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CHANDONUŚĀSANA OF JAYAKĪRTI AND ANCIENT
KANNADA METRES

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Chandonuśāsana of Jayakīrti is a work on Sanskrit metres in general but contains a chapter on the pure Kannada metres; it does not treat of any Prākṛta metres, though it defines a few Sanskrit Mātrā Vṛttas and very few Tāla Vṛttas. The chief interest of the work is, however, in its treatment of the Kannada metres. This work of Jayakīrti exists, so far as I know, in a single palm-leaf manuscript preserved in the Jesalmir Jain Bhandar. It forms part of a bigger MS., which contains other works on metre, namely, Jayadeva's Chandas with Harṣaṭa's commentary (leaves 1-10; 1-44); Virahāṅka's Vṛttajāṭisamuccaya with Gopāla's Vṛtti (leaves 46-89; 90-183); Vṛttaratnākara of Kedāra (leaves 1-15) and Chandonuśāsana of Jayakīrti (leaves 1-28). Of these Virahāṅka's Vṛttajāṭisamuccaya (only the text) is already published by me with the help of Bhau Daji's copy of this manuscript at *JBRAS.*, 1929, 1932. Kedāra's work is well known, while the remaining two works are unknown up to now. Jayadeva's work on metre is indeed now and then referred to, but it has not been available so far. Now I have been able to secure a good copy of the portions of this manuscript containing the works of Jayadeva, Virahāṅka and Jayakīrti owing to the inimitable kindness of the noble-minded Muni Shri Jinavijayaji, at present the Director of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavana, Bombay, who has devoted his life to the publication of important Jain literature. I intend to publish Jayadeva's work with the commentary, separately very early. For the present I am publishing only a portion of Jayakīrti's Chandonuśāsana (Ch. I, a part of Ch. VI, and Ch. VII). The remaining portions of it will be published along with Jayadeva's work, for which latter I have obtained also another copy of the same MS. from the BORI., Poona. The palm-leaf MS. mentioned above is dated twice; once at the end of the text of Jayadeva's work and then at the end of the whole MS. The first date is Sam. 1190 when the writing was begun and the last date is Sam. 1192 when it was concluded. Different parts are separately paged as indicated above. See Dalal, Catalogue of MSS. in the Jesalmere Bhandars, Baroda (Gaek. O.S.), 1923, p. 29, No. 238.

2. Jayakīrti's Chandonuśāsana contains eight chapters in all. It is throughout written in Sanskrit verse, the metre usually adopted being the Anuṣṭubh, Āryā

or Skandhaka, except in the definitions of the metres, where the defined metre itself is used for the definition. The FIRST chapter is introductory and begins with an homage to Vardhamāna. It has 28 stanzas; vv. 3-4 explain short and long letters, their syllabic quantity and their graphical representation. V. 5 mentions an exception in the case of popular poetry; it is firstly, the option in the case of the *Dirghatva* of a syllable which precedes a conjunct and secondly, the option in the case of the *Dirghatva* of *e* and *o*. These latter are also used as *Hrasva* in popular poetry. V. 6 enumerates the 8 *Akṣara Gaṇas* with their presiding deities, while the *Gaṇas* themselves are explained in vv. 8-9. V. 7 is here reproduced from Ch. VIII. 2, perhaps by some older scribe owing to the mention of the *Prastāra* in v. 6d. Vv. 10-14 deal with the *Yati* or the *Caesura*; v. 12 (first 3 lines) seems to be a quotation—the only one if at all—from the work of some old *Digambara Yati* like *Akalāṅka* or *Pūjyapāda*. In v. 13 *Jayakīrti* mentions 10 ancient Sanskrit metricians, arranging them in two groups opposed to each other on the question of the *Yati*. It is curious to note that *Jayadeva* whom *Svayambhū* mentions along with *Piṅgala* as a staunch supporter of the *Yati*, is not alluded to here by *Jayakīrti*, even though he tells us at VIII. 19 that he had consulted *Jayadeva's* and other works on metre. Vv. 15-19 give the broad divisions of the *Varṇa Vṛttas* according as they contain from 1 to 26 letters in each of their four lines. All metres except the *Daṇḍakas*, having more than 26 letters in their lines, are called *Mālā Vṛttas*. V. 20 explains the two varieties of a *Padya*, namely, the *Vṛtta* and the *Jāti*; the former is based on the *Akṣara Gaṇas* and the latter on the *Mātrā Gaṇas*. *Vṛtta* and *Jāti* are each of four kinds which are enumerated in v. 21, while v. 22 broadly mentions the *Jātis* in Sanskrit, *Prākṛta* and *Kannada* (in *d*, some two letters are missing). V. 23 alludes to the *Daṇḍakas* and the *Gaṇadhās* and v. 24 gives some important information about the *Raghatā* or the *Raḡale* in *Kannada*. *Raghatā* is the name of a free verse (*svacchandās*) having no restriction about the number of lines contained in a stanza or a *Kaḍavaka*. The lines, however, must be of equal length and must resemble each other in point of both the letters and the *Mātrās* (*mātrākṣarasama*) and, further, must consist of couplets. It must be musical to hear (possibly *tālabaddhatā* is meant) and is the same as the *Paddhati*. This last point is very interesting. *Paddhati* is a *Mātrā Vṛtta* used both in Sanskrit and *Prākṛta*, but particularly in *Apabhraṁśu* poetry.¹ *Paddhati* or *Pajjhaṭikā* is very extensively used by the great *Apabhraṁśu* poet *Puṣpadanta* in the tenth century A.D. *Puṣpadanta's* *Kaḍavas* are made up of any number of couplets composed in the *Pajjhaṭikā* metre.² Like this *Paddhati* or *Pajjhaṭikā*, the *Raghatā* or *Raḡale* must be composed in couplets, as *Jayakīrti* tells us. But the important difference between the *Paddhati* and the *Kannada Raghatā* is that the former is only *Mātrāsama*, while the latter is required to be *Mātrā-akṣara-sama*.³ In the first half of v. 25 *Pāda* and *Padya* are defined, while the second half explains the characteristic *Anuprāsa* of *Kannada* poetry which consists of the repetition of the 2nd letter at the beginning of each *Pāda*. It will be seen how the author's attention is mainly focussed on *Kannada* poetry and metres throughout in vv. 23-26 when the topic is introduced in v. 22c. So when he defines *Cūrṇi* in v. 26 as a prose passage of lovely composition full of compounds and devoid of a division into *Pādas*, he has mainly the *Kannada* prose in his mind. V. 27

