentary.

[42]  Ratnaśrījñāna's commentary on the *Mirror of Literature* p. 23: *tataścaikaprakāraṃ saṃskṛtaṃ, prākṛtaṃ tv anekaprakāram*. Somewhat later in the 10th c., Dhanika uses almost exactly the same words in his commentary to *Ten Forms* 2.65*ab* (p. 132): *tadbhavaṃ tatsamaṃ deśīty anekaprakāraṃ prākṛtam*.

[43]  I use Daṇḍin's terminology only because it has become the most commonly cited. Harivṛddha uses *saddasamā*, and Bharata *samānaśabdam*, for Daṇḍin's *tatsamam*; for *tadbhavam*, Harivṛddha has *saddabhavā* and Bharata has *vibhraṣṭam*; for *deśī*, Harivṛddha has *desī* and Bharata has *deśīgatam*. For other synonyms of these words see Acharya's introduction (p. 56) to his edition of the *Sum-Total of Prakrit*. I use the term "derived" as a functional description of the category. Kahrs protests too much that "*tadbhava* in the sense of 'derived from Sanskrit' was a feat of Western authors" (245),

These three categories refer, in all of these discussions, to the Prakrit language. Ratnaśrījñāna reproduces Harivṛddha's examples: *hari-* "Viṣṇu", *hara-* "Śiva", and *kamalā-* "Lakṣmī" are identical in both Sanskrit and Prakrit, allowing for some differences in their case-endings; *mahinda-* "Indra," *sindhava-* "of Sindh," and *bahira-* "deaf" can be thought of as "derived" from the corresponding Sanskrit forms (*mahendra-*, *saindhava-*, and *badhira-*); *bokkaṇa-* "crow", *kaṃkelli-* "Aśoka tree," *ciriḍḍihilla-* "curds," and *sitthā-* "bow-string" have no apparent relation to the Sanskrit words that are current in those meanings. These categories, however, are not limited to the analysis of lexical units. In principle, they apply to "all aspects of the structure" of the language.[44] I would press this point further: the paradigmatic status of language meant that the categories developed for language could apply to a wide range of other practices, and the threefold analytic could—and in limited ways did—function as a general analytic of culture.

A closer look at these categories shows how they are indebted to the analysis of language but not confined to it. One function that they perform is comparing two forms and converting the difference between them into one of three values. Crucially, however, these local differences are a function of the global differences between the domains from which these forms are drawn. In Harivṛddha's examples, the different phonological systems of Sanskrit and Prakrit are what generate the particular differences between selected lexical forms. This analysis is exhaustive and non-overlapping: every single Prakrit word can be brought under one, and only one, of these three categories. The analysis can therefore be thought of as a way of characterizing the relation between a given Sanskrit "input" and a desired Prakrit "output," provided that exactly the same rules—in this case the rules of Prakrit phonology—apply equally to all inputs. "Sanskrit-identical" are forms to which the rules apply vacuously. "Sanskrit-

_____

since "derivation"—not necessarily in the sense of descent through time, but in the sense of systematic transformation through grammatical rules—is precisely what the category refers to, especially in its synonyms *vibhraṣṭa-*, *vikārin-*, *tajja-*, etc. See also Pollock (2004: n. 19).

[44]   Masica (1991: 65), referring to Vertogradova (1978).

derived" are forms in which the input and output differ, but in which those differences can be brought under a regular description. "Regional" are forms in which the input–output relation is opaque.

The three categories thus serve as what I call a metagrammar: a figure that simultaneously delineates the domains in which the rules can apply non-vacuously and characterizes the rules themselves as derivational.[45] A metagrammar presents something to us as an object of grammatical knowledge and tells us, in very broad terms, what that knowledge consists in and how it is to be applied. In the case of Prakrit, this tripartite figure programmatically lays out the shape that knowledge of Prakrit in fact took. Whatever was "Sanskrit-identical" was to be passed over, since it was already targeted by other knowledge-systems. The goals of grammar and lexicography were to relate Prakrit forms to Sanskrit forms in those cases where the relation was not already transparent.

The original metagrammatical usage of these categories is very different from the merely descriptive usage that George Grierson and his students introduced in the late 19th century. Grierson used *tatsama* to refer to any word, in any early-modern or modern Indian language, that had more or less the same form as the Sanskrit word, and *tadbhava* to refer to those words that had undergone some kind of phonological transformation. Because of the continuous reintroduction and retransformation of Sanskrit words, however, new categories such as semi-*tatsama* and semi-*tadbhava* had to be invented. The same language—indeed the same speaker—could use a *tatsama* form such as *bhakt*, a *tadbhava* form such as *bhāt*, and a semi-*tadbhava* form such as *bhagat*, each with a specialized semantic value.[46] In Harivṛddha's system, however, the rules apply without exception, and the only possible "output" in Prakrit of the Sanskrit word *bhakta-* would be the "Sanskrit-derived" form *bhatta-*.

The role of history is another important difference between the premodern and modern use of these terms. For Grierson, a *tadbhava* word was one that had undergone change with respect to its

---

[45] The "meta-linguistic" character of the *tatsama–tadbhava–deśī* distinction has been obvious to scholars such as Mitchell (2009: 103).

[46] Masica (1991: 65–66), who notes that R. L. Turner criticized the use of this terminology in his Gune lectures.

Sanskrit original, and this kind of change took place in history. The process that transformed *bhakta-* into *bhatta-* and then *bhāt* is the inexorable progression of the Indic languages from "Old" to "Middle" to "New." For the Prakrit grammarians, however, the three categories of course constituted a single synchronic system. The "derivation" of Prakrit forms from Sanskrit forms, too, was primarily thought of as an analytic procedure, with absolutely no reference to the historicity of either Sanskrit or Prakrit: these were emphatically not historical forms of knowledge.[47] The decision to make Sanskrit the fixed point of reference for the analysis of Prakrit had nothing to do with the priority, either in historical or axiological terms, of the former to the latter. It seems to have been motivated, instead, by the very grammatical principle of *lāghava*, or economy: if 50%, or 90%, or 95% of the derivation of a word can be accomplished by referring to knowledge-systems that already exist, why duplicate the effort?

This is not to say that premodern Indians were incapable of thinking about their language practices in historical terms, as some have argued.[48] In a famous passage, Namisādhu declares that Prakrit is *prāk-kṛta-*, "fashioned first," and that the *prakṛti-* or "source" from which it derives is not Sanskrit but "the innate faculty of speech of all living beings without being refined by grammar and so on."[49] Hemacandra, too, refers to Prakrit as "without a beginning."[50] Yet both authors happily define Prakrit and its subvarieties in reference to Sanskrit.[51] Hemacandra makes it clear that his analysis of Prakrit starts from Sanskrit at the beginning of the Prakrit section of his grammar:

---

[47] See Drocco (2012).

[48] Kahrs (1992); I agree fully with Houben's (1994b) response.

[49] Commentary on Rudraṭa's *Ornament of Literature* 2.12: *sakalajagajjantūnāṃ vyākaraṇādibhir anāhitasaṃskāraḥ sahajo vacanavyāpāraḥ prakṛtiḥ, tatra bhavaṃ saiva vā prākṛtam.*

[50] *Garland of Regional Nouns* 1.4: *aṇāipāiyapayaṭṭabhāsā-.*

[51] Namisādhu, who does not describe Prakrit, does so only indirectly: he notes that the rules he supplies for the other languages involve "exceptions" (*apavāda*s) to the rules that operate on Prakrit, which in turn relate Prakrit to Sanskrit. One example is that "in Paiśācikā, there is no elision of the letters *k*, *g*, *c*, *j*, *t*, *d*, *p*, and *y*" (*tathā kagacajatadapayādīnāṃ paiśācikyāṃ svaraśeṣābhāvo 'bhihitaḥ*).

> The original (*prakṛtiḥ*) is Sanskrit, and Prakrit is so called because it either 'originates in' or 'comes from' Sanskrit.[52] Prakrit is introduced as a topic immediately after Sanskrit. And providing rules for Prakrit immediately after Sanskrit has the purpose of indicating that the rules given here pertain only to Prakrit that has its origin (*yoni-*) in Sanskrit words, which are either fully formed or not, and not to Regional Prakrit. Sanskrit-identical Prakrit, however, is known fully from the rules on Sanskrit. Further, the stems, affixes, genders, case assignments, ways of forming compounds, technical terms and so on are the same for Prakrit as they are for Sanskrit.[53]

Hemacandra saw no contradiction between his belief in the eternality of Prakrit and his use of metagrammatical categories that made Sanskrit the standard of comparison. These categories allowed him to systematically divide up the realm of Prakrit knowledge more than any previous author had. He treats of "Sanskrit-derived" words in his grammar and generally defines "Regional" words in separate lexicon, the *Garland of Regional Nouns*.

Metagrammars give us the languages themselves as domains of grammatical knowledge. Under the traditional threefold classification, Prakrit was distinctively characterized by the regional, and Prakrit knowledge was distinctively constituted by its concern with regional practices. An important rule of Vararuci's *Light on Prakrit* introduces certain words as whole-cloth substitutes for Sanskrit words. When commenting on this rule, Vasantarāja notes an alternative classification of Prakrit words into "imitations" (*anukārin-*) and "transformations" (*vikārin-*) of the corresponding Sanskrit words, which roughly map onto the categories of "Sanskrit-identical" and "Sanskrit-derived." Vasantarāja rejects this classification precisely because it fails to account for those words which are "known with utter certainty

---

[52]    The reference is to Pāṇini's *sūtra*s 4.3.53 and 4.3.74; see Kahrs (1992), who also discusses this passage in detail. I agree that his alternative translation ("like [the body of rules] for the origin") is "less convincing."

[53]    *Siddhahemacandra* on 8.1.1: *prakṛtiḥ saṃskṛtaṃ, tatrabhavaṃ tata āgataṃ vā prākṛtam. saṃskṛtānantaraṃ prākṛtam adhikriyate. saṃskṛtāntaraṃ ca prākṛtasyānuśāsanaṃ siddha-sādhyamāna-bheda-saṃskṛta-yoner eva tasya lakṣaṇaṃ, na deśyasyeti jñāpanārthaṃ. saṃskṛtasamaṃ tu saṃskṛtalakṣaṇenaiva gatārthaṃ. prākṛte ca prakṛti-pratyaya-liṅga-kāraka-samāsa-saṃjñādayaḥ saṃskṛtavad veditavyāḥ.* See Pischel (1981 [1900]: §8) for the meaning of *siddha* and *sādhyamāna* in this context.

to be Prakrit" but are neither identical with nor derived from Sanskrit words.[54]

The regional came to characterize Prakrit and its forms of knowledge in two different ways, to the mild confusion and frustration of modern scholars.[55]

On the one hand, "the regional" is a purely negative concept: it is what is left over when the Sanskrit-identical and Sanskrit-derived portions of the lexicon are sifted out. This is the concept that underlies Hemacandra's *Garland of Regional Nouns* (*Deśīnāmamālā*), which organizes and defines the words that are left over (*avaśiṣyante*) because they cannot be properly formed by the rules enunciated in his grammar.[56] This does not mean that all of the words collected in Hemacandra's lexicon cannot, in principle or in practice, be derived from Sanskrit words. The lexicography of the regional was emphatically not etymology, in the modern sense of tracing words to their historical roots. There are many words in Hemacandra's lexicon that can easily be traced to an Old Indic root.[57] What matters to Hemacandra is whether the corresponding word actually exists in Sanskrit as he knew it, and further, whether it is current in the same sense in which the Prakrit word is used. Further, many words have been excluded from Hemacandra's lexicon simply because he chose to include them in his grammar instead.[58] The significance of the regional as a negative concept for Hemacandra was precisely that the words included under this category were excluded from the positive space occupied by Sanskrit and Sanskrit-derived Prakrit.

On the other hand, "the regional" is a positive concept. It refers to the practices of a region,

---

[54] *Resuscitation of Prakrit* on *Light on Prakrit* 4.35. Mārkaṇḍeya divides Prakrit into Sanskrit-identical and Sanskrit-derived only, and ascribes the third category of Regional to "some people" (*Sum-Total of Prakrit* p. 4).

[55] See Drocco (2012: 125), with references to Pischel (1981 [1900]: §9): "The Indians include under the deśya or deśī class very heterogenous elements."

[56] *Garland of Regional Nouns*, introduction.

[57] E.g., *pāsaṃ* "eye" from *\*pāśa-*, from the same root as *paśyati* "see" (cited by Pischel 1981 [1900]: §9).

[58] Hemacandra includes a large number of "Regional" words in his grammar as verbal substitutes (*dhātvādeśa*s) simply in order to teach them with *anubandha*s—diacritical markers that convey information about how the form is used—that the format of his lexicon does not accommodate.

regardless of or prior to the analysis of those practices in relation to others. "The regional is defined," according to a verse attributed to Bhoja by Mārkaṇḍeya, "by what occurs in each particular region of kings and peoples."[59] This positive sense would therefore include forms that are identical to or derived from Sanskrit forms, since after all these forms too have their place in the practices of a region. Prakrit knowledge was knowledge of the regional, and it seems to have been the first branch of knowledge that defined itself by and concerned itself with regional practices.[60] Hemacandra refers to earlier works on Prakrit as *deśīśāstra*s, and his predecessor Dhanapāla referred to his own Prakrit lexicon as a *deśī*; similarly Pṛthvīdhara refers to a work called the *Light on the Regional* (*Deśīprakāśa*) when commenting on the Prakrit of the *Little Clay Cart*.[61]

With what particular region was "the regional," as the distinctive element of Prakrit and its forms of knowledge, associated? All early authorities agree that it was Mahārāṣṭra that gave content to the regional as a category: "the regional is defined," Harivṛddha said, "by those words whose meanings are conventionally known in the region of Mahārāṣṭra."[62] On this vision, which very likely represents the way that the pioneers of Prakrit literature thought about their own practices, the regionality of Prakrit refers to its connection with Mahārāṣṭra in particular, and not to a general connection with one of any number of regions. This vision did not recognize parallel "dialects" of Prakrit, each associated with its own region. Or rather—as we will see below (p. 231)—it recognized such dialects but

---

[59] *Sum-Total of Prakrit*, commentary, p. 4: *deśe deśe narendrāṇāṃ janānāṃ ca svake svake | bhaṅgyā pravartate yasmāt tasmād deśyaṃ nigadyate ||*. I have not been able to trace this very in any extant work of Bhoja's, although he is known to have written a Prakrit grammar that is no longer extant (according to Kumārasvāmin in his commentary to the *Pratāparudrīya*).

[60] Music is one other discourse that was constitutively concerned with the regional (cf. Mataṅga's *Bṛhaddeśī*), although here, too, regionality seems to be defined negatively, in contrast to an earlier transregional tradition, rather than through the particular practices of a particular place.

[61] *Garland of Regional Nouns* 1.1 (Sanskrit commentary); *Prakrit Lakṃsī* 278 (*kaiṇo aṃdha-jaṇa-kivā-kusala tti payāṇamaṃtimā vannā | nāmaṃmi jassa kamaso teṇesā viraiyā desī ||* "This *desī* was composed by the poet whose name consists of the last letters of the words *aṃdha*, *jaṇa*, *kivā*, and *kusula*"); Pṛthvīdhara's commentary on the *Little Clay Cart*, p. 27.

[62] *marahaṭṭhadesasaṃkeaehi saddehi bhaṇṇae desī* (see appendix C).

did not place them on the same level with Prakrit properly speaking. As we see from Harivṛddha's definition, the regional is defined by the conventional acceptance of words, or potentially any kind of practice, within that region.[63] Regional knowledge, in other words, has a distinct modality: it works by convention (*prasiddhi-*), whereas Sanskrit knowledge works by derivation (*siddhi-*). That is, rather than locating forms within a derivational matrix that lies outside of space and time, it locates them within a temporally- and geographically-bounded field of practice.

Prakrit is often called Māhārāṣṭrī in modern scholarship, and it is widely and mostly correctly thought of as a linguistic precursor to Marathi.[64] But for reasons alluded to in the introduction (p. 30), I would like to preserve the distinction between Prakrit, a literary language that draws its particularity from the language practices of Mahārāṣṭra, and Marathi, the spoken vernacular of that region. One of the unique aspects of Prakrit, which at the same time makes it difficult to fit into existing typologies of language, is that it was regional without being vernacular.

There are two senses of "vernacular" which it helps to distinguish here, and neither of them apply to Prakrit. The first is a language practice that has an exclusive connection with an imaginary that is in turn strongly linked to a particular region. This way of thinking about the regional—as the site of a distinctive cultural-political identity—is almost completely absent throughout the period in which Prakrit literature first took shape. And it is particularly absent from Mahārāṣṭra, which, as the name "Great Country" suggests, was a cover-term for a number of smaller regions such as Vidarbha, Ṛṣika, Aśmaka, and Kuntala that had long been more salient, culturally and politically, than the macroregion that they constituted. Although the Cāḷukya king Pulakeśin II, in the early 7th century, could be described as "king of the Mahārāṣṭras," it was not until the Yādavas in the 12th and 13th centuries that

---

[63]  This is also clear in Ratnaśrījñāna's introduction to the quotation (on *Mirror of Literature* 1.33, p. 23): *deśī prākṛtaṃ mahārāṣṭraprasiddham*.

[64]  See Garrez (1872) and Bloch (1970 [1914]).

Mahārāṣṭra formed the basis of a vernacular polity.[65]

This, of course, raises the question of why Prakrit was defined in relation to Mahārāṣṭra in the first place. I can only guess that it was one of those spaces—like the "Northern Cities" of the United States—which are defined in the present by shared linguistic phenomena that are presumably explained by shared social, cultural, or economic determinants in the past. The linguistic landscape of the Deccan must have been very diverse in the first few centuries CE, but the space between the Vindhyas and the Bhīma river might have formed a linguistic area with sufficiently self-similar patterns of speech, at least among people of a particular social background.

The etymology of "vernacular" furnishes a second sense: the untutored language of the household slave, and thus a language practice that is natural, common, and prior to grammatical discipline. Clearly Prakrit, as the language of courtly literature and the object of an appreciable body of articulated knowledge, does not fit very well into this category. Many scholars, however, follow Namisādhu in arguing that Prakrit must once have been a "vernacular" in this sense, before courtly literature and its forms of knowledge arrested its natural development. In the introduction I stated my insistence on viewing Prakrit as a cultural practice rather than as a natural phenomenon (p. 19), and here I can add a further argument for distinguishing Prakrit from the natural phenomenon of vernacular speech. The first person (so far as we know) to theorize Prakrit's regionality, Harivṛddha, clearly maintained that this regionality did not make it into a "common" language, since this was a different category of language use altogether.

To the standard three categories of analysis—Sanskrit-identical, Sanskrit-derived, and Regional—

---

[65] The Cāḷukya king Pulakeśin II, was said to have acquired sovereignty over "the three Mahārāṣṭrakas and their ninety thousand villages" in his Aiholе inscription of 634 CE (*agamad adhipatitvaṃ yo mahārāṣṭrakāṇāṃ navanavatisahasragrāmabhājāṃ trayāṇām*), and who is said by Xuánzàng to be "king of the Mahārāṣṭras" in 640–641 CE. The plural is important here, although not guaranteed by the Chinese. Later on, in 931 CE, Ratnaśrījñāna (p. 24) enumerated several regions as constituents of Mahārāṣṭra, including Kuntala, Aśmaka and Vidarbha (although the text is corrupt here; see appendix C). For the formation of a vernacular polity under the later Yādava kings, see Schmiedchen (2014) and the forthcoming *Quotidian Revolution* by Christian Novetzke.

Harivṛddha added a fourth, which he called "common" (*sāmaṇṇa-*).[66] A "common" language, on this schema, is the language of everyday conversation. This, at any rate, is what Bhuvanapāla means when he explains a word in the *Seven Centuries* "by recourse to the Common," since he appeals to the practices of everyday people.[67] The idea seems to have been that the first three categories constituted "Prakrit" within a single system of literary practice, whereas the fourth category could be called "Prakrit" only within a different system. Consonant with Harivṛddha's distinction is Daṇḍin's statement that certain languages are considered Prakrit when they are used to represent conversation in plays.[68] The implication is that conversational language is not considered Prakrit outside the confines of this genre. Within the tradition constituted by the *Seven Centuries* and *Rāvaṇa's Demise*, Prakrit is not a "common" language that represents conversation, but the primary language of the literary work. This interpretation is corroborated by the fact that several vernacular grammars that adapt the classification of Prakrit include alongside the traditional three categories a fourth category of *grāmya-*, meaning vulgar or unsophisticated, which seems to reflect the earlier category of "common" (see p. 238 below).

The regionality of Prakrit is thus quite different from the regionality of a vernacular, either in the sense of a vehicle of regional identity or in the sense of a common language of conversation. It can be seen as a kind of regionality that is self-undermining for the following reason. The regionality of Prakrit is a site of impermeability to a general approach by which language practices are understood in relation to a given model. This very impermeability, however, is the *raison d'être* of the

---

[66]    Bhayani (1973) was the first to notice this distinction, although he did not quite understand the significance of *sāmaṇṇa-*.

[67]    See Bhuvanapāla on verse 112 (W104) of the *Seven Centuries*: *cīe iti sāmānyabhāṣāśrayeṇa śabdaprayogaḥ. lokaḥ kila cīyaśabdena citām āha. tadbhava-tatsama-deśī-sāmānyabhāṣāśrayena caturvidhaṃ prākṛtaṃ pūrvācāryāḥ smaranti.* The *pūrvācārya*s must include Harivṛddha.

[68]    *Mirror of Literature* 1.35: *śaurasenī ca gauḍī ca lāṭī cānyā ca tādṛśī | yāti prākṛtam ity eva vyavahāreṣu sannidhim ||.* See also Ratnaśrījñāna's commentary thereon, which quotes Harivṛddha.

systematic knowledge of Prakrit. Making regional forms an object of systematic knowledge renders them intelligible outside of the region in which they are "conventionally recognized" (*saṃketita-*, *prasiddha-*). If Prakrit was in any sense based on the regional language of Mahārāṣṭra in the first few centuries CE, the literature and its forms of knowledge quickly became almost as transregional as Sanskrit itself. The *Light on Prakrit* exemplifies this point, both in its distribution (it was studied throughout the entire subcontinent) and in the purposes that it serve: namely, to allow people to read, understand, and compose Prakrit literature, whether or not they were familiar with the regional language practices of Mahārāṣṭra.

This sketch of the tripartite and quadripartite divisions of Prakrit helps to explain the shape that knowledge of Prakrit actually took. The objects of systematic knowledge of the regional (*deśīśāstra*s) were the Sanskrit-derived and Regional aspects of Prakrit. Less obvious, but no less important, is the fundamentally supplemental, practical, and instrumental character of this knowledge. When Trivikrama in the 13th century began his influential grammar with the principle that "the formation of Prakrit should also be known from actual practice," he was simply making explicit a principle that had guided the enterprise of Prakrit grammar from its beginnings. "Actual practice," as Appayya Dīkṣita III would later make clear in his commentary to Trivikrama's grammar, did not mean the language of casual conversation, but "the usage of literary authorities."[69]

The "founding of grammatical norms on literary practices" in Prakrit knowledge, as Sheldon Pollock has noted in connection with vernacular knowledge, is the very opposite of the priority of

---

[69] Trivikrama's *Grammar* 1.1.1: *siddhir lokāc ca*; Appayya Dīkṣita III's commentary thereon is *prākṛtaśabdānāṃ madhye ete prayojyā ete na prayojyā iti vyavasthāyāḥ siddhiḥ niścayo na kevalaṃ vakṣyamāṇasūtrebhya eva, kiṃtu kāvyajñalokavyavahārād api syāt, tenātra śāstre sūtrānanuśiṣṭo 'pi kāvyābhiyuktavyavahārastho hrasva eṄ sādhur iti siddham* ("The determination of whether linguistic forms should or should not be used in Prakrit does not only come from the following rules but also from the actual practice of those who know literature, and therefore in this grammar whatever has not been explicitly taught by a rule—for example the use of a short *e* or *o* vowel—is correct if it occurs in the usage of literary authorities").

theory to practice in Sanskrit literary culture.[70] This empiricist approach, as well as the categories that Prakrit grammar provided, would have profound effects on the self-theorization of vernacular literary culture. But in order to understand these effects, we need to understand what motivated the theorists of Prakrit to give priority to literary practice, and what the theoretical implications of this commitment were for the knowledge which they were giving shape to.

Early attempts to articulate knowledge of Prakrit were wildly unsystematic, including such rules as "vowels are sometimes substituted for other vowels." Even Vararuci's *Light on Prakrit*, despite its thematic organization, is more or less a list of Prakrit equivalents for Sanskrit forms. Nitti-Dolci hesitated to even call it a "grammar," since, in contrast to Sanskrit grammars such as the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* or even the *Kātantra*, it did not build up a coherent system from general principles: it outsourced the general principles to Sanskrit grammar ("the rest comes from Sanskrit" is the last rule of the *Light on Prakrit*) and confined itself to a sketch of Prakrit's deviations.[71]

The rules that Prakrit grammar did provide were, of course, thought to be correct and authoritative—otherwise there would be no point in enunciating them—as shown by Mārkaṇḍeya's corrections to the text of Rājaśekhara's *Karpūramañjarī*, and Ghanaśyāma's tireless criticism of alleged mistakes in Kālidāsa's Prakrit, both on the basis of Prakrit grammar.[72] But the rules were not exhaustive. The conjuring-word of Prakrit grammar is *bahulam*, "variously," which allows forms not otherwise derived by the grammar to be admitted as correct. Hemacandra begins his discussion of Prakrit with this word. In Vararuci's *Light on Prakrit*, it appears in a list of substitutes. Although in principle many of these words could be derived from a corresponding Sanskrit word (e.g., *dāḍhā-* from *daṃṣṭra-*), in practice it would have been tedious—even by the standards of Prakrit grammar—to do

---

[70]   Pollock (2004: 401).

[71]   8.23: *śeṣaṃ saṃskṛtāt*.

[72]   See *Sum-Total of Prakrit* 3.77; Ghanaśyāma's criticisms are scattered throughout his commentaries on Kālidāsa's plays (the *Saṃjīvanī* on the *Recognition of Śakuntalā* is listed in the bibliography).

so. The 18ᵗʰ-century commentator Rāma Pāṇivāda remarkably proposes to split the rule into two, a trick of the Sanskrit grammatical tradition called *yogavibhāga-*, and produces a rule that simply reads *bahulam*. He is quite upfront about the implications of this strategy:

> How then is the following usage possible: 'then the Pauravas listened to Nārāyaṇa, who was standing nearby'?—Our answer: because the rule has exceptions.—You keep shouting 'exceptions! exceptions!' for every rule. I don't know what your authority is for that.—That's true. But later we will see the rule *dāḍhādayo bahulam*, and there I will split up the rule, with the result that that the rule 'with exceptions' (*bahulam*) is construed with every single operation. Taking usage as our guide, we can understand the words 'with exceptions,' and the grammar can derive anything that we want it to.[73]

The status of Prakrit grammar can be summarized as follows. It sketched out the basic forms which one was likely to encounter in Prakrit literature, even if "Prakrit literature" was somewhat of a moving target, and was "empiricist" to the extent that it followed literary practice (*prayogānusāreṇa*). It could be used in a regulative capacity, to show that certain forms were incorrect or to correct a transmitted text. It was not, however, held to exhaustively characterize all of the forms that could possibly be encountered in literature (*bāhulakatvam*). Thus its regulative authority was founded on that of the literature on which it was putatively based. The resulting form of knowledge suffered, in comparison to Sanskrit grammar, from a "lack of rigor," as scholars were eager to note. But the comparison is misplaced, since Sanskrit and Prakrit grammar were different enterprises—*vyākaraṇa*, or "language analysis," almost never being used to describe Prakrit grammar—that were motivated in very different ways and sought to define very different fields of linguistic usage.[74]

---

[73] Rāma Pāṇivāda's commentary on 1.42: *kathaṃ tarhi 'aha soūṇa taṃ porā ṇārāaṇam uvaṭṭhiaṃ' iti prayoga iti cet bāhulakād iti brūmaḥ. nanu bāhulakaṃ bāhulakam iti tatra tatrodghoṣyate. na ca jñāyate kiṃ pramāṇam iti. satyam. 'dāḍhādayo bahulam' iti vakṣyate. tatra yogavibhāgaḥ kariṣyate. tathā ca bahulam iti sūtraṃ sarvavidhiśeṣatvena vyākhyāsyate. tena prayogānusāreṇa bahulaśabdopādānāt siddham iṣṭam.* Also 4.34: *evaṃ kṛte kiṃ kṛtaṃ bhavatīti pauravādiprayogāḥ sādhavo bhavantīty akhilam avadātam.*

[74] For "lack of rigor" see Renou (1938: 165); the sentiment is common.

# Prakrit in the Vernacular

As I argue in the following chapter, Prakrit receded into the background over the course of the second millennium, and its obsolescence is directly related to the emergence of vernacular textuality. We can say that the regional vernaculars occupied much of the same space in the language order that Prakrit had previously occupied. There are perhaps functional reasons for this replacement: if Prakrit had executed some of the functions of a vernacular within the classical language order—as a counter-practice to Sanskrit, for example—then true vernaculars, once literized and literarized, could perform those functions just as well or better. What I will focus on here, however, are the genealogical reasons, that is, the influence that Prakrit forms of knowledge had on the self-theorization of vernacular literary culture. This influence was profound, but it has gone almost entirely unrecognized.

To put the argument in a stronger way: the concepts provided by Prakrit forms of knowledge, and the particular relationship to literary practice embodied in it, were some of the conceptual conditions for the emergence of vernacular literature in South Asia. It is not that vernacular literature would never have existed without Prakrit—indeed an argument could be made that Prakrit delayed the emergence of vernacular literature by several centuries—but that Prakrit provided the conceptual foundations for these new literary practices, including the concept of "the regional" itself.

Prakrit forms of knowledge first of all addressed the foundational question of how regularity, systematicity, and grammaticality can exist outside of the paradigm of Sanskrit. We saw (p. 177) that Abhinavagupta's pointed question, "what regularity can a degraded practice have?", was answered in the context of the *Treatise on Theater* by a short overview of Prakrit grammar. And we saw (p. 178) that Kumārila Bhaṭṭa was able to criticize the Buddhist scriptures as "not even Prakrit" because Prakrit provided the model for a practice that was regular in its own way despite its deviation from Sanskrit. Secondly, Prakrit forms of knowledge supplied an analytic for the systematic comparison of Sanskrit and its others. Vernacular languages had no choice but to retrace these two major theoretical steps,

and retrace them—rather than blaze a new theoretical trail—is precisely what they did.[75]

Vernacular knowledge takes its major categories of analysis from Prakrit knowledge: Sanskrit-identical, Sanskrit-derived, Regional, and in some cases, Common. As I argued above, these categories are not simply descriptive. Just as in the case of Prakrit, they simultaneously define the domains of the vernacular knowledge. In Prakrit grammar, in an important sense, these domains were "given": a word's belonging to one or another of them was a brute fact, not a parameter that could be manipulated. In vernacular grammars, however, the differentiation of these domains had consequences for literary practice.

One of the best examples for comes from the *Jewel-Mirror of Language* (*Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa*) of Keśava, composed in 1260 CE. The only two languages under discussion are Sanskrit and Kannada. Kannada can be mixed with Sanskrit, or it can be "pure Kannada" (*accagannaḍaṃ*). The latter can be analyzed, however, into Sanskrit-identical (*tatsamaṃ*), Sanskrit-derived (*tadbhavaṃ*), and Regional (*deśīyaṃ*) components, an analysis that clearly demonstrates the "absent presence" of Prakrit grammar. Just as in Prakrit grammar, Sanskrit-identical words are a small subset of Sanskrit words to which the rules of "pure Kannada" apply vacuously, and Sanskrit-derived are those that can be related to corresponding Sanskrit words by means of transformational rules. Regional are those words which modern linguists would classify as having "Dravidian" rather than "Indic" roots. Keśava's discussion of these three categories relates to the conditions under which Sanskrit and Kannada words can co-occur. Generally speaking, literary works should strive for homogeneity of language and therefore avoid the mixture of Sanskrit and Kannada words in compounds, which a longstanding tradition had

---

[75] Compare Pollock (2004: 406): "The striving for the specification of the vernacular particular from within the dominating Sanskrit epistemological universal; the quest for discipline in the putatively lawless dialectal; the search for a new authority upon which this discipline could be founded; the royal court as the social site par excellence for the production of systematic vernacular knowledge—this entire culture-power complex of vernacularity finds its most condensed expression in the production of Kannada grammar." See also p. 412.

called "enemy-compounds" (*arisamāsa*s).[76] This recommendation was not based on a proto-nationalist ideology of linguistic purism, but on the recognition that the phonological systems of Sanskrit and Kannada are not entirely compatible (*viruddham*). Sanskrit-identical and Sanskrit-derived words can, however, freely be used with Regional words. In effect, a poet can use Sanskrit words so long as he follows Keśava's guidance, in the seventh chapter of the *Jewel-Mirror*, in transforming them into words of "pure Kannada."[77] These procedures transformed a mere mixture into mixture that was validated by linguistic and aesthetic principles.[78] In order to constitute Kannada as a language categorically distinct from Sanskrit, and at the same time capable of absorbing the lexical resources of Sanskrit, Keśava theorized it in exactly the same way that earlier scholars had theorized Prakrit.

Prakrit served Keśava and other vernacular intellectuals as a model of a counter-practice to Sanskrit: one that basically mirrored Sanskrit practices, but at the same time transmuted them into something different, and included within this difference sites of analytical impermeability or resistance that were gathered under the category of the regional. This final category, which constituted the exceptions to the rules in Prakrit grammar, became the principal target of the rules in vernacular grammars. Keśava's discussion of Sanskrit-identical and Sanskrit-derived words in the seventh chapter of the *Jewel-Mirror* makes it clear that he understands the rest of the vocabulary of "pure Kannada" to be regional.

Around the same time as Keśava, Ketana produced what is likely the earliest grammar of Telugu,

---

[76] *Jewel-Mirror of Language* 174: *padavidhi kannaḍakam sa- | kkadakkam illādyarinde sanduvanaṟidi- | rpudu birudāvaḷiyoḷ pe- | ḻvudu peṟavaṟoḷ āgadidu viruddha-samāsam ||* "Kannada words should not be joined with Samskrita words to form a compound. But some compounds, made by ancient poets are to be retained in usage; such compounds can be used in titles also. Nowhere else the use of such compounds is permitted" (tr. Kedilaya). See also Pollock (2004).

[77] *Jewel-Mirror of Language* 299: *sakkadamam maṟegoḷḷade | cokkaḷikeyin accagannaḍam bēḷpara ka- | yvokka nidhiyenip- apabhram- | śakkam dēśīyapadakam uṇṭu samāsam ||* "For those who, without resorting to Samskrita, want to use pure Kannada, these *tadbhava* words, their compounds, and the *tatsama* compounds form a handy treasure. With these words and compounds, *dēśīya* (pure Kannada) words can be joined to form compounds" (tr. Kedilaya). Badiger (1978) thinks that the words in the *apabhraṃśaprakaraṇa* are actually Prakrit words that had been borrowed into Kannada (see also Nagarajaiah 1994 and Khadabadi 1981); this chapter, however, clearly has a generative rather than descriptive purpose.

