

# The origins of the *āryā* metre

by

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[Ed: I have expanded most of the abbreviations used in the original for ease of reading]

## 1. Introduction

[203] 1.1. As is well known, the *āryā* metre is very common in Jaina Prakrit texts, and it is perhaps not far off the mark to call it the 'favourite metre' of early Jaina authors. When European scholars first began to study Jaina texts they were perplexed by the metre, with its distinctive 'irregular' sixth *gaṇa* (bar) in the second line, and much time and effort was devoted, especially by Jacobi,<sup>2</sup> to examining the way in which the metre had developed from the earlier tradition of Indian metrics.

1.2. In his study of Tamil poetry,<sup>3</sup> aimed at defining the cultural milieu in which it was composed and the relationship with equivalent types of Sanskrit and Middle Indo-Aryan, George L. Hart has made an interesting and new suggestion about the way in which the *āryā* metre came into being, completely rejecting the generally accepted idea that the *āryā* metre was developed,<sup>4</sup> together with other *gaṇacchandās* metres from earlier *mātrāchandās* metres. He points out that when the *āryā* metre is recited in modern-day Mahārāṣṭra, the usual pattern of 4, 4, 4/4, 4,

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<sup>1</sup> from Buddhist Philosophy and Culture (Essays in honour of N.A. Jayawickrema), Colombo 1987, pp. 203 - 214, reprinted with the permission of the editor Prof. David Kalupahana.

<sup>2</sup> H. Jacobi, "Über die Entwicklung der indischen Metrik in nachvedischer Zeit", *ZDMG* 38, 1884, pp. 590-619, and "Zur Kenntniss der *Āryā*", *ZDMG* 40, 1886, pp. 336-42.

<sup>3</sup> George L. Hart III, *The poems of ancient Tamil: their milieu and their Sanskrit counterparts*, University of California Press, 1975 (= Hart).

<sup>4</sup> Hart, p. 206, note 7: "It appears virtually certain that the Pāli *gaṇacchandās* metres must have come from a southern source."

4, 4, 2//4, 4, 4/4, 4, 1, 4, 2// is replaced by 4, 4, 4/4, 4, 6, 4//4, 4, 4/4, 4, 6, 1//, i.e. “the sixth *caturmātra* of the first line comes together with the first two *mātrās* of the seventh to make two triplet rhythms that are together given the time of a regular *caturmātra*, while the last *caturmātragaṇa* of the second half absorbs the short syllable before it and one *mātrā* of the long syllable after it to produce a similar unit with two triplet rhythms.”<sup>1</sup> This analysis enables Hart to suggest a connection between the *āryā* metre and a number of Tamil metres which are made up of feet of either four or six *mātrās* (metrical instants).

1.3. A number of objections may be levelled against Hart’s suggestion. The type of *āryā* schematized above is the classical form of the metre with a long vowel of two *mātrās* at the end of each line. In the form in which the *āryā* is found in Pāli and Prakrit, the final syllable of each line is aneeps, i.e. either long or short, so that the final *gaṇa* often has only one *mātrā*, not two.<sup>2</sup> This means that when the ‘borrowing’ from *gaṇas*, which Hart describes, takes place, there will be only three *mātrās* left in the last *gaṇa* in the first line, and the final single *mātrā* at the end of the second line would disappear altogether.

1.4. Another objection to Hart’s suggestion arises from the relative chronology of the texts in which the *āryā* metre occurs. Hart was considering only the *āryā* verses of Hāla’s *Sattasāi*, which he dated to the 2nd or 3rd centuries A.D.,<sup>3</sup> while [204] he dated the Tamil texts to the 1st to 3rd centuries A.D.<sup>4</sup> Although he mentions the existence of standard *āryā* verses in Pāli, he rejects Warder’s dating

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<sup>1</sup> Hart, p. 204.

<sup>2</sup> There is sometimes a tendency in Jaina texts composed in the *āryā* metre to lengthen the final syllable, e.g. of 3rd singular indicative endings in *-ai* to *-āi* but since this is also found in the cadence of *śloka* pādas where such lengthening is not required by the metre, it would seem to be a Jaina scribal idiosyncrasy, and not the result of an attempt to conform to the classical *āryā* pattern. In any case, the lengthening of such particles as *ca/ya*, *pi/vi*, and *ceva* seems not to occur.

<sup>3</sup> Hart, p. 207.

<sup>4</sup> Hart, p. 9.

for the texts in which they occur,<sup>1</sup> preferring the 3rd or the 2nd centuries B.C., and he maintains that this is late enough for them to have been influenced by Tamil.<sup>6</sup> He makes no reference to *āryā* verses in Jaina texts, and in particular he makes no mention of the earlier form of the *āryā* metre called old *gīti*,<sup>2</sup> which occurs in a handful of very early Prakrit and Pāli texts. He does not discuss the occurrence of the *vedha* metre<sup>3</sup> in early prose texts in Prakrit, Pāli, and Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit.