¹ See Hemacandra, *Chandonuśāsana* (N.S.P. Ed., 1912), p. 26b, line 6; also *Kavi-darpaṇa* (*ABORI.*, 1935), p. 84; *Chandaḷkośa* (*Bombay University Journal*, Nov. 1933, p. 58), v. 36; *Gūthālakṣaṇa* (*ABORI.*, 1933), v. 76; *Svayambhūchandas* (*Bombay University Journal*, Nov. 1936), p. 91, vv. 30-31.

² For this peculiarity of the *Apabhraṁśu* poets, cf. *Apabhraṁśu Metros*, II (*Bombay University Journal*, 1930, p. 67), para. 55.

³ For a further discussion of the point and of the relationship between the *Raḡale* and the *Ṣaṭpadi*, see *Kundangar*, *Sūngatya* and *Ṣaṭpadi*, II (*Bombay University Journal*, May 1938), p. 116.

defines the Sama, Ardhasama and the Viśama Vṛttas, while v. 28 says how certain well-known terms are employed to convey the different numbers like 1, 2, etc.

3. The SECOND chapter or Adhikāra defines about 264 Sanskrit metres divided into 26 main classes, beginning with Ukta and ending with Utkṛti, according as they contain from 1 to 26 letters in each of their four lines. All these are Sama Vṛttas and the definitions are given in single lines composed in the metres which are being defined, except in the case of the first 14 metres, where the definition runs over a whole stanza of the defined metre. At the end of the chapter, about eleven Mālā Vṛttas (cf. I. 19d) are defined; about these it is laid down that though they are generally Akṣarasama, i.e. having the same number of letters in each Pāda, yet sometimes they may even be Mātrāsama, i.e. containing the same number of Mātrās, but different number of letters. This means that the poet enjoys the privilege of substituting two short letters for one long letter whenever he likes to do so. As we shall see later on this is allowed in many cases by Jayakīrti as a source of variety and ornamentation. In the THIRD chapter, about 25 Ardhasama Vṛttas are defined, the definition containing the illustration as well. Even about these, Jayakīrti allows that they may or may not be Akṣarasama (*tad akṣarasamam hinam adhikam ceti drśyate*) suggesting thereby that they must be Mātrāsama at least. In vv. 21, 22 and 25 the author quotes the authority of Pālyakīrti, Svayambhū¹ and Prajñāmahodaya in respect of the names Sunandini, Nandini and Cūḍāmaṇi which are respectively given to metres whose odd and even lines are made of Vaśiṣṭha and Indravaiśā, Indravaiśā and Vaiśiṣṭha, and Indravajrā and Vasantatilaka in order. Chapter FOURTH deals with the Viśama Vṛttas beginning with the varieties of the Anuṣṭubh (vv. 1-15). These are followed by Padacaturūrdhva together with metres derived from it (16-32), Udgatā (v. 33), Saurabhaka (v. 34), Lalita (v. 35), Kīrti² made popular by the poet Cārukīrti (v. 36), Upasthita-Pracupita (v. 37), Vardhamāna (v. 38), and Śuddhavarīṭ (v. 39). The FIFTH chapter is entirely devoted to the Mātrā Vṛttas, namely, the Gāthā and its derivatives (vv. 1-24), followed by Mātrāsamaka, Acaladhṛti, Upacitrā, Viśloka, Vānavaiśikā, Citrā, Pādākulaka, Anaṅgkriḍā, and Atirucirā, the last two being Dvipadis and Akṣara Vṛttas, respectively called Śikhā and Cūlikā by Piṅgala, a fact first recorded by Jayadeva and evidently copied from him by our author.

