In Search of Regional/Local (*deśī*) Words for 'Intoxicant' in First-Millennium India

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Abstract   While, as a consequence of recent studies, we can now have a good image of 'intoxicant' in Sanskrit literature, the same is not true for Middle Indo-Aryan literature, except perhaps for Pāli. In this paper two texts written in Prakrit and Ardha-Māgadhī respectively will be taken into examination, focusing especially on those words not linked to Sanskrit tradition, and normally known as *deśī*, 'regional', words. In particular, the second text analysed, which is part of the Jain Śvetāmbara Canon, will give me the opportunity to look at the use of *deśī* words meaning 'intoxicant' and/or concerning 'drinking culture' in the *Deśīnāmamālā*, Hemacandra's lexicon of Prakrit *deśī* words. The result of the analysis reveals that local, regional 'drinking traditions', in some cases part of non-Indo-Aryan ethnolinguistic groups, can be found beside the pan-indian, cosmopolitan Sanskrit culture.

Keywords   Prakrit. Drinking culture. Wine. Kuvalayamālā. Deśī.

Summary   1 Sanskrit and Prakrit in First-Millennium India. – 2 The Tripartite Classification of Prakrit Words in '*tatsama*, *tadbhava*, and *deśī*'. – 3 Prakrit Words Meaning 'Intoxicant' in Uddyotana-sūri's *Kuvalayamālā*. – 4 Prakrit Words Meaning 'Intoxicant' in the Eleventh *aṅga* of the Jain Canon Known as *Vivāgasuyaṃ*. – 5 *Deśī* Words Meaning 'Intoxicant' in Hemacandra's *Deśīnāmamālā*. – 6 Conclusions.

Indian classical literature, encompassing a huge body of works that spans thousands of years, is principally represented by two languages belonging to the Old Indo-Aryan (hereafter OIA) group of the Indo-European language family. The first one is the Vedic language, normally known with this name because it is the language of the Vedic corpus, that is to say the language of the four Vedas (*Ṛgveda*, *Yajurveda*, *Sāmaveda*, *Atharvaveda*) with their four subdivisions (*Saṃhitā*s,

*Brāhmaṇa*s, *Āraṇyaka*s and *Upaniṣad*s) as well as also those other works forming part of Vedic textual traditions (*Śrautasūtra*s, *Gṛhyasūtra*s, *Śulbasūtra*s, *Prātiśākhya*s).[1] The second one is Sanskrit, the language described by Pāṇini in his grammar *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and by Kātyāyana and Patañjali in the commentaries of this grammar and then used for the two major Hindū epics (i.e. the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*), for *Purāṇa* literature, by Indian court poets approximately from the third up to the thirteenth century AD, also by a part of Buddhists, etc.[2]

Even though, as said, Indian classical literature is normally known thanks to Vedic and Sanskrit works, it is also written in languages other than these two. This is the case of the various texts written in various literary vehicles belonging to the second period of evolution of Indo-Aryan languages, the Middle Indo-Aryan (hereafter MIA) period. The extent of MIA literature is comparable to that of Vedic and Sanskrit, but the scholars dealing with this literature are very few, in comparison to those specialised in Vedic and/or Sanskrit.[3]

As far as the topic of the present book is concerned, if now thanks to McHugh's recent works[4] we can have a good image of 'intoxicant' in Sanskrit literature, as for the same image in MIA literature the information we have are very scanty.[5] The aim of the present paper is therefore to examine words with meanings related to 'intoxicant' in works written in some MIA literary languages, focusing the attention especially on the words reported in those texts not linked to the Sanskrit tradition. As I will have the opportunity to illustrate, these words are the so-called Prakrit *deśī* ('regional', 'local') words.

The paper is organised as follows. In the first section, I offer an overview of the literary multilingualism in first-millennium India. Subsequently, in section 2, an explanation of Prakrit words not linked to Sanskrit tradition and used in Prakrit literature, as said the so-called *deśī* words, is provided. Then, after a brief introduction to the first Prakrit text here analysed, I focus my attention to the words related to 'intoxicant' mentioned in this text (§ 3). In section 4, a canonical Jain text written in Ardha-Māgadhī, the latter a MIA religious literary variety, is taken into consideration. The reasons behind this choice are that some *deśī* words are mentioned in this specific MIA text. In this way, I have the opportunity to focus my attention on these *deśī* words meaning 'intoxicant', or related to 'drinking culture', reported in the most important traditional dictionary of this specific class of Prakrit words, that is to say Hemacandra's *Deśīnāmamālā* (§ 5).

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1 Cf. Cardona 2003.

2 Cf. Cardona 2003.

3 Pollock 2006; Ollett 2017; 2018.

4 For example, his opus magnus of 2021 (2021a).

5 Cf. McHugh 2021a; 2021b.

1   Sanskrit and Prakrit in First-Millennium India

It is a well-known fact that starting from the beginning of the first millennium AD up to the thirteenth century at least two 'languages' were used in India as the appropriate linguistic medium for artistic, religious and scientific literature:

1. Sanskrit (in its various forms: classical, epic, epigraphical, etc.);
2. varieties of what can be considered a MIA literary koine.[6]

From the fifth-sixth century AD another language entered the scene of literary production, Apabhraṁśa.

From the point of view of linguistic diachronic evolution:
- Sanskrit corresponds to the end of the OIA period (approximately the beginning of the second half of the first millennium BC);
- the various varieties of literary MIA correspond to the early and middle MIA period, that is to say the last centuries of the first millennium BC and the first centuries of the first millennium AD;
- Apabhraṁśa corresponds lastly to the end of the MIA period, because used, for literary purposes, from the fifth-sixth century AD, and for this reason considered a late MIA literary language.

The varieties of literary MIA, the topic of the present paper, have been chosen:
- as administrative languages of the court by some of the most important Indian kingdoms in the period just before and immediately after the beginning of the Common era;[7]
- as elaborate literary varieties in all works that are part of classical Indian *kāvya* tradition.[8] This is particularly true for Māhārāṣṭrī[9] which, according to the grammarians, was 'the Prakrit'.[10] The prestige of Māhārāṣṭrī is perhaps connected

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6   Cf. Bubenik 1998; Pollock 2006. According to Bubenik, it is important to emphasise that talking on these literary languages "It is important to realise that we are not dealing with three different languages in the usual sense of the word; rather we are dealing with 'triglossia' definable as the simultaneous use of three functional varieties of the same language for literary purposes" (1998, 16).

