

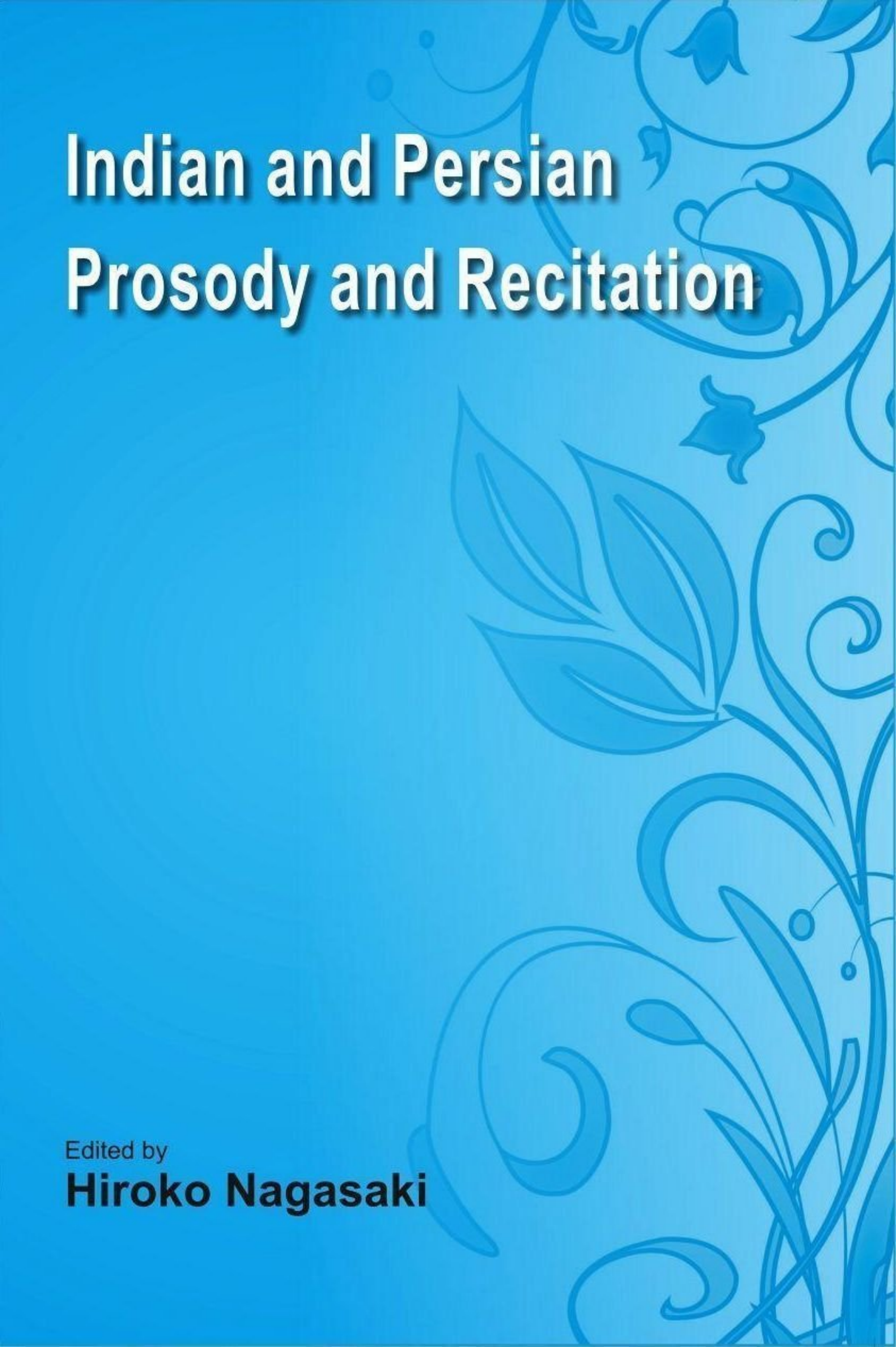


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Indian and Persian Prosody and Recitation

Edited by

Hiroko Nagasaki

Indian and Persian Prosody and Recitation

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Preface

This volume consists of papers presented at the meetings of our three-year joint research project titled “Rhythmic construction of Hindi and Urdu metre and its origin in Persian prosody”, subsidized by the Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (Category B, No. 20320055, 2008-10). It also contains text and audio samples of Indo-Aryan and Persian metres prepared by the project members.

As students of Modern Indo-Aryan languages, we were initially interested in the fact that Hindi and Urdu, though sharing the same grammar and deriving from a common origin, use different metres in their poetry: Hindi poems are composed in indigenous Indo-Aryan metre while Urdu poems use Perso-Arabic metre. We defined as the main purpose of this project the description of the structures of Hindi and Urdu metres, and identifying the influence of Perso-Arabic metre not only in Urdu metre but also in Hindi metre, which is believed to be a descendant of traditional Indo-Aryan metre. By way of comparison with these two metrical traditions, the investigation of Bengali prosody was also included in the scope of the project. Bengali language is less influenced by Persian than Hindi-Urdu, and we suspected that Bengali metre preserves more elements of earlier Indo-Aryan prosody. However, it turned out that Bengali metre has followed its own path of development and is not readily comparable to Hindi and Urdu metres. Another aspect of metre we looked into in the course of our project is its musical realization, for prosody reflects linguistic rhythm, and music is where rhythm is observed most clearly.

In the first phase of the project, the members surveyed the

structures and basic principles of Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, and Persian metres, and compared them with each other.

As for Hindi, four scholars working on medieval literature participated in this project, covering Midland Indo-Aryan vernaculars from the west to the east. Teiji Sakata has been studying medieval Avadhi literature, especially Tulsidas and Jaysi, for decades. Taigen Hashimoto works on Kabir and has published a Japanese translation of Kabir's poems. Yoshifumi Mizuno's work focuses on a more westerly dialect, represented by Keśavdas. And Hiroko Nagasaki, who has acted as editor of this volume, has been working for several years on the metrical variation in medieval Bhakti literature in Braj and Oudh.

To cover Muslim literature, another major literary tradition in North India, two Urdu professors at Osaka University collaborated in the project: Takamitsu Matsumura's survey greatly helped us understand Urdu metre and provided a firm basis for examining Persian influence and Indo-Aryan elements. So Yamane discussed Punjabi metre and its chanting practices.

With regard to Bengali metre, Makoto Kitada contributed an article on *cacā* songs based on his fieldwork on the chanting tradition in Kathmandu valley. Another article of his, included in Part II, presents a survey of Middle Bengali metre with ample examples of phonological developments. Kyoko Niwa's paper is a valuable overview of Modern Bengali metre, which shows significant departure from the traditional norm.

Compared with Indo-Aryan, the earlier history of Iranian metre is very difficult to understand, partly due to the inconvenient writing systems such as Book Pahlavi. Hassan Rezai Baghbidi tackled this topic with his extensive knowledge of Old and Middle Iranian, and illustrated how later Iranian metres developed from syllabic, *pāda* based strophic metre common to Old Indo-Aryan. Another difficulty in Iranian prosody is the substantial gap between Middle and New Persian. Although the

Persian language belongs to the Indo-Iranian family, Persian metre has become heavily influenced by Arabic metre after Islamization. The complex origin of Persian metre is examined in detail by Ayano Sasaki and Zahra Taheri.

The musicologist members of the project, Takako Tanaka and Masato Tani, tried to find the relationship between the linguistic rhythm and the musical rhythm of recitation. In her paper, Tanaka showed that the music metre of Kabir's poems in the singing style is not directly related with the moraic metre of the text, even though the distinction between heavy and light syllables is kept. On the contrary, Tani demonstrates in his paper that the music metre of Persian poetry is directly related to the moraic value of the syllables in the text.

In the second phase of the project, we collected and recorded actual recitations and made a digital archive of Hindi, Urdu, Bengali and Persian metres with samples of recitation. It is already available to the public at the project Web site, <http://hin.minoh.osaka-u.ac.jp>. Suhail Abbas Khan of Islamabad cooperated with us by recording many recitations of Urdu metre. Kitada, Niwa, Nagasaki and Sasaki collected samples of Bengali, Hindi and Persian metres, and Kitada, Niwa and Nagasaki made recordings in India. Taheri, who is a poet herself, recited Sasaki's Persian samples.

The most remarkable discovery of the project in the field of Hindi and Urdu is that Urdu metre, which adapted Persian metre to Indo-Aryan, developed a poetic rhythm, a uniquely Indian metre that is unknown in Persian metrical tradition, and which is essentially identical with Sanskrit *Āryā* metre. Another discovery concerns the *Savaiyā* class of Hindi metre, a doubled form of original Indo-Aryan metre with end rhyme which has been popular since the 16th century. According to our research, the development of this class took place under the influence of Urdu and Persian metres, despite its Indo-Aryan appearance.

Had it not been for the dedicated participation and patience of the

project members, this volume would have been impossible. We sincerely thank them for their contribution.

Junko Sakamoto-Goto, expert on Middle Indo-Aryan prosody, joined the project in the second year. Although her paper is not included in the present volume, she gave us invaluable advice even at the time of the devastating earthquake that hit her area, and her comments are incorporated in our papers. We hereby thank her for her contribution. Heartfelt thanks of all of us go to Ronald I. Kim of Adam Mickiewicz University, who read through the draft of this volume painstakingly and gave innumerable suggestions on the contents as well as the style. We would like to extend our sincere thanks to Vijay Lakshmi Jain and Manju Jain of Saujanya Publications for their unwavering understanding, encouragement, and patience.

Osaka, July 2011

Hiroko Nagasaki

PART ONE

EARLY INDO-IRANIAN METRES

Ancient Iranian Poetic Metres

Hassan Rezai Baghbidi

Introduction

The Aryan-speaking peoples of the steppes of Central Asia, who were of Indo-European origin, divided into the two main groups of Indo-Aryans and Iranians shortly after about 1900 BC (Parpola 2002: 241). The Indo-Aryans first appear in history around the middle of the 2nd millennium BC in the Hurrian Empire of Mitanni in northern Mesopotamia (Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995: lxii; Ghosh 1971: 208-209; Mallory 1991: 37-38). However, the bulk of the Indo-Aryans penetrated into northwest India across the passes of the Hindu Kush during the period between 1700 and 1200 BC, from where they spread further into the eastern and southern parts of the Indian subcontinent (Masica 1993: 37). The group now identified as the Iranians, or Irano-Aryans, remained in Central Asia and expanded toward the west and the east. However, some of them, including the Median and Persian tribes, moved onto the Iranian plateau, where they first established rulerships, and ultimately major empires.

The proto-Aryan language first divided into two main branches, proto-Nuristāni and proto-Indo-Iranian. Proto-Nuristāni is the mother of all Nuristāni languages, which are now spoken in Nuristān, formerly called Kāfiristān before the conversion of its inhabitants to Islam in 1896 AD, in the mountainous regions of Northeastern Afghanistan. Some of the most important Nuristāni languages are Ashkun, Kati, Prasun, Tregami, Waigali, Wamai and Zemiaki.

Proto-Indo-Iranian is the ancestor of all Dardic, Indo-Aryan and Iranian languages. The most important Dardic languages are Kashmiri, the Kohistani languages, Phallura, Sawi, and Shina in the eastern group, and Gawar, Glangali, Kalasha, Katarkalai, Khowar, Pashai, Shumashti, and Tirahi in the central group (see Rezai Baghbidi 1388: 12-13).

The Iranian languages, like their sister Indo-Aryan languages, have passed through three main historical stages, as shown in the following table: Old Iranian, Middle Iranian, and New Iranian.

Proto-Indo-European (ca. 4500-3500 BC)		
Proto-Aryan (ca. 3000 BC)		
Proto-Indo-Iranian (ca. 2500 BC)		Proto-Nuristāni
Proto-Dardic	Proto-Indo-Aryan	Proto-Iranian (ca. 2000 BC)
		Old Iranian Languages (ca. 1500-330 BC)
		Middle Iranian Languages (ca. 330 BC-651 AD in a few cases, up to the 10 th century AD)
		New Iranian Languages (since 651 AD)

In the present paper, the ancient Iranian poetic metres, as reflected in Old Iranian and Western Middle Iranian texts, will be studied and exemplified. The last part of the paper will deal with a few Early New Persian poems composed in the same ancient metres and possible reflexes of ancient Iranian metres in New Persian prosody, which is generally thought to be wholly borrowed from Arabic.

Old Iranian metres

Any serious attempt to investigate the characteristics of Old Iranian poetry must necessarily rely upon ancient Indo-Aryan poetry as reflected in Vedic hymns as a starting point. It should be briefly mentioned that the governing principles of prosody and versification in Vedic, as in ancient Greek, are based upon quantitative metre. In other words, each line of a stanza consists of a certain number of short and long syllables in a specific order. This characteristic was inherited from late Proto-Indo-European poetry, where verse-lines had a fixed number of syllables and a rhythm that was quantitative, i.e. based on the alternation of long or heavy ('strong time') and short or light ('weak time') syllables (Fortson 2004: 31; Watkins 1995: 19).

A syllable is long if it contains a long vowel or diphthong or if it ends in a consonant. A single consonant between vowels is assigned to the second of the two syllables, but where two or three consonants occur together (other than at the beginning of the verse) they are divided between the syllables, making the prior syllable automatically long. On the other hand, where a short final vowel occurs before an initial vowel, the two syllables are generally reduced to one by contraction. Other short vowels may in certain circumstances be lengthened *metri gratia*. A long final vowel before an initial vowel generally remains but is shortened by

correction. The semivowels *i/ĭ* and *u/ū*, as the second element of a diphthong, are treated as consonants when the diphthong is word-final before an initial vowel (West 2007: 47).

In addition, the quantitative rhythms of Vedic metre show a preference for the even syllables (second, fourth, etc.) to be long. The rhythm of the last four or five syllables of a line (i.e. the cadence) is more rigid, i.e. the regulation of quantities is strictest in the cadence of the verse and least strict at the beginning. In eleven- and twelve-syllable lines, a word-break or ‘caesura’ occurs after the fourth or fifth syllable, while lines of five and eight syllables have no such metrical pause. Here the pitch accent of Vedic plays no role.

The metrical unit in Vedic is the *pāda*- ‘foot; quarter’ in the sense of the line which is the constituent of the *ṣṭ*- ‘stanza’. Each *pāda*- consists of eight, eleven, twelve, or much less commonly five syllables (*akṣara*-). The most common metres (*chandas*-) in the *Ṛgveda* are:

1. *gāyatrī*:- each stanza consists of three eight-syllable lines of the form $\times \times \times \times \cup - \cup - \parallel$.ⁱ The final position in a verse is shown as long, but it may always be occupied by a short syllable, the full length being made up by the pause at line-end.
2. *triṣṭubh*:- each stanza consists of four lines of eleven syllables, with a caesura after the fourth or the fifth syllable and the cadence $\cup - - \parallel$. The second, fourth, and eighth syllables tend to be long, and the two syllables following the caesura short.
3. *jagatī*:- each stanza consists of four lines of twelve syllables, with a caesura after the fourth or the fifth syllable and the cadence $\cup - \cup - \parallel$.ⁱⁱ

The first two of these are illustrated in the following verses.

<i>Ṛgveda</i> 1.1.1
<i>gāyatrī</i> -
agnīm īḷe puróhitam yajñásya devám ṛtvíjam hótāram ratnadhātānam
I praise Agni the domestic priest, the divine ministrant of the sacrifice, the invoker, best bestower of treasure.

<p><i>Ṛgveda</i> 10.129.1 <i>triṣṭubh-</i></p>
<p>násad āsīm, nó sád āsīt tadānīm; násīd rájo, nó víomā paró yát kím ávarīvaḥ, kúha kásya sármann; ámblaḥ kím āsīd, gáhanam gabhīrám</p> <p>There was not the non-existent nor the existent then; there was not the air nor the heaven which is beyond. What did it contain? Where? In whose protection? Was there water, unfathomable, profound?</p>

Among the Old Iranian languages, only Avestan and Old Persian are directly known from texts. The Median language spoken by the Medes of northwestern Iran in the Median Kingdom (ca. 728-550 BC) is indirectly known from personal names and toponyms in Assyrian, Babylonian, Old Persian, Elamite, Aramaic and Greek sources. There are also a few references to Median epic and lyric literature in Greek sources (see Tafazzoli 1377: 17-19; Zaršenās 1384: 9-15). Another indirectly known Old Iranian language is Scythian or Old Saka, which was spoken from ca. 800 BC onwards by the Scythian and Saka tribes across a vast area extending from the north of the Black Sea to northwestern China. It is known from a number of personal names, ethnonyms and toponyms, esp. in Greek sources. There are also a few references to Scythian epic literature in Herodotus (see Zaršenās 1384: 15-19).

Avestan

The Avestan language is known from the *Avesta*, the sacred book of the Zoroastrian religion. The *Avesta* is a collection of heterogeneous religious, mostly ritual, texts composed in the second and first millennia BC (Skjærvø 2010: 44). The Avestan texts were orally transmitted until committed to writing in the fourth century AD under Sassanian king Šābuhr II (reign: 309-379 AD). The holiest part of the *Avesta* is the *Gāthās* ‘songs’ (*gāthā-* ‘song, hymn’, $\sqrt{gā-}$ ‘to sing’), a collection of seventeen songs attributed to Zoroaster (*Zarathuštra-*), the prophet of ancient Iran, who according to the most recent research lived between 1000-800 BC (see also Kuzmina 2007: 448-450). The *Gāthās* now form seventeen of the seventy-two chapters (*hāti-*) of the Avestan collection known as *Yasna-* ‘adoration’ ($\sqrt{yaz-}$ ‘to sacrifice; to adore, to worship’).

Zoroaster’s *Gāthās* are unquestionably poetry. They are based on lines (*afsmān-*) of two (rarely three) feet (*pada-/paḍa-*) with a fixed number of syllables and a caesura, arranged in strophes (*vacastašti-*) of three, four, or five lines. Here there is no regulation of quantities.ⁱⁱⁱ A prosodic difference from Vedic metre is that the combination of a final with an initial vowel never results in syllabic loss, since all final vowels were pronounced long (see also Bartholomae 1879: 1-19; Gippert 1986; Hertel 1927; Humbach 1991).

