On Early Apabhraṃśa

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1. By the seventh century A.D., Apabhraṃśa was established as a language of literature besides Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Pāścācī (Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin). The grammatical tradition as represented by Hemacandra's treatment of Apabhraṃśa takes it to be one language like Sanskrit and Prakrit (Prakrit in the sense of Māhāraṣṭri). The occasional observations of grammarians such as Namisādu and Bhoja about the varieties of Apabhraṃśa relate to its use, with a touch of some regional dialects and occurring in some minor compositions, as a piece of novelty. This is illustrated in Namisādu's commentary on Rudraṭa's Kāvyālaṃkāra (II 11-12) and in Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa (pp.102-103).

From the linguistic point of view, however, the language of the earlier period of Apabhraṃśa (6th to 12th centuries A.D.) was standardized but not yet uniform, open as it was to the continuous impact of regional spoken dialects, besides the influence of Sanskrit and Prakrit. Grammarians have also taken note of some varying features of Apabhraṃśa. As the Apabhraṃśa works of the first two centuries are all lost and since the manuscripts of the earliest preserved works are much later than the works themselves (and, consequently, modernized considerably in orthography and grammar), we have to rely on a few scattered remnants as clues to get a glimpse of the form of the language as used in the earliest stratum of Apabhraṃśa literature.

2. In his treatment of Apabhraṃśa, Hemacandra has provided for the following:
   (1) change of intervocalic $k$, $kh$, $t$, $th$, $p$, and $ph$ respectively to $g$, $gh$, $d$, $dh$, $v$, and $bh$ which were otherwise as a rule elided (non-aspirates) or changed to $h$ (aspirates), refer to Siddhahemacandra 8-4-396;
   (2) optional preservation of $r$ in clusters with $r$ as the latter member (8-4-398);
   (3) change of Skt. $bru$- to $bruv$- or $bro$- (8-4-391).

Besides, in a general way, Hemacandra has said many a time that the changes are the same (or generally the same) as in Śauraseni, which evidently relates to the features noted under 8-4-396 (refer to 8-4-260, 267, 274, 275, 422, 446). These rules have been appropriately illustrated in the commentary.
We now find near-total absence of the first and the third of the above-mentioned features in the vast majority of the illustrations cited by Hemacandra, and in the whole of Apabhraṃśa literature known to us. The second feature is also found but rarely. It is nevertheless somewhat more common than the other two which seem to be quite exceptional. In this connection we may note a few remarkable facts.

In order to illustrate 8-4-446, Hemacandra has cited the following verse:

*sisi seharu khanu viṇimmavido*
*khaṇu kaṃṭhi pālambu kidu, radie vihidu khaṇu muṃḍa-māļie *
*jaṃ paṇaṇeṇa tam ŋamahu, kusuma-dāma-koyamū kāmaho ||*

Herein we find forms with -d- derived from original -t-. The metre is 'Māṭra' (SC.IV 8 ff. and CH. V 17 ff.) which has 15 + 12 + 15 + 12 + 15 Māṭrās in its consecutive five Caraṇās.

4. The verse cited under 8-4-422 to illustrate substitution in Apabhraṃśa of *dṛhi* for Skt. *dṛṣṭi* is as follows:

*ekkam ekkau jai-vi joedi*
*hari suṭṭhu savāyareṇa, to-vi drehi jahiṁ kahiṁ vi rāhi ||*
*ko sakkai samvarevi, daḍḍha-ṇayaṇa neheṃ paluṭṭa ||*

The verse is also cited by Svayamlū (SC.IV 10.2) under the name of a poet Govinda. Svayamlū differs in more than one reading from Hemachandra, and the original features do not seem to be preserved, as we have *joēi* for *joedi* and *diṭṭhi* for the characteristic *dṛhi*.

Here also the metre is Māṭrā. We have a present third person singular form with the -edi ending and another form (dṛhi) that preserves -r- in a cluster.

