

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 Paiśācī (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 Māhārāṣṭrī). The occasional observations of grammarians such as Namisādhū 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 Namisādhū's commentary on Rudraṭa's Kāvyaḷaṃkāra (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. *brū-* 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 Śaurasenī, 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.

3. 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 exceptional¹. In this connection we may note a few remarkable facts.

In order to illustrate 8-4-446, Hemacandra has cited the following verse²:

sīsi seharu khanu viṇimmavidu
khaṇu kaṃṭhi pālaṃbu kidu, radie vihidu khaṇu muṃḍa-mālie |
jaṃ paṇaṇa taṃ ṇamahu, kusuma-dāma-koyaṃḍu kāmaho ||

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

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

ekkam ekkau jai-vi joedi
hari suṭṭhu savvāyareṇa, to-vi drehi jahiṃ kahiṃ vi rāhi |
ko sakkai saṃvarevi, daḍḍha-ṇayaṇa ṇehem paluṭṭā ||

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

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

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

gotru gaṃjidu malidu cārittu |

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

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

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 Mātrās «sīsi 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:

luṃdhidu caṃḍaṇa-valli-pallaṃki
saṃmilidu lavaṃga-vaṇi, khalidu vatthu-ramaṇiya-kayalihiṃ |
ucchalidu phaṇi-layahim, ghulidu tarala-kallola-lavalihiṃ ||
cuṃbidu māhavi-vallarihiṃ, pulaida-kāmi-sarīru |
bhamara-saricchau saṃcaradi, raḍḍau malaya-samīru ||

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 Māhārāṣṭrī 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 mattahu aṃtimahu, jaṃvihi duvahau bhrodi (? bhodi) |
to tahu ṇāmem raḍḍa phuḍu, chaṃḍai kai-jaṇu bhrodi (? brodi) ||

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

9. Hemacandra has given *bruv-* (Skt. *brū-*) as characteristic of Apabhraṃśa (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:) *prāraddhaum*, *prai* (for *praim*), *protu*, *bhrāti*, *saṃprati*; (20:) *viraidu*, *saṃprati*, *brollitaum*, *prāraddhu*; (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 noteworthy³. The Kuva-

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 Apabhraṃśa by Namisādhū (see '5' and '13') and Hemacandra (8-4-399, illustration *vṛasu* < *vyāsaḥ*). This trait was inherited by Gujarati as can be seen from numerous instances like *karod*, *śrāpa*, *sarān*, *kālindī*, *karōḷo*, *truṭhvū*, *trābū*, *mathrāvāṇi*, etc. See Anuśilano, pp. 149-53, and Vyutpattivācār, p. 156. — In Puṣpadanta's Mahāpurāṇa

layamālā was completed in 779 A.D.

11. In the following Prakrit verse, occurring in the Vasudevahiṇḍī of Saṅghadāsagaṇi (about 6th century), we find an admixture of Apabhraṃśa forms:

pāsiṃ kappiṃ cauraṃsiya revā-paya-puṇṇiyaṃ
 seḍiyaṃ ca geṇheppi sasi-ppabha-vaṇṇiyaṃ |
 maim suyaṃ pi ekkalliyaṃ sayāṇi ṇivaṇṇiyaṃ
 savva-rattiṃ ghosei samāṇa-savaṇṇiyaṃ || (p.28)

Here the absolutive forms *kappiṃ* and *geṇheppi* are specially noteworthy. We are reminded of similar forms such as *broppinu*, *broppi*, *jeppi*, *gaṃpi*, *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 *kīladi*.

12. From the above-noted instances it is quite clear that in the case of the Apabhraṃśa 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 Apabhraṃśa 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 Śuddhaśīla, one anonymously; one Raḍḍā of Jinadāsa, and one anonymously⁴. 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. Muktakas, were composed in such metres as Gāthā (Prakrit), Śloka (Sanskrit), and Mātrā (Apabhraṃśa)⁵ also supports our observations.

13. It appears that such poems in the Mātrā and Raḍḍā metres represent an early stratum of Apabhraṃśa poetry as compared to the bulk which consists of the later "Sandhibandha" and other types of Mahākāvya in standardized Apabhraṃśa that developed under the impact of literary Māhārāṣṭrī. 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 Apabhraṃśa as can be seen from the following two illustrations of the Bhāṣā-śleṣa of Sanskrit and Apabhraṃśa given by Rudraṭa:

(972 A.D.) we find three such instances: *vruhu* < *budhaḥ* (16, 11.7), *vrāsu* < *vyāsaḥ* (98, 8.6), *vrahiu* > *vadhiṭaḥ* (99, 3.5).

⁴ But due to the late date of the manuscripts, these verses have not preserved all the original phonological features.

⁵ Kāvyaśāṣṭra I.30: *anibaddhaṃ punar gāthā-śloka-mātrādi tat-punaḥ* | Here the word *mātrā* has so far invariably been misinterpreted.

dhīrāgacchadume hatamududdharavārisadassu |
 abhramadaprasarāharaṇu ravikiraṇā tejassu || (Kāvyaḷaṃkāra, IV 15)
 kriḍanti prasaranti madhu, kamālā-praṇayi lihanti |
 bhramarā mitra suvibhramā, mattā bhūri rasanti || (*ibid.* IV 21)

Namisādhū, in his brief summary of Apabhraṃśa grammar (which most probably has been reproduced from an earlier source) has given four phonological characteristics of Apabhraṃśa and has illustrated them appropriately: (1) Preservation of the post-consonantal *-r-* in a source-cluster as in *bhrāyaru*. (2) Interpolation of an unorganic *-r-* as in *vrācālau*. (3) Change of intervocalic *-t-* > *-d-* as in 'gotru *gaṃjīdu* ...' (already cited under '5' above). (4) Preservation of *r* as in '*ṛṇa*-samu *gaṇijai*'.

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 Apabhraṃśa 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 *ṛ* preserved. The *Kavidarpaṇa* (ca. 12th century), for example, has '*trāsai mṛga-gaṇu*' in the verse given to define and illustrate the Apabhraṃśa metre *Pañcāṇalalitā* (p.23, verse 14.1).

14. Quite obviously, we do not know for certain whether the special Apabhraṃśa features noted above characterized early Apabhraṃśa in general, or were regional, i.e. 'dialectal', traits. Scholars have suggested that the preservation of *r* was possibly a distinctive characteristic of the *Vrācaḍa* variety of Apabhraṃśa. 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 Apabhraṃśa 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 *Vasudevahiṇḍi-Madhyamakhaṇḍa* (ca. 700 A.D.) provides

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 Apabhraṃśa of the *Samdeśarāsaka* in 1945, I was apparently guided by the views of H. JACOBI and L. ALSDORF regarding the dialectal variation in Apabhraṃśa (*Samdeśarāsaka*, Introduction, pp.4 and 25),

good evidence for the use of Śaurasenī 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 Vasudevahiṇḍī-Madhyamakhaṇḍa a Śvetāmbara work whose Prakrit has Śaurasenī 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 Śaurasenī phonological features⁸ while later Apabhraṃśa was characterized by Māhārāṣṭrī 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 Mṛcchakaṭika, 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 Prākṛtalakṣaṇa, Apabhraṃśa is treated along with Śaurasenī is quite significant.

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