Gāthic metre is historically related to the R̥gvedic *triṣṭubh-jagatī* family of metres. The *Gāthās* are arranged in the following five groups according to their different syllabic metres:^{iv}

1. The *Ahunauuaitī Gāthā*, seven songs (*Yasna* 28-34) containing one hundred stanzas of three lines of 7 + 9 syllables each: 3 (7 || 9).
2. The *Uštatauaitī Gāthā*, four songs (*Yasna* 43-46) containing sixty-six stanzas of five lines (four in *Yasna* 46: 15) of eleven (4 + 7) syllables each: 5 (4 || 7).
3. The *Spəntāmainiū Gāthā*, four songs (*Yasna* 47-50) containing forty-one stanzas of four lines of eleven (4 + 7) syllables each: 4 (4 || 7).
4. The *Vohuxšaθrā Gāthā*, one song (*Yasna* 51) containing twenty-two stanzas of three lines of fourteen (7 + 7) syllables each: 3 (7 || 7).
5. The *Vahištōišī Gāthā*, one song (*Yasna* 53) containing nine stanzas of four lines (five in *Yasna* 53: 6) of varying number of syllables; 7 + 5 twice, followed by 7 + 7 + 5 twice: 2 (7 || 5) + 2 (7 || 7 || 5).

The first two of these are illustrated in the passages below.^v

<i>Yasna</i> 28: 1 3 (7 9)
ahiā yāsā nəmaṅhā • ustānazastō rafəδrahiā maⁱniiōuš mazdā paouruuīm • spəntahiā ašā vīspəng šīiaoθ^anā vaṅhəuš xratūm manaṅhō • yā xšnəuuīšā gəušcā uruuānəm With hands outstretched in reverence to Him, I first entreat (you) all, O Mazdā, for the actions of support of the spirit holy through truth, through which Thou mayest satisfy the intellect of good thought and and the soul of the cow.

<i>Yasna</i> 45: 2 5 (4 7)
aṭ frauaxšiiā • aṅhəuš maⁱniiū pao^uruiē yaiiā spaniiā • ūⁱtī mrauuat yəm aṅgrəm nōiṭ nā manā • nōiṭ səṅghā nōiṭ xratauuō naēdā var^anā • nōiṭ uxδā naēdā šīiaoθ^anā nōiṭ daēnā (< *daiianāh) • nōiṭ uruuəṅō hacīntē Now I shall proclaim the two primal spirits of existence, of whom the holy one shall address the harmful one: ‘Neither our thoughts nor pronouncements, neither intellects nor choices, neither utterances nor actions, nor religious views, nor (our) souls, are in agreement.’

The liturgical text known as the *Yasna Haptañhā'ti* ‘Yasna of Seven Chapters’ (*Yasna* 35-41), whose language is very close to that of the *Gāθās* and is therefore attributed to (one of) Zoroaster’s disciples, is divided into lines and strophes, but it is not metrical (see Narten 1986). However, this does not mean that the text is not in verse (Watkins 1995: 233). As a matter of fact, the *Yasna Haptañhā'ti* illustrates an archaic Proto-Indo-European poetic form, termed the strophic style. This poetic form never makes use of either quantity- or syllable-based verse. The defining characteristic of this type of poetry was purely linguistic in nature: it consisted of strophes of relatively short lines whose structure was determined by grammatical and phonetic parallelism. Repetition, alliteration, and bipartite phrases of various kinds were very frequent in the strophic style (Fortson 2004: 32-33; cf. Campanile 1998: 22).

<i>Yasna</i> 35: 4	
rāmācā vāstrāmcā dazdiiāi	
surunuuatascā asurunuuatascā	
xšaiiañtascā axšaiiañtascā	
peace and pasture to be provided (by)	
those who listen and those who do not listen,	
those who hold power and those who do not hold power.	

The *Gāθās* and the *Yasna Haptañhā'ti* are composed in what is known as the Old Avestan dialect. The only example of poetry composed in the Young Avestan dialect is the *Yašts* (*yašti-*, from $\sqrt{\text{yaz-}}$ ‘to worship’), a collection of twenty-one hymns addressed to the principal Zoroastrian *yazatas* ‘deities’.

There are convincing reasons to believe that the *Yašts* were in large part originally composed in octosyllabic verse (as e.g. in *Yašt* 19: 92-96; see Hintze 1994). However, due to alterations brought about by centuries of oral transmission, there are numerous exceptions to this pattern. The Hymn to Miθra (*Yašt* 10; see Gershevitch 1967), for example, contains lines varying in length from four to thirteen syllables, most often seven to nine.^{vi} On the other hand, some passages of the *Yašts* in their present form are ‘prose with occasional rhythmic spells’ (Hintze 2009: 61), which shows that they might have originally been composed in the strophic style.

<i>Yašt</i> 10: 7	
11 syllables	miθrəm vo^uru.gaoiiaoⁱtīm yazamaide
7 syllables	arš.vacəñhəm viiāxanəm
8 syllables	hazañra.gaošəm hutāštəm
8 syllables	baēuuar^o.cašmanəm bər^ozañtəm
8 syllables	pər^oθu.vaēðaiianəm sūrəm
7 syllables	ax^vafnəm jaya^uruuāñhəm

Grass-land magnate Miθra we worship,
 whose words are correct, who is challenging,
 has a thousand ears, is well built,
 has ten thousand eyes, is tall,
 has a wide out-look, is strong,
 sleepless, (ever-)awake.

Yašt 10: 50	
8 syllables	yaθra nōiṭ xšapa nōiṭ tēmā
8 syllables	nōiṭ aotō vātō nōiṭ gar³mō
7 syllables	nōiṭ axtiš po^uru.mahrkō
8 syllables	nōiṭ āhitiš daēuuō.dāta
8 syllables	naēḏa dunmaṇ uzjasaⁱti
8 syllables	haraⁱθiiō paⁱti bar³zaiiā
<p>Where (there is) no night or darkness, no wind cold or hot, no deadly illness, no defilement produced by evil gods, neither do mists rise, from (Mount) Harā the high.</p>	

Yašt 10: 103	
10 syllables	yim har³tārəmca aiβiiāxštārəmca
8 syllables	fradaθaṭ ahurō mazdā
8 syllables	vīspaiiā frauuōiš gaēθaiiā
8 syllables	yō har³taca aiβiiāxštaca
8 syllables	vīspaiiā frauuōiš gaēθaiiā
10 syllables	yō anauua^uhabdəmnō zaēnaṇha
7 syllables	nipāⁱti mazdā dāmaṇ
10 syllables	yō anauua^uhabdəmnō zaēnaṇha
8 syllables	nišha^uruuaiti mazdā dāmaṇ
<p>Whom as the inspector and supervisor appointed Ahura Mazdā, of the promotion of the whole world, who (is) the inspector and supervisor of the promotion of the whole world, the watchful (caretaker) who without falling asleep, protects the creatures of Mazdā, the watchful (caretaker) who without falling asleep, observes the creatures of Mazdā.</p>	

Old Persian

Old Persian was the language spoken by the Persian tribes during the Achaemenid period (550-330 BC). The extant Old Persian texts are the cuneiform inscriptions of the Achaemenid kings up to the middle of the fourth century BC (see esp. Kent 1953; Schmitt 1991). There are also references to Old Persian epic stories in Greek sources (see Zaršenās 1384: 22-30).

There is a seemingly rhythmic passage in the inscription of Darius I (reign: 522-486 BC) on Mount Bisotun (DB, Column II, lines 74-76), which according to F. W. König (see Brandenstein and Mayrhofer 1964: 26) is in verse with four stresses in each line, an idea which is not supported by the contemporary Young Avestan texts.

DB, Column II: 74-76	
utā nāham utā gaušā utā hizānam frājanam utāšai aivam čašma āvajam d^hvarayāmai basta adār^hya har^hvašim kāra avaina pasāvašim hagmatānai uzmayāpati akunavam	As wrongly transcribed by König utā nāhām utā gōšā utā uzbānam frājanām utāšaij čašma āvajām dvarjāmai^j bāsta ādarīj harwāšim kāra āwēnā pasāwāšim hangmātanaīj uzmjāpatij akúnawām
(His) nose, ears and tongue, I cut off; and I put out his eye; at my palace entrance he was kept bound; all the people saw him. After that, at Ecbatana, I impaled him.	

On the other hand, the opening words of one of the inscriptions of Darius I at Susa (DSf, lines 1-3), which are repeated several times, with slight differences, in some of his other inscriptions and those of succeeding kings, reminds us of the strophic style with grammatical parallelism (not syllable-based verse as wrongly suggested by e.g. Mo'in 1322; Reza'i 1381).

DSf: 1-3		
9 syllables	baga vazrka auramazdā	A great god (is) Auramazdā, who created this earth, who created that heaven, who created man, who created happiness for man.
8 syllables	haya imām būmim adā	
9 syllables	haya avam asmānam adā	
7 syllables	haya martiyam adā	
7 syllables	haya šiyātim adā	
4 syllables	Martiyahyā	

Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the extant Old Persian texts are all in prose, and contain no metrical passages. ‘On occasions when some phrases seem to be reminiscent of a metrical structure, this is mere chance’ (Schmitt 2004: 536).

Middle Iranian metres

Eastern Middle Iranian

The Eastern Middle Iranian languages include Bactrian, Khwarezmian, Sogdian, and Middle Saka (with two closely related dialects, Khotanese and Tumshuqese). The surviving texts in Bactrian and Khwarezmian contain no poetic material. Sogdian poetry is sparsely attested and imperfectly understood. The surviving literature in Khotanese consists largely of poetry, but the question of whether its metre is indigenous or based on Indian models is still open. Old Khotanese metre is essentially quantitative, while Young Khotanese metre seems to be regulated by the number of stresses in each line (*pāda*-). At least two metres exist: one with about eight syllables per *pāda*-, and another with about twelve syllables per *pāda*- (see Maggi 2009: 336-337).

Western Middle Iranian

Western Middle Iranian consists of the two closely related languages of Parthian and Middle Persian, the languages of the Arsacid dynasty (ca. 247 BC-224 AD) and the Sassanian Empire (224-651 AD) respectively. Both of these languages continued to be used as the liturgical languages of the Manichaean communities of Central Asia up to the 8th century AD. Most of the Zoroastrian texts in Middle Persian were written down in the 9th and -10th centuries AD. Western Middle Iranian poetry is mainly known from the Manichaean religious hymns discovered at Turfan in northeastern Chinese Turkistan (see especially Boyce 1954; 1975; Lazard 2003).

The professional minstrels of the Parthian and the Sassanian periods who enjoyed great fame and performed at court were called respectively *gōsān* and *huniyāgar* or *huniwāz*. Some of the most famous *huniyāgars* of the Sassanian period were Bāmšād, Bārbad, and Nagīsā. We also know the names for a number of poetic genres of the Sassanian period, e.g. *čegāmag* or *čāmag* ‘a love lyric’, *srōd* ‘a hymn addressed to a king, or used by the priests in their rituals’, and *tarānag* ‘a feasting or drinking song’ (see also Elwell-Sutton 1976: 171). In addition, the following Middle Persian technical terms are known: *wačast* ‘strophe’ (cf. Avestan *vacastašti*-), *paymān* ‘verse-line’, *pay* ‘foot, half-line’ (cf. Avestan *pada*-/*paḍa*-).

Examples of Middle Persian poetry are poorly known and often, due to centuries of oral transmission, preserved only in distorted form. They include:

1. *Draxt ī Asūrīg* “The Assyrian (i.e. Babylonian) Tree”, a poetic controversy between the goat and the palm tree (see Benveniste 1930; Lazard 2003). There are numerous traces in the Middle Persian text of an older Parthian version.
2. *Ayādgār ī Zarērān* “The Memorial of Zarēr”, a historical epic, originally composed in Parthian (Benveniste 1932; Utas 1975; Boyce 1989; Māhyār-e Navvābi 1374).
3. *Jāmāspnāmag* “The Book of Jāmāsp”, an apocalyptic text (see Bailey 1930-1932).
4. A few Zoroastrian poems of moral content: *dārēm handarz ī dānāgān* ... ‘I have a counsel from the wise ...’ (see Henning 1950), *was raft hēm andar āwām* ... ‘Much I have advanced in time ...’ (see Tavadia 1950), *xrad dāštār pānāg ī jān* ... ‘Wisdom is the keeper and protector of the soul ...’ (see Shaked 1970; Tafazzoli 1972; Lazard 2001).

The earlier theories of a purely syllabic metre in Western Middle Iranian poetry, as held by e.g. Benveniste, cannot be maintained.^{vii} On the other hand, Shaked’s (1970: 404) hypothesis, restated by Abolqāsemi (1374: 158), according to which Western Middle Iranian poetry was characterized by neither the number of syllables nor the number of stresses, but by the position of the caesura, does not have a firm basis either. Similarly, Vahidiyān-e Kāmyār (1370: 23) unconvincingly argues that Western Middle Iranian poetry was neither purely syllabic nor accentual, but quantitative, like that of New Persian.

A very important point which is often neglected is that pre-Islamic Iranian poetry was almost always accompanied by music. This can easily justify the unequal length of the verses and the hemistichs, since the singer could occasionally substitute short and long syllables in order to keep the rhythm. In other words, the important point was keeping the regular time separation between the hemistichs and the verses. This could be done by placing a beat or metrical stress (*ictus*) on the last syllable of each hemistich. In other words, the metre was based on a fixed number of metrically stressed syllables to a line (cf. Nātel-e Xānlari 1367: 73-75; Utas 1975: 403).

A detailed analysis of the Manichaean hymns in Western Middle Iranian demonstrates the following points: (1) The two verses of a distich are each divided into two hemistichs; (2) Each hemistich is formed by a heavy syllable that carries the metrical stress, often preceded by a variable number of heavy and light syllables;^{viii} (3) The metrical stress often coincides with the accent on the word, but not always; (4) The metrical stress can also fall on a medial syllable of a word (see also Lazard 2006). This metrical structure is the same as the one found in Syriac poetry of the 3rd century AD (Sundermann 2009: 213-214).

The same principles can be applied to non-Manichaean Western Middle Iranian poems. For example, the *Draxt ī Asūrīg* has four metrical

stresses and ten to fourteen syllables per line, with a maximum of three heavy syllables per foot (see Lazard 2002-2003). The Manichean poem in Parthian M 10 (text *at* in Boyce 1975: 104-105), analyzed by Lazard (1985; 2003), likewise has four stresses per verse, but a maximum of two heavy syllables per foot.

There were originally no rhymes in Western Middle Iranian poetry, but later on there developed poetic forms containing the regular or occasional repetition of the same syllable or the same word, either at the end of verses or at the end of distichs (Lazard 2006). In *dārēm handarz ī dānāgān* ..., a rhyme in *-ān* appears in the first two verses, and afterwards, at the end of each distich. In *xrad dāštār pānāg ī jān* ..., all the distichs except for the first end in a comparative in *-tar*. In *was raft hēm andar āwām* ..., the first four distichs have a rhyme in *-ag*, and the following four end in the word *xrad*.

<i>Huwīdagmān IVa</i>	
A long hymn cycle in Parthian, whose name has been taken from its opening word (<i>huwīdagmān</i> ‘fortunate for us’). This cycle is divided into cantos, called <i>handām</i> ‘limb, section’. In <i>Huwīdagmān IV</i> , the soul, distressed amid the assaults of evil and encompassed by metaphoric perils, longs for a saviour.	
/ = end of the hemistich ● = verse-end	
1a	kē-m wišāháh / až harwín ● grīhčág / ud zēndān
1b	čē anambarénd / āwaržóg ● čē nē wxáš / ahénd
Who will release me from all the pits and prisons, in which are gathered lusts that are not pleasing?	

<i>Draxt ī Asūrīg</i>	
(four metrical stresses to the line with a maximum of three heavy syllables per foot)	
Line 11	rasan až mán / karénd ● kē tō páō / bandénd
Line 12	čōb až mán / karénd ● kē tō *grīw / māzénd
They make a rope out of me, with which they bind your legs. They make a stick (i.e. knife handle) out of me, with which they rub (i.e. cut) your neck.	

dārēm handarz / ī dānāgān ● az guft ī pé/šēnīgān
I have a counsel from the wise, from the sayings of the ancient.
ō ašmá / bē wizārém ● pad rāsth / andar gēhān
To you I will explain it, truthfully, in the world.

was raft hém / andar āwām	•	was-um wizíd / kustag kustág
Much I have advanced in time; much I have discerned in various regions;		
was-um *wizóšt / az dēn mānsár	•	was-um az nibég / ud nāmág
much I have searched from scriptures (and) sayings; much I (have learnt) from writings and books.		

Continuation of Western Middle Iranian metres in the Islamic period

There are a few Early New Persian poetic pieces of the late Sassanian and early Islamic periods, preserved in Arabic and Persian works, which do not follow the rules of Classical Persian versification, but rather conform to the versification rules of Western Middle Iranian. They include:

1. A short piece in Ibn Xurdādbih's *al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik* attributed to Bahrām V, the Sassanian king (421-438 AD): *man-am šēr ī šalanba ...* 'I am the lion of Šalanba ...'.
2. A short piece related to the victory of Sa'īd ibn 'Uṭmān in Buxārā in 56 AH/676 AD and his falling in love with the queen of Buxārā: *kōr ī xamīr āmaδ ...* 'The blind commander came ...' (see esp. Saymoddinov 1383).
3. A Zoroastrian ballad written in Pahlavi script, previously considered a Middle Persian poem (e.g. in Tavadia 1955), but shown by de Blois (2000) to be composed in Early New Persian: *kay bawāδ ki payg-ē āyaδ ...* 'When will it be that a courier comes ...'.
4. A rhymed hymn recited at the pyre of Karkōy preserved in *Tārīx-i Sīstān: frōxta bādā rōš ...* 'May the light be kindled ...'.
5. Three satirical verses probably composed in 60 AH/680 AD at Bašra by a certain Yazīd ibn Mufarriy: *āb ast u nabīδ ast ...* 'There is water and date-wine ...'.
6. Three verses in Ibn Xurdādbih attributed to the famous Bārbad, a poet and musician at the court of Husraw II, the Sassanian king (591-628 AD): *qaysar māh mānaδ ...* 'The Caesar resembles the moon ...' (see Šafi'i-ye Kadkani 1342; Utas 1994: 139).
7. A short piece in Ibn Xurdādbih deploring the ruin of Samarqand: *Samarqand kandmand ...* 'O prosperous Samarqand ...'.
8. The satirical verses which, according to Tabarī, were addressed by the inhabitants of Balx to 'Asad ibn 'Abdullāh al-Qasrī, the governor of Xwarāsān, after his defeat from the Turkish Xāqān of Xutalān and his return to Balx in 108 AH/726 AD: *az xutalān āmaδiya ...* 'Thou hast come back from Xutalān ...'.
9. A couplet wrongly attributed to 'Abū Ḥafṣ Suydī: *āhū-yi kōhī dar dašt čigōna dawaδā ...* 'How does the mountain deer run in the field? ...' (see Lazard 1970; for these and similar poems, see Bahār n.d.: 30-47; Christensen 1363: 12; Eqbāl 1363: 27; Esmā'ilpur 1381; 1386: 141-174; Homāyun-Farrox 1370: 746-775).