1.5. Already in the old *gīti* and *vedha* metres the acceptance of the amphibrach /◡-◡/⁴ in certain *gaṇas* had been standardized. This is in contrast to the Tamil metres, where according to Hart the rhythm “is not commonly allowed”.<sup>5</sup> Although he quotes Marr as saying that the rhythm is possible,<sup>6</sup> he does not make it clear whether it occurs more frequently than the example(s) he quotes. In any case, it is clear that this rhythm is as rare in Tamil poetry as it is common in Prakrit.

1.6. It seems clear that we must conclude that the simple hypothesis that the *āryā* metre in Middle Indo-Aryan is borrowed from Tamil cannot be upheld, and its origin must be sought elsewhere. I am convinced that Hart was able to make his suggestion, ill-founded as I believe it to be, because (despite the large amount of work which has been done on the problem of the origin of the *āryā* metre) there is no single modern study devoted to the question. The work already done tends to be scattered through the pages of journals, and books devoted to the study of metre have only a portion

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<sup>1</sup> Hart, p. 206: “It seems to me that the dates which Warder gives for the first use of the new metres in Pāli are much too early.”

<sup>2</sup> See § 3.1-9 below.

<sup>3</sup> See § 4.1-6 below.

<sup>4</sup> I use /◡/ for a short vowel, /-/ for a long vowel, and /◡◡/ for a vowel which is anceps (long or short).

<sup>5</sup> Hart, p. 204, The statement is repeated on p. 206.

<sup>6</sup> Hart, p. 204, note 5.

devoted to the *āryā* metre, and are moreover restricted to its occurrence in a single language or dialect.<sup>1</sup>

1.7. In this paper, offered in honour of Professor N.A. Jayawickrama, I wish to state briefly the facts relating to the *āryā* metre in Middle Indo-Aryan, to put together the views of earlier scholars on the matter, and to give further evidence for rejecting Hart's suggestion. I hope that a treatment which aims at referring to all the major evidence, albeit very briefly, will help to fill the gap I have just mentioned.

## 2. The *mātrāchandas* metres

2.1. The Vedic metres seem to be chants, with /- / contrasted with /∪/. In the *mātrāchandas* and *gaṇacchandas* metres however, /- / is contrasted with /∪∪/, which seems to imply a musical basis to the metres.<sup>2</sup> In the absence of any other explanation for this change which took place in IA metres at some date after the compilation of the *Ṛgveda*, it seems reasonable to assume that it was due to the indigenous peoples of North India, who combined their music with the IA metres, and produced what we may call 'folk metres'.

2.2. The *mātrāchandas* metres seem to show a halfway position between the Vedic metres and the *gaṇacchandas* metres, because the licence to substitute /∪∪/ for /- / is restricted to the first half of the *pāda* (= the opening). In the second half (= the cadence) the form is fixed to /-∪-∪∪ / (*vaitālīya*), /-∪-∪-∪/ (*aupacchandasaka*), or /-∪∪-∪/ (*vegavatī*).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> e.g. A.K. Warder, *Pāli Metre*, London 1967 (= Warder), §§ 195-237.

<sup>2</sup> Warder, §§ 26, 121, 148.

<sup>3</sup> Warder, § 119. There are a few examples of the alternation between /∪∪/ and /- / in the cadence, e.g. Thī 379a; Sn 83c, 371c, 372c, 533b, 536d, 538d [Abbreviations of titles of Pāli texts are as in the Epilegomena to Vol. I of the Critical Pāli Dictionary (= CPD)].

[205] 2.3. Many authorities agree<sup>1</sup> that the *mātrāchandās* metres are derived from metres found in the Vedas, with the alternation between /-/ and /◡◡/ introduced, e.g. an *anuṣṭubh pāda* /-----◡-◡◡/ with resolution of the third long syllable into two shorts gives the *vaitālīya* prior *pāda* /-◡-◡◡-◡-◡◡/. The variation in the length of the opening between the prior and posterior *pādas* of the *mātrāchandās* metres can also be paralleled in the mixed metre verses of the *Ṛgveda*.<sup>2</sup>

2.4. The *mātrāchandās* metres in Pāli and Prakrit are found only in texts<sup>3</sup> which, for various reasons, are thought to be old and composed at an early state of the Buddhist and Jaina religions, when they were still confined to the Magadha region. Warder suggests that the name *māgadhikā*, which is sometimes given to the *vaitālīya* metre, probably implies that the metre was invented in Magadha.<sup>4</sup>

2.5. The Pāli tradition responsible for transmitting texts in *mātrāchandās* metres seems to have been ignorant of those metres, and consequently mutilated them badly.<sup>5</sup> The Jaina knowledge of the metres does not seem to have been much better.<sup>6</sup> This is presumably because in both traditions the metres dropped out of use at an early date, and knowledge about them disappeared. Knowledge of the *mātrāchandās* metres did, however, remain in North India after Buddhism and Jainism moved further afield, and we find texts containing *mātrāchandās* metres in Buddhist Hybrid

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<sup>1</sup> See Warder, § 143 foll.