[78] Keśava elsewhere cites a verse of Nāgavarman's on the topic of mixing "repulsive Sanskrit" and old Kannada (102).

the *Ornament of the Āndhra Language*. Ketana invokes the same three categories, with the addition of a fourth, the Vulgar or Common (*grāmya-*. His examples make it clear that Common words are not "obscene" words, as some scholars have maintained, but rather colloquial forms that are dispreferred in poetry. The category is thus parallel to Harivṛddha's "common" (*sāmaṇṇa-*). It is quite possible that Ketana actually took this classification from Prakrit grammars now lost to us, since he refers to such works—albeit vaguely—in his introduction.[79] Whereas Keśava's "pure Kannada" (*accagannaḍaṃ*) is a cover-term for Sanskrit-identical, Sanskrit-derived, and Regional words, Ketana numbers "pure Telugu" (*accatenugu*) as a fifth category alongside the inherited four—but only to include the other categories, "excluding Sanskrit-identical words," under "pure Telugu" as a larger category.[80] And although Ketana gives examples of "pure Telugu" words separately from the other categories, it is unclear exactly what makes these words different from "Regional" words.[81]

Ketana appears to have understood by "Sanskrit-identical" any Sanskrit words that have not been accommodated into the phonological system of Telugu; he collapses the distinction that Keśava had observed between "Sanskrit-identical," referring to small class of Sanskrit words which already conform to the phonology of Kannada and therefore do not require further transformation, and "Sanskrit" plain and simple. Whereas Keśava's "pure Kannada" includes "Sanskrit-identical" words, Ketana's "pure Telugu" does not. *The Wishing-Stone of the Āndhra Language* (*Āndhraśabdacintāmaṇi*), ascribed to the 11th-century poet Nannaya but only "rediscovered" by Appakavi in the mid-17th century, appropriates the framework of Prakrit grammar in exactly the same way that Ketana did: "pure Telugu" (*accatelugu*) consists of Sanskrit-derived and Regional words without any mixture of Sanskrit words. For the author

---

[79]  *Ornament of the Āndhra Language* v. 7*ab*: *saṃskṛta-prākṛtādi-lakṣaṇamu jeppi tenugunaku lakṣaṇamu jeppakuniki yella |.*

[80]  *Ornament of the Āndhra Language* v. 19: *tatsamambun-āga dadbhavambanan-acca-tenugun-āga mariyu dēśyam anaga | grāmyabhāṣan-āga galavaida teragulu vēṟe vēṟe vāni vistarintu ||*; v. 27*ab*: *tatsamambu dakka takkina nālagun acca-tenugulandu rakhila janulu |.* See also Mitchell (2009: 103).

[81]  Ainavolu in her edition (pp. 24–25) suggests that *accatenugu* refers to common vocabulary items (*tala* "head," *nela* "moon," *vēsavi* "summer" etc.), while *dēśitenugu* refers to words of the poetic vocabulary (*eṟukuva* "knowledge" etc.).

of the *Wishing-Stone*, the regional is defined by what the Āndhra people actually speak, and can thus be further divided into two categories: "pure Āndhra words" (*śuddhāndhram*), presumably those spoken in Āndhra itself, and "Āndhra words of foreign origin" (*anyadeśajāndhram*), presumably words of other regional vernaculars that have taken hold in Āndhra.[82]

The strategy of reappropriating existing categories to create new spaces for analysis would not work for vernacular metrics. Vernacular metrics defined itself against a single but bifurcated tradition: Nāgavarman's *Ocean of Meters* (*Chandombudhi*, 10th c.) begins with the meters of "the two languages," Sanskrit and Prakrit, which are used "in all regions," before discussing the meters used "in the language of the region of Karnataka."[83] In fact the division is not as neat as Nāgavarman makes it out to be. The last section involves a completely different system of prosody, and consequently some of the meters that are particular to Kannada literature but nevertheless use the same system of prosody as Sanskrit and Prakrit meters—such as the *ragaḷe*—are treated in the earlier section. Nāgavarman's combination of two prosodic theories in one treatise is iconic of the "cosmopolitan vernacular" he is concerned to theorize, which combines the literary resources of both traditions.[84]

But there were certain features of the discourse of Sanskrit and Prakrit metrics which were conducive to Nāgavarman's intervention. It was modular from the beginning, in the sense that it accommodated two different systems of prosody, one that counted by syllables (*vṛtta*) and one that counted by moras (*jāti*). Although syllable-counting meters were widely associated with Sanskrit, and mora-counting meters with Prakrit, both types occur in both languages, and treatises on metrics in

---

[82]    Mitchell (2009: 103). The phrase *anyadeśaja-*, which I translate as "of foreign origin" (literally "originating in another place"), slightly complicates her argument that "the foreign" as a category is absent from premodern Telugu grammars.

[83]    *Ocean of Meters* v. 70: *intaṟupid-ubhayabhāṣayoḷaṁ toḍaradi sarva-viṣaya-bhāṣādigaḷiṁ | mun-tiḷupidapaṁ ninagān antarisade kīḷ idaṁ payo-ruha-vadanī*, also v. 296. In other texts *ubhayabhāṣā* refers to Sanskrit and the regional vernacular; see *Ornament of the Āndhra Language*, v. 5, and see below, p. 255.

[84]    Pollock (1998, 2004).

Sanskrit and Prakrit differ primarily with regard to the detail they go into for each class.[85] Nāgavarman seems to have considered the Kannada meters, which consist of "blocks" (*aṃśa*s) that count moras but in a different way than Prakrit *jāti*s, as a subclass of *jāti* meters.

There is, moreover, a close relationship—perhaps but not self-evidently one of influence or descent from a common ancestor—between the *jāti* meters of Prakrit and the *jāti* meters of the regional vernaculars.[86] These meters, in contrast to Sanskrit *vṛtta*s, are typically composed of underlying rhythmic structures that can each be realized by any number of combinations of light and heavy syllables. The internal structure of these structures in Prakrit and Kannada is very similar, and the major difference between them is just that the former and not the latter have a fixed number of moras. In view of these similarities, the opposition between Kannada on the one hand and Sanskrit and Prakrit on the other has much more to do with the the regionality or transregionality of their respective literatures, as Nāgavarman himself makes clear, than with the underlying principles of verse construction. In the latter domain we might speak of a category of "regional" versification that includes Prakrit, the original and archetypal *deśī* tradition, alongside a range of vernaculars. These underlying similarities might account for the fact that Prakrit meters such as the *skandhaka* were more readily adopted into the practice of vernacular poets (as the common Kannada *kande*) than Sanskrit meters.

By way of summary, we may say that the metagrammatical categories so widely invoked in the enterprise of vernacular self-theorization were borrowed from Prakrit, and that this borrowing is one of the most important ways in which the Prakrit tradition, as a *tertium quid*, mediated between an established Sanskrit tradition and an emergent vernacular tradition. Since my primary goal in this chapter is a history of effects of Prakrit forms of knowledge, my focus was on the conceptual relations between these traditions; much more could be said about the historical processes by which these

---

[85]  Virahāṅka discusses the *jāti*s in Prakrit and the *vṛtta*s in Sanskrit (the latter in the fifth chapter).

[86]  The descent of Prakrit meters from Tamil originals was entirely self-evident to Hart (1975), but a detailed study—which would take into account the other metrical systems of South India besides Tamil—remains to be done.

concepts were transmitted.

What does it mean for vernacular knowledge to be mediated by Prakrit knowledge? It is not simply that the latter was a condition of historical possibility for the former. It is that vernacular knowledge is essentially defined by a mediation between Sanskrit and vernacular forms. The primary site of this mediation is called "pure Kannada," or "pure Telugu." The concept of purity is bound up in the modern world with concepts of genealogical descent which are not only absent from these sites, but fundamentally incompatible with them: both "pure Kannada" and "pure Telugu," according to their earliest definitions, admitted words originating in Sanskrit, but Sanskrit-identical and Sanskrit-derived. Their "purity" consisted, rather, in the fact that they were brought under a single linguistic description. Words of any origin could be integrated into a "pure" vernacular through the mediation of a transformational grammar. Prakrit, I have argued, provided the model for this mediation, but Prakrit was not itself a participant in it: it served as a catalyst, and then receded into the background.

Prakrit's absent presence in vernacular forms of knowledge has become a simple absence in modern scholarship. One example is Lisa Mitchell's sketch of premodern grammarians of Telugu against the background of what she calls "the Sanskrit *vyākaraṇa* tradition." By this latter term, however, she really means "the Prakrit grammatical tradition," since the categories she describes are the three categories discussed above that constitutively and contrastively define the field of Prakrit grammatical knowledge, and never had anything to do with the analysis of Sanskrit or the discourse of *vyākaraṇa* in which that analysis was undertaken. Sheldon Pollock similarly classed Prakrit with Sanskrit as part of a "cosmopolitan" tradition, in dialectical opposition to which vernacular forms of knowledge developed. And it is very true that Sanskrit forms of knowledge were much more important to this process than Prakrit forms of knowledge.[87] But the specific connections between Prakrit and vernacular forms of knowledge have dropped out, and as a result, the latter are invested with a somewhat illusory newness.

---

[87]    Mitchell (2009: 108); Pollock (2004: 402).

And while Prakrit was, in many relevant senses, "cosmopolitan," it also provided a template—one that was followed again and again—for constructing systematic knowledge of regional practices (*deśīśāstra*s).

The metagrammatical categories, and particularly that of the regional, were crucially important to the self-theorization of vernacular literature in Kannada and Telugu. But the effects of Prakrit knowledge on vernacularization were hardly limited to these categories. The notion of a mixed language was important to several vernacular traditions, above all Malayalam.[88] To all appearances, the earliest actual practice of composing in a mixed language in South Asia, and certainly the earliest theoretical reflection on the practice, is the combination of Sanskrit and Prakrit in Jain commentarial culture of the mid-first millennium CE. Vīrasena describes the mixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit in his *Dhavalā* (completed in 816 CE) as *maṇipravāla*, a mixture of rubies and red coral. In explaining the word "half-Sanskrit" (*ardhasaṃskṛtaṃ*) in the *Treatise on Theater*, Abhinavagupta suggests that it is a combination of Sanskrit with a regional language and refers to "*maṇipravāla* in the South" and "*śāṭakuta* in Kashmir," and in the same breath mentions the possibility that it is simply Prakrit.[89]

The case of *maṇipravāḷa* is a straightforward instance, but not the only one, of Prakrit creating a space that vernacular languages would fill, seemingly creating the conditions for its own obsolescence. This has led, in the scholarly world as well as in popular narratives, to the erasure of Prakrit from the history of language in South Asia, which is commonly told through the oppositional categories of Sanskrit and regional language, cosmopolitan and vernacular. What I have tried to show in this chapter that Prakrit forms of knowledge formed the background for vernacular forms of knowledge. Similarly, Prakrit grammar has long been seen as a half-baked and flawed enterprise, falling far short of the theoretical economy and sophistication of Sanskrit grammar. I have argued here that many of

---

[88] For Urdu as a mixed language, see Bangha (2005). For Malayalam I follow Freeman (1998), which mentions the Prakrit genealogy of *maṇipravāḷam* only in a footnote (no. 28).

[89] *New Dramatic Art* vol. 4, p. 385 (comm. on 32.382): *trivargaprasiddhaṃ padamadhye saṃskṛtaṃ madhye deśabhāṣādiyuktaṃ tad eva kāryam, dakṣiṇāpathe maṇipravālam iti prasiddham, kāśmīre śāṭakulam iti.* See also Ezhuthachan (1971).

its perceived failures can be explained by the purposes it served, its relation to other discourses, and the way in which it was elaborated over the centuries. Further, these theoretical and methodological deviations from Sanskrit grammar are precisely where Prakrit grammar, along with Prakrit metrics and lexicography, had the longest and most important history of effects: its concern with practice, its orientation towards existing bodies of literature, and the concepts they devised for shuttling between Sanskrit universality and Prakrit particularity.

# Chapter 7

# Conclusions: Forgetting Prakrit

*sakkaya vānī buhaana bhāvaï*
*pāua rasa ko mamma na pāvaï |*
*desila vayanā saba jana miṭṭhā*
*teṃ taisana jaṃpaü avahaṭṭhā ||*

Vidyāpati[1]

## Summary

The previous chapters have examined Prakrit's position in the language order of India. I argued that Prakrit was not just the endless stream of popular language: it referred to a specific set of language practices the beginnings of which we can locate, more or less, to the 1st century CE. It was around this time that a new kind of textuality emerged—*kāvya* or *kavva*—which was self-consciously expressive,

---

[1]   From the *Vine of Glory* (*Kīrtilatā*), cited from McGregor (1984: 30).

in which the way something was said mattered just as much as what was said. This was a centuries-long process rather than a single historical event, and the impossibility of producing a precise timeline has frustrated attempts to find a single "beginning" for the massive and diverse tradition of *kāvya*. Nevertheless, chapters 2 and 3 argued that the language practices of the Sātavāhana court had an enormous impact on the history of *kāvya* and on the shape of the classical language order. The inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas show that they pioneered a language of power and were engaged in a long contest over what the languages of political power could and should be. They consistently, although not without exception, represented themselves in an expressive Middle Indic, and this language defined their cultural politics for generations after their empire came to an end.

The literarization of political discourse we see in the inscriptions of the Sātavāhana era is contemporaneous with the emergence of a literary culture organized around the production and appreciation of *kāvya*, although the connections between the two discursive spheres remain elusive. But we should not lose sight of the fact that Prakrit was at the vanguard of this movement. The Sātavāhana court had a major role in establishing Prakrit as *the* language of this new type of literature, at least within the macroregion of the "Southern Path" that they laid claim to. And Prakrit, in turn, helped to establish literature—*kavva*—as an independent sphere of discourse by demarcating it from learned discourse in other languages. Of course, we typically think of Sanskrit as the preeminent language of *kāvya*, even in its earliest days. I suggest, however, that we think of Sanskrit as entering a discursive sphere that was already constituted by practices in other languages, foremost among them Prakrit. As a result of its entry into this new sphere, it was both defined as "Sanskrit" in opposition to Prakrit for the first time in its already-long history, and transformed into a language of expressive literature that was not necessarily linked to a particular religious tradition—a language, in other words, like Prakrit.

My argument in chapters 2, 3 and 5 is that the "literarization" of various forms of discourse that

took place around the 1ˢᵗ century CE—a process that many scholars have noticed, although Sheldon Pollock is one of the few to name it and suggest an explanation for it—is inextricable from their "Prakritization." I do not mean that pre-existing discourses were "translated" into Prakrit. On the contrary: the forms of textuality that emerged in this period were largely Prakrit forms to begin with. When Bhadrabāhu composes versified notes to the Jain canon, he uses Prakrit *gāthā*, and he is the first in the Jain tradition to do so. When Nāgārjuna, who is reputed to have enjoyed the patronage of the Sātavāhanas, composes Buddhist philosophical works in Sanskrit *āryā*s, he is using a verse-form that originated in Prakrit literature. And above all, it is Prakrit literature that defines a large part—although certainly not the whole—of what it means for *kavva*/*kāvya* to be courtly: not simply produced at the court, but embodying a refined courtly aesthetic and operating through indirection, obliquity and suggestion. The positive features of Prakrit literature—what it meant, on the level of phonemes, verse-forms, and compositional forms, for a text to be a Prakrit text—were explored further in chapter 4.

The *Seven Centuries*, which was probably a product of the Sātavāhana court, is rightly seen as one of the foundational texts of this literary tradition. I also argued in chapter 3 that Jain texts like Pādalipta's *Taraṅgavatī* are critical for understanding its history. The texts that survive are sufficient to establish that Jain authors made contributions to the burgeoning literary culture of the early centuries CE that were no less significant than the cultivation of Sanskrit literary forms by Buddhist authors such as Aśvaghoṣa and Kumāralāta. And although these texts are often shunted off into a separate tradition of "Jain Prakrit" or "Jain Māhārāṣṭrī," we would do better to think of a wider field of textuality that accommodates them alongside their Sanskrit and Prakrit intertexts. In chapter 6, against the common conception that views Jain Prakrit as an exception to the grammatical norm, I suggested that Jain texts might have actually constituted the grammatical norm.

The dichotomy of Sanskrit and Prakrit was one of the focal points of chapter 5, which surveyed the

various ways in which Prakrit was figured. I argued that the representations of Prakrit should be seen as schemas, in the technical sense that they bring a variety of literary language practices to order by determining their relative position in an overarching system of representations. Sanskrit and Prakrit, which come to be used as names of complementary language practices at around the same time, are figured as identical but opposite, and co-constitutive of the whole of textuality. These representations determine Prakrit as a completely different kind of language than we are used to. It is like Sanskrit, in that it is effectively transregional, the primary language of a tradition of sophisticated and courtly literature, and cultivated by Hindus, Buddhists, and Jains alike; it is nevertheless regional in some significant sense, the language in which low and uneducated people are represented as speaking, and relatively circumscribed and minor in relation to Sanskrit. But this very minority makes it a useful indicator of the structures in which it is embedded: Prakrit poets, for example, almost always reflect on their choice of language in a way that Sanskrit poets rarely do. And insofar as it reveals the structures on which literary languages depend for their being and for their being-known—regimes of representation, of systematic knowledge, of discipline and practice—Prakrit gives us a crucial starting-point for thinking about literary languages in general, in India and elsewhere.

The preceding chapter examined some of the forms of systematic knowledge that constituted Prakrit in greater conceptual and historical detail. Prakrit grammar is often treated as though it were Sanskrit grammar's country cousin, but such an approach overlooks the important cultural work that Prakrit grammar performed. I offered a reading of the organizing concepts of Prakrit grammar and lexicography, and to a lesser extent Prakrit metrics, as the instruments of an unprecedented project of large-scale comparison between language practices. These forms of knowledge help us to understand Prakrit's regionality. It is the remainder of this comparison, but also its principal object; the regional is what knowledge of Prakrit is really knowledge of. With the first and most fully articulated theory of the regional in India, Prakrit discourses offered to regional-language discourses a way of understanding

themselves in relation to Sanskrit, as we saw in the case of the earliest grammars of Kannada and Telugu.

# Reordering Language

"Those who know how to recite Prakrit poetry," says a verse that appears for the first time around the 12th century, "are as rare as those who know how to make garlands of *kubja* flowers, or how to pacify a woman's wrath."[2]

This verse registers the rarity of Prakrit: not just of the practice of reciting it, but of the knowledge that skilled recitation depends on. This chapter will examine the transformations that Prakrit underwent that might underlie this sense of its rarity. For something must have changed: Prakrit was an essential component of literary culture in the first millennium, with a corpus of texts that poets actively contributed to and that theorists actively engaged with; over the course of the second millennium, however, textual production in Prakrit seems to decrease, the language becomes increasingly confined to Jain scholars, and generally Prakrit was much less important for thinking about the literary than it had been previously.

A contraction in three areas—textual production in the language, its public, and its significance— appears to diagnose a "decline." But that is not exactly the story I want to tell in this chapter. Decline narratives are always susceptible to a number of criticisms. One is their evidentiary basis. Especially in the case of Prakrit literary practices, with so many texts lost and so many still awaiting publication, it might seem imprudent and arbitrary to compare what is known of one period to what is known of another. A second criticism relates to interpretation. Does, for example, Rāmapāṇivāda's production

---

[2]    Jineśvara Sūri quotes this verse in the following form in his *Treasury of Gāthā-Jewels* (1194 CE, v. 21): *pāiyakavvaṃ paḍhiuṃ gumpheuṃ taha ya kujjayapasūṇaṃ | kuviyaṃ ca pasāheuṃ ajja vi bahave na yāṇaṃti ||*. Jayaratha (later 12th c.) quotes it in the following form on p. 7 of his *Analysis* of Ruyyaka's *Totality of Figures*): *pāuabaṃdhaṃ paḍhiuṃ baṃdheuṃ taha a kujjakusumāiṃ | poḍhamahilaṃ ca ramiuṃ virala ccia ke vi jāṇaṃti ||*.

of two long poems in Prakrit in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century constitute an exception to a general pattern of decline, or does it prevent us from speaking of decline in the first place? And how in principle should we decide between these options? These questions involve a third criticism, which is teleology. The teleology might be on the level of narration, where phenomena are selected and organized according to their eventual decline, or it might be on the level of explanation, where phenomena are said to already contain in themselves the seeds of their inevitable decline. Although both kinds are defensible, defending them requires a commitment to a certain model of historiography or theory of history. And rather than committing ourselves in this way, we might wonder whether there are other ways of narrating what happened to Prakrit over the course of the second millennium than through the motif of decline.

There are additional liabilities in attempting to fit Prakrit into a narrative of decline. Decline might be gauged by the rarity, obscurity, or marginality of a phenomenon that was once abundant, prominent, and central. But Prakrit was always a "minor" literature in comparison to Sanskrit, and this difference was not accidental but constitutive. Even authors who represented Prakrit as a popular and widely accessible language nevertheless tended to represent it as a *faute de mieux* for audience who did not have access to Sanskrit—and even those authors, as we have seen, sometimes went on to compose in Sanskrit anyway.[3]

Applying a decline narrative to Prakrit might force us to imagine that Prakrit has always been in decline, which threatens to undermine the very notion. Yet this is precisely how the history of Prakrit is often told. And this is because of another liability: decline narratives force us into thinking about languages and literary traditions in vitalist terms, namely as "dead" and "alive." As naturalized as these terms may be for us, their original use—and still their most common use—is to denigrate older literary

---

[3]    Siddharṣi for example (p. 106).

traditions in favor of newer ones.[4] The vitalist metaphor also underwrites a certain historiography of Prakrit that I discussed in the introduction (p. 19): the whole history of Prakrit textuality, on this view, is merely the afterlife—or perhaps a long and drawn-out death—to an imaginary period of vitality that predates our textual sources. In the beginning was Prakrit storytelling and song, and writing turned it into a dead letter, a game for overeducated elites.[5]

The historiography of death and decline thus may not be the best way to come to terms with what actually happened to Prakrit over the course of the second millennium. In what follows, I will attempt to relate these changes—for they are indeed changes—to a reconfiguration of the language order: the transregional language order of which Prakrit formed a critical part, and which extended all over South Asia, was succeeded by regional language orders in which Prakrit was replaced, redetermined, or otherwise pushed to the margins. Prakrit did remain an essential component of the literary-cultural knowledge that educated people were expected to master, but the purposes and actual uses of this knowledge were much different in what Sheldon Pollock has called the "vernacular millennium" than they had been previously.[6]

Thus I will be arguing that Prakrit was deeply affected by the regionalization of culture and politics that occurred at the beginning of the "vernacular millennium," that is, between the 9th and 13th centuries. Because the history of Prakrit is the history of the language order in which it is contained, I find the ecological metaphor developed by Shantanu Phukan more compelling than the metaphor of language-as-organism. We cannot say that Prakrit occupied the same "niche" that the vernacular languages would later occupy. The ecological metaphor, however, allows us to go

---

[4]   The opposition dates to around 1540 (Alessandro Citolini's *Lettera in difesa della lingua volgare*), and it is conspicuously absent from earlier discussions of Latin and the vernaculars in Renaissance Italy. See Faithfull (1953); Mioni (2004). For the "death of Sanskrit" see Pollock (2001).

[5]   Alsdorf (2006 [1965]: 15–16).

[6]   Pollock (1998), Pollock (2006b: Part II).

beyond a naïve functionalism, according to which already-existing languages are matched with already-existing purposes, towards a model in which the languages and purposes themselves depend on a larger configuration of literary practices—the "intricate inter-dependencies and rivalries... of literary communities," as Phukan says.[7]

Since Prakrit was both notionally regional and effectively transregional, it is at first unclear what we should expect the effects of the regionalization of culture on Prakrit to have been. And in fact, there were a wide variety of such effects—not all of which can be unambiguously characterized as "decline"—and this variety ultimately resulted in the concept of "Prakrit" losing much of its definition and coherence. Probably in response to these "centrifugal" energies, there are a considerable number of grammars and commentaries composed between the 15th and 18th centuries that synthesize, reorganize, and rearticulate what was known of Prakrit.

This chapter will first chart the ways in which Prakrit was edged out of the language order even while it retained, at least in some places, a notional place among the "six languages." The different processes of displacement provide a valuable perspective onto the different processes of transculturation that are now often lumped together under the term "vernacularization." It is well-known that the Dravidian-speaking South vernacularized much differently than the Indic-speaking North, and I argue that Prakrit must play a crucial role in explaining this difference.[8] The chapter will then examine the "centripetal" forces that reconstituted Prakrit as an object of knowledge, or rather as an object of locally-differentiated knowledges: for in a very few cases, knowledge of Prakrit remained crucially important to the continuation of local traditions of devotion or performance; in other cases, it symbolized one's total mastery over the field of linguistic science; in most cases, it was the arcane science of a mostly-forgotten literary past. The last section returns to the theme of displacement, and

---

[7]    Phukan (2001: 37).

[8]    Pollock (2006b: 390–391); Pollock (2011: 24–25).

examines the transformation of Prakrit into the language of the snakes.

# Displacement

Prakrit once had a "place" in the language order of classical India. In the schemas that defined and regulated language practices, and especially literary language practices, Prakrit was situated alongside Sanskrit and Apabhraṃśa. Prakrit also had a "place" in the language practices themselves, populating the discursive worlds that these schemas brought to order. When I speak of "displacement," then, I mean Prakrit's displacement from a position of importance both in actual practices and in the conceptual ordering of these practices. I also mean to imply that Prakrit's place was taken by something else: some of Prakrit's functions were taken over by Sanskrit, while others were taken over by vernacular languages.

An example of Prakrit's placement will help us to understand what exactly it means for Prakrit to have been displaced. Around the beginning of the 11th century CE, the Paramāra king Bhoja had a pair of poems in Prakrit, each about a hundred verses long, inscribed on the walls of a building that would later be known as the Bhojaśālā in his capital of Dhārā in today's Madhya Pradesh.[9] The first poem praises Kūrma, the tortoise that supports the earth on its shell. The second praises Bhoja for outdoing Kūrma in the task of supporting the earth. It is obvious from his literary-critical works that Bhoja knew and appreciated Prakrit literature deeply, but in these inscriptions we have, uniquely, the clear expression of a political vision in Prakrit poetry that is about and attributed to a reigning king. These poems, mediocre as their editor judged them to be, demonstrate the highly visible "place" of Prakrit in one of the most powerful and most storied courts of India. Prakrit was accorded this place by virtue of its status as a literary language—indeed, as an exclusively literary language—and not by

---

[9] Pischel (1905–1906), reprinted with translation in Kulkarni (2003); Upadhye (1975–1976).

virtue of its notional connection with any particular region, community, or religious tradition. And hence these poems also demonstrate the prominent role that literature and its practices were accorded in imagining the political.

The pair of poems at Dhārā is one of the very few instances of inscribed Prakrit poetry—as distinct from the Middle Indic that the Sātavāhanas employed in their inscribed poetry of politics—and most of the other examples are also from Dhārā.[10] Bhoja is also one of the last kings to patronize Prakrit poets, or perhaps one of the last kings for whom there were any Prakrit poets to patronize. As a rule Prakrit, which entered history as a language of courtly literature and retained that status until Bhoja's time, was exiled from royal courts throughout the second millennium. There are exceptions, but as I will suggest below (p. 266), these exceptions make the use of Prakrit part of a fantasy for a literary past.

The classical schema of "six languages," which Bhoja himself had adopted in his *Illumination of the Erotic*, remained the primary way in which authors and theorists crystallized the unending variety of language into a conceptually ordered set of literary possibilities. But as noted in chapter 5, underlying any such representation is a schema of co-figuration that defines languages in contrast to each other. For the classical language order, Sanskrit and Prakrit were the basic terms of co-figuration; Apabhraṃśa was a further iteration of Prakrit's differences, and Māgadhī and Śaurasenī were dramatic ectypes of Prakrit. Even an Apabhraṃśa poet such as Svayambhū (9th c.), when reflecting on the great river that is the story of Rāma, observed that Sanskrit and Prakrit were its two banks (p. 191).

---

[10]    See Bhayani (1996) for a fragmentary poem on the theme of *māna* and Katare (1952) for an inscribed verse of the *Seven Centuries*.

# The New Duality

Vernacularization fundamentally changed the schema of co-figuration. In region after region of southern Asia, starting in the 9th century, the dichotomy of Sanskrit and Prakrit was replaced by the dichotomy of Sanskrit and the regional vernacular. As shown previously (ch. 6), Prakrit provided the concepts through which vernacular language practices were theorized: lexemes could be Sanskrit-identical, Sanskrit-derived, or regional; Prakrit's two systems of versification, syllable-counting and mora-counting, likewise set a precedent for the introduction of regional versification practices into the higher forms of literary culture. I do not mean that the study of Prakrit literature somehow "inspired" vernacularization, but that when the will to "literarize" the regional languages appeared, Prakrit provided some of the key theoretical tools for doing so.

This model sheds some light on the difficult question of how the agents of vernacularization understood their own language practices. Sheldon Pollock has argued that the vernaculars were never (with a handful of exceptions) considered "Prakrits," since Prakrit was essentially a component of the cosmopolitan culture in contrast to which the vernaculars defined themselves; Herman Tieken has argued, in contrast, that "Prakrits" are precisely what the vernaculars were understood to be, since Prakrit was essentially a representation of local speech in a literary register.[11] Under the schema of co-figuration, however, a language might be thought of as "Prakrit" not because it was functionally (or still less grammatically) similar to Prakrit, but just because it was Sanskrit's other.

The examples of the vernacular being called Prakrit that Tieken has extracted from Pollock's book are important, but not for the reasons Tieken thinks. The first example is a Sanskrit inscription of ca. 700 CE, which refers to its latter portion, in Kannada, as "verses in the Prakrit language."[12] Second, there is the Javanese word *pinrākrəta*, literally "Prakritized," refers to a text that has been translated

---

11    Pollock (2006b: 346); Tieken (2008).

12    The inscription is edited in Panchamukhi (1941: 2–3).

from Sanskrit into Javanese. The usage dates at least to the 13th century.[13] Lastly there is the statement of the 17th-century poet Ākho that "Sanskrit is of no use without Prakrit," by which he means his own Gujarati language.[14] These examples hardly suffice to establish that the vernaculars were, as a rule, thought of as Prakrit, although this was probably the case in Java. More importantly, they all involve a contrast with Sanskrit. Thus they attest to an idea of "Prakrit" as a counterpart to Sanskrit that was much more deeply entrenched than the actual practices of Prakrit literature. These practices, not coincidentally, are nowhere in evidence in any of these examples, which suggests that in them the vernacular is not figured as one "Prakrit" among many, but as the only possible alternative to Sanskrit within the textual cultures in which they were produced.

As I noted above, we need to be sensitive to the very different trajectories of vernacularization in different regions of South Asia, and we can use the representation of Prakrit to trace some of these differences. Kannada and Telugu literature, to begin with, have a *topos* of the "both-poet." Nāgavarman (later 10th c.), in a passage from the *Ocean of Meters* discussed above (p. 240), referred to metrical forms of "both languages" (*ubhayabhāṣā*) that are found "in all domains." This evidently refers to Sanskrit and Prakrit, for Nāgavarman contrasts them with the Kannada language and its particular metrical forms. But in several other examples, "both" refers to Sanskrit and Kannada. The poet Ponna, famous for composing the *Legend of Śāntinātha* in Kannada, was given the title "emperor among both-poets" (*ubhaya-kavi-cakravartin*) by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III (r. 939–968), which the poet explicitly tells us was for his skill in both Sanskrit and Kannada. Ranna, author of the *Legend of Ajitanātha* in Kannada who worked under the Cālukya king Tailapa II (r. 973–997), would also style himself a "both-poet" (*ubhayakavi*). One further example comes from Telugu literature. The second of the "trinity" of poets who rendered the *Mahābhārata* into Telugu is Tikkana (13th c.), who is described

---

13    Pollock (2006b: 389), Creese (2011: 106 n. 12).

14    Yashaschandra (2003: 581).

by his contemporary Ketana in the latter's *Ornament of the Āndhra Language* as a "friend of both-poets" (*ubhayakavimitru*).[15] In fact, none of these poets composed any works in Sanskrit. Yet the title "both-poet" refers to the capacity to compose in Sanskrit and in the vernacular, or at least the capacity to compose in the vernacular in a highly Sanskritic style. None of these poets composed a word of Prakrit.

From the later history of Kannada and Telugu, one could hardly figure out that a language called Prakrit even existed. The Vīraśaiva movement presented itself, and its language practices, as radically opposite to Sanskrit. Pālkuriki Somanātha, for example, opposes Sanskrit to Telugu as coconut to honey.[16] Peddana's *Deeds of Manu* (*Manucaritramu*, 16th c.) begins with a praise of earlier poets, with the Sanskrit poets in one group and the Telugu poets in another.[17] The cultural logic is similar to that of inscriptional discourse in the 1st c. CE (p. 58): being recognized as a language means being recognized as different from another language, and as a result language practices tend to cluster around binary oppositions.

Whereas vernacular traditions of the South replaced Prakrit with the regional language in the schemas that ordered their literary practices, those of the North generally continued to employ the three-way contrast between Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Apabhraṃśa. Bhoja knew of a *Bhīma Kāvya* that he described as composed in a "vulgar language" (*grāmyabhāṣā-*); tellingly, Hemacandra recasts this phrase as "vulgar Apabhraṃśa" (*grāmyāpabhraṃśa-*), a phrase that simultaneously identifies the language with Apabhraṃśa and also registers some differences from it.[18] Vernacular practices in North India were often conceived as varieties of Apabhraṃśa. And with some conceptual and philological justice. As

---

[15]  Rice (1882: 301, 304); *Ornament of the Āndhra Language*, v. 5. For Ketana and Tikkana see Narayana Rao (2003: 393).

[16]  Narayana Rao (1995: 28; 2003: 398).

[17]  *Deeds of Manu*, vv. 7–8.

[18]  Raghavan (1963: 824).

noted earlier (p. 192), Apabhraṃśa was conceived of as an iteration of Prakrit even within the classical language order, and the literary practices that were furthest from Sanskrit were generally brought under this category. There is, moreover, a considerable overlap in grammar, lexicon, and metrical repertoire. The connection between the traditions of Apabhraṃśa and the North India vernaculars is a complex question, in part because so much of the historiogaphy of vernacular literature is bound up in it, but the most careful scholarly responses recognize a "gray area" between classical Apabhraṃśa and true vernaculars.[19]

What I want to emphasize here is that as Apabhraṃśa was pulled closer to the vernacular practices of the North, its distance from Prakrit increased. For some poets, of course, Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa— even this newer, regionalized Apabhraṃśa—remained mutually constitutive. But the verse of Vidyāpati (14th/15th c. Mithilā) quoted at the beginning of this chapter marks an ongoing and intentional displacement of Prakrit from the practices of literature. McGregor translated the portion *pāua rasa ko mamma na pāvaï* as "who does not grasp and relish natural speech?"[20] Perhaps Vidyāpati is associating his language, Avahaṭṭha, with "natural speech" as signified by the word "Prakrit" (*pāua*). I prefer another translation: "nobody can understand the complexities of the *rasa* of Prakrit."[21] Vidyāpati recognizes Prakrit but assigns it no sphere of practice: the learned prefer Sanskrit, he says, and everyone enjoys the vernacular; the mysteries of Prakrit, however, are known to no one.

---

[19] Two important contributions to this question are Dvivedī (2008 [1952]) and Siṃh (1971 [1952]); Dvivedī, however, sometimes undermines his insights by clinging to anachronistic categorizations (for example in calling Cand Bardāī the last poet of Apabhraṃśa rather than the first poet of Hindi on p. 144). The introduction of Nara (1979) is also a useful summary.

[20] McGregor (1984: 30), followed by Tieken (2008: 358).

[21] Suggested by Nara (1979: 6).

# Translation and Abridgement

The Kannada poet Ponna claimed in the 10th century that the "poets who professed to write in the three and a half languages" stole all of their material from other poets.[22] After Ponna's time, however, poets in South India largely gave up whatever pretense they had of writing in Prakrit. If poets were concerned with Prakrit literature at all, rather than adding to it, they were concerned to adapt it to the new conditions of the vernacular millennium.

Two complementary examples of this kind of adaptation come from the Reḍḍi court of coastal Andhra around the turn of the 15th century. Pedakomaṭi Vema Reḍḍi or Vema Bhūpāla (r. 1403–1420) produced an *Essence of the Seven Centuries* (*Saptaśatīsāra*), which is a selection of around one hundred verses from the original *Seven Centuries* of Hāla with Vema's own commentary, featuring a word-for-word rendering of each verse into Sanskrit (a *chāyā* or "shadow").[23] Vema might have gotten the idea of abridging and translating the *Seven Centuries* from one of the poets in his court. The famously learned and productive Śrīnātha is said to have translated the *Seven Centuries* into Telugu towards the beginning of his career, but the text is now lost.[24]

In both cases, it was important to the authors to appropriate the courtly aesthetic of the *Seven Centuries*, but doing so required transposing it into either Sanskrit or Telugu. Vema tells us, at the beginning of the *Essence*, that "he is that very Hāla."[25] Let us take up his invitation and compare the two kings. Vema's *Essence* is an abridgement of an earlier anthology; none of the poems in it—with the possible but unlikely exception of a handful of verses not found in other recensions of the *Seven Centuries*—were composed by Vema or any of his court poets. Vema did live up to Hāla's ideal by

---

[22]  Rice (1882: 301).