In these Early New Persian poems, rhymes are not infrequent; however, they differ from those of Classical Persian poetry in that the same word or the same suffix is allowed to rhyme with itself. In *kay bawāδ ki payg-ē āyaδ ...*, for example, a rhyme in *-ān* appears in each verse.

kay bawāδ / ki payg-é • āyaδ áz^{ix} / hinduwán
ki maδ ān / Šā-Bahrām • az dūδá-/y i kayán

When will it be that a courier comes from India,
(saying) that: Šāh Bahrām, from the family of the *Kays*, has come?

Similarly in the hymn of the pyre of Karkōy, all the verses rhyme together in *-ōš*. Other examples from the poetic works above include the following:

qaysár / mäh mānāδ • u xāqān / xwaršéd
ān i mán / xwaδāy • abr mānāδ / kāmyārán
ka xwāhāδ / mäh pōšāδ • ka xwāhāδ / xwaršéd^x

The Caesar resembles the moon, and the Xāqān the sun;
(But) my lord resembles a powerful cloud,
When he desires, he covers the moon, (and) when he desires, (he covers)
the sun.

az xutalān / āmaḍiyáh • *tar u tabāh / āmaḍiyáh
ābāra⁺ bāz / āmaḍiyáh • xušk⁺ u nizār / āmaḍiyáh

Thou hast come back from Xutalān; thou hast come ruined and spoiled;
thou hast come back wandering; thou hast come down lean and heartsick.

āhū-yi kōhí / dar dášt • čigōná:^{xi} / dawaδā
ō ni-dāraδ yār / bē yār • čigōná: / buwaδā

How does the mountain deer run in the field?
He has no companion, how can he be without a companion?

It should be added that examples of such versification did not cease even after the establishment of the rules of Classical Persian poetry. As an example, reference can be made to a verse translation of parts of the *Qur'ān* dating from the 5th century AH/11th century AD (see Raǰā'i 1353).

Classical Persian versification, like Arabic versification, is based on the arrangement of short and long syllables. It was for a long time believed that this quantitative system was borrowed from Arabic poetry, but this claim will have to be seriously qualified. In fact, although the principle is the same on both sides, the metres most commonly used in Persian are rare or nonexistent in Arabic, and vice versa (Elwell-Sutton 1976). One is thus led to believe that there must be some linear

relationship between pre-Islamic Iranian metres and those of Classical Persian poetry (Lazard 2006). Benveniste (1932: 293) had already suggested that “l’originalité des Persans en matière de technique poétique a consisté à assujettir le mètre syllabique iranien à la poésie quantitative arabe.” This suggestion is correct if ‘le mètre syllabique iranien’ is replaced by ‘le mètre accentuel iranien’. Tavadia (1950: 86), too, believed that the *mutaqārib* “originated in Persia itself and [was] not like many other metres innovated or borrowed from Arabia.” The same idea has been expressed by Utas (1994: 140): “The origin of many of the New Persian metres must be sought in earlier Iranian rhythmic patterns that were formally adapted to a quantitative structure.” Grunebaum (1955, p. 18), for his part, has suggested that certain metres used by Arab poets, “the *ramal*, the *mutaqārib*, and perhaps the *ḥafīf*, may be considered as adaptations of Persian (Pahlavi) metres to Arabic linguistic conditions.” Vahidiyān-e Kāmyār (1370: 132) goes so far as to claim that all Arabic metres were borrowed from Persian metres.

As shown by Lazard (2001; 2003), the metres of the Zoroastrian poem *xrad dāštār pānāg ī jān ...* and the Manichean Parthian poem *M 10* can be connected with the catalectic (*maḥḍūf*) *mutaqārib* and the acatalectic (*sālim*) *mutaqārib* respectively. The connection can be shown in the following way:^{xii}

<i>xrad dāštār pānāg ī jān ...</i>										
(x)	(x)	X	(x)	x	X	(x)	(x)	X	x	X
catalectic (<i>maḥḍūf</i>) <i>mutaqārib</i>										
∪	–	–	∪	–	–	∪	–	–	∪	–

<i>M 10</i>											
(x)	x	X	(x)	x	X	(x)	x	X	(x)	x	X
acatalectic (<i>sālim</i>) <i>mutaqārib</i>											
∪	–	–	∪	–	–	∪	–	–	∪	–	–

The following examples, too, will clarify the connection:

<i>Angad Rōšnān</i> VI: 49a	
az ō tō / abdāžān • aḏ harwīn / yōbāhr	
– – ^a / – – [’] • – ^a – [’] / – [’] – [’]	
I shall set thee free from every sickness.	
Cf. the <i>Šāhnāma</i> of Ferdawsi (vol. 4, p. 173, line 67) (<i>mutaqārib</i>)	
pay afgandam az nazm kāx-ē buland	
∪ – – / ∪ – – / ∪ – – / ∪ –	
ki az bād u bārān ni-yābad guzand	
∪ – – / ∪ – – / ∪ – – / ∪ –	
I have founded a lofty palace of verse, which will not be harmed by wind and rain.	

In addition, the verse *tu z-ēn xāk bar-xēz u bar-šaw ba gāh* (⊖ – – / ⊖ – – / ⊖ – – / ⊖ –) ‘Rise up from this dust and ascend the throne!’ in the story of King Guštāsp by Daqiqi in the *Šāhnāma* of Ferdawsi (vol. 5, p. 117, line 432) can be taken back to the distorted verse *az ēn xāk abar āxēzēd ud abāz ō kay-gāh nišīnēd* ‘Rise up from this dust and reascend the throne!’ in the *Ayādgār ī Zarērān* 53 (Jamasp-Asana 1913: 7), which can be reconstructed as **az ēn xāk / āxēzēd • ō kay-gāh / nišīnēd* (–^a – – / – – – • –^a – – / ⊖ – –) (cf. Māhyār-e Navvābi 1374: 119). Therefore, it is not surprising that the *mutaqārib* metre is unknown in pre-Islamic Arabic poetry, and remains extremely rare in the poetry of the Umayyid period. It occurs more frequently in Abbasid times, a fact that suggests that the direction of transfer was from Persian to Arabic (Elwell-Sutton 1976: 172).

Another important point is that the obligatory use of final rhymes with complicated rules, which is a dominant characteristic of Classical Persian poetry (see Jeremiás 2003), is a late development, most probably under the influence of Arabic poetry. As an example, reference can be made to two poems of moral content preserved in *Tuḥfat al-Mulūk* composed in the *mutaqārib*, but having rhymes that are not in accordance with Classical Persian poetry. One begins: *tu az kār i Kay-Xusrāw andāza gīr / kuhan gašta kār i jahān tāza gīr / jahān dār saxt u bas-aš sust gīr / ba saxtī u sustī tu yaksān bagīr ...* (see Lazard 1974).

The epic Balōči metre, which has seven to ten syllables and contains four stresses, is also related to the *mutaqārib* and thus the continuation of the Middle Persian epic metre (see Lazard 1994).

Finally, Middle Persian poetry was also continued in the form of the *fahlawī* poems composed in the dialects of western, central, and northern Iran. The *fahlawī* poems (also referred to as *pahlavī*, *ōrāma*, *rāmandī*, *rāzī/rāžī* and *šahrī*) were gradually adapted to the standard rules of Persian prosody (esp. in *hazaǰ* metre: ⊖ – – – / ⊖ – – – / ⊖ – –), although sometimes with modifications that seemed shocking to strict prosodists. The oldest extant *fahlawī* quatrain is attributed to a certain Abū Abbās Nihāvandī (d. 331 AH/943 AD), but the most important ones include those attributed to Bābā Ṭāhir of Hamadān (5th century AH/11th century AD) and Šayx Šafī al-Dīn Ardabīlī (d. 735 AH/1334 AD).

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ⁱ × = indifferent quantity; ∪ = short syllable; – = long syllable; || = verse-end

ⁱⁱ For Vedic metre see also Arnold 1905; MacDonell 1916: 436-447; van Nooten and Holland 1994: vii-xviii, 577-667. It should be noted that in later Sanskrit verse the number of syllables is subject to variation due to the optional substitution of two short syllables for one long syllable or vice versa.

ⁱⁱⁱ This role might have been taken over by a stress accent which, according to Kuryłowicz (1958: 369-380), was placed on the penultimate syllable of every word and of the verse. Utas (2009: 99), too, believes that this metrical system was probably supplemented with a fixed number of stresses per line.

^{iv} It should be noted that, due to the oral transmission of these texts, metrical irregularities occur quite often.

^v Avestan words are transcribed according to the system proposed by Hoffmann (see also Hoffmann 1989).

^{vi} Henning's idea as to the existence of three stressed syllables in each line of the *Yašts*, the number of unstressed syllables being free (Henning 1942: 53), is not tenable. On Young Avestan metre see also Lazard 1984; 1990.

^{vii} Māhyār-e Navvābi's (1374: 105) proposal as to the existence of octosyllabic verse lines in *Ayādgar ī Zarērān* is similarly unacceptable.

^{viii} Short syllables are those of the shape ṽ, Cṽ, CCṽ, CCCṽ; all others are counted as long. Light syllables include all short syllables, and those long syllables which belong to auxiliary words or words that are positionally weak (in prothesis or anaptyxis), e.g. prepositions, postpositions, conjunctions, relative pronouns, as well as syllables containing a prothetic vowel before sC clusters (e.g. *is-* in *istūn* 'column, pillar'). All other long syllables are heavy. In the examples below, –^a denotes a light long syllable; – = denotes a metrically stressed syllable.

^{ix} As can be seen here, the metrical stress is placed on the preposition *az* 'from', which is a light long syllable. The conclusion is that, little by little, the practice of placing the metrical stress on heavy syllables was generalized to include all long syllables, whether heavy or light.

^xThe metre of these verses, with some very minute changes, coincides with that of the Classical Persian *rubā'ī*. This may be one of the rare cases of a truly transitional form (Utas 2009: 101).

^{xi}The syllable *-na* in *čigōna* 'how' is long by position, hence the transcription *čigōna*:

^{xii}(x) = optional unstressed syllable; x = required unstressed syllable; X = stressed syllable.

PART ONE

CLASSICAL PERSIAN METRE

Basic Principles of Persian Prosody

Ayano Sasaki

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Introduction

It has been said that there are about 400 different metres in Persian poetry, and analyzing all of them has been one of the most important as well as most difficult tasks of Persian linguistics and literary studies. Although a considerable number of studies of Persian metres have appeared over the past 50 years, what seems to be lacking is a clear explanation of their structure, patterns, and implementation to understand them.

The aim of the following pages is to provide a simple and comprehensive description of the basic system of Persian prosody. In other words, this paper seeks to identify the main principles underlying the most popular metres in Persian poetry.

However, it must be borne in mind that most of Persian poems which will be exemplified in this paper are classical Persian poetry. It must be remembered that the pronunciation of classical Persian poetry is comparatively different from the pronunciation of New Persian, especially Tehran dialect (Tehrānī). When we appreciate classical Persian poetry in our times, the original pronunciation is not so important and is usually treated as New Persian, therefore the transcription of Persian poems will be also shown as New Persian but in the case of scansion the transcription for Classical Persian will also have to be given in this paper.

As defined by B. Utas, a metrical system is based on some kind of formalized rhythmical structure, where rhythm is based on a more or less regular alternation between marked and unmarked elements.¹ In Persian, the term used for classical poetry is *nazm*, meaning “bound form”; this indicates that poetry does not simply consist of rhythmical and melodious phrases, but also has a kind of method based on a theory. We shall thus begin with an examination of phonetic features in the Persian language, which provides the starting-point for the description and analysis of Persian metres.

1. The structure of Persian metre

1.1. Syllable and metrical foot

The basic organizational unit of Persian metre is the syllable. A syllable may be defined as “a combination or set of one or more units of sound in a language that must consist of a sonorous element (a sonant or vowel) and may or may not contain less sonorous elements (consonants or semivowels) flanking it on either or both side(s).”ⁱⁱ

In Persian, the rules for delimitation of syllable boundaries are very simple. All syllables begin with exactly one consonant. Thus, where consonant clusters occur (rarely exceeding three consonants), all but the last must be regarded as belonging to the previous syllable. This rule has a basis in the phonetic structure of Persian, which does not permit a word beginning with more than one consonant.ⁱⁱⁱ

As a result, syllables in Persian have three patterns, as shown below (C=consonant, V=vowel):

- (1) CV
- (2) CVC
- (3) CVCC

Since Persian has two kinds of vowels, short and long, for prosodic purposes we can divide these three patterns more precisely into six, as shown in the table below:

Table 1: Persian syllable patterns^{iv}

Number	Syllable structure	Quantity	Symbol	Examples
1	C + short Vowel	Short	∪	<i>na, to, se</i>
2	C + long Vowel	Long	–	<i>mā, bū, sī</i>
3	C + short Vowel + C	Long	–	<i>kar, pol, del</i>
4	C + long Vowel + C	Overlong	∩∪	<i>kār, pūl, pīr</i>
5	C + short Vowel + C + C	Overlong	∩∪	<i>kard, goft, xešt</i>
6	C + long Vowel + C + C	Overlong	∩∪	<i>kārd, kūšk, rīxt</i>

[∩∪ means that a syllable can be counted either as – or as ∩∪; see 2.2 below]

An overlong syllable can be considered as two syllables (– ∩) in the middle of a hemistich, a short vowel o is added to the last consonant, giving a short syllable as can be seen in the following example:

biyā ke qaṣr-e 'amal saxt(o) sost(o)-bonyādash
 ∪ – ∪ – ∪ ∪ – – ∪ – ∪ – – –
biyār(o) bāde ke bonyād-e 'omr(o) bar bādash (Ḥāfez)
 ∪ – ∪ – ∪ ∪ – – ∪ – ∪ – – –

The description of Persian prosody is taken up in the next section and the added short vowel o is a kind of general rules of scansion, which is taken up in §2.1.

In addition, Persian has two diphthongs, (')ey and (')ow, which are regarded as sequences of consonant + short vowel + consonant (CVC) in Persian prosody.

A metrical foot consists of a combination of two or more syllables, e.g. *sā-qī, sar-dār, fā-laq*.^v In traditional Persian prosody, however, metrical feet involve additional complications, an understanding of which is essential

for any study of metre. We will examine this issue in the next section.

1.2. Metrical feet in traditional Persian prosody (*joz'*, *rokn*)

Since Persian borrowed its orthography from Arabic after Islamic conquest, written Persian does not normally mark short vowels. A consonant may be read with a following vowel (generally unmarked) and is then called “moving” (*motaḥarrek*), or without a vowel, in which case it is called “silent” (*sāken*). The prosodists represent a vowelized (moving) consonant with the sign “o” and an unvoweled (silent) consonant with the sign “|”. As mentioned in the previous section, all Persian words begin with a vowelized (moving) consonant.

Based on this scheme, traditional Persian prosody recognizes three types of basic units, as shown in the table below.

Table 2: Basic units in traditional Persian prosody

Number	Variants	Name	Description	Examples	Sign (voweled or unvoweled consonant)	Symbol of syllable structure
(1)	rope (<i>sabab</i>)	light (<i>khafīf</i>)	moving + silent	<i>man</i> , <i>tan</i> , <i>sar</i>	o	—
		heavy (<i>ṣaqīl</i>)	moving + moving	<i>hame</i> , <i>rame</i>	o o	∪ ∪
(2)	peg (<i>vataḍ</i>)	separated (<i>mafrūq</i>)	moving + silent + moving	<i>nāme</i> , <i>jāme</i> ^{vi}	o o	— ∪
		connected (<i>maqrūn</i>)	moving + moving + silent	<i>čaman</i> , <i>saman</i>	o o	∪ —
(3)	partition (<i>fāṣele</i>)	small (<i>ṣoḡhrā</i>)	moving + moving + moving + silent	<i>beravam</i> , <i>soxanam</i>	o o o	∪ ∪ —
		large (<i>kobrā</i>)	moving + moving + moving + silent	<i>bebara-</i> <i>maš</i>	o o o o	∪ ∪ ∪ —

Persian prosody has traditionally described eight basic feet using mnemonic words based on the Arabic root *fā-‘eyn-lām*. These so-called *afā‘il* feet, together with their equivalents in terms of long (–) and short (∪) syllables, are as follows:

1. *fā-‘ū-lon* (∪ – –)
2. *fā-‘e-lon* (– ∪ –)
3. *mos-taf-‘e-lon* (– – ∪ –)
4. *ma-fā-‘ī-lon* (∪ – – –)
5. *fā-‘e-lā-ton* (– ∪ – –)
6. *maf-‘ū-lā-to* (– – – ∪)
7. *mo-fā-‘a-la-ton* (∪ – ∪ ∪ –)
8. *mo-ta-fā-‘e-lon* (∪ ∪ – ∪ –)

The first two feet contain five letters and consist of three syllables, while the others contain seven letters and are made up of four to five syllables.^{vii} For example, *tavānā* consists of one “connected peg” and one “light rope” (o o | o |) and is classified under *fā-‘ū-lon* (∪ – – *ta/vā/nā*), whereas *bešnow īn ney* is composed of one “separated peg” and two “light ropes” (o | o o | o |) and corresponds to *fā-‘e-lā-ton* (– ∪ – – *beš/no/wīn/ney*).

1.3. Distinct metrical patterns (*owzān*, pl. of *vazn*) and basic metres (*boḥūr*, pl. of *baḥr*)

Based on our description of Persian syllable structure and the traditional classification of metrical feet, we may now direct our attention to the higher units of prosody.

