

# Apabhramsa Language and Literature

A Short Introduction

By H. C. Bhayani



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S. B. Deo

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A Short Introduction

By

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#### Publisher's Note

It gives us great pleasure in placing in the hands of students the present booklet which will give them a succint idea of the nature and character of the Apabhramsa language as also of the wealth and importance of Apabhramsa literature. We thank Prof. H. C. Bhayani for preparing this introductory booklet.

Bombay 31 July, 1989.

Pratap Bhogilal
Chairman, Governing Council,
B. L. Institute of Indology, Delhi.

#### General Editor's Preface

The BLH organized a Workshop on Prakrit for a month beginning from 10th June 1989. The present booklet was prepared by Prof. H. C. Bhayani as introductory lectures for the participants. We thought the lectures will be useful for others also who are interested in getting a bird's eye view of the Apabhramsa language and literature, which besides forming a link between Middle Indo-Aryan and the New Indo Aryan periods, have their own significance and importance. Hence they have been published as a booklet. In view of the absence of such an introductory aid so far, it is hoped that the effort will be appreciated as meeting a genuine need. We thank Prof Bhayani for readily agreeing to prepare the booklet.

S. B. Deo Director

### ज्ञानिकयाभ्यां मोक्षः।

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तज्ज्ञानमेव न भवति, यस्मिन्तुदिते विभाति रागगणः । तमसः कुतोऽस्ति शक्तिदिनकर-किरणाग्रतः स्थातुम् ॥

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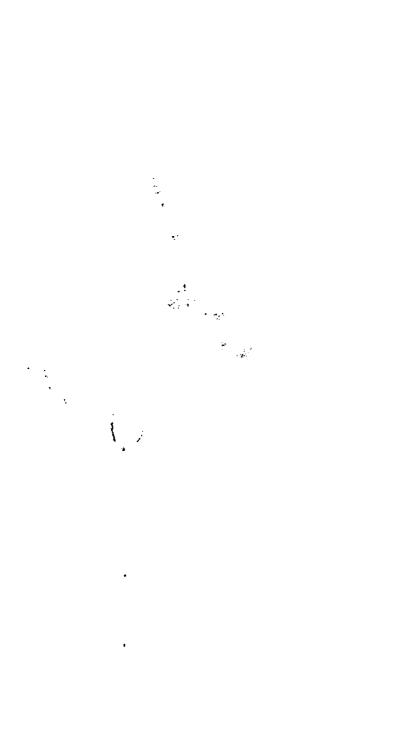
रुचानां वैचित्र्यादजुकुटिलनानापथजुषां । नृणामेको गम्यस्त्वमसि पयसामर्णव इव ॥



#### SETH BHOGILAL LEHERCHAND

Born: 9th April. 1883 Died: 7th December, 1979
MOTTO IN LIFE

'Simple living-High thinking'



# Apabhramsa Language & Literature

#### A Short Introduction

# I. Apabhramsa Language

Designation: The term 'Apabhramsa' has been used in several different senses in the earlier tradition as well as in modern scholarly writings. Principally Ap. is the name of the standardized literary language, that was in use onwards from about the sixth century by the side of Sanskrit and Prakrit. It spread from Western and Northern India down to South, and even five or six centuries after the rise of New Indo-Aryan languages (onwards from about 1000 A.D.) it was still used by some specialized groups for lyrical and narrative verse compsitions, mostly of a religious character.

Primarily Apabhramsa meant 'falling away from an established standard', then, 'a substandard or "corrupt" speech usage'. Patanjali (2nd Cent. B. C) has observed that people use several corrupt forms (apabhramsa) in the place of a standard or correct word-form. From this time down to the modern period the terms apabhramsa or apabhrasta has been used, as also the term prākṣta, for the popular or 'uncultured' dialects or linguistic usages of various regions, as against samskṛta, the language of the cultured. In many a traditional reference, apabhramsa was equivalent to desabhāṣās, regional spoken dialects.

In many works of literature and poetics, however, Apabhramsa has been counted as one of the four (or sometimes, six) traditionally recognised languages of literature: the other three being Samskrta, Prakrta and Paisaci. In the context of drama Sauraseni and Magadhi, besides a few other stage-dialects are also traditionally noted. In such cases the term prakrta stands

for Maharastri only. Otherwise it is a class name for the Middle Indio-Aryan literary languages excluding Pali.

Origin and History: Considered from the view-point of the history and evolution of Indo-Aryan languages, the Apabhramśa language belongs to the Middle Indo-Aryan stage. Traditional grammars too have treated it as one of the several varieties of Prakrit. Linguistically however, it is more developed then the other Prakrits. As against the latter, representing the middle phase of Middle Indo-Aryan, Apabhramśa represents its later phase, and in several respects it can be looked upon as a transitional development between Middle and New Indo-Aryan. Some of the characterizing tendencies of New Indo-Aryan languages had their beginning in Apabhramśa.

The linguistic criteria which, for the convenience of analytical studies, are assumed to divide the Middle and New stages of the Indo-Aryan languages (i.e. the Prakrit including Apabhramsa on the one hand and the modern Indian languages of the North from their earliest stage onwards on the other) are: (1) An inter-vocalic group of consonants is preserved in the early stage, it is mostly simplified with the compensatory lengthening of a previous short vowel in most of the languages of the latter stage. (2) Wider and characteristic employment of postpositions supplementing or supplanting the case-terminations (in Noun Inflection), use of auxiliaries (in the Verb-Inflection), and wide-spread use of the compound and conjunct verbat constructions, are definitely established in the New Indo-Aryan stage; in the earlier stage we can sean their beginnings only. Thus the anal-ytical tendency is seen gathering strength in the Modern stage.

Regarding the precise historical circumstances under which Ap. arose and got established, we are quite in the dark. We do not know anything specific about either the time and place of its origin or about its early character. It can be, however, said generally that more or less the same factors were responsible in the case of both Prakrit and Ap. for their successive formation

and subsequent standardization for literary purposes 'the 'high' language, becoming fixed by standardization etc. moved farther and farther away from the ordinary language of the people, creating thereby an ever-widening communication gap To bridge this gap there starts a process of colloquializing the archaic literary language at various levels. In course of time this mixed language becomes again standardized and the colloquializing process is repeated.

General Character: Essentially Ap. is the standard Prakrit (i.e. Sauraseni at the earlier stage, Mahārāstri at the later) colloquialized: In phonology and lexicon they differ little. But there are characteristic differences between their morphologies and some syntactical features. In practice, however the difference between Prakrit and Apabhramśa as literary languages is obscured because of considerable admixture of Māhā āṣtrī forms in Ap. The situation is further complicated by the fact that there was continuous linguistic and literary domination of Sanskrit and Prakrit over Ap. during the heyday of Ap. literature, and like Apabhramśa, Prakrit too on its part was quite prone to continuous lexical borrowing from colloquial dialects.

Literary Apabhramsa, like the literary Prakrits was considerably 'artificial'. It was a special language, which, though strongly dominated by Sanskrit and maintaining dominant feature of the 'Prakrit' stage in its phonology, attempted to a limited degree to adopt its morphology and expressions and, to a slight extent, its lexicon) to the constantly changing spoken idioms of the period. This fact of being continuously open to reinforcement through an undercurrent of living speech forms slowly worked for undermining the rigidity that Apabhramsa had attained as a highly standardized literary language, fostered in the linguistic surroundings of centuries of aristocratic and stylized traditions.

Varieties: Because features of popular dialects underlay Ap. as a literary language and periodically reinforced it, was bound to have some formal variation. Dandin (7th Cent.)

tells us that when the dialects of the tribes like the Abhiras received literary treatment, they were known as Apabhramsa. In his manual of Prakrit prosody, Vittajātisamuccaya possibly before the 8th Cent.), Vlrahankı has distinguished Abhiri and Māravī Bhāsās within Apabhramsa (IV, 32, 35, 36). Abhinavagupta has referred to the language of an Ap. illustrative verse of the Dhvanyāloka as Saindhava Bhāṣā Dhvanyāloka locana, under IV 7). Rudrafa explicitly says that Ap. has many varieties ponding to various regions. Possibly he confuses in this Ap. as a literary language with Ap. as a designation of spoken dialects ( (desabhāsās). Explaining Rudrata's statement, the commentator Namisadhu informs us that by this statement Rudrata counters an earlier view which held that there were only three varietices of Apabhramsa, viz., Upanāgara, Abhīra and Giāmya. According to another tradition, the three varieties were called Nāgara, Vrācada and Upanāgara. Besides describing these varieties, Markandeya (16th Cent.) has enumerated at Prakrtusarvasva, 12, twenty other varieties of Ap which include Karnālī and Dravidi-obviously the dialects from the Dravidian-speaking regions. Clearly these 'Apabhr msa's of Markandeya were regional spoken dialics (deśa-bhāsās) of India, Northern as Southern. Uddyotanasūri has kept in his Kuvalavamālā (779-A. D.) Apabh amsa and Desabhasas quite distinct. The latter, eighteen in number, including the speech of the people of Sindhu, Maru, Gürjara, Lāta, Malava, Madhyadeśa Takka Karnāta and others. He has illustrated trese with characteristic words or phrases. The number of Desabhasas increases to fortytwo in the Bhasalaksana Chapter of Gitalankara, musical treatise

Hemacandra, who has treated Apabhramsa as a unitary language, has mentioned under *Chandonusāana* VIII 8 Grāmya Apabhramsa 'vulgar Apabhramsa' as the language of an epic called *Bhima-kāvya*. His information seems to have been derived from Bhoja 'Sṛṇgārapra\\*āsa.p. 470). But in another context Bhoja has actually illustrated with verse citations three chief varieties of Apabhramsa, each of which had according to him several subvarieties (Sṛṇgāraprakāsa.pp. 102-103). In this tradition

Avantya and Latiya represented the superior variety of Ap., Abhira and Gaurjara the middling varieties and Kāśmīra Paurastya the inferior varieties. Unfortunately the text of the verses illustrative of these six varieties of Ap. is highly corrupt, and it is not possible to get any clear idea of the differentiating features on their basis. Judging however from the reconstructed text of two of the citations and from a few identifiable words of the other citations it appears that these 'Apabhramsas', excepting perhaps a stray feature or two, do not differ significantly from the standard literary Ap. Again, we have to make the same observation about the Ap. verses we find as sameraha slokas in the works like the Tantrasāra and the Parāirimšika intil of Abhinavagupta, and of the Doha literature of the Vajrayana Siddhas, Kanha and Saraha. Hemacandra seems to be justified in regarding. the differences within Ap. as minor, and treating the latter as one uniform literary language for practical purposes.