<sup>2</sup> Warder, § 120. It is noteworthy that, even when verses are made by mixing *vaitālīya* and *aupacchandāsaka* *pādas*, a prior *vaitālīya* *pāda* is always followed by a posterior *aupacchandāsaka* *pāda*.

<sup>3</sup> See Warder, § 217 for Pāli (Dhp, Ud, Vv, Pv, and A, beside Sn, Th, Thī, Cp, Ap, S, Ja, and D). For Ardha-Māgadhī see L. Alsdorf, "Uttarajjhāya Studies", *III* VI, p. 111 (Sūyagaḍaṅga, Uttarajjhāyaṇa, and Dasaveyāliya).

<sup>4</sup> Warder, § 117.

<sup>5</sup> Warder, §§ 18, 127.

<sup>6</sup> Alsdorf, *III* VI, p. 116.

Sanskrit and classical Sanskrit, although there they have fixed forms, and lack the flexibility which we find in Pāli and Prakrit.<sup>1</sup>

### 3. The old *gīti* metre

3.1. If a *vaitālīya* prior *pāda* is sung in four-beats-to-a-bar time, then there are bars (*gaṇas*) of /--/, /uu-/, and /u-u/, with a syllable left over. If a *vegavatī* prior *pāda* is sung in a similar way, then there are bars of /--/, /uu-/, and /u-u/, with a syllable left over. If an *aupacchandāsaka* prior *pāda* is sung in this way, then the extra syllable in the cadence gives another bar of four beats /--/.

3.2. If the second *gaṇa* in a *vegavatī* prior *pāda*, sung in this way, is 'syncopated' from /u-u/, to /uu-/, to make a contrast with the third *gaṇa*, which is also /u-u/, then we can see how the *gaṇacchandās* metres evolved from the *mātrāchandās* metres,<sup>2</sup> with the amphibrach /u-u/ already in the second *gaṇa*.

3.3. If a *vegavatī* prior *pāda* is followed by a *vegavatī* posterior *pāda*, then the additional long syllable (or two short syllables) at the beginning of the posterior *pāda* combine(s) with the syllable left over at the end of the *prior pāda* (as seen in § 3.1) to form a fourth *gaṇa*, while the remainder of the *pāda* falls into a *gaṇa* pattern exactly as in § 3.1.<sup>3</sup> A 'syncopated' *gaṇa* in the same place in the *pāda* as described in § 3.2 will give another amphibrach in what is now the sixth *gaṇa*:

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<sup>1</sup> Warder, § 152.

<sup>2</sup> Warder (§ 203, 225) follows Jacobi in supposing that the old *gīti* evolved from the *vaitālīya*, but it seems necessary to assume a development from the *vegavatī*. It is, however, possible that Warder is using the term "*vaitālīya*" to include *vegavatī*. Since Hart is suggesting an entirely different development, it is not surprising that he finds (p. 206 note 7) "Warder's attempt to derive the Pāli *gaṇacchandās* from what he supposes to be an earlier *mattachandās* ... wholly unconvincing."

<sup>3</sup> Alsdorf (*III* II, p. 252) quotes Jacobi as noting that apart from the initial *mātrās* before the "fifth *gaṇa*", the posterior *pāda* is identical with the prior *pāda*.

/--/◡--◡/◡◡--/\*//--/◡--◡/◡◡--/\*/.

[206] 3.4. This is precisely the pattern of the old *gīti* metre. This name, which is the one used by Warder,<sup>1</sup> seems preferable to the name 'old *āryā*' which was used by Jacobi, and following him by Schubring and Alsdorf,<sup>2</sup> because both lines are the same, as in the case of the classical *gīti*. In this paper I shall follow Warder, even when I am quoting the views of the afore-mentioned German scholars.

3.5. That this is indeed the origin of the old *gīti* metre is shown by the fact, first pointed out by Jacobi,<sup>3</sup> and echoed by Alsdorf,<sup>4</sup> that in the old *gīti* the first syllable of the fourth *gaṇa*, i.e. the one before the caesura, is anceps, which is a certain sign that it was originally the last syllable of a *pāda*.

3.6. When the second half of the line starts with one long or two short syllables, after a short syllable at the end of the first half, then the fourth *gaṇa* contains only three *mātrās*. When we include the possibility of the second half of the line starting, exceptionally, with a long and a short syllable, or even two long syllables, after a long syllable at the end of the first half, we find that the *mātrā* count of the fourth *gaṇa* can be anything between three and six *mātrās*. The recitation of such a line by the modern Mahārāṣṭra method (described in § 1.2) would then, of course, be impossible. This fact helps to confirm the incorrectness of Hart's suggestion.