Classical Persian poetry is composed of a number of lines of equal length, each of which consists of two metrically equal half lines. A half line is also known as a hemistich (*mešrā’*), and a line consisting of two hemistiches is called a distich (*beyt*). These hemistiches are described as combinations of several feet, making up a distinct metrical pattern or *vazn*. The number of distinct metrical patterns in Persian prosody is considerable, estimated at about four hundreds.^{viii} These patterns are classified as belonging to certain basic metres, called “seas” (*boḥūr*, pl. of *baḥr*).^{ix}

If one wishes to describe the organization of Persian prosody by means of a metaphor, sound is a fountain, the syllable a stream, the distinct metrical pattern (*vazn*) a river, and the basic metre (*baḥr*) a sea, exactly like its Persian name.^x

2. Scansion

Scansion refers to the act of determining the rhythm of a line of verse, based on the syllables making up words. The aim of scansion is to recognize the

prosodic units in verse chanted with melodious phrases and to discover the orderly relations among them.^{xi} For example, a distich may be scanned as below:

'āqebat gorg(o)-zāde gorg(o) šavad
 — — — — — — — — — —
 gar če bā 'ādamī bozorg(o) šavad^{xii}
 — — — — — — — — — —

2.1. General rules of scansion

When an overlong syllable (4, 5 and 6 in Table 1) is scanned as two syllables, a short vowel *o* is added to the last consonant, giving a short syllable.

šū-fī-bi / yā-ke-'ā-ye / ne-šā-fī-st / jā-m(o)-rā
 — — — — — — — — — —
 tā-ben-ga / rī-ša-fā-ye / me-yē-la-'l(o) / fā-m(o)-rā (Ḥāfez)
 — — — — — — — — — —

After a long vowel and before a consonant, *st*, which is a part of *ast* (= is) or *nīst* (= is not) is scanned as a short syllable *so*.

In scansion, every hemistich (and therefore distich) must end in a long syllable. If a hemistich ends in a short syllable according to the normal rules of scansion, it must be replaced with a long syllable, as in the example below:

kandū-ye 'āf(e)tāb(o) be pahlū fetāde būd
 — — — — — — — — — —
 zambūr(o)-hā-ye nūr(o) ze gardeš gorīx(o)tē (Nāder Nāderpūr)
 — — — — — — — — — —

Here the last syllable of the first hemistich is long, but the last syllable of the second hemistich is apparently short, even though the metre of both hemistiches is exactly the same. So the scansion of the second hemistich must be repaired to

zambūr(o)-hā-ye nūr(o) ze gardeš gorīx(o)tē
 — — — — — — — — — —

thus agreeing exactly with the first hemistich.^{xiii} This is one of the well-known general rules of Indo-European prosody.

Scansion is based on pronunciation, not on orthography; thus *tanvīn*, the sign of nunation occurring at the end of some Persian words, especially

adverbs of Arabic origin, is treated as *-an*, and *tashdīd*, the mark which indicates that the consonant should be geminated, will be transcribed as a geminate for the purposes of scansion, e.g. *avvalan*, *tajaddod*.

In addition to these general principles, there are also various exceptions, as well as instances of metrical license and *metri causa* scansions in Persian prosody. The next sections will discuss these phenomena.

2.2. Exceptions to scansion

When scanning Persian prosody according to the above-mentioned principles, certain exceptions can be observed in the technique suggested by Najafī:^{xiv}

(1) If an overlong syllable (No. 4 in Table 1) ends in the consonant *n* (*nūn*), it will be counted as only one long syllable.

<i>jām</i> : ~	<i>xūb</i> : ~	<i>zīr</i> : ~
<i>jān</i> : –	<i>xūn</i> : –	<i>zīn</i> : –

(2) Whenever the vowel *ī* comes before a consonant *y* in the middle of a word, the vowel is treated as a short vowel *i*.

<i>siyāh</i> : ∪ – ∪	<i>niyāyeš</i> : ∪ – –
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2.3. Metrical license

Poets can intervene as they desire in the quantity of syllables in a hemistich, as long as the intervention does not cause a change in the basic metre (*baḥr*). This choice is called metrical license. Metrical license is fundamentally different from the exceptions described in §2.2. Those exceptions are obligatory in scanning Persian poetry, whereas metrical license is up to the choice of the individual poet. Just as the Persian language permits a certain degree of variation, e.g. *setāregān* or *setārehā* as the plural of *setāre*, or *soxanhā* or *soxanān* as the plural of *soxan*, so distinct metrical patterns allow for variation in scansion, which is called metrical license.^{xv}

Of course, metrical license is not unlimited or haphazard, but must conform to certain rules and conditions. According to Najafī, metrical license falls into the following types.

2.3.1. Replacing a short syllable (*fa-‘e-lā-ton*) with a long syllable (*fā-‘e-lā-ton*) at the beginning of a hemistich^{xvi}

In every hemistich beginning with a foot *fa-‘e-lā-ton* (∪ ∪ –), a poet has the option of changing this foot into *fā-‘e-lā-ton* (– ∪ –). However, the opposite practice is not possible, i.e. a long syllable cannot be replaced by a short syllable. The following are a few examples:

našavad fāš(o) kasī 'ānče miyān-ē man-o tost
 ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ -
tā 'ešārāt-e nazar nāme resān-ē mano tost (H.E. Sāye)
 - ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ -
saḥaram dowlat-e bīdār(o) be bālīn 'āmad
 ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - - -
goft(o) barxīz(o) ke 'ān xosrow-e šīrīn 'āmad (Ḥāfez)
 - ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - - -
hāl-e del bā to goftanam havasast
 - ∪ - - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ ∪ -
xabar-ē del šenofthanam havasast (Ḥāfez)
 ∪ ∪ - - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ ∪ -

2.3.2. Replacing a long syllable with two short syllables in the middle of a hemistich^{xvii}

This rule can apply to every syllable of a hemistich, except the first and last. The opposite practice is not possible, i.e. two short syllables are never replaced by one long syllable. For example:

gar čonīn jelve konad moḡbače-yē bāde-forūš
 - ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ -
xāk(o)-rūb-ē dar-e meyxāne konam moḡgān rā (Ḥāfez)
 - ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - - - -

In the first hemistich, a long syllable preceding the final syllable is replaced by two short syllables, while in the second hemistich a long syllable is used. In fact, this phenomenon often occurs in the penultimate position, but it also occurs less frequently in other positions, as in the second and third syllables of the second hemistich below:

sāqī dar 'īn havā-ye sard-e zemestān
 - - - - ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - -
sāḡar-e mey rā makon darīḡ(o) ze mastān (Qā'ānī)
 - ∪ ∪ - - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ ∪ - -

We see another example in the fifth and sixth syllables of the second hemistich in the following distich:

'agar be sālī Ḥāfez darī zanad begošāy

∪ – ∪ – – – ∪ – ∪ – ∪ ∪ –
ke sāl(o)-hāst ke moštāq(o) rūy(o) čon mah-e māst (Ḥāfeẓ)
 ∪ – ∪ – ∪ ∪ – – ∪ – ∪ – ∪ ∪ –

and finally, in the seventh and the eighth syllables of the second hemistich of the distich below:

čon tīg(o) be dastārī mardom natavān košt
 – – ∪ ∪ – – – – ∪ ∪ – –
nazdīk-e xodāvand(o) badī nīst farā mošt (Rūdakī)
 – – ∪ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – –

According to Dr. Sakamoto-Goto, this kind of replacement is not peculiar to Persian prosody, but a similar phenomenon is found in post-Vedic Indian metres.^{xviii}

2.3.3. Inversion (*qalb*) of a short syllable and a long syllable in the middle of a hemistich

Inversion is the replacement of a sequence of one long and one short syllable with a short syllable and a long syllable. This case is not very common, because it occurs only in the metre of quatrains (*robā'ī*), as in the example below:

'īn qāfele-yē 'omr(o) 'ajab mī-goẓarad
 – – ∪ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ –
daryāb(o) damī ke bā ʔarab mī-goẓarad
 – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – – ∪ ∪ –

Najafī concludes that this should not in fact be considered as a category of metrical license, because inversion of short and long syllables is found only in quatrains and is never seen in any other metres.^{xix}

2.4. *Metri causa* phenomena

Traditional Persian poets select one poetic frame and compose a poem within that frame from beginning to end, whether lyric (*ghazal*) or ode (*qaṣīde*) or fragment (*qet'e*). They must also keep to a particular metre, except for the instances of metrical license discussed above in §2.3. However, it is possible for poets to alter the quantity of syllables or even the structure of words for metrical reasons, i.e. *metri causa*. For example, if they want to use the word *gorosne*, which is normally scanned as one short + one long + one short syllable (∪ – ∪ *go-ros-ne*), it may not fit within the metre which they select, so they change its pronunciation to *gorsne* in order to scan it as one long +

two short syllables (– ∪ ∪ *gor-s(o)-ne*). Such an operation amounts to a change in syllabification for the sake of metrical consistency, and so *gorsne* is called a *metri causa* variant.

There are two kinds of *metri causa* phenomena: 1) omission of *hamze*; and 2) change of vowel quantity at the end of a word.

2.4.1. Omission of *hamze*

If a word begins with *hamze* (glottal stop), which is written with *alef* in Persian, we should count the *hamze* before the vowel and transcribe it with the sign ' (Recall that in Persian, no syllable can begin with a vowel; see §1.1.) Consider however the following example from Ḥāfeẓ:

man 'az 'ān ḥosn-e rūz(o)-'afzūn ke yūsef dāšt(o) dānestam
 – – – – ∪ – ∪ – – – ∪ – – – ∪ – – –
ke 'ešq(o) 'az parde-ye 'ešmat borūn 'ārad zoleyxā rā
 ∪ – ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – – ∪ – – – ∪ – – –

The meter of this distich seems to be completely broken. At the beginning, the words *man 'az 'ān* may be scanned in four different patterns. We see that there are two *hamzes* in this segment, so if we read all the *hamzes*, it will consist of three long syllables (*man-'az-'ān* – – –). If we omit only the first *hamze*, the sequence is changed into one short and two long syllables (*ma-naz-'ān* ∪ – –). If we omit only the second *hamze*, it becomes one long + one short + one long syllable (*man-'a-zān* – ∪ –).

Now if we omit both *hamzes*, we obtain a sequence of two short and one long syllables (*ma-na-zān* ∪ ∪ –). In such cases, therefore, we have to determine which *hamzes* to omit in order to pronounce and scan the line correctly. In this particular distich of Ḥāfeẓ, we have to read *man 'az 'ān* in a scheme ∪ – – –, as shown below:

man az 'ān ḥosn-e rūz-afzūn ke yūsef dāšt(o) dānestam
 ∪ – – – / ∪ – – – / ∪ – – – / ∪ – – –
ke 'ešq az parde-ye^{xx} 'ešmat borūn 'ārad zoleyxā rā
 ∪ – – – / ∪ – – – / ∪ – – – / ∪ – – –

Here the first *hamze*, but not the second, is omitted for metrical purposes. This is the only change allowed at the beginning of a word, i.e. retention or omission of *hamze*.

2.4.2. Change of vowel quantity at the end of a word

In Persian prosody, every syllable has a distinct quantity, which may not be changed except under certain prosodic conditions. The quantity of syllables is

in fact based on the quantity of their vowels, because consonants are fixed and do not change. Of the six Persian vowels, three (*a*, *o* and *e*) are short and three (*ā*, *ū* and *ī*) are long.^{xxi} The two diphthongs, made up of a combination of one consonant, one vowel and one consonant (*(')ey* and *(')ow*), are considered as long syllables and CVC in Persian prosody.

The rules for change of vowel quantity are the following. Except for the long vowel *ā*, which is always fixed in quantity, the quantity of the other vowels can be changed if they are located at the end of a word:

(a) Short Vowels → Long Vowels^{xxii}

This change may be illustrated with the example below:

dar kū-ye nīk(o)nāmī mā rā gozar nadādand
 — — ∪ — ∪ — — — — — ∪ — ∪ — —
gar tō nemī-pasandī taḡyīr(o) kon qazā rā (Ḥāfez)
 — — ∪ — ∪ — — — — — ∪ — ∪ — —

Here the word *to* in the second hemistich, which contains one short syllable, should in this case be pronounced as a long syllable.

Two common cases in Persian prosody involving the change of a short to a long vowel are the conjunction *o*, as in *qalam-o kāḡaz*, and *eẓāfe e*, as in *dar-e bāḡ*. Poets have counted these as long vowels *metri causa*, as in the following examples.

tā mard(o) soxan nagofte bāšad *'eyb-ō honaraš nehofte bāšad*
 — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — — — — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — —
 (Sa'dī)

Here *o* in the second hemistich should be pronounced as a long vowel, producing a pattern — — ∪ ∪.

dar 'azal partow-e ḥosnat ze tajallī dam zad
 — ∪ — — ∪ ∪ —
'ešq(o) peydā šod-o 'ātaš be hamē 'ālam zad (Ḥāfez)
 — ∪ — — ∪ ∪ —

In this passage from Ḥāfez, *me* in the end of the word *hame* is treated *metri causa* as a long syllable.

Finally, in the lines below from the Persian epic *Shāhnāme*, the word-final *eẓāfe e* in *del-e* must be scanned as long:

tavānā bovad har ke dānā bovad

˘ — — ˘ — — ˘ — — ˘ — —
be dāneš del-ē pīr(o) bornā bovad (Ferdowsī)
 ˘ — — ˘ — — ˘ — — ˘ — —

(b) Correption (Long Vowels → Short Vowels)

The opposite case, the scansion of a long vowel as a short vowel before another vowel, is called correption, which is seen in Greek poetry especially in epic.^{xxiii} See for example the second hemistich in the following lyric verse by Sa'dī:

'ey del 'agar be dāde-ye taḥqīq(o) bengarī
 — — ˘ — — ˘ — — ˘ — — ˘ — —
darvīšī 'extiyār(o) konī bar tavāngarī (Sa'dī)
 — — ˘ — — ˘ — — ˘ — — ˘ — —

Here we see that the word-final long vowel ī in *darvīšī* must be read as a short vowel i.^{xxiv} If we pronounce *darvīšī* as a long vowel, the scansion of the second hemistich will be totally broken and we will not find any regular rhythms:

darvīšī 'extiyār(o) konī bar tavāngarī
 — — — — ˘ — — ˘ — — ˘ — —

This change of quantity may occur under two conditions: when a long vowel comes at the end of a word; and when a long vowel is followed by *hamze* at the beginning of a word.

Of course, under both of the above-mentioned conditions, if there is no need to change for scansion, the word-final long vowel is counted as a long vowel:

har delī 'az ḥalqe-yē dar zekr-e yā rab yār(o) bast
 — ˘ — — — ˘ — — — — ˘ — — — —
tā be gīsū-yē to dast-ē nāsezāyān kam rasad (Ḥāfeẓ)
 — ˘ — — — ˘ — — — — ˘ — — — —

3. Selection of famous Persian metres

This section presents a selection of famous, popular, and distinctive metrical patterns of Persian poetry. As they do not yet have any assigned designation, the name of each pattern is borrowed from the traditional '*arūz*', the metrical system for classical Arabic poetry.

3.1. Ramal (based on – ۛ – –)

beš-no-wīn-ney / čon-še-kā-yat / mī-ko-nad (Mowlavī)
 – ۛ – – / – ۛ – – / – ۛ –
šar-ba-tī-’az / la-be-la-’laš / na-če-šī-dī / mo-be-raft (Ḥāfeẓ)
 – ۛ – – / ۛ ۛ – – / ۛ ۛ – – / ۛ ۛ –
xā-be-’ān-nar / ge-se-fat-tā / ne-to-bī-čī / zī-nīst (Ḥāfeẓ)
 – ۛ – – / ۛ ۛ – – / ۛ ۛ – – / – –
sa-re-’ān-na / dā-ra-dem-šab / ke-ba-rā-ya / dā-f(e)-tā-bī (Ḥāfeẓ)
 ۛ ۛ – ۛ / – ۛ – – / ۛ ۛ – ۛ / – ۛ – –

3.2. Hazaj (based on ۛ – – –)

’a-gar-’ān-tor / ke-šī-rā-zī / be-das-tā-rad / de-lē-mā-rā (Ḥāfeẓ)
 ۛ – – – / ۛ – – – / ۛ – – – / ۛ – – –
če-xoš-bī-meh / ra-bū-nī-har / do-sar-bī (Bābā Ṭāher)
 ۛ – – – / ۛ – – – / ۛ – – –
ze-hī-’eš-q(o) / ze-hī-’eš-q(o) / ke-mā-ras-t(o) / xo-dā-yā
 (Mowlavī)
 ۛ – – ۛ / ۛ – – ۛ / ۛ – – ۛ / ۛ – –

3.3. Motaqāreb (based on variants of ۛ – –)

ba-nī-’ā / da-ma-’-zā / ye-yek-pey / ka-rand (Sa’dī)
 ۛ – – / ۛ – – / ۛ – – / ۛ –
čan-dā(n) / ke-gof-tam / ġam-bā / ta-bī-bān (Ḥāfeẓ)
 – – / ۛ – – / – – / ۛ – –

3.4. Mojtas (beginning with ۛ – ۛ –)

ze-hī-ho-jas / te-za-mā-nī / ke-yā-r(o)-bā / zā-yad (Ḥāfeẓ)
 ۛ – ۛ – / ۛ ۛ – – / ۛ – ۛ – / – –
’a-gar-na-bā / de-ġa-mē-del / ze-yā-de-mā / be-ba-rad (Ḥāfeẓ)
 ۛ – ۛ – / ۛ ۛ – – / ۛ – ۛ – / ۛ ۛ –

3.5. Možāre’ (beginning with – – ۛ)

bog-zā-r(o) / tā-be-ger-yam / čon-’ab-r(o) / dar-ba-hā-rān (Sa’dī)
 – – ۛ / – ۛ – – / – – ۛ / – ۛ – –
sā-qī-bī / yā-r(o)-bā-de / ke-mā-hē-ši / yā-m(o)-raft (Ḥāfeẓ)
 – – ۛ / – ۛ – ۛ / ۛ – – ۛ / – ۛ –

3.6. *Khafīf* (beginning with – ۛ – – / ۛ – ۛ –)

ḥā-le-del-bā / to-gof-ta-nam / ha-va-sast (Ḥāfeẓ)

– ۛ – – / ۛ – ۛ – / ۛ ۛ –
ḥā-le-xū-nī(n) / de-lā(n)-ke-gū / yad-bāz (Ḥāfeẓ)