In modern times, there have been several attempts to determine and define the dialectal variation in Ap. on the basis of available Ap. literature and in the light of modern ideas of historical linguistic change, linguistic variation and dialect mixtures.

Some linguistic features have been pointed out as appearing exclusively or more frequently in the Digambara Jain Ap. works, while others in the Svetambara Jain works. The distinctions are sought to be made on a regional basis: Western, Central, Northern, Southern and Eastern varieties (an earlier version of this being. Ap. corresponding to various Prakrits: Saurasena Ap. Magadha Ap. etc.); Or again chronological differences have been distinguished; some peculiar to the Early or Classical Ap and others to the Late Ap. (Jacobi, Grierson Alsdorf, Tagare) It is however clear that variations within Ap. were such as are natural in any standardized literary language current over extensive regions for several centuries and considerably open to borrowings from 'above' and 'helow'. Processes of standardization succeeded in

maintaining a pan-Indian working uniformity for Ap. for a fairly long period in the face of multiplying differences.

Lingu stic Character: As a literary language recognized along with Sanskrit and Prakrit and having some exclusive metrical structures and literary types, Ap. was in use from Valabhi in the west to Nālandā in the east and from Kāśmīra in the north to Mānyakheta in the south. But numerous early and late references and accounts provide evidence for its close affimity with the wertern region. Historically numerous characteristic features of Ap. are seen to have been conserved to a relatively greater degree in the New Indo Aryan languages and dialects like Gujarati. Rajasthani (Marwari, Jaipuri etc.) and Hindi dialects (Braj, Khadī Bolī etc.). Post – Apabhramśa literatures also of the Western and Central regions show an unbroken continuity with Ap. literature in diction, prosody and literary genres.

Considered practically, literary Ap. was but a variant form of literary Prakrit, and like the latter it was highly standardized and stylized. Besides, it should be also remembered in this context that Ap. was exclusively a verse language. No prose work in Ap. is known so far. Like Sanskrit and Prakrit, Apabhramsa was learnt by special instruction. Traditional grammars, devised as aids to poets and their audience (readers spectators), described Prakrits contrastively—as departures and deviations from Sanskrit. Differences of Māhārāṣṭrī etc. from Sanskrit were listed, and this was followed in turn by a list of differences of Ap. from Māhārāṣṭrī.

The earliest available extensive treatment of Ap. on these lines is the Ap. section (i. e Sūtras 329-44. of the fourth quarter of the eight chapter) of Hemacandra's-Siddhahema Sabdānušāsana (11th Cent.). As some five or six centuries of vigorous literary production in Ap. preceded Hemacandra, it is natural to assume that the latter's treatment of Ap. was based on earlier paecedents. Possibly Svayambhi (9 th Cent.) and Harivrddhawere two of his direct or indirect sources.

In Ap. the Prakrit morphological structure was further simplified and to compensate this, certain new constructions developed in syntax. The analytical tendencies especially in the expression of case-relations was gaining ground.

#### Differential features :

Broadly, the chief differental features of Ap. are as follows: Phonology:

- (1) Shortening of the final vowels.
- (2) Change of final short o to u and of short e to i in the later stage.
- (3) Change of inervocalic voiceless consonants to voiced ones and the preservation of the voiced ones (a Saurasenī trait) in the earlier stage as against the general later tendency to elide them (a Māhārāṣṣtrī trait.)
  - (4) Optional change of intervocalic m to nasalized  $\nu$ .
  - (5) Change of intervocalic s to h, mostly in terminational elements.
  - (6) Optional preservation of clusters with a posterior r.
  - (7) A later emergent tendency to simplify clusters in a final (or penultimate) syllable.

#### Morphology

#### Case - endings

```
Nouns ending in -a-
  sing.
                               plu.
Nom. Acc. u
                           nil (masc)
                           ai (neut.)
            Noons ending in -aa'-aya-
Nom. au (masc.) nil (masc.) Acc. aum (neut.) aim (neut.)
                (for both the types)
Inst. em
                                      (e)hī
       e (fem.)
Dat.
         ho (later hu, ha)
                                     hum (later hā)
Abl.
         he (later hi) (fem).
                                     him (fem.)
Gen.
```

Loc. e (later i, hi)

Voc. nil

Nouns ending in -i, -u

Part

Dat. Abl. he (later hi) (for i-stems) him (for i-stems)
Gen. ho (later hu) (for u-stems) hum (for u-stems)

In the later stage Instrumental and Locative have merged. There are several exceptions and normalizations, but what role was played in this by chronolagical or regional factors is obscure. The same observation applies to the optional endings in the verbal system. Use of postpositions to distinguish between several functions of a case-form increased and new postpositions were created.

#### Verbal endings:

#### Indicative

#### Present

sing. plu.
1. um hum
2. him ho (later hu, ha)
3. i him

Future: The present endings are applied to a special base that

has is/is or ih as the tense-marker.

Imperative: sing. plu.

e (later i), u, nil ho (later hu, ha)

Potential Participle ending: eva(y)a (declinable)

Absolutive Participle ending: eppinu, evinu, eppi, evi (later ivi,

avi), i, iu.

Infinitive of Purpose ending : evam, hū (later -nahī, -naum)

Emergence of a few stem-forming suffixes (e. g. the new causative markers  $\bar{a}d$ ,  $\bar{a}l$ ,  $\bar{a}r$ ), and several derivative suffixes (including the diminutive/pleonastic suffixes da, alla etc.) have emerged. Some new types also of frequentative, reduplicative onomatopoetic and echoic formations, besides the use of verbal compounds also can be noted as new emergent features.

Some case and tense usages too we come across which were previously unknown. Historically it is significant that these features have gained stength and become much more productive in the New Indo-Aryan stage. A host of words and roots of obscure or unknown origin came to be increasingly incorporated in the lexicon of Ap.

#### Later developments:

After about 1000 A. D. Classical Apabhramsa, with varying degrees of dialectal admixture continued to be used in literature up to about 1600 A. D., but side by side with it works began to be composed in increasingly more colloquialized Ap. which eventually faded into various regional languages with decreasing remmants of Ap. From the 12th century onwards literary works are attested from Old Gujarati and some other New Indo-Aryan languages.

#### For further reading :

L. Alsdorf. ed. Kumārapālapratibodha (Hamburg, 1928). Harivamsapurāņa (Hamburg, 1936). Apabhramsa-Stūdien (Leipzig, 1937), Jules Bloch, Indo-Aryan (A. Master's English Translation, Paris, 1965). G. N. Tagare. Historical Grammer of Apabhramsa (Poona, 1948.). H.C. Bhayani, Apabhramsa Vyākaran (1961, 1971). 'A sew problems of Apabhramsa reconsidered,' Indinan Linguistics Vol. 25, 1964. pp. 71-76.

## II Apabhrmsa Prosody and Literary Genres

# A. Apabhramsa Metres: General:

Ap. literature has some special genres and metrical types different from what we find in Prakrit and Sanskrit literatures. Ap. poetry is quite remarkable for the great range and variety of metres it uses and which thereby provide it with highly rich and varied means and techniques of poetic expression. The poems were sung before an audience and this was a basic shaping factor for the metrical types and structures. Over and above a large number of metres peculiar to Ap. there were others which were commonly used in both Prakrit and Ap. poetry, and certain Sanskrit metres too were used in Ap. for specific purposes.

Like the Prakrit metres, most of the Ap. metres were Matra metres, as against Varna metres of Sanskrit. Another point to be noted is that many of the Ap. metrical types were genre-specific that is certain metres were characteristically used for certain literary genres. Traditional manuals of Ap. prosody also have by and large described the metres genre-wise.

Depending upon the number of lines in an individual stanza, the metres were classified into *Dvipadi* ('two-lined'), *Catuspadi* ('four-lined'), *Pañcapadi* ('five-lined') and *Scitpadi* ('six-lined'). Further, according as the stanza lines had equal or unequal number of Matras, the metres were divided into *Sarvasama* (all lines equal) *Antarasama* (alternate lines equal), *Ardhasama* (each half with equal lines) and *Samkirna* (lines of unequal langth).

Each verse-line consists of a specified number of Mātrās ('moras' or 'syllabic instants'). A short syllable has the value of one Mātrā. A long syllable or a syllable followed by a consonant

cluster has the value of two Mātrās. The Mātrās of a verse-line are grouped into Gaṇas ('groups'), which consist of two to six Mātrās. Rhyme was compulsory for Ap. metres. Different types have different rhyme schemes: (a) Sarvasamā Catuṣpadī: one rhyme for all the four lines of a stanza; (b) Antarasamā Catuṣpadī: mostly only the even lines, but in a few cases only the odd lines, rhyme; (c) Ardhasamā Catuṣpadī: a rhymes wiih b, c with d; (d) Paūcapadī: c rh mes with e; (e) Ṣaṭpadī: a rhymes with b, d with e and c with f Besides the simple metres, Prakrit and Ap. poetry used several composite metres (Sīrṣakas) in which stanzas of two or three different metres were joined so as to form a single unit.