5. Noting briefly this characteristic of Apabhraṃśa, Namisādhu has cited in his commentary on Rudraṭa's Kāvyālāmkāra (II 11-12) the following verse-line to illustrate the preservation of -r- in a cluster:

*gotru gaṁjidu malidu cārittu ||*

This seems to be the first Caraṇa of a Māṭrā stanza, and it also exhibits the characteristic of the change of -t- to -d-.

6. The Apabhraṃśa illustration cited in ŚP. on p.121 (jaivīgaḍḍahī xx etc.), although considerably corrupt, is most probably in the Māṭrā metre and contains present third

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1 R. Pischel has noted cases of preservation of r in Hemacandra's illustrations (under §§ 28 and 268), as well as cases of -t- > -d- etc. (under the relevant section).

2 This verse also occurs in ŚP. (p. 309). See 'Prakrit Verses in Works on Sanskrit Poetics', Pt. I, Appendix, p. 13, no. 24. — Refer for the two Māṭrās «sisi seharu» and «ekkam ekkau» as discussed in (3) and (4) to L. Alsdorf Apabhraṃśa-Studien, Leipzig 1937, pp. 106-07 and pp. 55-56. Alsdorf's discussion does not affect the points mentioned by Dr. Bhayani. THE EDITORS.
person singular forms in -adi (see ‘Prakrit Verses in Works on Sanskrit Poetics’, I, Appendix, p.6, no.9).

7. The illustration of the Raḍḍā metre given under CH. V 23 is as follows:
   lundhidu camḍana-valli-pallamki
   saṃmilidu lavamga-vaṇi, khalidu vatthu-ramanīya-kayalihim ||
   uchhalidu phani-layahim, ghulidu tarala-kallola-lavalihim ||
   cumbidu māhavi-vallarihim, pulaida-kāmi-sariru ||
   bhama-saṅicchau samcaradi, raḍḍau malaya-samiru ||

   Herein we have numerous forms showing the change -t- > -d-. It should be noted that in the numerous illustrations given by Hemacandra to illustrate varieties of the Mātrā metre (under CH. V 17-22) the present third person singular forms have the usual Māhāraṣṭrī ending -ai. The above-cited illustration is the only exception.

8. In Virahāṅka’s Vṛttajātisamuccaya (IV 31) the following Duvahaa (dvipathaka, dohā) occurs in the definition of the Raḍḍā metre:
   eahu mattaḥu amṣtimahu, jaṃvihi duvahau bhrodi (?) bhrodi |
   to tahu nāmeṃ raḍḍa phuḍu, chamḍai kai-jaṇu bhrodi (?) bhrodi ||

   The form bhrodi in the first line is given by Hemacandra (8-4-273, 274) as a characteristically Sauraseni form. bhrodi (most probably corrupt for brodī) in the second line is an r-preserving form.

9. Hemacandra has given bruv- (Skt. brū-) as characteristic of Apabhṛṃṣa (8-4-391), and he has cited bruvaha, broppi, and broppiṇu as illustrations.

10. In a passage in Uddyotana’s Kuvalayamālā that gives the reactions and the advice of the village elders to the hero who has prepared to burn himself on a pyre to atone for his sins the language is full of rustic colloquialisms (Part I, p.63, lines 18-26). All the four relevant statements are given in the Mātrā metre (lines 18, 20, 22-23, and 25-26). The notable forms are:

   (18:) prārddhaum, prai (for praim), protu, bhrāti, samprati; (20:) viraidu, samprati, brollitaum, prārddhu; (22-23:) prāvu, vrata; (25-26:) bhramiti, prāvesi, mitra-drojjhu.

   The abundance of r-preserving forms and one form with the change -t- > -d- — besides those that preserve the original intervocalic -t- — are noteworthy.

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3 A.N. UPADHYE has noted these traits. See Kuvalayamālā II, Introduction, pp. 80 and 82. Forms like prāvu (< Skt. pāpam) with intrusive r have been noted as a peculiarity of Apabhṛṃṣa by Namisādhu (see ‘S’ and ‘13’) and Hemacandra (8-4-399, illustration nūṣu < yūṣāh). This trait was inherited by Gujarati as can be seen from numerous instances like karod, ṣrāpa, saraṇa, kālinḍrī, karoli, truṭhvī, trābū, mātrāvaṇī, etc. See Anuśilamo, pp. 149-53, and Vyūṭpattivicār, p. 156. — In Puṣpadanta’s Mahāpurāṇa
layamālā was completed in 779 A.D.