4. In chapter SIXTH Jayakīrti defines the Vaitāliya and other similar mixed Mātrā-Vaṇa Vṛttas in the first 25 stanzas. He then defines the Māgadhi in v. 26; according to Virahāṅka this Māgadhi or Māgadhiḥkā is the same as the Vaitāliya composed in the Māgadhi language.³ Jayakīrti, however, makes it still more free and allows two short letters optionally for any one of the two long letters of the Raṅga in the lines of the Vaitāliya. The restriction about the language also disappears with Jayakīrti, as he has no intention of defining Prākṛta metres or, even giving any prominence to the Prākṛta languages in his treatise. In v. 27 another Mātrāvṛtta called Gaṇa⁴ is defined; in the 1st, 2nd and the 4th lines of this metre, 3 Caturmātra Gaṇas of any kind excepting the Jagāṇa are to be used with a

¹ See, however, Svayambhūchandas (*JBBRAS.*, 1035), p. 29, v. 3. Svayambhū's Nandini is not an Ardhasama Vṛtta. As a matter of fact, he does not mention such combinations under the Ardhasama Vṛttas in Ch. II. Like Homacandra, Chandonuśāsana (N.S.P. Ed., 1912), p. 7a, line 12 and Kavidarpaṇa (*ABORI.*, 1935), p. 54, v. 40, he might have treated them under the Upajātis; but this portion of his work is unfortunately not available at present.

² This is the third metre derived from the Udgatā by having a different set of Akṣara Gaṇas in its 3rd line. This seems to have started with the Kannada poet Cārukīrti; it is unknown to Svayambhū (*JBBRAS.*, 1935, p. 55), III, 1-6, Homacandra, Chandonuśāsana (N.S.P. Ed., 1912), p. 23a, lines 11-16 and Kavidarpaṇa (*ABORI.*, 1935, p. 60), IV, 129, Commentary.

³ See Vṛttajātisamuccaya (*JBBRAS.*, 1929, p. 87), note on IV, 28.

⁴ This is a peculiar metre. V. 27 which defines and illustrates it contains the characteristic Kannada Anuprāsa. It is perhaps an old exclusively Kannada metre.

long letter at the end. But its 3rd line contains a pair of short letters coming after these. V. 28 contains the definition of the Dvipadi¹ and v. 29, those of Abjanāla and Kāmālekḥā. Abjanāla is called Āranāla by Hemacandra (N.S.P. Ed., p. 32b, lines 2-5). The definition of Dvipadi agrees with that of Hemacandra, but it puts an additional restriction that when 4 short letters are used for the Caturmātra in the 2nd and the 6th places, the Yati must appear at the end of the 1st short letter, i.e. a word must be completed with this letter and another must begin with the 2nd letter. This rule is recommended by the older metricians in the case of the 6th Caturmātra in the 1st half of the Āryā. Jayakīrti also seems to prescribe the same in the case of the Māgadhi (v. 26c above). An additional rule in the case of the Dvipadi given by Jayakīrti is about the first Ṣaṭkālā Gaṇa; a short letter standing in the even places of this Gaṇa must not be combined with a following short letter into a long one. In short, the 2nd and the 3rd, the 4th and the 5th and the 6th and the 7th Mūtrās must not be allowed to be represented by long letters at the beginning of the lines of a Dvipadi. This seems partly to avoid a single short letter coming at the beginning of this Ṣaṭkālā in accordance with the rule of Kannada prosody mentioned at VII. 3d below and partly to maintain the separateness² of this Gaṇa. The next stanza defines the Ūtsāha or Utsava, each of whose four lines contains 7 pairs of long and short letters coming in succession with a long letter at the end of all. But any one, or even all, of these 7 pairs may be substituted by a Nagaṇa, i.e. 3 short letters; or, in other words, any one or more of the long letters may be replaced by 2 short ones at the option of the poet. This same Utsava is called Mahotsava when the lines have a Jagaṇa followed by 6 parts of the Utsava, i.e. 6 pairs of long and short letters in succession, accompanied by a long letter at the end. But it is called Ramā when two short letters are employed for any one or more long letters in these 6 pairs. As a Varṇa Vṛtta the Mahotsava gets another name, i.e. Puṇicacāmara even according to Jayakīrti, II. 203. Vv. 30 and 31 have the characteristic Kannada Anuprāsa, but v. 31 seems to be wanting in one line, either the first or the second. I am not able to understand wholly v. 32. It seemingly contains the definition of a metre called Layottara in all its five varieties (see below v. 37c), which are obtained by a mixture of portions of the lines of Ramā and Utsava. Each line in v. 32 appears to be made up of three parts where the 2nd and the 3rd parts have rhyming ends. The characteristic Kannada Anuprāsa is also found.³ V. 33 gives the different kinds of the Daṇḍakas; other metricians define them at the end of the Varṇa Vṛttas, but Jayakīrti possibly gives them here owing to their value as a Tāla or Laya Vṛtta, immediately after the Layottaras. The Gadya Daṇḍakas or Gaṇadhās are defined in the next stanza (v. 34). They are of different kinds; some are Vṛtta Daṇḍakas, since they resemble the metrical Daṇḍakas in respect of their parts, but they do not follow other rules about the initial short letters, nor about the length of a Pāda, or even about the division into Pādas. Others are called Gadya Daṇḍakas when they commence with a pure prose passage, but later behave like the Vṛtta Daṇḍakas. When a Daṇḍaka is composed like an Utsava, it is called Utsava-Daṇḍaka; it is recommended for hymns in honour of great deities like Arhat. Lastly, there is the Citra Daṇḍaka whose even parts are made up of any Caturmātras except the Jagaṇa,