– ۛ – – / ۛ – ۛ – / – –

3.7. *Rajaz* (based on – – ۛ – or – ۛ ۛ –, or variations on them)

'ān-kī-st-kaz / rū-yē-ka-ram / bā-mā-va-fā / dā-rī-ko-nad (Ḥāfeẓ)

– – ۛ – / – – ۛ – / – – ۛ – / – – ۛ –

mor-de-bo-dam / zen-de-šo-dam / ger-ye-bo-dam / xan-de-šo-dam (Mowlavī)

– ۛ ۛ – / – ۛ ۛ – / – ۛ ۛ – / – ۛ ۛ –

sar-ve-ča-mā / ne-man-če-rā / mey-le-ča-man / ne-mī-ko-nad

(Ḥāfeẓ)

– ۛ ۛ – / ۛ – ۛ – / – ۛ ۛ – / ۛ – ۛ –

3.8. *Monsareḥ* (based on – ۛ ۛ – / – ۛ – ۛ)

'ā-la-m(o)-čon / 'ā-be-jū-st / bas-te-na-mā / yad-va-līk (Mowlavī)

– ۛ ۛ – / – ۛ – ۛ / – ۛ ۛ – / – ۛ –

row-ša-ni-yē / tal-'a-tē-to / mā-h(o)-na-dā / rad (Ḥāfeẓ)

– ۛ ۛ – / – ۛ – ۛ / – ۛ ۛ – / –

3.9. *Sarī'* (based on – ۛ ۛ –)

ḥā-te-fī-yaz / gū-še-ye-mey / xā-ne-dūš (Ḥāfeẓ)

– ۛ ۛ – / – ۛ ۛ – / – ۛ –

3.10. *Moqtaḏeb* (based on – ۛ – ۛ / – – –)

vaq-t(o)-rā-ḡa / nī-mat-dā / nā(n)-qa-dar-ke / bet-vā-nī (Ḥāfeẓ)

– ۛ – ۛ / – – – / – ۛ – ۛ / – – –

3.11. *Robā'ī*

čon-dar-go-za / ram-be-bā-de / šū-'ī-d(o)-ma / rā (Khayyām)

– – ۛ ۛ / – ۛ – ۛ / – – ۛ ۛ / –

'ī(n)-qā-fe-le / yē-'om-r(o)-'a / jab-mī-go-za / rad (Khayyām)

– – ۛ ۛ / – – ۛ ۛ / – – ۛ ۛ / –

Conclusion

This short essay has provided a general overview of the basic system underlying Persian prosody, with examples of several of the most famous and popular metres. A discussion of all elements of the traditional *'arūz*, such as “relaxation” (*zehāf*), “defect” (*'elle*)^{xxv} and “circle” (*dā'ere*)^{xxvi}, would extend beyond the scope of this paper. I hope, however, that we can see this presentation is the minimal standard of Persian prosody, and that this introduction will meet the needs of the beginner who wants to become familiar with the principles of Persian prosody.

It may be worth pointing out that there is also another point of view in Persian prosody which emphasizes the musical and melodious elements in the Persian language. Thus Shafī'ī-Kadkanī classifies the metres of some of Sa'dī and Mowlavī's lyrics into “wave metres” (*owzān-e khīzābī*) and “stream metres” (*owzān-e jūybārī*), or from another point of view, “clear metres” (*owzān-e shaffāf*) and “turbid metres” (*owzān-e kader*). Wave metres are quick and moving, and create in listeners an impression of refrain and repetition. Shafī'ī-Kadkanī takes six examples for “wave metres” as below:

mos-taf-'e-lon (four times)
 -- ∪ -- / -- ∪ -- / -- ∪ -- / -- ∪ --

maf-'ū-lo / ma-fā-'ī-lon (twice)
 -- ∪ / ∪ --- / -- ∪ / ∪ ---

mos-taf-'e-lon / fa'-lon (twice)
 -- ∪ -- / --- / -- ∪ -- / ---

mof-ta-'e-lon / fā-'e-lāt (twice)
 - ∪ ∪ - / - ∪ - / - ∪ ∪ - / - ∪ -

mof-ta-'e-lon / ma-fā-'e-lon (twice)
 - ∪ ∪ - / ∪ - ∪ - / - ∪ ∪ - / ∪ - ∪ -

fā-'e-lā-to / fā-'e-lā-ton (twice)^{xxvii}
 ∪ ∪ - ∪ / - ∪ --- / ∪ ∪ - ∪ / - ∪ ---

In contrast, “stream metres” are full of pureness, elegance and pleasure, and give no impression that wave metres have. He takes five examples for “stream metres” as below:

maf-'ū-lo / ma-fā-'e-lon / fa-'ū-lon

--◡ / ◡--◡ / ◡--

maf-‘ū-lo / fā-‘e-lā-to / ma-fā-‘ī-lo / fā-‘e-lāt

--◡ / --◡◡ / ◡--◡ / --◡-

fā(fa)-‘e-lā-ton / fa-‘e-lā-ton / fā-‘e-lā-ton / fa-‘lon

◡◡-- / ◡◡-- / ◡◡-- / --

fā-‘e-lā-ton / fā-‘e-lā-ton / fā-‘e-lā-ton / fā-‘e-lon^{xxviii}

--◡-- / --◡-- / --◡-- / --◡-

ma-fā-‘e-lon / fa-‘e-lā-ton / ma-fā-‘e-lon / fa-‘lon

◡--◡ / ◡◡-- / ◡--◡ / --

On the other hand, “clear metres” are those for which listeners can easily perceive the cadence system, while “turbid metres” are those for which listeners can perceive the cadence only with difficulty.^{xxix}

Therefore, I would say that it may be possible to consider Persian prosody a separate system from Arabic metre, since some kind of rhythmic sense and the cadence are involved in Persian metre. In the case of above-mentioned lyrics, we can avoid using classical Arabic names for Persian metres and instead create appropriate new terms, which will be potentially less confusing and better suited to the sense of Persian-speakers.^{xxx}

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Notes

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- ⁱ B. Utas, “Prosody: Metre and Rhyme”, *General Introduction to Persian Literature*, 2009, p. 96.
- ⁱⁱ Ḥaqq-Shenās, ‘Ali Moḥammad, *Āvāshenāsī (Fonetīk)*, Āgāh, 1388/2009 (12th edition), pp. 137-138.
- ⁱⁱⁱ Elwell-Sutton, Laurence Paul, *The Persian Metres*, Cambridge University Press, 1976, p. 84.
- ^{iv} Najafī, Abol-Ḥasan, “‘Arūz-e qadīm dar barābar-e ‘arūz-e jadīd”, p. 38.
- ^v Raḥmdel, Gholām-Rezā, ‘*Arūz*, p. 19.
- ^{vi} *nāme, jāme* are regarded as C + V (short) + C + C + V (short), because the letter *alef* represents a consonant.
- ^{vii} “Prosody: Metre and Rhyme”, p. 102. B. Utas shows *mo-ta-fā-‘e-lon* as (∪ – ∪ –) here although this is unsound.
- ^{viii} Najafī, Abol-Ḥasan, “Ṭabaqe-bandī-ye vazn-hā-ye she‘r-e fārsī”, p. 103.
- ^{ix} Ibid.
- ^x ‘*Arūz*, p. 19.

- ^{xi} Ibid., pp. 19-20.
- ^{xii} “‘Arūz-e qadīm dar barābar-e ‘arūz-e jadīd’”, p. 15. Regarding to the added o, see §2.1.
- ^{xiii} Najafī, ‘Abol-Ḥasan, “‘Ekhtiyārāt-e shā‘erī’”, *Jong-e eṣfahān*, Tehran, 1352/1973, p. 156.
- ^{xiv} Ibid., p. 39.
- ^{xv} “‘Arūz-e qadīm dar barābar-e ‘arūz-e jadīd’”, p. 38.
- ^{xvi} The examples of this section are quoted from Najafī’s “‘Ekhtiyārāt-e shā‘erī’”, pp. 153-154, and from “‘Arūz-e qadīm dar barābar-e ‘arūz-e jadīd’”, p. 40.
- ^{xvii} The examples of this section are also quoted from Najafī’s “‘Ekhtiyārāt-e shā‘erī’”, pp. 157.
- ^{xviii} Cf. *A Survey of Indian Metres — From Vedic to Middle Indo-Aryan* — (MS): “... one heavy syllable can be resolved into two light syllables. ... The “resolution” occurs after the pause, i.e. at the beginning of a pāda ‘quarter of a stanza’ and also after the pause within a pāda”.
- ^{xix} “‘Arūz-e qadīm dar barābar-e ‘arūz-e jadīd’”, p. 17.
- ^{xx} Regarding to *yē* instead of *ye*, see §2.4.2. (a).
- ^{xxi} Many prosodists have considered that there are three short vowels of a, e, o and three long vowels of ā, ī, ū in Persian, although it seems to be better to consider in Persian prosody that there are five long vowels of ā, ē, ī, ō, ū and also five short vowels of a, e, i, o, u.
- ^{xxii} According to Najafī, a totally new term, *eshbā’*, has been used for correption in Persian since 15th century although it seems that he himself does not accept with this term (“‘Arūz-e qadīm dar barābar-e ‘arūz-e jadīd’”, p. 22). It is not too far from the truth to say that *eshbā’* is a type of metrical lengthening.
- ^{xxiii} Correption is that a final long vowel or diphthong may be shortened before an initial vowel (which is shown by *hamze* in Persian), which is common in Homer and continues to be found in post-Homeric poetry in dactylic and other single-long-double-short metres, Correption may occur within a word (*The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, p. 970). Correption is also seen in Latin or Sanskrit poetry, therefore most of us would accept that it is a kind of general rules of Indo-European prosody.
- ^{xxiv} Najafī writes: “It seems to use a short vowel e instead of a long vowel ī” (“‘Arūz-e qadīm dar barābar-e ‘arūz-e jadīd’”, p. 21). Also see note 21.
- ^{xxv} “Changes in a “peg” (*vataḍ*), called “defect” (*‘elle*), are only allowed between metrical patterns (*vazns*) while changes in a “rope” (*sabab*), which are called “relaxation” (*zehāf*), are allowed within one and the same poem” (“Prosody: Metre and Rhyme”, pp. 103-104).
- ^{xxvi} It has been noticed that there are similarities among the metres. For example, the metre based on the repetition of *ma-fā-ī-lon*, with some chains, can be turned into the metres based on the repetition of *fā-‘e-lā-ton* or *mos-taf-‘e-lon* or

maf- 'ū-lāt. Therefore, these faces of the similarity were settled in a circle which is the repetition of fourfold of *ma-fā- 'ī-lon*. As Najafī expresses, however, many of Persian metrical patterns are not contained in the circles and we have to struggle with so many “relaxations” (“Arūz-e qadīm dar barābar-e ‘arūz-e jadīd”, p. 26).

^{xxvii} He added that 53% of the first one hundred Mowlavī’s lyric poems are in these “wave metres” (*Mūsīqī-ye she ‘r*, p. 399).

^{xxviii} He wrote that 58% of the first one hundred Sa‘dī’s lyric poems belong to the first four “stream metres”, and that 78% of the first one hundred Ḥāfez’s lyric poems are in the last four “stream metres” (Ibid., pp. 398-399).

^{xxix} Ibid., pp. 396-397. Shafī‘ī-Kadkanī wrote that “clear metres” are especially often seen in Mowlavī’s lyric poems because they are based on the poet’s *samā‘* (whirling Sufī dancing), heart-beating and pulsation, therefore there are very few “turbid metres” in it (Ibid., p. 401).

^{xxx} There is a very interesting Ph.D. dissertation whose title is: *Bonyān-e moshtarak-e rītm dar mūsīqī-ye dastgāhī-ye īrān va zabān-e fārsī* (a comparative study of cell-like rhythmic patterns in Persian language and the classical music of Iran) by Negār Būbān in 2009.

Metre in Classical Persian Narrative Poetry

Zahra Taheri

The tradition of composing narrative literature has a long history in pre-Islamic Persian culture. After the Islamic conquest of Persia in the seventh century, storytelling went through a relatively long period of silence, before it was eventually revived at the beginning of the tenth century when Ferdowsi composed his monumental national epic, the *Shahnameh*. Although numerous stories in Persian classical literature have been written in prose, storytelling, specifically during the medieval era, was by and large produced in the form of poetry; therefore the most important historical, heroic, mythical, didactic, and lyrical stories in Persian classical literature have been narrated in the form of poetry.

The significance of poetry in Persian culture led to a flourishing of narrative poetry in Persian classical literature during the medieval era. Learning, memorizing, and reciting poetry, as well as quoting it in sermons and speeches and using it in everyday life, has long been a part of Persian cultural tradition, and many literary figures believed that versifying a story through metres and rhymes made the narration more artistic, delightful, exquisite, and attractive.¹ In general, Persian scholars employed the Arabic language to produce their philosophical and scientific works, while literary figures chose Persian as the language of poetry.

The form ‘*qāleb*’ of *maṣnavī* was employed by Persian poets for composing narrative poetry. *Maṣnavī* is a poetry form in which rhymes occur within the verse; therefore, each verse has its own independent rhyme. Although the word *maṣnavī* is an Arabic term, in Arabic prosody a different word, *mozdavaj*, has been used for this poetic genre, and the usage of this specific form has not been common in Arabic classical poetry. By and large, early narrative poetry in Persian literature, has “a consciously archaic and purely Iranian quality,”ⁱⁱ whether heroic, as Ferdowsi’s *Shahnameh*; lyrical, as Gorgānī’s *Vis and Rāmīn*; or didactic, as Rumi’s *Maṣnavī*. The first poet who

employed this form in Arabic classical poetry was *al-Raqqāshī* (d. 821), who is believed to be Persian in origin. He used the form *mozdavaj*, later called *maṣnavī* by Persian prosodists and poets, in order to versify the famous fable of *Kalīleh va Damaneh*.ⁱⁱⁱ The lack of restrictions on rhymes and the independence of each verse in *maṣnavī* have made this genre suitable for Persian narrative poetry. In fact, it would be impossible for a poet to narrate a long story in any other poetic forms, which require a chain of identical rhymes throughout the whole poem.

Bahr ‘ocean’ is a technical term in Arabic and Persian prosody which means ‘basic rhythmic structure or metrical pattern of a verse’ and ‘signifies one of the various sets of metrical speech.’^{iv} In Persian literature, the rhythmic structures of *ramal*, *hazaj*, *xaḥfīf*, and *moteqāreb* have been employed for composing heroic, lyrical, didactic, and mythical narrative poetry. The most famous *maṣnavī* metres in these rhythmical structures are as follows:

- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| 1. <i>ma-fā-ī-lon. ma-fā-ī-lon. fa-ū-lon.</i> | ○ ---. ○ ---. ○ --. |
| 2. <i>fa-ū-lon. fa-ū-lon. fa-ū-lon. fa-al.</i> | ○ --. ○ --. ○ --. ○ --. |
| 3. <i>maf-ū-lo. ma-fā-e-lon. fa-ū-lon.</i> | -- ○. ○ - ○ -. ○ - --. |
| 4. <i>fā-e-lā-ton. fā-e-lā-ton. fā-e-lon.</i> | - ○ --. - ○ --. - ○ --. |
| 5. <i>fā-e-lā-ton. ma-fā-e-lon. fa-e-lon.</i> | - ○ --. ○ - ○ -. ○ ○ --. |

As is well known, Arabic and Persian belong to two distinct language families and are completely different in their linguistic structure. This difference, as Elwell-Sutton observes, “has led to serious confusion among prosodists, both ancient and modern, as to the true source and nature of the Persian metres, the most obvious error being the assumption that they were copied from Arabic. This misconception arises solely from the use of the Arabic terminology to describe the Persian metres.”^v Although the Persian metrical system has adopted the rhythmic structure of Arabic prosody, the major structural differences between the two languages have led to substantial divergences in their poetic traditions. Furthermore among the approximately 300 metres used in Persian poetry, many are of Persian origin, and even some of the metrical regulations are Persian in origin.^{vi} For instance, *radīf* [the word which is repeated after the rhyme in *qazal*, *qaṣīdeh*, or *robā‘ī*] is originally Persian and has been a major characteristic of Persian poetry from the oldest surviving poems, whereas in Arabic poetry the usage of *radīf* cannot be found earlier than the 12th century.^{vii} Rare cases are also found in which a Persian term was employed to describe the regulation of metres. Vaḥīd Tabrīzī (d. 1590) in his treatise on Persian prosody, *resāle-ye jam‘e mokhtaṣar*, mentions the Persian term ‘*shāyḡān*’ which was used to describe the category of plural rhymes.^{viii} Nevertheless, in Persian prosody the old Arabic terminology is still commonly used for scanning and classifying the metres of Persian classical poetry.^{ix} The pronunciation and meaning of the technical Arabic terms used in Persian prosody are often complicated and confusing for students of Persian poetry, even if some modern Persian

prosodists believe that the usage of such terms might cause difficulties, no Persian terms have yet been created to replace them. The terms used to name the chosen metres of Persian narrative poetry are respectively as follows:

1. *Hazaj-e mosaddas-e mahzūf* (three metrical feet): The most famous Persian narrative love stories, such as Gorgānī's *Vīs va Rāmīn*, and Nizami's *Khosrow va Shīrīn*, are composed in this metre.
2. *Moteqāreb-e mosamman-e mahzūf* (four metrical feet): The most celebrated heroic narrative poem in Persian literature, Ferdowsi's *Shahnameh*, as well as Nizami's *Iskandar nāme*, a historical fiction on Alexander's life, are composed in this metre.
3. *Hazaj-e mosaddas-e 'axrab-e maqbūz-e mahzūf* (three metrical feet): Nizami's *Leylī va Majnūn* is composed in this metre.
4. *Ramal-e mosaddas-e mahzūf* (three metrical feet): The most famous didactic works in Persian literature, Rumi's monumental *Maṣnavī* and 'Aṭṭar's *Manṭeq al-Ṭayr*, are composed in this metre.
5. *Xafīf-e maxbūn-e mahzūf* (three metrical feet): Nizami's *Haft Peykar*, the historical fiction of the Sassanid king Bahrā's life, is composed in this metre.