7   Lienhard 1984, 82-3; Deshpande 1993, 15, 92; Hultzsch 1924; Mehendale 1948; Salomon 1998.

8   Katre 1964; Lienhard 1984; Warder [1974] (1990).

9   Māhārāṣṭrī was based on the living tongue of the Northwestern part of the Deccan (along the river Godavari) and became a 'lingua franca' of Southern India in post-Christian centuries.

10   Except where otherwise indicated, when I use the term 'Prakrit' in the present paper I mean this specific MIA literary variety.

with the fact that this specific variety of literary MIA, which with respect to its linguistic relationship to OIA is the most advanced MIA literary variety (apart, obviously, Apabhraṁśa, see below), was used as literary and administrative language in the dominions of the powerful dynasty of Sātavāhanas (the Andhra dynasty);[11]

• as religious/sacred literary languages for canonical and extra-canonical Buddhist and Jain texts.[12] To be more precise, the language normally known as 'Pāli' is the sacred literary language used to draw up the Theravāda Buddhist Canon, known as *Tipiṭaka* (Sanskrit *Tripiṭaka*). Similarly, Ardha-Māgadhī was cultivated by the Jains of the Śvetāmbara sect who used it as a sacred language for their religious works.[13] Both these religious traditions used these MIA literary varieties in order to reject Sanskrit because linked with Hindū scriptures.[14]

Jain authors, especially, composed their poetic works in a different late MIA linguistic variety used as a literary vehicle called by the authors themselves and by the contemporary grammarians as the aforementioned Apabhraṁśa (virtually no prose works in Apabhraṁśa have come down to us). From its beginnings Apabhraṁśa was located in Gujarat, Rajputana and Malwa (contemporary Gujarat, Rajasthan and western Madhya-Pradesh) and thence it spread through the whole of North India becoming the most important North India's literary koine of this period and another literary language of the first-millennium India in addition to Sanskrit and Prakrit.[15]

It is important to point out that, as regards the use made of them in *kāvya* tradition in the period here taken into consideration, Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa were used synchronically.[16] This means that each of these languages did not have an exclusive position compared to the others. For example, Sanskrit was never used at the expense of Prakrit (someone says Sanskrit by Prakrit) and, in the same

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11 About 230 BC the Sātavāhana dynasty replaced Maurya power in Deccan. This dynasty ruled over Maharashtra, Kathiawar, Central India, Berar and Malwa from the second century BC to the second AD.

12 Pischel 1965, 11-25; Ghatage 1996-, 1: *1-*25, I-XXXIII.

13 Jain exegetical texts were written in a form of Māhārāṣṭrī, normally called Jain Māhārāṣṭrī by modern scholars, but almost identical with 'standard' Māhārāṣṭrī as described in the various Prakrit grammars. As for the Digambara sect, their Canon was written in a literary language variety very similar to the variety of Prakrit normally called 'Śaurasenī' by Prakrit grammarians. For this reason, the language of the Digambara Canon has been termed Jain Śaurasenī by modern scholars (cf. Bubenik 1998).

14 Deshpande 1993; Bronkhorst 1993.

15 Bubenik 1998; Ollett 2024.

16 Cf. Bubenik 1998, 18.

manner, Apabhraṁśa was never used at the expense of Sanskrit and/or Prakrit. As a result, in this period of time one may find:

- the same subject matter treated in Sanskrit and Prakrit by different authors;
- the same subject treated in Sanskrit and Prakrit by the same author in two different works, respectively;
- different subjects treated in Sanskrit and Prakrit by the same author in different works;
- and, especially at the end of the period under consideration, authors making use of all these available literary vehicles in a single work.

Therefore, following Bubenik,[17] an older language (i.e. Sanskrit/Prakrit) moved up vertically into the position of the 'high'/'prestigious'/'dignified' variety to be imitated by the 'low' one. Even though it is not the topic of the article, it is worth mentioning that the process of elevation of Sanskrit must be understood as the result of the fact that in ancient India Sanskrit grammarians believed, taught and grew up in an ideological framework where Vedic scriptures and Vedic/Sanskrit language are eternal entities.[18] As a consequence of and within this framework Prakrit has no independent standing and its existence and use is closely linked to the Sanskrit language.[19] Actually, thanks to the above said process of elevation, during the first millennium Sanskrit became increasingly a language spoken and read not only by the upper strata Hindū, but also by Jain and Buddhist communities who could afford formal education.[20]

2 The Tripartite Classification of Prakrit Words in '*tatsama*, *tadbhava*, and *deśī*'

The symbiotic relationship between Sanskrit and Prakrit in *kāvya* literature can be easily understood by considering the tripartite terminology in '*tatsama*, *tadbhava*, *deśī*' that, as Pollock says, "emerge as a cornerstone of Indian philological thought".[21] The aim of these three technical terms, part of Indian grammatical tradition, was to describe words mentioned in literary works written in

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17 Bubenik 1998; 2001. Cf. also Kulikov 2013 and Pollock 2006.

18 Cf. Deshpande 1993; Aklujkar 1996.

19 Cf. Deshpande 1993, 73-4.

20 Bubenik 1998; Pollock 2006; Bronkhorst 2010; Eltschinger 2017.

21 Pollock 2006, 93.

Prakrit by a comparison with words attested in Sanskrit works.[22] Namely, according to the majority of Indian authors, a Prakrit word could be:[23]

- *saṃskṛtasama* 'the same as Sanskrit', commonly referred to as *tatsama* 'the same as that', but also as *tattulya* 'equal to that' and *samānaśabda* 'the same word (as that)';
- *saṃskṛtabhava* 'of the nature of Sanskrit', commonly referred to as *tadbhava* 'of the nature of that', but also as *saṃskṛtayoni* 'the origin is (in) *saṃskṛta*', *tajja* 'born out of that' and *vibhraṣṭa* 'fallen, deteriorated', but also 'detached';
- *deśya*, *deśī* or *deśaja* 'country-born', i.e. 'local, regional', but also referred to as *deśīprasiddha* 'famous in the country' and *deśīmata* 'known in the country'.