¹ For a discussion of the name and varieties of this metre, see Apabhraṇśa Metres, II (Bombay University Journal, Nov. 1930, p. 49), para. 43.

² In Mātrā and Tāla Vṛttas the Mātrā and Tāla Gaṇas must have their separateness maintained by avoiding a long letter at their junctions; cf. Apabhraṇśa Metres (Bombay University Journal, Nov. 1933, p. 38), para. 13.

³ In the last line of v. 32 the MS. reads *taṁ vṛitam*; but this is metrically as well as grammatically incorrect. We should expect *taḍ vṛitam* if at all; hence I propose *taṁ sam vṛitam* which corrects both the mistakes and also secures the Kannada Anuprāsa.

while the Caturmātras in the odd places are generally the Jaṅga or all short letters. Vv. 35-37 recount the metres that are defined in the chapter. Jayakīrti has followed this practice in Chs. IV to VI only.

5. The SEVENTH chapter exclusively deals with a few characteristic Kannada metres. Thus it defines three kinds of a Tripadī (vv. 9-14), five main kinds of a Sama Catuspadī with five subdivisions of one of them, namely, the Akṣara (vv. 4-8; 15-16; 18-19), one kind of an Ardhasama Catuspadī (v. 20) and one kind of a Ṣaṭpadī (v. 17). Every one of these shows the characteristic Anuprāsa on the 2nd syllable at the commencement of a line. A line of these metres is made up of peculiarly formed Akṣara Gaṇas which are explained in detail in vv. 2-3. There are three kinds of such Gaṇas called Rati, Madana and Śara; sometimes they are designated by the synonyms of these words or, by the letters *ra*, *la* and *ḍā* respectively. All these generally begin with a long letter and then they respectively contain 2, 3 and 4 letters; but sometimes, this initial long letter is replaced by two short letters, while the other letters are kept either short or long according to the will of the poet. When this is done, naturally, the Gaṇas respectively contain 3, 4 and 5 letters in them. In short, every Gaṇa must have 1 long or 2 short letters at the beginning and then the remaining letters may either be short or long, their number and not the quality being restricted in each Gaṇa as said above. Thus owing to the option of the substitution of two short letters for one long at the beginning of a Gaṇa and also owing to the option allowed in the case of the other letters, namely, that they can either be short or long, the three Gaṇas can be respectively formed in 4, 8 and 16 ways.¹

6. We shall now take up the metres defined by Jayakīrti and we shall begin with the Tripadī. The three kinds of a Tripadī are Citrā, Vicitrā and Elā. The three² lines of Tripadī are as a rule made up of 4, 4 and 3 Gaṇas which are of the Madana type with the exception of the 6th and the 10th which must be of the Rati type (*ḍig-rasa-ratiḥ*). When the 7th and the 11th Madana Gaṇas begin with two short letters (*lāḍi-giri-hara-aṃśā*) in a Tripadī, it is called Citrā (v. 9). But it is called Vicitrā when the 11th Gaṇa is a Śara Gaṇa beginning with a long letter, instead of the usual Madana Gaṇa (v. 10). The largest number of Mātrās which a Citrā may have³ is 62. This number of Mātrās, namely 62, may sometimes decrease when short letters are used in the 2nd and the subsequent places in the different Gaṇas according to the option allowed. But it may also increase in the case of Vicitrā by 2; in any case the number of Mātrās is immaterial, says Jayakīrti, if the necessary things as explained in the Sūtra (v. 9) are there. This means that Tripadī is not a Mātrā Vṛtta, much less a Tāla Vṛtta. If all short letters are employed in a Tripadī, the number of Mātrās will be 42 as said and illustrated in v. 12 (where *laghu* stands for 1 Mātrā; *ṛtu-hata-giri* is $6 \times 7 = 42$; Yatipati is either Jaya-

¹ For a detailed discussion about these Gaṇas, see Kundangar, *Karṇāṭaka-Viśaya-Jāti* (Bombay University Journal, Sept. 1940), pp. 170-172.