[23]  The text was edited by A.N. Upadhye; unbeknownst to him, it seems, Weber also consulted this text for his edition of the *Seven Centuries* (it is his "second Telugu recension").

[24]  Somasekhara Sarma (1948: 469); Narayana Rao and Shulman (2012: 22).

[25]  *hālaḥ prāk saptaśatīṃ gāthākoṭer vyadhatta samprati tu | so 'yaṃ vemabhūpālas tasyā api śatakam āharat sāram ||.*

generously supporting poets and scholars like Śrīnātha. But not a single one of these poets composed in Prakrit.

These transcreations of the *Seven Centuries* at the Reḍḍi court invite comparison with Govardhana's *Seven Centuries of Āryās*, produced at the court of Lakṣmaṇasena around 1200 CE. Govardhana's explicit goal was to "turn poetry whose *rasa* is most appropriate for Prakrit into Sanskrit" (p. 172). Although Govardhana's anthology is much more learned, allusive, and sophisticated than Hāla's, its playfulness and frankness—the *rasa* of Prakrit poetry—represent a departure from earlier traditions of lyric poetry in Sanskrit. Prakrit served a purpose in the Sena court, but as in the Reḍḍi court, that purpose was to supply an aesthetic ideal that could be creatively appropriated by poets working in other languages, and who would indeed redefine what it meant to compose courtly literature in Sanskrit (in the case of Govardhana) or Telugu (in the case of Śrīnātha).

Even within the community of Jain monks, which took a special interest in Prakrit because of the vast religious literature composed in it, translation was one of the conditions for Prakrit's survival in the vernacular millennium. Up until the turn of the 13th century, the Jain communities of North India produced an incredible volume of narrative literature in Prakrit which remains largely unstudied to this day. After the first few decades of the 13th century, however, there is a precipitous decline in textual production in Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa.[26] The downturn is very nearly contemporaneous with the appearance of a rich literature in what scholars call "Old Gujarati" or "Mārū-Gūrjar," the earliest surviving examples of which are the tales of the battle between Bharateśvara and Bāhubali composed by the Jain monks Vajrasena Sūri (ca. 1170) and Śālibhadra Sūri (1185).[27]

The downturn in Prakrit literary production also coincides with a remarkable effort to translate the important works of Prakrit literature into Sanskrit. There is a pattern in 13th-century literary

---

[26]    See Ghatage (1934–1935a), Jain (1981: 38), and the comprehensive Jain (1961).

[27]    Yashaschandra (2003: 584–585), Bangha (2012).

production that strongly suggests that the stream of Prakrit was being systematically diverted into Sanskrit, on the one hand, and a rapidly-regionalizing variety of Apabhraṃśa, on the other.

John Cort has drawn on Mahopadhyāya Vinayasāgara's research to sketch a "writer's workshop" in the Kharatara Gaccha centered around Jineśvara Sūri and his students, who revised and corrected each others' work.[28] Jineśvara Sūri himself (1189–1275) produced works in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhraṃśa, and the vernacular, but it seems significant that he added a Sanskrit autocommentary to his biography of Candraprabha in Prakrit prose. His students rarely wrote in Prakrit, and Cort notes that this sets Jineśvara's circle apart from earlier literary circles. One of his students was Jinaratna Sūri, who wrote exclusively in Sanskrit. His first major work was a history of the four "self-enlightened" Jinas (1255), which probably takes its starting point from Śrītilaka Sūri's Prakrit work on the same subject (1205). His last work, completed in 1285, is an abridgement and translation into Sanskrit of a long narrative called *A Story of Liberation and Līlāvatī* (*Nivvāṇalīlāvaīkahā*), which was in turn composed by the "first" Jineśvarasūri, founder of the Kharatara Gaccha, in 1036. In the introduction to the text he claims to be producing his epitome for reasons of spiritual advancement, and that some people will be interested in "just the story" (*kathāmātra-*) without the literary embellishment of the original. Jinaratna justifies his decision to epitomize an earlier text by referring to "epitomes of the *Tilakamañjarī* and so on."[29] The reference to the *Tilakamañjarī*, which was written in Sanskrit, obscures the fact that Jinaratna's text, besides being being an abridgement, is a translation.

Exactly at the same time that Jinaratna was reworking *A Story of Liberation and Līlāvatī* into Sanskrit, a number of monks belonging to the Candra Gaccha were doing the same to other works of Prakrit literature. In the mid-13th century, Ratnaprabha Sūri made a Sanskrit *campū* out of Uddyotana Sūri's Prakrit *Kuvalayamālā*. In 1265, Munideva created a Sanskrit epitome of Devacandra's Prakrit

---

[28]   Cort (2009a).

[29]   *Epitome of Queen Līlāvatī*, pp. 26–28.

261

*Deeds of Śāntinātha.*  And in 1268, Pradyumna Sūri created a Sanskrit epitome of Haribhadra Sūri's *Story of Samarāditya.*  Pradyumna had actually edited Ratnaprabha's and Munideva's epitomes, and made corrections to some Prakrit manuscripts currently kept in Jaisalmer.  This activity even more clearly represents a program of translation and abridgement, and as Christine Chojnacki has pointed out, the formal features these works share (for example, the reduction of the text to about a third of its original extent) suggest that the authors were following a rubric.[30]  And although Sanskrit works were also epitomized as part of this program—Dhanapāla's *Tilakamañjarī*, which Jinaratna mentioned, and Siddharṣi's *Endless Stream of Likenesses and Births*—the goal was evidently to make the important literary works of the past available to a 13th-century audience whose interest was primarily in spiritual edification and whose knowledge of Prakrit was limited at best.  The project continued into the 14th century, when Dharmacandra made a Sanskrit epitome of the Prakrit *Story of Malayavatī*.[31]

Similar to these transcreations, but probably somewhat earlier, is the abridgement of Pādalipta's *Taraṅgavatī* into the *Taraṅgalolā*.  As we saw earlier (p. 116), the author acknowledges the difficulty that most people experienced in reading Prakrit texts—especially in understanding their regional vocabulary—as the primary reason for creating the *Taraṅgalolā*.

This selection from the domain of literature is more or less representative of textual production as a whole.  Nemicandra's *Essence for Gommaṭa* (*Gommaṭasāra*), composed for the Gaṅga minister Cāmuṇḍa Rāya in the later 10th century, is one of the last major works of Digambara Jain doctrine to be composed in Prakrit.  Cāmuṇḍa Rāya was himself a writer of Kannada, and patronized such eminent Kannada authors as Ranna and Nāgavarman.  In subsequent centuries, most of the important Prakrit works of the Digambara Jains, including the *Essence for Gommaṭa*, would be translated into Sanskrit and Kannada, or have Sanskrit and Kannada commentaries written on them.  And this process was by

---

[30]  P. 96 in A.N. Upadhye's introduction to vol. 2 of the *Kuvayalamālā*; Christine Chojnacki is preparing a paper on these abridgements (see Chojnacki 2012).

[31]  Ghatage (1934–1935b: 42).

no means limited to the south: John Cort has shown how Digambara communities in North India, and above all in 17th-century Agra, made an industry out of vernacularizing doctrinal works that were originally composed in Prakrit.[32]

These diverse processes of displacement, abridgement and translation all point to the precarious position that Prakrit had going into the 12th and 13th centuries. Although nearly everyone continued to enumerate Prakrit among the three, four, six, or eight languages of Indian literary culture, its existence was increasingly notional. Literary production shifted from Prakrit to Sanskrit and the vernaculars: evidence for this comes from the sanskritization or vernacularization of Prakrit texts, first of all, but also from the relative paucity of Prakrit texts after the 13th century. These new patterns of literary production corroborate a conceptual realignment: over the course of the vernacular millennium, the organizing dichotomy of the language order was increasingly not Sanskrit/Prakrit but Sanskrit/Vernacular, as attested by the *topos* of the "both-poet."

Yet knowledge of Prakrit, which Rājaśekhara considered a *conditio sine qua non* for poets in the early 10th century, cannot be said to have unequivocally gone into decline. Although some 11th-century authors like Bhoja seem to have taken it for granted that their readers would be able to understand Prakrit, others—notably Abhinavagupta and his student Kṣemendra—consistently did their readers the favor of providing a Sanskrit gloss of Prakrit verses in their literary-critical works.[33] The translation efforts of Pradyumna Sūri and his circle suggest that there was a small and probably shrinking group of Prakrit experts in the 13th c. who wrote for an educated public of Jain monks who could hardly understand Prakrit at all. And over the next several centuries, Prakrit knowledge would become expert knowledge even more than it had been in the past.

---

[32]  Cort (2009b).

[33]  I owe this observation to Sheldon Pollock. Abhinavagupta cites Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa verses (and composes his own) in many of his works, but when commenting upon the Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa verses in Ānandavardhana's *Light on Suggestion* he typically provides a Sanskrit gloss.

# Resuscitation

One of the most careful and comprehensive works of Prakrit grammar is a commentary on Vararuci's *Light on Prakrit* by Vasantarāja. Richard Pischel believed that this Vasantarāja was identical with another Vasantarāja, the Reḍḍi king Kumāragiri (r. 1386–1402), who was deposed by the very same Pedakomaṭi Vema that we encountered earlier as the author of the *Essence of the Seven Centuries* (p. 259).[34] Vasantarāja named his commentary *The Resuscitation of Prakrit* (*Prākṛtasaṃjīvanī*), in tacit recognition of the displacement of Prakrit from the language order of India. But just what did Vasantarāja aim to resuscitate? The number of original Prakrit works composed at the Reḍḍi court was zero, and one has to look hard to find exceptions to this pattern across 12th-century India. But over the course of the vernacular millennium, that is, from the early 13th century to the early 18th, we find a profusion of texts like the *Resuscitation* which reorganize, refashion, and explain the rules of Prakrit grammar as they were formulated by Vararuci and Hemacandra. Many of these texts were produced at important centers of political and intellectual power, and some were produced by the most learned scholars of their age.

Let us look at three examples. Lakṣmīdhara composed the *Moonlight of the Six Languages* around the middle of the 16th century. He seems to have enjoyed some support from the kings of Vijayanagara, the most powerful polity in South India at the time.[35] The *Moonlight* is simply a rearrangement of the Prakrit grammar of Trivikrama (early 13th c.). And Trivikrama's grammar itself is largely a rearrangement and expansion of Hemacandra's definitive grammar of Prakrit (mid-12th c.), presented in the last chapter of his *Siddhahemacandra*. The second example is Lakṣmīdhara's near-contemporary

---

[34]  Pischel (1874: 17–18). I am unsure of the identification: Kāṭayavema, Kumāragiri's general and brother-in-law, dedicated a set of commentaries on the plays of Kālidāsa to him, but throughout Kāṭayavema refers to Hemacandra's Prakrit grammar and not to the *Light on Prakrit* or its commentaries.

[35]  Lakṣmīdhara wrote a commentary on the *Gītagovinda* that is ascribed in one manuscript to the Vijayanagara king Tirumala (r. 1565–1572 CE).

in Vārāṇasī, Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa. Śeṣa was the foremost grammarian of his time, and he is best known today at the teacher of the famous grammarian Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita.[36] He is the author the *Moonlight of Prakrit*, which is largely a versification of Trivikrama's and Hemacandra's rules (the commentary borrows wholesale from these two authors) but includes a number of other citations. Śeṣa wrote it after his *Moonlight of Words*, a versified grammar of Sanskrit.[37] These attempts at "repackaging" grammar probably incited Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita to produce his own *Moonlight* for Sanskrit grammar, the enormously popular *Siddhāntakaumudī*. With the final example, we return from Vārāṇasī back to South India, and specifically to the Nāyaka kingdom of 17th-century Maturai. There Appayya Dīkṣita III, the grand-nephew of his famous namesake, produced a *Jewel-Lamp of Prakrit*.[38] Appayya refers to Hemacandra, Trivikrama, and Lakṣmīdhara, among others, but his *Jewel-Lamp* is essentially an abridgement of Trivikrama's grammar. Appayya's text was evidently meant to be used alongside Trivikrama's, since his abridgements render the grammar incoherent on its own.

All of these three authors produced Prakrit grammars, but did so by rearranging, versifying, or abridging previous grammars. The only one to actually write Prakrit that we know of is Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa, who uses it as a secondary language in plays such as *Kaṃsa's Demise*. These authors avow that their goal is to make Prakrit easier for students to learn. But why was it important for students to learn Prakrit in the vernacular millennium anyway, when the sphere of Prakrit literature had basically contracted to the women's parts in Sanskrit plays?

Prakrit seems to have taken on a symbolic significance as the capstone of cosmopolitan language practices that was only enhanced by its late-medieval rarity and marginality. Although regional literary cultures were increasingly oriented toward "the two languages," some intellectuals held themselves to

---

[36]  For a recent overview of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa's career see Benke (2010).

[37]  See *Moonlight of Prakrit* 9.36 (referring to the *Padacandrikā*).

[38]  Raghavan (1941).

the higher standard of proficiency in "all languages," which includes Prakrit in all of its theatrical varieties. Prakrit, even if it was used only occasionally, was still indispensible for writing plays on the model of Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti, and Rājaśekhara. And it was, of course, equally indispensible for reading the classical works of Sanskrit drama.

There were several ways of demonstrating this proficiency. Two authors of Kerala, Līlāśuka and Rāma Pāṇivāda, composed devotional poems in Prakrit about Kṛṣṇa. Līlāśuka's *Poem of Cihna*, composed around 1300, is a *śāstra-kāvya*, exemplifying Vararuci's rules for Prakrit much as Bhaṭṭi exemplified Pāṇini's rules for Sanskrit. Rāma Pāṇivāda's two epic poems, *Kaṃsa's Demise* and *Uṣā and Aniruddha*, are not explicitly *śāstra-kāvya*s. But Rāma Pāṇivāda did write a commentary to Vararuci's grammar, and his two Prakrit poems can easily be seen as an attempt to put this grammatical knowledge to use.

Other authors demonstrated their proficiency in "all languages" by vying with Rājaśekhara, the 9th/10th century dramatist who was one of the first poets to claim to be "omnilingual" and to hold this forth as an ideal for other poets. Rājaśekhara employed Prakrit extensively in his play *The Pierced Statue*, but later decided that he would go one step further and produce a play entirely in Prakrit. This play was the *Karpūramañjarī*, which is the earliest surviving representative, if not the earliest work altogether, of the genre of *saṭṭaka*. The *saṭṭaka* is a romantic comedy in which all of the characters speak Prakrit; it is filled with song, dance, witty repartée, and soft-core eroticism.

A handful of poets tried to outdo, or at least redo, the *Karpūramañjarī* with *saṭṭaka*s of their own. These plays, and the specifics of their debt to the *Karpūramañjarī*, are well-known and need not be discussed here at length.[39] The earliest (early 15th c.) is the *Rambhāmañjarī* of Nayacandra Sūri, a Jain monk whose other major work, the *Poem of Hammīra*, narrates the battle between the Cāhamāna prince Hammīra and ʿAlāʾuddīn Khilji in 1301. The *Rambhāmañjarī* is also set in the heroic past, and

---

[39] See Upadhye's introductions to the *Candralekhā*, as well as Naikar (1998) and the forthcoming PhD dissertation of Melinda Fodor (Paris).

its hero, Jaitracandra, is clearly modelled on the Gāhaḍavāla king Jayacandra of Vārāṇasī, fabled enemy of Pṛthvīrāja Cāhamāna (later 12ᵗʰ c.). Yet the *Rambhāmañjarī* is about the king's infatuation with the young Rambhā; since their marriage is secured already in the first act, the second and third acts are entirely given over to love-games and love-songs. There is no hint that Jaitracandra would be betrayed by his wife and end up dead in the Yamunā river, as other sources tell us. Rudradāsa wrote a *saṭṭaka* called *Candralekhā* for Mānaveda II of Calicut (ca. 1660), which its editor, A.N. Upadhye, did not appreciate very highly.[40] Around the same time, in the court of Mukuṇḍadeva of Orissa, Mārkaṇḍeya wrote a *saṭṭaka* called *Vilāsavatī*, which he referred to in his Prakrit grammar (*Sum-Total of Prakrit*) but which is now lost. In the early 18ᵗʰ century, Viśveśvara of Almora produced a large number of literary works, among them a *saṭṭaka* called *Śṛṅgāramañjarī*. The last *saṭṭaka* is the *Ānandasundarī* of Ghanaśyāma, the minister of Tukkojī of Tañcāvūr (r. 1729–1735).

Ghanaśyāma's *Ānandasundarī* makes it clear that the whole enterprise of producing *saṭṭaka*s is a form of applied philology. The very composition of a *saṭṭaka* is a performance of a certain kind of philological knowledge: the knowledge of literary Prakrit which had become rare, and hence valuable, over the course of the vernacular millennium. Ghanaśyāma's commentaries on the plays of Kālidāsa and Rājaśekhara reveal him to be an overbearing pedant, constantly correcting classical authors for failing to follow the rules of Prakrit grammar as he understood them from Vararuci.[41] It is a great shame that his commentary on the *Seven Centuries* seems to be lost. His *saṭṭaka* gives him the opportunity to put his knowledge of Prakrit to use, and he does so with remarkable aplomb: one of the recurring characters is the poet Pārijāta, a stand-in for Ghanaśyāma himself, who enacts Prakrit plays (*garbhanāṭaka*s, plays within the play) and composes sophisticated Prakrit poetry on the spot. He enhances the *deśya* lexicon inherited from Rājaśekhara by "Prakritizing" Marathi words. And the play is full of witty ripostes,

---

[40]   "... the result has fallen far short of what a drama really should be" (Introduction, p. 58).

[41]   For Ghanaśyāma in general, see Chaudhuri (1943), Mainkar (1970), Shukla (1985), and Yutaka (2007).

ribald jokes, and puns. When the *vidūṣaka* asks whether so learned a poet as Ghanaśyāma is ashamed to stage a play in Prakrit, the director responds as follows:

> A heretic can't stand a sacrifice,
> an adulterer can't stand good conduct,
> and an idiot can't stand knowledge.
> A person stubbornly finds fault with whatever is hard for him.
> All those who are known for just one language
>     are halfway poets:
> the one who is a poet in all languages
>     shines in the world as a full-on poet.[42]

Composing in Prakrit is how Ghanaśyāma can performatively demonstrate his philological expertise and, closely bound up with that knowledge, his poetic skill. It is not as if the vernacular millennium passed these authors by: Nayacandra includes Marathi in his *Rambhāmañjarī*, Rāmapāṇivāda wrote extensively in Malayalam, and Ghanaśyāma refers constantly to Marathi and Tamil idioms. Rather, they saw Prakrit as a vital component of the cosmopolitan literary tradition. They seem to be reacting to the process whereby cosmopolitan was collapsed into Sanskrit and Sanskrit alone. They resisted this process by attempting to resuscitate Prakrit. Whether or not they were successful, this "resuscitated" Prakrit was quite different from Prakrit in the first millennium. First of all, it was all the more deeply embedded in, and dependent upon, Sanskrit literary culture: there simply was no Prakrit outside of a handful of theatrical genres (the *nāṭaka*, *nāṭikā*, and *saṭṭaka*) and the occasional epic (*mahākāvya*) that all formed part of Sanskrit literary culture as theorized and practiced by the likes of Rājaśekhara. Secondly, it was almost entirely a dramatic language, and was hence even more strongly associated with the speech of women, children, and fools. Third, the use of Prakrit was entirely dependent upon grammars and model texts, and hence composing in Prakrit was

---

[42] *Ānandasundarī* 1.8: *pākhaṃḍo ṇa mahaṃ tidikhaï viḍo sīlāi vijjaṃ jaḍo jaṃ jaṃ jassa sudullahaṃ khidisu so taṃ taṃ muhā ṇiṃdaï | (huṃ, avahido suṇāhi) te savve uṇa ekka-desa-kaïṇo je ekka-bhāsā-caṇā so saṃpuṇṇa-kaī vihāi bhuvaṇe jo savva-bhāsā-kaī ||.*

a classicizing and even perhaps even archaizing exercise. Thus, as Ghanaśyāma's comment indicates, however much Prakrit is denigrated within the world of the play, within the world of the poet it indicates a commitment to a cosmopolitan ideal of literature.

We can understand the production of Prakrit grammar and of the competitively-learned *saṭṭaka* as complementary tendencies in the later history of Prakrit. These are "centripetal" tendencies, as they respond to the dispersion and marginalization of Prakrit in the vernacular millennium by linking it ever more closely with a more central cultural phenomenon: namely, Sanskrit grammar and Sanskrit literature. They are also "centripetal" in that they produce a more condensed version of Prakrit, one with a very specific grammatical shape and with a very specific discursive role. We can see a related tendency in the production of commentaries on classical Prakrit texts.

Here we will consider just one example: the commentaries on *Rāvaṇa's Demise* by Pravarasena.[43] The tradition of commenting on this work goes back to the late 10th/early 11th century, not too long after the first complete commentaries on any literary texts were composed (viz. Prakāśavarṣa's commentary on Bhāravi's *Arjuna and the Kirāta*, late 9th/early 10th c.). The most striking feature of this commentarial tradition, however, is the number of kings who participated in it. The tradition begins with none other than Bhojadeva's father, the Paramāra king Sindhurāja (r. 995–1010 CE), otherwise known as Sāhasāṅka, whose work is now lost. Another early commentator (late 11th c.) is Harṣapāla, the king of Kāmarūpa. The best-known commentary is that of Rāmadāsa, a prince of the Kacchavāha family. Rāmadāsa wrote this commentary at the request of Jalāluddīn Akbar in 1595 CE.[44] The attraction that this text in particular held for kings and emperors is beyond the scope of this discussion, but as noted earlier (p. 102), it is not just courtly but imperial: it imagines the territorial

---

[43]   These have been discussed by Krishnakanta Handique in his introduction to his 1976 translation, and most recently by Acharya (2006), who noted a manuscript of Harṣapāla's commentary.

[44]   *The Light on Rāma's Bridge*, p. 2: *dhīrāṇāṃ kāvyacarcācaturimavidhaye vikramādityavācā yaṃ cakre kālidāsaḥ kavikusumavidhuḥ setunāmaprabandham | tadvyākhyā sauṣṭhavārthaṃ pariṣadi kurute rāmadāsaḥ sa eva granthaṃ jallālīndrakṣitipativacasā rāmasetupradīpam ||.*

expansion of political power through Rāma's conquest of Laṅkā.

The production of commentaries on *Rāvaṇa's Demise* was often a joint effort. Harṣapāla refers to the "experts in Prakrit" who helped him prepare his commentary.[45] But the anonymous commentary known as the *Moonlight of the Truth of the Bridge* (*Setutattvacandrikā*) deserves special notice. This commentary refers to the interpretations of at least five other commentators by name: Sāhasāṅka and Harṣapāla, the otherwise-unknown Śrīnivāsa and Lokanātha, and above all Kulanātha. Merely collecting all of these manuscripts must have required a sustained effort in the late 16th century. The *Moonlight* seems to represent an attempt, on the part of a group of scholars in Bengal, to produce a conspectus edition of the text—unlike most other commentaries on *Rāvaṇa's Demise*, it includes the text and a Sanskrit translation—and a commentary that reflects all of the interpretations that were then available. This is not so different a project from Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara's hunt for manuscripts of the *Mahābhārata* for his own commentary in the late 17th century.[46] The stakes of the project, however, were different: without a commentary that rendered it intelligible to a Sanskrit reading public, *Rāvaṇa's Demise* would never have been read at all in the vernacular millennium, and it might have suffered the same fate as *Hari's Victory* by Sarvasena.

## The Language of the Snakes

I began this dissertation with Mīrzā Khān's statement that Sanskrit, Prakrit, and the vernacular (*bhāṣā*) are the three main languages used for literary purposes in India. If we can now recognize that this statement belongs to a discourse on language and a realm of practice that is more than a millennium in the making, his description of Prakrit as "the language of the snakes" nevertheless seems to diverge

---

[45]    Harṣapāla's commentary, second verse: *tena prākṛtakovidaiḥ saha samālocya prasannākṣaram saṃkṣepād akarod idaṃ vivaraṇaṃ śrīharṣapālo nṛpaḥ ||*.

[46]    Pollock (2014: 119).

sharply from earlier traditions. For neither the classical works of Prakrit literature, nor the literary theorists who read these works closely, contain such a characterization. Prakrit was represented as erotic, suggestive, sweet, popularly accessible—but serpentine?

This transformation is one of the ways in which the story of Prakrit is brought to a kind of conclusion. For understanding Prakrit as "the language of the snakes," as we will see, identifies the language with a textual tradition quite different from the one we have been examining so far. And in reidentifying Prakrit, it replaces the older language order constituted by the opposition between Sanskrit and Prakrit with an early-modern order in which Sanskrit and Prakrit are subordinated to, and in their own ways prefigure, vernacular language practices.

Ths story of Prakrit's redetermination begins in the middle of another story, which is still quite contested: the beginnings of vernacular literature in North India. Around the year 1315, a text took shape that posterity has known as the *Prakrit Piṅgala* (*Prākṛtapiṅgala*). It is ostensibly a metrical handbook, and the title implies that it was meant to do for Prakrit what Piṅgala, the author of the *Chandaḥ Sūtra*s, had done for Sanskrit: namely, define all of the metrical forms that were in common use. Almost all of these definitions, however, are drawn from a longstanding tradition of metrical analysis in Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa, the key representatives of which (Virahāṅka, Svayambhū, Hemacandra) were discussed in chapter 6. What is new about the *Prakrit Piṅgala* are its examples, many of which are clearly drawn from poetry of the 13th and 14th centuries. We encounter, for example, verses in praise of Hammīra, whose last stand against ʿAlāʿuddīn Khilji at Raṇasthambhapura in 1301 was related in Sanskrit and Persian narratives.[47] This contemporary poetry, however, is mostly not in Prakrit. Nor is it in the kind of Apabhraṃśa that Hemacandra influentially described in his grammar (mid-12th c.). Scholars generally call it Avahaṭṭha, a regionalized variety of Apabhraṃśa, taking their cue from authors such as Vidyāpati whose vernacularization of Apabhraṃśa was discussed above (p.

---

[47]    See 1.71, 1.190, 1.204. See p. 153 for other "accidental anthologies."

258).[48]

Who is the author of the *Prakrit Piṅgala*? Piṅgala presides over the text, insofar as he was the "founder" of the discourse that the text transcreates. The discourse of metrics is what makes the sea of textuality navigable—this metaphor is at least as old as Daṇḍin—and hence the very first verse of the text praises Piṅgala as "the first boat of *bhāṣā*."[49] But with this verse the text secures *for itself* the status of the "first poem" in this emergent literary tradition, and the status of "first poet" for Piṅgala, who is imagined to be at the helm of the ship. Piṅgala is also "marked" as the author by a *chāp* in many of its verses.[50] This, indeed, is how Lakṣmīnātha (1601) and Keśavadāsa (1602) have read this text: not just as a transposition of the discourse of metrics into a new tradition of poetry, but a first attempt to encompass, define, and exemplify this tradition through its metrical forms. Wherever we locate the beginnings of vernacular literature in North India, and whatever we mean by this phrase, the *Prakrit Piṅgala* is at least an important and understudied part of this story.[51] The *Prakrit Piṅgala* gets its moorings from Prakrit literature and the Prakrit discourse on metrics, and it cites a couple verses from the classics such as *Seven Centuries* and *Rāvaṇa's Demise*. But at the end of the day, it represents a literary practice distinct from Prakrit, to which it has given its name: *piṅgala*, one of the literary vernaculars of the Rajput kingdoms.

A longstanding tradition considered Piṅgala, the author of the *Chandaḥ Sūtras*, to be a *nāga*.

---

[48] Siṃh (1997 [1956]), Vyas (1962), Nara (1979), Bubeník (1998).

[49] *paḍhamabbhāsataraṃḍo* (*Prakrit Piṅgala* 1.1); Lakṣmīnātha offers three alternatives for -*bbhāsa*-, but favors *bhāṣā*. For the boat image, see *Mirror of Literature* 1.12.

[50] E.g., 1.177 (*jaṃpaï piṃgala vīra*), 1.191 (*piṃgaleṇa paāsio*), 1.194 (*bhaṇaï phaṇiṃdo vimalamaï*), etc.

[51] See Busch (2011a) on "Hindi literary beginnings." For Piṅgala as the first poet of *bhāṣ* (or *narabhāṣā*), see Lakṣmīnātha's commentary on *Prakrit Piṅgala* 1.1 and Keśavadāsa, *Garland of Meters* 2.4 (I thank Allison Busch for the reference). Both the *Adornment of Language* (*Vāṇībhūṣaṇa*) and the *Pearl of Meters* (*Vṛttamauktita*) are Sanskrit reworkings of the *Prakrit Piṅgala* (the latter based heavily on the former); Keśavadāsa too works the introductory verses of the *Prakrit Piṅgala* (perhaps from a Sanskrit source) into the beginning of the second section of his *Garland of Meters*.

Lakṣmīnātha is more specific: the Brahman Piṅgala was the incarnation of the serpent-king Śeṣa.[52] For those authors for whom Prakrit was represented primarily by the *Prakrit Piṅgala*, Prakrit was indeed the language of the snakes—or more precisely, of *the snake*, Piṅgala. This explanation, which to my knowledge was first proposed by Namvar Singh, also accounts for the fact that this particular representation of Prakrit is limited to authors who came within the *Prakrit Piṅgala*'s sphere of influence, or equivalently, authors who wrote in or about Braj Bhāṣā: Keśavadāsa, Bhikhārīdāsa, and Mīrzā Khān. I have not traced the representation of Prakrit as the "language of the snakes" in any author before the 17th century or outside of what came to be known as the "Braj Maṇḍal" of North India.[53]

The identification of Prakrit as the "language of the snakes" depended upon the confluence of a number of processes that I have traced in this chapter. One is the role that learned discourses, and in this case the discourse of metrics, played in preserving Prakrit as an object of knowledge. Another is the displacement of Prakrit by vernacular languages in the space of literary possibilities, and the attendant rise of vernacular textuality and decline of Prakrit textuality. Taken together, however, these processes attached the name Prakrit to the vernacular language practices that were collected and theorized in the *Prakrit Piṅgala*. But even language of the snake Piṅgala was not Prakrit in the older sense of the word.

The representations of the vernacular millennium have had an enormous influence on how people inside and outside of India view India's literary past, even today. The duality of the language of the

---

[52] Lakṣmīnātha's commentary to *Prakrit Piṅgala* 1.1. The earliest citation I have found for the conceit of Piṅgala as a Nāga is Halāyudha's commentary (mid-10th century) to the *Chandaḥ Sūtras*. Earlier authors refer to him, among them Śabara, Virahāṅka, and the author (Mitradhara?) of the *Chandoviciti* discovered in Turfan (Schlingloff 1958), but not as a *nāga* (unless he is whom Virahāṅka refers to as *bhuaābhiva*, see fn. 11 on p. 209).

[53] Siṃh (1997 [1956]: §30), who cited Bhikhārīdāsa's *Examination of Poetry* (*Kāvyanirṇaya*), v. 15: *braja māgadhī milai amara nāga yavana bhākhāni | sahaja pārasī hūṃ milai ṣaṭa vidhi kahata bakhāni ||*. If this argument is correct, we should not expect to find Prakrit designated as the language of the snakes in the early Mārū-Gūrjar literature (of the 12th and 13th centuries), which I have not consulted. Some Prakrit texts do seem to have a lot to do with snakes (for example *Hara's Belt*, a compendium of medical and magical knowledge of the 10th c. whose title refers to the serpent Vāsuki), but do not represent Prakrit as the language of the snakes, as far as I am aware.

gods and the language of men leaves no place for Prakrit except in the subterranean world of the serpents, and all of its modern parallels—the duality of learned and popular, or even cosmopolitan and vernacular—similarly fail to accommodate this language comfortably. Yet these representations are themselves the result of a process of transculturation that fundamentally rearranged the language order in which Prakrit was embedded. The qualities that were Prakrit's strengths throughout the first millennium of its existence—its alterity to Sanskrit, its transregional circulation, its existence within the sphere of literary discourse alone—became its liabilities. What was once a "both–and" language become a "neither–nor" language.

# Bibliography

## Primary Sources

*Amara's Treasury* (*Amarakośa* [*Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*]) of Amarasiṃha: (1) *The Nâmalingânuśâsana (Amarakosha) of Amarasimha, with the Commentary (Amarakoshodghâtana) of Kshîrasvâmin.* Ed. by Krishnaji Govind Oka. Poona: Law Printing Press, 1913. (2) *Amara's Nāmaliṅgānuśāsanam with the Commentary Amarakośodghāṭana of Bhaṭṭa Kṣīrasvāmin.* Ed. by Har Dutt Sharma and N. G. Sardesai. Poona: Oriental Book Agency, 1941. Poona Oriental Series 43.

*Analysis of Literature* (*Kāvyamīmāṃsā*) of Rājaśekhara: *Kāvyamīmāṁsā of Rājaśekhara.* Ed. by C. D. Dalal M.A. and Pandit R. A. Sastry. Revised and enlarged by K. S. Ramaswami Sastri Siromani. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1934. Gaekwad's Oriental Series 1.

*Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini: *Pâṇini's Grammatik.* Ed. by Otto Böhtlingk. Leipzig: Haessel, 1887.

*Birth of Kumāra* (*Kumārasaṃbhava*) of Kālidāsa: (1) *Kálidása's Kumârasambhava.* Ed. by M. R. Kale. Bombay: Standard Publishing Co., 1917. [With Mallinātha's commentary.] (2) *Vallabhadeva's Kommentar (Śāradā-Version) zum Kumārasambhava des Kālidāsa.* Ed. by Mulakaluri Srimannarayana Murti. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1980. Supplementband zum Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland.

*Brilliance of the Connoisseurs* (*Rasikaprakāśana*) of Vairocana: Asiatic Society of Calcutta MS G-4825.

*Ānandasundarī* of Ghanaśyāma: *Ghanaśyāma's Ānandasundarī.* Ed. by A. N. Upadhye. Benares: Motilal Banarsidass, 1955.

*Anuyogadvāra Sūtra*: *Anuyogadvārasūtram, with three commentaries: Jinadāsa Gaṇi Mahattara's Cūrṇi, Haribhadra Sūri's Vivṛti, and Maladhāri Hemacandra Sūri's Vṛtti.* Ed. Jambūvijaya. Bombay: Śrī Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya, 1999–2000. 2 vols. Jaina Āgama Series 18.

*Candralekhā* of Rudradāsa: *Rudradāsa's Candralekhā.* Ed. by A. N. Upadhye. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya

Bhavan, 1967.

*Collection of Mora- and Syllable-Counting Meters* (*Vṛttajātisamuccaya*) of Virahāṅka: *Kavi Virahāṅka Kṛta Saṭīka Vṛttajātisamuccaya*. Ed. by H. D. Velankar. Jodhpur: Rājasthāna Prācyavidyā Pratiṣṭhāna, 1962. Rājasthāna Purātana Granthamālā 61.

*Collection of Old Prabandhas* (*Purātanaprabandhasaṅgraha*): *Purātanaprabandhasaṅgraha*. Ed. by Jina Vijaya Muni. Calcutta: Adhiṣṭhātā-Siṅghī Jaina Jñānapīṭha, 1936. Singhi Jain Series 2.

*Commentary on the Wish-Granting Vine of Literature* (*Kāvyakalpalatāvṛtti*) of Amaracandra: *Kāvyakalpalatāvṛtti with Sūtras (Text) of Arisinha by Amara-Chandra Yati*. Ed. by Jagannath Sastri Hoshing. Benares: Vidya Vilas Press, 1931.

*Compendium of the Essence of Figures in Literature* (*Kāvyālaṃkārasārasaṅgraha*) of Udbhaṭa: *Kāvyālaṅkāra-sāra-saṅgraha of Udbhaṭa*. Ed. by Narayana Daso Banhatti. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1982. Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series 79.

*Constellation* (*Tārāgaṇa*) of Bappabhaṭṭi: *Tārāyaṇa* (*Tārāgaṇa*): *An Anthology of Bappabhaṭṭi's Prakrit Gāthās Compiled by Śāṅkuka*. Ed. by H. C. Bhayani. Ahmedabad: Prakrit Text Society, 1987. Prakrit Text Series 24.

*Cloud Messenger* (*Meghadūta*) of Kālidāsa: *The Meghadûta of Kâlidâsa, With the commentary (Saṃjîvanî) of Mallinâtha*. Ed. by M. R. Kale. Bombay: Bombay Vaibhav Press, 1934.