It is not the aim of the present paper to focus on the cultural significance of the Prakrit words classification in '*tatsama*, *tadbhava* and *deśī*' in the context of Indian grammatical tradition.[24] Suffice is to say that the 'link' mentioned above between a Prakrit and a Sanskrit word is a 'link' depending on grammarians' description of Prakrit who, according to the 'transforming phonological rules' provided in their grammars, understand a Prakrit word as 'linked' (i.e. a *tatsama* or a *tadbhava* word) or 'not linked' (i.e. a *deśī* word) with a corresponding Sanskrit word with the same meaning.[25] As a consequence, the class of words used in Prakrit literature and called *deśī* by Prakrit grammarians and Prakrit/Sanskrit authors is, in a nutshell, an heterogeneous class of words consisting of:[26]

- words of ancient IA or even Indo-European origin which, although not used in the OIA literary works (i.e. Vedic and/or Sanskrit) – because regarded, for example, as too vulgar – were later inherited or borrowed by some MIA literary language varieties, and thus perhaps also by Prakrit;
- genuine loanwords from Indian non-IA languages;
- loanwords from non-Indian languages;
- all those words that can be classified as Prakrit neologisms which, though corresponding to Sanskrit forms in their constituent parts, nevertheless do not have a corresponding complex Sanskrit form;

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22 Cf. Drocco 2012.

23 Beames 1872-79; Pischel 1965, 6-7; Chatterji 1926; 1960; 1983, 98-100; Bhayani 1998b, 48. For an analysis of these terms see Drocco 2006; 2012.

24 For a detailed overview on this topic see Pollock 2006.

25 Kahrs 1992; Drocco 2012.

26 Cf. Pischel 1965.

- words that are phonologically linked to a corresponding Sanskrit form according to the 'transformation phonological rules' (see above) explained by Hemacandra in his *Siddhahemaśabdānuśāsana*, but whose Prakrit meaning is not attested in Sanskrit.[27]

As for our concern, it is important to point out that a good part of Jain literature is composed in a linguistic variety strongly characterised by a frequent use of non-standard vocabulary and/or by a clear tendency to absorb words, forms and uses from the numerous spoken dialects.[28] For this reason, it is easier to find *deśī* words in a text written by a Jain author, than in any text written by a non-Jain author.

In what follows, I will have the opportunity to explain the exact meaning of the tripartite classification of Prakrit words in '*tastama*, *tadbhava*, and *deśī*', in particular of *deśī* words, discussing those pertaining to 'intoxicant' reported in the two works written by Jain authors here analysed.

3   Prakrit Words Meaning 'Intoxicant' in Uddyotana-sūri's *Kuvalayamālā*

In order to look at Prakrit *deśī* words with reference to 'intoxicant', I decided to take firstly into exam one Prakrit text written by a Jain author, the *Kuvalayamālā* ('Garland of Blue Water Lilies'). The reason of this choice is that in this text a lot of *deśī* words are attested. As a consequence, I am looking if it can offer, by means of the attestation of these *deśī* words, an image of 'intoxicant' different from the image we have in Sanskrit literature.

The *Kuvalayamālā* is a Prakrit-language novel written in the second half of the eight century AD by the Jain monk Uddyotana-sūri in Jabalipura, a city of the great Gurjara-Pratihara kingdom (present-day Jalore, India). This text is written in the *campū* form, that is to say in a mixed verse and prose form, and the multilingualism that it demonstrates is worthy of particular interest. As a matter of fact, dialogues in several languages are reported in this work, including, apart Prakrit, Sanskrit and Apabhraṁśa, the mysterious Paiśācī

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27   For this classification see Drocco 2006.

28   Alsdorf 1936; 1937; Balbir 1989; Bhayani 1988a; 1988b; 1998a. Cf. also Salomon 1989, 285 and Sandesara, Thaker 1962.

language, another MIA literary variety.[29] It also includes some sentences in the famous 18 *deśabhāṣās* 'regional languages'.[30]

Even if in the *Kuvalayamālā* several *deśabhāṣā*s and regional (*deśī*) words are attested,[31] as far as 'intoxicant' terms are concerned, this text shows roughly part of the same terms normally found in Sanskrit texts. Indeed, the author refers to 'intoxicant' by means of *tatsama* words, therefore words used in Prakrit literature and found in Sanskrit texts with absolutely identical form and meaning (see above). This kind of words used in the *Kuvalayamālā* are:

- *āsava* (20.28; 50.16);
- *surā* (20.28; 52.16);
- *madirā* (83.5; 83.8);
- *madhu* (84.29; 85.8; 113.16).

Uddyotana does not provide much information so as to understand how these drinks are made and this is exactly due, perhaps, to his use of *tatsama* words (see below). For similar reasons, Uddyotana doesn't help the reader to understand if the same word can mean different kinds of alcoholic drink, depending, for example, on the paragraph. We can refer to a Prakrit dictionary, but it is a fact that Prakrit lexicography is not yet as developed as that of Sanskrit.[32] Therefore, in order to give meaning to these words, we have to start from the broad use of the corresponding forms of these words in Sanskrit literature. Moreover, thanks to McHugh's recent works[33] we can have a better idea of their broader or more precise meaning in this literature and/or in the context of a specific work. In this regard, it is important to remember that perhaps the reason explaining the wide use of words linked to Sanskrit tradition (i.e. *tatsama* and *tadbhava* words) by Prakrit authors in first-millennium India,[34] as in the case of Uddyotana for words related to 'intoxicant' – as we have just seen –, is to give them the possibility to leave unexplained many Prakrit words, because known by the authors/readers thanks to the previous knowledge of their Sanskrit corresponding forms. This

29 Upadhye 1939-40; Master 1943a; 1943b; 1948.

30 Master 1950; 1951. The mixed novel of prose and verse, the *campū*, is especially widespread in Buddhist, Jain and obviously *smartā* environments, as demonstrated by the production of the genre. The *Kuvalayamālā* certainly belongs to the *campū* proper, a *mahākāvya* that defines itself as 'complete history' (*sakalakathā*), 'history of doctrine' (*dharmakathā*), or 'mixed history' (*saṃkīrṇakathā*). Preserved in two reviews, the work narrates the previous lives of Prince Kuvalayacanda and other characters, who at the end of the story all convert to Jainism.