² As a matter of fact, however, a Tripadī seems to have been regarded as containing 4 lines instead of 3 as signified by the name. The first line of 4 Gaṇas was divided into two smaller ones of equal length, i.e. each containing 2 Gaṇas, and the characteristic Anuprāsa was also introduced, thus making the separation almost complete. Even Jayakīrti has followed this practice and so in v. 9a, we get the composition of the 4 lines as containing 2, 2, 4 and 3 Aṃśas respectively (*kara-kara-abdhi-triaṃśa-caraṇā*). The Anuprāsa in the first 2 lines according to this scheme is found in all the stanzas which illustrate and define the Tripadis, namely 9-14, in Jayakīrti's work.

³ I propose to read *dvāṣaṣṭyā* for *ardhaṣaṣṭyā* of the MS., firstly because v. 11 is intended to be an illustration of the Citrā with 62 Mātrās according to the usual practice of the author; consequently, all letters in all the Gaṇas are expected to be long with the exception of the 7th and the 11th Gaṇas which must be *lāḍi* (they are *kvaciḍ aṣyāḥ* and *kim amūbhīḥ*); and secondly because the reading *ardhaṣaṣṭyā* would give a Śara where a Madana is expected according to the definition.

kirti himself or perhaps Pūjyapāda). If short letters are not employed in a Tripadi, it may nevertheless not contain *all* long letters, since at the 7th and the 11th places, a *Lagana*, i.e. a *Madana Gaṇa*, which begins with a long letter is prohibited as explained in v. 13, and so it must have at least 4 short letters in it. V. 14 defines *Elā* as a Tripadi which is deserted by her 3rd Pāda, i.e. the Pāda which contains 4 Gaṇas, out of its four Pādas as explained on p. 5, n. 2 (*ṛtīyāmhrav apamuñcati* 'when the third Pāda deserts her'). Thus *Elā* contains the first two Pādas of 2 Gaṇas each and the last Pāda of 3 Gaṇas, out of the 4 Pādas of a Tripadi. The rule about the use of the *Rati Gaṇa* at the 6th and the 10th places and the rule about the use of a *Lādi Madana Gaṇa* at the 7th and the 11th places are now applicable only so far as the 10th and the 11th Gaṇas are concerned, because the 3rd Pāda containing all Gaṇas from the 5th to the 8th has disappeared and *Elā* simply does not contain them. Thus the rule about the 6th and the 7th Gaṇas is inoperative in the case of the *Elā Tripadi* as it does not contain them. V. 14 contains the illustration of *Elā* (*geya* is the *Rati* at the 10th place and *vidajanaiḥ* is the *lādi Madana Gaṇa* at the 11th place) with the characteristic *Anuprāsa*. The first two Pādas contain 2 *Madana Gaṇas* each, while the last contains 3 Gaṇas, the 2nd of which is *Rati*, and the others are *Madanas*. Śārngadeva's definitions¹ of Tripadi and *Elā* very well agree with the interpretation which I am putting upon Jayakīrti's words in vv. 9 and 14.

7. *Akṣara* is the first and perhaps the oldest of the five main kinds of *Catupadi* defined by Jayakīrti. It is itself of five kinds differentiated from each other by the length of their lines.² The shortest is the *Alpākṣara* (v. 4). It contains a pair of the *Madana Gaṇas* followed by a *Śara Gaṇa* in each line. It is well known in the Kannada poems like the Śrīngarapīṇḍa Kāvya (v. 4). The second is the *Antarākṣara*; its line contains 1 *Rati*, followed by 2 *Madanas* and 1 *Śara* at the end. It is well known from the *Karṇāteśvarakūthā* and other Jain poems (v. 5). The third is *Madhyamākṣara*; its line has 1 *Rati*, followed by 3 *Madanas* and 1 *Śara* at the end. It is illustrated in the *Kannada Mālatī-Mūdhava Kāvya* (v. 6). The fourth is the *Samānākṣara*; its line has 2 *Madanas*, 1 *Rati*, 2 *Madanas* and 1 *Rati* in succession. It is employed by the poet *Asaga* in his *Kannada Kumārasāmbhava Kāvya* (v. 7). The fifth and the last variety of *Akṣara* is the *Mahākṣara*; its line contains 1 *Rati*, followed by 5 *Madanas* and 1 *Śara* at the end; or, 2 *Ratis*, 1 *Madana*, 1 *Rati*, 2 *Madanas* and 1 *Śara* in succession; or, 6 *Madanas* followed by 1 *Śara* at the end (v. 8). In all the varieties of the *Akṣara*, Jayakīrti recommends that there should be a *Yati* at the end of every *Gaṇa*.³ The next *Catupadi* is the *Catupadikā* which is well known from the *Cūḍāmaṇi Kāvya*; its line contains 1 *Madana* followed by 1 *Śara* only (v. 15). This is the shortest of all the *Catupadis* defined by Jayakīrti. The line of *Chandovataṁsa*, which Jayakīrti is pleased to call *Ādivrāhā*, has 1 *Madana*, followed by 4 *Ratis* only; it is seen in the (*Kannada*) *Kumārasāmbhava Kāvya* (v. 16). In the *Catupadi* called *Madanavati*, every line must contain 22 *Mātrās* only, irrespective of the number of letters which it may contain; but the 1st line must have 20 short letters followed by one long letter, while the other lines must each have 4 *Madanas* followed by 1 *Rati*. In no case, however, is the