11. In the following Prakrit verse, occurring in the Vasudevahinḍī of Saṅghadāsagāṇi (about 6th century), we find an admixture of Apabhramṣa forms:

pāśim kappiṃ cauraṃsiya revā-paya-puṇṇiṣyam
sedīyaṃ ca genheppi sasi-ppabha-vanṇiṣyam |
maim suyaṃ pi ekkallīyaṃ sayayi nīvaṇṇiṣyam
savva-rattiṃ ghoṣei samāna-savanṇiṣyam || (p.28)

Here the absolutive forms kappiṃ and genheppi are specially noteworthy. We are reminded of similar forms such as broppiṇu, broppi, jeppi, gampi, gameppi, jineppi occurring in the illustrations cited by Hemacandra (8-4-391, 440, 441, 442). The second illustration given by Hemacandra in 442 contains also the ‘Śauraseni’ form kiladi.

12. From the above-noted instances it is quite clear that in the case of the Apabhromśa verses in the Mātrā and Raḍḍā metres there was a consistent tradition of using -r- preserving forms and forms with voiced stops. Mātrā, along with its extension Raḍḍā, seems to be among the earliest Apabhromśa metres.

Svayambhū (ninth century) was familiar with a narrative poem of Govinda possibly composed wholly in the Raḍḍā metre. He has cited six Mātrās of Govinda, one each of Chailla and Śuddhaśila, one anonymously; one Raḍḍā of Jinaḍāsa, and one anonymously\(^4\). But due to the late date of the manuscripts these verses have not preserved their original phonological features. Bhāmaha’s remark that self-standing verses, i.e. Muktaṇas, were composed in such metres as Gāthā (Prakrit), Śloka (Sanskrit), and Mātrā (Apabhromśa)\(^5\) also supports our observations.

13. It appears that such poems in the Mātrā and Raḍḍā metres represent an early stratum of Apabhromśa poetry as compared to the bulk which consists of the later “Sandhibandha” and other types of Mahākāvyas in standardized Apabhromśa that developed under the impact of literary Maḥāraṇṭi. The illustrations under Siddhahemacandra 8-4-396 with voiced intervocalic stops, and several forms which preserve -r- in clusters (Pischel § 268) can be assigned to that early stratum. Phonologically, these latter traits had come to be known as distinguishing marks of Apabhromśa as can be seen from the following two illustrations of the Bhāṣā-śleṣa of Sanskrit and Apabhromśa given by Rudraṭa:

\(^{4}\) But due to the late date of the manuscripts, these verses have not preserved all the original phonological features.

\(^{5}\) Kavyālamkāra 1.30: anibbaddham punar gāthā-śloka-mātrādi tat-punaḥ \(\text{I}\) Here the word mātrā has so far invariably been misinterpreted.
dhirāgacchadume hatamuddharavārisadassu |
abhramadaprasarāharaṇu ravikirāṇa tejjassu || (Kāvyālaṃkāra, IV 15)
kriḍanti prasaranti madhu, kamāḷā-prañayi likhanti |
bhraramā mitra suvibhramā, mattā bhūri rasanti || (ibid. IV 21)

Namisādhū, in his brief summary of Apabhṛṣṭa grammar (which most probably has been reproduced from an earlier source) has given four phonological characteristics of Apabhṛṣṭa and has illustrated them appropriately: (1) Preservation of the post-consonantal -r- in a source-cluster as in bhrāyarū. (2) Interpolation of an unorganic -r- as in vṛacāla. (3) Change of intervocalic -r- > -d- as in 'gotru gamjīdu ...' (already cited under 'S' above). (4) Preservation of r as in 'ṭrna-samu ganiṭjī'.