As the greater part of Ap. literature is lost and whatever is preserved mostly consists of Jain works, we have to depend considerably upon traditional manuals of prosody (like the Vrtta jāti-samuccaya the Sva) ambhūcchanda, the Chandonusāsana, the Kavidarpaņa etc.) for getting the picture of the metres that were used for different literary genres, though in some cases we can check up with the actual practice from the preserved exemplars.

#### Metres of the Sandh bandba:

Different metres were used in the three structural parts of each of the Kadavakas constituting a Sandhi.

a. Metres used in the (optional) commencing piece heading the Kadavaka.

Certain specified Dvipadis, Catuspadis and Sīrṣakas were used for this purpose. On the basis of what we find in some important Sandhibandha poems, the following metres seem to have been in vogue for the Kadavaka-opening during the period of ninth to eleventh centuy A. D.: (1) Dvipadis Manjarī (21) mātrās per line), Helā (22), Sālabhanjikā (24), Kāmalekhā (27), Dvipadī (28), Racitā (28), Malayamanjarī (30), Āranāla (30) and

Gāthā (30+27); (2) Catuspadis: Malayavilasitā (8), Jambhettikā (9), Apsarovilasita (12), Gandhodakadhārā (13), Ķhaṇḍaka (13) Pāraṇaks (15), Vadanaka (16), Nidhyāyikā (19), Āvalī (20), Rāsāvalaya (21) and Dohā (13+11), 13, Sirṣakas Mātrā + Dohā (called Raḍḍā or Vastu), Mātrā + Mañjarī, and Dvipadī + Mātrā+ + Dohā. It is noteworthy that in the case of some of these like Gāthā, Dvipadī and Khaṇḍaka the language is usually Prakrit, instead of Ap. These and some other metres used for the Kaḍavaka-commencing piece are described together by the metrical manuals like the Svayambhūcchanda and the Chandonusāsana in special chapters called 'Khanjaka' and 'Śīrṣaka' which formed a part of their section on Prakrit metres

#### (b) Metres used in the main body of the Kadavaka

A metrical type having sixteen Mātrās per line with the class-name Paddhaḍikā is used as a rule. Its three varieties are (1) Vadanaka (end —uu or — ) (2) Paddhaḍikā (end u-u) and (3) Pāraṇaka (actually 15 mātrās per line, end uuu or u—). These occur as rhyming couplets (Yamakas) These three are the standard narrative metres of Ap. poetry. The main body of all the Kaḍavakas of a Sandhi is either uniformly in only one of these metres, or for different Kaḍavakas of a Sandhi these are used variously.

When, for occasional variation, the main body of the Kadavakas of a particular Sandhi are composed in a variety of metres, different from the three standard ones, we find a hoast of Prakrit and Apabhramsa metres used, and even some Sanskrit ones. In Svayambhū's Paumacariya for example 36 different metres are used in this way in a few Sandhis. The figure for his Ritthanemicariya is 44, and for Puspadanta's Mahā purāṇa it is about 50. These include those cases also in which for specific themes and effects only once in a while a Kadavaka is composed in a fancy metre.

(c) Metres used in the concluding piece (Ghattā, Dhruvaka or Dhruvā) of the Kadavaka.

According to the traditional manuals Dvipadī, Catuspadī

and Satpadī types of metres can occur in the Ghattā of a Kadavaka. These manuals describe one hundred and ten types of Antarasamā Catuspadīs, an equal number of Ardhasamā Catuspadīs, several types of Sarvasamā Catuspadīs and 64 types of Dvipadīs. Each of the unequal lines of these Antarasamā and Ardhasamā Catuspadīs can have consistently from 7 to 16 Mātrās. The Sarvasamās can have 9 to 17 Mātrās per line. The Dvipadīs can have 28 to 40 Mātrās per line.

Besides, there were numerous types of Satpadi Ghattas, with each of its two halves having equal or unequal lines, each one of which consisting consistintly of 7 to 17 Matras. Among these, 24 types were specially known. They had the following structure; a, b, d, e can have equally either 7 or 8 or 9 Matras, while c have equally 10 to 17 Matras.

We can have some idea of the actual practice of the poets in these matter from the works of Svayambhū and Puṣpadanta: The Paumacariya with its 90 Sandhis has 20 types of Amara a nā Catuṣpadīs, 1 type of Ardhasamā Catuṣpadī, 3 types of Sarva amā Cituṣpadīs and 11 types of Ṣatpadīs. The Rithanemicariya has comparable figures, while the Mahāpurāṇa has relatively less variety (14,3 and 10 types respectively).

#### B. Metres of the Rasabandha

Rāsālandha was characteristically an Ap literery genre, It was a lyrical poem of modest length with a slender narrative frame. It had a Sarvasamā Catuṣpadī with 21 Mātrās per line (ending in three short syllables) as its standard metre. It was variously called Rāsaka or Rāsāvalaya (and later on also Catuṣ padī Vastuka, Ābhāṇaka or Rāsākula). Along with it a large variety of lyrical metres were also used for variation. From the Sandesarāsaka, which, eventhough a late specimen, can be taken as largely representing the earlier tradition, we find that Rāsāvalaya is used as the principal metre and the other metres, used

for variation include Paddhaḍikā (16 mātrās), Vastuka (24), Madanāvatāra (20), Dvipadī (28), Dohaka (13+11), Cūḍāla Dohaka (13+16), Domilaka (10+8+14) Raḍḍā = Mārrā i.e. 15+12+15+12+15 +Dohaka), Ṣaṭpada (= Rāsāvalaya+Ullāla i.e. 15+12 or 13), Khaḍahaḍaka(= Bhramarāvalī+Gāthā), Gīti(12+18), Mālinī(15 syllables), Toṭaka (four times uu—), Bhramarāvalī (five times uu—) and a few others. A few more metres like Aḍillā, Maḍıllā, Narkuṭaka, Vilāsinī, Taraṅgaka, etc., were also used in the Rāsaka according to the traditional manuals. As most of the Rāsakas are lost, we are not in a position to verify this. The didactic Upadesa-rasāyana-rāsa written in the 13th Century is throughout composed in the Vadanaka metre. This seems to be a later development in the Rāsaka form.

There was an carlier type of Rāsaka also which seems to have continued in Ap. from Prakrit literature. It as a short lyrical poem, which had the following structure:

(a) four-lined stanzas in any one out of the 27 types of Dvipadīs, (b) four Gītikā stanzas, each following a Dv padī stanza, and (c) four Vidārikā stanzas interspersing the Dvipadīs and Gītikās. The Vidārikā can be a Dhruvaka i.e. a refrain and in that case Gītikā could not occur. No actual specimens of this type of Rāsaka are preserved, except two or three Carcari songs occuring incidentally in some narrative prose works in Prakrit. Virahānka's Vrttajātisamuccaya aims at describing the metres and structure of this type of Rāsaka.

#### C. Metres used in popular songs and prayers

Songs sung on auspicious occasions like marriage were composed in metres like Utsaha, Hela, Vadanaka and Adilla. They were known as Mangalas.

Songs in praise of a distinguished person like a king or a hero (who was metaphorically referred to as an excellent white bull dhavala) were four lined, six-lined or eight-lined, and some specific metres were used for them as we can gather from the

descriptions given by Svayambhū and Hemacandra. The latter defined the Śrī, Yaśas, Kīrti, Guna, Bhramara and Amara varieties of the Dhavala songs. The Dhavala type also was an inheritance from Prakrit, as such songs were said to have been written since the opening centuries of the Christian era by famous Prakrit poets like Sātavāhana. No Ap. Dhavalas are preserved except the illustrations composed by Hemacandra in his Chandonuśāsano.

The songs adoring or culogizing deities were known as Phulladakas. For these, metres like Utsaha (24 Matras) were used, but usually these songs violated most of the metrical rules. We have some speciments of Phulladakas from the post-Apabhramisa Old Gujarati period.

Songs culogizing any person in general were called Jhambatakas. A mette of 14 Mātrās was used for this purpose.

No specimens of Apa. Phulladakas and Jhambatakas are preserved.

The Carya songs composed by the Buddhist Siddhas of the Sahajayana sect weer either in Doha or Vadanaka metre, or else they were having a very loose metrical structure of popular songs.

Many of the above described metres (and literary genres) of Ap. poetry have continued in use with various modifications in the early and medieval period of several New Indo-Aryan literatures, and some continue to be used even today in folk-poetry.

For further reading: H. D. Velankar, ed., Vritajāti-samuccaya (Jodhpur, 1962), Svayambhūcchanda (Jodhpur, 1962), Kavidarpaņa (Jodhpur, 1962), Chandonusāsana (Bombay, 1961). L. Alsdorf, ed., Harivams'apurāņa(Hamburg, 1936). H.C. Bhayani, ed., Paumacariya (Bombay, 1953, 1960), Jinavijaya Muni and H. C. Bhayani, ed., Samdesarāsaka (Bombay, 1945) M.C. Modi, ed., Chakkammuraeso (Baroda, 1972).

#### B. Apabhramsa Laterary Geores.

Of the various literary types in Apabhramsa literature a brief description and characterisation of the two that are characteristic and important are presented belong.

a. Sardhibandha: It was a major verse genre of narrative poetry peculiar to Ap. literature To some extent it corresponds to the Sanskrit Mahākāvya. The Sandhi form was used for larger poems of epic and Purānic proportions, as also for shorter poems of legendary or fictional biography. We have huge epics and Purānas in this literary form, all of them by the Jainas, although there is evidence enough to believe that similar works, now lost, were composed in the Vedic-Brahmanic tradition also.