¹ See the quotations from the *Saṅgitaratnākara* in the foot-note under these stanzas.

² The five kinds respectively contain 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 *Gaṇas* and in four out of five cases have significant adjectives applied to their common name *Akṣara*; these are *Alpa*, *Antara*, *Madhyama* and *Mahat*. The fifth name *Samāna Akṣara* has no reference to the length of the line, but perhaps alludes to the balanced arrangement of the *Madanas* and the *Ratis*. 2 *Madanas* and 1 *Śara* is the basis; to this are added in succession 1 *Rati*; 1 pair of *Rati* and *Madana*; 2 pairs of *Rati* and *Madana* (but dropping the *Śara*); and either 1 *Rati* and 3 *Madanas*, or, 3 *Ratis* and 1 *Madana*, or all the 4 *Madanas*.

³ I am at present unable to see the point of this recommendation which, by the bye, is not observed by Jayakīrti himself in his illustrations.

rule of 22 Mātrās in a line to be violated; consequently the 4 Madanas together must not contain more than 18 Mātrās, the last 4 being required by the Rati (v. 19). The rule is, of course, strictly observed by Jayakīrti in the verse itself which defines the metre. The last Catuspadī defined by Jayakīrti is the Akṣarikā¹; its line contains 1 pair of Madana and Rati at the beginning, another at the middle, and a pair of Madanas followed by a long letter at the end. But all these Gaṇas together must make neither more nor less than 26 Mātrās, so that the stanza as a whole contains the definite number of Mātrās, namely 104. In every line the Yati occurs twice, i.e. after every 8 Mātrās. Instead of the Akṣara Gaṇas mentioned above, the line of the Akṣarikā may even be made up of any Caturmātras except the Jagana, followed by a long letter; the number of the Caturmātras will of course be 6, so as to make up the 26 Mātrās required in the line (v. 18).

8. The only Ardhasama Catuspadī which Jayakīrti defines is the Gītikā in v. 20, which according to him is described by the followers of Prabhuseṇa in the Alaṅkāra (Kāvya? or, a work on metre?). Its odd lines contain 3 Gaṇas each, while the even ones contain 4 Gaṇas each. Of these 7 Gaṇas in each half, the 2nd and the 6th are the Ragaṇas, i.e. the Ratis, while all the remaining ones may optionally be Lagaṇas, i.e. the Madanas or, Dhagaṇas, i.e. the Śaras. In the first half of v. 20, *tīye* and *pañca* are the Ratis in the 2nd and the 6th places, while in the second half, they are *samapā* and *kāre* respectively; similarly, in the first half, the 1st and the 3rd are the Madanas and all the rest, i.e. 4th, 5th and 7th, are the Śaras. In the second half, the 1st and the 4th are the Madanas, while the others, i.e. 3rd, 5th and 7th, are the Śara Gaṇas. Jayakīrti defines only one Ṣaṭpadī in v. 17 and it is called the Ṣaṭpadikā itself. Each of its two halves consists of 3 lines, respectively containing 2, 2 and 3 Gaṇas, which are all of them the Madanas except the last Gaṇa in each half which must be a Śara alone. In the illustration-verse, i.e. v. 17, all the Madanas are *lādi* except the 6th in the first half. In v. 21, Jayakīrti mentions a rule which is necessitated by the peculiar nature of the Ādi Anuprāsa of Kannada poetry. According to this rule, if the first line of a stanza begins with a long letter, the other ones also must begin similarly. If, on the other hand, it begins with two short letters, others must do the same thing. In the last or the EIGHTH chapter of his work, Jayakīrti explains the six Pratyayas beginning with Prastāra and ending with the Adhvan, for the details of which given from the Vṛttajātisamuccaya, see *JBBRAS.*, 1932, pp. 1-11.