The Book of Kings, Shahnameh (5,500 verses, composed between 997 and 1010 by Ferdowsi (d. 1020)), the monumental Iranian national epic, was composed by Ferdowsi in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries to narrate the mythical and historical past of Persia and its people's civilization from the creation of the world to the Arab conquest of the country in the seventh century. Ferdowsi composed his epic based on a written source, *Shāhnāme-ye 'Abūmanšūrī*, a prose collection of mythical narratives and historical accounts of the Persian past brought together a few decades earlier in the court of Samanid by 'Abūmanšūr Mo'amerī. *Shahnameh* consists of three main sections, which represent three successive ages:

- 1) *Mythical*. Narrated in a powerful language, this short section begins with the account of the creation of the world and the first mortal man, *kayūmars*, who is also believed to be the first king.
- 2) *Heroic*. As the longest section of *Shahnameh*, narrated in a rich poetic language, this section is dedicated to the life and death of the heroes who played a significant role in building and defending the Persian kingdom. The principal character of the heroic age is *Rostam*, who stands in the middle of the most magnificent scenes of battles, victories, defeats, love stories, tragedy, and loss.
- 3) *Historic*. This section starts with a short account of the Parthian dynasty, and mainly narrates the rise and fall of the Sassanid dynasty before the Arab conquest of Persia.

The metre of *Shahnameh* is: *Moteqāreb-e moṣamman-e maḥzūf*: *fa-ū-lon. fa-ū-lon. fa-ū-lon. fa-‘al.* U--. U--. U--. U-.

کزین برتر اندیشه برنگذرد	به نام خداوند جان و خرد
<i>ka/zin/bar. ta/ran/dī. še/bar/nag. za/rad.</i>	<i>be/nā/me. xo/dā/van. de/jā/no. xe/rad.</i>
U--. U--. U--. U-	U--. U--. U--. U-
خداوند روزی ده رهنمای	خداوند نام و خداوند جای
<i>xo/dā/van. de/rū/zī. de/ho/rah. ne/māy.</i>	<i>xo/dā/van. de/nā/mo. xo/dā/van. de/jāy.</i>
U--. U--. U--. U-	U--. U--. U--. U-
ز دانش دل پیر برنا بود ^x	توانا بود هر که دانا بود
<i>ze/dā/neš. de/le/pī. ro/bor/nā. bo/vad.</i>	<i>ta/vā/nā. bo/vad/har. ke/dā/nā. bo/vad.</i>
U--. U--. U--. U-	U--. U--. U--. U-

Translation:

1. *In the name of the Lord of both wisdom and mind / To nothing sublimer can thought be applied.*
2. *The Lord of whatever is named or assigned / A place, the Sustainer of all and the Guide.*
3. *Observing His commands. Thy source of might / Is knowledge; thus old hearts grow young again.*^{xi}

Vīs va Rāmīn (8,985 verses, composed between 1050 and 1054 by *Fakhr al-Dīn ‘As’ad Gorgānī*). One of the most famous lyric narrative poems composed in Persian. This great ancient legend is skillfully narrated in romantic, adventurous, and poetic scenes based on one of the oldest Persian romances, which can be traced to the era of the Parthian dynasty (3rd c. B.C to 3rd c. A.D). As Yarshater observes, “Once the consternation and confusion caused by the rapid Islamic conquest in the seventh century subsided and the normal pursuit of the arts was resumed, the old romances, which had for centuries entertained kings and nobles and had relived the tedium in the lives of the common folks, began to reappear.”^{xii}

In the story, King *Mūbad* falls in love with Princess *Šahrū*, and when asking for her hand, *Šahrū* says that she is not young enough for him and makes a promise to marry her daughter to him if she ever gives birth to a girl. After many years, *Šahrū* gives birth to a beautiful girl, *Vīs*. In her youth, *Vīs* is forced by King *Mūbad* to marry him and taken by force to the king’s palace, where she falls in love with the king’s youngest brother, *Rāmīn*. *Vīs*’s nurse, who follows her to the palace of King *Mūbad*, helps her to put a spell on the king to render him impotent with *Vīs*. The love story between *Vīs* and *Rāmīn* begins in the King’s palace, and soon the king discovers the secret relationship between the two young lovers. The poetic portrayal of this passionate romance is reflected in the numerous letters written between the two lovers, who believe in themselves as the treasure of loyalty and are ready to lay down their lives for their love.^{xiii} The destiny of the relationship between *Vīs* and *Rāmīn* in this romantic adventure is marked by passion, union, separation, exile, reunion, anger, suffering, and secret meetings. At the

end of the story, King *Mūbad*'s day finally comes to an end, and *Rāmīn* ascends the royal throne as his successor and marries *Vīs*. This romantic legend had an enormous influence on Persian poetry and is also believed to be the source for the Celtic story of Tristan and Isolde, "following the diffusion in Europe of the traditions of Persian minstrels during the Crusades or earlier."^{xiv} The metre of *Vīs* and *Rāmīn*: *Hazaj-e mosaddas-e maḥẓūf* :
ma-fā- 'ī-lon. ma-fā- 'ī-lon. fa- 'ū-lon ٠ ---. ٠ ---. ٠ ---.

که بر رامین سر آید شادمانی	چو تنگ آمد قضای آسمانی
<i>ke/bar/rā/mīn. sa/rā/yad/šā. de/mā/nī.</i>	<i>čo/tan/gā/mad.qa/zā/ye/'ā.se/mā/nī.</i>
٠ ---. ٠ ---. ٠ ---. ٠ ---. ٠ ---. ٠ ---.	
بر آتش عقل و صبرش را بسوزد	ز عشق اندر دلش آتش فروزد
<i>ba/rā/taš/'aq. lo/šab/raš/rā. be/sū/zad.</i>	<i>ze/'eš/qan/dar. de/laš/'ā.taš.fo/rū/zad</i>
٠ ---. ٠ ---. ٠ ---. ٠ ---. ٠ ---. ٠ ---.	
یکایک پرده بر بود از عماری ^{xv}	بر آمد تند باد نوبهاری
<i>ye/kā/yek/par. de/ber/bū/daz. 'a/mā/rī.</i>	<i>ba/rā/mad/ton. do/bā/de/nov.ba/hā/rī.</i>
٠ ---. ٠ ---. ٠ ---. ٠ ---. ٠ ---. ٠ ---.	

Translation:

1. Thus ran the decree of Providence / that Ramin's days of happiness were to come to an end.
2. The fire of love was to blaze in his heart / reason and patience to burn on the fire.
3. A fresh spring breeze arose / and stirred the curtains on the litter one by one.^{xvi}

The Conference of Birds, *Manteq al-Ṭayr* (4,724 verses, composed in 1177 by *Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār* (d. 1230)). In search of their king, the birds of the world gather together. Their king, *Sīmorgh*, lives in the farthest territory of the world, *Qāf* Mountain, and the path to his place is full of dangers. Birds eagerly decide to begin their journey, but, realizing the hardship and suffering along the way, one by one they start to make excuses. In a long conversation with the birds, Hoopoe opposes their excuses and advises them with anecdotes and tales. The birds who begin their journey chose the wise Hoopoe as their leader, and he advises them about the seven stations of the path they have to go through. When, at the end of a deadly journey, the thirty surviving birds arrive at *Sīmorgh*'s place, they realize that the king they have been searching for is none other than themselves.

In Persian *sī* means 'thirty' and *morgh* means 'birds', therefore, the thirty surviving birds are the true king, the *sī-morgh* themselves. In this allegorical mystical story, the birds' journey symbolizes the stages of human beings' search for the true Self. The most famous Sufi tale in this book is the story of *sheikh Ṣan'ān*, a Sufi master who falls in love with a Christian girl. The following verses are from *sheikh Ṣan'ān*'s chapter, given as an example

of the metre of *Manteq al-Tayr*, which is: *Ramal-e mosaddas-e mahzūf*: fā-
'e-lā-ton. fā-'e-lā-ton. fā-'e-lon. -U--. -U--. -U--.

دختر ترسا چو برقع برگرفت	بند بند شایخ آتش درگرفت
<i>ban/do/ban/de. šey/xol'ā/taš. dar/ge/reft. dox/ta/re/tar. sā'čo/bor/qa'.bar/ge/reft.</i>	<i>ban/do/ban/de. šey/xol'ā/taš. dar/ge/reft. dox/ta/re/tar. sā'čo/bor/qa'.bar/ge/reft.</i>
-U--. -U--. -U--. -U--. -U--. -U--.	-U--. -U--. -U--. -U--. -U--. -U--.
چون نمود از زیر برقع روی خویش	بست صد زنازش از یک موی خویش
<i>bas/to/šad/zon. nā/ra/šaz/yeq. mū/ye/xiš. čon/no/mū. daz/zī/re/bor. qa'/rū/ye/xiš.</i>	<i>bas/to/šad/zon. nā/ra/šaz/yeq. mū/ye/xiš. čon/no/mū. daz/zī/re/bor. qa'/rū/ye/xiš.</i>
-U--. -U--. -U--. -U--. -U--. -U--.	-U--. -U--. -U--. -U--. -U--. -U--.
عشق دختر کرد غارت جان او	کفر ریخت از زلف بر ایمان او ^{xvii}
<i>kof/ro/rix/taz. zol/fo/bar/'ī. mā/ne/'ū. 'eš/qe/dox/tar. kar/do/gā/rat. jā/ne/'ū.</i>	<i>kof/ro/rix/taz. zol/fo/bar/'ī. mā/ne/'ū. 'eš/qe/dox/tar. kar/do/gā/rat. jā/ne/'ū.</i>
-U--. -U--. -U--. -U--. -U--. -U--.	-U--. -U--. -U--. -U--. -U--. -U--.

Translation:

1. *The Christian turned, the dark veil was removed / A fire flashed through the old man's joints; he loved.*
2. *One hair converted hundreds; how could he/ Resists that idol's face show openly.*
3. *Love sacked his heart; the girls bewitching hair/ twined round his face impiety's smooth snare.^{xviii}*

Khosrow and Shīrīn (6,500 verses, composed between 1177 and 1180 by *Miami* (d.1202)). One of the most beautiful love stories ever told in Persian literature. In this glorious combination of history and romance, Nizami narrates the adventurous life of *Khosrow Parvīz* II (r. 591-628), the last powerful Sassanid king who falls in love with the princess of Armenia, *Shīrīn*, by hearing about her beauty and charm from *Shāpūr*, his master painter friend. Upon *Khosrow's* request, *Shāpūr* travels to Armenia with the intention of winning *Shīrīn's* heart for him by using his magical skill in drawing. *Shīrīn* falls in love with the King of Persia upon seeing his depiction and secretly escapes from the territory of Armenia, galloping towards Persia to meet her beloved. *Khosrow*, not being aware of *Shīrīn's* decision, also impatiently starts his trip to Armenia to meet *Shīrīn*. In the middle of the way, *Shīrīn*, tired of riding, stops at a spring to take a bath and give a rest to her favorite horse *Shabdīz*, and *Khosrow* also stops at the same spot to take a rest. *Shīrīn* takes off her clothing to take a bath, and *Khosrow*, amazed by her beauty, watches her, not knowing that she is the beloved whom he is looking for. Both of them turn away, remembering the one they are pursuing, and go in opposite directions. *Khosrow* heads to Armenia and *Shīrīn* continues her journey to Persia without recognizing each other and the story goes through a convoluted process of separation, longing, and political wars. *Khosrow* and *Shīrīn* ultimately meet, but their relationship goes through an up-and-down road of hardships caused by the king's playful nature and unfaithfulness. All the same, *Shīrīn* with her patient and faithful nature does not give up, and gracefully leads the events to the final stage of reunion and marriage.

Nizami has interwoven another love story into the mainstream of the events by narrating *Farhād's* tragic destiny after he falls madly in love with *Shīrīn*. As a celebrated master sculpture, *Farhād* accepts the laborious project of digging a canal from the top of the legendary stone mountain *Bīstūn* to *Shīrīn's* castle, so that fresh milk would flow to her palace every morning from faraway villages. The story continues through the narration of *Farhād's* devotion and love and *Khosrow's* jealousy and conspiracy, which leads to the tragedy of *Farhād's* suicide and *Shīrīn's* grief. After *Farhād's* death, the relationship between the two lovers, *Khosrow* and *Shīrīn*, continues in a series of conversations and letters over their wondrous journey to the glorious point of the lovers' final reunion. At the end of the story, prince *Shīrūyeh*, *Khosrow's* son from his previous marriage, falls in love with his step mother, *Shīrīn*, and kills his father in the hope of winning *Shīrīn's* heart, but *Shīrīn*, who cannot surrender her heart to anyone other than *Khosrow*, kills herself on her beloved's funeral day and rests with him forever.

The metre of *Khosrow va Shīrīn: Hazaj-e mosaddas-e maḥẓūf*: *ma-fā-ī-lon. ma-fā-ī-lon. fa-ū-lon.* U---. U---. U--.

عروسی دید چون ماهی مهیا	که باشد جای آن مه بر ثریا
<i>ke/bā/šad/jā. ye/'ān/mah/bar. so/ray/yā. 'a/rū/sī/dī. do/čon/mā/hī. mo/hay/yā.</i>	
U---. U---. U--.	U---. U---. U--.
در آب نیلگون چون گل نشسته	پرندی نیلگون تا ناف بسته
<i>pa/ran/dī/nī. lo/gon/tā/nā. fo/bas/teh. da/rā/be/nī. lo/gon/čon/gol. ne/šas/teh.</i>	
U---. U---. U--.	U---. U---. U--.
چو بر فرق آب می انداخت از دست	فلک بر ماه مروارید می بست ^{xix}
<i>fa/lak/bar/mā.ho/mor/vā/rī.do/mī/bast. čo/bar/far/gā.bo/mī/'an/dā.xo/taz/dast.</i>	
U---. U---. U--.	U---. U---. U--.

Translation:

1. *He saw a bride glittering like the full moon / Her beauty's throne deserving of heavens.*
2. *She sat like a flower in the azure waters / A blue silken cloth wrapped around her waist.*
3. *When she poured water on her head / It was like the sky pouring pearls on the moon.*

Leylī va Majnūn (4,700 verses, composed in 1192 by Nizami). Nizami created this story based on a popular Bedouin love tale. The original is believed to be the true story of a boy who lived in the Arabian Peninsula in the 7th century. *Qeys*, the son of a wealthy tribal ruler, falls in passionate love with his classmate *Leylī*, a beautiful girl from another tribe. He composes love poems in the name of his beloved, and his poetry soon becomes popular. When the boy asks for *Leylī's* hand in marriage, her father refuses, since what *Qeys* has done by mentioning *Leylī's* name in love poems goes against the tribal traditions and is considered a shame to the girl's family. *Leylī* marries

another man, and the madness of love destroys *Qeys*'s life. He flees to the wilderness, writes his poetry in the sand, talks to animals about his love, and becomes to be called *Majnūn* 'madman'. *Leylī* falls ill and dies in her husband's home, and *Majnūn* also dies soon after his beloved's death. Nizami shaped the story of *Leylī* and *Majnūn* into a great narrative poem with illustrative details which goes far beyond the narrow framework of the original.^{xx}

The metre of *Leylī and Majnūn*: *Hazaj-e mosaddas-e 'axrab-e maqbūz-e mahzūf*: maf- 'ū-lo. ma-fā- 'e-lon. fa- 'ū-lon. -- U. U - U -. U - -.

بی نام تو نامه کی کنم باز	ای نام تو بهترین سرآغاز
<i>bī/nā/me. to/nā/me/key. ko/nam/bāz.</i>	<i>'ey/nā/me. to/beh/ta/rīn. sa/rā/gāz.</i>
-- U. U - U -. U - -.	-- U. U - U -. U - -.
دولت تو دهی بهر که خواهی	از قسمت بندگی و شاهی
<i>dow/lat/to. da/hī/be/har. ke/xā/hī.</i>	<i>'az/qes/ma. te/ban/de/gī. va/šā/hī.</i>
-- U. U - U -. U - -.	-- U. U - U -. U - -.
با نور خود آشنائیم ده ^{xxi}	از ظلمت خود ر هائیم ده
<i>bā/nū/re. xo/dā/še/nā. 'ī/yam/deh.</i>	<i>'az/zol/ma. te/xod/ra/hā. 'ī/yam/deh.</i>
-- U. U - U -. U - -.	-- U. U - U -. U - -.

Translation:

1. *O your name the most rightful beginning / How can I open my story without your name?*
2. *For the share of the king and the servant / you are the divider of fortunes.*
3. *Release me from my inner darkness / open my heart to your divine light.*

Iskandar-nāmeḥ (10,500 couplets, composed in 1194 by Nizami). Nizami composed the story of Alexander's life based on sources such as Islamic myths and the Alexander romances written by Pseudo Callisthenes. In the first part of the story, *Sharaf-nāmeḥ*, Alexander is portrayed as the conqueror of the world in search of knowledge and wisdom, who ultimately claims his prophecy. The second part of the book, *Iqbāl-nāmeḥ*, is the story of Alexander's growth into a powerful ruler, and also the narration of his discussion with seven Greek sages.

The metre of *Iskandar-nāmeḥ*: *Moteqāreb-e mosamman-e mahzūf*: fa- 'ū-lon. fa- 'ū-lon. fa- 'ū-lon. fa- 'al U --. U --. U --. U -.

ز ما خدمت آید خدائی تو راست	خدایا جهان پادشاهی تو راست
<i>ze/mā/xed. ma/tā/yad. xo/dā/'ī. to/rāst.</i>	<i>xo/dā/yā. Ja/hān/pā. de/šā/hī.to/rāst.</i>
U --. U --. U --. U -.	U --. U --. U --. U -.
همه نیستند آنچه هستی تویی	پناه بلندی و پستی تویی
<i>ha/meh/nī. so/tan/dan. če/has/'ī. to/'ī.</i>	<i>pa/nā/he. bo/lan/dī. yo/pas/'ī.to/'ī.</i>
U --. U --. U --. U -.	U --. U --. U --. U -.

چراغ هدایت تو بر کرده ای^{xxii} خرد را تو روشن بصر کرده ای
če/rā/ġe.he/dā/yat. to/bar/kar.de/'ī. xe/rad/rā. to/row/šan. ba/šar/kar.de/'ī.
 U--. U--. U--. U-. U--. U--. U--. U-

Translation:

1. O God, World-Sovereignty is Thine / From us (slaves, or creatures) adoration comes; God-head (Lordship) is Thine!
2. Thou art the shelter of height (the upper world) and of depth (the lower world) / All things are non-existent; whatever is, Thou art.
3. Thou hast made the vision of wisdom luminous (to recog-nize Thee) / Thou hast lighted up the lamp of guidance (to the road of Salvation).