3.7. Where the first half of the line ends in a short syllable, and the second half starts with a long and a short syllable, then we have another amphibrach /◡--◡/ giving amphibrachs in the second, fourth, and sixth *gaṇas*. As, in the course of time, under the influence of the fact that the other *gaṇas* had four *mātrās*, the four-*mātrā* pattern of the fourth *gaṇa* became the standard one,

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<sup>1</sup> Warder, § 198.

<sup>2</sup> H. Jacobi, *ZDMG* 38, 1884, p. 596; W. Schubring, *Ācārāṅga-sūtra*, Erster Śrutaskandha, Leipzig 1910, p. 60; L. Alsdorf, *IJJ* II, pp. 249 foll.

<sup>3</sup> Jacobi, *ZDMG* 38, 1884, p. 596.

<sup>4</sup> Alsdorf, *IJJ* II, p. 252.

then with a shift of the position of the caesura we have the classical *gīti* metre. In my examination of the old *gīti* verses of the eighth chapter of the *Uttarajjhāyana-sutta*,<sup>1</sup> I showed how in several verses changes could be made very simply, metri causa (= m.c.), to give the amphibrach pattern /*u*-*u*/ in the second, fourth, and sixth *gaṇas*, came its exclusion from the first, third, fifth, and seventh *gaṇas*.

3.8. The old *gīti* metre occurs in three *suttas* in Ardha-Magadhī<sup>2</sup> and three in Pāli,<sup>3</sup> and in a handful of individual verses. These *suttas* and verses appear in texts which for various reasons are considered to be old,<sup>4</sup> and to belong to the earliest strata of Buddhist and Jaina texts, and we may therefore conclude that like the verses in the *mātrāchandas* metres (§ 2.4) they were probably composed in the Magadha region.

3.9. The old *gīti* metre appears not to exist outside these texts. The reason for this must be that it is a transitional stage of the metre. Probably its period of greatest use was at a time even before the composition of these early Middle Indo-Aryan texts, and it was just going out of use when they were composed. The classical *gīti* metre, into which it evolved, was not greatly used, as far as can be

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<sup>1</sup> In *Mahāvira and his teachings*, Bombay 1977, pp. 13-14 (where I called the metre “old *āryā*”).

<sup>2</sup> For Ardha-Māgadhi see Alsdorf, *IJJ* II, p. 250 (Āyāraṃga 1.9; Sūyagaḍaṃga 1.4; Uttarajjhāyana 8); for Pāli see Alsdorf, *Die Āryā-Strophen des Pāli-Kanons*, Mainz 1968 (Sn 143-52; 915-34; M I 386).

<sup>3</sup> For Pāli see Alsdorf, *Āryā-Strophen*, p. 18 (Ja, Ud); Dr Mette has pointed out the existence of eight old *gīti* verses in the *Āvaśyaka-Cūrṇi* (“The tales belonging to the *namaskāra-vyākhyā* of the *Āvaśyaka-Cūrṇi*”, *IT* XI, 1983, pp. 129-44).

<sup>4</sup> For Sn see M. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, Calcutta 1933, pp. 92-93; for M see pp. 46-53; for Āyār. see pp. 435-36; for Sūyag. see pp. 438-41; for Utt. see pp. 466-70.

judged from the extant Middle Indo-Aryan literature.<sup>1</sup> It was, perhaps, somewhere other than Magadha or Mahārāṣṭra, [207] which are the regions from which most of our early Middle Indo-Aryan texts come, where much of the experimentation with the *gīti*-based metres took place, and where the *gīti* remained in use until classical Sanskrit times.

#### 4. The *veḍha* metre

4.1. Akin to the *gaṇacchandās* metres, and considered to lie between the old *gīti* and the classical *gīti* and *āryā* metres in date of development,<sup>2</sup> comes the *veḍha*, a type of rhythmical prose found in the very oldest prose texts in Ardha-Māgadhi, Pāli, and Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit,<sup>3</sup> in the so-called *varṇakas*.<sup>4</sup> Winternitz expressed doubt as to whether the *veḍha* was in fact a metre,<sup>5</sup> but the quotations given by Dr Mette<sup>6</sup> make it clear that the Indian tradition did in fact so regard it.

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<sup>1</sup> For the *Sattasāi* we have: *gīti* (274), *udgīti* (598), *upagīti* (521, 593, 698). For Pāli we have: *gīti* (Th 91; Thī 216, 505), *udgīti* (Th 359), *upagīti* (Th 489, 587, 588, 589, 591).

<sup>2</sup> W. Schubring, *Worte Mahāvīras*, Göttingen 1926, p. 3, says: “Vorläufer der *Āryā* ist auch der *Veḍha*.”