31 Drocco, forthcoming.

32 See, for example, Vogel 1979.

33 McHugh 2021a; 2021b; 2021c.

34 Cf. Drocco 2006; 2012.

seems to be also true for a modern scholar as Christine Chojnacki, who in 2008 published the French translation of the *Kuvalayamālā*. As matter of fact, in her translation she gives the following meanings of the above-said terms, almost certainly starting from their Sanskrit meanings:

- *āsava* 'fermented drink/beverage';[35]
- *surā* 'spirit', 'eau de vie';[36]
- *madirā* 'liquor';[37]
- *madhu* 'alcohol', 'alcoholic drink'.[38]

As we can see, the *Kuvalayamālā*, composed by an author who can be considered a member of the Indian 'educated elite' and who was able to use various literary varieties at their command, is a good example of the fact that in the second half of the first millennium AD,[39] the works drawn up in Prakrit have a mutual relationship with Sanskrit *kāvya* tradition and they have been influenced strongly by the latter.[40] Perhaps it is for this reason that the majority of words adopted in a good part of Prakrit works of this tradition are MIA in their phonological shape, but with a clear Sanskrit counterpart – traceable to the latter through the specific phonological rules mentioned in Prakrit grammars (see above) –, therefore easily understandable by a well-educated Indian author in the first millennium. Actually, the words mentioned in these Prakrit texts can be also identical with their Sanskrit corresponding form, as we have seen for the aforementioned words meaning 'intoxicant' and reported in the *Kuvalayamālā*.

In spite of the fact that the *Kuvalayamālā* can give us a good picture of the use of intoxicant in eight-century central-western India during the Gurjara-Pratihāra Kingdom, even if with a strong influence of Sanskrit literary tradition,[41] if we want to look for some true

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35 Cf. Monier-Williams 1899, 160; original French meaning 'boisson fermentée', Chojnacki 2008, 1: 345-6.

36 Cf. Monier-Williams 1899, 1235; original French meaning 'boisson spiritueuse', Chojnacki 2008, 1: 346, 363.

37 Cf. Monier-Williams 1899, 778-9; original French meaning 'liqueur', Chojnacki 2008, 1: 355.

38 Cf. Monier-Williams 1899, 779; original French meaning 'alcool', Chojnacki 2008, 1: 343, 345.

39 It is important to point out that between Sanskrit and the regional dialects (emerging New Indo-Aryan vernacular languages) we find a fluid continuum of various literary varieties of Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa. The proof that Apabhraṁśa was in an intermediate position in this linguistic continuum is given by the fact that in Apabhraṁśa works it is possible to find influences from 'above' and 'below', that is to say from Sanskrit and Prakrit literary models and from the spoken language.

40 See, among many others, Bhayani 1998d; 1998c; 1998e; Bubenik 1996; 1998.

41 It is worthy of note that, even Prakrit texts showing a strong connection with Sanskrit as the *Kuvalayamālā*, which as many other Prakrit texts shares with Sanskrit a

local Prakrit words meaning 'intoxicant', true because not connected with the Sanskrit tradition (i.e. *deśī* words), we have to check other MIA literary texts. This is possible by virtue of the huge MIA literary production, and by virtue of the possible greater proximity to spoken languages of part of this production, I mean a part of literary production more inclined to be influenced by spoken languages. For this reason, some MIA literary texts are probably better candidates to investigate part of Indian culture not testified by Sanskrit.

4 Prakrit Words Meaning 'Intoxicant' in the Eleventh *aṅga* of the Jain Canon Known as *Vivāgasuyaṃ*

As we have said, we could have a good image of the importance of 'intoxicant' in the first millennium AD by means of various words used in those texts less connected to the Sanskrit tradition. This minor link is probably due to the fact that they are composed in an epoch and/or by authors and/or in areas less subjected to the influence of Sanskrit or, in any case, less connected to standard Prakrit which, for its nature, is more linked to Sanskrit, especially in first-millennium India. For example, the large amount of Jain MIA works is normally seen as an interesting source for the study of linguistic features that show, for example, anomalous diachronic changes, with respect to their derivation, because understood as not derived from Sanskrit forms, thus derived from OIA words not attested in Sanskrit.[42]

In this regard, let me show an interesting excerpt from Jain Canonical literature, to be more precise from the *Vivāgasuyaṃ*,[43] the eleventh *aṅga* of the Jain Canon:

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good part of its vocabulary, can add information about drinking culture in India. For example, let me mention the following interesting excerpt where *āsava, surā* are reported, giving us the possibility to suggest that they actually mean two different beverages: "[20.28] *samuṭṭhio rāyā kaya-majjaṇo uvaviṭṭho āvāṇaya-bhūmī. sajjiyā se viviha-kusuma-vaṇṇa-virayaṇā āvāṇaya-bhūmī, sajjiyāiṃ ca ahiṇava-kaṃdoṭṭa-reṇu-raṃjiyāiṃ, diṇṇāiṃ ca kappūra-reṇu-parisappaṃta-dhavalāiṃ **āsava**visesāiṃ, pijjaṃti ahiṇava-jāī-kusuma-**sura**hi-parimalāyaḍiyāli-ruyārāva-ruṇaruṇeṃṭāo ṇibbhara-ramukaṃṭhiyāo surāo tti.*" ("The king got up and after having washed himself, settled down in the bar area. This space had been arranged for him and adorned with the colours of various flowers. We also prepared sweet specialties coloured by the pollen of new blue lotuses. They brought in specialty **fermented drinks** made white by the clouds of camphor powder. **Spirits** were given to drink, their heady perfume making them desirable and which buzzed with the buzzing of bees attracted by the fragrant scents of the new jasmine flowers", emphasis added). Moreover, this excerpt is also interesting because is mentioned the compound *āvāṇaya-bhūmī*, translated in French by 'space-bar' and thus with the English meaning used above, 'bar-area'.