9. In the metres thus far examined, it is clear that they are most of them pure Akṣara Vṛttas, but not Akṣara-Gaṇa Vṛttas like the Classical Sanskrit metres. The formation of the Gaṇas itself shows no influence whatsoever of either the Sanskrit or the Prākṛta metres. Here and there, Mātrās representing syllabic quantity are mentioned in the formation of metrical lines, but they are far too few to be taken into account in considering the influence of the Sanskrit and Prākṛta metres on the Kannada metres. And besides the Mātrās that are mentioned in such connection are really the Kāla-Mātrās which are necessary for a Tāla Vṛtta and not the Varṇa-2-

¹ The MS. reads *akṣarikā* both *horo* and at VII. 1. But evidently in both places the scribe has read *ta* for *ra*. The name Akṣarikā is a diminutive feminine form of the name Akṣara. Does it bear any connection with the metro Akṣara described above? If so, it may perhaps suggest the delicacy and charm due to the absence of a Śara Gaṇa, which generally exists in the Akṣara, as also to the commanding position of the Rati, and the Laya or Tālabaddhatā of the Akṣarikā. This last is also suggested by Jayakīrti in his alternative recommendation for the formation of its lines, with the help of the Caturmātras.

² I have attempted to show the distinction between a Varṇa-Mātrā and a Kāla-Mātrā in para. 11 of my article "Apabhraṁśa Metres, III (Mātrā Vṛttas and Tāla Vṛttas)". This article was sent for publication in the Radha Kumud Mookerji Memorial Volume, on 7th February, 1943. Since then I have been eagerly awaiting its publication, particularly so, because I have referred to portions of this article in my subsequent writings and I feel greatly annoyed to see that it itself has not yet seen the light of the day!

Mātrās. See below para. 10. In general, a letter short or long is considered as a metrical unit as in the case of the Vedic metres; but even the Vedic metres, whose basic lines contained 5, 8, 10, 11 or 12 letters, do not appear to have anything to do with the development of the old Kannada metres. And this is what might be expected in view of the fact that the Kannada language does not belong to the Indo-Aryan family of languages. Sanskrit as the national language of the learned was studied from one corner of India to the other; but the Prakrits which were mainly imported by the Digambara Jainas (and perhaps even the Sanskrit dramatists) into the South, found no fertile soil among the masses who spoke a language which was wholly unconnected with either Sanskrit or the Prakrits. Consequently, the Prakrits did not grow and become transformed into the provincial languages through the medium of the Apabhraṃśa, as they did in the North. Sanskrit and the Prakrits were studied in the South as a sort of necessity like the English language today; but they could not influence the thought or the language of the masses, beyond a certain measure. Thus the Kannada metres do not show any considerable influence of either the Sanskrit or the Prakrit metres. The music with which the Kannada metres are associated is neither Varna Sangita of the Classical Sanskrit metres¹ nor the Tāla Sangita of the Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa metres. It is more allied with the Svāra Sangita of the Vedic metres. The old Kannada metres appear to have very little to do with the popular music, namely, the Tāla Sangita. A letter, short or long, when considered as a metrical unit, leaves no scope for the Tāla Sangita, since the pronunciation of a letter is not uniformly associated with a particular measure of time. A short letter takes less time, while a long one takes naturally more. The unit of the Tāla Sangita is a uniform measure of time called Mātrā or Kāla-Mātrā which may either be silent or accompanied by the pronunciation of letters guided or controlled by the consideration of these measuring units. If the vocal music is to be harnessed to the Tāla Sangita, it is first necessary to fix up the time value of the different kinds of letters. When this is done, it is not the letter which remains the metrical unit, but it is the syllabic quantity or Varna-Mātrā which becomes so; for, owing to the uniform nature of this syllabic quantity, it can be associated with the uniform Kāla-Mātrā which is the basis of the Tāla Sangita. There is indeed another and easier way of harnessing the vocal music to the Tāla Sangita; it is an irregular pronunciation of short and long letters. But this is resorted to only by the ignorant, and learned Pandits will never like to adopt it.

10. In the case of the old Kannada metres defined by Jayakīrti, this process of harnessing the Svāra to the Tāla Sangita seems to have already begun; yet it has evidently made little progress. Most of the 14 pure Kannada metres defined in Ch. VII are not amenable to the Tāla Sangita, since their unit is a letter, short or long, and not a Varna-Mātrā. Only two, namely, the Akṣarikā (v. 18) and the Madanavati (v. 19), can be sung to the accompaniment of Tāla. Both of them can be sung in the Tāla² of 8 Mātrās (cf. v. 18c; the Yati is to occur after every 8 Mātrās), but in the case of the former, a silent pause of 6 Mātrās has to be introduced at the end of each line, and in the case of the latter a similar pause of 2 Mātrās has to be adopted to keep up the Tāla which will otherwise be disturbed. The *prathita-yati* in v. 19d is evidently the Yati mentioned in the last stanza. The remaining 12 metres are not amenable to any Tāla owing to the option about the choice of short or long letters, which is allowed in the formation of their component Gaṇas. It

¹ See my article on "Metres and Music" published in the *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. VIII (1943), pp. 202-213, for the different kinds of music and their association with the different metres in Ancient India.