The absolutes in -ppi also seem to be an archaic feature. In the passages discussed above we find together forms with voiced consonants, absolutes in -ppi, and r-preserving clusters. We can also note in this connection the form prassadi, for which Hemacandra has provided a separate rule (8-4-393). Now it is well-known that, in the transmission of Apabhṛṣṭa texts, original forms with r-clusters (as also those with r in the Sanskrit source-form) were changed to r-less forms under the influence of Prakrit. See ALSDORF's discussion in his Introduction to the Harivaṃśapurāṇa (pp.137 ff.). ALSDORF has observed that the manuscript 'C' used by him for editing the text has seventy-five instances of such forms6. Even in later works we occasionally find instances of r and r preserved. The Kavidarpana (ca. 12th century), for example, has 'trāsai mrgha-gāṇu' in the verse given to define and illustrate the Apabhṛṣṭa metre Paṅcānanalalītā (p.23, verse 14.1).

14. Quite obviously, we do not know for certain whether the special Apabhṛṣṭa features noted above characterized early Apabhṛṣṭa in general, or were regional, i.e. 'dialectical', traits. Scholars have suggested that the preservation of r was possibly a distinctive characteristic of the Vṛacāda variety of Apabhṛṣṭa. But there is little actual evidence to support this speculation.

Since long it has become clear that modern efforts to interpret and account for variations in literary Apabhṛṣṭa as sectarian (e.g. H. JACOBI, L. ALSDORF) or regional varieties (e.g. G.V. TAGARE) were based on wrong assumptions and on misunderstanding of the available evidence, which itself was partial.7

15. The language of the Vasudevahīndī-Madhyaṃkaṇḍa (ca. 700 A.D.) provides

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6 This trait is also inherited by Gujarati which has numerous words, derived from Sanskrit, which have preserved r from the cluster in the source-word.

7 When I undertook to analyse the Apabhṛṣṭa of the Śaṃdeśarāsaka in 1945, I was apparently guided by the views of H. JACOBI and L. ALSDORF regarding the dialectal variation in Apabhṛṣṭa (Śaṃdeśarāsaka, Introduction, pp.4 and 25).
good evidence for the use of Śauraseni in narrative prose, besides its long-established employment in the prose of Sanskrit drama under specific conditions. In the language of the Madhyamakhaṇḍa we quite frequently find the intervocalic -t- unchanged, and perhaps equally frequently we find it changed to -d-. Voicing of unvoiced aspirates and preservation of voiced intervocalic stops are also frequently met with. See pp.37 and 41 of the Introduction to the Madhyamakhaṇḍa. Originally, the number of cases might have been greater still in view of the fact that the language of our rather late manuscripts is modernized. On p.42 of the Introduction to the Madhyamakhaṇḍa the editors wrote: "... here we have in the Vasudevahinidi-Madhyamakhaṇḍa a Śvetāmbara work whose Prakrit has Śauraseni phonological elements comparable to what we find in the Prakrit of Digambara works". It seems probable that, during the middle centuries of the first millennium, literary Apabhraṃśa was marked by Śauraseni phonological features while later Apabhraṃśa was characterized by Māhārāṣṭri features. There were a few other peculiar features in Apabhraṃśa which also changed in the course of time. The source-work of Namisādhu's extract on Apabhraṃśa (see '13' above) and the concluding rule in Hemacandra's treatment of Apabhraṃśa, i.e. 8.4.446 (śaurasenīvat: this obviously overlaps on 8.4.396) — along with a few other rules — account for peculiar traits of the language of a specific body of texts which represent early Apabhraṃśa literature.

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8 This 'archaic' Apabhraṃśa (i.e. archaic from the perspective of the later standardized Apabhraṃśa) has a parallel in 'archaic' Prakrit, from the language of Bharata's Dhruvās onwards. — In the Mrčchkaṭikā, the language of the gambler Māthura is Dhakkī according to the commentator. In this dialect, nominative singular forms of masculine a-stems have the ending -u, which is also characteristic of Apabhraṃśa. It is noteworthy that Dhakkī also has some forms that demonstrate the change -t- > -d-. — Similarly, the fact that, in manuscript 'C' of Caṇḍa's Prākritalakṣaṇa, Apabhraṃśa is treated along with Śauraseni is quite significant.
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