42 Bhayani 1988a, 155; 1988f, 219-22; Balbir 1989; Bhayani 1998a, 13, 23.

43 Chokshi, Modi 1935.

*tae ṇaṃ sa uppalā kuḍaggāhiṇī annayā kayāi āvannasattā jāyā
yāvi hotthā. Tae ṇaṃ tīse uppalāe kuḍaggāhiṇīe tiṇhaṃ māsāṇaṃ
bahupaḍipuṇṇaṇaṃ ayamevarūve dohale pāubbhūe. "dhannāo ṇaṃ
tāo ammayāo suladdhe jammajīviyaphale, jāo ṇaṃ nagaragorūvāṇaṃ
saṇāhāṇa ya basabhāṇa ya ūhehi ya thaṇehi ya vasaṇehi ya cheppāhi
ya kakuhehi ya vahehiṃ ya kaṇṇohi ya acchīhi ya nāsāhi ya jibbhāhi
ya oṭṭhehi ya kambalehi ya sollehi ya taliehi ya bhajjiehi ya par-
isukkehi ya lāvaṇehi ya **suraṃ** ca **mahuṃ** ca **meragaṃ** ca **jāī**
ca **sīhuṃ** ca **pasannaṃ** āsāemāṇīo visāemāṇīo paribhuṇjemāṇīo
paribhāemāṇī odohalaṃ viṇenti [...]"*[44]

Once upon a time that Uppalā, the wife of the cattle-entrapper,
became pregnant. Then when full three months were over the fol-
lowing desire in pregnancy arose in the mind of that Uppalā, the
wife of the cattle-entrapper: "Blessed, indeed, are those mothers
and only they have obtained the real fruit of life and birth who
satisfy their pregnancy-desire by tasting, enjoying, eating and
distributing to others **wine, wine prepared from honey, wine
prepared from palm-fruit, a kind of white wine, wine pre-
pared from raw sugar and flowers of *dhataki*, and wine pre-
pared from grapes**, together with [...] pieces of meat roasted on
an iron pipe [...]"*[45]

This excerpt is interesting under different point of views. First of all,
various kind of 'intoxicant' are mentioned, more specifically: *surā*,
mahu, *meraga*, *jāī*, *sīhu* and *pasanna*.

With the purpose to distinguish these alcoholic beverages, the
translators of this excerpt give clear meanings of the words men-
tioned, maybe thanks to their explanation in Sanskrit texts. Indeed,
the first word mentioned, *surā*, is translated simply as 'wine' and
in fact in Prakrit is a genuine *tatsama* word, that is to say a word
used in Prakrit literature with the same Sanskrit form and meaning
(see above).[46]

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44 *Vivāgasuyaṃ* § 10, Chokshi, Modi 1935 (emphasis added). Following McHugh
(2021b) this can be considered an old-fashioned translation which should be overcome
with a more careful translation in the choice of individual and more specific words in
the target language. I think it is important to mention here the exact author's words on
that matter: "We must no longer casually translate words for alcoholic drinks in ear-
ly Indic texts somewhat at random. Rather, just as we would expect from a scholar of
medieval Italy, we should always try to differentiate between various drinks and their
economic, legal, literary and social significance, sparse as our evidence may sometimes
be" (McHugh 2021b, 114). I would like to thank Bryan De Notariis for this suggestion
(*personal communication*).

45 *Vivāgasuyaṃ* § 10, translation by Chokshi, Modi 1935, emphasis added.

46 For a detailed overview of what was meant by *surā* in Vedic literature see McHugh
2021d.

Apart from *jāī* (on which see below), the other Prakrit words aforementioned are genuine *tadbhava* words, that is to say words used in Prakrit literature with a clear Sanskrit counterpart with the same meaning, but showing a difference in phonological shape, a difference explained by means of specific rules mentioned in the most renowned Prakrit grammars.[47] To be more specific, the word *mahu* is translated with 'wine prepared from honey', because connected with the Sanskrit word *madhu* with the same meaning (see above). This is also true for *meraga*, but the translators' rendering of this term as 'wine prepared from palm fruit' is not correct, because not in line with the Sanskrit meaning of the corresponding Sanskrit word *maireyaka*, whose meaning is 'a kind of intoxicating drink'[48] following what had been reported by McHugh in his in-depth analysis of the Sanskrit words *mairaya, mairayaka*.[49]

From the phonological point of view, the correspondences *dh* (Sanskrit) = *h* (Prakrit), regarding the words *madhu* (Sanskrit)/*mahu* (Prakrit),[50] and *k* (Sanskrit) = *g* (Prakrit), in this case related to the words *meraka* (Sanskrit)/*maireyaka* (Prakrit), are described by Indian grammarians as typical of Prakrit and Prakrit/Apabhraṁśa respectively.[51] The same kind of correspondence is true for the Prakrit word *sīhu* translated as 'wine prepared from raw sugar' and connected to the Sanskrit word *sīdhu*,[52] again with the same meaning.[53] Probably, the unique translators' misunderstanding concerns the Prakrit word *pasannā*, normally found in Prakrit and other MIA texts as *pasaṇṇā*.[54] The original Sanskrit form is *prasanna*,[55] commonly attested in Sanskrit as an adjective with the meaning of 'clear', 'bright', 'pure'.[56] However, in the *Carakasaṃhitā* this word is also mentioned as a derived feminine noun *prasannā* with the meaning of 'spirituous liquor made of rice',[57] which is the corresponding form of the Prakrit word *pasannā/pasaṇṇā*. In the case of the latter, it is not clear how the translators give the meaning of 'wine prepared from grapes'.

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47 Kahrs 1992; Drocco 2006; 2012.