² See Apabhraṃśa Metres, para. 18 (*Bombay University Journal*, Nov. 1933, p. 43), for the different basic Tālas used in musical metres.

is true that any metre can be subjected to the Tāla, as said above, with the help of incorrect pronunciation of short and long letters and of the introduction of irregular silent pauses or a voiced extension of pronounced syllables. But we must consider whether such a mutilation was intended by the poet when he composed his verse; and it is amply clear that this is not so in the case of 12 out of the 14 metres defined in Ch. VII. On the other hand, it is equally true that the Tāla Sangīta has already caught the fancy of the old Kannada poets. The Varṇa Vṛttas defined in Ch. VI. 30-34 are clearly intended to be sung in the Tāla of 6 or 5 Mātrās as the case may be. The Utsavas, the Ramā and the five Layottaras are to be sung in the Tāla of 6 Mātrās, while the Daṇḍakas and the Gaṇadhās are generally sung in the Tāla of 5 Mātrās, because the Gaṇas of which their lines are made are generally Pañca-Mātrika, namely, Yaḡaṇa, Raḡaṇa and Taḡaṇa. When these are Catur-Mātrika, the Tāla will be one of 8 Mātrās. In the case of the Utsava Daṇḍaka, the Tāla will be of 6 Mātrās like the Tāla of the Utsava itself.

11. Jayakīrti was a Jaina monk belonging to the Digambara sect. He belonged to the South and his mother tongue was Kannada. He mentions about twenty older metricians, six or seven old Kannada poems and only one poet, namely Asaḡa, as the author of the Karnāṭa-Kumārasāmbhava Kāvya. One curious fact about the old metricians Kambala and Aśvatara ought to be noted. These two are mentioned together as *viśadharaṇu*, or *bhujagādhiparu*, by Virahāṅka as understood by his commentator.¹ But Jayakīrti ranges them in opposite camps at Ch. I. 13 on the question of Yati. Most of the metricians and poems are mere names to us and do not help in fixing the upper limit of the date of Jayakīrti. If, however, Svayambhūdeva and Asaḡa mentioned by Jayakīrti are to be identified with the authors of the Svayambhūchandas and Vardhamānacāritra respectively, the upper limit of Jayakīrti's date may be fixed at 1000 A.D. At any rate his mention of the Kannada Mālati-Mādhava Kāvya, which is evidently based on Bhavabhūti's Mālati-Mādhava, shows that Jayakīrti is not much older than this date. His lower limit is furnished by the date of the Jesalmere manuscript, i.e. Sam 1190. He must thus be roughly assigned to the eleventh century A.D.²

12. The following is an alphabetical list of the authors mentioned by Jayakīrti: Aśvatara I. 13; Asaḡa Kavi (author of Karnāṭa-Kumārasāmbhava) VII. 7; Kapila I. 13; Kambala I. 13; Kohala I. 13; Kaundinya I. 13; Cārukīrti Muni IV. 36; Janāśraya VIII. 19; Jayadeva Budha VIII. 19; Muni Damasāgara II. 148; Piṅgala I. 13; IV. 6; V. 32, 36; VIII. 19; Pālyakīrti III. 21; Pūjyapāda VIII. 19; Prajñāmahodaya III. 25; V. 28; Prabhuseniyaiḥ VII. 20; Bharata I. 13; Māṇḍavya I. 13; VIII. 19; Vasistha I. 13; Śrīpurāṇakavipūṅgava (does this mean the author of Śrīpurāṇa, or does it merely refer to older poets in general?) VI. 24; Saitava I. 13; IV. 17; VIII. 19; Svayambhudeveśa III. 22. At VII. 15 a *karnāṭachandomata* is alluded to; it is difficult to say whether a particular work on Kannada metres is meant here. The statement appears to me to be too general to admit of a reference to a particular work of any author.³ The following Kāvya are mentioned: Alāṅkāra (?) VII. 16; Karnāṭa-Kumārasāmbhava VII. 7 and VII. 12; Karnāṭa-Mālatimādhava Kāvya VII. 6; Karnāṭeśvarakathā (Ārḥata) VII. 5; Gograha (Kāvya?) VI. 30; Mahārhad-devatāstava VI. 34; Śṛṅgārapīṇḍa Kāvya VII. 4.

¹ On Vṛttajūṭisamuccaya, I. 31 and II. 7-8 (JBBRAS., 1929, pp. 80-81).

² Prof. D. L. Narasimhachar of Mysore, to whom I had sent a copy of Ch. VII at his request, thinks that Jayakīrti knew Nāḡavarman's Chandombudhi which is assigned to A.D. 900 and that the words *karnāṭachandomate* occurring at VII. 9 refer to this work. He further thinks that the Cūḍāmaṇi mentioned at VII. 15 is the work of a Kannada poet Kandarpa, who flourished about 1000 A.D. I am thankful to Prof. Narasimhachar and his friend N. Shivarama Sastry for this and other information supplied to me by them in connection with the interpretation of the seventh chapter of this work.

³ See, however, note No. 2 above.