<sup>3</sup> In the Jaina canon they are found in the Samosaraṇa of the Ovavāiya, Jinacariya, Nāyādhammakahāo, Samavāya, Paṇhāvāgaraṇaim, and Sūyagaḍa; in non-canonical Prakrit they occur in the Vasudevahiṇḍi; in Pāli they occur in the Kuṇāljātaka; in BHS they are found in the Lalitavistara and Divyāvādāna.

<sup>4</sup> Sanskrit *varṇaka*; Prakrit *vaṇṇaya*. In Jaina texts they are used especially in descriptive compounds, which become stereotyped and are omitted in the later canonical texts, the word *vaṇṇao* being written where the compounds are to be inserted.

<sup>5</sup> M. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, p. 451 note 1: “*veḍha* is mentioned after *gāhā* and *siloga*, but it is not certain whether it here means a metre.”

<sup>6</sup> Adelheid Mette, “*Veḍhas* in Lalitavistara and Divyāvādāna”, WZKS XVII, 1973, p. 31 note 56: *veḍho chanda-jāti*; *veḍhāḥ chando-viśeṣāḥ*; *veḍha tti veṣṭakāḥ* - *chando-viśeṣāḥ*.

4.2. Jacobi was the first to discover and examine the *vedha*,<sup>1</sup> of which he found some hundreds of examples in the Jaina canon. According to his investigations, it would seem that a *vedha* should have an even number of *gaṇas*, not less than four and extendable to 28, eight being the favourite number.<sup>2</sup> Each *gaṇa* should contain four *mātrās*. *Varṇakas* which consist of only three *gaṇas* are, according to Jacobi,<sup>3</sup> remains of longer units.

4.3. The *vedha*, like the old *gīti* has amphibrachs, but in the odd-numbered *gaṇas*, not the even ones. Warder has pointed out<sup>4</sup> the similarity in this respect to the later *gurviṇī*. If we take an *aupacchandāsaka* prior *pāda*, we have seen above (§ 3.1) that sung to a four-beats-to-a-bar time it gives four bars (*gaṇas*). If such a *pāda* has the opening /UU-/UU-/, and we assume 'syncopation' of the first *gaṇa* from /UU-/ to /U-U-/ to make a contrast with the second *gaṇa*, which is also /UU-/, then we have an amphibrach in the first *gaṇa* as well as one in the third, i.e. we have a perfect *vedha* on Jacobi's pattern: /U-U-/UU-/U-U-/--/. This shows clearly how the basic *vedha* came into existence. The favourite *vedha* of eight *gaṇas* is simply the basic *vedha* repeated twice.<sup>5</sup>

4.4. Sen examined the *vedhas* in the *Paṅhāvāgaraṇāim*, and concluded from their form, and from the fact that the classical form of the *āryā* metre was beginning to appear in that text, that they represented a later form of the *vedha*.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> H. Jacobi, "Indische Hypermetra und hypermetrische Texte", *Ind. Stud.* XVII, 1885, pp. 389 foll.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Warder, § 219.

<sup>3</sup> Jacobi, *Ind. Stud.* XVII, p. 393.

<sup>4</sup> Warder, § 219.

<sup>5</sup> For the "hypermetric" nature of *vedhas* whose *gaṇas* are not a multiple of four, cf. the "rhythm continued" verses in Sn (see PJ II 642, 644).

<sup>6</sup> Amulyachandra Sen, *A critical introduction to the Paṅhāvāgaraṇāim*, Würzburg 1936, p. 10: "... the weakening of the *vedha* rules must be supposed to separate our text from the 'classical' *vedha* epoch ... the occurrence of a few instances of *Gāthā* [= *āryā*] brings our text to so late a stage in the *vedha* epoch as to synchronize with the beginning of

4.5. The *vedha* occurs in Pāli in the canonical prose of the *Kuṇāla-jātaka*,<sup>1</sup> and has been investigated by Bollée.<sup>2</sup> He has pointed out the existence of several *vedhas* there with odd numbers of *gaṇas*, up to 17 in number, which goes against Jacobi's findings that they should consist of an even number of *gaṇas*. Some of the 18 *vedhas* which occur in that text lack the first *gaṇa*,<sup>3</sup> i.e. the amphibrach /— —/ is in the even *gaṇas*. This may be due to corruption. As Bollée points out,<sup>4</sup> it is no wonder that the *varṇakas*, being in a more obscure metre than the *āryā*, were liable to corruption and addition. Since the *varṇaka* is used in the *Kuṇāla-jātaka* for stereotyped descriptions of flowers, trees, etc., it would not be surprising if other names and attributes were inserted<sup>5</sup> into the compounds by those who did not realise that they were metrical.