Form and Structure: The Sandhibandha was a well-defined and highly structured form. It consisted of a number of major units called Sandhi. The Sandhi divides the subject matter of a poem into convenient sections or cantos, and it thus corresponds to the Sarga of the Sanskrit Mahākāvya. The number of Sandhis in a Sandhibandha ranged from about a dozen to a few dozens for the shorter type and from several dozens to round about a hundred for the larger type.

Each Sandhi was made up of a number of shorter units called Kadavaka. The Kadavaka can be looked upon as a verse paragraph treating a single topic. The number of Kadavakas in a Sandhi ranged from about a dozen to three or four dozens.

Each Kadavaka had two or three structural parts:

(1) The opening piece (ādi-ghartā): It was optional. Only some Sandhis have it for its Kadvakas. It introduced the topic. It consisted of one stanza, simple or complex (i. e. made up of several different metrical units), in a metre (or metres) different from that of the main body of the Kadavaka.

- (2) The main body of the Kadavaka. It developed the topic narratively or descriptively. It was composed in a standard narrative metre. It had eight rhyming couplets as a norm, but there was considerable variation or flexibility in this matter. Later works tended to have longer Kadavakas, though even then the preference for not straying away from the norm persisted.
- (3) The closing piece. Variously called 'Ghatta', 'Dhruva' or 'Dhruvaka' ('Lurden')', it concluded the topic on hand and indicated the topic to follow. It consisted of a single stanza in a metre shorter than that used for the principal part of the Kadavaka. A very large variety of metres were used for this purpose.

The metre used for each of the three parts of the Kadavaka was to be the same for that part for all the Kadavakas of a particular Sandhi. For the sake of variation, however, occasionally there could be a Sandhi with the main body of its Kadavakas in different metres.

Each Sandhi was headed by a stanza in that metre in which all the Ghattas of its Kadavakas were composed.

The Apabhramsa narrative poems were meant to be recited and sung before an audience in popular melodies with rhythmic and musical effects. Their musical character explains the above-noted peculiarities of the formal structure. There is clear evidence to show that at times classical melodies  $(r\bar{a}ga, var\eta a, bh\bar{a}g\bar{a})$  were also used in their presentation.

#### Subject-matter and treatment

The Sandhibandha was used with aptness and facility for a great variety of themes. It could handle Mahābhārata or Harivamśa-Purāṇa (e.g. the Harivamśa-purāṇa of Svayambhū, Dhavala etc.), the lives of sixtythree Great Men (Śalākāpuruṣa, mahāpuruṣa) of the Jain mythology collectively (e. g. Puṣpa-

danta's Mahāpurāṇa); (2) the aggregate of illustrative tales (kathā cośa) associated with some religious works (c. g. Śrīcandra's Kahakosa), (3) the shorter themes of the biography of Jain saints, pontiffs etc. (e. g. Padmakīrti's Pāsa-purāṇa, Vīra's Jambūsāmi-cariya), or of heroes of religious legends and tales (c. g Puṣpadanta's Jasaharacariya, Sādhāraṇa's Vilāsavaīkahā, Kanakāmara's Kurakaṇdacariya, Dhāhila's Paumasiricariya, Dhanapāla's Bhavisattakaha) or of a shorter Kathākośa (e g. Hariṣeṇa's Dhammaparikkha, Amarakīrti's Chakkammuvaesa)

Eventhough these were narrative themes, involving a lot of characters, episodes and large sequences of events, the treatment was predominently rhetorical, poetic and descriptive. As most of these myths, legends and tales were quite well-known in the tradition in all their details, and as they were frequently recounted in earlier works, we find that in the Sandhibandha the matter was always subordinated to the manner. The poets concentrated on ornate descriptions and depiction of sentiments. Of course the Sanskrit Mahākāvya, also, which was imitated by one and all, had much to do with this tradition of style and mode of expression.

#### Achievement and Later Developments

As the Sandhihandha had been used in Ap. literature for more than eight hundred years, the number of this type of works is very large. Many works are lost and from among the preserved works, only a few have been published so far. They impress us by their literary and technical qualities, and rank with some of the best Sanskrit and Prakrit Kāvyas.

The strength and vitality of the Sandhi form is amply borne out by the later developments. Towards the end of the twelfth century, when new Indo-Aryan literatures were rising, a new type of short poems, in dialectally influenced Ap., began to be composed. These poems called 'Sandhi', consisted of one Sandhi only. Secondly, the Sandhi form was inherited by the New Indo-Aryan literatures also, and it continued to be used by

them for several centuries. The Premākhyānaka type of poems and the Rāmacaritamānasa of Tulasīdāsa in Early Avadhi, as also the Ākhyāna type of poems (with the Kadavaka-structure) in Early Gujarati are very well-known examples illustrating this trend.

For further reading: H. D. Velankar, ed., Svayambhūcchanda (Jodhpur; 1962); Chandonuśāsana (Jodhpur 1962), L. Alsdorf, ed., Harivamšapurāņa (Hamburg, 1936), H. C. Bhayani, ed., Apabhramša Vyākaran (Bombay, 1960). R. M. Shah, ed., Samdhikāvya-samuccaya (Ahmedabad, 1980).

#### b. Rāsaka (Rāsa, Rāsābandha).

Possibly a Prakrit literary genre by origin, it got new orientation in Ap. literature, underwent further developments and continued further in some New Indo-Aryan Literatures (e. g. Gujarati Literature) down to the present period.

The Rāsa was a type of popular group dance associated with popular and religious festivals and known in Western and Northern India probably since the early centuries of the Christian era. Initially the song that was used in its accompaniment, as also the metre and the  $t\bar{a}la$  (measured time-beat')-type characteristically used for that song was also called Rāsa or Rāsaka. Later on the Rāsa, Rāsaka or Rāsābandha developed as a literary type with a very long and diversified career over some fourteen hundred years. Over and above being principally a lyrical mode, it also developed into a balletic type (an uparāpaka mostly called Nāṭya-rāsaka.)

All the Rāsaka poems in Prakrit and most of them in Apabhramsa are lost. Only one specimen in Apabhramsa, comparatively of a very late date, is preserved. So we are almost in dark about the typical form, structure, scope, development etc., of that genre when it was flonrishing in Prakrit and Apabhramsa Fortunately we can form some idea of the early Rāsa from the descriptions given by Prakrit prosodists.

The Rāsa in Prakrit seems to have been a short lyrical poem with a well-defined metrical structure. From Virahānka's descri-

ption in his Vittajāti-samuccaya (possibly 7th century A. D.), we learn that the typical Rāsa had eight stanzas, alternately in a longer and a shorter Mātrā metre, the later at times functioning as a refrain. Virahānka has quoted several earlier authorities (including Sātavāhana) on the prosody of the Rāsa, which shows it was much in vogue.

In Apabhramsa another variety of Rasaka or Rasabandha developed. Virahanka and Svayambhū (later half of 9th cent.) define it as a composition in choice lyrical metres, and the latter tells us that it was a very beautiful form, highly favoured and enjoyed in the gatherings of literary connoisseurs. And from themetrical manual of Janasravi we get indirect information for surising that this type of Rasas were written even prior to seventh century A.D. The Apabhrams'a poet Vira has referred to Devadatta's Amba devi-rasuya (10t) Cent). Similarly there is a reference to Mānikya-prastārikā pratibaddha-rāsa. Excepting these titles, we do not know anything about the actual works, which were evidently religious-didactic Jain Rasas. The preserved Rasas are the Samdesa-rasaka of Abadala Rahamana and the Upadesa-rasayana-rasa of Jinadatta-suri, both written in the 12th century Of these the Upad sa-rasayana is a didactic poem and represents a new development in the Rasaka form that took place during the rise of New Indo-Aryan literatures. The second preserved specimen is the Sumdeśa-rāsaka. Eventhough late and written by a Muslim, it can be taken to some extent as a typical specimen of the traditional Apabhramsa Rasaka. the theme of love-in-separation. For articulating the rich variety of emotions connected with deep, intense attachment, the poet has used a great variety of Matra metres. The description of the city-life, the botanical list and the descriptions of six seasons, appear to be later features for the Rasaka form and for the length of the Samdesa-rasaka, which is quite unusal for such a genre, and extremely unsuitable for dance performance. In spite of this, the Samdesa-rāsaka certainly gives us some idea of the lyricism, lively and vivid depiction of sentiment and rich musicality that characterized the Rasaka. In the later, New Indo-Aryan period, the Rasaka developed several varieties, based

on variations in structure, metrical form and certain features connected with the performance aspect.

For further reading: Jinavijaya Muni and H. C. Bhayani, ed., Samdeša-rāsaka (Bombay, 1945); H.D. Velankar, ed., Vṛttajāti-samuccaya (Jodhpur, 1962); Svayambhūcchandas (Jodhpur, 1962). Dashrath Oza and Dashrath Sharma, ed., Rāsā aur Rāsānvayā Kāvya (Delhi, 1959). H. C. Bhayani, ed., Apabhramsa Vyākaran (Bombay, 1960).