Haft Peykar (5,136 couplets, composed in 1197 by Nizami). This story relates the adventurous life of the Persian prince *Bahrām Gūr*, who was born to the Sassanid royal family after twenty years of their supplication to *Ahurā Mazdā*, the Zoroastrians' highest deity and the creator of truth, goodness, and light. In his youth, he discovers a locked room while wandering through the legendary palace of *Khovarnaq*, in which the portrait of seven beautiful princesses (*Haft Paykar*) from seven climes of the earth has been hidden. He falls in love with them and begins an adventurous search to win the seven beauties as his brides. Later, after he became a powerful king, *Bahrām* orders seven domes to be built in a legendary palace for his wives. The seven domes in seven colors which symbolize not only the different colors of different nations, but also the seven spheres and seven days of the week. The king visits the Indian princess in the Black Pavilion, symbol of Saturn, on Saturday; the Greek princess in the Yellow Pavilion, symbol of the Sun, on Sunday; the Moorish princess in the Green Pavilion, symbol of the Moon, on Monday; the Russian princess in the Red Pavilion, symbol of Mars, on Tuesday; the princess of Khawarazm in the Turquoise-Blue Pavilion, symbol of Mercury, on Wednesday; the Chinese princess in the Sandal-wood Pavilion, symbol of Jupiter, on Thursday; and the Persian princess in the White Pavilion, symbol of Venus, on Friday. The main body of this magnificent narrative poem contains seven stories from these seven different nations, narrated by the seven queens of *Bahrām*.

The metre of *Haft Peykar*: *Xafīf-e maxbūn-e mazzūf*: *fā-'e-lā-ton. ma-fā-'e-lon. fā-'e-lon.* -U--. U-U-. UU-.

هم نوا بخش و هم نوازنده	ای جهان راز هیچ سازنده
<i>ham/na/vā/bax. šo/ham/na/vā. zan/deh.</i>	<i>'ey/ja/hān/rā. ze/hī/čō/sā. zan/deh.</i>
-U--. U-U-. UU-(--).	-U--. U-U-. UU-(--).
دو سرا پرده سپید و سیاه	تو سپردی به آفتاب و به ماه
<i>do/sa/rā/par. de/yeh/se/pī. do/se/yāh.</i>	<i>to/se/por/dī. be/'ā/fe/tā. bo/be/māh.</i>
-U--. U-U-. UU-	-U--. U-U-
UU-	

^{xxiii}وز در خلق بی نیازم کن

بر در خویش سرفرازم کن

vaz/da/reh/xal. qo/bī/ne/yā. zam/kon. bar/da/reh/xī. šo/sar/fa/rā. zam/kon.
 -U-- . U-U- . UU-(→). -U-- . U-U- . UU-(→).

Translation:

1. O Maker of the universe from naught / giver of sustenance and cherisher.
2. Unto the sun and moon / Thou hast consigned two (lofty) tents in color white and black.
3. Make me by being at Thy door unpraised / make me dependent not on peoples' doors.^{xxiv}

The Maṣnavī (24,650 verses, composed between 1258-1273 by Rumi (d. 1273)). As a collection of interwoven didactic stories, Jalal al-Din Rumi's *Maṣnavī* is the most celebrated mystical masterpiece of Persian literature. The term *maṣnavī* which is a 'form' or 'genre' of poetry and literally means "double-rhymed verses" (see above) has been used specifically, as a proper name, for this monumental poetic collection of narratives and anecdotes. In the *Maṣnavī*, Rumi is a majestic Sufi mystic who narrates colorful folk anecdotes, traditional Sufi tales, Koranic myths, and other mythical stories to illustrate the different dimensions of his spiritual teaching and clarify his mystical doctrine. The *Maṣnavī* consists of six books in which Rumi discusses the evil of the lower self or 'nafs,' the virtuousness of love, the meaning of reason and knowledge in human life, and human beings' path to detachment from the earthly body in order to reunite with the source of existence, light, and Truth.

The metre of *The Maṣnavī* is *Ramal-e mosaddas-e maḥzūf*: fā-'e-lā-ton. fā-'e-lā-ton. fā-'e-lon. -U-- . -U-- . -U--.

بشنو از نی چون حکایت می کند از جداییها شکایت می کند
 'az/jo/dā/'ī. hā/še/kā/yat. mī/ko/na beš/no/vaz/ney. čon/he/kā/yat. mī/ko/nad.
 -U-- . -U-- . -U- -U-- . -U-- . -U-
 کز نیستان تا مرا ببریده اند در نفیرم مرد و زن نالیده اند
 dar/na/fī/ram. mar/do/zan/nā. lī/de/and. kaz/ne/yes/tān. tā/ma/rā/bob. rī/de/and.
 -U-- . -U-- . -U- -U-- . -U-- . -U-

هرکسی از ظن خود شد یار من از درون من نجست اسرار من^{xxv}
 'az/da/rū/ne[e]. man/na/jos/tas. rā/re/man. har/ka/sī/'az. zan/ne/xod/šod. yā/re/man.
 -U-- . -U-- . -U- -U-- . -U-- . -U-

Translation:

1. Listen to the reed how it tells a tale / complaining of separation.
2. Saying, "ever since I was parted from the reed-bed / my lament hath caused man and woman to moan.
3. Every one became my friend from his own opinion / none sought out my secrets from within me.^{xxvi}

Based on the number of syllables used in each verse in the popular metres of classical Persian narrative poetry, we can categorize them into two groups. The first group has twenty two syllables in each verse, or eleven syllables in each hemistich:

1. *Moteqāreb-e moṣamman-e maḥzūf*: Ferdowsi's *Shahnameh* and Nizami's *Iskandar-nāmeḥ*.
2. *Hazaj-e mosaddas-e maḥzūf*: Fakhr al-Dīn 'As'ad Gorgānī's *Vīs and Rāmīn* and Nizami's *Khosrow and Shīrīn*.
3. *Ramal-e mosaddas-e maḥzūf*: Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār's *Manteq al-Ṭayr* and Rumi's *Maṣnavī*.

The second group has twenty syllables in each verse, or ten equal syllables in each hemistich:

1. *Hazaj-e mosaddas-e 'axrab-e maqbūz-e maḥzūf*: Nizami's *Leylī and Majnūn*.
2. *Xafīf-e maxbūn-e maḥzūf*: Nizami's *Haft Peykar*,

The relationship of the rhythmic structure, metre, musical characteristics of letters, expressional mode, and images to the theme and subject of the poems in classical Persian poetry has drawn the attention of several contemporary Persian metricians and literary figures.^{xxvii} However, no one has yet investigated the issue independently, and one can say that there is no major research available on this subject. It is an accepted fact that the metre of a poem is a reflection of the poet's mood and emotions, and has a great impact on transferring the images from the poet's to the reader's mind.^{xxviii} In the conclusion to this preliminary study, I would like to point out some facts regarding the harmony between the metrical pattern and the themes and subjects employed in classical Persian narrative poetry.

In the classical Persian literary tradition, the chosen metrical pattern for versifying heroic narrative poetry is *moteqāreb*, which is believed by prosodists to be Persian in origin. All known Persian heroic stories are versified according to this metrical pattern, except for Mas'oudī Marvzī's *Shahnameh*, which is composed in *hazaj*.^{xxix}

Therefore, we can assume with a high degree of likelihood that *moteqāreb* was considered suitable for the poetic narration of epics and historical stories dealing with wars, victories, and defeats. In the *Shahnameh*, Ferdowsi skillfully portrayed the past of Persia, from myth to history, and narrated the glory of heroic acts, the wisdom of sages, the suffering of lovers' separation and the joy of their reunion, and the hero's tragic death in this metrical pattern. His indepth knowledge of the value of words, and the music and sounds of the Persian alphabet, and in particular his mastery in playing with the short and long vowels, enabled him to create a masterpiece in which a single metrical pattern founds the capacity to portray many different, and in some cases paradox, themes.

In contrast, the metrical pattern of *hazaj* is believed to have been originally more fitting for poems which were sung in a joyful manner.^{xxx} Nizami's *Khosrow va Shīrīn* and Gorgānī's *Vīs va Rāmīn*, the most celebrated love stories in classical Persian narrative poetry are composed in this metrical pattern. Both of these magnificent love stories portray numerous colorful scenes of nature and human beings' beauty and glamour, joyful feasts, and lovers' conversations and love making, before eventually arriving at a happy ending of reunion for the major characters. However Nizami also masterfully narrated the sorrowful moments of the lovers' separation as well as the tragedy of *Farhād*'s death in the same metrical pattern, and was able to successfully create the necessary mood and feeling of sorrow in *hazaj*. In *Vīs and Rāmīn*, the two lovers reunite after a long period of secret romance to live happily ever after. The final chapter of *Khosrow and Shīrīn* also narrates the passionate reunion between the two lovers after a long separation, but here the joy of reunion in this world shortly turns tragic, and ends up with the two lovers reuniting in the eternal world.

Rumi composed his monumental didactic work, the *Maṣnavī* in *ramal* metrical pattern, having been inspired by his gnostic master predecessor 'Aṭṭār, who had versified his mystical tale, *Manṭeq al-Ṭayr*, in the same metre a few decades earlier. It is worthy of mention that 'Aṭṭār composed almost all of his famous works in *hazaj* metrical pattern except the *Manṭeq al-Ṭayr*. All the same, Rumi preferred and, consciously or unconsciously, chose *ramal*, the metrical pattern of *Manṭeq al-Ṭayr*, to compose his didactic masterpiece. This indicates that Rumi recognized the suitability of this metrical pattern for expressing his mystical teaching and spiritual doctrines.

Further examination and exploration of the inner harmony and relationship between the metres and themes of classical Persian narrative poetry on the one hand, and the adaptability of one metre for different moods of narration in a versified story on the other, can undoubtedly open a new chapter in the field of Persian prosody.

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ⁱⁱ Clinton, Jerome, 'Court Poetry at the Beginning of the Classical Period', *Persian Literature*, ed. Eḥsān Yārshāter, New York, 1987, p. 87.

ⁱⁱⁱ Shamīsā, '*Anvā'-e 'Adabī*', p. 331.

^{iv} Blochmann, H., *Prosody of the Persians*, Michigan, 1969, p. 24.

^v Sutton, L. p. Elwell, 'Aruz', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, ed. 'Eḥsān Yārshāter, vol. II, fascicle 6, New York, p. 670.

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- ^{xxviii} Shafī'I Kadkanī, *Ṣovar-e Khīyāl dar She'r-e Farsi*, p. 37.
- ^{xxix} Shamīsā, 'Anvā'-e 'Adabī, p. 140.
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Verbal Rhythm and Musical Rhythm: A Case Study of Iranian Traditional Music

Masato Tani

Introduction

In Iranian music there are, of course, various genres. According to the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Iranian music may roughly speaking be divided into two categories, “art music” and “folk music”. “Folk music” refers to religious recitation, narrative and didactic song, lyric song, popular entertainment and dance music, whereas “art music” refers to the music based on the modal system called *dastgāh*ⁱ, which was organized mainly at the royal court during the Qajar dynasty, and in which the Persian mystic poems of Rumi, Ḥāfeẓ, and the like are usually sung. In this article, we will be concerned with this *dastgāh* music in order to observe the relationship between verbal rhythm and musical rhythm, and the term “Iranian traditional music” will refer to this *dastgāh* music.

In the field of Iranian traditional music studies, much has been written about the relationship between verbal rhythm and musical rhythm (Zonis 1965:645, Tsuge 1970, Miller 1999). In Iranian traditional music, the *zarbi* (literally, rhythmic), meaning the parts with a fixed rhythm, and *bi-zarbi* or *āvāz*ⁱⁱ, meaning the parts without a fixed rhythm, usually alternate in succession. However, compared to the music of neighboring countries, Iranian music is characterized by having less measure in rhythm. For this reason, past studies have mainly focused on the *bi-zarbi* or *āvāz* parts, which cannot be divided into measures in a Western sense, from the viewpoint of how the Persian poetic meter is incorporated in those sections (See, for example, Tsuge 1970). In addition, *bi-zarbi* or *āvāz* is basically improvised in a free rhythm and performed based on poetic meter, whereas *zarbi* is basically pre-composed music in which the musical rhythm has already been established. For this reason, *bi-zarbi* or *āvāz* has been considered to be an

appropriate subject of study for observing the realization of poetic meter.

In this paper, however, I will focus on the *zarbi* parts in terms of how the original poetic meter changes when the poetry is sung in *zarbi*. By doing so, I will explore the dynamic relationship and balance between verbal rhythm and musical rhythm.

1. Various types of relationship between verbal rhythm and musical rhythm

In Iranian music, there are a great number of melody types (*gūše*), both long and short, that have been passed down by tradition. These *gūše* (literally ‘corner, section, piece’) do not exist in some haphazard manner, but are rather organized in a systematic fashion grouped by musical mode. As musical modes are generally defined as a “layout of the pitches, including a melodic element, that have a denser relationship with each other” (Mizuno 1992: 33), the name of a musical mode evokes something more for audiences in Iran than merely a scale; rather, it suggests several specific melody types.

In the following section, I will illustrate various types of relationship between verbal rhythm and musical rhythm for several melody types. First, the melody type called *kerešmeh* will be introduced in order to demonstrate a perfect correspondence between musical rhythm and the poetic meter. We will then turn to two poems, the *Sāqīnāmeḥ* and *Čahār-pāre*, and for each I will compare cases where the poetry is sung in *bi-zarbi* or *āvāz* with those where the poetry is sung in *zarbi* in order to examine more complex relationships between verbal rhythm and musical rhythm.

2. The case of *kerešmeh*: Perfect correspondence between musical rhythm and poetic meter

Let us begin with the melody type called *kerešmeh*. This melody type has an obvious character of hemiola rhythm in which six-eight time and three-four time appears alternately, and can be considered to show a perfect correspondence between musical rhythm and poetic meter. This is because most poetry sung in this melody type has exactly the same rhythm, as in the following poem by *Hāfez*, a 14th century Persian poet.

biyā va keštī-ye mā dar šatt-e šarāb andāz
xorūš o velveh dar jān-e šeix o šāb andāz

“Come and let us cast our boat into the river of wine;
Let us cast a shout and clamor into the soul of the sheikh and the young man.”
(Zonis 1965:128)

Example 1: *Kerešmeh* in *homāyun* mode, from the *radīf*ⁱⁱⁱ passed down by *Abolḥasan- Šabā* (1902-1958) (Šabā 1993:7)

bi ya va keš ti ye mā dar

ša tte ša rāb an daz xo rū š o vel

ve leh dar jā ne sei x o šāb an daz

The meter of this poem consists of a series of “short-long-short-long + short-short-long-long” sequences called *mojtaš-e maxbūn*. *Mojtaš* originally consists of two different types of feet, *mostaf’elon* “long-long-short-long” and *fā’elāton* “long-short-long-long.” *Maxbūn* refers to the transformation that changes each first long syllable into a short syllable.

As Example 1 makes clear, this melody has a rhythm that is exactly the same as the rhythm in *mojtaš-e maxbūn*. As others have pointed out (Tsuge 1970:220, Miller 1999:249, Zonis 1965:128), this is a typical example of perfect correspondence between musical rhythm and poetic meter. Therefore, whenever this melody type is performed, its character never changes, regardless of musical mode, scale and register.

3. The case of *Sāqīnāmeḥ*

The next example comes from the *Sāqīnāmeḥ*, the well-known verse by *Hāfez*. Let us see how the original meter changes when the poem is sung in *zarbi*. Its original meter is as follows:

Biyā sāqi ān mey ke ḥāl āvarad
Kerāmat fazāyad kamāl āvarad
Be man de ke bas bi del oftādeam
Vaz in har do bi ḥāšel oftādeam
 “Come, cupbearer, that wine which brings ecstasy,
 Increases grace, brings perfection,

Give me for sufficiently disheartened have I fallen (become).
 And of these both (grace and perfection) have I been deprived.”
 (Miller 1999:219)

Table 1 (based on Miller 1999:246)

short syllable	long syllable	long syllable
1. <i>bi</i>	2. <i>yā</i>	3. <i>sā</i>
4. <i>qi</i>	5. <i>ān</i>	6. <i>mey</i>
7. <i>ke</i>	8. <i>hāl</i>	9. <i>ā</i>
10. <i>va</i>	11. <i>rad</i>	

As indicated in Table 1, this poetry is usually sung in *motaqāreb* meter, consisting of repetitions of *fa'ūlon*, i.e. the “short-long-long” foot.

When this poetry is sung in *zarbi*, whose rhythmic structure is “half note + quarter note + quarter note,” its original meter changes as follows.

Table 2

super short syllable (appoggiatura)	super long syllable (half note)	long syllable (quarter note)	long syllable (quarter note)
1. <i>bi</i>	2. <i>yā</i>	3. <i>sā</i>	4. <i>qi</i>
	5. <i>ān</i>	6. <i>mey</i>	7. <i>ke</i>
	8. <i>hāl</i>	9. <i>ā</i>	10. <i>va</i>
	11. <i>rad</i>		

Example 2: *Sāqīnāmeḥ* in *māhur* mode, from the *radīf* passed down by *Maḥmūd-Karīmī* (1927-1984) (Mas'ūdīe 1995:177)

The musical score consists of three staves of music in 4/4 time, with a tempo marking of ♩ = 56 and a key signature of one flat (A). The lyrics are written in Persian script below the notes. The first staff contains the lyrics: *biyā sā qi ā ————— ān mey ke*. The second staff contains: *hā ————— lā — wa ————— rad ————— karā mat fa*. The third staff contains: *zā ————— yad ka mā ————— lā wa —————*. The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, accents, and fingerings (e.g., 5, 3, 1).

As Table 2 shows, one might say that the original meter of poetry does change in *zarbi*. This is because [4.*qi*],[7.*ke*], and [10.*va*], which are originally short syllables, are all treated as long syllables (quarter notes) having the same length as [3.*sā*],[6.*mey*], and [9.*ā*], except for [1.*bi*], which is treated as a super short syllable. Nevertheless, if we examine them in more detail, it turns out that each occurrence of [4.*qi*], [7.*ke*], and [10.*va*] is accompanied by [5.*ān*], [8.*hāl*], and [11.*rad*], i.e. super long syllables. In this sense, if we consider them in relation to the sound immediately after them, and not to the one preceding, I would claim that [4.*qi*], [7.*ke*], and [10.*va*] sound shorter and in that sense function as short syllables. Furthermore, in those super long syllables (half notes) which are repeated four times in total ([2.*yā*], [5.*ān*], [8.*hāl*], and [11.*rad*]), a vocal technique peculiar to Iranian music called *taḥrīr* is usually employed, by which the length of the syllables is prolonged and emotionally emphasized.

