

Apabhramṣa meters – part 1

Radda

Paūmacariu 1.3.9: वरि रङ्गावङ्गु कव्यु करमि ‘No—I’ll compose a poem in the *radda* meter’

The *radda* (sometimes also called the *vastu*) is a *strophic* meter, i.e., a meter made up of two more or less independent metrical constituents. It consists of a stanza called the *mattā* (*ChS* 12ff., *SC* 4.8, *ChA* 5.17ff., *VJS* 4.29ff.), followed by a *dohā*. In reality the *mattā* denotes a family of meters with five lines (*pādas*), in which the odd lines are longer than the even ones. Various subvarieties are recognized but a common one (called *cāruseṇi* at *PrP* 1.140) has the structure 15–11–15–11–15 (in *mātrās* per line). This is what the *ChK* defines in verse 34 (giving it, however, the name *rāḍhaü*):

तिहिहिं मत्तउ पढमु पउ होइ
तह तीयउ पंचमउ
बीय चउत्थु रुद्य निरुत्तउ ।
सतसष्टि वि मत्त निरु
सुकवि अल्हि राढउ सु उत्तउ ॥
इकु राढउ अरु दूहडउ
विहुं मिलि बत्थु वि होइ ।
पणरुत्तरसउ मत्त थिरु
विरलउ बुज्जइ कोइ ॥ ३४ ॥

The excellent poet Alhi defines the *rāḍhaü* as a meter with sixty-seven *mātrās*: the first *pāda* and the third have fifteen *mātrās*; the second and the fourth have eleven. One *rāḍhaü* and one *dohā* together make a *vatthu*, always with one hundred and fifteen *mātrās*. Few people know this.

The commentator cites the following definition:

जासु विरयणि हुंति पय पंच,
पढमे चिय पनरह य, बीअ चारि गारह निरुद्धउ ।
तह तीअइ पंचदह, रङ्गभेउ जाणहु सु सुद्धउ ।
करहिअमोहिणि मिअनयणि राहासेणु मुणिंदु ।
अतिहि दोहउ जिसु हवइ कवि नंदङ्ग भणांति ॥

‘A meter whose structure has five *pādas*—fifteen *mātrās* in the first, eleven in the second and fifth, and fifteen in the third—is to be known as the pure *radda* type (call them *karahi*, *mohini*, *mianayaṇi*, or *rāhāseṇa*), with a *dohā* at the end: so says the poet *Namdadḍha*.’

Radda stanzas in the *Sandeśarāsaka* always have a *mattā* stanza of either the *cāruseṇi* type (15–11–15–11–15), or of what *PrP* 1.133 calls the *rāseṇa* type (15–12–15–11–15). The breakup of each *pāda* into smaller constituents called *gaṇas* is controversial, because metrical writers don’t agree if they do mention *gaṇa*-division at all. The *dohā* stanzas are standard, i.e., *pādas* of 13–11–13–11 *mātrās*, with a well-known *gaṇa* schema. Bhayani, following Jacobi and Alsdorf, gives the following analysis (◦ is light, – is heavy, × is any *mātrā*):

	<i>radḍa</i>
<i>pāda a:</i>	~~~, -~, ~~, xxxx
<i>pāda b:</i>	~~~, ~~, ~~, ~~~
<i>pāda c:</i>	~~~, -~, ~~, ~~~~
<i>pāda d:</i>	~~~, ~~, ~~, ~~~
<i>pāda e:</i>	~~~, -~, ~~, ~~~~ dohā
<i>pāda a:</i>	~~~, ~~, ~~~
<i>pāda b:</i>	~~~, ~~, ~~, ~
<i>pāda c:</i>	~~~, ~~, ~~~
<i>pāda d:</i>	~~~, ~~, ~~, ~