[208] 4.6. On the other hand, it is not impossible that the Pāli *vedhas* may represent a genuine variety of the standard *vedha* with amphibrachs in the even, not the odd, *gaṇas*, and which therefore stands to the standard *vedha* in just the same way as the *āryā* stands to the *gurviṇī*. Possibly, however, they represent a later development. Bollée points out<sup>6</sup> other examples of metrical licence not found in the Ardha-Māgadhī *vedhas*, which supports the view

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the last stratum of metrical composition [i.e. those texts in which *Gāthā* (*āryā*) of the common form predominates]”.

<sup>1</sup> V. Trenckner (Mil 426 ad 205,10) seems to have been the first to notice canonical prose in the *Kuṇāla-jātaka* (the only *Jātaka* in which prose occurs). H. Oldenberg also refers to the fact (*JPTS* 1910-12, p. 26 note 3), without acknowledgement to Trenckner. E. Leumann seems to have been the first to notice *vedhas* in the *Kuṇāla-jātaka*, probably in 1910, although his observation was not published until 1934 (*Übersicht über die Āvaśyaka-Literatur*, Hamburg 1934, p. 4 note \*). Warder does not refer to *vedhas* in Pāli.

<sup>2</sup> WB Bollée, *Kuṇāla-jātaka*, London 1970 (= Bollée), pp. 169-72.

<sup>3</sup> *Vedhas*, no. 3, 4, 5, and 18 in Bollée's list.

<sup>4</sup> Bollée, p. 167.

<sup>5</sup> Bollée, p. 168.

<sup>6</sup> Bollée, p. 168.

that the Pāli form of the *vedha* is slightly later than the Ardha-Māgadhī form.

## 5. The *āryā* metre in Pāli.

5.1. It is generally agreed<sup>1</sup> that there was an historical development from the old *gīti* to the classical form of the metre. As Alsdorf states,<sup>2</sup> the classical *gīti* originated from the coalescence of the two (originally separate) *pādas* of the old *gīti*, combined with a shift of the caesura. Some trace of the older caesura position is perhaps to be seen in those *āryā* verses which do not have the caesura at the end of the third *gaṇa*, in which case the fourth *gaṇa* is (almost) invariably /◡◡◡/ or /◡◡◡◡/.<sup>3</sup> The other *gaṇacchandās* metres, including the *āryā* with its truncated second line, were derived from the classical *gīti* by introducing various types of 'syncopation' and/or rest towards the end of the line.<sup>4</sup>

5.2. Further evidence for the belief that the old *gīti*, by way of the classical *gīti*, is the origin of the *gaṇacchandās* metres is given by the fact, pointed out by Warder,<sup>5</sup> that six of the nine classical *gaṇacchandās* metres have *gīti* as part of their name. The fact that their names are derived from *gīti* suggests that the metres themselves were derived from the *gīti* metre.

5.3. Hart, however, suggests<sup>6</sup> that by the time the *āryā* and *gīti* metres appeared in Pāli, Pāli literature had been exposed to Southern elements in Central India, and perhaps in Ceylon as well. He is able to make such a suggestion because, as stated above (§ 1.4), he rejects Warder's dating of the new metres to the 5th and

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<sup>1</sup> Warder, § 227, quoting Jacobi.

<sup>2</sup> Alsdorf, *III*, II p. 252.

<sup>3</sup> Alsdorf, *Thera- and Therī-gāthā*, 2nd edition, London 1966, Appendix II, p. 234.

<sup>4</sup> Warder, (§ 228) rejects the idea of a musical "rest" in favour of syncopation.

<sup>5</sup> Warder, § 203.

<sup>6</sup> Hart, p. 207.

4th centuries B.C.,<sup>1</sup> and favours dates in the 3rd or 2nd centuries B.C. at the earliest.<sup>2</sup>

5.4. It has already been stated (§ 3.8) that the old *gīti* metre occurs in Pāli only in old texts, which can be dated much earlier than the 3rd or 2nd centuries B.C., and can reasonably be assumed to have been composed in the Magadha region. Even verses in the classical form of the *āryā* metre occur in texts which can be assumed to have been composed before the time of the Third Council,<sup>3</sup> which took place c. 250 B.C. during the reign of Aśoka. There is, in fact, abundant evidence that the *gaṇacchandās* metres were not in general use in Pāli outside Magadha.

5.5. It is clear that the knowledge and understanding of the old and classical forms of the *gīti* and *āryā* metres were lost at a comparatively early date. The total number of verses in *gaṇacchandās* metres in Pāli is about 450,<sup>4</sup> and there is a tendency for them to be corrupted into the *śloka* metre, which was the more common metre [209] in later Pāli texts. This tendency was aided by the fact that some *pādas* can be scanned as both *gaṇacchandās* and *śloka*, as Alsdorf notes.<sup>5</sup> There was, however, no tendency for *śloka śloka pādas* to be corrupted into *gaṇacchandās pādas*.