*Cluster of Blossoms of Prakrit* (*Prākṛtamañjarī*): See *Light on Prakrit*.

'*Descent of Forms' for Prakrit* (*Prākṛtarūpāvatāra*) of Siṃharāja: *Prakritarupavatara, A Prakrit Grammar Based on the Valmikisutra, by Simharaja, son of Samudrabandhayajvan*. Ed. by E. Hultzsch. London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1909.

*Deeds of Harṣa* (*Harṣacarita*) of Bāṇabhaṭṭa: *Bâṇabhaṭṭa's Biography of King Harshavardhana of Sthânîśvara*. Ed. by A. A. Führer. Bombay: Government Central Press, 1909.

*Deeds of King Vikramāṅka* (*Vikramāṅkadevacarita*) of Bilhaṇa: *The Vikramânkadevacarita, A Life of King Vikramâditya—Tribhuvana Malla of Kalyāṇa*. Ed. by Georg Bühler. Bombay: Government Central Book Depot, 1875.

*Deeds of Padma* (*Paümacariya*) of Vimala Sūri: *Ācārya Vimalasūri's Paumacariyam*. Ed. by Hermann Jacobi and revised by Muni Punyavijayaji. Ahmedabad: Prakrit Text Society, 2005. 2 vols. (Originally published by H. Jacobi in 1914.)

*Deeds of Padma* (*Paümacariu*) of Svayambhū: *Paumacariu of Svayambhūdeva*. Ed. by H. C. Bhayani. Bombay:

Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, 1953. Singhi Jain Series 34.

*Deeds of Rāma* (*Rāmacarita*) of Abhinanda: *Ramacarita of Abhinanda*. Ed. by K.S. Rāmaswāmi Śāstrī Śiromaṇi. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1930. Gaekwad's Oriental Series 46.

*Deeds of the Promoters* (*Prabhāvakacarita*) of Prabhācandra: *Prabhāvaka Charita of Prabhāchāndrācharya*. Ed. by Jinavijaya. Ahmedabad and Calcutta: Sañchālaka-Siṅghī Jaina Granthamālā, 1940.

*Definition of the Gāthā* (*Gāthālakṣaṇa*) of Nanditāḍhya: Printed as an appendix in *Kavidarpaṇa*, ed. by H. D. Velankar. Jodhpur: Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, 1962.

*Definition of Prakrit* (*Prākṛtalakṣaṇa*) of Caṇḍa: *The Prákṛita-Lakshaṇam or Chaṇḍa's Grammar of the Ancient (Ārsha) Prakrit*. Ed. by A. F. Rudolf Hoernle. Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1880.

*Dhavalā* of Vīrasena: See *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*.

*Dispeller of Disputes* (*Vigrahavyāvartanī*) of Nāgārjuna: *Nāgārjunakṛtā Vigrahavyāvarttanī svopajñavṛttyā sametā*. Ed. by Kāśīprasāda Jāyasavāla and Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana. Patna: Bihar and Orissa Research Society, 1937.

*Distilled Essence* (*Saṃkṣiptasāra*) of Kramadīśvara: *Prākṛtādhyāya (The Prākṛta Book of the Saṃkṣiptasāra) by Kramadīśvara*. Ed. by Satya Ranjan Banerjee. Ahmedabad: Prakrit Text Society, 1980. Prakrit Text Series No. 22.

*Dynasty of Raghu* (*Raghuvaṃśa*) of Kālidāsa: (1) *The Raghuvamśa of Kālidāsa, with the Commentary (the Sanjîvanî) of Mallinâtha*. Ed. M.R. Kale. Bombay: Gopal Narayen & Co., 1922. (2) *The Raghupañcikā of Vallabhadeva: being the earliest commentary on the Raghuvaṃśa of Kālidāsa*. Ed. by Dominic Goodall and Harunaga Isaacson. Groningen: E. Forsten, 2003.

*Endless Stream of Likenesses and Births* (*Upamitibhavaprapañca*): *Śrīmatsiddharṣisādhuviracitā Upamitibhavaprapañcakathā*. Ed. by Śāha Nagīna Bhāī Ghelā Bhāī Javherī. Mumbai: Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press, 1918. Śreṣṭi Devacandra Lālabhāī Jainapustakoddhāra 46.

*Essence of the Saṃhitās* (*Saṃhitāsāra*) of Śaṅkuka: see Slouber (2011).

*Examination of Literature* (*Kāvyanirṇaya*) of Bhikhārīdāsa: *Bhikhārīdāsa Granthāvalī, dvitīya khaṇḍa (Kāvyanirṇaya)*. Ed. Viśvanāthaprasāda Miśra. Kāśī: Nāgarīpracāraṇī Sabhā, 1957.

*Explanation of the Garland of Advice* (*Dharmopadeśamālāvivaraṇa*) of Jayasiṃhasūri: *Upadēśamālāvivaraṇa of Jayasiṃasūri*. Ed. by Lālcand Bhagavāndās Gāndhī. Bombay: Bharatīya Vidyā Bhavan, 1949. Singhi Jain Series 28.

*Explanation of the System* (*Tantravārttika*) of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa: See *Mīmāṃsā Sūtras*.

*Explanation of the Suggestion Verses* (*Dhvanigāthāpañjikā*) of Ratnākara: *Śrīrājānakaratnākaraviracitā Dhvanigāthāpañcikā*. Ed. by Brjeśakumāraśukla. Lakhanaū: Akhila-Bhāratīya-Saṃskṛta-Pariṣad, 1999. See also Masson and Patwardhan (1974).

*Exposition of the Sūtras on the Ornaments of Literature* (*Kāvyālaṃkārasūtravṛtti*) of Vāmana: *The Kâvyâlankâra-Sûtras of Vâmana with his own Vṛitti*. Ed. Paṇḍit Durgâprasâda and Kâśînâth Pâṇḍurang Parab, rev. by Wâsudev Laxmaṇ Shâstrî Paṇśîkar. Bombay: Nirṇaya-Sâgar Press, 1926. Third revised edition. Kâvyamâlâ 15.

*Extensive Play of the Bodhisattva* (*Lalitavistara*): *Lalita Vistara*. Ed. S. Lefmann. Halle: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1908.

*Gauḍa's Demise* (*Gaüḍavaho*) of Vākpatirāja: *Gaüḍavaho by Vājpatirāja*. Ed. by N. G. Suru. Ahmedabad: Prakrit Text Society. Prakrit Text Series 18.

*Garland of Meters* (*Chandamālā*) of Keśavadāsa: *Chandamālā*, pp. 431–456 in *Keśava-graṃthāvalī, khaṇḍa 2*. Ed. by Viśvanāthaprasāda Miśra. Allahabad: Hindustani Academy, 1955.

*Garland of Regional Nouns* (*Deśīnāmamālā*) of Hemacandra: *Hemachandra's Deśīnāmamālā*. Ed. by R. Pischel; 2nd ed. revised by P. V. Ramanujaswami. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1938. Bombay Sanskrit Series 17.

*Gift from India* (*Tuḥfat al-Hind*) of Mīrzā Khān: *A Grammar of the Braj Bhākhā by Mīrzā Khān (1676 A.D.)*. Ed. and trans. by M. Ziauddin. Visva-Bharati Book-shop, Calcutta, 1936.

*Great Commenary* (*Mahābhāṣya*) of Patañjali: *Patanjali's Vyâkaraṇa-Mahâbhâshya*. Ed. by F. Kielhorn. 3 volumes. Bombay: Government Central Book Depôt, 1880–1884.

*Hara's Belt* (*Haramekhalā*) of Mādhuka: (1) *The Haramekhala of Māhuka*. Ed. by K. Sāmbaśiva Śāstrī. Trivandrum: Government Press, 1936. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series 124. [Chapters 2-4 only.] (2) *Śrīḥ Mādhukadhīrasahāyapaṇḍitaviracitā Haramekhalā Saṭīkā (Pūrvakhaṇḍaḥ)*. Ed. by Kṛṣṇaprasādaśarman. Kathmandu: Nepal Government Press, 1972.

*Hari's Triumph* (*Harivijaya*) of Sarvasena: See Kulkarni (1991).

*Illumination of the Erotic* (*Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*) of Bhojadeva: *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa [Sāhityaprakāśa] by Bhojarāja*. Ed. by Rewāprasāda Dwivedī. New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, 2007. 2 vols.

*Jewel-Lamp of Prakrit* (*Prākṛtamaṇidīpikā*) of Appayya Dīkṣita III: *Prākṛtamaṇidīpa of Appayyadīkṣita*. Ed. with a commentary by T. T. Srinivasagopalacharya. Mysore: Government Press, 1953.

*Jewel-Mirror of Language* (*Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa*) of Keśava: See Kedilaya (1964-1977).

*Kāma Sūtra* of Vātsyāyana: *Śrīvātsyāyanapraṇītaṃ Kāmasūtram, Yaśodharaviracitayā Jayamaṅgalākhyayā ṭīkayā sametam*. Ed. by Durgāprasāda. Mumbaī: Nirṇaya Sāgara Yantrālaya, 1900. 2nd ed.

*Kaṃsa's Demise* (*Kaṃsavaho*) of Rāma Pāṇivāda: *Rāma Pāṇivāda's Kaṃsavaho (A Prākrit Poem in Classical Style)*. Ed. by A. N. Upadhye. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1968 [1940]. 2nd issue.

*Karpūramañjarī* of Rājaśekhara: (1) *Karpūramañjarī (The Prakrit Play of Rājaśekhara)*. Ed. by Manomohan Ghosh. Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1939. (2) *Rāja-çekhara's Karpūra-mañjarī*. Ed. by Sten Konow and translated by Charles Rockwell Lanman. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1901. Harvard Oriental Series 4.

*The Kāśī Commentary* (*Kāśikāvṛtti*) of Vāmana and Jayāditya: `http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil/1_sanskr/6_sastra/1_gram/jvkasixu.htm`, based on the edition of Aryendra Sharma (Hyderabad 1969–1985).

*Kuvalayamālā* of Uddyotanasūri: *Uddyotana-sūri's Kuvalayamālā, Part I*. Ed. by A. N. Upadhye. Bombay: Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavana, 1959. Singhi Jain Series 45.

*Kuvalayamālā's Story* (*Kuvalayamālākathā*) of Ratnaprabhasūri: *Uddyotana-sūri's Kuvalayamālā, Part II: Ratnaprbha-sūri's* [sic] *Kuvalayamālā Kathā*. Ed. by A. N. Upadhye. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1970. Singhi Jain Series 46.

*Light on Prakrit* (*Prākṛtaprakāśa*) of Vararuci: (1) *Vararuciracitaḥ Prākṛtaprakāśaḥ Sañjīvanī Subodhinī Manoramā Prākṛtamañjarī ceti ṭīkācatuṣṭayena Hindībhāṣānuvādena ca sametaḥ*. Ed. by Baladeva Upādhyāya. Vārāṇasī: Vārāṇaseya-Saṃskṛta-Viśvavidyālaya, 1972. Sarasvatībhavana-Granthamālā 102. (2) *The Prákrita-Prakáśa: or, the Prákrit Grammar of Vararuchi, with the Commentary (Manoramá) of Bhámaha*. Ed. by Edward Byles Cowell. Hertfort: Stephan Austin, 1854. (3) *Prakṛta-Prakasa* [sic] *of Vararuci with Bhāmaha's Commentary Manoramā*. Ed. by P. L. Vaidya. Poona: Oriental Book Agency, 1931. (4) *The Prākṛtaprakāśa of Vararuci with the Commentary of Rāmapāṇivāda*. Ed. by C. Kunhan Raja and K. Ramachandra Sarma. Madras: The Adyar Library, 1946. (5) *The Prākṛta-Prakāśa of Vararuci, Text Edited for the First Time with a New Commentary entitled* Prākṛta-pāda-ṭīkā by Nārāyaṇa Viydāvinoda. Ed. by Satya Ranjan Banerjee. Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, 1975.

*Līlāvaī*: *Līlāvaī, A Romantic Kāvya in Māhārāṣṭrī Prākrit of Koūhala with the Sanskrit Vṛtti of a Jaina Author*. Ed. by A. N. Upadhye. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1966. Singhi Jain Series 31. 2nd ed. (1st ed. 1949).

*Little Clay Cart* (*Mṛcchakaṭika*) of Śūdraka: *The Mṛichchhakaṭika of Śûdraka with the Commentary of Pṛithivîdhara*. Ed. by Kâshinâth Pâṇḍurang Parab. Bombay: Nirṇaya Sâgar Press, 1900.

*Mādhava's Commentary on Verbal Roots* (*Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti*) of Sāyaṇa: *The Mādhavīya Dhātuvṛtti [A Treatise on Sanskrit Roots based on the Dhātupāṭha of Pāṇini] by Sāyaṇācārya*. Ed. by Dwarikadas Shastri. Varanasi: Prāchya Bhāratī Prakāshan, 1964. Prāchya Bhāratī Series 1. Accessed at the Sanskrit

Library: http://sanskrit1.ccv.brown.edu/Sanskrit/Vyakarana/Dhatupatha/mdhvcanidx/
disp1/index.php.

*Mālatī and Mādhava* (*Mālatīmādhava*) of Bhavabhūti: *Mahākavi-śrībhavabhūtiviracitam Mālatīmādhavam 'Candrakalā'-saṃskṛta-hindī-ṭīkopetam*. Ed. by Śrīśeṣarājaśarman Śāstri. Vārāṇasī: Chaukhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1998.

*The Many Places of Pilgramage* (*Vividhatīrthakalpa*) of Jinaprabhasūra: *Vividha Tīrtha Kalpa of Jinaprabha Sūri*. Ed. by Jinavijaya. Śāntiniketan: Siṅghī Jaina Jñānapīṭha, 1934. Singhi Jain Series 10.

*Message Poem* (*Sandeśarāsaka*) of Abdul Rahman: (1) *Abdala-Rahamāna-kṛta Saṃdeśarāsaka*. Ed. by H. C. Bhayani. Ahmedabad: Prakrit Text Society, 1999. [Revision of the text published by Bhayani, together with Jinavijaya Muni, in the Singhi Jain Series in 1945.] (2) *Abdularahamāna-kṛta Saṃdeśa Rāsaka*. Ed. by Hazārīprasāda Dvivedī and Viśvanātha Tripāṭhī. Mumbai: Hindī-Grantha-Ratnākara, 1965.

*Mīmāṃsā Sūtras* of Jaimini: *Śrīmajjaiminipraṇītam Mīmāṃsādarśanam*. Ed. Subbāśāstrī. Puṇya: Ānandāśramamudraṇālaya, 1929–1934. 6 vols. Ānandāśramagranthāvalī 97.

*Miragāvatī* of Quṭban: *The Miragāvatī of Kutabana: Avadhī Text with Critical Notes*. Ed. by D. F. Plukker. PhD thesis, University of Amsterdam, 1981.

*Mirror for Poets* (*Kavidarpaṇa*): *Kavidarpaṇa*. Ed. by H. D. Velankar. Jodhpur: Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, 1962.

*Mirror of Figures* (*Alaṃkāradappaṇa*): *Alaṃkāradappaṇa*. Ed. by H. C. Bhayani. Ahmedabad: L. D. Institute of Indology, 1999. L. D. Series 120.

*Mirror of Literature* (*Kāvyādarśa*) of Daṇḍin: (1) *Kāvyalakṣaṇa of Daṇḍin, also known as Kāvyādarśa) with Commentary Called Ratnaśrī of Ratnaśrījñāna*. Ed. by Anantalal Thakur and Upendra Jha. Darbhanga: Mithila Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning, 1957. (2) *Ācāryadaṇḍiviracitaḥ Kāvyādarśaḥ* (with the commentaries of Vādijaṅghāladeva and Taruṇavācaspati). Ed. by D. T. Tatacharya. Tirupati: Tiruvādi Śrinivās Mudrālaya, 1936.

*Mirror of Literature* (*Sāhityadarpaṇa*) of Viśvanātha: *Sāhityadarpaṇa of Viśvanātha*. Ed. by P. V. Kane. Bombay: Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, 1923. 2nd edition.

*Moonlight of Prakrit* (*Prākṛtacandrikā*) of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa: *Śrīśeṣakṛṣṇakṛtā Prākṛtacandrikā Svopajñavṛttisahitā*. Ed. by Subhadropādhyāya. Vārāṇasī: Bhāratīya Vidyā Prakāśan, 1969.

*Moonlight of the Six Languages* (*Ṣaḍbhāṣācandrikā*) of Lakṣmīdhara: *The Shaḍbhâshâchandrikâ of Lakshmîdhara*. Ed. by Rāo Bahādur Kamalāśaṅkar Prâṇaśaṅkar Trivedî. Bombay: Government Central Press, 1916.

*Nandī Sūtra* of Devavācaka: *Nandisūtraṃ by Shrī Devavācaka with the Vṛtti by Shrī Haribhadrācarya and Durgapadavyākhyā on Vṛtti by Shrī Śrīcandrācārya and Viṣamapadaparyāya on Vṛtti.* Ed. by Muni Shrī Punyavijayajī. Ahmedabad: Prakrit Text Society, 1966.

*Necklace of Sarasvatī* (*Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*) of Bhoja: *The Saraswatī Kaṇṭhābharaṇa by Dhāreshvara Bhojadeva with Commentaries of Rāmsimha (I-III) and Jagaddhara (IV).* Ed. by Paṇḍit Kedārnāth Śarmā and Wāsudev Laxmaṇ Śāstrī Paṇśīkar. Bombay: Nirṇaya Sāgar Press, 1934. Kāvyamālā 94.

*New Dramatic Art* (*Abhinavabhāratī*) of Abhinavagupta: See *Treatise on Theater.*

*Niśītha Sūtra* and *Bhāṣya*: *Sthavira-puṃgava-śrī-visāhagaṇi-mahattara-praṇītaṃ sabhāṣyaṃ niśītha-sūtram.* Ed. by Upādhyāya Kavi Śrī Amaramuni Jī Mahārāj and Muni Śrī Kanhaiyālāla Jī. Delhi: Bhāratīya Vidyā Prakāśana, 1982 (2nd ed.). 4 vols. Āgama Sāhitya Ratnamālā no. 3–6.

*Ocean of Meters* (*Chandombudhi*) of Nāgavarman: *Nāgavarma's Canarese Prosody.* Ed. by F. Kittel. Mangalore: Basel Mission Book & Tract Depository, 1875.

*Ocean of the Rivers of Story* (*Kathāsaritsāgara*) of Somadeva: *The Kathâsaritsâgara of Somadevabhatta.* Ed. by Paṇḍit Durgâprasâd and Kâśînâth Pâṇḍurang Parab. Bombay: Nirṇaya-Sâgara Press, 1903. 2nd ed.

*Ornament of the Āndhra Language* (*Āndhrabhāṣābhūṣaṇamu*) of Ketana: *Andhra Bhaashaa Bhuushanamu.* Ed. and trans. by Usha Devi Ainavolu. Vijayawada: Emesco, 2009.

*Ornament of Literature* (*Kāvyālaṅkāra*) of Bhāmaha: *Kāvyālaṅkāra of Bhāmaha.* Ed. by C. Sankara Rama Sastri. Mylapore, Madras: The Sri Balamanorama Press, 1956. Sri Balamanorama Series 54.

*Ornament of Literature* (*Kāvyālaṅkāra*) of Rudraṭa: *Śrīrudraṭapraṇītaḥ Kāvyālaṃkāraḥ Namisādhukṛtayā ṭippaṇyā sametaḥ.* Ed. Durgāpraada and Vāsudeva Śarman Paṇaśīkara. Mumbai: Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press, 1909. Kāvyamālā 2.

*The Pierced Statues* (*Viddhaśālabhañjikā*) of Rājaśekhara: See the *River of Amazement.*

*Poem of Cihna* (*Śrīcihnakāvya*) of Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka: *Śrīcihnakāvyam Govindābhiṣekanāmnā prasiddhaṃ Śrīkṛṣṇalīlāśukamuniviracitaṃ Durgaprasādayatikṛtavivaraṇopetam.* Ed. by K. Raghavan Piḷḷa. Trivandrum: Paurastyabhāṣāgaveṣaṇahastalikhitagranthaprasādhanakāryālayādhyakṣa, 1971.

*Prabandha of Pādalipta*: In *Ajñātakartṛka Prabandha-catuṣṭaya (Prākṛtabhāṣānibaddha).* Ed. by Ramaṇīka M. Śāha. Ahmedabad: Kalikāla-sarvajña Śrīhemacandrācārya Navama Janma-śatābdi Smṛti Saṃskāra-śikṣaṇa-nidhi, 1994.

*Prakrit Grammar* (*Prākṛtānuśāsana*) of Puruṣottamadeva: (1) *Le Prākṛtānuśāsana de Puruṣottama.* Ed. by Luigia Nitti-Dolci. Paris: Société Asiatique, 1938. (2) See *Wish-Granting Tree of Prakrit* of Rāmaśarman.

*Prakrit Grammar* (*Prākṛtaśabdānuśāsana*) of Trivikramadeva: *Prakrit Grammar of Trivikrama*. Ed. by P. L. Vaidya. Sholapur: Jaina Saṁskṛti Saṁrakṣaka Saṁgha, 1954.

*Prakrit Lakṣmī* (*Pāialacchī*) of Dhanapāla: *The Pâiyalachchhî Nâmamâlâ: A Prakrit Kosha by Dhanapâla*. Ed. by George Bühler. Göttingen: Peppmüller, 1879.

*Prakrit Piṅgala* (*Prākṛtapiṅgala* or *Prākṛtapaiṅgala*): (1) *Prākṛtapaiṅgalam*. Ed. by Bholāśaṅkara Vyāsa. Ahmedabad: Prakrit Text Society, 2007 [1959 and 1962]. 2 vols. Prakrit Text Series 2 & 4. Reprint. [With the commentaries *Piṅgalasāravikāśinī* of Ravikara, *Piṅgalapradīpa* of Lakṣmīnātha Bhaṭṭa, and *Piṅgalaprakāśa* of Vaṁśīdhara]. (2) *Prākṛtapiṅgalasūtrāṇi Lakṣmīnāthabhaṭṭaviracitayā vyākhyayānugatāni*. Ed. by Śivadatta Śarmā and Kāśīnātha Śarmā. Mumbai: Nirṇaya-sāgara Press, 1894. Kāvyamālā 41 .

*Rambhāmañjarī* of Nayacandra Sūri: *Nayacandrasūri's Rambhāmañjarī*. Ed. by Ram Prakash Poddar. Vaishali: Research Institute of Prakrit, Jainology, and Ahimsa, 1976.

*Ratnāvalī* of Harṣa: *Śrīharṣadevaviracitā Ratnāvalī-nāṭikā*. Ed. by Śrīparemeśvaradīna Pāṇḍeya. Vārāṇasī: Caukhambā Surabhāratī Prakāśana, 1981. 2nd edition.

*Rāvaṇa's Demise* (*Rāvaṇavaha*) of Pravarasena: (1) *Pravarasena's Setubandha*. Trans. by Krishna Kanta Handiqui. Delhi: DK Printworld, 2014. [This is a convenient combination of (2) and (3) below, but unfortunately adds nothing except typos.] (2) *Râvaṇavaha oder Setubandha*. Ed. by Siegfried Goldschmidt. Strassburg and London: Trübner, 1880. (3) *Pravarasena's Setubandha*. Trans. by Krishna Kanta Handiqui. Ahmedabad: Prakrit Text Society, 1979. (4) *Rāvaṇavaha-mahākāvyam*. Ed. by Radhagovinda Basak. Calcutta: Sanskrit College, 1959. (5) Harṣapāla's commentary. Nepalese-German Manuscript Preservation Project, microfilm reel E 1407-6 (191 folios).

*Recogntion of Śakuntalā* (*Abhijñānaśākuntala*) of Kālidāsa: *Abhijñānaśākuntalam Mahākaviśrīkālidāsapraṇītaṃ Nāṭakaratnam, Kāṭayavemabhūpaviracitayā Kumāragirirājīyayā vyākhyayā samanvitam*. Ed. by C. Sankara Rama Sastri. Mylapore: Balamanorama Press, 1947.

*Resuscitation of Prakrit* (*Prākṛtasaṃjīvanī*) of Vasantarāja: see *Light on Prakrit*.

*River of Amazement* (*Camatkārataraṅgiṇī*) of Ghanaśyāma: *The Contribution of Women to Sanskrit Literature, Volume 1 (Drama): The Camatkāra-taraṅgiṇī of Sundarī and Kamalā and the Prāṇapratiṣṭhā of their husband Ghanaśyāma, Commentaries on the Viddha-śalabhañjikā of Rājaśekhara*. Ed. by Jatindra Bimal Chanduri. Calcutta: Calcutta Oriental Press, 1943. [At the very least, Sundarī and Kamalā wrote this commentary together with Ghanaśyama.]

*Royal Road for Poets* (*Kavirājamārga*) of Śrīvijaya: *Śrī Nṛpatuṅgadevānumatam appa Śrīvijayakṛta Kavirājamārgam*. Ed. by M. V. Sītārāmayya. B. M. Śrī Smāraka Pratiṣṭhāna: Beṅgalūru, 1994.

*Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* of Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali: *The Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama of Puṣpandata and Bhūtabali, with the*

*Commentary Dhavalā by Vīrasena.* 16 vols. Ed. by Hiralal Jain. Vols. 1–12 published in Amraoti (Amravati): Jaina Sāhitya Uddhāraka Fund Kāryālaya, 1939–1955. Vols. 13-16 published in Solapur: Jaina Samskrit Samrakshaka Sangha, 1993–1995.

*Seven Centuries (Sattasaī)* of Hāla/Sātavāhana: *The Seven Centuries* by Hāla: (1) *Das Saptaçatakam des Hâla.* Ed. by Albrecht Weber. Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1881. [Supplements, and is supplemented by, several other publications: Weber 1870 (reviewed by Garrez 1872), Weber 1874, and Weber 1883.] (2) *Śrīsātavāhanaviracitā Gāthāsaptaśatī Gaṅgādharabhaṭṭaviracitayā Ṭīkayā Sametā.* Ed. by Vasudeva Śarman. Mumbaī: Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, 1911 [2nd ed.] (3) *Hāritāmrapītāmbara's Gāthāsaptaśatīprakāśikā, a hitherto unpublished commentary on Hāla's Gāthāsaptaśatī.* Ed. by Jagdish Lal Shastri. Lahore: the editor, 1942. (4) *Sātavāhanācī Gāthāsaptaśatī.* Ed. Sadāśiv Ātmārāma Jogaḷekara. Puṇe: Prasāda Prakāśana, 1978 [2nd ed.]. (5) *Saptaśatīsāra with Bhāvadīpikā of Vema Bhūpāla along with the Chappaṇṇaya-Gāhāo.* Ed. by A. N. Upadhye. Kolhapur: Shivaji University, 1970. (6) *Hāla's Gāhākosa (Gāthāsaptaśatī) with the Sanskrit Commentary of Bhuvanapāla.* Ed. by M. V. Patwardhan. Vol. 1, Ahmedabad: Prakrit Text Society, 1980. Vol. 2, Delhi: B. L. Institute of Indology, 1988. (7) Premarāja's commentary (*Sāhityajanmāvani*): MS 181 of 1879–1881 at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune. (8) Ājaḍa's commentary: MS 385 of 1887–1891 at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune. (9) Bhuvanapāla's commentary: MS 76 at the Kaiser Library, Kathmandu (Nepalese-German Manuscript Preservation Project Microfilm Reel C 0006-12). (10) Upādhyāya Lakṣmīdhara's commentary: MS tr. 715/kāvya 18 at the National Archives, Kathmandu (Nepalese-German Manuscript Preservation Project Microfilm Reel B 0018-13).

*Seven Centuries of Āryās (Āryāsaptaśatī)* of Govardhana: (1) *Seven Hundred Elegant Verses.* Trans. by Friedhelm Hardy. New York: New York University Press and the JJC Foundation, 2009. (2) *The Āryāsaptaśatī of Govardhanāchārya.* Ed. by Paṇḍit Durgāprasād and Kāśīnāth Pāṇḍurang Parab and Vāsudev Laxmaṇ Śāstrī Paṇśīkar. Bombay: Nirṇaya Sāgar Press, 1934. Third revised edition. Kāvyamālā 1.

*Seven Centuries of Āryās (Āryāsaptaśatī)* of Viśveśvara: *Āryāsaptaśatī Parvatīyaśrīviśveśvarapaṇḍitaviracitā.* Ed. by Viṣṇu Prasāda Bhaṇḍāri. Benares: Vidya Vilas Press, 1924. Chowkhambā Sanskrit Series 315.

*Siddhahemacandra* of Hemacandra: (1) *Hemacandra's Grammatik der Prâkritsprachen.* Ed. by Richard Pischel. Halle: Waisenhaus, 1877. (2) *Prakrit Grammar of Hemacandra, Being the Eighth Chapter of his Siddhahemacandra.* Ed. by P. L. Vaidya. Poona: Hanuman Press, 1928.

*Songs of the Buddhist Nuns (Therīgāthā)*: *Therigatha: Poems of the First Buddhist Women.* Ed. and trans. by Charles Hallisey. Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 2015. Murty Classical Library of India 3.

*Śṛṅgāramañjarī* of Viśveśvara: see Upadhye (1961).

*The Statue (Pratimānāṭaka)* of Bhāsa: *Pratimānāṭaka*, on *Multimediale Datenbank zum Sanskrit-Schauspiel* (http://www.bhasa.indologie.uni-wuerzburg.de/index.html), maintained by Matthias Ahlborn. Accessed 21 November 2013.

*Story of Manu* (*Manucaritramu*) of Allasāni Peddana: *The Story of Manu*. Trans. by Velcheru Narayana Rao and David Shulman. Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 2015.

*Story of Udayasundarī* (*Udayasundarīkathā*) of Soḍḍhala: *Udayasundarîkathâ of Soḍḍhala*. Ed. by C. D. Dalal and Embar Krishnamacharya. Baroda: Central Library, 1920.

*Sum-Total of Prakrit* (*Prākṛtasarvasva*) of Mārkaṇḍeya: *Mārkaṇḍeya's Prākṛta-sarvasva*. Ed. by Krishna Chandra Acharya. Ahmedabad: Prakrit Text Society, 1968. Prakrit Text Series 11.

*Svayambhū's Meters* (*Svayambhūchandas*): *Mahākavi Svayambhū Kṛta Svayambhūchanda*. Ed. by H. D. Velankar. Jodhpur: Rājasthāna Prācyavidyā Pratiṣṭhāna, 1962. Rājasthāna Purātana Granthamālā 37.

*Taraṅgalolā*: *Saṃkhitta-Taraṃgavaī-Kahā: An Early Abridgement of Pādalipta's Taraṃgavaī with Gujarati Translation*. Ed. by H.C. Bhayani. Ahmedabad: L.D. Institute of Indology, 1979. L.D. Series 75.

*Taraṅgavatī*: see above.

*Teaching on Meter* (*Chandonuśāsana*) of Hemacandra: *Chando'nuśāsana of Hemachandrasūri*. Ed. by H. D. Velankar. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1961. Singhi Jain Series 49.

*Teaching on Literature* (*Kāvyānuśāsana*) of Hemacandra: *Kāvyānuśāsana [with Alaṃkāracūḍāmaṇi and Viveka] by Ācārya Hemacandra with Two Anonymous Ṭippaṇas*. Ed. by Rasiklal C. Parikh and V. M. Kulkarni. Bombay: Sri Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya, 1964. 2nd ed.

*Ten Forms* (*Daśarūpaka*) of Dhanañjaya and the *Avaloka* of Dhanika: *The Daśarūpaka of Dhanaṃjaya, with the Commentary Avaloka by Dhanika and the Sub-Commentary Laghuṭīkā by Bhaṭṭanṛsiṃha*. Ed. by T. Venkatacharya. Madras: The Adyar Library and Research Centre, 1969.

*Tilakamañjarī* of Dhanapāla: *The Tilaka-Mañjarī of Dhanapāla*. Ed. by Bhavadatta Śāstrī and Śivadatta. Bombay: Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, 1938. Kāvyamālā 85.

*Topical Anthology* (*Vajjālagga*) of Jagadvallabha: (1) *Jayavallabha's Vajjālaggaṃ*. Ed. by M. V. Patwardhan. Ahmedabad: Prakrit Text Society, 1969. Prakrit Text Series 14. (2) *Jayavallabhakṛta dharma, artha, aura kāma ke jīvana-mūlyoṃ kā anupama prākṛta sūkti-kośa Vajjālaggaṃ*. Ed. by Viśvanātha Pāṭhaka. Vārāṇasī: Pārśvanātha Vidyāśrama Śodha Saṃsthāna, 1984.

*Treasury of Āryās* (*Āryākośa*) by Ravigupta: *Ācāryaravigupta-viracitā Lokasaṃvyavahārapravṛttiḥ*. Ed. by Vijayapālaśāstrī. Garli, Himachal Pradesh: Rāṣṭriya-Saṃskṛta-Saṃsthānam (Veda-Vyāsa Campus), 2012.

*Treasury of Gāthā-Jewels* (*Gāthāratnakośa*) of Jineśvara: *Jineśvarasūri's Gāhārayaṇakosa*. Ed. by Amritlal M. Bhojak and Nagin J. Shah. Ahmedabad: L.D. Institute of Indology, 1975. L.D. Series 52.

*Treatise on Power* (*Arthaśāstra*): *The Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*. Ed. by R. P. Kangle. Bombay: University of Bombay, 1960. University of Bombay Studies in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Pali 1.

*Treatise on Theater* (*Nāṭyaśāstra*) of Bharata: *The Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharatamuni. With the commentary Abhinavabhāratī by Abhinavaguptācārya*. Baroda. In 4 volumes: Vol. I (Chapters 1–7), 4th ed. by K. Krishnamoorthy, 1992. Vol. II (Chapters 8–18), 2nd ed. by V. M. Kulkarni and T. Nandi, 2001. Vol. III (Chapters 19–27), 2nd ed. by V. M. Kulkarni and T. Nandi, 2003. Vol. IV (Chapters 28–36), 2nd ed. by V. M. Kulkarni and T. Nandi, 2006.

*Twenty-four Prabandhas* (*Caturviṁśatiprabandha*) of Rājaśekhara: *Caturviṁśati-Prabandha* or *Prabandhakośa by Rājaśekharasūri*. Ed. by Hiralal Rasikdas Kapadia. Bombay: Forbes Gujarati Sabhā, 1932. Forbes Gujarati Sabhā Series 12.

*Unlocking Amara's Treasury* (*Amarakośodghāṭana*) by Kṣīrasvāmin: see *Amara's Treasury*.

*Urvaśī Won by Valor* (*Vikramorvaśīya*) by Kālidāsa: *The Vikramorvaśīya of Kālidāsa*. Ed. by H. D. Velankar. New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1961.

*Vāgbhaṭa's Ornament* (*Vāgbhaṭālaṅkāra*): *The Vāgbhaṭālankāra of Vāgbhaṭa with the Commentary of Simhadevagaṇi*. Ed. by Kedāranātha Śāstrī and Wāsudev Laxmaṇ Śāstrī Paṇśīkar. Bombay: Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press, 1933. 5th edition.

*Uṣā and Aniruddha* (*Usāṇiruddha*) of Rāma Pāṇivāda: *Rāmapāṇivāda's Usāṇiruddhaṁ*. Ed. by A. N. Upadhye (1st ed.) and V. M. Kulkarni (2nd ed.). Ahmedabad: Sharadaben Chimanbhai Educational Research Centre, 1996.

*Verses of the Chappaṇṇayas* (*Chappaṇṇaya-Gāhāo*): (1) *Saptaśatīsāra with Bhāvadīpikā of Vema Bhūpāla, along with the Chappaṇṇaya-Gāhāo (Text and Chāyā)*. Ed. by A. N. Upadhye. Kolhapur: Shivaji University, 1970. Shivaji University Sanskrit and Prakrit Series 3. See also Balbir and Besnard (1993–1994).

*Wanderings of Vasudeva* (*Vasudevahiṇḍi*) of Saṅghadāsa: *Pūjyaśrīsaṅghadāsagaṇivācakavinirmitaṁ Vasude-vahiṇḍiprathamakhaṇḍam*. Ed. by Caturavijaya and Puṇyavijaya. Bhāvnagar: Bhāvanagarasthā Śrījaina-ātmānandasabhā, 1930.