#### APABHRAMSA LITERATURE

Beginnings: In the tradition of Sanskrit poetics from Bhāmaha (6th cent.) onwards, Apabhramsa was recognised as a literary language along ith Sanskrit, Prakrit and Paisācī. As Guṇādhya's Vaddakahā and anonymous Ratnaprabhā × are the only works (known in names only) written in Paisācī, it is plain that no vigorous literary tradition built up in the latter. So the Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhrams'a were the three litiratures of the classical and post classical period which were cultivated side by side and which exerted mutual influence. Literature in Apabhrams'a was produced for more than a thousand years and the geographical area covered almost the whole of ancient India from Valabhī in the west to Nālandā in the east and from Kāśmīra in the north to Mānyakheta in the south, and at times it extended even beyond India

As the time and circumstances of the rise of Ap. language are obscure, and as the early Ap. literature is lost, we cannot be definite about the beginnings of the latter.

As Bhāmaha in the sixth century has not only recognized. Ap. as a literary language, but has also stated that it is used to compose tales, we can safely place the beginning of Ap. literature in the fifth century. Numerous references make it also clear that fhe earlier Ap. literature was confined to the western region. Later on we get works from uorth, south and east also. Evidence from the continuity of Ap. metrical and literary types in some of the New Indo-Aryan literatures support the fact of Ap literature being deeply rooted in the western and

x Mentioned by the commentator Ratnaśrijñāna in his commentary on Dandin's Kāvyalakṣaṇa, 1 38. (931 A.D.). It mobes another version of a Lambha of the Vaddakahā. Compare the title 'Ratnaprabhā Lambaka' in the Kathāsaritsāgara.

central regions. But taking into account the originality and vigour which presuppose a rich and varied literary production, the genesis of Ap. literature remains obscure and unexplained.

Sources: Not a single complete Ap. work definitely earlier that the ninth century is preserved. For the earlier centuries we have only a few names of authors, still fewer names of works and a handful of stray citations, mostly from unspecified works. Regarding the available Ap. works onwards from the ninth century, we should note the most remarkable fact that with very few exceptions, all of them were written by the Jainas. Doubtlessly these Jaina works for the most part are formally derivative. They presuppose Vedic-Brahmanic works in Sanskrit and Prakrit. An almost blank earlier period of about four hundred years and only a partially representative later period—these two serious limitations are imposed on any account of Ap. literature. The difficulties are compounded by the fact that many Ap. works are still in the manuscript form only.

Characteristics: Eventhough Ap. was counted as a type of Prakrit and in practice there was considerable linguistic and literary influence of Standard Prakrit on Ap. language and literature, there were a number of metrical types and structures as also literary genres that were not known or were exceptional in Prakrit, but were characteristically frequent in Ap. works, and Prakrit prosody had to set up special sections on Ap. metres (e. g. Svayambhūcchandas Ch. IV-VIII, i.e. actually IX-XIII; Chandonusāsana, Ch. V).

Ap. had a great variety of metres based on mātrā (mora) as the basic unit. Besides, it used several Prakrit and Sanskrit metres also for variation. The Ap. epic Sandhibandha and the lyrical narrative Rāsābandha had their own specific choices of metrical types. The minor forms including festive songs and hymns had also their specific metrical conventions.

The Ap. poetry was recited or sung before an audience. So in actual performance popular tunes, and in some cases even the Sastric melodies were used. Rhyme, an indispensable characteristic of Ap. metres, and rhythm reinforced the musicality in Ap. poetry.

In the matter of the choice of themes and the manner of handling them by means of various modes of narration and description, Ap. poetry was heavily influenced by Sanskrit and Prakrit models. Ap. poets were guided by the leading Mahakavyas and Katha works in Sanskrit and Prakrit, composed between the 4th to 10th cent. A. D. Many of them were well-versed in these literatures as also in various disciplines like grammar, rhetorics and philosophy.

The bulk of Ap. poetry is considerably sophisticated and in this point it is more or less in the same class as Sanskrit and Prakrit poetry. Calling it popular poetry would involve a basic misconception of its real nature and character. No doubt, Ap. poetry has a popular stratum also. But much of it, like Prakrit poetry is 'high' or 'artistic' literature.

No complete Ap. work prior to the ninth century is preserved. In his Svayambhūcchandas, Svavambhū has cited ten Ap. poets by their names: Aryadeva, Govinda, Caturmukha, Chavilla, Jinadasa, Dhanadeva, Dhūrta, Mayüradeva, Vidagdha and Śuddhaśila. Svayambhū's son Tribhuvana too, besides alluding to his own works, refers to the poems of Bhadra and others. On the basis of these references it appears that the literary activity in Ap. during the few preceding centuries was in full swing and that there had been notable contributions by a large number of poets in various forms of literature. The well-developed form. style and diction evident in the available instances testify to the fact that Ap. epic was fully developed by that time. Caturmukha's works in this form were not only pioneering, but counted also as high water-mark of achievement. A few other names were also famous Similarly in the middle-range poems, represented by the Rāsābandha, there must have been significant contributions. Although no names of authors or works are preserved, the definition and description of two types of Rasakas given in the Svayambhūcchandas and other manuals of prosody presuppose the existence of several examples. A similar inference in to be made regarding the short lyrics and songs from the information we get

from Svayambhū and form stray Ap. verses occurring in several Prakrit works like the Kuvalayamālā (779. AD.)

#### A. The Apabhramsa epic: The Sandbibandha

There were several types of the longer narrative poems in Ap. Like the Sanskrit art-epic made up of several cantos called sarga and the Prakrit epic made up of a number of āśvāsukas, the chief type of Ap. epic had sections called sandhi. Sandhibandha was an elaborate structure, using a rich variety of metres for its different structural parts. The epic poems in this form adopted the descriptive and rhetorical style of the Sanskrit and Prakrit Mahakavyas, but regarding the themes the range was very wide. The Rāmāyana, Mahābhārata and the Harivamsa, any major Upākhyāna or episode from these, mythological and legendary biographies of great men like the Jain Tirthankaras and Universal Monarchs, aggregates of tales illustrating a group of religious-moral topics (kuthākośa) - such were the subjects of these epics. The epics extended over many thousand verses. They were in a way Puranas composed in the Kavya style, and hence can be well-described as Puranic art-epics.

#### 1. Purănic Epics

Caturmukha is the earliest known epic poet of Ap. He has been acknowledged as his model by Svayambhū, who held him in high esteem. In fact several later writers have referred to Caturmukha, Svayambhū aud Puspadanta as the three topmost Ap. poets. Caturmukha had at least three epics to his credit: One narrating the Rāmāyana story, another, the Mahābhārata story and the third, the Purānic legend of the churning of the ocean by gods and demons. The last work was probably called Addhimahana (Sk. abdhimathana), as we understand from Bhoja's Srāgāraprakāsa. Most probably Caturmukha was a Brahmana and his poems had the author's name mentioned in the last verse of

all their sections, this being also the name of his ista-devata; namely Brahmā (who is also called Caturmukha). Except a few verses cited by Svayambhū, nothing of Caturmukha's volunimous poems is preserved to us. Regarding his date, it can be only said that he flourished prior to the later half of the ninth century.

#### Svayambhū

Svayambhū was a major Apabhramsa poet and scholar who flourished towards the last quarter of the 9th century A. D. the formost Caturmukha, Svayambhū and Puspadanta were Apabhramsa poets. Svayambhū was preceded and influenced by Caturmukha, and himself preceded and influenced Puspadanta. He most probably lived under the early Seuna ruler Seunacandra (c. 880-900 A. D.), whose capital was Seunapura on the river Sindiners, which is identified with Sinnar in the Nasik district of Mahārāstra. His parents were Māuradeva and Padmini. He had most probably three wives: Amiavvā (Sk. Amrtambā),: Aiccambia (Sk Adityambika) and Suyavva (Sk. Srtamba). They were highly educated, as Svayambhū has recorded that the first of them helped him in preparing the manuscript copies of hispoems. Svayambhū's younger son Tribhavana too was a poet, and besides writing a poem Pamcamicariya (Sk. Pañcamicarita) in Apabhramsa (now lost), he completed the two epic poems, Paumacariya and Ritthanemicariya left incomplete by his father. Svayambhū was patronized by Dhanamjaya and Dhavalaiya, who were possibly leading merchants or treasurers. According to a later commentator, Svayambhū belonged to the Yapaniya sect of Jainism.

Of the seven works that can be credited with some certainty to Svayambhū, only three are extent: Paumacariya, Ritthanemicariya or Harivams. purāna and Svayambhūcchandas. The lost works include Suddhaya cariya, a grammar of Sanskrit (?), Prakrit and Apabhramsa, a Dvisandhāna poem (i. e. a poem simultaneously narrating two themes) and another work (possibly Pamcami-cariya or a treatise on Alankāras).

Svambhu was well-versed in various Sastras. He had imbibed the best from the earlier Sanskrit and Prakrit literary traditions. He was gifted with great poetic powers. Although his two puranic epics on the themes of Ramayana and Bharata (or Pandava-caritra) were already preceded by several Sanskrit and Prakrit works of. epic length on the same themes, and although he owed much to Ravisena's Padmacarita for his Paumacariya, and to Catunmukha and earlier Pandava-puranas (inluding Jinasena's Harivamsapurana) for his Ritthanemi-cariya (and he acknowledges this openly). he shows a high degree of originality and power in his over-all design and arrangement of his poems, in his sensitive treatment of incident and emotion and in his effective handling of descriptions, imagery and metrical structures. His systematic treatment of Prakrit and Apabhramsa metres in the Svarambucchandas, besides indicating his mastery of the subject, bears the stamp of a practising artist. The numerous illustrative citations he has given reveal his close familiarity with the large body of Prakrit and Ap. poetry of his times. It is no wonder, therefore, that Hemacandra's authoritative treatise on Prakrit prosody (and possibly his Prakrit grammar also) depended heavily on Svayambhū's pioneering work.