48 See Monier-Williams 1899, 834.

49 McHugh 2021c.

50 Cf. Pischel 1965, § 188, 141-2.

51 Pischel 1965, § 192, 143-4.

52 Turner 1962-85, 775, entry no. 13433.

53 Monier-Williams 1899, 1218.

54 Setha 1923-28, 579; Turner 1962-85, 496, entry no. 8823.

55 See Turner 1962-85, 496, entry no. 8823.

56 See Monier-Williams 1899, 686.

57 See Monier-Williams 1899, 696. See also McHugh 2021a, 33-5, 38-9.

It must be acknowledged that while this paragraph is not clear about the use and attestation of words meaning 'grape wine', in the same text a word for which the meaning 'grape' is quite sure is used; this word is *muddiyā* and it is attested in the following excerpt:

> *tae ṇaṃ se sirīe mahāṇasie [...] karei [...] āmalarasiyāṇi ya muddiyārasiyāṇi ya kaviṭṭharasiyāṇi [...]*[58]

> Then that cook Siria used to prepare [...] pieces of flesh seasoned with the juice of 'amalaka', pieces of flesh seasoned with the juice of grape fruits 'muddiyā', pieces of flesh seasoned with the juice of 'kaviṭṭha' fruits, [...][59]

It is interesting to point out that in the *Vivāgasuyaṃ* the word *muḍḍiya* is mentioned as *muddiyā rasiyā*, thus in composition with *rasiyā*; the meaning of *muddiyā rasiyā* is 'grape juice'.[60] The Prakrit word *muddiyā* is related to the Pāli word *muddikā* and both can be compared to the Sanskrit word *mṛdvikā*. It is quite interesting that the Sanskrit word *mṛdvikā* is attested in *Carakasaṃhitā* and *Suśrutasaṃhitā*,[61] the two most important medical treatises written in Sanskrit. According to Charpentier's proposal (AO vii 191) the Sanskrit word *mṛdvikā* is a hyper-sanskritism of an original word **madvīkā*- derived from the Iranic form **maδvī*, the latter reconstructed from the Balochi word *mavič* 'raisins'.[62]

Among the various terms meaning 'intoxicant' mentioned in the *Vivāgasuyaṃ* (*surā*, *mahu*, *meragā*, *sīhu*, *pasaṇṇa*), the word *jāī* reported in the first excerpt is quite interesting, because it gives me the opportunity to focus my attention to the group of Prakrit words about 'intoxicant' not connected with Sanskrit tradition and, as said above, called by Sanskrit and Prakrit authors *deśī* words. The word *jāī* is indeed reported in Setha's Prakrit dictionary (1923-28), but, contrary to the other terms already seen, where the Sanskrit form linked to the Prakrit one is given, for this term there is not a corresponding Sanskrit form, at least known. As a consequence, this word is marked as '*de.*', the abbreviation for '*deśī*'.

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58 *Vivāgasuyaṃ* § 29, 59(3), Chokshi, Modi 1935.

59 *Vivāgasuyaṃ* § 29, translation by Chokshi, Modi 1935, 93.

60 The word *rasa* linked to grapes is attested also in Pāli and probably also in the Chinese *pútáo zhī* 葡萄汁; in this respect see De Notariis 2023, 88.

61 But see McHugh 2021b, 118.

62 But see Turner 1962-85, 594, entry no. 10296. For a comprehensive overview of the possible etymology of the Sanskrit word *mṛdvikā* I refer the reader to McHugh 2021b.

5 *Deśī* Words Meaning 'Intoxicant' in Hemacandra's *Deśīnāmamālā*

For the study of *deśī* words in Prakrit, one of the most important sources is a work composed by the Jain monk and polymath Hemacandra (c. 1087 to c. 1173 AD). The text is normally known as *Deśīnāmamālā*. As a matter of fact, for the study of the issues related to the *deśī* element in Prakrit, the *Deśīnāmamālā* represents certainly an essential source; that is to say the most important lexicon of *deśī* words now available.[63] Unsurprisingly, the only Prakrit dictionary published so far, I mean the aforementioned Setha's dictionary (1923-28), refers to the *Deśīnāmamālā* as the primary and unique source to give a meaning to the majority of *deśī* words attested in Prakrit literature. Therefore, as pointed out by Bhayani in most of his studies (see above), because of the uniqueness of the *Deśīnāmamālā*, a critical examination of the headwords recorded in this text might suggest several lines of investigation. This is particularly true for *deśī* words meaning 'intoxicant' and often translated simply as 'wine', because in this lexicon many of these words are reported. Namely:[64]

- *avakkarasa* – this word is explained by Hemacandra by means of the Prakrit word *sīhu* (in the text of the *Deśīnāmamālā* I 46) and of the Sanskrit word *saraka* (in the commentary of the *Deśīnāmamālā* I 46) 'muddy liquor'; the word *avakkarasa* is reported in Setha's Prakrit dictionary with the unique reference to the *Deśīnāmamālā* and is explained through the words *paṅka-surā* and *kaluṣa madirā*;[65]
- *kavisa* – this word is explained by Hemacandra by means of the Prakrit word *majja* (in the text of the *Deśīnāmamālā* II 2) and of the Sanskrit word *madya* (in the commentary of the *Deśīnāmamālā* II 2) 'wine, liquor';[66] the word *kavisa* is reported in Setha's Prakrit dictionary with the unique reference to the *Deśīnāmamālā* and is explained through the words *dārū*, *madya* and *surā*;[67]
- *kallā* – this word is explained by Hemacandra by means of the Prakrit word *majja* (in the text of the *Deśīnāmamālā* II 2)

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[63] Ramanujaswamy 1938, 6; Pischel 1965, 48-50; Shriyan 1969, 25-32; Upadhye 1978, 182; Bhayani 1988a, 162; Tieken 1992, 221; Ghatage 1996-, vol. 1, * 2- * 3.

[64] The words are arranged according to their use in the text, therefore according to the order of the *devanāgarī* script.

[65] Cf. Setha 1923-28, 76.

[66] Here and below I maintain the word 'wine' as a substitute of 'intoxicant', because 'wine' is the translation used in the sources referred to. However, for the unsuitability of this term for any kind of intoxicant see above note 44.