*Wish-Granting Cow of Prakrit* (*Prākṛtakāmadhenu*) of Laṅkeśvara: See *Wish-Granting Tree of Prakrit* of Rāmaśarman.

*Wish-Granting Tree of Prakrit* (*Prākṛtakalpataru*) of Rāmaśarman: *Rāmaśarman's Prākṛta-Kalpataru*. Ed. by Manomohan Ghosh. Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 1954.

*Wishing-Stone of Meanings* (*Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*) of Hemacandra: *Kalikālasarvajñaśrihemacandrācāryaviracitaḥ Abhidhānacintāmaṇiḥ Svopajñaṭīkāsahitaḥ*. Ed. by Haragovindadāsa and Becaradāsa. Bhāvanagara: Vidyā Vilāsa

Press, 1894.

*Wishing-Stone of Prabandhas* (*Prabandhacintāmaṇi*) of Merutuṅga: *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*. Ed. by Jinavijaya. Śāntiniketan: Siṅghī Jaina Jñānapīṭha, 1931. Singhi Jain Series 1.

*On Sentence and Word* (*Vākyapadīya*) of Bhartṛhari: *Vākyapadīyaṃ*. Ed. by Raghunātha Śarmā. Varanasi: Saṃpūrṇānanda Saṃskṛta Viśvavidyālaya, 1988. Sarasvatībhavana-granthamālā 91.

*Yugapurāṇa*: See Mitchiner (1986).

# Secondary Literature

Abhyankar, K. V. 1955. "Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit." *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute* 36: 373–376.

Ācārya, Hari Rām. 1982. *Mahākavi Hāl aur Gāhāsatsaī*. Jaipur: Śaraṇ Book Depot.

Acharya, Diwakar. 2006. "A Brief Note on Harṣapāla's Commentary on the Prakrit Kāvya Setubandha." *Newsletter of the Nepalese-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project* 2: 2–4.

Ali, Daud. 2004. *Courtly Culture and Political Life in Early Medieval India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Alsdorf, Ludwig. 1936. "The Vasudevahiṇḍi, a Specimen of Archaic Jaina-Māhārāṣṭrī." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 8 (2/3): 319–333. Kleine Schriften 56-70.

———. 1966. *The Āryā Stanzas of the Uttarajjhāyā: Contributions to the Text History and Interpretation of a Canonical Jaina Text*. Abhandlung der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Wiesbaden: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz.

———. 1967. *Die Āryā-Strophen des Pali-Kanons, metrisch hergestellt und textgeschichtlich untersucht*. Abhandlung der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Wiesbaden: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz.

———. 1975 [1941]. "Zur Kenntnis der Prakrit-Grammatiker." In *Kleine Schriften*, edited by Albrecht Wezler, 563–567. Wiesbaden: Steiner.

———. 2006 [1965]. *Jaina Studies: their present state and future tasks*. Mumbai: Hindi Granth Karyalay.

Auerbach, Erich. 1961 [1948]. *Introduction aux études de philologie romane*. Frankfurt: Vittorio Klostermann.

———. 1993 [1958]. *Literary Language and its Public in Late Latin Antiquity and in the Middle Ages*. Princeton:

Princeton University Press.

Badiger, P. B. 1978. "The Study of Prakrit Grammar for Understanding the Tadbhava Words in Kannaḍa." In *Proceedings of the Seminar on Prakrit Studies (1973)*, edited by K. R. Chandra, 53–57. Ahmedabad: L. D. Institute of Indology.

Bakhtin, Michael. 1981. *The Dialogic Imagination*. Austin: University of Texas Press. Translated by Michael Holquist.

Bakker, Hans. 2007. "Monuments to the Dead in Ancient North India." *Indo-Iranian Journal* 50: 11–47.

Bakker, Hans and Isaacson, Harunaga. 1993. "The Ramtek Inscriptions II: The Vākāṭaka Inscription in the Kevala-Narasiṃha Temple." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 56 (1): 46–74.

Balbir, Nalini. 1989. "Morphological Evidence for Dialectal Variety in Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī." In *Dialectes dans les Littératures Indo-Aryennes*, edited by Colette Caillat, 503–525. Paris: Collège de France.

———. 1993a. "Stories from the Āvaśyaka Commentaries." In *The Clever Adulteress and Other Stories: A Treasury of Jain Literature*, edited by Phyllis Granoff, 17–74. New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

———. 1993b. *Āvaśyaka-Studien 1: Introduction générale et Traductions*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.

———. 1995. "Formes et usages de la concaténation en prakrit." In *Sauhṛdya-maṅgalaṃ, Studies in Honour of Siegfried Lienhard on his 70th Birthday*, edited by M. Juntunen, W. L. Smith, and C. Suneson, 5–25. Stockholm: The Association of Oriental Studies.

———. 1995–1996. "La tradition manuscrite des *Chappaṇṇayagāhāo*." *Bulletin d'études indiennes* 13-14: 35–50.

Balbir, Nalini and Besnard, M. 1993–1994. "Les strophes des connaisseurs (*Chappaṇṇayagāhao*), Anthologie gnomique en prakrit." *Bulletin d'études indiennes* 11-12: 235–354.

Balcerowicz, Piotr. 2001. "The Two Siddhasenas and the Authorship of the *Nyāyāvatāra* and the *Saṃmatitarkaprakaraṇa*." *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 29 (3): 351–378.

Bangha, Imre. 2005. "Rekhta, Poetry in Mixed Language: The Emergence of Khari Boli Literature in North India." In *Before the Divide: Hindi and Urdu Literary Culture*, edited by Francesca Orsini, 21–84. New Delhi: Orient BlackSwan.

———. 2012. "Maru Gurjar and Madhyadeśī: The Hindī Ādikāl." Paper presented at the 11th International Conference on Early Modern Languages in North India, Shimla.

Barth, M. A. 1885. *Inscriptions Sanscites de Cambodge*. Paris: Impremiere Nationale.

Barua, Benimadhab. 1929. *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Caves*. Calcutta: University of Calcutta.

Beames, John. 1872. *A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India: Vol. I, On Sounds*. London: Trübner & Co.

Benke, Theodore. 2010. *The Śūdrācāraśiromaṇi of Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa: A 16th Century Manual of Dharma for Śūdras*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Pennsylvania.

Bennedik, Susanne. 2007. *Die Siebenplanetenwoche in Indien*. Ph.D. thesis, Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Bonn.

Bhandare, Shailendra. 1999. *Historical Analysis of the Sātavāhana Era: A Study of Coins*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Bombay.

———. 2006. "Numismatics and History: The Maurya-Gupta Interlude in the Gangetic Plain." In *Between the Empires: Society in India 300 BCE to 400 CE*, edited by Patrick Olivelle, 67–112. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

———. 2011. "Linking the Past: Overstruck Coins and the Chronology of the Sātavāhanas." In *Felicitas: Essays in Numismatics, Epigraphy and History in Honour of Joe Cribb*, edited by Shailendra Bhandare and Sanjay Garg, 53–63. Mumbai: Reesha Books.

Bhandarkar, D. R. 1917. "Vikrama Era." In *Commemorative Essays presented to Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar*, 187–194. Pune: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

Bhattacharyya, Dinesh Chandra. 1947. "New Light on Vaidyaka Literature." *Indian Historical Quarterly* 23: 123–155.

Bhayani, Harivallabh C. 1973. "A Novel Classification of Literary Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa." *Vidyā (Humanities Section)* 16 (1): 1–6.

———. 1975. "The Prakrit Poets Harivṛddha, Sātavāhana, and Āḍhyarāja." In *Sanskrit and Indological Studies: Dr. V. Raghavan Felicitation Volume*, edited by R. N. Dandekar, R. K. Sharma, Mandan Mishra, Satyavrat, and S. S. Janaki, 61–76. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

———. 1989. *Apabhraṁśa Language and Literature: A Short Introduction*. Delhi: Bhogilal Leherchand Institute of Indology.

———. 1993a. "Paryāyabandha and Saṁghāta." In *Indological Studies: Literary and Performing Arts, Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa Studies*, 3–9. Ahmedabad: Parshva Prakashan.

———. 1993b. "Some Prakrit Verses of Pādalipta and the Authenticity of the *Taraṃgalolā*." In *Indological Studies: Literary and Performing Arts, Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa Studies*, 129–138. Ahmedabad: Parshva Prakashan.

———. 1993c. "The Prakrit poets Harivṛddha, Sātavāhana and Āḍhyarāja." In *Indological Studies: Literary and Performing Arts: Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa Studies*, 162–177. Ahmedabad: Parshva Prakashan.

———. 1993d. "The Ṣaṭprajñaka-gāthā and Hṛdayavatī." In *Indological Studies: Literary and Performing Arts, Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa Studies*, 10–19. Ahmedabad: Parshva Prakashan.

———. 1996. *Rāula-Vela of Roḍa*. Ahmedabad: Parshva Prakashan.

———. 1997. "Deśya Lexicography Prior to Hemacandra." *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay* 72: 36–41.

———. 1998. "The Sources of the Prakrit Illustrations of the *Siddhahemaśabdānuśāsana*." In *Indological Studies: Literary and Performing Arts, Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa Studies*, 60–84. Ahmedabad: Parshva Publication.

Bloch, Jules. 1965. *Indo-Aryan from the Vedas to Modern Times*. Paris: Libraire d'Amérique et d'Orient Adrien-Maisonneuve. Translated by Alfred Master.

———. 1970 [1914]. *The Formation of the Marāṭhī Language*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass. Translated by D.R. Chanana.

Bloch, Theodor. 1893. *Vararuci und Hemacandra*. Güttersloh: Bertelsmann.

Boccali, Giuliano. 1999. "Rain Poems and the Genesis of *kāvya*." In *Pandanus '98: Flowers, Nature, Semiotics*, edited by Jaroslav Vacek and Blanka Knotková-Čapková, 13–41. Prague: Signeta.

———. 2005. "The Sea in Ancient India's Literary Landscape: Pravarasena's *Setubandha* 2.1–36." *Cracow Indological Studies* 7: 115–123.

———. 2007. "La relazione fra epica tradizionale e poesia d'arte: Resulti acquisiti, problemi aperti." In *Vestigia antiquitatis: atti dei seminari del dipartimento di scienze dell'antichità dell'Università degli studi di Milano*, edited by Isabella Gualandri, 147–160. Milan: Cisalpino.

———. 2009. "*Sattasaī*, between Nature and Court Poetry." *Pandanus* 3 (2): 63–74.

Bodewitz, Henk W. and van Daalen, Leendert A. 1998. "Vākpatirāja's Gauḍavaha." *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 42: 40–66.

Botterill, Steven, ed. 1996. *De vulgari eloquentia of Dante Alighieri*. Number 5 in Cambridge Medieval Classics, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bronkhorst, Johannes. 1993. "Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit: The Original Language." In *Aspects of Buddhist Sanskrit: Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Language of Sanskrit Buddhist Texts*, edited by Kameshwar Nath Mishra, 396–414. Sarnath: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies.

———. 2010. "The Spread of Sanskrit." In *From Turfan to Ajanta: Festschrift for Dieter Schlingloff on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday*, edited by Eli Franco and Monika Zin, 117–140. Kathmandu: Lumbini International Research Institute.

———. 2011. *Language and Reality: On an Episode in Indian Thought*. Number 36 in Brill's Indological Library, Leiden and Boston: Brill. Revised translation by Michael S. Allen and Rajam Raghunathan.

Bronner, Yigal. 2010. *Extreme Poetry: The South Asian Movement of Simultaneous Narration*. New York: Columbia University Press.

———. 2012. "A Question of Priority: Revisiting the Bhāmaha-Daṇḍin Debate." *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 40: 67–118.

Brough, John. 1954. "The Language of The Buddhist Sanskrit Texts." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 16 (2): 351–375.

Bruhn, Klaus. 1996. "Ludwig Alsdorf's Studies in the Āryā." *Berlin Indologische Studien* 9/10: 7–53.

Bubeník, Vít. 1996. *The Structure and Development of Middle Indo-Aryan Dialects*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

———. 1998. *A Historical Syntax of Late Middle Indo-Aryan (Apabhraṃśa)*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Burgess, J. A. S. and Indraji, Bhagwanlal. 1881. *Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India*. Bombay: Government Central Press.

Burrow, Thomas. 1935–1937. "The dialectal position of the Niyā Prakrit." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 8: 419–436.

———. 1947. "Dravidian Studies VI: The Loss of Initial c/s in South Dravidian." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 12 (1): 132–147.

Busch, Allison. 2011a. "Hindi Literary Beginnings." In *South Asian Texts in History: Critical Engagements with Sheldon Pollock*, edited by Yigal Bronner, Whitney Cox, and Lawrence McCrea, 203–225. Ann Arbor: Association for Asian Studies.

———. 2011b. *Poetry of Kings: The Classical Hindi Literature of Mughal India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bühler, Georg. 1890. *Die indische Inschriften und das Alter der Indischen Kunstpoesie, Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-Historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, volume 122. Vienna: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften.

———. 1892a. "A New Inscription of the Andhra King Yajñaśrî Gautamiputra." *Epigraphia Indica* 1: 95–96.

———. 1892b. "A Prâkrit Grant of the Pallava King Śivaskandavarman." *Epigraphia Indica* 1: 2–10.

———. 1936. *The Life of Hemacandrācārya*. Śāntiniketan: Adhiṣṭhātā Siṅghī Jaina Jñānapīṭha.

Cappeller, Carl. 1872. *Die Ganachandas: Ein Beitrag zur Indischen Metrik*. Leipzig: Hüthel and Legler.

Cardona, George. 1998. *Pāṇini, His Works and its Traditions*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

———. 2008. "Theoretical Precedents of the Kātantra." In *Linguistic Traditions of Kashmir: Essays in Memory of Paṇḍit Dinanath Yaksha*, edited by Mrinal Kaul and Ashok Aklujkar, 300–367. Delhi: D. K. Printworld.

Chakladar, Haran Chandra. 1990 [1929]. *Social Life in Ancient India: Studies in Vātsyāyana's Kāma Sūtra*. New Delhi: Asian Educational Services.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh. 2000. "The Two Histories of Capital." In *Provincializing Europe*, 47–71. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Chandra, K. R. 1970. *A Critical Study of Paumacariyaṁ*. Muzaffarpur: Research Institute of Prakrit, Jainology and Ahimsa.

Chaudharī, Gulāb Candra. 1973. *Jaina Sāhitya kā Bṛhad Itihāsa: Bhāga 6, Kāvya-sāhitya*. Vārāṇasī: Pārśvanātha Vidyāśrama Śodha Saṃsthāna.

Chaudhuri, J. B. 1943. "Sanskrit Poet Ghanaśyāma." *Indian Historical Quarterly* 19: 237–251.

Chhabra, B. C. 1959-1960a. "Nagarjunakonda Inscription of Ehavalasri's Time." *Epigraphia Indica* 33: 147–149.

———. 1959-1960b. "Uppugundur Inscription of Virapurisadata's Time, Year 19." *Epigraphia Indica* 33: 189–191.

Chintamani, B. M. 1971. "Notices of Thirteen MSS in Prākṛt with Special Reference to Their Scientific and Technological Contents." *Indian Journal of History of Science* 6 (2): 168–172.

Chojnacki, Christine, ed. 2008. *Kuvalayamālā: Roman jaina de 779 composé par Uddyotanasūri: Vol. I. Étude*. Marburg: Indica et Tibetica Verlag.

Chojnacki, Christine. 2012. "Remodeling Jain Novels in Medieval Times: Means and Motivations." Talk presented at 12th World Sanskrit Conference in New Delhi.

Ciotti, Giovanni. 2013. *The Representation of Sanskrit Speech-Sounds: Philological and Linguistic Historiographies.* Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge.

Cort, John. 2009a. "An Epitome of Medieval Śvetāmbara Jain Literary Culture: A Review and Study of Jinaratnasūri's *Līlāvatīsāra.*" *International Journal of Jaina Studies (Online)* 15 (1): 1–33.

———. 2009b. "Making it Vernacular in Agra: The Practice of Translation by Seventeenth-Century Digambar Jains." Paper delivered at the "Tellings, not Texts" Conference at SOAS.

———. 2010. *Framing the Jina: Narratives of Icons and Idols in Jain History.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cox, Whitney. 2006. *Making a Tantra.* Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago.

———. 2013. "Literary Register and Historical Consciousness in Kalhaṇa: A Hypothesis." *Indian Social and Economic History Review* 50 (2): 131–160.

Creese, Helen. 2011. "*Rāmāyaṇa* Traditions in Bali." In *From Laṅkā Eastwards: The Rāmāyaṇa in the Literature and Visual Arts of Indonesia*, edited by Andrea Acri, Helen Creese, and Arlo Griffiths, 93–118. KITLV Press.

Cribb, Joe. 1992. "Numismatic Evidence for the Date of the Periplus." In *Indian Nusmismatics, History, Art and Culture: Essays in the Honor of Dr. P. L. Gupta*, edited by D. W. MacDowall, Savita Sharma, and Sanjay Garg, 131–145. Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan.

———. 1998. "Western Satraps and Satavahanas: Old and New Ideas of Chronology." In *Ex Moneta: Essays on Numismatics, History and Archaeology in honour of Dr. David W. MacDowall*, edited by Amal Kumar Jha and Sanjay Garg, 167–182. New Delhi: Harman Publishing House.

———. 2000. "Early Indian History." In *Buddhist Reliquaries from Ancient India*, edited by Michael Willis, 39–54. London: British Museum Press.

Crowley, Tony. 1996. *Language in History: Theories and Texts.* London and New York: Routledge.

van Daalen, Leendert A. 1991. "On *payaya-* and some other words in the Gauḍavaha; on aha therein and in the Setubandha and Hāla's Sattasaī." In *Middle Indo-Aryan and Jaina Studies (Panels of the VIIth World Sanskrit Conference)*, edited by Colette Caillat, 22–35. Leiden: Brill.

Damsteegt, Th. 1978. *Epigraphical Hybrid Sanskrit: Its Rise, Characteristics and Relationship to Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit.* Number 23 in Orientalia Rheno-Traiectina, Leiden: Brill.

Damsteegt, Theo. 1989. "The Pre-Kuṣāṇa and Kuṣāṇa Inscriptions and the Supercession of Prakrit by Sanskrit in North India in General and at Mathurā in Particular." In *Mathurā: The Cultural Heritage*, edited by Doris Meth Srinivasan, 298–307. New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies.

Dehejia, Vidya. 1972. *Early Buddhist Rock Temples: A Chronology*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Deleuze, Gilles and Guattari, Félix. 1986. *Kafka: Towards a Minor Literature*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Derrida, Jacques. 1997 [1976]. *Of Grammatology*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Desai, Devangana. 1985. *Erotic Sculpture of India: A Socio-Cultural Study*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.

Deshpande, Madhav M. 1993. *Sanskrit and Prakrit: Sociolinguistic Issues*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

Dhaky, M. A. 1974. "The Architectural Data in the Nirvāṇakālikā of Pādalipta-Śūri [sic]." *Sambodhi* 3 (1): 11.

———. 2002. "Pādaliptasūri viracita 'Nirvāṇakalikā'no samaya aṇe āṇuṣaṅgika samasyāo." In *Nirgranthaitihāsikalekhasamuccaya*, 85–102. Ahmedabad: Śreṣṭhī Kastūrbhāī Lālbhāī Smārak Nidhi.

———. 2004. "Ārya Bhadrabāhu." In *Jambūjyoti (Munivara Jambūvijaya Festschrift)*, edited by M. A. Dhaky and J. B. Shah, 108–155. Ahmedabad: Shresthi Kasturbhai Lalbhai Smarak Nidhi, Sharadaben Chimanbhai Educational Research Centre.

Drocco, Andrea. 2012. "Eternal Sanskrit and the meaning of the tripartite Prakrit terminology *tatsama*, *tadbhava* and *deśī*." *Linguistica e Filologia* 32: 119–136.

Dundas, Paul. 1985. *The* Sattasaī *and its Commentators*. Torino: Indologica Taurinensia.

———. 1996. "Jain Attitudes Towards the Sanskrit Language." In *Ideology and Status of Sanskrit: Contributions to the History of the Sanskrit Language*, edited by Jan E. M. Houben, 137–156. Leiden and New York: Brill.

Durkheim, Emile. 1995 [1912]. *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. New York: The Free Press.

Dvivedī, Hazārīprasād. 2008 [1952]. *Hindī Sāhitya kā Ādikāl*. New Delhi: Vāṇī Prakāśan.

Edgerton, Franklin. 1936. "The Prakrit underlying Buddhistic Hybrid Sanskrit." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 8: 501–516.

Esposito, Anna Aurelia. 2004. *Cārudatta: Ein indisches Schauspiel: Kritische Edition und Übersetzung mit einer Studie des Prakrits der 'Trivandrum-Dramen'*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

———. 2008. "Some remarks on the Prakrit of the so-called "Trivandrum plays" as found in the manuscripts." In *Proceedings of the XIIth World Sanskrit Conference, Helsinki, July 2003*, edited by Petteri Koskikallio and Asko Parpola. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

———. 2010a. "Bermerkungen zu den Schreibkonventionen der in Malayāḷam-Schrift verfassten Dramenmanuskripte sowie zu ihrer relativen Chronologie." In *Indisches Theater: Text, Theorie, Praxis*, edited by Karin Steiner and Heidrun Brückner, 141–154. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

———. 2010b. "Textual criticism concerning the Keralite drama manuscripts." In *Text Genealogy, Textual Criticism, and Editorial Technique*, edited by Jürgen Hanneder and Phillip A. Maas, 269–283. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

———. 2011. "The Prākrit of the Vasudevahiṇḍī – An Addendum to Pischel's Grammar." *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Südasienstudien* 28: 29–50.

Ezhuthachan, K. N. 1971. "Abhinavagupta on Manipravala." In *Proceedings of the First All India Conference of Dravidian Linguists*, edited by V. I. Subramoniam, 113–114. Trivandrum: St. Joseph's Press.

Faithfull, R. Glynn. 1953. "The Concept of "Living Language" in Cinquecento Vernacular Philology." *The Modern Language Review* 48 (3): 278–292.

Falk, Harry. 1991. "Kunstdichtung in den Höhlen von Rāmgarh." *Asiatische Studien/Études asiatiques* 95 (2): 257–276.

———. 1999/2000. "The Pāṭagaṇḍigūḍem copper-plate grant of king Ehavala Cāntamūla." *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 6: 275–283.

———. 2009. "Two Dated Sātavāhana Epigraphs." *Indo-Iranian Journal* 52: 197–206.

Fitzgerald, James. 2009. "No Contest between Memory and Invention: The Invention of the Pāṇḍava Heroes of the Mahābhārata." In *Epic and History*, edited by David Konstan and Kurt A. Raaflaub, 103–121. Chichester and Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Flood, Finbar Barry. 2009. *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval "Hindu-Muslim" Encounter*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Foucault, Michel. 1994 [1966]. *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*. New York: Vintage Books.

———. 2009 [1961]. *History of Madness*. Milton Park, Abingdon: Routledge.

Francis, Emmanuel. 2013. "Praising the King in Tamil During the Pallava Period." In *Bilingual Discourse*

*and Cross-Cultural Fertilisation: Sanskrit and Tamil in Medieval India*, edited by Whitney Cox and Vincenzo Vergiani, 359–409. Pondicherry: École française d'Extrême-Orient and Institut français de Pondichéry.

Freeman, Richard. 1998. "Rubies and Coral: The Lapidary Crafting of Language in Kerala." *Journal of Asian Studies* 57 (1): 38–65.

Fussman, Gérard. 1989. "The Māṭ *devakula*: A New Approach to Its Understanding." In *Mathurā: The Cultural Heritage*, edited by Doris Meth Srinivasan, 193–199. New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies.

Fynes, R. C. C. 1995. "The Religious Patronage of the Sātavāhana Dynasty." *South Asian Studies* 11: 43–50.

Gadamer, Hans-Georg. 2004 [1960]. *Truth and Method*. London and New York: Continuum.

Gai, G. S. 1975-76. "Banavasi Inscription of Vinhukada Satakanni, Year 12." *Epigraphia Indica* 34: 239–242.

Gandhi, Lalchandra Bhagawandas. 1927. *Three Apabhraṁśa Works of Jinadattasūri*. Baroda: Oriental Institute.

Garrez, G. 1872. "Review of *Ueber das Saptaçatakam des Hâla* by A. Weber." *Journal Asiatique* 20: 197–220.

Geertz, Clifford. 1993 [1973]. "Religion as a Cultural System." In *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*, 87–125. London: Fontana Press.

Geiger, Wilhelm. 1956 [1916]. *Pāli Literature and Language*. Calcutta: University of Calcutta. Translated by B. Ghosh.

Ghatage, A. M. 1934–1935a. "Hymns in Prakrit." *Journal of the University of Bombay* 3: 45–50.

———. 1934–1935b. "Narrative Literature in Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī." *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute* 16 (1–2): 26–43.

———. 1936. "Māhārāṣṭrī Language and Literature." *Journal of the University of Bombay* 4: 19–70.

———. 2000. "Māhārāṣṭrī Language and Literature." In *Amrita*, 95–148. Shreshti Kasturbhai Lalbhai Smarak Nidhi.

Ghose, Manomohan. 1932. "Prākṛt verses in the Bharata-Nāṭyaśāstra." *Indian Historical Quarterly* 8: 1–52.

———. 1933. "Mahārāṣṭrī—A Later Phase of Śauraṣenī." *Journal of the Department of Letters (Calcutta)* 23: 1–24.

Gokhale, Shobhana. 1988. "A Unique Copper-Coin of the Satavahana King Hala." *The Journal of the Academy*

*of Indian Numismatics and Sigillography* 6: 65–66.

———. 2004–2006. "The Nāṇeghāṭ Record—A Masterpiece in Ancient Indian Records." *The Adyar Library Bulletin* 68-70: 239–260.

———. 2008. *Lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha: Coins, Trade and Trade-Centers under the Sātavāhanas*. Mumbai: Reesha Books.

Gopalachari, K. 1941. *Early History of the Andhra Country*. Madras: University of Madras.

Gornall, Alastair. 2014. "How Many Sounds are in Pāli? Schism, Identity and Ritual in the Theravāda *saṅgha*." *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 42 (5): 511–550.

Granoff, Phyllis. 1989a. "Jain Lives of Haribhadra: An Enquiry into the Sources and Logic of the Legends." *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 17 (2): 105–128.

———. 1989b. "The Biographies of Siddhasena: A Study in the Texture of Allusion and the Weaving of a Group-Image, Part I." *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 17 (4): 329–384.

———. 1990. "The Biographies of Siddhasena: A Study in the Texture of Allusion and the Weaving of a Group-Image, Part II." *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 18 (4): 261–304.

———. 1994. "Jain Biographies of Nāgārjuna: Notes on the Composition of a Biography in Medieval India." In *Monks and Magicians: Religious Biographies in Asia*, edited by Phyllis Granoff and Koichi Shinohara, 45–66. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

Grierson, George Abraham. 1906. *The Piśāca Languages of North-Western India*. Number 8 in Asiatic Society Monographs, London: Royal Asiatic Society.

———. 1927. *Linguistic Survey of India: Volume 1: Part 1: Introductory*. Calcutta: Government of India.

Gupta, Chandrasekhar. 1993. "A Potin Coin of King Satavahana from the Deccan." *Studies in South Indian Coins* 3: 73–80.

Gupta, Chandrashekhar. 1992. "Sopara Coin of Gautamīputra Yajña Sātakarṇi and Its Bearing on the Naneghat Inscription of the Reign of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi: Year 13." In *Numismatic Studies Volume 2*, edited by Devendra Handra, 81–85. New Delhi: Harman Publishing House.

Gupta, P. L. 1975. "Nāneghāṭ Inscription of an Unknown Queen—A Historical Study." *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India* 2: 59–71.

Gutzwiller, Kathryn. 2006. "The Bucolic Problem." *Classical Philology* 101 (4): 380–404.

Hahn, Michael. 1983. "Vararucis Gāthāśataka — eine Analyse." In *Documenta Barbarorum: Festschrift für Walther Hessig zum 70. Geburtstag*, edited by Klaus Sagaster and Michael Weiers, 143–151. Harrassowitz.

———. 2007. "Ravigupta and his Nīti Stanzas (I)." In *Minami Ajia Kotengaku — South Asian Classical Studies, Vol. 2*, 305–355. Kyushu University Department of Indology.

———. 2012. "Der Bhāṣāśleṣa - eine Besonderheit kaschmirischer Dichter und Poetiker?" In *Highland Philology: Results of a Text-Related Kashmir Panel at the 31st DOT, Marburg 2010*, 77–105. Number 4 in Studia Indologica Universitatis Halensis, Halle an der Saale: Universitätsverlag Halle-Wittenberg.

Hart, George L. 1975. *The Poems of Ancient Tamil: their milieu and their Sanskrit counterparts*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

———. 1976. *The Relation Between Tamil and Classical Sanskrit Literature*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Heller, Erich. 1952. "Goethe and the Idea of Scientific Truth." In *The Disinherited Mind*, 2–26. Cambridge: Bowes and Bowes.

Hillebrandt, Alfred, ed. 1984 [1912]. *Mudrārākṣasa by Viśākhadatta*. Hildesheim: Georg Olms.

von Hinüber, Oskar. 1981. "Die Paiśācī und die Entstehung der Sakischen Orthographie." In *Studien zum Jainismus und Buddhismus: Gedenkschrift für Ludwig Alsdorf*, edited by Klaus Bruhn and Albrecht Wezler, 121–127. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.

———. 1982. "Pāli as an Artificial Language." *Indologica Taurinensia* 10: 133–140.

———. 1985. "Pāli and Paiśācī as Variants of Buddhist Middle Indic." *Bulletin d'études indiennes* 3: 61–77.

———. 1996. *A Handbook of Pāli Literature*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

———. 2001. *Das ältere Mittelindisch im Überblick*. Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Hirsch, Eric Donald. 1967. *Validity in Interpretation*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Hoernle, A. F. R. 1873. "Genitive Post-positions." *Indian Antiquary* 2: 210–213.

———. 1880. *A Grammar of the Eastern Hindi Compared with the Other Gaudian Languages*. London: Trübner.

Hopkins, Steven Paul Arthur. 2002. *Singing the Body of God: The Hymns of Vedāntadeśika in Their South Indian Tradition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Horsch, Paul. 1966. *Die Vedische Gāthā- und Śloka-Literatur*. Bern: Francke Verlag.

Houben, Jan E. M. 1994a. "Bhartṛhari's Familiarity with Jainism." *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute* 75: 1–24.

———. 1994b. "Early Indian Authors and Linguistic Change (Postscript to: Bhartṛhari's Familiarity with Jainism)." *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute* 75: 255–256.

———. 1996. "Sociolinguistic Attitudes Reflected in the Work of Bhartṛhari and Some Later Grammarians." In *Ideology and Status of Sanskrit: Contributions to the History of the Sanskrit Language*, edited by Jan E. M. Houben, 157–193. Leiden and New York: Brill.

———. 1997. "Bhartṛhari's Perspectivism (1): The *vṛtti* and Bhartṛhari's Perspectivism in the First *kāṇḍa* of the *Vākyapadīya*." In *Beyond Orientalism: The Work of Wilhelm Halbfass and Its Impact on Indian and Cross-Cultural Studies*, edited by Eli Franco and Karin Preisendanz, 317–358. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Hultzsch, Eugen. 1900–1901. "Mayidavolu Plates of Sivaskandavarman." *Epigraphia Indica* 6: 84–89.

———. 1907–1908. "Plates of Vijaya-Devavarman." *Epigraphia Indica* 9: 56–59.

Ingalls, Daniel H. H. 1976. "Kālidāsa and the Attitudes of the Golden Age." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 96 (1): 15–26.

Ingalls, Daniel H. H., Patwardhan, M. V., and Masson, Jeffrey Mousaieff. 1990. *The Dhvanyāloka of Ānandavardhana: With the Locana of Abhinavagupta*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Jacobi, Hermann. 1876. "Ueber das Vîracaritram." *Indische Studien* 14: 97–160.

———. 1879. *The Kalpasûtra of Bhadrabâhu*. Leipzig: Brockhaus.

———. 1884a. *Gaina sûtras*. Oxford: Clarendon.

———. 1884b. "Ueber die Entwicklung der indischen Metrik in nachvedischer Zeit." In Kölver (1970), 590–619. Pp. 142–174 in his *Kleine Schriften*, ed. Bernhard Kölver 1970, Wiesbaden.

———. 1885. "Indisches Hypermetra und hypermetrische Texte." In *Indische Studien XVII*, 381–441. Leipzig: Brockhaus.

———. 1886a. *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Mâhârâshṭrî*. Leipzig: Birzel.

———. 1886b. "Zur Kentniss der Āryā." In Kölver (1970), 336–342. Pp. 198-204 in his *Kleine Schriften*, ed. Bernhard Kölver 1970, Wiesbaden.

———. 1893. "Ueber die Betonung im klassischen Sanskrit und in den Prâkṛit-Sprachen." *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 47: 574–582.

———. 1894. "War das Epos und die profane Litteratur Indiens ursprünglich in Prākṛit abgefaßt?" *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 48: 407–417.

———. 1898. "Der Aksent im Mittelindischen." *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung* 35: 563–582. Pp. 73-88 in his *Kleine Schriften*, ed. Bernhard Kölver 1970, Wiesbaden.

———. 1908–1909. "Ueber das Prakrit in der Erzählungs-Litteratur der Jainas." *Rivista degli studi orientali* 2: 231–236.

Jacobi, Hermann, ed. 1918. *Bhavisatta Kaha von Dhaṇavāla: Eine Jaina Legende in Apabhraṃśa*. Munich: Verlag der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Jacobi, Hermann. 1960. "On accent in the classical Sanskrit and the Prākrit dialects." *Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda* 10: 34–52. Translated with notes by S.N. Ghosal.

Jain, Hiralal. 1945. "Traces of an Old Metrical Prakrit Grammar." In *Bhārata-Kaumudī: Studies in Indology in Honour of Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji*, volume 1, 315–322. Allahabad: The Indian Press.

Jain, Jagdishchandra. 1961. *Prākṛta Sāhitya kā Itihāsa*. Vārāṇasī: Chaukhambā Vidyābhavana.

———. 1977. *The Vasudevahiṇḍi: An Authentic Jain Version of the Bṛhatkathā*. Ahmedabad: L. D. Institute of Indology.

———. 1981. *Prakrit Narrative Literature: Origin and Growth*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.

———. 2004. *History and Development of Prakrit Literature*. New Delhi: Manohar.

Jain, Kamal. 1997. *Vasudevahiṇḍī: Eka Adhyayana*. Vārāṇasī: Pārśvanātha Vidyāpīṭha.

Jakobson, Roman. 1959. "On Linguistic Aspects of Translation." In *On Translation*, edited by R. A. Brower, 30–39. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Jamison, Stephanie. 2004. *The Rig Veda between Two Worlds*. Paris: Collège de France.

Jayaswal, K. P. and Banerji, R. D. 1929–1930. "The Hathigumpha Inscription of Kharavela." *Epigraphia Indica* 20: 71–89.

Jinavijaya. 1988 [1919]. *Haribhadrasūri kā Samaya-Nirṇaya*. Pārśvanātha Vidyāśrama Śodha Saṃsthāna, 2nd edition.

Joglekar, S. A. 1946. "Sātavāhana and Sātakarṇi." *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute* 27 (3/4): 237–287.

Joseph, John E. 2004. *Language and Identity*. Houndmills and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

———. 2006. *Language and Politics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Kahrs, Eivind G. 1992. "What is a *tadbhava* word?" *Indo-Iranian Journal* 35: 225–249.

Kant, Immanuel. 1998 [1787]. *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*. Hamburg: Meiner. Originally published 1787.

Katare, Sant Lal. 1952. "An inscribed Sculpture inspired by Hāla's Gāthāsaptaśatī." *Indian Historical Quarterly* 28: 379–385.

Katre, Sumitra Mangesh. 1964. *Prakrit Languages and their Contribution to Indian Culture*. Pune: Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute. First edition Bombay 1945.

Kaviraj, Sudipta. 1992. "Writing , Speaking, Being: Language and the Historical Formation of Identities in India." In *Nationalstaat und Sprachkonflikte in Süd- und Südostasien*, edited by Dagmar Hellmann-Rajanayagam and Dietmar Rothermund, 25–65. Stuttgart: Steiner.