Svayambhū very well deserved the titles Kavirāja, Vidvān, and Chandaścūdāmani mentioned in the culogies showered on him by Tribhuvana, who always refers to his fatner reverentially as Svayambhūdeva. Numerous later Apabhramśa poets also have paid glowing tributes to Svayambhū.

Svayambhū's Paumacariya (Sk. Padmacarita) alternatively called Ramāyana purāņa continued the Sanskrit and Prakrit literavy traditions of writing epics on the life-story of Rāma, also called Padma in the Jain tradition. The Jain versions of the famous narrative show wide and important variations from the Brahmanical version, represented by the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki, which they presuppose and adapt to their needs and tradition. Svayambhū's work has the extent of a Purāṇa. Its five books (kamāda, Sk. kānāda) called respectively Vijjāhara (Sk. Vidyādhara), Ujjhā (Sk.

Ayodhya), Sundara, Jujjha (Sk. Yuddha) and Uttara contain a total of ninety cantos, of which the last eight were the work of Svayambhu's son Tribhuvana, as the former for some unknown reason had left the epic incomplete. To Tribhuvana goes also the credit of completing his father's second work, the Ritthanemicariya

## The Paumacriva

Svayambhū was quite honest in acknowledging his debt to his predecessors. For the structure of his spic he thanks the great poet Caturmukha, and for the subject matter and the poetic treatment of the Paumacariya he admits obligations to Ravisena, whose Padmacarita alias Padmapurāna (677-78 A. D.) in Sanskrit he closely followed. The Paumacariya can aptly be described as a free and compressed. Apabhramsa recast-cum-adaptation of the Padmacarita\*, and yet there is ample evidence of Svayambhū's originality and poetic powers of a high order.

As a rule he holds to the thread of the narrative as found in Ravisena, which otherwise too, being fixed by tradition even in its minor details, permitted little invention or artistic designing and variation insofar as its subject-matter was concerned. Besides, no poet of the period would ever have conceived of any departure from the sacred tradition. Regarding only the stylistic embellishments, descriptions and depiction of sentiment the poet enjoyed a measure of fredom, and he could expatiate on particular incidents he took fancy for. In the face of these limitations imposed by the then literary tradition, Svayambhū displays a keen artistic sense, and prunes, rehandles or altogether parts company with his model to allow enough scope to his poetic fancy. The vivid, racy and sesuous description of water-sports in a fascinating setting of vernal scenery (canto 14) has been always recognised as a classic. Various battle scenes, some incidents of tense moments in the

<sup>\*</sup> Ravişena's Padmacarita in its turn, was hardly more than a very close but considerably expanded Sanskrit rendering of Vimalasūri's Paumacariya in Prakrit.

Anjana episode (cantos 17-19), penetrative sadness enveloping the telling scene of Ravanas cremation (canto 77) can be mentioned as a few of the many highly inspired passages wherein Svayambhū's poetic geneius is seen to find an unhampered expression, touching high excellence.

## The Ritthanemicariya

Svayambhū's second voluminous epic, viz. Ritthanemicariya (Sk. Aristanemicarita) also called Harivamsapurāņa, deals with the favourite subject of the life-story of the twentysecond Tirthankara Aristanemi, along with the narrative of Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas in its Jain version. Its one hundred and twelve cantos (containing near-two thousand Kaḍavakas and about 18,000 units of thirty-two syllables) are distributed over four books: Jāyava (Sk. Yādava), Kuru, Jujjha Sk. Yuddha) and Uttara. Here too Svayambhū had several precedents in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhramśa, including Guṇabhadra's Uttarapurāṇa in Sanskrit aud Caturmukha's Bhārata-poem in Apabhramśa. The portion of the Ritthanamwcariya after the ninety-ninth Sandhi was written by Svayambhū's son Tribhuvana and further, a few interpolations were made in the sixteenth century by an Apabhramśa poet Yaśaḥkirti Bhattāraka of Gopācala (modern Gwalior).

In view of the high degree of excellence, originality and breadth, Svayambhū can be doubtlessly ranked with the leading poets of Sanskrit and Prakrit Mahākāvyas.

This type of cpics in the two subjects continued to be written up to the 16th century.

Of the several epics in the Sandhi-form written after Svayambhū, particulars about a few are given below:

Author Work Date Remarks

Dhavala Harivamsapurāna Not later Contains 122 cantos than 10th Cent.

Yasaḥkīrti Bhatṭāraka Pāṇḍupurāṇa 1523 A.D. Contains 34 cantos Raidhu Balabhadrapurāṇa 15th Cent. Rāma-epic (11 cantos.)

Nemināthacarita

:Śrutakirti Harivamsapurāna 1551A.D. Contains 40 cantos These works testify to the living tradition and popularity of these themes even some seven centuries after Svayambhū.

## 2. Jain Universal History

From the works of Puspadanta, we come to know of two other subject-types treated in the Sandhi-form. In his Tisatthipurisagunālamkara (Sk. Triṣaṣṭipuruṣagunālamkāra) or Mahāpurāna of Puspadanta, we have the legendary life-account of the sixtythree Great Men of the Jain Universal History. (For the second subject-type chosen by Puspadanta as a theme for his poems see further below).

## Pușpadanta

Puspadanta (Apabhramsa: Pupphayanta alias Mammaiya) (c. 957 972 A.D.), was born of Brāhmaṇa parents that were later converted to Digambara Jainisim. He composed his three Apabhramsa poems under the patronage of Bharata and his son Nanna, who were successive ministers to the Rāstrakūta kings Kṛṣṇa III (939-968 A.D.) and Khoṭṭigadeva (968 978 A D.), ruling at Mānyakheṭa (modern Malkhed in the Andhrapradesa).

# 2. Tr:şaştiśalākāpuruşacarita

Syayambhū and his predecessors exploited the popular narratives of Rama and Krsna-cum Pandavas, while Puspadanta's poetic genius turned towards other and vaster regions of Jain mythology. According to the Jain tradition, there flourished in past sixtythree dignitaries (mahāpuruṣa, salākāpuruṣa), who included twentyfour saviours (tirthankara), twelve universal monarchs (cakrin). nine Vasudevas (heroes enjoying half the status of a Cakrin), nine Baladevas (brothers to corresponding Vasudevas) and nine Prativasudevas (opponents of Vasudevas). Laksmana, Padma (alias Rāma) and Ravana constituted the eighth and Balabhadra and Jarasmdha, the ninth trio of the groups of Baladevas and Prativasudevas. Vasudevas, The works

giving an account of threse sixtythree Great Men were known as Mahāpurāṇa (the great Purāṇa) or Triṣaṣṭimahāpuruṣa— (or Salākāpuruṣa)carita (Lives of Sixty-three Great Men). The earlier portion, dealing with the life of Rṣabha, the first Tirthankara and Bharata, the first universal monarch was called Ādipurāṇa, while the later portion containing the narratives of the rest of the great men was called Uttarapurāṇa.

## The Mahapurana

Before Puṣpadanta the subject was already treated in Sanskrit and Prakrit. He was possibly first to write an epic on this subject in Apabhramsa. Of the 102 cantos of his magnum opus named Mahāpurāṇa (or Tisaṭṭhiṃahāpurisuguṇālaṃkāra (Sk. Triṣaṣṭimahā-puruṣa-guṇālaṃkāra), the first thirtyseven cantos make up the Ādipurāṇa and the remaing, the Uttarapurāṇa.

For the narrative Puspadanta followed the Trisastilaksanamahāpuranasaingraha (completed in 898 A.D.) of Jinasena and Gunabhadra in Sanskrit, besides the lost work of Kavi Paramesthin. Here too the whole frame of the narrative with all its incidents and details was rigidly fixed by tradition, and the poet had to depend on the resources of his descriptive and stylistic abilities and Sastric learning for investing his theme with a literary status. This was one of the reasons why the Jaina poets, inspite of the Puranic character of their themes, were compelled to follow in their treatment the great tradition of the ornate Sanskrit epics. and to lavish all the wealth of elaborate rhetoric and erudite learning on the frame of the narrative. Svayambhū expressly tells us in his Ritthnemicariya that he had laid under contribution Indra for grammar, Bharata for flavour (rasa), Vvāsa for bulk, Pingala for prosody, Bhamaha and Dandin for the orics. Bana for rich and sonorous diction, Śriharsa for maturity of style and Caturmukha for the characteristic metrical structure. Compared with Svayambhū, Puspadanta draws more upon the subtelities of rhetoric, abundance of metrical varieties and the treasures of traditional learning Greater prosodic variation and the longer Kadavaka and Sandhi indicate a further elaboration of

the Sandhibandha as found with Puspadanta. We have a greater-degree of sophistication in style and treatment.

Some portions of the cantos 4, 12, 17, 46, 52 and a few others from the Mahāpurāna can be cited as the choicest flowers of Puṣpadanta's poetic genius. Cantos 69 to 79 recount in brief the Rāmāyana, cantos 81 to 92 narrate the Jaina Harivamsa. while the end-portion deals with the lives of Pārsva and Mahāvīra, respectively the twenty-third and twenty-fourth Tīrthamkaras of the Jainas. Apabhramsa epic in the Sandhibandha form reached its climax of development in Puṣpadanta.

#### 3. Kathākośa

The Sandhi form served also a third class of subjects which received epic length treatment: an aggregate of tales or a chain of narratives woven round some particular body of religious or ethical beliefs, dogmas or practices. Kathākośas are known in Sanskrit and Prakrit literatures. In Apabhramśa we have Nayanandin's Sayalavihivihānakavva (Sk. Sakalavidhividhānakāvya) written in 1044 A.D.and containing 114 Sandhis and Śricandra's Kahakosa (Sk. Kathākasa), written sometime after 1070 A.D. at Anahillapura in modern Gujarat, and containing 53 Sandhis. The tales these two works narrate are connected with the religious text Bhagavati Ārādhanā in Śaurasenī Prakrit of the Jain variety. Harişena's Bṛṇathothākośa (932 A.D.) in Sanskrit and a few similar Kathākośas giving the Ārādhanā tales served as sources for Nayanandin's and Śrīcandra's works.