5.6. As Alsdorf states,<sup>6</sup> the *āryā* metre fell into disuse in Pāli after the 'emigration' of the language from India to Ceylon. The only examples of *āryā* verses known to me in pre-sixth century A.D. non-canonical Pāli are in texts which are probably to be regarded as of North Indian origin or authorship, e.g. there are *āryā* verses

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<sup>1</sup> A.K. Warder, *Introduction to Pali*, London 1963, p. 358.

<sup>2</sup> Hart, p. 207.

<sup>3</sup> See Norman, *EV1*, London 1969, pp. xxvii-xxix, and *EV11*, London 1971, pp. xxvii-xxxii.

<sup>4</sup> Alsdorf, *Thera- and Therī-gāthā*, 2nd edition, London 1966, Appendix II, p.233.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.*, p. 234.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.*, p. 233.

in the *Netti-pakaraṇa*,<sup>1</sup> and the introductions and conclusions by Buddhaghosa to his commentaries are also in the *āryā* metre.<sup>2</sup>

## 6. The *āryā* metre in Prakrit

6.1. As in the case of Pāli, the development from the old *gīti* to the later form of the metre must have taken place early on in Prakrit, for the classical form of the *āryā* metre is already found in the oldest texts of the Jaina canon.<sup>3</sup> The *Uttarajjhāyana-sutta* has over 100 *āryā* verses, although some may be later interpolations,<sup>4</sup> and the *nijjuttis* (some of which are regarded as canonical) are almost entirely in the *āryā* metre. Whereas the use of the *āryā* metre in Pāli ceased when Buddhism migrated from Magadha, there was no break in the Jaina tradition, and the *āryā* metre became the favourite metre of Jaina authors.

6.2. The metre was also used in Hāla's *Sattasaī*, a secular text in Mahārāṣṭrī. Hart, as stated above (§ 1.4), dates this text to the 2nd or 3rd centuries A.D.,<sup>5</sup> but I see no reason for not dating, at least some portions of it, to an earlier date. I see no cause to reject a theory that an anthology was made by a king called Hāla in the 2nd century A.D., but the date of the collection has no bearing upon the date of the composition of individual verses, except for those which are ascribed to the compiler of the anthology himself. The linguistic evidence which has been used to date the material is by no means as conclusive as some scholars have thought. Keith<sup>6</sup> placed most emphasis upon the weakening of consonants in the *Sattasaī* (i.e. the development to -y-), and claimed that this could

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<sup>1</sup> Nett 1-5 (pointed out by Leumann, according to Nett pp. xxii foll.). The text is probably Northern according to Ñāṇamoli (*The Guide*, London 1962, p. xxviii).

<sup>2</sup> e.g. Sv 1-2; Ps I 1-2; V 109-10; Spk 11-2; III 308; Mp I 1-3; V 98-99.

<sup>3</sup> W. Schubring, *Worte Mahāvīras*, Göttingen 1926, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> L. Alsdorf, *The Āryā stanzas of the Uttarajjhāyā*, Mainz 1966, pp. 5-8.

<sup>5</sup> Hart, p. 207.

<sup>6</sup> A.B. Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, London 1928, p. 224.

not have happened until A.D. 200. According to Mehendale,<sup>1</sup> however, the change occurs in inscriptions of the 1st century B.C. There is now evidence that it occurred in pre-Pāli Prakrit,<sup>2</sup> and so the linguistic evidence could support an origin as early as the 3rd century B.C.

6.3. The *āryā* metre was widely used at a later date in Mahārāṣṭra by Jaina authors, and were it not for the existence of the *Sattasaī* it would seem probable that the knowledge of the metre was brought with Jainism to that country from Magadha. The earlier, however, we date the *Sattasaī* the less likely it is that this was so, and we must consider other possibilities. Clearly the metre could have developed independently in the two countries, or it could have originated in Mahārāṣṭra and thence been taken to Magadha, or it could have originated in a third country and been introduced into both from there.

## 7. Conclusions

[210] 7.1. We must assume that when the Indo-Aryans entered India from the North-West at some time in the second millenium B.C., they found North India populated by peoples who spoke Dravidian languages. As the Indo-Aryans conquered the country, and imposed their language upon the subject peoples, certain aspects of the Dravidian languages and culture inevitably remained and left their mark upon the invaders. It is to this Northern Dravidian influence<sup>3</sup> that we can ascribe the Dravidian words which we find in early Sanskrit, rather than to borrowing by the

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<sup>1</sup> M.A. Mehendale, *Historical grammar of inscripational Prakrits*, Poona 1948, pp. 210-13.

<sup>2</sup> See K.R. Norman, "Four etymologies from the Sabhiya-sutta, § 7.1, in *Buddhist Studies in honour of Walpola Rahula*, London 1980, and Lüders, *Beob.*, §§ 88-115.