———. 2003. "The Two Histories of Literary Culture in Bengal." In *Literary Cultures in History: Reconstructions from South Asia*, edited by Sheldon Pollock, 503–566. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Kedilaya, A. Shanker. 1964-1977. "Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa." *Annals of Oriental Research, University of Madras* 19-27: 1–460.

Keith, A. B. 1920. *A History of Sanskrit Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Keshavmurthy, Prashant. 2013. "Tuḥfat ul-Hind." Perso-Indica. An Analytical Survey of Persian Works on Indian Learned Traditions. URL `http://www.perso-indica.net/work.faces?idw=84`. Ed. by F. Speziale and C. W. Ernst.

Khadabadi, B. K. 1981. "On the Apabhraṃśa Chapter of the *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa*." *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute* 62: 227–234.

Khoroche, Peter and Tieken, Herman. 2009. *Poems on Life and Love in Ancient India: Hāla's* Sattasaī. Albany: excelsior editions.

Kielhorn, Franz. 1905–1906. "Junagadh Rock Inscription of Rudradaman." *Epigraphia Indica* 8: 36–49.

Klatt, Johannes. 1879. "Dhanapâla's Ṛishabhapañcâçikâ." *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 33: 445–483.

———. 1882. "Extracts from the Historical Records of the Jainas." *Indian Antiquary* 11: 245–256.

Kloss, Heinz. 1967. "'Abstand languages' and 'Ausbau languages'." *Anthropological Linguistics* 9 (7): 29–41.

Knutson, Jesse Ross. 2006. "Embedded Poets: The birth of the Anthology and the Social Life of Sanskrit *Kāvya*." *Biblio* 22–23.

———. 2014. *Into the Twilight of Sanskrit Court Poetry*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Konow, Sten. 1894. "Review of Bloch, *Vararuci und Hemacandra*." *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 1: 472–482.

Konow, Sten, ed. 2007 [1901]. *Rājaçekhara's Karpūramañjarī*. Delhi: Harvard University Press. Translated by Charles Rockwell Lanman, reprinted from Harvard University Press edition.

Krishna Rao, B. V. 1955–1956. "Two Salankayana Charters from Kanukollu." *Epigraphia Indica* 31: 1–10.

Krishna Shastri, H. 1925-26. "The Kodavali Rock-Inscription of Chandasati; The Second Year of Reign." *Epigraphia Indica* 18: 316–319.

Krishnan, K. G. 2002. "Note on Sātavāhana Bilingual Coins." In *Śrī Subrahmaṇya Smṛtī*, edited by I. K. Sarma, 503–504. New Delhi: Sandeep Prakashan.

Kulkarni, V. M., ed. 1988. *Prakrit Verses in Sanskrit Works on Poetics: Volume I: Text (With Appendixes and index)*. Delhi: Bhogilal Leherchand Institute of Indology.

Kulkarni, V. M. 1990. *The Story of Rāma in Jain Literature*. Ahmedabad: Saraswati Pustak Bhandar.

———. 1991. *Bhoja and the Harivijaya of Sarvasena*. Ahmedabad: Saraswati Pustak Bhandar.

Kulkarni, V. M., ed. 2003. *Kūrmaśatakadvayam: Two Prakrit Poems on Tortoise Who Supports the Earth*. Number 136 in L. D. Series, Ahmedabad: L.D. Institute of Indology. Translation of the text as edited by Richard Pischel in Epigraphia Indica VIII (1905–1906).

Kuryłowicz, Jerzy. 1970. "The Quantitative Meter of Indo-European." In *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans*, edited by George Cardona, Henry M. Hoenigswald, and Alfred Senn, 421–430. University of Pennsylvania Press.

Kölver, Bernhard, ed. 1970. *Hermann Jacobi: Kleine Schriften: Teil 1*. Wiesbaden: Steiner.

Kümmel, Martin Joachim. 2013. "Silbenstruktur und Metrik: Neues zum Altavestischen." URL `https://www.academia.edu/9573102/Silbenstruktur_und_Metrik_Neues_zum_Altavestischen`. Presented at Sprache und Metrik in Diachronie und Synchronie, Munich.

Lacôte, Félix. 1908. *Essai sur Guṇāḍhya et la Bṛhatkathā, suivi du texte inédit des chapitres XXVII à XXX du Nepāla-māhātmya.* Paris: Ernest Leroux.

Leumann, Ernst. 1921. "Die Nonne: Ein neuer Roman aus dem alten Indien." *Zeitschrift für Buddhismus* 3: 193–234, 272–333.

Lidova, Natalia. 2012. "The Nāṭyaśāstra: the Origin of the Ancient Indian Poetics." *Cracow Indological Studies* 14: 61–85.

Liebich, Bruno. 1919. *Zur Einführung in die indische einheimische Sprachwissenschaft. I. Das Kātantra.* Sitzungberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Heidelberg: Carl Winter.

Lienhard, Siegfried. 1971. "Palai Poems in Sanskrit and Prakrit." In *Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri Felicitation Volume*, edited by Saw. Ganesan, S. Rajam, N. S. Ramaswami, and M. D. Pampath, 416–422. Madras: Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri Felicitation Committee.

———. 1973. "Akkaporul and Sanskrit Muktaka Poetry." In *Association internationale des études tamoules / International Association of Tamil Research: Compte-rend de la troisième conférence internationale / Proceedings of the Third International Conference Seminar, Paris 1970*, edited by X. S. Thani Nagayam and François Gros, 111–118. Pondichéry: Institut français d'indologie.

———. 1975. "Sur la structure poétique des *Theratherîgâthâ*." *Journal Asiatique* 263 (3-4): 375–396.

———. 1984. *A History of Classical Poetry: Sanskrit – Pali – Prakrit.* A History of Indian Literature, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Lo Piparo, Franco. 2010. "The Linguistic Roots of Gramsci's Non-Marxism." In *Gramsci, Language and Translation*, edited by Peter Ives and Rocco Lacorte, 19–28. Plymouth: Lexington Books.

Lubin, Timothy. 2005. "The Transmission, Patronage, and Prestige of Brahmanical Piety from the Mauryas to the Guptas." In *Boundaries, Dynamics and Construction of Traditions in South Asia*, edited by Federico Squarcini, 77–103. Florence: Firenze University Press.

Lévi, Sylvain. 1903. "Notes on the Indo-Scythians." *Indian Antiquary* 32: 381–389, 417–426.

———. 1904. "On Some Terms Employed in the Inscriptions of the Kshatrapas." *Indian Antiquary* 33: 163–174.

———. 1908. "Açvaghoṣa, le sûtrâlaṃkâra et ses sources." *Journal Asiatique* 12: 57–184.

———. 1936. "Kaniṣka et Sātavāhana: Deux figures symboliques de l'Inde au premier siècle." *Journal Asiatique* 228: 61–121.

Lüders, Heinrich, ed. 1911. *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen*. Berlin: Reimer.

Lüders, Heinrich. 1937–1938. "Seven Brahmi Inscriptions from Mathura and its Vicinity." *Epigraphia Indica* 24: 194–210.

———. 1961. *Mathurā Inscriptions*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Mahadevan, Iravatham. 2003. *Early Tamil Epigraphy: From the Earliest Times to the Sixth Century A.D.* Chennai: Cre-A.

Mainkar, T. G. 1970. "Ghanaśyāma, a Prakrit Poet." In *Proceedings of the Seminar in Prakrit Studies, June 23-27, 1969*, edited by R. N. Dandekar and A. M. Ghatage, 171–174. Poona: University of Poona.

Malamoud, Charles. 1981. "On the rhetoric and semantics of puruṣārtha." *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 15: 33–48.

Malvania, Dalsukh. 1983. "On Bhadreśvarasūri's *Kahāvalī*." *Indologica Taurinensia* 77–95.

Masica, Colin. 1991. *The Indo-Aryan Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Masson, Jeffrey Mousaieff and Patwardhan, M. V. 1974. "Dhvanigāthāpañjikā." *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute* 55: 219–225.

Master, Alfred. 1943. "The Mysterious Paiśācī." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 34–45, 217–233.

McCrea, Lawrence J. 2008. *The Teleology of Poetics in Medieval Kashmir*. Cambridge, MA and London: Department of Sanskrit and Indian Studies, Harvard University.

McGregor, Ronald Stuart. 1984. *Hindi Literature from its Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Meillet, Antoine. 1923. *Origines Indo-Européennes des Métres Grecs*. Paris: Les Presses Universitaires des Paris.

Meister, Michael. 1979. "Juncture and Conjunction: Punning and Temple Architecture." *Artibus Asiae* 41 (2/3): 226–234.

Menon, A. G. 1996. "The Use of Sanskrit in South Indian Bilingual Royal Inscriptions: Social, Political, and Religious Implications." In *Ideology and Status of Sanskrit*, edited by Jan E. M. Houben, 249–263. Leiden: Brill.

Mette, Adelheid. 1973. "Veḍhas in Lalitavistara und Divyāvadāna." *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenländes* 17: 21–42.

Minkowski, Christopher. 2008. "Why Should We Read the Maṅgala Verses?" In *Śāstrārambha: Inquiries into the Preamble in Sanskrit*, edited by Walter Slaje, 1–24. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Mioni, Alberto M. 2004. "Classical Language – Dead Language / Klassische Sprache – Tote Sprache." In *Sociolinguistics: An International Handbook of the Science of Language and Society / Soziolinguistik: Ein internationales Handbuch zur Wissenschaft von Sprache und Gesellschaft*, edited by Ulrich Ammon, Norbert Dittmar, Klaus J. Mattheier, and Peter Trudgill, volume 1, 314–322. Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2nd edition.

Mirashi, V. V. 1948. "The date of the *Gāthāsaptaśatī*." *Indian Historical Quarterly* 23: 300–310.

———. 1951. "The Home of the Vākāṭakas." *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute* 32 (1/4): 1–18.

Mirashi, Vasudev Vishnu. 1945. "Some Royal Poets of the Vākāṭaka Age." *Indian Historical Quarterly* 21: 193–201.

———. 1947. "The date of the Gāthāsaptaśatī." *Indian Historical Quarterly* 23: 300–310.

———. 1960a. "Some ancient Prakrit poets." In *Studies in Indology*, volume 1, 89–95. Nagpur: Vidarbha Samshodhana Mandal.

———. 1960b. "Some royal poets of the Vākāṭaka age." In *Studies in Indology*, volume 1, 96–106. Nagpur: Vidarbha Samshodhana Mandal.

———. 1960c. "The date of the Gāthāsaptaśatī." In *Studies in Indology*, volume 1, 76–88. Nagpur: Vidarbha Samshodhana Mandal.

Mirashi, Vasudev Vishnu, ed. 1963. *Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas*, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, volume 5. Ootacamund: Government Epigraphist for India.

Mirashi, Vasudev Vishnu. 1975. "The Identity of the Sātavāhana King Śiva-śrī Puḷumāvi." In *Literary and Historical Studies in Indology*, 163–166. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

———. 1977. "Nāṇēghāṭ Inscription Re-Examined." *Studies in Indian Epigraphy* 3: 86–89.

Mitchell, Lisa. 2009. *Language, emotion, and politics in South India: The making of a Mother Tongue*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Mitchiner, John E., ed. 1986. *The Yuga Purāṇa*. Calcutta: The Asiatic Society.

Monk, Ray. 1990. *Ludwig Wittgenstein: The Duty of Genius*. New York: Free Press: Maxwell Macmillan International.

Morrison, Kathleen D. 1995. "Trade, Urbanism, and Agricultural Expansion: Buddhist Monastic Institutions and the State in the Early Historic Western Deccan." *World Archaeology* 27 (2): 203–221.

Murthy, A. V. Narasimha and Bhat, H. R. Raghunatha. 1975. "Banavāsi Inscription of Siva Siri Puḷumāvi." *Studies in Indian Epigraphy* 1: 34–39.

Müller, Max. 1883. *India: What Can It Teach Us?* London: Lovell's Library.

Nagaraja Rao, M. S. 1985. "Brāhmī Inscriptions and Their Bearing on the Great Stūpa at Sannati." In *Indian Epigraphy: Its Bearing on the History of Art*, edited by Frederick M. Asher and G. S. Gai, 41–45. New Delhi: Oxford and IBH Publishing Company.

Nagarajaiah, Hampa. 1994. "Influence of Prakrit on Kannaḍa Language and Literature." In *Jainism and Prakrit in Ancient and Medieval India: Essays for Professor Jagdish Chandra Jain*, edited by N. N. Bhattacharyya, 113–120. Delhi: Manohar.

Nagaraju, S. 1981. *Buddhist Architecture of Western India, c. 250 B.C.–c. A.D. 300*. Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan.

Nagy, Gregory. 1974. *Comparative Studies in Greek and Indic Meter*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Naikar, Chandramouli S. 1998. *The Prakrit Plays of India*. Dharwad: Medha Publishers.

Nara, Tsuyoshi. 1979. *Avahaṭṭha and Comparative Vocabulary of New Indo-Āryan Languages*. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa.

Narasimhaswami, H. K. 1951. "Nagarjunikonda Image Inscription." *Epigraphia Indica* 29: 137–139.

Narayana Rao, Velcheru. 1995. "Coconut and Honey: Sanskrit and Telugu in Medieval Andhra." *Social Scientist* 23: 24–40.

———. 2003. "Multiple Literary Cultures in Telugu." In *Literary Cultures in History: Reconstructions from South Asia*, edited by Sheldon Pollock, 383–436. University of California Press.

Narayana Rao, Velcheru and Shulman, David. 2012. *Śrīnātha: The Poet Who Made Gods and Kings*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Neelis, Jason. 2011. *Early Buddhist Transmission and Trade Networks: Mobility and Exchange Within and Beyond the Northwestern Borderlands of South Asia*. Leiden and Boston: Brill.

Nilakantha Sastri, K. A. 1941. "Gurzala Brahmi Inscription." *Epigraphia Indica* 26: 123–125.

Nitti-Dolci, Luigia, ed. 1938. *Le Prākṛtānuśāsana de Puruṣottama*. Number 6 in Cahiers de la société asiatique, Paris: Société asiatique.

Nitti-Dolci, Luigia. 1972 [1938]. *The Prākrita Grammarians*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass. Translated by Prabhākara Jhā.

Norman, K. R. 1987. "The Origin of the Āryā Metre." In *Buddhist Philosophy and Culture: Essays in honor of N. A. Jayawickrema*, 203–214. Kelaniya, Sri Lanka: Vidyalankara Press.

Novetzke, Christian. 2008. *Religion and Public Memory: A Cultural History of Saint Namdev in India*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Ohira, Suzuko. 1982. *A Study of Tattvārthasūtra with Bhāṣya*. Ahmedabad: L. D. Institute of Indology. L. D. Series 86.

Olivelle, Patrick. 2004. "The Semantic History of Dharma in the Middle and Late Vedic Periods." In *Dharma: Studies in its Semantic, Cultural and Religious History*, edited by Patrick Olivelle, 69–89. New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

Ollett, Andrew. 2012. "Moraic Feet in Prakrit Metrics: A Constraint-Based Approach." *Transactions of the Philological Society* 110 (2): 241–282.

———. 2013. "The *gaṇacchandas* in the Indian metrical tradition." In *Puṣpikā: Proceedings of the First International Indology Graduate Research Symposium*, edited by Nina Mirnig, Peter Szanto, and Michael Williams, 331–364. Oxbow: Oxbow.

———. 2014. "Ghosts from the past: India's undead languages." *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 51 (4): 405–456.

Panchamukhi, R. S., ed. 1941. *Karnatak Inscriptions, Vol. 1*. Dharwar: Karnatak Research Institute.

Panneerselvam, R. 1969. "Further Light on the Bilingual Coin of the Sātavāhanas." *Indo-Iranian Journal* 11: 281–288.

Parabrahma Sastry, P. V. 2008. "Society and Economy of the Sātavāhana Age." In *Early Historic Andhra Pradesh, 500 BC – AD 624*, edited by I. K. Sarma, 18–32. New Delhi: Tulika Books.

Pargiter, F. E. 1913. *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*. London: Oxford University Press.

Phukan, Shantanu. 2001. "'Through throats where many rivers meet': The ecology of Hindi in the world of Persian." *Indian Social and Economic History Review* 38 (1): 33–58.

Pisani, Vittore. 1957. "On the Origin of Prākṛtam and Pāli as Language Designations." In *Felicitation Volume Presented to Professor Sripad Krishna Belvalkar*, 185–191. Benares: M. B. Dass.

Pischel, Richard. 1873. "Review of Beames, *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*." *The Academy* 4: 397–398.

———. 1874. *De Grammaticis Pracriticis*. Breslau: Adolph Kiepert.

Pischel, Richard, ed. 1886. *Rudraṭa's Çṛṅgâratilaka and Ruyyaka's Sahṛdayalîlâ*. Kiel: Haeseler.

Pischel, Richard. 1900. *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*. Strassburg: Karl Trübner.

———. 1905–1906. "Two Prâkṛit Poems at Dhâr." *Epigraphia Indica* 8: 241–260.

———. 1981 [1900]. *A Grammar of the Prākrit Languages*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2nd edition. Translated by S. Jhā.

Pollock, Sheldon. 1985. "The Theory of Practice and the Practice of Theory in Indian Intellectual History." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 105 (3): 499–519.

———. 1989. "Playing by the rules: Śāstra and Sanskrit literature." In *Shastric Traditions in Indian Arts*, edited by Anna Libera Dallapiccola, 301–312. Stuttgart: Steiner.

———. 1995. "In Praise of Poets: On the History and Function of the *Kaviprasamsa*." In *Ānanda Bhārati: Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy Felicitation Volume*, edited by B. Channakeshava and H. V. Nagaraja Rao, 443–457. Mysore: D. V. K. Murthy.

———. 1996. "The Sanskrit Cosmopolis, 300 – 1300: Transculturation, Vernacularization, and the Question of Ideology." In *Ideology and Status of Sanskrit: Contributions to the History of the Sanskrit Language*, edited by Jan E. M. Houben, 197–248. Leiden: Brill.

———. 1998. "India in the Vernacular Millennium: Literary Culture and Polity, 1000–1500." *Daedalus* 127: 41–74.

———. 2001. "The Death of Sanskrit." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 42 (2): 392–426.

———. 2003. "Sanskrit Literary Culture from the Inside Out." In *Literary Cultures in History: Reconstructions from South Asia*, edited by Sheldon I. Pollock, 39–130. Berkeley: University of California Press.

———. 2004. "A New Philology: From Norm-bound Practice to Practice-bound Norm in Kannada Intellectual History." In *South Indian Horizons: Felicitation Volume for François Gros*, edited by Jean-Luc Chevillard, 389–406. Pondicherry: Institut français de Pondichéry / École française d'extrême-orient.

———. 2006a. "Empire and Imitation." In *Lessons of Empire: Imperial Histories and American Power*, edited by Craig Calhoun, Frederick Cooper, and Kevin Moore, 175–188. London and New York: The New Press.

———. 2006b. *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

———. 2009. "Future Philology? The Fate of a Soft Science in a Hard World." *Critical Inquiry* 35: 931–961. James Chandler and Arnold Davidson (eds.), *The Fate of the Disciplines* (special issues).

———. 2011. "The Languages of Science in Early Modern India." In *Forms of Knowledge in Early Modern Asia: Explorations in the Intellectual History of India and Tibet, 1500-1800*, edited by Sheldon Pollock, 19–48. Durham: Duke University Press.

———. 2014. "What Was Philology in Sanskrit?" In *World Philology*, edited by Sheldon Pollock, Benjamin A. Elman, and Ku-ming Kevin Chang, 114–136. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Pollock, Sheldon, Elman, Benjamin, and Chang, Ku-ming Kevin, eds. 2014. *World Philology*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Poonacha, K. P. 2013. *Excavations at Kanaganahalli*. New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India.

Printz, Wilhelm. 1921. *Bhāsa's Prakrit*. Frankfurt: Printz.

Puṇyavijaya, Muni, Mālvaṇiā, Dalsukh, and Bhojak, Amritlāl Mohanlāl. 1968. *Nandisuttam and Aṇuogaddārāiṁ*. Bombay: Shri Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya.

Raghavan, V. 1941. "Appayya Dīkṣitas II and III." *Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference* 10: 176–180.

———. 1950. "Prākṛta Works known from Bhoja's Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa." In *Siddha-Bhāratī, or, The Rosary of Indology: Presenting 108 original Papers on Indological subjects in honour of the 60th Birthday of Dr. Siddheshwar Varma*, edited by Vishva Bandhu, 199–206. Hoshiarpur: V. V. R. Institute.

———. 1963. *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa*. Madras: Punarvasu.

———. 1973 [1942]. *Studies on Some Concepts of the Alaṃkāra Śāstra*. Madras: The Adyar Library and Research Centre.

———. 1980. "Abhinavagupta's Polymathy." In *Abhinavagupta and His Works*, 94–98. Varanasi: Chaukhamba Orientalia.

Rajendran, C. 2005. "Sociolinguistic Problems in Nāṭyaśāstra." In *Avaniśrīḥ: Avanindra Kumar Felicitation Volume*, edited by Mithilesh Chaturvedi, Om Nath Bimali, and Siddharth Shankar Singh, 215–219. Delhi:

Vidyānilayam Prakāśan.

Ramachandra Murthy, N. S. 1999. "Pātagaṇḍigūḍem Plates of Ehavala Chāntamūla." *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India* 25: 114–123.

Ramaswamy, Sumathi. 1997. *Passions of the Tongue: Language Devotion in Tamil India, 1891–1970.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Ramesh, K. V. 1984. *Inscriptions of the Western Gangas.* Indian Council of Historical Research.

Rapson, Edward James. 1908 [1967]. *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kṣatrapas, the Traikūṭaka Dynasty and the "Bodhi" Dynasty.* London: Trustees of the British Museum.

Ray, Himanshu Prabha. 1986. *Monastery and Guild: Commerce Under the Sātavāhanas.* Delhi and New York: Oxford University Press.

Reddy, A. K. V. S. and Krishna Reddy, N. 2000. "A Newly Discovered Prākrit Copper Plate Grant of Pallava Viṣṇugōpavarman, Year 1." In *Śaṅkaram: Recent Researches on Indian Culture (Professor Srinivasa Sankaranarayanan Festschrift)*, edited by S. S. Ramachandra Murthy, B. Rajendra Prasad, and D. Kiran Kranth Choudary, 68–70. New Delhi: Harman Publishing House.

Rees, Gethin. 2011. "A Hiatus in the Cutting of Buddhist Caves in the Western Deccan." *Ancient Asia* 2: 119–134.

Renou, Louis. 1938. "Review of Nitti-Dolci, *Les Grammariens Prakrits*." *Journal Asiatique* 230: 159–168.

Rice, Lewis. 1882. "Early Kannada Authors." *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Northern Ireland* 15: 295–314.

Rosen Stone, Elizabeth. 1994. *The Buddhist Art of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.* Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

Rossella, Daniela. 2011. "On the Origins of Kāvya: A Never-Ending Story?" *Pandanus* 5 (2).

Roy, Suchitra. 1989. "Deśī Vocables in the Rāvaṇavaha." *Journal of the Asiatic Society* 31 (1-2): 38–46.

———. 1998. *Reconstructed Grammar of the Setubandha: Exhaustive Study of Vowels Only.* Calcutta: Punti Pustak.

Sakai, Naoki. 1992. *Voices of the Past: The Status of Language in Eighteenth-Century Japanese Discourse.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

———. 1997. *Translation and Subjectivity.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

———. 2009. "How Do We Count a Language? Translation and Discontinuity." *Translation Studies* 2 (1): 71–88.

Salomon, Richard. 1982. "The Original Language of the Karpūra-mañjarī." *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 132: 119–141.

———. 1991. "Epigraphic remains of Indian traders in Egypt." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 111 (4): 731–736.

———. 1995. "On Drawing Socio-linguistic Distinctions in Old Indo-Aryan: The Question of Kṣatriya Sanskrit and Related Problems." In *The Indo-Aryans of Ancient South Asia: Language, Material Culture and Ethnicity*, edited by George Erdosy, 293–306. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

———. 1998. *Indian Epigraphy: a guide to the study of inscriptions in Sanskrit, Prakrit and the other Indo-Aryan languages.* New York: Oxford University Press.

———. 2001. ""Gāndhārī Hybrid Sanskrit": New Sources for the Study of the Sanskritization of Buddhist Literature." *Indo-Iranian Journal* 44 (3): 241–252.

———. 2013. "Aṣṭabhujasvāmin: A Reinterpretation of the Ābhīra Inscription from Nagarjunakonda." *Indo-Iranian Journal* 56: 397–417.

Sanderson, Alexis. 2011. "The Appropriation of Śaiva Sources and Models in the Production of Jain Ritual Paddhatis from the 10th to the 15th Century." Handout from a talk at the University of Hamburg.

Sani, Saverio. 1985. "La Paiśācī, Lingua di Demoni." In *Scritti in Onore di Riccardo Ambrosini*, edited by Enrico Campanile, Romano Lazzeroni, and Roberto Peroni, Pisa. 193-204: Giardini.

Sankalia, H. D., Deo, S. B., Ansari, Z. D., and Ehrhardt, S. 1960. *From History to Pre-history at Nevasa (1954–1956).* Poona: Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute.

Sankaranarayanan, S. 1967. "Rentala Pillar Inscription of Siri-Chantamula, Year 5." *Epigraphia Indica* 37: 29–32.

———. 1970. "Kesanapalli Inscription of Chantamula, year 13." *Epigraphia Indica* 38: 313–318.

———. 1999. "Nānāghāṭ Cave Inscription of Nāgaṃṇikā: A Fresh Study." *The Adyar Library Bulletin* 63: 193–211.

Sarkar, H. 1965–1966. "Nagarjunakonda Prakrit Inscription of Gautamiputra Vijaya Satakarni, Year 6." *Epigraphia Indica* 36: 273–275.

———. 1971. "Some Early Inscriptions in the Amaravati Museum." *Journal of Ancient Indian History* 4 (1-2):

1–13.

Sarma, I. K. 1973. "A Coin Mould-Piece from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Excavations." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 16 (1): 89–106.

———. 1978. "Epigraphical Discoveries at Guntupalli." *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India* 5: 48–61.

Sarma, I. K. and Rao, J. Varaprasada. 1993. *Early Brāhmī Inscriptions from Sannati*. Delhi: Harma.

Scharfe, Harmut. 1977. *Grammatical Literature*, *A History of Indian Literature*, volume 5.2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Schlingloff, Dieter. 1958. *Chandoviciti: Texte zur Sanskritmetrik*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.

Schmiedchen, Annette. 2014. *Herrschergenealogie und religiöses Patronat*. Leiden: Brill.

Schubring, Walter. 2004. *Mahāvīra's Words*. Ahmedabad: L.D. Institute of Indology. Translated from the German with much added material by W. Bollée and J. Soni.

Schubring, Walther. 1955. "Jinasena, Mallinātha, Kālidāsa." *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 105: 331–337.

———. 1962. *The Doctrine of the Jainas*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

Seeley, Nigel J. and Turner, Paula J. 1984. "Metallurgical Investigations of Three Early Indian Coinages: Implications for Metal Trading and Dynastic Chronology." In *South Asian Archaeology 1981: Proceedings of the Sixth International Association of South Asian Archaeologists in Western Europe*, edited by B. Allchin, 331–333. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Seshadri Sastri, P. 1937-1938. "Dharanikota Dharmchakra Pillar Inscription." *Epigraphia Indica* 24: 256–260.

Sharma, M. J. 1975-76. "Vāsana Inscription of Vāsaṭhīputa Siri Puḷumāvi." *Epigraphia Indica* 41: 154–158.

Shastri, Ajay Mitra. 1993. "On the Velpuru Pillar Inscription of Maha Sada." *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India* 19: 13–18.

———. 1996a. "King Mahasada of Velpuru Inscriptions and Coins." In *Spectrum of Indian Culture: Professor S. B. Deo Felicitation Volume*, edited by C. Margabandhu and K. S. Ramachandran, 353–356. Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan.

———. 1996b. "Mahakhatapa Vasithiputa Isamahisa." In *Numismatic Panorama: Essays in the Memory of Late Shri S. M. Shukla*, edited by K. K. Maheshwari and Biswajeet Rath, 59–65. New Delhi: Harman Publishing

House.

———. 1999. "The Purāṇas on the Sātavāhanas: An Archaeological-Historical Perspective." In *The Age of the Sātavāhanas*, edited by Ajay Mitra Shastri, 3–72. New Delhi: Aryan Books International.

Shastri, Ajay Mitra and Kawadkar, K. D. 2000. "Miregāon Plates of Prabhāvatīguptā, Year 20." *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute* 81: 135–151.

Shukla, Chitra. 1985. "Three One-Act Plays of Ghanaśyāma." *Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda* 35 (1-2): 37–41.

Sims-Williams, Nicholas. 2004. "The Bactrian Inscription of Rabatak: A New Reading." *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 18: 53–68.

Sinopoli, Carla M. 2001. "On the Edge of Empire: Form and Substance in the Satavahana Dynasty." In *Empires: Perspectives from Archaeology and History*, edited by Susan E. Alcock, Terence N. D'Altroy, Kathleen D. Morrison, and Carla M. Sinopoli, 155–178. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sircar, D. C. 1939. *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas in Lower Deccan*. Calcutta: University of Calcutta.

———. 1957–1958. "Two Inscriptions from Guntur District." *Epigraphia Indica* 32: 82–91.

———. 1961–1962. "Nagarjunikonda Inscription of the Time of Abhira Vasushena, Year 30." *Epigraphia Indica* 34: 197–204.

———. 1963–1964a. "More Inscriptions from Nagarjunikonda." *Epigraphia Indica* 35: 1–36.

———. 1963–1964b. "Penugonda Plates of Hastivarman." *Epigraphia Indica* 35: 145–150.

———. 1963–1964c. "Silver Coin of Vasisthi-putra Satakarni." *Epigraphia Indica* 35: 247–252.

———. 1965. *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization, from the sixth century B.C. to the sixth century A.D.* Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 2nd edition.

———. 1965–1966. "Three Copper-Plate Charters." *Epigraphia Indica* 36: 1–18.

———. 1966. "Early Western Satraps and the Date of the Periplus." *The Numismatic Chronicle* 6: 241–249.

———. 1968. "The Sātavāhanas and the Chedis." In *History and Culture of the Indian People II: The Age of Imperial Unity*, edited by R. C. Majumdar, chapter 13, 191–215. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 4th edition.

———. 1969. *Ancient Malwa and the Vikramāditya Tradition*. Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.

———. 1969-1970. "Some Epigraphic and Manuscript Records." *Journal of Ancient Indian History* 3 (1-2): 30–49.

Sircar, D. C. and Krishnan, K. G. 1961–1962. "Two Inscriptions from Nagarjunikonda." *Epigraphia Indica* 34: 17–22.

Siṃh, Nāmvar. 1971 [1952]. *Hindī ke Vikās meṃ Apabhraṃś kā Yog*. Allahabad: Lokabhāratī.

———. 1997 [1956]. *Pṛthvīrāja Rāso: Bhāṣā aur Sāhitya*. New Delhi: Rādhākṛṣṇa.

Skilling, Peter and von Hinüber, Oskar. 2011. "An Epigraphical Buddhist Poem from Phanigiri (Andhrapradesh) from the Time of Rudrapuruṣadatta." *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhist Studies* 14: 7–12.

Skinner, Michael. 2012. *Urbanization and Interactions in the Early Historic Deccan: The Sātavāhana, Western Kṣatrapa, and Ikṣvāku Dynasties*. Master's thesis, University of Washington.

Slouber, Michael. 2011. *Śaṅkuka's* Saṃhitāsāra*: Edition and Translation of Verses 1–5, 75–85, and 127–154 with an Anonymous Commentary*. Master's thesis, University of Hamburg.

Smith, David. 1985. *Ratnākara's* Harivijaya*: An Introduction to the Sanskrit Court Epic*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Smith, Helmer. 1949–1950. "Les deux prosodies du vers bouddhique." *Årsberättelse (Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund)* 1–43.

Smith, Vincent A. 1902. "Andhra History and Coinage I: The Andhra People or Nation, and the Early Andhrabhṛtya Kings." *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 56: 649–675.

Sohoni, S. V. 1964. "First Five Verses of *Gāhā Sattasaī*." *Journal of the Bihar Research Society* 50: 1–7.

———. 1999. "Hāla and Nāgārjuna." In *The Age of the Sātavāhanas*, edited by Ajay Mitra Shastri, 205–208. New Delhi: Aryan Books International.

Somasekhara Sarma, M. 1948. *History of the Reddi Kingdoms: Circa 1325 A.D. to circa 1448 A.D.* Waltair: Andhra University.

Srinivasan, P. R. 1971a. "An Inscription of Ehavala-Chamtamula from Alluru, Year 8." *Epigraphia Indica* 39 (4): 139–140.

———. 1971b. "Note on Talagunda Inscription of Santivarman." *Epigraphia Indica* 39 (2): 71–74.

Steiner, Roland. 1997. *Untersuchungen zu Harṣadevas Nāgānanda und zum indischen Schauspiel*. Swisttal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica Verlag. Ch. 9 (pp. 157–208) is 'Zum Prakrit der nepalesischen *Nāgānanda*-Version (A)'.

———. 2001. "Play edition and Prakrit grammarians." In *Les sources et le temps. Sources and time*, edited by François Grimal, 63–76. Pondicherry: Institut Français de Pondichéry.

Stock, Brian. 1998. *Augustine the Reader: Meditation, Self-Knowledge and the Ethics of Interpretation*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Strauch, Ingo. 2012. "The Character of the Indian Kharoṣṭhī Script and the "Sanskrit Revolution": A Writing System Between Identity and Assimilation." In *The Idea of Writing: Writing Across Borders*, edited by Alex de Voogt and Joachim Friedrich Quack, 131–168. Leiden: Brill.

Subrahmanyam, P. S. 2011. "The Prakrit Grammatians: Historical Linguists of Ancient India." *Indian Linguistics* 72: 230–242.

Sukthankar, V. S. 1917–1918. "A New Andhra Inscription of Siri-Pulumavi." *Epigraphia Indica* 14: 153–155.

Tambling, Jeffrey. 1988. *What is Literary Language?* Milton Keynes and Philadelphia: Open University Press.

Tavakoli-Targhi, Mohamad. 2001. *Refashioning Iran: Orientalism, Occidentalism and Historiography*, chapter Modernity, Heterotopia, and Homeless Texts, 1–17. Houndsmills, Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave.

Tieken, Herman. 1978. "A Formal Type of Arrangement in the Vulgata of the Gâthâsaptaśatî of Hâla." *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 4: 111–130.

———. 2001. *Kāvya in South India: Old Tamil Caṅkam Poetry*. Groningen: Egbert Forsten.

———. 2006. "Aśoka's Fourteenth Rock Edict and the Guṇa *mādhurya* of the Kāvya Poetical Tradition." *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 156: 95–115.

———. 2008. "The Process of Vernacularization in South Asia." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 51: 338–383. Review of Pollock (2006).

Tripathi, G. C. 1984. "King Śālivāhana of Mewar and the Problem of the Authorship of the Gāthāsaptaśatī." *Journal of the Ganganath Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha* 40: 285–302.

Upadhye, A. N. 1931–1932. "Śubhacandra and his Prakrit Grammar." *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute* 13: 37–58.

———. 1941a. "Prākrit Grammar attributed to Samantabhadra." *Indian Historical Quarterly* 17: 511–516.

———. 1941b. "Vālmīki-Sūtras, A Myth." *Bhāratīya Vidyā* 2 (2): 160–176.

———. 1956. "Once Again: Vālmīki-Sūtras, A Myth." *Bhāratīya Vidyā* 15: 28–31.

———. 1961. "Simgāramamjarī: A Saṭṭaka (Authentically edited for the first time)." *Journal of the University of Poona, Humanities Section* 13: 33–76.

Upadhye, A. N., ed. 1970. *Saptaśatīsāra with Bhāvadīpikā of Vema Bhūpāla along with the Chappaṇṇaya-Gāhāo*. Kolhapur: Shivaji University.

Upadhye, A. N. 1974. "Bappa Bhaṭṭi and his Tārāgaṇa." *Sambodhi* 3 (4): 67–72.

———. 1975–1976. "Bhoja and Prakrit Literature: His Kūrmaśataka." *Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda* 25: 63–66.