## Longer Narrative Youms without Internal Divisons

For the epic scale narrative, the Sandhibandha was not obligatory, as can be seen from one or two known instances of extensive narrative poems that have used only one metre continuously from the start to finish and that have no internal divisions. This practice is known from Prakrit literature, Gaudavaho being a typical example. Haribhadra's Nemināha-cariya (Sk. Neminātha-carita), finished in 1150 A. D., has an extent of 8032 units of thirtytwo syllables (granthāgra) and is throughout compo sed in a composite type of metre called Raddā, which consists of two units: a five-lined unit in the intricate Mātrā metre found

with a four-lined unit in the Dohā metre. One Govinda preceded Haribhadra by at least three centuries. From citations in the Svayambhcchandas of Svayambū and from other sources Govinda appears to have written an epic on the life of Neminātha and in different varieties of the Raddā metre.

Haribhadra's epic, as its title indicates, narrates the life of Aristanemi extending over several births, along with the famous story-cycle of the Jain Harivamsa, Kṛṣṇa and Vasudeva. Like his predecessors, Svyambhū, Puṣpadanta and numerous others, Haribhadra has an ornate style, revealing strong influence of the standardized conventions of the Sanskrit ornate Kāvya in its later form

## B. The middle-range poems

These were of several types. Poems with narrative content predominating can be roughly classified thus: (1) Secular and religious tales (kathā); (2) Religious and legendary biographies (carita); (3) Collection of tales connected with a group of religious topics. Besides these, there were poems with lyrical element predominating over the narrative, thus corresponding to the Sanskrit Khaṇḍakāvya. They could have a secular or religious subject.

Bhoja has given in his Śringāraprakāsa (p. 908) a citation from a work called Śūdrakakathā. From the language of the citation we can infer that the Śūdrakakathā was an Apabhramśa work. Vira tells us in his Jambūsāmicariya (1 20 A.D.) that his father Devadatta had four works to his credit including the Suddayavirakaha (Sk. Śūdrakavirakathā). All the works of Devadatta were most probably in Apabhramśa. Svayambhū also had one Suddayacariya to his credit. All these appear to have been romantic tales. On the authority of Bhāmaha (6th cent.), we know that there were Kathā works in Ap. prior to him. Unfortunately no secular work of story in Ap. is preserved and hence we are ignorant about their actual strucutre—they may not have been necessarily in the Sandhibandha form.

## 4. Katha and Carita works in Sandhibandha

In the case of religious tales, however, we are somewhat fortunate, thanks to the Jainas. Eventhough no earlier models are preserved, we have a number of works of this type onwards from the tenth cent. A.D., The Dharmakatha and the Carita types of works cannot be always distinguished and many a time the difference does not extend beyond the nomenclature. Most of the Kathas and Caritas are in the Sandhibandha form, although, as we have described above, Haribhadra's Neminahacariya which is an epic-length poem and also a Caritakāvya, is not a Sandhibandha. Type and genre-distinctions apply quite losely to traditional literatures. The Vilāsavai-kuhā of Siddhasena-sūri alias Sadharana (completed in 1067 A.D.) has eleven Sandhis. The story is based on the tale of Sanatkumara and Vilasvatt occurring as an emboxed tale in the main plot of Haribhadra's Sumarāiccakahā (8th cent. A.D.)in Prakrit Usually the Jain tale has externally fitted religious frame within which is set a story of love, adventure. calamities and miraculous escapes, with the divine and semi-divine beings also playing intrusive roles in human affairs.

There is a large class of Ap. poems called Cariya (Sk. Carita). They narrate in the Kāvya style the life of some famous, character of mythology or legend. We have biographical narratives of several Jaina Tirthankaras, pontiffs, kings and legendary or fictional heroes or heroines like Karakandu, Yasodhara, Nāgakumāra, Sulocanā, Sudarsana and Jinadatta, each of which has served as a theme for several Ap. poems

## Puspadanta's Nāyakumāracariya and Jasaharacari a

Puspadanta has to his credit, Lesides the Mahāpurāna described above two carita-poems, viz, the Nāyakumāracariya (Sk. Nāgakumāracarita) and the Jasaharacariya (Sk. Yasodharacarita). In their range and treatment the Caritakāvya and Kathākavya in the Sandhibandha form remind one of the Sanskrit Sargabandha Kāvya, though the Ap. counterpart tends to have a shorter extent. In this case too Puspadanta had before him several

earlier models. From a stray reference or two we know the names of at least two such poems— the Suddhayacariya of Svayambhū (mentioned earlier) and the Pumcamicariya of his son Tribhuvana.

The Nāyakumāracariya narrates in nine cantos adventures of the hero Nāgakumara (one of the twentyfour Kāmadevas, of the Jain mythology), and his two powerful leutenants Vyāla and Mahāvyāla with the object of illustrating the fruits of oberving the fast of Śrīpañcamī (the fifth day of the bright half of Phālguna).

Similarly the object of Puspadanta's third work, viz., Jasuharacariya (Sk. Yaśodharacarita) is to illustrate the evil fruits of the sin of taking life or killing, through narrating in four cantos, the story of king Yaśodhara of Ujjayint. Numerous works on these very subjects in Prakrit, Sanskrit, Apabhramśa and Modern Indian languages before and after Puspadanta testify to the great popularity of the Parvakathās with the Jainas.

Puspadanta's mastery of the poetic craft, his matchless command of Apabhram's language and his impressive erudition would entitle him to an honourable place among the great poets of classical India. At one place he has most aptly indicated his ideal of great poetry. It should be resplendent with the figures of sound and sense, should have a delicate diction, be suffused with many sentiments and 'flavours', flow evenly with excellent sense, 'display' knowledge of numerous arts and sciences, illustrate the wealth of grammar and metres and be inspired by the sacred canon. The best of Ap. literature appears to have attempted to realize this poetic ideal, but probably none successed as much as Puspadanta.

# The Carita-kavya after Puspadanta

After Puspadanta, we get numerous Caritakavyas in the Sandhi form To name a few of them: we have Kanakamara's Karakanaacariya, which treats in ten Sandhis the life-story of a Pratyeka-buddha ('self-enlightened saint'). The story of Karakandu figures in the early Jain as well as Buddhist tradition. Bhavisattakaha

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of Dhanapāla (probably before the 12th cent. A. D.) is a Parvakathā. In twentytwo cantos it recounts in a relatively simple style the romantic story of Bhavişyadatta to illustrate the fruits of observing a fast on the sacred day of the Srtuapancami or Jānapaācamī which falls on the fifth day of the bright half of Kārtika. The story ells us of a merchant's son Bhaviṣyadatta, who, along with his mother was discarded for no reason by his father, who then married another wife. When grown up bhviṣyadatta once went on a voyage in the company of his younger step-brother, who befrauded and deserted him. The great bulk, however, of the Carita-kāvyas of Sandhi-bandha variety has not yet appeared in print.

Another type to be distinguished in the middle-range poems in Sandhibandha is a collection of tales illustrative of some rel gious topics. Works like the Dumsanakaharyana kosa (Sk. Darsana kathā ratnakosa) of Stīcandra (1064 A.D.) in 21 cantos, the Dhammaparikkhā Sk. Dharmapariksā) of Ha isena (988 A.D.) in 11 cantos, the Chakkammuvaesa (Sk. Saikarmopadesa) of Amarakīti (1191 A.D.) in 14 cantos, and possibly the Paramitthipayāsasāra Sk. Paramesthiprakāsasāra) of Stutakīti (1497 A.D.) in 7 canots come under this category.

Of these the Dhammaparikkhā is specially interesting on account of its remarkable subject-matter. It tells us how Manovega friend Pavanavega to Jainism his by demonstrating the absurdity of the stories of the Brahminical Puranas. Quite an effective technique is employed for the purpose. Manayega narrates in the presence of Pavanayega all sorts of incredible and fantastic stories about himself before an assembly of the Brahmanas, and when they refuse to believe him, he justifies himself by quoting equally absurd incidents from the great epics and Puranas. Harisena's work was based on a Prakrit original and was succeeded by several similar compositions in Sanskrit and other languages Haribhadra's Dhūrtokhyāna (eighth cent. A.D.) in Prakrif, having a similar purpose and motif, was the

author; (4) One small didactic Jain Rasa of the twelfth century, devoid of any literary significance.

The Samdesa-rāsaka of Abdala Rahamana is a charming: Dūta-kāvya or Samdsša kāvya of 223 stanzas distributed over three Prakramas (sections). But this division rests entirely on thedevelopment of the tueme. After the prefatory section, we are introduced in the second section to a Virahini's chance meeting. with a traveller, through whom she sends a message husband who has failed to return from abroad on the promised date. In spite of the overworked theme of love-in-separation, the poet has succeeded in imparting to it some genuine freshness, and a very facile handling of diction and metres gets the lion's share of this credit. In using one metre for the general and more than twenty pupular metres for variation, the Samdesarāsaka supplies us a typical and the only preserved example of a genuine Rasabandha. That it is from the pen of a Muslim poet. further adds to its uniqueness. It gives us some idea sensitive delineation of sentiments (especially of love), intenselyricism and richness of metrical types that was characteristic of the Rasabandha.

