ŚAURASENĪ AND OTHER PRAKRITS
IN
THE BHAGAVATĪ ĀRĀDHANĀ

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Prākrit belongs to the middle period of the Indo-Aryan (IA) language of the Indo-Iranian (IIr) sub-branch of the Indo-European (IE) family of languages. So the study of Prākrit means the reference to Old Indo-Aryan (OIA) on the one hand and Iranian and Indo European on the other. Prākrit, the Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) is, therefore, very intimately connected with OIA, that is with Sanskrit and Vedic. Most of the characteristic features of OIA and IIr and so also with IE. In one sense, the characteristic features of all the Prākrit dialects are mingled so much that at times it is difficult to isolate them from each other. As a result, the Prākrit grammarians have described first the features off Prakrit in general, and then what is exclusively different from the standard Prākrit in general, is described under the features of dialects. So in the books of Prākrit grammar, the Śaurasenī features seem to be less than what is expected in a book. Herein view the discussion of the inclusion of some other Prākrits in the Śaurasenī of Bhagavatī-Ārādhanaṁ.

Bhagavatī-Ārādhanaṁ has an important place in Digambara literature. Like other Digambara texts, Bhagavatī-Ārādhanaṁ of Ācārya Sivarya, is written in
Śāurasenī. Basically this book is known for asceticism and with asceticism it is also treated as a Philosophical text. In Bhagavatī-Ārādhana, though, the Śāurasenī Prākrit is used as the main language, but an admixture of other Prākritis can be found in it, and naturally the influence of other Prākritis in Śāurasenī can also be acknowledged.

1. Elision of inter-vocalic k, g, c, j, t, d.... etc.

The sutra "ka-ga-ca-ja-ta-da-pa-ya-vām prāyo luk" of Hemacandra (1.177) has an important role in Prakrit. By this sutra the non-initial and non-conjunct consonantal sounds are often elided leaving behind their vowel sounds in a word. The term prāya (often) indicates that the elision is not compulsory. But the tendency of a grammarian for makers a sutra is to show the regular application of it. So we can easily assume that the elision is a regular feature of a word. The same rule is also found in the grammars of Vararuci (Vr. 2 1.2), Rāma Tarkavāgīśa (RT. 1.2. 1-4), Trivikrama (Tv. 1.3, 8.18), Kramadīśvara (Kl. 2.1) and Mārkaṇḍeya (MK. 2.1-2). So the elision of the inter-vocalic consonants is the regular feature of the Mahāraṣṭrī Prakrit or Prakrit in general. To show the characteristic features of Śāurasenī, Hc. in the sutra "to donādau śāurasenyām ayuktasya " (4.260) says that inter-vocalic t becomes d but not elided. This feature of Śāurasenī mentioned by Hc. and other grammarians indicates the nearness of Śāurasenī with Sanskrit and it's antiquity as well. But in the Bhagavatī-Ārādhana (Bhag.) we can find both the characteristic features of Śāurasenī and Mahāraṣṭrī that t sometimes becomes d and in many cases it is elided as per the rule of Mahāraṣṭrī. For example, bhāniya (2.3), kāyavā(9), bhāniyām(11), anovamiyām(13) kāyavvām (19), rājakulapasūo(20), kuṇai(20), harai(23), cauro(44),
suvihiramimamā(41), āṇavīggaḥiyamā(55), uṣsarai(74), iyarae(116), jai(139), nāyavvo(219), aṇupāliyā(245), kaya(325), but kada(in 327), pariharai(340), maisampāṇño(502), kāya-ra(353), okhaṇḍiya(384), siyabhabhavam(346), etc. Here it is worth mentioning that y-sruti is found in many places as a regular feature of Prakrit. The meaning of the sutra "a-varṇo y-śruti" (Hc. 1.180) is that the surplus vowel a can be changed into ya if followed by a-sound. But here some words like bhagīya and etc. violate this rule. According to Hc. it is exclusively a characteristic feature of Ārṣa or Ardhamaṅgadhi(Amg). So this evidence of Amg is also found in this Sauraseni text. In Bhag. the d which should be preserved as a Sauraseni character, is also elided in some cases. Some of the examples are as follows, uvasampaya (67), rayaseyanamagahanam(97), Viccheya(200), saya(336), payavibhāgi(535) āyariyapāyamula (577), but some examples tally with the rule prescribed by the grammarians where t becomes d, for example, visiyadi(878), bhanido(35) etc. In some places t is preserved, such as, paṃḍitamaraṇaṇam(28), vasati(232) etc. The rest of the aforesaid consonantal sounds have no special treatment in Sauraseni. So no examples are found.