Vaidya, Paraśurāma Lakṣmaṇa. 1926–1927. "Observations on Hemacandra's Dēsināmamālā." *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute* 8: 63–71.

Varaprasada Rao, J. 1995. "An Early Sanskrit Inscription from Sannati." *Journal of Archaeology* 3 (2): 165–167.

Vasudeva, Somadeva and Chiarucci, Bergljot. 2011. "The Earliest Commentators on the Gāhākoso: Tribhuvanapāla's Chekoktivicāralīlā and Upādhyāya Lakṣmīdhara's Saptaśatakaṭīkā." *Newsletter of the Nepalese-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project* 7: 46–54.

Venkatacharya, T. 1968. "The Significance of the Title Ubhayābhisārikā and the Date of the Play." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 88 (2): 350–352.

Vertogradova, V. V. 1978. *Prakrity*. Moskow: Nauka.

Vijayalakshmy, R. 1978. "A Study of the Missing Portion at the Beginning of the Perunkatai with Special Reference to its Relationship to the Brhatkatha." In *South Indian Studies*, edited by R. Nagaswami, 59–76. Madras: Society for Archaeological, Historical & Epigraphical Research.

———. 1981. *A Study of the Peruṅkatai, an authentic version of the story of Udayana*. Madras: International Institute of Tamil Studies.

———. 1982. "The Tamil *Peruṅkatai* and its Relation to the *Bṛhatkathā*." *Indo-Iranian Journal* 24: 27–36.

Vijayaśīlacandrasūri. 2005. "Taraṅgavatī Kathā tathā Pādaliptasūri: Jain ke Ajain." *Anusaṃdhāna* 43–48.

Vogel, J.-Ph. 1929–1930. "Prakrit Inscriptions from a Buddhist Site at Nagarjunikonda." *Epigraphia Indica* 20: 1–37.

———. 1931–1932. "Additional Prākṛit Inscriptions from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa." *Epigraphia Indica* 21: 61–71.

Vyas, Bhola Shanker. 1962. *Prākṛita-Paiṅgalaṃ (Bhāṣāśāstrīya aur Chandaḥśāstrīya Anuśīlana)*. Varanasi: Prakrit Text Society.

Walser, Joseph. 2005. *Nāgārjuna in Context: Mahāyāna Buddhism and Early Indian Culture*. New York: Columbia UP.

Warder, A. K. 1967. *Pali Metre*. London: Pali Text Society.

———. 1990 [1974]. *Indian Kāvya Literature, Volume Two: Origins and Formation of the Classical Kāvya*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

Warder, Anthony Kennedy. 1968. "The Possible Dates of Pārśva, Vasumitra (II), Caraka and Mātṛceṭa." In *Papers on the Date of Kaniṣka*, edited by A. L. Basham, 327–336. Leiden: Brill.

Warner, Michael. 2002. "Publics and Counterpublics." *Public Culture* 14 (1): 49–90.

Weber, Albrecht. 1868. "Ueber den auf der Kön. Bibl. zu Berlin befindlichen Codex der Sûryaprajnapti (ms. or. oct. 155)." In *Indische Studien vol.*, edited by Albrecht Weber, 254–316. Leipzig: Brockhaus.

———. 1870. *Ueber das Saptaçatakam des Hāla: Ein Beitrag zur Kenntniss des Prākṛit*. Leipzig: Abhandlung für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.

———. 1874. "Zum Saptaçatakam des Hâla." *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 28: 345–436.

Weber, Albrecht, ed. 1881. *Das Saptaçatakam des Hâla*. Leipzig: Brockhaus.

Weber, Albrecht. 1883. "Ueber Bhuvanapâla's Commentar zu Hâla's Saptaçatakam." In *Indische Studien XVI*, edited by Albrecht Weber, 1–204. Leipzig: Brockhaus.

Westergaard, Niels Ludvig. 1862. *Ueber den ältesten Zeitraum der indischen Geschichte mit Rücksicht auf die Litteratur: Ueber Buddha's Todesjahr und einige andere Zeitpunkte in der älteren Geschichte Indiens*. Breslau: A. Gosohorsky.

White, David Gordon. 1996. *The Alchemical Body: Siddha Traditions in Medieval India*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wilden, Eva. 2014. *Manuscript, Print, Memory: Relics of the Caṅkam in Tamilnadu*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Williams, R. 1965. "Haribhadra." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 28 (1): 101–111.

Williams, Raymond. 1983. *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2nd edition.

Winternitz, Maurice. 1972 [1927]. *History of Indian Literature, Part II: Buddhist Literature and Jaina Literature*. New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corporation.

———. 1985 [1920]. *History of Indian Literature, Part III: Part One: Classical Sanskrit Literature, Part Two: Scientific Literature*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

Witzel, Michael. 2006. "Brahmanical Reactions to Foreign Influences and to Social and Religious Change." In *Between the Empires. Society in India between 300 BCE and 400 CE*, edited by Patrick Olivelle, 457–499. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Woolard, Kathryn A. and Schieffelin, Bambi B. 1994. "Language Ideology." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24: 55–82.

Wright, J. Clifford. 1966. *Non-Classical Sanskrit Literature*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies.

Yashaschandra, Sitamshu. 2003. "From Hemacandra to Hind Svarāj: Region and Power in Gujarati Literary Culture." In *Literary Cultures in History: Reconstructions from South Asia*, edited by Sheldon Pollock, 567–611. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Yashin, Veli. 2011. "Euro(tro)pology: Philology, World Literature, and the Legacy of Erich Auerbach." *The Yearbook of Comparative Literature* 57: 269–290.

Yoshimizu, Kiyotaka. 2015. "Kumārila's Criticism of Buddhism as a Religious Movement in His Views on the Sources of Dharma." *Acta Asiatica* 108: 43–62.

Yutaka, Ojihara. 2007. "Ghanaśyāma, un acrobate littéraire: Quelques cas typiques tirés de son *Madanasaṃjīvana*." In *Mémorial Ojihara Yutaka*, 262–269. Number 9 in Toto Bunko Research Library, Tokyo: Toyo Bunko.

Zin, Monika. forthcoming. "Māndhātar, the universal monarch, and the meaning of representations of the cakravartin in the Amaravati School, and of the kings on the Kanganhalli stūpa." In *Proceedings of the International Congress "Buddhist Narrative in Asia and Beyond", Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, 8 to 11 August 2010*, edited by Peter Skilling and Justin McDaniel. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University.

Zumthor, Paul. 1992 [1972]. *Toward a Medieval Poetics*. Minneapolis and Oxford: University of Minnesota

Press. Translated by Philip Bennett.

Zvelebil, Kamil. 1973. "The Earliest Account of the Tamil Academies." *Indo-Iranian Journal* 15 (2): 109–135.

# Appendix A

# Timeline of the Sātavāhanas and their Successors

The standard nomenclature of the Sātavāhana kings, evident in their inscriptions but not in the *purāṇa*s, is tripartite: (1) a metronymic (Sātavāhana kings almost exclusively belong to the Vasiṣṭha or Gotama *gotra* on their mothers' side); (2) a theonym (often Śrī); (3) a personal name (almost always either Sātakarṇi or Puḷumāvi). V.V. Mirashi's argument that Śrī and the like are "prefixes" that can be added or changed at will should be abandoned (Mirashi 1975). For the genealogy of the *purāṇa*s see Pargiter (1913), whose sigla I refer to in the notes (generally Mt = *Matysapurāṇa*, Vā = *Vāyupurāṇa*, Vṣ = *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, Bḍ = *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, Bh = *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*).

Table A.1: Sātavāhanas

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Chimuka Sātavāhana[1] | 120–96 BCE?[2] | **KanA101** |
| Kṛṣṇa | 96–88 BCE?[3] | **N22, Ne1** |

---

[1]   The name is variously spelled (Simuka and Chimuka are the only variants in inscriptions, but the *purāṇa*s include a range of corruptions and Sanskritizations: Śiśuka, Śiśruka, Śiśurka, Śikhuka [Mt], Śipraka [Vṣ], Sindhuka, Chismaka [Vā]). His metronymic is known from an inscription at Kanaganahalli [**KanA101**] as well as a coin from Nevāse-Paiṭhan (Bhandare 1999: 186). Coins found recently at Kanaganahalli (Poonacha 2013) confirm that prior to becoming a king he was a *mahāraṭṭhi*.

[2]   23 years (Mt, Vā, Bḍ). His only inscription is dated to year 16.

[3]   10 years (Vā), 18 years (Mt).

| Name | Approx. date | Inscriptions |
|---|---|---|
| Śrī Sātakarṇi[4] | 88–42 BCE?[5] | **Ca1, San190, Na1, Na2** |
| Śakti[6] | | |
| Mantalaka[7] | HIATUS | |
| Sundara[8] | | |
| Gautamīputra Śiva Sātakarṇi[9] | ?–60 CE[10] | — |
| Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi[11] | 60–84 CE[12] | **K19, N4, N5, SaA1, SaZ1** |

[4]    The *purāṇa*s refer to two early kings of this name. The first, who succeeds Kṛṣṇa, is spelled Śātakarṇi (Vā), Śāntakarṇi (Bḍ, Vṣ), Śāntakarṇa (Bh), Mallakarṇi (Mt). The second, who succeeds kings named Pūrṇotsaṅga and Skandhastambhi (see Pargiter for details), is called Śātakarṇi in all accounts. The successors of the second are Lambodara, Āpīlaka (with many variants), and Meghasvāti. Scholars now tend to accept the existence of only one early king of this name (cf. Bhandare 1999: 191).

[5]    The first Śātakarṇi is assigned 10 years; the second, 50 years. The only dated inscription of this king [**Ca1**] is dated to year 30.

[6]    A king named Svāti (Āti Vā) is reported to follow Meghasvāti. Śakti and Svāti could easily derive from the same Middle Indic form (Satti or Sāti). This king is assigned 18 (Mt) or 12 (Vā) years. After him the *purāṇa*s give Skandasvāti. After Skandasvāti, Mt and *e*Vā give Mṛgendra Svātikarṇa, Kuntala Svātikarṇa, and Svātivarṇa. Then the *purāṇa*s join again to give Pulomāvi (with many variants) and Ariṣṭakarṇa (with many variants).

[7]    After Ariṣṭakarṇa, and before Mantalaka, the *purāṇa*s give a king named Hāla, who ruled for 5 years (Mt) or 1 year (Vā, Bḍ). Mantalaka's existence is corroborated by the reliefs at Kanaganahalli [**KanA94**]. The *purāṇa*s assign him a rule of 5 years. After Mantalaka, the *purāṇa*s give a king named Purīndrasena (Mt) or Purikaṣeṇa (Vā, Bḍ).

[8]    This king, called Sundara Śātakarṇi only in Mt and *e*Vā (just Śātakarṇi elsewhere), ruled for one year. His existence is corroborated by the reliefs at Kanaganahalli [**KanA240**]. He was succeeded by a Cakora Śātakarṇi (Mt, *e*Vā, Bh) or Cakāra (Vā, Vṣ).

[9]    Called Śivasāti in most *purāṇa*s, but Śivasvāmi in a few manuscripts of Vā, and *arindama* in Bh.

[10]    18 years according to the *purāṇa*s.

[11]    From Gautamīputra (referred to as such in the *purāṇa*s) onward, the *purāṇa*s generally agree in their sequence, although not in their dates, with numismatic and epigraphic evidence.

[12]    Given 21 years by the *purāṇa*s, but his latest extant inscription is dated to year 24.

| Name | Approx. date | Inscriptions |
|---|---|---|
| Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāvi | 84–119 CE[13] | **N25, K21, N1, My1, N2, N3, K20, KanA75, Dha1, Vas1, Am1** |
| Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi[14] | 119–148 CE[15] | **KanA93–102, KanA15, SaA2, Ka16** |
| Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi | 148–156 CE[16] | **SaA3, Ba1** |
| Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrīskanda Sātakarṇi | 156–170 CE[17] | **Na3** |
| Gautamīputra Śrīyajña Sātakarṇi[18] | 171–199 CE[19] | **N24, KanA143, Ka15, Chi1, Am2, Ka5** |
| Gautamīputra Śrīvijaya Sātakarṇi | 200–205 CE[20] | **Nag69** |
| Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrīcaṇḍa Sātakarṇi[21] | 206–220 CE[22] | **KanA68, Ko1** |
| Māṭharīputra Śrī Puḷumāvi | 220–230 CE[23] | **KanA150** |

---

[13]  Given 28 years by the *purāṇa*s. His latest inscription [**KanA75**] is dated to year 35.

[14]  The existence of this king is noted only by one manuscript of the *Vāyupurāṇa* (*e*Vā).

[15]  29 years, according to *e*Vā.

[16]  7 years, or 4 (*e*Vā).

[17]  No number of years is given in the *purāṇa*s. The inscription which possibly bears his name at Nāṇeghāṭ is dated to year 13.

[18]  In the *purāṇa*s he is always called Yajñaśrī, but inscriptions call him Śrīyajña.

[19]  29 years (Mt), 20 (*j*Mt), 9 (*bceln*Mt), or 19 (Vā, Bḍ), 27 (*k*Vā). Inscriptions dated to his 27th year.

[20]  6 years, or 10 (*fgj*Mt). Inscriptions up to year 6.

[21]  Called Caṇḍaśrī (cf. the note on Śrīyajña above) in Mt, and Daṇḍaśrī in Vā, Bḍ.

[22]  10 years according to the *purāṇas*, but two inscriptions are dated to year 11, confirming Bhandare's guess of around 15 years.

[23]  7 years according to the *purāṇas*, but his Kanaganahalli inscription is dated to year 10.

Table A.2: Mahāmeghavāhanas

| Name | Approx. date | Inscriptions |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Khāravela | early 1st c. BCE | Ha1, Ma1 |
| Mahā Sada | late 1st c. BCE /early 1st c. CE | Vel1 |
| Śrī Sada | early 1st c. CE | Gu1 |
| Sivamaka Sada | mid 1st c. CE | Amar75 |

Table A.3: Ikṣvākus

| Name | Approx. date | Inscriptions |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Śrī Cāntamūla | 225–240 CE[24] | Ren1, Kes1 |
| Vīrapuruṣadatta | 240–265 CE | Ha1, Nag1, Nag41, Nag21, NagZ1, Nag18, Uppu1, Nag49, Jagg1 |
| Ehuvula Cāntamūla | 265–290 CE | Nag42, Nag53, Allu2, Nag45, NagZ2, NagZ3, NagZ4, Nag55, Pat1, NagZ5, NagZ6 |
| Rudrapuruṣadatta | 290–315 CE | Gurz1, Nag63, Phani1, Nag56 |

---

[24] The dates of the Ikṣvāku kings given here follow Rosen Stone (1994).

# Appendix B

# Sātavāhana Inscriptions

This appendix lists the inscriptions that have been discussed or referred to in the dissertation (principally in chapter 2), along with other inscriptions that are relevant for establishing the chronology of the Sātavāhanas, their contemporaries, and their immediate successors. They are arranged by dynasty, then by ruler. The dates assigned to the inscriptions vary widely; the dates given here accord with the chronology adopted in the dissertation (see appendix A).

The references are limited to editions of the inscriptions and a small selection of recent scholarly discussion (for older discussion see the references in *Sircar* and *LL*). I have, in addition, given each inscription a unique identifier for purposes of reference within the dissertation.[1]

ABBREVIATIONS

*Andhra* = B.S.L. Hanumantha Rao, N.S. Ramachandra Murthy, B. Subrahmanyam, and E. Sivanagi Reddy, *Buddhist Inscriptions of Andhradesa*. Secundarabad: Ananda Buddha Vihara Trust, 1998.

*ASWI-N* = G. Bühler, "The Nânâghât Inscriptions," in *Archaeological Survey of Western India* 5 (ed. J.A.S. Burgess, London 1883), pp. 59–74.

*ASWI-K* = G. Bühler, "Kānheri Inscriptions," in *Archaeological Survey of Western India* 5 (ed. J.A.S. Burgess, London 1883), pp. 74–87.

---

[1] The inscriptions referred to here will be available in an online database (formerly hosted at `http://54.148.50.193:8080/exist/apps/SAI/`).

*Bhilsa* = A. Cunningham, *The Bhilsa Topes; or, Buddhist Monuments of Central India*. London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1854.

*ICN* = E. Senart, "Inscriptions in the Caves at Nasik," *Epigraphia Indica* 8 (1905–1906) pp. 59–96.

*ICK* = E. Senart, "Inscriptions in the Caves at Kârlê," *Epigraphia Indica* 7 (1902–1903) pp. 46–74.

*Ikṣvākus* = P. R. Srinivasan and S. Sankaranarayanan, *Inscriptions of the Ikshvaku Period*. Hyderabad: Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1979.

*Jag* = J.A.S. Burgess, *The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*. Varanasi: Indological Book House, 1970 (reprint of 1887 ed.).

*Junnar* = J.A.S. Burgess and B. Indraji, "Junnar Caves and Inscriptions," in *Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India*. Bombay: Government Central Press, 1883. pp. 41–55.

*Kan* = K. P. Poonacha, *Excavations at Kanaganahalli*. Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 2013.

*KI* = Maiko Nakanishi and Oskar von Hinüber, *Kanaganahalli Inscriptions* (Supplement to the *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University* for the Academic Year 2013, Volume XVII). Tokyo: The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology, Soka University, 2014.

*LL* = *Lüders' List* = H. Lüders, *Appendix to Epigraphia Indica and Record of the Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. X: A List of Brahmi Inscriptions from the Earliest Times to about A.D. 400 with the Exception of Those of Asoka*. Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1912.

*Gokhale* = S. Gokhale, *Kanheri Inscriptions*. Pune: Deccan College Post Graduate and Research Institute, 1991.

*Mirashi* = V.V. Mirashi, *The History and Inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas*. Bombay: Maharashtra State Board for Literature and Culture, 1981.

*San* = I.K. Sarma and J. Varaprasada Rao, *Early Brāhmī Inscriptions from Sannati*. New Delhi: Harman Publishing House, 1993.

*Sircar* = D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*. Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1965. Second edition.

*Tsu* = Keisho Tsukamoto, *A Comprehensive Study of the Indian Buddhist Inscriptions*. Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1996.

# Inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas

## Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Chimuka Sātavāhana (ca. 120–96 BCE?)

**KanA101**: *Kanaganahalli inscription of the time of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Chimuka Sātavāhana, year 16. Kan A.101, KI 3. On a slab of the upper drum (medhi) of the mahāstūpa.*
Ca. 100 BCE.

## Kṛṣṇa (ca. 96–88 BCE?)

**N22**: *Nāsik inscription of the time of Kṛṣṇa. LL 1144, ICN 22, Sircar 75, Mirashi 1, Tsu.Nasi.23.* Inscription of Śramaṇa, *mahāmāta* (*mahāmātra*) in the reign of "King Kṛṣṇa of the Sātavāhana family" (*sādavāhanakule kanhe rājini samaṇena mahāmāteṇa leṇa kārita*).
Ca. 90 BCE.

**Ne1**: *Ivory seal of Kṛṣṇa from Nevasa. Sankalia et al. (1960: 202–203). Reads kanhasa.*
Ca. 90 BCE.

## Śrī Sātakarṇi (ca. 88–42 BCE?)

**Ca1**: *Candankhedā seal of Sātakarṇi, year 30. Falk (2009).*
Ca. 60 BCE.

**San190**: *Sāñcī inscription of the time of Sātakarṇi. LL 346, Bhilsa 190, Mirashi 2, Tsu.Sanc.384.* Records the donation of the south gate (*toraṇa*) at Sāñcī by Vāsiṣṭhīputra Ānanda, the foreman of artists for king Śrī Sātakarṇi (*rāño sirisātakaṇisa āvesanisa vāsiṭhiputasa ānaṃdasa dānaṃ*).
Ca. 60 BCE.

**Na1**: *Nāṇeghāṭ inscription of Nāganikā. LL 1112, ASWI-N 1–2, Sircar 75, Mirashi 3, Tsu.Nana.1; Gupta (1975), Mirashi (1977), Gokhale (2004–2006).*
Ca. 40 BCE.

**Na2**: *Nāṇeghāṭ statue-gallery label inscriptions. LL 1113–1118, ASWI-N 3–8, Sircar 76–81, Mirashi 4–9, Tsu.Nana.2–7. rāyā simuka sātavāhano sirimāto, devi-nāyanikāya rāño ca siri-sātakanino, kumāro bhāya…, [gap], mahāraṭhi tranakayiro, kumāro hakusiri, kumāro sātavāhano.*
Ca. 40 BCE.

## Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi (ca. 60–84 CE)

**K19**: *Kārle inscription of Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi (?), year 18 (?). LL* 1105, *ICK* 19, *Mirashi* 12, *Tsu.*Karl.32. Grant of the village Karajaka to the Mahāsaṃghika monks at Valūraka (Kārle). Ca. 78 CE.

**N4**: *Nāsik inscription of Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi, year 18. LL* 1125, *ICN* 4, *Sircar* 83, *Mirashi* 11, *Tsu.*Nasi.2. Regranting of a village once owned by Uṣavadāta to the monks at Triraśmi (Pāṇḍuleṇa). Ca. 78 CE.

**N5**: *Nāsik inscription of Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi, year 24. LL* 1126, *ICN* 5, *Sircar* 84, *Mirashi* 13, *Tsu.*Nasi.3. Instead of the village granted in [**N4**], which did not generate any income, the monks at Tiraṇhu (Pāṇḍuleṇa) are granted a new piece of land. Issued jointly with Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi's mother, Gautamī Balaśrī. Ca. 84 CE.

## Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāvi (ca. 84–119 CE)

**SaA1**: *Sannati* praśasti *of Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi. San* A.1, KI A. Below a frieze of a grieving scene. Probably earlier than the Nāsik *praśasti* [**N2**]. Reading: [*s*]*iri sātakaṇisa samuditabalavāhanasa abhagavāhanasa sātavāhanasa beṇākaṭa-vidabha-uparigirāparānta-asaka-mūḍakasa jayavi-cakora-vala-raṭha-dakhina*[path...* su]*sūsakasa pitu-satu-vera-niyātakasa aneka-sa(ṃ)gāma-vijita-vijayasa khakharata-kula-ghātakasa aneka-rāja-mathaka-patigahitasa padana-sāsanasa ekakusasa eka-dhanudha*[*dharasa*]. KI restores the metronymic of the king as *vāseṭhi*, although I would expect *gotami*. Ca. 85–100 CE.

**SaZ1**: *Sannati* praśasti *[of Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi].* Varaprasada Rao (1995). This inscription is in Sanskrit and includes the latter half of a *vasantatilaka* verse and the beginning of an *āryā* verse. Probably belongs with the preceding inscription [**SaA1**]. Ca. 85–100 CE.

**N25**: *Nāsik inscription of the time of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāvi, year 2. LL* 1147, *ICN* 25, *Mirashi* 36, *Tsu.*Nasi.26. Records a private donation. Note the title *raño vāsiṭhiputasa sāmisiripulumāisa*. Ca. 86 CE.

**K21**: *Kārle inscription of the time of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāvi (?), year 5. LL* 1107, *ICK* 21, *Mirashi*

15. Records a private donation.
Ca. 88 CE.

**N1**: *Nāsik inscription of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāvi, year 6. LL* 1122, *ICN* 1, *Mirashi* 16, *Tsu.*Nasi.1.
Ca. 89 CE.

**My1**: *Myākadoni inscription of [Vāsiṣṭhīputra] Śrī Puḷumāvi, year 6.* Sukthankar (1917–1918), *Sircar* 90, *Mirashi* 34. Sharma (1975-76) corrects Sukthankar's reading from year 8 to year 6 and ascribes this inscription to the last ruler named Puḷumāvi, but Sarma and Rao (1993: 79–80) and Bhandare (1999: 319) affirm its attribution to the successor of Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi. See also the Vāsana inscription below [**Vas1**]. Excavation of a tank by Samba in a locale called *sātavāhanihāra*. Note that the king is called *raño sātavāhanānaṃ [si]ripuḷum[ā]visa*.
Ca. 90 CE.

**K14**: *Kārle inscription of the time of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāvi, year 7. LL* 1100, *ICK* 14, *Sircar* 85, *Mirashi* 17, *Tsu.*Karl.27. Records the donation of a village to the monks at Valūraka (Kārle) by Mahāraṭṭhi Vāsiṣṭhīputra Somadeva, son of Mahāraṭṭhi Kauśikīputra Mitradeva.
Ca. 91 CE.

**N2**: *Nāsik inscription of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāvi, year 19 = Gautamī Balaśrī's praśasti of Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi. LL* 1123, *ICN* 2, *Sircar* 1965, *Mirashi* 18, *Tsu.*Nasi.4.
Ca. 103 CE.

**N3**: *Nāsik inscription of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāvi, years 19 and 22. LL* 1124, *ICN* 3, *Sircar* 87, *Mirashi* 19, *Tsu.*Nasi.5. Ca. 97–100 CE. Grant of another village for the upkeep of the Queen's Cave, in place of the village mentioned in [**N2**].
Ca. 103 and 106 CE.

**K20**: *Kārle inscription of the time of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāvi, year 24. LL* 1106, *ICK* 20, *Sircar* 88, *Mirashi* 20, *Tsu.*Karl.33. Private donation; the donors have Iranian names (Harapharaṇa and Setapharaṇa).
Ca. 108 CE.

**KanA75**: *Kanaganahalli inscription of the time of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāvi, year 35.* Falk (2009), *Kan* A75, *KI* 8. Records a private donation.
Ca. 119 CE.

**Dha1**: *Dharanikoṭa inscription of the time of [Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāvi], [year 35].* Seshadri Sastri (1937-1938), *Tsu.*Dhar.1. The date is effaced, but the editor suggests restoring *panatrisa*.

**Vas1**: *Vāsana inscription of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāvi.* Sharma (1975-76). Refers to (a temple of?) Mahādeva Caṇḍaśiva. Sharma identifies the ruler with the last king of the dynasty, but this

has been disputed by Sarma and Rao (1993: 79–80) and Bhandare (1999: 319), who identify him with the successor of Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi.

Ca. 84–119 CE.

**Am1**: *Amarāvatī inscription of the time of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāvi. LL 1248, Mirashi 21, Andhra p. 50, Tsu.Amar.12.* Private donation. The king is referred to with the Śaka title *svāmi* (*ra*[*ño*] *vā*[*siṭhi*]*puta*[*sa*] [*sā*]*mi-siri-puḷumāvisa*). This is among the earliest of the Sātavāhana inscriptions from coastal Andhra.

Ca. 84–119 CE.

# Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi (ca. 119–148 CE)

**KanA93–102**: *Kanaganahalli label inscriptions.* The historical kings mentioned are: Aśoka (*rāyā asoko*: *Kan* A95 and A97, *KI* 1 and 2); Chimuka Sātavāhana (*rājā siri chimuka sādavāhano*: *Kan* A96, *KI* 4); Sātakarṇi (*rāyā sātakaṇ*[*i mahāce*](*t*)[*i*]*yasa r*(*u*)*pāmayāni payumāni oṇ*(*o*)*yeti*: *Kan* A102, *KI* 7); Mantalaka (*rāya matalako*: *Kan* A94, *KI* 5); Sundara Sātakarṇi (*rāyā sudara sātakani*: *Kan* A240, *KI* 6); Puḷumāvi (*rāya puḷumāvi ajayatasa ujeni deti*, *Kan* A99, *KI* 9). These are all inscribed on the upper drum (*medhi*), which was first encased during the reign of Chimuka Sātavāhana (see [**KanA101**]) and renovated during the reign of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi.

Ca. 120 CE.

**KanA15**: *Kanaganahalli inscription of the time of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi, year 6. Kan A15, KI 10.* Records a donation by *sātavāhana-samaṇena*.

Ca. 124 CE.

**SaA2**: *Sannati inscription of the time of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi.* Nagaraja Rao (1985: 1), *San A2*.

Ca. 119–148 CE.

**Ka16**: *Kānheri inscription of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi. LL 994, ASWI-K 11, Mirashi 25, Gokhale 16, Tsu.Kanh.16.* This is the only Sanskrit inscription of the Sātavāhanas, and records the donation of a cistern by a minister of the queen of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi, who is also the daughter of the Mahākṣatrapa Ru[dradāman]. Since Rudradāman bears the title Mahākṣatrapa, this must date to after 141 (when Rudradāman still had the lower title Kṣatrapa).

Ca. 141–148 CE.

## Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi (ca. 148–156 CE)

**SaA3**: *Sannati inscription of the time of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi. San* A3.
   Ca. 148–156 CE.

**Ba1**: *Banavāsi inscription of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi. Mirashi* 22, Murthy and Bhat (1975).
   This is a memorial-stone (*chaā-pattharo*) to the chief queen of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi
   (*raño vāsiṭhīputasa sivasiri-puḷumāvisa mahādeviya*). Murthy and Bhat identified this king with
   Śivaśrī of the *purāṇa*s; Mirashi thought that Śivaśrī was merely an honorific and identified this
   king with the successor of Gautamīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi.
   Ca. 160 CE.


## Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrīskanda Sātakarṇi (ca. 156–170 CE)

**Na3**: *Nāṇeghāṭ inscription of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrīskanda Sātakarṇi, year 13. LL* 1120, *Mirashi* 23, Gupta
   (1992). Bhagavanlal read the name as *Chatarapana*; Mirashi suggests *Sirikhada* instead (coins
   of Skanda Sātakarṇi are known). Gupta suggests (unconvincingly) restoring *arahaṇa*.
   Ca. 169 CE.


## Gautamīputra Śrīyajña Sātakarṇi (ca. 171–199 CE)

**N24**: *Nāsik inscription of the time of Gautamīputra Śrīyajña Sātakarṇi, year 7. LL* 1146, *ICN* 24,
   *Sircar* 89, *Mirashi* 26, *Tsu.*Nasi.25. Donation of a cave begun by a monk Bopaki and
   completed by the Mahāsenāpatinī Vāsu.
   Ca. 178 CE.

**Kan11**: *Kanaganahalli inscription of the time of Gautamīputra Śrīyajña Sātakarṇi, year 10–19. KI* 11.
   Ca. 181–190 CE.

**KanA143**: *Kanaganahalli inscription of the time of Gautamīputra Śrīyajña Sātakarṇi, year 11. Kan*
   A143, *KI* 12.
   Ca. 182 CE.

**Ka15**: *Kānheri inscription of the time of Gautamīputra Śrīyajña Sātakarṇi, year 16. LL* 1025, *ASWI-K*
   15, *Mirashi* 27, *Gokhale* 25, *Tsu.*Kanh.25. Donation and endowment of a cave by a merchant
   layman.
   Ca. 187 CE.

**Chi1**: *China inscription of Gautamīputra Śrīyajña Sātakarṇi, year 27.* LL 1340, Bühler (1892a), *Mirashi* 29, *Andhra* p. 128, *Tsu*.Chin.1. The king is called *raño gotamiputasa araka-siri-yaña-sātakaṇisa*, perhaps employing the Tamil *aracaṉ* as the equivalent of Sanskrit *svāmi*.
Ca. 198 CE.

**Am2**: *Amarāvatī inscription of the time of Gautamīputra Śrīyajña Sātakarṇi.* Sarkar (1971), *Mirashi* 62A, *Andhra* p. 59. This is one of the very few Sanskrit inscriptions from within the Sātavāhana empire. Donation by Jayila, a lay follower from Ujjayinī, to the *mahācaitya*.
Ca. 171–199 CE.

**Ka5**: *Kānheri inscription of the time of Gautamīputra Śrīyajña Sātakarṇi.* LL 987, *ASWI-K* 4, *Mirashi* 28, *Gokhale* 5, *Tsu*.Kanh.5. Donation of a cave. Uses the title *sāmi-siri-yaña*.
Ca. 171–199 CE.

## Gautamīputra Śrīvijaya Sātakarṇi (ca. 200–205 CE)

**Nag69**: *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription of the time of Gautamīputra Śrīvijaya Sātakarṇi, year 6.* Sarkar (1965–1966), *Mirashi* 32, *Andhra* p. 136, *Tsu*.Naga.69. Early 3rd c. CE. This is one of the earliest instances of writing double consonants (*sātakaṇṇisa*).
Ca. 205 CE.

## Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrīcaṇḍa Sātakarṇi (ca. 206–220 CE)

**KanA68**: *Kanaganahalli inscription of the time of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi, year 11.* Kan A68, *KI* 13. The editors of *Kan* identify the king (*vāsiṭhiputasa saḍa satakanisa*) with Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Sātakarṇi rather than Vāsiṣṭhīputra Caṇḍa Sātakarṇi, and read the year as 2 rather than 11.
Ca. 216 CE.

**Ko1**: *Koḍavalī inscription of the time of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrīcaṇḍa Svāti, year 11 (?).* LL 1341, Krishna Shastri (1925-26), *Mirashi* 33. Donation of a minister. The reading of the inscription is very doubtful.
Ca. 216 CE.

## Māṭharīputra Śrī Puḷumāvi (ca. 220–230 CE)

**KanA150**: *Kanaganahalli inscription of the time of Māṭharīputra Śrī Puḷumāvi, year 10. Kan* A150, *KI* 14.
   Ca. 230 CE.


## Other inscriptions

**N19**: *Nāsik inscription of Mahāhakusiri. LL* 1141, *ICN* 19, *Mirashi* 10, *Tsu.*Nasi.20. Records the construction of a *caitya* by Bhaṭṭapālikā, daughter of the the royal minister Arahalaya from Calisīla (*rāyāmaca-arahalayasa calisīlaṇakasa duhutuya*), granddaughter of Mahāhakusiri, and wife of the royal minister and treasurer Aggiyatta[?] (*rāyāmacaya agiyataṇakasa bhaṃdākārikayasa bhāriyāya*).
   Ca. 20 CE.

**Ka39**: *Kānheri inscription of [?], year [9]. LL* 1021, *Mirashi* 36, *Gokhale* 39, *Tsu.*Kanh.39. Rapson (1908 [1967]: liii) and Mirashi think that the donor of this inscription and the Banavāsi inscription of Hāritīputra Viṇhukaḍḍa Cuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi [**Ba2**] are the same. But the identification is impossible; see Bhandare (1999: 338). The donor is Nāgamulanikā, the daughter of a Mahārāja (perhaps the one named in the inscription, now effaced), the mother of the Mahāraṭṭhi Skandanāgasātaka, and the sister of the Mahābhoja [Ahija].


# Inscriptions of other dynasties

## Mahāmeghavāhanas

**Ha1**: *Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela. LL* 1345, *Sircar* 91, Barua (1929: 7–30), Jayaswal and Banerji (1929–1930).
   Mid-1st c. BCE.

**Ma1**: *Mañchapurī inscription of Khāravela's queen. LL* 1346, *Sircar* 92, Barua (1929: 55–56).
   Mid-1st c. BCE.

**Vel1**: *Velpūru inscription of Mahā Sada.* Sircar (1957–1958), Shastri (1993, 1996a), *Tsu.*Velp.1. Donation of a *maṇḍapa* by a lampbearer (*disi-dhārikā*) of the king, who is called *aira* and *hāritiputa.* Shastri contends that this king is the same as the king mentioned in the Guṇṭupaḷḷi

inscription.
Beginning of 1st c. CE.

**Gu1**: *Guṇṭupaḷḷi inscription of Mahāmeghavāhana Śrī Sada*. Sircar (1969-1970), Sarma (1978),
*Andhra* p. 109, *Tsu*.Gunt. 1–4. Four nearly identical pillar inscriptions, recording the donation
of a writer (*lekhaka*) for the king (*mahārājasa kaligamahisakādhipatisa mahāmekhavāhanasa
siri-sadasa*).
Beginning of 1st c. CE.

**Amar75**: *Amarāvatī inscription of Sivamaka Sada*. LL 1279, *Mirashi* 24, *Andhra* p. 53, *Tsu*.Amar.75.
End of 1st c. CE.


## Banavāsi branch

**Mal1**: *Maḷavaḷḷi inscription of Hāritīputra Viṇhukaḍḍa Cuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi, year 1 LL* 1195,
*Epigraphia Carnatica 7, Mirashi* 35. The language is Middle Indic with a number of unique
features that indicate a different linguistic milieu. The same pillar features an inscription of
the Kadamba king Śivaskandavarman, similar in paleography and language; see [**Mal2**].
Late 3rd c.