[67] Cf. Setha 1923-28, 233.

and of the Sanskrit word *madya* (in the commentary of the *Deśīnāmamālā* II 2) 'wine, liquor'; the word *kallā* is reported in Setha's Prakrit dictionary with the unique reference to the *Deśīnāmamālā* and is explained through the words *madya* and *dārū*;[68]

- *jāī* – this word is explained by Hemacandra by means of the Prakrit word *surā* (in the text of the *Deśīnāmamālā* III 45) and of the Sanskrit word *surā* (in the commentary of the *Deśīnāmamālā* III 45) 'muddy liquor'; the word *jāī* is reported in Setha's Prakrit dictionary as *jāi* with the unique reference to the *Deśīnāmamālā* and is explained through the words *madirā*, *surā* and *dārū*;[69]

- *dayarī*/*daarī* – this word is explained by Hemacandra by means of the Prakrit/Sanskrit word *surā* (in the text and in the commentary of the *Deśīnāmamālā* V 35) 'liquor'; the word *dayarī*/*daarī* is reported in Setha's Prakrit dictionary with the unique reference to the *Deśīnāmamālā* and is explained through the words *surā*, *madirā* and *dārū*;[70]

- *pacchucchuhaṇī* – this word is explained by Hemacandra by means of the Prakrit word *paḍhamasurā* (in the text of the *Deśīnāmamālā* VI 35) and of the Sanskrit word *navasurā* (in the commentary of the *Deśīnāmamālā* VI 35) 'fresh liquor'; the word *pacchucchuhaṇī* is reported in Setha's Prakrit dictionary with the unique reference to the *Deśīnāmamālā* and is explained through the words *nūtana surā* and *tāzā dārū*;[71]

- *piṭṭhakhaurā* – this word is explained by Hemacandra by means of the Prakrit word *paṅkasura* (in the text of the *Deśīnāmamālā* I 46) and of the Sanskrit word *kaluṣā surā* (in the commentary of the *Deśīnāmamālā* VI 50) 'muddy liquor'; the word *piṭṭhakhaurā* is reported in Setha's Prakrit dictionary with the unique reference to the *Deśīnāmamālā* and is explained through the words *paṅka-surā* and *kaluṣa madirā*;[72]

- *peṃḍhā* – this word is explained by Hemacandra by means of the Prakrit word *paṅkasura* (in the text of the *Deśīnāmamālā* VI 50) and of the Sanskrit word *kaluṣā surā* (in the commentary of the *Deśīnāmamālā* VI 50) 'muddy liquor'; the word *peṃḍhā* is reported in Setha's Prakrit dictionary with the unique reference to the *Deśīnāmamālā* and is explained through the words *kaluṣa surā* and *paṅkavālī madirā*;[73]

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[68] Cf. Setha 1923-28, 232.

[69] Cf. Setha 1923-28, 353.

[70] Cf. Setha 1923-28, 451.

[71] Cf. Setha 1923-28, 509.

[72] Cf. Setha 1923-28, 598.

[73] Cf. Setha 1923-28, 613.

- *maimohaṇī* – this word is explained by Hemacandra by means of the Sanskrit word *surā* (in the text and in the commentary of the *Deśīnāmamālā* VI 113) 'liquor'; the word *maimohaṇī* is reported in Setha's Prakrit dictionary with the unique reference to the *Deśīnāmamālā* and is explained through the words *surā*, *madirā* and *dārū*;[74]
- *maī* – this word is explained by Hemacandra by means of the Prakrit/Sanskrit word *surā* (in the text and in the commentary of the *Deśīnāmamālā* VI 113) 'liquor'; the word *maī* is reported in Setha's Prakrit dictionary with the unique reference to the *Deśīnāmamālā* and is explained through the words *dārū* and *madirā*;[75]
- *veṃḍhasurā* – this word is explained by Hemacandra by means of the Prakrit/Sanskrit word *kaluṣā surā* (in the text and in the commentary of the *Deśīnāmamālā* VII 78) 'muddy liquor'; the word *veṃḍhasurā* is not reported in Setha's Prakrit dictionary.

It is worth mentioning that apart *deśī* words used in Prakrit to mean 'intoxicant', Hemacandra mentions also terms related to the production and/or consumption of this product. For example:

- *bhukkaṇa* – this word is explained by Hemacandra, in the commentary of the *Deśīnāmamālā* VI 110, by means of the Sanskrit word *madyādimānam* 'a measuring cup for wine'; the word *bhukkaṇa* is reported in Setha's Prakrit dictionary with the unique reference to the *Deśīnāmamālā* and is explained with the following Hindi translation *madya ādi kā mān* 'measure for wine, etc.';[76]
- *pāla* – this word is explained by Hemacandra, in the commentary of the *Deśīnāmamālā* VI 75, by means of the Sanskrit word *śauṇḍika* 'a seller of liquor'; the word *pāla* is reported in Setha's Prakrit dictionary with the unique reference to the *Deśīnāmamālā* and is explained with the following Hindi translation *kalvār, śarāb becnevālā* 'a seller of spirits';[77]
- *pāraṃkaṃ* – this word is explained by Hemacandra, in the commentary of the *Deśīnāmamālā* VI 41, by means of the Sanskrit word *surāmānabhāṇḍa* 'a measuring cup or vessel for liquor'; the word *pāla* is reported in Setha's Prakrit dictionary with the unique reference to the *Deśīnāmamālā* and is explained with the

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74 Cf. Setha 1923-28, 660.
75 Cf. Setha 1923-28, 661.
76 Cf. Setha 1923-28, 655.
77 Cf. Setha 1923-28, 591.

following Hindi translation *madirā nāpne kā pātr* 'a proper recipient to measure wine, alcohol';[78]

- *ṭokkaṇa* – this word is explained by Hemacandra, in the commentary of the *Deśīnāmamālā* IV 4, by means of the Sanskrit word *madyaparimāṇabhāṇḍa* 'a pot to measure liquor'; the word *pāla* is reported in Setha's Prakrit dictionary with the unique reference to the *Deśīnāmamālā* and is explained with the following Hindi translation *dārū nāpne kā bartan* 'a pot to measure wine, liquor';[79]
- *kariā* – this word is explained by Hemacandra, in the commentary of the *Deśīnāmamālā* II 14, by means of the Sanskrit word *madyapariveṣaṇabhāṇḍa* 'a pot for serving wine'; the word *kariā* is reported in Setha's Prakrit dictionary with the unique reference to the *Deśīnāmamālā* and is explained with the following Hindi translation *madirā parosne kā pātr* 'a proper recipient for serving wine, liquor';[80]
- *kottalaṃkā* – this word is explained by Hemacandra, in the commentary of the *Deśīnāmamālā* II 14, by means of the Sanskrit word *madyapariveṣaṇabhāṇḍa* 'a pot for serving wine'; the word *kottalaṃkā* is reported in Setha's Prakrit dictionary with the unique reference to the *Deśīnāmamālā* and is explained with the following Hindi translation *dārū parosne kā bhāṇḍ* 'a pot for serving wine, liquor'.[81]

Actually, it is not easy to find the origin and to trace the history of all these terms. But, at least two of them are quite interesting because they give me the possibility to offer good examples of the typology of *deśī* words in Prakrit:

1. *kallā* 'muddy liquor';
2. *veṃḍhasurā* 'muddy liquor'.