2. On the treatment of k becoming g

It is a common feature in Prakrit that the inter-vocalic consonantal sound k is elided and the surplus vowel exists. It is neither Hc. nor other grammarians who have prescribed any rule for k becoming g in Sauraseni. In the vr̥tī of the sutra k, g, c, j, t, d....(1.177), Hc. mentions about the other Prakrits., i.e. Aradhanaṁgadhi k becoming g is a frequent phenomenon (vyatyayascā-4.447 ityaeva kasya galvam). But Hc. while discussing the characteristic
features of Prakrit in general, only in a single case he prescribed the rule where \( k \) becomes \( g \). The sutra is thus, *marakata madagale g\&h kahuketvādeh*-(1.182), so the word *marakata* becomes *maragaa*, *madakala* becomes *madagala* and the initial \( k \) of the word *kanduka* becomes \( g \), e.g., *kanduka* becomes *gendua*. But these are nothing but some remnants of Ardhamagadhi. So in Saur. it is rather incoherent for \( k \) becoming \( g \). But few examples can be cited for, such as, *ababhiŋnasapasuvvagadhisam* (33), *jugāhī from yukabhiḥ* (88), *vivegāṭhāge* (95), *sagapakhē* (96), *uvagaranadāṇamogasadāṇam* (122), *sudasattabhāvanega-ttabhāvana* (189), *kaḍugam* (359), *lahugo* (369), *ego* (521), *khavaga* (675) etc. In this case, perhaps, an exclusive characteristic feature of amg. is found here.

3. Treatment of Sanskrit *th*.

Changing of some unvoiced sound into voiced one is one of the characteristic features of Saur. The grammarians have formulated some sutras to make it evident. According to the rule *tho dhah* (Hc. 4.267), the intervocalic *th* becomes *dh*. The same can be found in the grammars from Vr. (415 A.D.) upto Mk. (17th cent. A.D.). If intervocalic *th* becomes *dh* in Saur., then, there cannot be any doubt about the existence of the intervocalic *dh* in a word. But in Bhag. some irregularities are prominent where this speciality is violated. For Example, *jaha, jahā, taha*, *tahā* (11, 20, 23, 28, 193, 203, 505, etc.), Skt. equivalent *yathā* and *tathā*. In Saur., the intervocalic *th* of these *yathā* and *tathā* are accepted. According to the rules of Hc. *kha-gha-tha-dhabhām* (1.187) and other grammarians like Vr. (2.24), Tv.
(1.3.20), Mk. (2.25), this characteristic feature is exclusively for Mah. But in Saura, these will be jadhā tadha. But there are some words which is used. For example - duvihā(3), saṃpuṇṇamaṇoraho(205), somatihi(275), mehuṇapariggahe(611), kahā (655), ahavā(707) etc. But in the commentary the actual readings prescribed by the grammrians have been taken.

There is an interesting point to note hue that whether the Stk. intervocalic dh will be elided or not in Saur. Although the grammrians did not mention it clearly it easily understood that dh remains unchanged, since the unvoiced th is also changed into dh in Saur. But the examples show either the existence or the influence of Mah. exit in Bhag. For example-āradhanā becomes ārāhapā, other examples are ārāhaṃteṇaṃ (4), ārāhiyaṃ (4), tiviham (28), sāhuṣsa (28), mahuraṃ (40), sohi (108), ṇāṅavihena (207), gaṇahivaiṇo (282), mihilāhio (751), virāhaṇā (586), etc. But some of the examples show the characteristic features of Saur. such as suvicāramadha (64), tadhimā (599), sādhu (21), āradhao (109) etc.

Here is another interesting point to note that the t of the word vasati becomes dh. Ho. has a sutra vitasti vasati bharata kātara mātulimge hah (1.214), where he shows that in Mah the intervocalic t of these words becomes h. So vasatiḥ becomes vasahi. The supporting sutras in this context are of Vr. (2.9), RT. (1.2.5), Ki (2.27), Mk (2.11), and Tv. (1.3.50.51). Here in Bhag. t changed into dh such as, vasadhīsu (155), vasadhi (234). From linguistic point of view, t becomes th by aspiration firstly, and then unvoiced th becomes voiced dh as the natural phenomenon of Saur. In verse No, 25 we can see the use of indeclinable iha. Vedic idha and this should be preserved in Saur. Hc. supports the retention of idha which
becomes *ihā in Sankrit by making the sutra *ihā hacor hasya.

4. On the treatment of the word Ātmā

The Skt. word Ātmā has different forms in Prakrit. Hc. in his sutra bhasmātmanoḥ po vā (2.5`1) says that ātmā becomes appā, and by assimilation through both the sutras adhāo nanayām (2.78) and anādau šeśādesauoudvitvam (2.89) it becomes attā. So, both appā and attā are in vogue in Mah. But attā is, probably, the ideal form in Saur. Hence, the form attā becomes ādā, firstly, tgrīygh cinoensatory lengthening it becomes *ātā and then the intervocalic consonant t >d. In Amg. appā is very much regular, Ki, in his sutra mahārāṣṭṛi-miśrārdha-māgadhī (5.95) shows that the characteristic features of Mahārāṣṭṛi are mixed with that of Ardhamāgadhī. So appā is not an irregular feature in Amg. In Bhag the word ātmā has been changed into many forms, such as, appā (90,239) ādā (101), paṇiḥidappā (172), attasuddhin (206), appayāṃ (209), ādā (244), ādaparapaoga karaṇe (612) etc.