<sup>3</sup> T. Burrow, "Sanskrit and the pre-Aryan tribes and languages", in *Collected papers on Dravidian linguistics*, Annamalainagar 1968, p. 325.

Indo-Aryans from the Dravidians whom they found as their southern neighbours in classical times.<sup>1</sup>

7.2. Among the cultural influences, which the Indo-Aryans adopted from the Dravidian sub-strate they absorbed within themselves, were music and metre. The imposition of the brahmanical religion upon the subjected peoples led to their knowledge of Vedic metres, but their tendency to sing rather than to chant, and to make use of musical syncopation, led to a flexibility being introduced into the old Vedic metres in a way which completely transformed them.

7.3. Under the influence of the indigenous music which allowed an alternation of /◡/ and /◡◡/, the Vedic metres developed into the *mātrāchandas* metres. The same music, with four beats to a bar, led to the division of the newly developed *mātrāchandas* metres into bars with four beats in each (*gaṇas*), some of which could be varied considerably in form, while others (sometimes the odd bars, and sometimes the even ones), were much more restricted in form. Certain patterns of these bars gave the form of the old *gīti* metre. From this developed the classical *gīti*, from which came the *āryā* metre.

7.4. In the *gaṇacchandās* metres which we find in the earliest Pāli and Prakrit texts available to us, which we can confidently date to the earliest period of Buddhism and Jainism, i.e. the 5th and 4th centuries B.C., and locate in Magadha, we find that the use of the amphibrach /◡-◡/ was already established in fixed positions. This must rule out any direct connection with the Tamil metres, where the use of amphibrachs is very limited, as we have seen above (§ 1.5).

7.5. Although our evidence for the early use of the *āryā* metre is virtually confined to Magadha (Pāli and Ardha-Māgadhī) and Mahārāṣṭra (the *Sattasāī*), it is not necessary to assume that the *āryā* metre was evolved in one or other of these two countries and then carried to the other. Whichever way the movement went, it is clear that the metre must have been known in the areas between

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<sup>1</sup> *ibid.*, p. 326.

the two regions. This opens up the possibility that the place of origin of the metre could have been in some third place.

7.6. If we assume that the development just described (§ 7.3) was centred upon an area somewhere between Magadha and Mahārāṣṭra, then we can assume that the metres were carried eastwards and westwards, probably by travelling folk musicians [211] who used the metres for secular purposes. When the metres reached Magadha and Mahārāṣṭra, the period of experimentation in their use was nearly over, and in their early forms (old *gīti* and *veḍha*) they did not find great favour. There are only limited traces of the old *gīti* metre in texts derivable from Magadha, as stated above (§ 3.8), and no example of the metre is found in texts from Mahārāṣṭra. Even the *mātrāchandas* metres upon which the *gaṇacchandas* metres were based did not prove very popular in those areas. There are only limited traces in texts from Magadha, and none in those from Mahārāṣṭra.

7.7. It seems likely that the experimentation which led to the later forms of the *gaṇacchandas* metres, including the classical *gīti*, also took place outside Magadha and Mahārāṣṭra, for as stated above (§ 3.9), the *gīti* and allied metres, except for the *āryā*, are rare in both Pāli and Prakrit. Nevertheless these metres remained in use somewhere outside the two regions, and were used again much later in classical Sanskrit.

7.8. The *āryā* metre won the battle to be the most popular *gaṇacchandas* metre. It could, by coincidence, have done this independently in both Magadha and Mahārāṣṭra, but it seems likely that it won the battle outside these two areas, and was carried into both of them. It arrived in Magadha in time to be adopted by both the Buddhists and the Jains, probably because it was a folk metre, which therefore appealed to both religions because it represented a rejection of the brahmanical metres, just as they favoured non-brahmanical Middle Indo-Aryan dialects rather than the brahmanical Sanskrit.

7.9. The Buddhists adopted the *āryā* metre just before they closed their canon and took it to Ceylon. They had not had sufficient

experience of the metre before they left for it to have become part of their literary tradition, and they consequently made no further use of it, with the exception of the texts mentioned above (§ 5.6). The Jains remained in North India, adopted the *āryā* metre and made great use of it.

7.10. The *āryā* metre arrived in Mahārāṣṭra in time for it to have become the dominant metre for secular poetry long before the *Sattasaī* was compiled, which accounts for the almost complete exclusion of other metres from that text.

7.11. Although in the first section of this paper I rejected Hart's suggestion about the origin of the *āryā* metre from Tamil metres as being untenable, it is nevertheless clear that some indigenous (Dravidian) influence played a part in its origin. Perhaps the difference of our views can be summed up by saying that by Hart's thesis the relationship between the *gaṇacchandās* metres and the Tamil metres would be that of mother and daughter (or perhaps of sisters); by my reckoning they are no more than very distant cousins.