Paddhaṭikā

The *paddhaṭikā* or *paddhaṭī* is the standard meter of Apabhraṃśa epic and continues (with some modification) as the basis for vernacular *caupāīs*. It consists of four equal *pādas*, each with four *gaṇas* of four *mātrās*. The rhyme is *a* and *b*, *c* and *d*. Like the *gāthā*, there is an alternation between syncopated and unsyncopated rhythms: the shape $\text{v}-\text{v}$ is banned from the odd *gaṇas*, but occurs often in the second *gaṇa* and obligatorily in the fourth. For the unsyncopated rhythms, the favored realization is the anapest ($\text{v}-\text{v}$). The schema of each *pāda*:

~~~, xxxx, ~~~, ~~~

The definition cited by our commentator:

सोलसमत्तउ जहिं पउ दीसइ, अकबरगत्तु न किं पि सलीसइ ।  
पायउ पायउ जमकविसुद्धउ, पद्धडीअह इहु छेंदु पसिद्धउ ॥

'A meter with sixteen *mātrās* in a *pāda*, not ensconced in any syllabic structure (??), perfected by an end-rhyme in each pair of *pādas*, is known as the *paddhaṭī* meter.'

## Ḍumilā

This is a *mātrā*-based meter, but tends to exhibit specific syllabic patterns. It has six *pādas*: *pādas a* and *b*, *d* and *e*, and *c* and *f* rhyme. The tendency is to iterate the pattern  $\text{v}-$  throughout the line (in some texts this is even defined as a *varaṇa* or syllabic meter), which (as Bhayani notes) results in an anapestic rhythm ( $\text{v}-\text{v}$ ) in *pādas a/d* and *c/f*, and a dactylic rhythm ( $-\text{v}$ ) in *pādas b/e*.

|                        |               |
|------------------------|---------------|
| <i>pāda a &amp; d:</i> | ~~~, ~~~      |
| <i>pāda b &amp; e:</i> | ~~~, ~~~      |
| <i>pāda c &amp; f:</i> | ~~~, ~~~, ~~~ |

## Rāsaka or Ābhāṇaka

Bhayani points out that this meter (in four equal *pādas*) is similar, if not identical, to the *rāsā-valaya* defined in *KD* 2.25. The *pādas* have twenty-one *mātrās*, the *gāṇa*-division of which is again controversial. In the *Sandeśarāsaka* a caesura (*yati*) always occurs after the eleventh or twelfth *mātrā*. Bhayani's analysis is:

caesura after *mātrā* 11:  
~~~~, xxxx, ~~~~, ~| xxx, ~~~~, ~~~  
caesura after *mātrā* 12:
~~~~, xxxx, ~~~~, ~| ~, ~~~~, ~~~

The commentator quotes *ChK* 17:

मत्त होहि चउरासी चहु पय चारि कल  
ते सठि जोणि निबंधी जाणहु चहु अ दल ।  
पंचकलु वज्जिजहु गणु सुदृवि गणहु  
सो वि आहाणउ छंदु के वि रासउ मुणहु ॥

'In four *pādas* of four *gāṇas* each there are eighty-four *mātrās* in total. ((Those that have a three-*mātrā* group, and four other parts, are known by the name *yoni*.) Avoid a *gāṇa* of five *mātrās*; count the *gāṇas* well. That is the *ābhāṇā* meter, but some call it the *rāsā*.'

## References

*ChA* = *Chandonuśāsana* of Hemacandra, edited by H.D. Velankar. Mumbai: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1961.  
(Singhi Jain Series 49.)

*ChK* = *Chandahkośa* of Ratnaśekhara. See *KD*.

*ChŚ* = *Chandahśekhara* of Rājaśekhara. See *SCh*.

*GL* = *Gāthālakṣaṇa* of Nanditādhyā. See *KD*.

*KD* = *Kavidarpaṇa*, edited by H.D. Velankar. Jodhpur: Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, 1962. (Rajasthan Oriental Series 62.)

*PrP* = *Prākṛtapaingala*, edited by Bholashankar Vyas. Ahmedabad: Prakrit Text Society. 2 vols. (Prakrit Text Series 2 and 4.)

*SCh* = *Svayambhūchandah* of Svayambhū, edited by H.D. Velankar. Jodhpur: Oriental Research Institute, 1962. (Rajasthan Oriental Series 37.)

*VJS* = *Vṛttajātisamuccaya* of Virahāṇka, edited by H.D. Velankar. Jodhpur: Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, 1962. (Rajasthan Oriental Series 61.)