5. Influence of Māgadhī in Sauraseni

At least in three cases, the grammarians have no difference of opinion to lay out the characteristic features of Māgadhī. For example r>1, ś,s>s’, and the nominative singular of masculine a-stem becomes e -ending. Besides these characteristics, grammarians have also formulated some other sutras for Māgadhī. In this context, the aforesaid specialities can only be discussed. In Bhag. some Māgadhī words have been used. For example, cattālam (65), lukkho (94), pattalukkhenām (209,247), kaluṇam, kaluniyan (440), inṛgāla (1038) etc. These Māgadhī words found in Saur. But Hc. in his Sutra haridrādau laḥ (1.254) has also mentioned some words in Mah where r becomes l
In Bhag. some remnants of e-ending words formulated in nom sing. of masculine a-stem are found such as, limage, arihe (66) etc. Sanskrit jānanti becomes yāṇamti in Māgadhī. The sūtra ja-dya-yāṃ- yāḥ (Hc.4. 292) indicates that J becomes Y in Mh. Vr. (11.4), ki (5.87), Pu (12.5), RT. (2.2.14) have also suggested the same for Māgadhī.


Hc. in the fourth chapter of his Prakrit grammar has prescribed some forms of the root bhu as àdesā. The sūtra is bhuvèr ho huva havâḥ (4.60). It indicates that the root bhu has three forms in Prakrit and these are ho. huva and havâ. Hc. considers this rule of Prakrit as an optional in Śauraseni. He, in the sūtra bhuvó bhaḥ (4.269), clearly mentions that in Śaur, bh is a regular feature in this context. Vr. and other grammarians have also the same opinion (see Vr. 12.12, Pu. 9.78, Ki. 55.78 Rt. 2.1.26, and Mk. 9.108, 137). Although this feature can be found sporadically in Bhag, but some of the features of Mah. are also available in the text. For example, hoi (4,6,9,55), havai (8.9), hodi (40,73,102), havadi (103), in imperative hojja (73), and in optative have derived from Skt. bhavet (3,4,6,643,791,803,1000,1101). In Prakrit along with its dialects and subdialects jia and jiē have been prescribed for optative mood. But here, in case of have, the influence of Sanskrit is found.

In Bhag. the application of gerund is also very interesting. It does not follow properly the rule of Saur. For example Skt. kṛtvā>kāuṇa (206,563), kicca (688), Skt. ānātva>nauna(9), śrutvā>soduna (682), socca (696), sunitta (616, 679), bhuktva bhoccā (692,693). labdhvā> laddhuṇa (52), viharittā, virāḍhayitvā (15), diśṭhā (17), parityaktvā >praiccittā (239) etc. To justify the characteristic features of Śaur., we have to emphasize mainly on these points. Firstly,
the problems can be solved by the rules prescribed by the grammarians. Hc. in the sutra \textit{ktya} iya du\textit{ṇa} (4.271), says that iya and du\textit{ṇa} come in place of \textit{ktya}. Other grammarians, such as, Vr. (12.9), Pu. (9.39), Ki. (5.70) have also the same suggestion. Hc. in another independent sutra, \textit{kr gamo da\textit{ṇa}} (4.272), shows that root \textit{kr} becomes \textit{ka\textit{ṇa}} and root \textit{gam} becomes \textit{ga\textit{ṇa}}, but the variant readings are \textit{kadua} and \textit{gadua}. So in \textit{Saur} \textit{ka\textit{ṇa}} and \textit{ka\textit{ṇa}} or \textit{kadua} are the most appropriate forms. In Mah. \textit{ktya} becomes \textit{u\textit{ṇa}} by the sutra \textit{ktya} sttuma ttuna tuan\textit{āḥ} (Hc. 2.146), which should be \textit{du\textit{ṇa}} in \textit{Saur.}. So, \textit{sod\textit{ṇa}}, \textit{ladd\textit{ṇa}} are proper usages in Bhag. Some remnants show the relation and influence of Sanskrit. Simply by assimilation, \textit{īva} becomes \textit{ttā} and so the words \textit{suṇ\textit{tī}} etc. are available in Bhag. But \textit{so\textit{cca}}, \textit{bhoc\textit{cā}} are very peculiar in \textit{Saur}. In Amg. these usages are rather regular. In the sutra \textit{Kriti} \textit{cat\textit{vara} cah} (2.112), Hc. prescribes \textit{cat\textit{vara}} as \textit{cacc\textit{ara}}. Linguistically it is said as an analogy, such as, \textit{kṛ\textit{yā}>kic\textit{ca}} and so \textit{kṛ\textit{yā}>kic\textit{ca}}, \textit{so\textit{cca}}, \textit{bhoc\textit{cā}} etc.

**Conclusion**

In this paper, some of the characteristic features of \textit{Saur.} along with other Prakrits have been discussed. The commentary \textit{Vijayoday\textit{ā}} of Aparajita Suri is, indeed responsible for the \textit{Saur.} characteristics.

\textit{Saur.} and Sanskrit, both were the languages of the midland. So the close linguistic relationship between the two languages cannot, be avoided. In spite of the relationship with Sanskrit, the Bhag. has borrowed some words from other Prakrits.
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