The Upadeśarasōyano-rāsa of Jinadattasūri (1076-1155 A.D.) is a sermon in eighty verses praising the genuine spiritual guide (guru) and religious practices and denouncing the spurious ones. It is not a real representative of a Rāsaka poem, but a late specimen of a popular literary type pressed in the service of religious preaching. It is straight way composed in one single metre without any structural arrangement of parts that usually characterize the Rāsaka form. A number of citations occurring in Bhoja's Sṛṇgēraprakāta strongly suggests that Bhoja was quoting from some Ap Rāsakas. A shorter variety of Rāsaka, a lyrical song to accompany a circular group-dance is also described by the prsodists and this has continued with periodical changes in its form and function down to the present day in certain westernand central regions of India.

#### Shorter Poems

Poems having less than ten Sandhis or a comparable extent come under this category, which has almost:

all the types that have been distinguished within the poems of the middle range: tales, biographies, tale-groups and didactic compositions. For this category of poems either the Sandhibandha is used or alternately there is some one metre like Dohā, Vadanaka etc. for all the verses, which are self-contained units (muktakas) loosely connected by a common theme. We may name a few as instances: Sukumālacariya of Śrīdhara (1152 A.D.), Dhaṇṇakumāracarija of Raīdhū (15th cent.) and Mayaṇaparājaya carija of Harideva (between the 12th and 15th cent).

Paumasiricariya (Sk. Padmaśricarita) of Dhāhila (before 12th cent. A. D.) illustrates the evil of deceitful acts by narrating in two Sandhis the story of Padmaśri in her successive births. It is based on an emboxed tale in Haribhadra's Samarāiccakahā in Prakrit.

Among the Vrata-kathās are to be noted works like the Suyandhadasamīkahā of Udayacandra (1150 A.D.) and some poems relating to the Nirjhara-pañcamī, Candana-ṣaṣṭhī etc.

## Religious--didactic and Mysticai works

Though Ap. was vary rich in narrative (and also probably, lyrical) poetry, it does not mean that it was quite so lacking in other poetic varieties. Besides the minor works of a religious-didactic character, we have a few works of decidedly mystical spirit and contents.

Of these the Paramappa-payāsa (Sk. Paramātmaprakāśa) and Yogasāra of Yogīndudeva (Ap. Joindu) (possibly about the 10th cent. A. D.) are the most important. The Paramappapayāsa is divided into two sections. The first section gives in 123 Dohās a free rambling exposition of three types of selves — the external self, the internal self and the supreme self. The second section of 214 stanzas, mostly in the Dohā metre, deals with the topics of liberation and the means thereto. Yogīndudeva preaches to the mystic aspirant (Yogi) the supreme importance of self-realization which can be achieved by renouncing sensual pleasures, by adhering to the inner spirit rather than the mere external

shell of religion, by purifying the mind, by meditating on the true nature of the self.

His Yogasāra in 108 stanzas, mostly Dohās, purports to awaken and enlighten souls disgusted with wandering in the rounds of births (samsāra) and aspiring for liberation. In form, style and contents it has a family-likeness with the previous work.

The same remark applies to the Dohā-pāhuḍa (Sk. Dohā-prābhṛta) of Rāmasimha (possibly before the 12th cent.), which in 212 stanzas stresses the same mystic-moral outlook that distinguishes the spirit from the body and regards realization of the identity of the individual spirit and the superspirit as the summum bonum of the spiritual aspirant.

Two other short poems, belonging to this period and representing a new literary type are Prthvicandra's Rasavilāsa and Mahācandra Muni's Bārahakkhara-kakka alias Dohā-velli. They are in the Varnamālā mode i. c. each of the successive verses beginning with a letter of the alphabet, starting with the first letter and ending with the last and including also the syllabic variation of each letter, following the order of the vowel sequence.

These works reveal a stock of ideas, terms and symbolisms that is commonly shared by them with Brahminical and Buddhistic works of mysticism. Together they make a noteworthy Jain contribution to Indian mystical literature.

Buddhists too, like the Jainas, had some of their mystical works in Ap. Their authors were Siddhas of the Tantric sects of Vajrayana and Sahajayana deriving from Mahayana Buddhsm. Of these the Dohā-Kosas of Kanha and Saraha (possibly c. 10th cent.) are more important. Opposition to ritualism and form,

<sup>1.</sup> The Buddhist sect Sammatiya is said to have its sacred literature in Apabhramsa. But no such work has yet come to light. Some Tantric and Saiva philosophical works like those of Abhinavagupta have summarizing passages in Ap. verse.

importance of the Guru, inner purity, attainment of Sunyata as the highest goal—these are the favourite subjects of the Doha-kosas, treated in a direct and penetrating diction of coloquial force. As rare works of Buddhist Ap. literature and more as the root-sources of the spirit, language and mode of expression so familiar to us from the literature of medieval Sants, these mystical works are invaluable.

Of the minor religious-diadactic works we may mention a a few: Sāvayadhammadohā (Sk. Śrāvakadharmadohā) alias Navakā-raśrāvakācāra af Laksmidhara (before 16th century A.D.), which occupies itself with explaining in a popular way the religious duties of a Jain householder; Samjamamamjarī of Maheśvara (possibly 13th century A.D.), a small poem in 35 Dohā verses on self-restraint; Carcarī and Kālasvarūpakulaka of Jinadatta-sūri (1076—1152 A.D.); various devotional hymns like the Satyapuramandana-Mahāvīrotsāha of Dhanapāla (11th Cent. A.D.), the Jayatihuana of Abhayadeva (11th cent. A.D.), etc.

## Miscellaneous Works and Later Tendencies

Besides independent works, small and large sections in Ap. occur in numerous Jain and some non-Jain Prakrit and Sanskrit works, in commentarial literature and in works on prosody, rhetorics and grammar. Their number is far from negligible. To cite only a few such works—

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स्वयम्भूच्छन्दस	of	स्वयम्भू	before 10th cent. A. D.
सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरण and	of	भाज	11th cent. A. D.
शुङ्गारप्रकाश			
मणोरमाकहा and	of	वर्धमान	"
जुगाइजिणिंदचरिय			
शान्तिनाथचरित	of	देवचन्द्र	1109 A. D.
सिद्धहेम	of	हेमचन्द्र	12th cent. A.D.
कुमारपालचरित	of	,,	1)
·छन्दोनुशासन	of	,,	,,

आख्यानकमणिकाशवृत्ति	of	आप्रदेव	1133 A.D.
उपदेशमाला-दौघदटीवृत्ति	of of	रत्नप्रभ	1182 A.D.
कुमारपालप्रतिबोध	$_{ m of}$	सोमप्रभ	1185 A.D.
संजममंजरोवृत्ति	of	हेमहंसशिष्य	before 15th cent. A.D.
<b>क</b> विद्रपण	anonymous	प्राकृतपैङ्गल	15th cent A.D.
प्राङ्गतसर्वस्व	of	मार्कण्डेय	16th cent A. D.

#### The Saudhi

In the thirteenth century a new form-type for short poems is developed. These Sandhi poems (to be clearly distinguished from the Sandhibandha treated earlier) have some religious didactic or narrative topic, mostly from the Agama or earlier Dharmakathā literature, as their subject, which they develop in a number of Kadavakas The Antaramga-Sandhi of Ratnaprabha (13th centurp A.D.), Bhāvanā-sandhi of Jayadeva Gaṇi, Cauramga-sandhi, Mayanarehā-sandhi (1241 A.D.), Namayāsumdarissandhi and several other Sandhis of Jinaprabha (13th cent. A.D.) may be named as the typical instances.

From the works of Ap. metrics we learn about various types of popular songs that were composed in Ap. There were Dhavala songs praising some hero. There were Mangala songs (in various metres) for festive occasions like marriage, child-birth etc. There were Phulladakas for praising deities. There were Jhambatakas to accompany dance performances. Besides there were lullabies, riddles; epigrams and proverbs in Ap. We may also mention numerous Ap. hymns, prayers and songs to celebrate religious observances and ceremonial worship, mostly composed by the Jain poets.

Some of the Uparūpakas like the Dombikā, Rāsaka, Carcarī and Nātyarāsaka seem to have used Apabhramśa. Similarly some of the Dhruvā songs in the Sanskrit drama as also songs to accompany some types of dances were composed in Apabhramśa. The disputed Ap. verses, found in some Mss. of Kālidāsa's Vikramorvasiya support this.

The language of many of the Ap. works after the 13th century reveal an ever-increasing influence of the contemporary speech forms, some of which were already being employed for literary purposes, though, to start with, these new literatures were only further extensions of the Ap literary types and trends. This influence of the spoken idiom is felt even in some of the illustrative verses cited in the Ap. grammar, and conversely, of Hemacandra's the Ap. tradition in form, style and diction continues in literature with diminishing vigour up to the 15th century or, in some cases, even later.

## Concluding Remarks

From the preceding broad survey, it would be seen elearly that Ap. can boast of a considerably rich and varied literature. Most of the known Ap, authors were Jainas and the lion's share goes to the Digambara Jainas. We have however enough indications to show that a large number of Brahmanic and Jain Ap. works are lost for good. The high artistic traditions of the Classical Sanskrit poetry were ably and creditably maintained by the poets, their inescapable didacticism notwithstanding. Of course in accord with the atmosphere and spirit of their times, poetic expression had become more elaborate, pedantic and fond of display. But it cannot be denied that Caturmukha, Svayambhū and Puspadanta had a stature equalling that of any famous author of the Sanskrit Mahākāvya. Their works have a classical eminence. The mystic verses of Yogindu, Kanha and Saraha too with their direct and penettating spiritual note, as also the lyrical appeal of the Samdesurasaka assure them a permenant and venerable place in Ancient Indian literature.

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