The Prakrit word *kallā* has *kalya* as Sanskrit corresponding word.[82] However, *kalya* is reported only in late Sanskrit lexicons and not in any other Sanskrit work.[83] This can be a good example of genuine Prakrit words included in Sanskrit – actually only in one lexicon – through sanskritisation. As for its origin, the Prakrit word *kallā* 'intoxicant' is one of the many types of *deśī* words used in Prakrit, more specifically a true loanword from Indian non-IA languages, in

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78 Cf. Setha 1923-28, 590.
79 Cf. Setha 1923-28, 369.
80 Cf. Setha 1923-28, 228.
81 Cf. Setha 1923-28, 264.
82 Turner 1962-85, 150, entry no. 2950.
83 Turner 1962-85, 150, entry no. 2950; Monier-Williams 1899, 263.

this case from Dravidian languages.[84] Therefore, following Burrow and Emeneau's suggestion, the Prakrit *deśī* word *kallā* 'intoxicant' can be compared with the following Dravidian words with their respective meaning:[85]

- Tamil *kaḷ* 'toddy', 'honey', *kaḷippu* 'intoxication', 'delight', 'pride'; *kaḷiyaṉ* 'drunkard';
- Malayalam *kaḷ*, *kaḷḷu* 'toddy';
- Kolami *kaḷ* 'toddy';
- Kannada *kaḷ*, *kaḷḷu*, *kallu* 'toddy';
- Kodagu *kaḷḷï* 'alcoholic liquor';
- Tulu *kali*, (B-K. also) *kari*, *kaḷi* 'toddy', 'liquor';
- Telugu *kallu* 'toddy', 'palm wine';
- Kolami *kal* 'liquor';
- Naiki *kaḷ* 'liquor';
- Gondi *kal* (*obl. kadd-*) 'fermented liquor, especially of *mahua*s' (*mahua* = *Madhuca longifolia*); *kallu/kaḷḷu* 'liquor';
- Konḍa *kaṛu/kalu* 'country liquor';
- Pengo *kaliŋ* 'liquor';
- Manḍa. *kaliŋ* 'liquor';
- Kui *kalu* 'spirituous or fermented liquor', 'toddy', 'beer', 'grog', 'wine';
- Kuwi *kārū* 'country spirit'; *maṛa kārū* 'toddy'; *kāḍu* 'toddy'; *māra kāḍu* 'sago toddy'; *kāṛu* 'liquor'.

It is important to point out that the Prakrit *deśī* word *kallā* has some derivatives that gave origin to New Indo-Aryan words; for example, the Hindi words *kal(w)ār*, *kalāl* and the Marathi words *kalāl* 'distiller' derive from the Prakrit word *kallāla-* 'liquor-dealer'.[86]

As for the Prakrit word *veṃḍhasurā*, we have already seen that Hemacandra explains it through the Sanskrit word *kaluṣā surā* 'muddy liquor' (*Deśīnāmamālā* VII 78). In this case, we are facing to another kind of *deśī* word. In fact, *veṃḍhasurā* is classified as *deśī* by Hemacandra, because can be included under the category of 'new Prakrit compounds',[87] as a consequence of the fact that this term is a compound where *surā* is from Sanskrit (see above), whereas *veṃḍha* is again a borrowing from Dravidian languages comparable with the following words:[88]

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84 Cf. Burrow, Emeneau 1984, 128, entry no. 1374.

85 See Burrow, Emeneau 1984, 128, entry no. 1374.

86 See Turner 1962-85, 150, entry no. 2950.

87 See Drocco 2006.

88 See Burrow, Emeneau 1984, 473, entry no. 5237.

- Tamil *vaṇṭal* 'dregs, lees, sediment, silt, mud, mire, slush, earth washed ashore by a river, lake, etc., alluvial soil'; *vaṇṭalam* 'slush'; *vaṇṭi* 'sediment, dregs, lees'.
- Malayalam *vaṇṭaṟu* 'dirt', 'filth'; *vaṇṭikkāran* 'cleaner of vessels in a temple'.
- Kannada *vaṇḍu*, *oṇḍu*, *baṇḍalu* 'sediment, deposit, lees, dregs', 'muddy deposit of a flood, river, or tank', 'muddiness, turbidness'.
- Telugu *vaṇḍa*, *vaṇḍali*, *vaṇḍu* 'muddy deposit of a river, tank or the like, alluvium, alluvial soil'.

6 Conclusions

The aim of the present paper was to look at those Prakrit regional words (called *deśī* in the Indian grammatical tradition) not linked to the Sanskrit tradition and attested with the meaning 'intoxicant' and/or concerning 'drinking culture'. The texts chosen for our study were part of Jain literary tradition, because, as said above, this tradition was more prone to borrow words from the local and folk culture. While, thanks to the translation of these works, was quite simple to detect the words analysed above, as a conclusion of our analysis, it must be noted that the great part of Jain literary production, on the contrary, still requires further investigation. This is necessary to ascertain and authenticate the form and meaning of the *deśī* words reported. Nevertheless, this is a difficult task, since most of the Prakrit works published so far do not present any word index. For this reason, the class of Prakrit words knowns as *deśī* is a complicated and partly unexplored area of study. Indeed, despite their importance, these words, after the acute and to some extent pioneering observations of Bühler (1874), Pischel (1877-80, 1880), Beames (1872-79), Höernle (1880), Bhandarkar (1914), to name the best known, have been scarcely studied.[89] Notwithstanding this limitation, it is quite clear that the *Deśīnāmamālā* gives us a unique chance to understand the importance of the cultural contact, and thus to the mutual linguistic influence between Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages. This is certainly true also for drinking culture in first-millennium India, a culture that currently has been studied only with respect to Sanskrit tradition.

[89] Bhayani 1998e, 143. Bhayani's studies (1988a, 1998b, 1998c, 1998d, 1998f) represent an important exception in this sense.

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