**Ba2**: *Banavāsi inscription of the time of Hāritīputra Viṇhukaḍḍa Cuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi, year 12*.
*LL* 1186, Gai (1975-76), *Mirashi* 37, *Tsu*.Bana.1. The donor is a Mahābhojī (*mahābhuviya*).
Gai understood *siva-khada-nāga-siriya* to be the name of the donor, but Mirashi thinks it
refers to the donor's son, who is said to be the *yuvarāja*. Mirashi's interpretation is implausible.
Late 3rd c.


## Ikṣvākus

**Ren1**: *Reṇṭāla inscription of Cāntamūla, year 5*. Sankaranarayanan (1967), *Andhra* pp. 186–188.
Erection of a pillar.
Ca. 230 CE.

**Kes1**: *Kesānapaḷḷi inscription of the time of Cāntamūla, year 13*. Sankaranarayanan (1970), *Andhra* p.
178, *Tsu*.Kesa.16. Dedication of a pillar in the *mahācaitya*.
Ca. 238 CE.

**Nag1**: *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa pillar inscriptions of the time of Vīrapuruṣadatta, year 6*. Vogel (1929–1930:
15–21). *Sircar* 98–100, *Andhra* p. 137–151, *Tsu*.Naga.1–17. These pillars belong to the

*mahācaitya* at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The donors include: Cātiśrī, sister of Cāntamūla and mother-in-law of Vīrapuruṣadatta; Aḍavi-Cātaśrī, daughter of Cāntamūla; Cula-Cātiśrī, wife of a military officer; Rudradharabhaṭṭārikā, the daughter of a Mahārāja of Ujjayinī and queen of Vīrapuruṣadatta; Bappaśrī, a niece of Cāntamūla and also a queen of Vīrapuruṣadatta; Chaṭhiśrī, another niece of Cāntamūla and queen of Vīrapuruṣadatta. One inscription (C2) mentions that Ānanda, who established the foundations of the *mahācaitya*, belonged to a community of teachers of the *dīgha* and *majjhima* (*nikāya*s) and the five *mātuka*s.
Ca. 246 CE.

**Nag41**: *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription of the time of Vīrapuruṣadatta, year 14*. Vogel (1929–1930: 22–23), *Sircar* 101, *Andhra* pp. 152–155, *Tsu*.Naga.41. Private donation of a stone *maṇḍapa*, for the benefit of the teachers of Tāmrapāṇi, who are said to have converted Kaśmīra, Gandhāra, Cīna, Cilāta, Tosali, Aparānta, Vaṅga, Vanavāsi, Yavana, Damila, Palura, and Tāmrapāṇi.
Ca. 254 CE.

**Nag21**: *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription of the time of Vīrapuruṣadatta, year 15*. *Andhra* pp. 163–164, *Tsu*.Naga.21–22.
Ca. 255 CE.

**NagZ1**: *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions of the time of Vīrapuruṣadatta, year 18*. Vogel (1929–1930: 21–22), *Sircar* 102, *Andhra* pp. 151–152. Addition of a stone *maṇḍapa* to the Mahācaitya by Cātiśrī, sister of Cāntamūla and mother-in-law of Vīrapuruṣadatta, for the benefit of the Aparamahāvinaseliyas.
Ca. 258 CE.

**Nag18**: *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription of the time of Vīrapuruṣadatta, year 18*. *Andhra* pp. 159–160, *Tsu*.Naga.18.
Ca. 258 CE.

**Uppu1**: *Uppugundur inscription of the time of Vīrapuruṣadatta, year 19*. Chhabra (1959-1960b), *Andhra* pp. 183–184, *Tsu*.Uppu.1.
Ca. 259 CE.

**Nag49**: *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription of the time of Vīrapuruṣadatta, year 20*. Vogel (1931–1932: 63–64), Sircar (1963–1964a: 1A), *Andhra* p. 159 and pp. 168–169, *Tsu*.Naga.49. Memorial pillar of Cāntamūla, erected by royal women (who are listed). Sircar read *vijaya* and dated the inscription to 273 CE; the reading *viṃsaya* may be better.
Ca. 260 CE.

**Jagg1**: *Jaggayyapeṭa inscription of the time of Vīrapuruṣadatta, year 20*. *Jag* p. 108, *Andhra* pp. 180–181, *Tsu*.Jagg.1. Private donation of pillars.

Ca. 260 CE.

**Nag42**: *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions of the time of Ehuvula Cāntamūla, year 2*. Vogel (1929–1930: 23–24), Vogel (1931–1932: 62–63), *Sircar* 103. *Andhra* pp. 156–158, *Tsu*.Naga.42–43. Donation of a *vihāra* by Bhaṭṭidevā, a wife of Vīrapuruṣadatta and mother of Ehuvula Cāntamūla. One of the inscriptions (G2) uses double consonants relatively consistently.
Ca. 267 CE.

**Nag53**: *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription of the time of Ehuvula Cāntamūla, year 8*. Sircar (1963–1964a: 2A–B), *Andhra* pp. 164–166, *Tsu*.Naga.53–54.
Ca. 273 CE.

**Allu2**: *Allūru inscription of the time of Ehuvula Cāntamūla, year 8*. Srinivasan (1971a), *Andhra* pp. 185–186, *Tsu*.Allu.2.
Ca. 273 CE.

**Nag45**: *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription of the time of Ehuvula Cāntamūla, year 11*. Vogel (1929–1930: 24–25), *Sircar* 104, *Andhra* p. 158, *Ikṣvākus* 42, *Tsu*.Naga.45. Donation of a pillar and a *vihāra* by Kodabalaśrī, a queen of Vīrapuruṣadatta, for the benefit of the Mahīśāsakas.
Ca. 276 CE.

**NagZ2**: *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription of the time of Ehuvula Cāntamūla, year 11*. Chhabra (1959-1960a), *Ikṣvākus* 41. Construction of a temple to Sarvadeva. The inscription is in Sanskrit (one *anuṣṭubh* and one *sragdharā* verse).
Ca. 276 CE.

**NagZ3**: *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription of the time of Ehuvula Cāntamūla, year 13*. Sircar (1963–1964a: No. 3), *Ikṣvākus* 43. Memorial pillar (*chaya-thabh[o]*) of Mahāsenāpati Kumāra Elī Ehavūladāsaṃnaka, a step-brother of Ehuvula Cāntamūla.
Ca. 278 CE.

**NagZ4**: *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription of the time of Ehuvula Cāntamūla, year 16*. Sircar and Krishnan (1961–1962: No. 1), *Ikṣvākus* 44. In Sanskrit. Records the construction and endowment of a temple of Puṣpabhadrasvāmin by Ehuvula Cāntamūla's son, the *mahārājakumāra* and *mahāsenāpati* Vīrapuruṣadatta.
Ca. 281 CE.

**Nag55**: *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription of the time of Ehuvula Cāntamūla, year 24*. Sircar (1963–1964a: No. 4), *Andhra* p. 155, *Ikṣvākus* 45, *Tsu*.Naga.55. In Sanskrit. Records the installation of an image of the Buddha.
Ca. 289 CE.

**Pat1**: *Pātagaṇḍigūḍem plates of Ehuvula Cāntamūla.* Ramachandra Murthy (1999), Falk (1999/2000), *Andhra* pp. 191–193. Endowment of structures at the *mahāvihāra*.
Ca. 265–290 CE.

**NagZ5**: *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription of the time of Ehuvula Cāntamūla.* Sircar (1963–1964a: 1B), *Andhra* pp. 156.
Ca. 265–290 CE.

**NagZ6**: *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription of the time of Ehuvala Cāntamūla.* Narasimhaswami (1951), *Andhra* p. 174. Mentions Khaṃḍuvulā, a wife of Ehuvala Cāntamūla.
Ca. 265–290 CE.

**Gurz1**: *Gurzāla inscription of the time of Rudrapuruṣadatta, year 4.* Nilakantha Sastri (1941), *Ikṣvāku* 48, *Tsu.*Gurz.1. A donation to the god Haṃpurasvāmin. The king's name is read *ruḷapurisadāta*.
Ca. 294 CE.

**Nag63**: *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription of the time of Rudrapuruṣadatta, year 11.* Sircar and Krishnan (1961–1962: No. 2), *Andhra* p. 169, *Ikṣvāku* 49, *Tsu.*Naga.63. Memorial pillar of Vammabhaṭṭā, the mother of Rudrapuruṣadatta and daughter of a Mahākṣatrapa.
Ca. 301 CE.

**Phani1**: *Phanigiri inscription of the time of Rudrapuruṣadatta, year 16.* Skilling and von Hinüber (2011). A hymn in praise of the Buddha in Sanskrit.
Ca. 306 CE.

**Nag56**: *Nāgārjuṇakoṇḍa inscription of an unknown year.* Sircar (1963–1964a: 17–18), *Ikṣvāku* 71, *Tsu.*Naga.56. Fragmentary inscription, of which only the last of ten verses (in the *vaṃśastha* meter) is preserved. It is in Sanskrit and connected with the main Buddhist monastery.
Late 3rd or early 4th c. CE.


## Kadambas


**Mal2**: *Maḷavaḷḷi inscription of an unknown king.* LL 1196, *Gai.* This is inscribed on the same pillar as the record of Hāritīputra Viṇhukaḍḍa Cuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi [**Mal1**]. Sircar (1939: 248) thinks the inscription might belong to Mayūraśarman or his immediate successor; Gai thinks it belongs to a predecessor of Mayūraśarman.
Ca. 330 CE.

**Candra1**: *Candravaḷḷi inscription of Mayūraśarman.* Sircar 68, *Gai* 2. Sircar reads a list of vanquished

enemies in Prakrit; Gai more plausibly reads a description of the tank (*taṭākaṃ*) in Sanskrit.
Ca. 330–360 CE.

**Tala1**: *Tāḷaguṇḍa inscription of Śāntivarman. Sircar 69, Gai 4*; Srinivasan (1971b). Gives the genealogy of the Kadamba kings from Mayūraśraman, and mentions one Sātakarṇi in verse 33 (as a worshipper at a temple of Bhava).
Ca. 455–470 CE.


# Pallavas

**Pall1**: *Mañcikallu inscription of Siṃhavarman.* Sircar (1957–1958).
Early 4th c.

**Pall2**: *Mayidavolu plates of Śivaskandavarman.* Hultzsch (1900–1901). Issued while Śivaskandavarman was a *yuvarāja*, to an official at Dhānyakaṭaka (Amarāvatī). Grant of a village to two Brāhmaṇas. First inscriptional mention of Āndhra (*aṃdhapatīya*).
Early 4th c.

**Pall3**: *Hīrahaḍagalli plates of Śivaskandarvarman.* Bühler (1892b), *LL* 1200. Confirmation and supplement of an earlier donation of a village in the district of *sātāhani*. The last sentence, a *maṅgala*, is in Sanskrit.
Early 4th c.

**Pall4**: *British Museum plates. Sircar 66.* There is a reference to *siri-vijaya-khandavamma-mahārājassa* in the first line, but the relationship of this plate to the Pallava king of that name is uncertain because of textual difficulties.
Early 4th c.

**Pall5**: *Copper Plate of Viṣṇugopavarman, year 1.* Reddy and Krishna Reddy (2000).
Mid-4th c. CE?


# Śālaṅkāyanas

**Sal1**: *Ēlūra Grant of Devavarman, year 13.* Hultzsch (1907–1908).
Ca. 320–340 CE.

**Sal2**: *Kānukollu Grant of Nandivarman, Year 14.* Krishna Rao (1955–1956).
Third quarter of 4th c. CE.

**Sal3**: *Dhārikāṭūra Grant of Acaṇḍavarman, year 35.* Sircar (1965–1966).
Last quarter of 4<sup>th</sup> c. CE.

**Sal4**: *Penugoṇḍa Grant of Hastivarman, year 2.* Sircar (1963–1964b).
End of 4<sup>th</sup> c. CE.


## Vākāṭakas

**Va1**: *Bāsim copper-plates of Vindyaśakti II, year 37.* Sircar 59, *Vākāṭakas* 23.
Ca. 392 CE.

**Va2**: *Pune plates of Prabhāvatīguptā, year 13 (of Pravarasena II).* Sircar 60. Prabhāvatīgupta was the
daughter of Candragupta II (Vikramāditya), and the wife of the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasena, who
predeceased her. She ruled as regent before her sons Dāmodarasena, and later Pravarasena II,
assumed the throne.
Ca. 433 CE.

**Va3**: *Ṛddhapur plates of Prabhāvatīguptā, year 19 (of Pravarasena II).* Sircar 61, *Vākāṭakas* 8.
Ca. 439 CE.

**Va4**: *Miregāon plates of Prabhāvatīguptā, year 20 (of Pravarasena II).* Shastri and Kawadkar (2000).
Ca. 440 CE.

**Va5**: *Rāmṭek* praśasti *of the time of Pravarasena II.* Bakker and Isaacson (1993). On the occasion of
the construction of a temple to Viṣṇu at Rāmagiri (Rāmṭek). Bakker and Isaacson argue that
it was commissioned by the daugher of Prabhāvatīguptā after the latter's death, and thus
belongs to the later reign of Pravarasena II.
Ca. 440–452 CE.

**Va6**: *Ajaṇṭā inscription of the time of Hariṣeṇa.* Sircar 63, *Vākāṭakas* 25, *Tsu.*Ajan.52. Probably
inscribed by Hariṣeṇa's minister Varāhadeva. Refers to Vindhyaśakti as the founder of the
Vākāṭaka dynasty (*vākāṭakavaṅśaketuḥ*).
End of 5<sup>th</sup> c. CE.


## Kṣatrapas and Ābhīras

**Mathura1**: *Mathurā inscription of the time of Śoḍāsa.* Lüders (1937–1938). The date is in Middle
Indic, but the following verse in the *bhujaṅgavijṛmbhita* meter is in Sanskrit.

Mid-1st c. CE.

**N12**: *Nāsik inscription of Uṣavadāta, years 42 and 45 of Nahapāna. LL 1133, ICN 12, Sircar 58, Mirashi 38, Tsu*.Nasi.12. Donation and endowment of a cave at Triraśmi/Tiraṇhu (Pāṇḍulena).
Ca. 74 and 77 CE.

**N11**: *Nāsik inscription of Dakṣamitrā, wife of Uṣavadāta. LL 1132, ICN 11, Sircar 60, Mirashi 42, Tsu*.Nasi.11. Dakṣamitrā's donation of a cell.
Ca. 70–78 CE.

**K13**: *Kārle inscription of Uṣavadāta. LL 1099, ICK 13, Sircar 61, Mirashi 39, Tsu*.Karl.26.
Ca. 70–78 CE.

**N10**: *Nāsik inscription of Uṣavadāta. LL 1131, ICN 10, Sircar 59, Mirashi 43, Tsu*.Nasi.10. Records Uṣavadāta's excavation of a cave.
Ca. 70–78 CE.

**N13**: *Nāsik inscription of Dakṣamitrā, wife of Uṣavadāta.. LL 1134, ICN 13, Mirashi 41, Tsu*.Nasi.13. Dakṣamitrā's donation of a cell.
Ca. 70–78 CE.

**N14a**: *Nāsik inscription of Uṣavadāta. LL 1135, ICN 14a. Mirashi 40, Tsu*.Nasi.14. Details the religious patronage of Uṣavadāta.
Ca. 70–78 CE.

**Jun25**: *Junnar inscription of the time of Nahapāna, year 46. LL 1174, Junnar 25, Sircar 62, Mirashi 44, Tsu*.Junn.3. Records Ayyama's donation of a cistern.
Ca. 78 CE.

**Juna1**: *Junāgaṛh inscription of Rudradāman, year 72 (Śaka)*. Kielhorn (1905–1906), *LL 965, Sircar 67, Mirashi 51*. Records the restoration of the embankments of Sudarśana lake after a flood, with a long *praśasti* of Mahākṣatrapa Svāmi Rudradāman.
150 CE.

**N15**: *Nāsik inscription of the time of Ābhīra Māḍharīputra Īśvarasena, year 9. LL 1137, ICN 15, Tsu*.Nasi.16. The donor, Viṣṇudattā, is the daughter of a Śaka named Agnivarman.
Mid-3rd c. CE.

**NagZ7**: *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription of the time of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Ābhīra Vasuṣeṇa, year 26* (reading of the year very uncertain). Sircar (1961–1962), Salomon (2013). Installation of an image of Viṣṇu (*aṣṭabhujasvāminaḥ*) on Seṭagiri by Mahāgrāmika Mahātalavara Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Śivaseba, a vassal of the above-named king. Mention is made of the Śaka Rudradāman of

Avanti and Viṣṇurudra Śivalānanda Sātakarṇi of Vanavāsi, both of whom were previously unable to move the image from its location in Saṃjayantīpurī.
Ca. 340 CE.

# Appendix C

# Fragments of Early Prakrit Grammars

These fragments are all in Prakrit *gāthā*s, in whole or in part. The first group containts fragments attributed to Harivṛddha. The second contains fragments with no attribution. The third group contains testimonia. I can make no claims to completeness: the Jain commentarial literature is vast, and I rely largely on the findings of Upadhye (1931–1932) and Jain (1945) below.

## Fragments attributed to Harivṛddha

These fragments are collected from the following materials:

- *Ratnaśrīṭīkā* (RaŚrīṬī) of Ratnaśrījñāna on Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* (see *Mirror of Literature* in the bibliography). Written in 931. This appendix reflects most of the suggestions of Bhayani (1973). Some of Ratnaśrījñāna's quotations are preserved by Saṅgharakkhita in his *Mahāsāmi-ṭīkā* on the *Subodhālaṃkāra* (ed. Padmanabh Jaini, Oxford 2000).

- *Ṭippaṇī* (KāAṬi) of Namisādhu on Rudraṭa's *Kāvyālaṃkāra* (see *Ornament of Literature* in the bibliography). Written in 1069. Other readings are given by Kulkarni (1988) = PVSWP.

**1.** RaŚrīṬī on 1.33 (p. 23).

कथं तद्द्रवं तस्मात् संस्कृतात् †वर्णान्यत्वेन† उत्पत्तियस्य तत्तद्द्रवं शब्दभवमित्यर्थः । तच्च **महिन्द-सिन्धव-बहिरादिकं** यथोक्तं हरिवृद्धेन ।

*mahiṃda-*, *siṃdhava-*, *bahira-*, etc. [are *śabdabhava* words.]

**2.** RaŚrīṬī on 1.33 (p. 23).

तत्समम् तेन संस्कृतेन समं तत्समम्, प्राकृतशब्दमपीत्यर्थः । तच्च **हरि-हर-कमलादिकं** यथोक्तं तत्रैव । 3

*hari-*, *hara-*, *kamalā-*, etc. [are *śabdasama* words.]

**3.** RaŚrīṬī on 1.33 (p. 23).

देशी प्राकृतं महाराष्ट्रप्रसिद्धम् । तदुक्तम् — 4

**मरहट्ट-देस-संकेअएहिं सद्देहिं भण्णए देसी** इति । 5

*Deśī* is expressed through words that are conventionally recognized in the region of Mahārāṣṭra.

**4.** RaŚrīṬī on 1.33 (p. 23). The *deśī* words in this passage have been restored by Bhayani on the basis of Hemacandra's *Deśīnāmamālā*.

तच्च **बोक्कण-कंकेल्लिचिरिड्डिहिल्ल-सित्थादिकम्** यथोक्तं तत्रैव । 6

*bokkaṇa-* ("crow"), *kaṃkelli-* ("Aśoka tree"), *ciriḍḍihilla-* ("curds"), *sitthā-* ("bowstring"), etc. [are *deśī* words.]

**5.** RaŚrīṬī on 1.34 (p. 24). Although not explicitly attributed to Harivṛddha, the context makes the attribution very probable.

महाराष्ट्रः कुन्तल-मुलकाश्मक-विदर्भ-†महियाचरत्रवैश्या†दि-प्रभेदाः आश्रयः अधिष्ठानं यस्यां तां महाराष्ट्राश्रयां भाषां वाचं 7
प्रकृष्टं प्राकृतेषु शोभनतमं प्राकृतं विदुः उपदिशन्ति बहुज्ञाः । तदुक्तम् — 8

†ऊह इअ विविह-भासा परिरि हिअअं य† मोत्तूणं । 9
मरह[ट्टभासिअं चे]अ अत्थि गहिअं कइल्लेहिं ॥ 10
        ... it is the language of Mahārāṣṭra that poets have accepted.

---

5 इ ] Bhayani; ड्रा RaŚrīṬī        6 सित्था ] Bhayani; सिच्छा RaŚrīṬī
5 संकेअएहिं ] Bhayani; संकेतएहिं RaŚrīṬī     7 कुन्तल … प्रभेदाः ] conj.;
6 बोक्कण ] Bhayani; वोक्कण RaŚrīṬī       कुन्तलामुरलासकविदर्भमहियाचरत्रवैश्यादिप्रभेदाः RaŚrīṬī
6 चिरिड्डिहिल्ल ] Bhayani; चिरिहिरहिर RaŚrīṬī   10 मरह[ट्टभासिअं चे]अ ] conj.; मरहअठिअया अ RaŚrīṬī

**6.** RaŚrīṬī on 1.33 (p. 24).

ननु सामान्यभाषापि प्राकृतप्रकारोऽस्ति । यदुक्तं हरिवृद्धेन— 11

अण्णेहि अ एएहि अ सरिसं चिअ होइ सामण्णे इति । 12

> That which these and the others have in common is in the category of "Common" (*sāmānya*).

**7.** RaŚrīṬī on 1.34 (p. 24). Bhayani restored *musumūria* on the basis of *Siddhahemacandra* 8.4.106, which teaches this root as a substitute for *bhañj-*.

व्यवहियते [शि]क्षणं व्यवहारः [तत्र] प्रवर्तते एभिरिति सा च **मुसुमूरिअ-मूअच्छिअच्छिकेत्यादिका** यथोक्तं हरिवृद्धेन । 13

> broken...

**8.** RaŚrīṬī on 1.34 (pp. 24–25). Although not explicitly attributed to Harivṛddha, the context makes the attribution very likely.

तदुक्तम्— 14

सद्भवा सद्दसमा देसि त्ति अ तिण्णि पाअअण्णेहि । 15
सामण्ण-पाअअ-सहिअ †आया अअय इतराणि आउ† ॥ 16

> "Derived," "Identical," and "Regional" are the three [recognized] by those who know Prakrit;
> With the addition of "Common Prakrit"...

**9.** KāAṬi on *Kāvyālaṃkāraḥ* 2.19 (p. 17) = PVSWP p. 2.

तथा ह्यष्टौ हरिणोक्ताः यथा— 17

महुरं फरुसं कोमलमोजस्सिं निट्ठुरं च ललियं च । 18
गंभीरं सामण्णं च अट्ठ भणिईओ नायव्वा ॥ 19

> The sweet, the harsh, the soft, the powerful, the severe, the playful,
> the profound, and the general: these are the eight *bhaṇiti*s.

---

12 चिअ] चअ RaŚrīṬī
13 मुसुमूरिअ] Bhayani, मुसुमुरिअ RaŚrīṬī
15 पाअअण्णेहि] Bhayani; आ अ अण्णेहि RaŚrīṬī
16 पाअअ-सहिअ] Bhayani; ययाअ इसहि

18 फरुसं] परुसं KāAṬi
19 अट्ठ] अद्द KāAṬi
19 भणिईओ] conj.; भणितिउ PVSWP, भणिती उ KāAṬi
19 नायव्वा] नायच्चा KāAṬi

# Unattributed fragments

These fragments are collected from the following sources:

- The *Nāṭyaśāstram* (NāŚā) ascribed to Bharata (see *Treatise on Theater* in the bibliography). Dates very approximately to between the 2nd and 4th c. CE. It contains a concise grammar of Prakrit, partially composed in Prakrit, at the beginning of the 17th chapter. Nitti-Dolci (1972 [1938]) and Alsdorf (1975 [1941]) made corrections to the reading of the first edition of the Baroda text, which have not been taken into account in subsequent editions. My apparatus only refers to the readings of the 2nd ed.; that edition can be consulted for variants in the manuscripts of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (of which there are an enormous amount).

- The *Gāthālakṣaṇam* (GāLa) of Nanditāḍhya (see *Definition of the Gāthā* in the bibliography). Date unknown; a quotation of a verse from Rājaśekhara, if it is not an interpolation, would put him after the 10th century.

- The Śvetāmbara commentarial literature, especially that of Jinadāsa (7th c.), Haribhadra (ca. 8th c.) and Malayagiri (12th c.) on the *Nandisūtra*, *Anuyogadvārasūtra*, *Daśavaikālikasūtra*, *Āvaśyakasūtra*, and *Sūryaprajñapti*. Fragments of Prakrit grammars in these texts were first noted by Upadhye (1931–1932).

- The Digambara commentarial literature, especially the *Dhavalā* of Vīrasena on the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* of Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali (completed in 816), and the *Jayadhavalā* of Vīrasena and Jinasena on the *Kaṣāyaprābhṛta* of Guṇabhadra (completed in 823). Most of the citations from these sources were noted by Jain (1945).

- Prakrit grammars, namely the *Prākṛtalakṣaṇa* (PrāLa) ascribed to Caṇḍa (see *Definition of Prakrit* in the bibliography) and the *Prākṛtasaṃjīvinī* (PrāSaṃ) of Vasantarāja on Vararuci's *Prākṛtaprakāśa* (see *Light on Prakrit* in the bibliography). Vasantarāja, if he is to be identified with Kumāragiri Reḍḍi, must have written in the early 15th century. The *Prākṛtalakṣaṇa* is more of a text-tradition than a single text, and different manuscripts have different rules, examples, glosses, etc.

**1.** Cited by Haribhadra in his *Vṛtti* to the *Nandisūtra* 74 (p. 57 l. 12); also in his commentary on the *Daśavaikālikasūtra* (only the second *pāda*) and Malayagiri's commentary on the *Nandisūtra* (only the second *pāda*), the *Āvaśyakasūtra* (see Jain 1945 and Upadhye 1931–1932), and the *Sūryaprajñapti* (see Weber 1868: 273). Nitti-Dolci (1972 [1938]: §841) notes a different version of the same verse cited in the commentary to PrāLa 2.13 (दुवयणे बहुवयणं चउत्थीविभत्तीए छट्ठी भण्णए । जह हत्था तह पाया वंदामि देवाहिदेवाणं ॥).

बहुवयणेण दुवयणं छट्ठिविभत्तीइ भण्णइ चउत्थी । 20
जह हत्था तह पाया नमोत्थु देवाहिदेवाणं ॥ 21

    The plural replaces the dual, and the sixth case replaces the fourth case.
    For example, "hands" and "feet," and "reverence to the Jinas."

**2.** Cited by Haribhadra in his *Vṛtti* to the *Nandisūtra* 51 (p. 28 l. 19)

ए होइ अयारंते पयम्मि बीयाऐ बहुसु पुल्लिंगे । 22
तइयाइसु छट्ठी-सत्तमीण एक्कम्मि महिलत्थे ॥ 23

    *E* occurs at the end of a word whose stem ends in *a* in the masculine accusative plural
    and in the instrumental, genitive, and locative of the feminine singular.

**3.** NāŚā 17.6 = GāLa4. Nitti-Dolci (1972 [1938]: §839) notes the close similarity to PrāLa 2.10 (एदोद्रलोपा विसर्जनीयस्य).

एओआरपराइ अ अंकारपरं च पाअए णत्थि । 24
वसआरमज्झिमाइ अ कचवग्ग-तवग्ग-णिहणाइं ॥ 25

    The sounds after *e* and *o* (i.e., *ai* and *au*),
        as well as the sounds after *anusvāra* (i.e., *visarga*), do not exist in Prakrit.
    Likewise the sounds between *v* and *s* (i.e., *ś* and *ṣ*)
        and the final sounds in the velar, palatal and dental groups (i.e., *ṅ*, *ñ* and *n*).

**4.** NāŚā 17.7. Also cited in the *Dhavalā* (*pāda*s *ab*) and the *Jayadhavalā* (*pāda*s *cd*); see Jain (1945).

वच्चंति कगतदयवा लोवं अत्थं च से वहंति सरा । 26
खघथधभा उण हत्तं उव्वेंति अत्थं च मुंचंता ॥ 27

    The sounds *k*, *g*, *t*, *d*, *y* and *v* are lost, and the vowel that follows them bears their meaning.
    The sounds *kh*, *gh*, *th*, *dh*, and *bh* become *h* and leave their meaning (?).

**5.** NāŚā 17.8.

उप्परहुत्तरआरो हेटाहुत्तो अ पाअए णत्थि । 28
मोत्तूण भद्र-वोद्रह-रुद्र-हद-चन्द-जाईसु ॥ 29

---

24 पराइ अ] पराणिअ NāŚā, पराइं GāLa      26 लोवं] Jayadhavalā; लोपं NāŚā
24 अंकारपरं च] GāLa (and Alsdorf); अं आरपरं अ      27 च] conj; अ NāŚā
NāŚā, अंआरपरं अ Nitti-Dolci      28 हुत्तो] हुत्तौ NāŚā
26 वच्चंति… वहंति सरा] NāŚā; Dha reads वच्चंति      29 रुद्र] Alsdorf; पद्र Nitti-Dolci and ed.
कगतदयवा लोवं अत्थसरा; Jain emends to तिट्ठंति अट्ठ सरा.

Whether it comes first or last, *r* as part of a consonant cluster does not exist in Prakrit.
Exceptions include words of the type *bhadra-*, *vodraha-*, *rudra-*, *hrada-*, and *candra-*.


**6.** NāŚā 17.9.

खघथधभाण हआरो मुह-मेह-कहा-वहू-पहूएसु ।  30
कगतदयवाण णिच्चं वीयम्मि ठिओ सरो होइ ॥  31

*h* replaces *kh*, *gh*, *th*, *dh*, and *bh* in words like
*muha-* (*mukha-*), *meha-* (*megha-*), *kahā-* (*kathā-*), *vahū-* (*vadhū-*) and *pahū-* (*prabhu-*).
The following vowel always stands in for the sounds *k*, *g*, *t*, *d*, *y*, and *v* after they disappear.


**7.** Malayagiri's commentary to the *Nandisūtra* (the second half of a *gāthā*). Cited in Upadhye (1931–1932).

मतुवत्थम्मि मुणिज्जह आलं इल्लं मणं तह य ॥  32

Know that *-ālaṃ*, *-illaṃ*, and *-maṇaṃ* are possessive suffixes.


**8.** Vasantarāja, *Saṃjīvinī* on Vararuci, *Prākṛtaprakāśaḥ* 4.34. I have restored the verse heavily; it is evidently a *gāthā*, but the latter half of the first line is very corrupt. Although this verse does not pertain directly to Prakrit grammar, it bears on the regional characterization of Prakrit.

मरहट्ठदेसभासाऐ [संकहिइ जो पसिद्धसोहग्गं] ।  33
सो तावेण ण सावइ कविअणचिरसाइअं भणिअं ॥  34

He who doubts the well-known beauty of the regional language of Mahārāṣṭra—
does he not thereby curse the words that have been savored for so long by so many poets?


**9.** PrāLa (manuscript C), commentary to 2.14; see Nitti-Dolci 1972 [1938]: §842. The verse describes the "root sounds" (*mūlavaṇṇa-*), i.e., the phonological inventory of Sanskrit.

तेत्तीस विंजणाइं च सत्तवीसइ सरा तहा भणिया ।  35
चत्तारि य जोगवहा चउसट्ठी मूलवण्णा ॥  36

---

33 भासाऐ] conj.; भासाअ PrāSaṃ
33 संकहिइ जो पसिद्धसोहग्गं] conj.; संकइ जो राहिअ स्संदेहिइ जा गो हिअं पसिद्धं PrāSaṃ. I take संदेहिइ to be an explanatory gloss on संकहिइ. The rest of the *pāda* is

jumbled and unmetrical.
34 तावेण] conj.; दावेण PrāSaṃ
34 सावइ] conj. metri causa; सावेइ PrāSaṃ
35 च सत्तवीसइ] conj. metri causa; सत्तवीस PrāLa

Thirty-three consonants, twenty-seven vowels,
and four combining sounds makes
sixty-four root sounds.

**10.** *Dhavalā* vol. 9 p. 95 (only the last half); *Jayadhavalā* (see Jain 1945)

कीरइ पयाण काण वि आई-मज्झंत-वण्ण-सर-लोव ।  37
> Some words undergo an elision of an initial, medial or final consonant or vowel.

**11.** The first few words are cited widely: by Jinadāsa (*Anuyogadvārasūtra-cūrṇi*, p. 128), by Haribhadra (*Anuyogadvāra-vivṛti*, p. 187), by Vīrasena (*Dhavalā* vol. 8 p. 90, vol. 9 p. 95, vol. 10 p. 2, vol. 13, p. 243 and p. 337). The complete verse is cited only in the *Jayadhavalā* (see Jain 1945). Since it allows for the substitution of any vowel by any other vowel, it must have been very useful for exegetical purposes.

एए छच्च समाणा दोण्णि अ संझक्खरा सरा अट्ठ ।  38
अण्णोण्णस्स विरोहा उर्वेति सव्वे समाएसं ॥  39
> The eight vowels—these six simple vowels and two compound vowels—
> come in place of each other without any restraint (so Jain).

**12.** *Jayadhavalā* (see Jain 1945).

दीसंति दोण्णि वण्णा संजुत्ता अह व तिण्णि चत्तारि ।  40
ताणं दुव्वल-लोवं काऊण कमो पजुत्तव्वो ॥  41
> When two, letters are joined, or three, or four,
> elide the weakest of them, and continue the process.

**13.** *Jayadhavalā* (see Jain 1945). This transforms voiceless into voiced sounds, which is relatively rare except in Jain texts and in (in the limited context of *t* to *d*) in Prakrit used on the stage. As the verse currently stands it is an *upagīti/gātha* (both halves have just one light syllable in their sixth *gaṇa*).

वग्गे वग्गे आई अविट्ठिया दोण्णि जे वण्णा ।  42
ते णेयय णिय वग्गे तइअत्तणयं उवणमंति ॥  43
> In every class the two letters that stand at the beginning
> are variously changed to the third letter of that class.

346

# Testimonia

**1.** Virahāṅka, *Collection of Mora- and Syllable-Counting Meters* (*Vṛttajātisamuccaya*) 2.8–9. Note that the commentator Gopāla notes that "according to some people Vṛddhakavi is Harivṛddha" (*vṛddhakavir harivṛddha iti kecit*).

भुअआहिवसालाहणवुड्ढकइनिरूविअं इमं दइए ।    44
णिहणणिरूपविअधुवअम्मि वत्थुए गीइआ णत्थि ॥    45

> In the opinion of Bhujagādhipa, Sātavāhana, and Vṛddhakavi,
> when a strophic *vastuka* features a *dhruvakā* in its definition, there is no need for a *gītikā*.

भुअआहिवसालाहणवुड्ढकइनिरूविअआण दुवईण ।    46
णामाइं जाइं साहेमि तुज्झ ताइं विअ कमेण ॥    47

> I will tell you in sequence all the names for the *dvipada*s
> defined by Bhujagādhipa, Sātavāhana, and Vṛddhakavi.

**2.** Bhoja, *Necklace of Sarasvatī* (*Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*) 1.99 (ex. 133), p. 93 = *Illumination of the Erotic* (*Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*) 9.266, p. 507.

अम्हारिसा वि कइणो हलिवुड्ढहालपमुहा वि ।    48
मण्डुक्क-मक्कडा वि हु होंति हरी सप्पसिंहा वि ॥    49

> People like me are poets
> Just as much as Harivṛddha and Hāla.
> Don't we call frogs and monkeys *hari*,
> besides snakes and lions?

**3.** Rājaśekhara, *Karpūramañjarī* pp. 9–10 (ed. Ghosh). The *vidūṣaka* complains about the servant-girl Vicakṣaṇā.

विदूषकः । [सक्रोधम्] ता उज्जुअं जेव किं ण भणइ अम्हाणं चेडिआ हरिउड्ढ-णन्दिउड्ढ-पोट्टिस-हाल-प्पहदीणं पि पुरदो सुकइ    50
त्ति ।    51

> Well, why don't you come right out and say it? That this servant-girl of ours is a better poet than even Harivṛddha, Nandivṛddha, Poṭṭisa, and Hāla?

---

50 हरिउड्ढ … प्पहदीणं ] Konow lists many variants on these names, but the most significant is: STU
हरि-बम्हसिद्धि-ओड्डीस-पालित्तअ-चंपअराअ-मल्लसेहराणं