In other words, if we confine our observations to the actual “short-long” rhythmic pattern of the poetry, certainly its meter can be disregarded in *zarbi*. However, from the perspective of where the emphasis is placed, not just that of “short-long” sequences, it turns out that the emphasis continues to be on the long syllables by means of the vocal technique of *taḥrīr*. In this sense, a contrast similar to that between short and long syllables is preserved, even if differently realized.

4. The case of *čahār-pāre*

Here, I would like to examine once again how the original meter changes when poetry is sung in *zarbi* using a melody type called *čahār-pāre*.

Čahār-pāre is one of the melody types which belongs to *abu ‘atā* mode, and features a “short-short-long-short-long” rhythm in *bi-zarbi* or *āvāz* rhythm. Below is a typical poem usually sung in this melody, by Hātef Ešfahānī, together with its meter:

če šavad be čehre-ye zard-e man naẓarī barāye xodā konī
ke agar konī hame dard-e man be yekī naẓāre davā konī

“What would happen if, for heaven’s sake,
 you give one look at my pallid face;
 For if you do,
 all my pain with one glance you cure.”
 (Miller 1999:189)

Table 3

short	short	long	short	long
če	ša	vad	be	čeh
re	ye	zar	d-e	man
na	za	rī	ba	rā
ye	xo	dā	ko	nī

Example 3: Čahār bāg (Čahār-pāre) in abu ‘aṭā mode, from the radīf passed down by Maḥmūd-Karīmī (1927-1984) (Mas’ūdie 1995:44)

As can be seen in Table 3, this poem is composed in the *kāmel* meter, which consists of repetitions of *motaṭā‘elon*, i.e. “short-short-long-short-long” feet. In the following section, let us consider four *zarbi* pieces and observe how this meter changes when poetry is sung in *zarbi*.

4.1. Čahār-pāre sung in taṣnīf dogāh

Here, I would like to examine how the meter of *čahār-pāre* changes when poetry is sung in the *zarbi* called *taṣnīf dogāh*. *Taṣnīf* (“composed song”) *dogāh* (“second place”) is one of the melody types which belongs to *bayāt-e tork* mode. In the following piece, which has three-four time, the meter is structured as follows.

Table4

1 st beat	2 nd beat	3 rd beat
short/short	long	→
short	long	→
če /ša	vad	
be	čeh	
re/ye	zar	
d-e	man	

Example 4 *Taşnif dogāh* in *bayāt-e tork* mode (Tsuge 1999:34)

♩ = 60

Che shavad be cheh- re ye zar- de man
nazari ba- rā- -ye kho - dā ko- ni

In this case, we can say that the poetry meter is retained in *zarbi* as is.

4.2. Čahār-pāre sung in “*mehrabānī* in five-eight time” and “*mehrabānī* in two-four time”

Another melody type which belongs to *bayāt-e tork* mode is *mehrabānī*. In “*mehrabānī* in five-eight time,” the meter is structured as follows:

Table 5

1 st beat	2 nd beat	3 rd beat	4 th beat	5 th beat
short/short	long →		short	long
<i>če /ša</i>	<i>vad</i>		<i>be</i>	<i>čeh</i>
<i>re/ye</i>	<i>zar</i>		<i>d-e</i>	<i>man</i>

Example 5: “*Mehrabānī* in five-eight time” in *bayāt-e tork* mode (Pāyvar 1982:35)

♩ = 120

مهرآبانی (در بیات ترک) (از رویف موسیقی ایران)

As we see in Table 5, the first half of the meter is similar to *taşnif dogāh*. However, in the second half of the meter, short syllables and long syllables are treated equally (see the painted part in Table 5). Furthermore, in “*mehrabānī* in two-four time” (indicated below), after the first “short-short” part, the following “long-short-long” segments are all treated equally. (To

maintain unity with “*mehrabānī* in five-eight time” in Table 5, the eighth note is calculated as one beat in Table 6.)

Table 6

1 st beat	2 nd beat	3 rd beat	4 th beat
short/short	long	short	long
če/ša	vad	be	čeh
re/ye	zar	d-e	man

Example 6: “*Mehrabānī* in two-four time” in *bayāt-e tork* mode (Pāyvar 1982:36)



From these facts, one might once again conclude that the original meter does change in *zarbi*. However, if we consider these facts from the aforementioned perspective of where the emphasis is placed and where we can find a contrast similar to that of “short” vs “long”, and not just from the perspective of length, one interesting point becomes clear.

That is the perspective of where the core note (tonal center) is located. *Mehrabānī* is usually sung in *bayāt-e tork* mode, and the core note (tonal center) of the mode is always located in the last long syllable (in examples 4 through 7, note B). Furthermore, all the melodies in these examples end with the core note.

Table 5-1. “*Mehrabānī* in five-eight time”

1 st beat	2 nd beat	3 rd beat	4 th beat	5 th beat
short/short	long →		short	long (core note)
če/ša	vad		be	čeh
re/ye	zar		d-e	man

Table 6-1. “*Mehrabānī* in two-four time”

1 st beat	2 nd beat	3 rd beat	4 th beat
short/short	long	short	long (core note)
če/ša	vad	be	čeh
re/ye	zar	d-e	man

Thus, each syllable that was treated equally only in terms of its length is not equal in terms of the stability that core note bears, that is, the feeling of the end of the phrase or sentence. Consequently, also in this case we can naturally realize that the last long syllable is perceived as *heavy* or *prominent* compared to the other notes.

4.3. Čahār-pāre sung in “mehrabānī in six-eight time”

As a final example, let us examine a case of “*mehrabānī* in six-eight time.” This case appears relatively complicated, as it has 12 beats (six beats repeated twice) and begins with an anacrusis. The allotment of the meter to the beat is as follows:

Table 7

1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5(core note)	6
rest	rest	short	short	long			short	long		rest	
rest	rest	short	short	long			short	long		rest	
rest	rest	če	ša	vad			be	čeh		rest	
rest	rest	re	ye	zar			d-e	man		rest	

Example 7: “*Mehrabānī* in six-eight time” in *bayāt-e tork* mode (Pāyvar 1982:36)

This movement functions as a leading tone to the core note

The core note of *bayāt-e tork* mode

As Table 7 indicates, there are two types of metrical allotment; however, both maintain the original meter in *zarbi*. As mentioned previously, this is not simply because long syllables are allotted to long notes, but also because the core note of *bayāt-e tork* is located in the final long syllable. Thus, the final long syllable is perceived as longer than its actual duration. In other words, the hearer feels more heaviness in this final note. Furthermore, in this case we can observe that there exists one note stretched a third lower than the core note, before the music reaches the core note (see Example 7). This note

actually functions as a leading tone, and leads to the core note.

Stated differently, through this type of movement, the audience perceives greater heaviness when the melody reaches the core note. Moreover, and especially in this case, since the pause is located immediately after the core note, the core note sounds longer than its duration due to the lingering tone. All these factors contribute to the result that one feels the long syllable as being *heavy*, not only because of the length of the tone but also because of the various musical elements described here.

Conclusion

It is generally said in musicological studies that the meter of poetry usually changes when sung in the part with a fixed rhythm, whereas it appears to remain almost the same in the part without a fixed rhythm. To be sure, if we understand rhythmic patterns in the literal sense of short and long syllables, certainly the meter can be often disregarded in *zarbi*, where musical rhythm takes precedence over poetic meter. However, from the examples discussed above, we may conclude that the long syllable is still perceived as heavy or prominent compared to other notes, either by means of the “*tahrīr* technique,” which attracts the audience’s attention, or from the perspective of where the core note is placed.

In this sense, it is insufficient to describe meter solely with terms such as “long” and “short.” We must rather recognize poetic meter as something complex which comprises wide-ranging elements, and not just arrangements of “long” and “short” syllables. For this purpose, it may be best to return to the original definition of syllabic weight and develop alternative terms such as “heavy” and “light” in order to understand the interaction of meter and musical rhythm as a whole.

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ⁱ The general definition of *dastgāh* is ‘system, organization, or device’. When used as a musical term, it denotes a ‘mode’. Traditional Iranian music distinguishes twelve modes, divided into seven major *dastgāh* (*şūr*, *segāh*, *homāyun*, *čahārgāh*, *māhūr*, *navā*, and *rāst-panjgāh*) and five secondary *dastgāh* (*bayāt-e tork*, *abū 'aṭā*, *aḡşārī*, *daštī*, and *bayāt-e eşfahān*). The first four of the five secondary *dastgāh* are believed to derive from the *şūr* mode, while the last, *bayāt-e eşfahān*, is said to derive from the *homāyun* mode. These five derivative *dastgāh* are called *nağme* (literally ‘melody’) or *āvāz* (literally ‘voice’) in order to distinguish them from the major *dastgāh*.

ⁱⁱ The term *āvāz* has a wide variety of meanings, but is mainly used to denote: 1. ‘song; vocal music’; 2. ‘non-metric rhythmic form’; 3. ‘one of the five secondary modes among the twelve Persian musical modes.’ In many cases, definitions 1 and 2 are used interchangeably. In the discussion here, I limit my use of the term to its second meaning.

ⁱⁱⁱ *Radīf* refers to a body of traditional melodic types conveyed to students in the course of their musical training. There exist several versions of *radīf*, according to the master who transmits the traditional melodic types and interprets them.

PART ONE

NEW INDO-ARYAN METRES

URDU

A Note on the ‘Hindī’ Metre in Urdū Poetry

Takamitsu Matsumura

Urdū metres are basically the same as Arabic and Persian metres, yet it seems there is a metre in Urdū poetry which is not found in Arabic or Persian prosody.

In *An Anthology of Classical Urdu Love Lyrics*, D. J. Matthews and C. Shackle introduced some basic Urdū metres and mentioned: “One Urdu metre is not found in Persian and has probably been adapted from the Hindi system”.ⁱ This metre, called the ‘Hindī’ metre, “consists of fifteen long syllables divided into eight feet with a main caesura after the fourth. The second long syllable in each foot except the fourth may be varied with two short syllables”.ⁱⁱ It is illustrated as follows:ⁱⁱⁱ

-- (- ∪ ∪) | -- (- ∪ ∪) | -- (- ∪ ∪) | -- ||
-- (- ∪ ∪) | -- (- ∪ ∪) | -- (- ∪ ∪) | -

It is no wonder that classical Urdū poetry was influenced by Arabic and Persian prosody since it developed under the overwhelming influence of Persian poetry. What is interesting is that classical Urdū poetry has been influenced by Hindī prosody as well. Even the *ghazal* (love lyrics), one of the genres introduced from Persian poetry and the most popular poetic genre of Urdū poetry since the 18th century in North India, adopted the Hindī metre.^{iv}

More detailed references to the ‘Hindī’ metre is found in Frances Pritchett’s *Urdu Meter: A Practical Handbook* (University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1987).^v

In the section on “Mir’s ‘Hindī’ metre”^{vi} in chapter 6, “Metres”, Pritchett remarks: “Hardly anything is absolutely fixed in this metre except that the last syllable in each line must be long, short syllables must occur in pairs, and the short syllables in each pair may be separated by no more than one long”. She represents the rhythmic patterns of the first four

feet of this metre as follows:^{vii}

- (a) --|--|--|--||
 (b) --|--|ـ|ـ||
 (c) --|ـ|ـ|--||
 (d) --|ـ|ـ|ـ|ـ||
 (e) ـ|ـ|--|--||
 (f) ـ|ـ|--|ـ|ـ||
 (g) ـ|ـ|ـ|ـ|--||
 (h) ـ|ـ|ـ|ـ|ـ|--||

Concerning the remaining four feet, Pritchett writes: “Usually the second half of the line contains the equivalent of seven long syllables. Its customary patterns differ from those given above only by the omission of the final long syllable”.

The conclusion may be drawn from the above-mentioned books that Urdū metres consist of metres of Arabo-Persian origin and the ‘Hindī’ metre, but it is not clear from where the latter is derived.

This research note examines two Urdū books dealing with Hindī rhythms in Urdū poetry, which have not yet been translated into English, in order to shed light on this interesting phenomenon. It also offers suggestions as to how research on Urdū prosody should be carried out in the future.

Gyān Chand’s View

Gyān Chand, a prominent scholar of Urdū literature, wrote many research papers on Hindī rhythms found in Urdū poetry.

His major works dealing with Urdū prosody are the following:^{viii}

1. “Urdū kī Hindī baḥr mēn tauṣī‘ aur izāfē (The extension and addition of the Hindī metre in Urdū)”, in Majlis-e Nadhr-e Dhākir, ed., *Nadhr-e Dhākir*, Delhi, 1968.
2. “Urdū aur Hindī ‘arūz kē mushtarak maqāmāt (The common aspects of Urdū and Hindī prosody)”, in Majlis-e Armughān-e Mālik, ed., *Armughān-e Mālik*, vol.2, Delhi, 1971.
3. “Urdū ‘arūz kī tashkīl-e jadīd (Re-composition of Urdū prosody)”, in Gyān Chand, *Tajziē*, Delhi, 1973.
4. “Urdū kē liē mauzūn -tarīn niḡām-e ‘arūz (The most suitable prosodic system for Urdū)”, in Gyān Chand, *Dhikr-o-Fikr*, n.p., 1980.
5. “Fīrāq kī bē-‘arūziyān (Fīrāq’s deviation from prosody)”, in Gyān Chand, *Khōj*, Delhi, 1990.

In order to illustrate Gyān Chand’s view on Hindī rhythms adopted in Urdū poetry, this research note mainly deals with his book, *Urdū kā Apnā ‘Arūz (Urdū’s Own Prosody)*; New Delhi, 1990) which is a concise

introduction to Urdū prosody.^{ix}

This book stresses the distinctiveness of Urdū prosody, as is indicated by the title of the book, arguing that just as Iranian poets, despite being under the pressure of Arabic prosody, wrote Persian poems using their traditional Iranian rhythms, Indian poets also showed their originality in Urdū poetry by adding new rhythms of local origin. In his view, it is wrong to think that Indian poets simply adopted Arabic and Persian metres.

In the preface, Gyān Chand writes:

“Urdū prosodists have not added a single metre to Persian prosody nor have they improved Persian metres at all. On the other hand, Persian prosodists have done these things with Arabic prosody. It has to be reckoned that Arabic music does not accord with an Iranian sense of music. This can be seen in early Persian poetry.” “Gradually, Persian prosody became so deeply rooted in the Urdū temperament as to have become an essential element for Urdū users. Urdū poets who have no knowledge of prosody can create poems without making mistakes in using Arabic and Persian rhythms. It should not be misunderstood that they have taken over Arabo-Persian prosody as it is. They have refused to adopt many Arabic and Persian rhythms and a lot of the liberties provided by them. They have also added many new rhythms. It is a pity that this is not known to prosodists. Urdū prosody made no progress while Urdū poetry kept on progressing. Prosody has not grasped the poets’ innovative moves.”^x

In *Urdū kā Apnā ‘Arūz*, Gyān Chand sets aside an independent chapter for Hindī *baḥr* or the Hindī metre as well as for Arabic and Persian metres. In this chapter he points out that *mātrik* metres—metres which are measured by their number of *mātrās* or metrical instants—have been used by Urdū poets, but that this fact has been ignored by Urdū prosody.^{xi} He illustrates the basic rhythm patterns using *afā ‘il* as below;^{xii}

fe ‘lun fe ‘lun (– – | – –)^{xiii}
fe ‘lun fa ‘ilun (– – | √ √ –)
fa ‘ilun fe ‘lun (√ √ – | – –)
fa ‘ilun fa ‘ilun (√ √ – | √ √ –)
fa ‘al fa ‘ūlun (√ – | √ – –)
fa ‘al fā ‘ilun (√ – | – √ –)
fe ‘lu fa ‘ūlun (– √ | √ – –)
fe ‘lu fā ‘ilun (– √ | – √ –) or *fā ‘ilun fa ‘al* (– √ – | √ –)

Gyān Chand believes that a line of four feet and 16 *mātrās*, or a combination of two sets of two feet and eight *mātrās*, is the basic rhythmic unit. Based on this, other rhythms which have either a larger or smaller number of *mātrās* can be derived.^{xiv} He goes on to claim that

attention should be paid to the fact that these rhythms do not come from Arabo-Persian prosody, but that they are derived from two very similar Hindī *mātrik* rhythms: *caupāi* and *pādākulak* (Sanskrit *pādākulaka*).^{xv}

According to Gyān Chand, while some of the rhythms may belong to either of two Arabo-Persian metres, *mutaqārib* or *mutadārik* metre, most of them cannot.^{xvi}

Gyān Chand goes on to illustrate 99 patterns of these rhythms comprising four feet and 16 *mātrās*. He also refers to lines consisting of four feet and 14, 15 and 17 Arabic letters (*mātrās*) and explains the rhythms of a line which has eight feet and 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 and 33 Arabic letters (*mātrās*).^{xvii}

According to him a line having eight feet and 32 (16+16) Arabic letters (*mātrās*) and a line having eight feet and 30 (16+14) Arabic letters (*mātrās*) are called *sawaiyā* (*sawaiyā*) in Hindī poetry.^{xviii}

Gyān Chand claims that Urdū poets, imitating *sawaiyā* of Hindī, adopted the rhythms of *fa'al fa'ūlun* (∪ - | ∪ - -), *fa'al fā'ilun* (∪ - | - ∪ -), and *fe'lu fā'ilun* (- ∪ | - ∪ -).^{xix}

Among Gyān Chand's examples of a line consisting of 32 and 30 Arabic letters (*mātrās*) are the following:

Example 1. A line of 32 (16+16) Arabic letters (*mātrās*)

jab nāyak tan kā nīkal gayā/ jō mulkōñ mulkōñ hāñḍā hai

Naẓīr Akbarābādī (1735-1830)^{xx}

Scansion:^{xxi}

First half of the line

<i>jab nā-</i>	<i>yak tan</i>	<i>kā nī -</i>	<i>kal gayā</i>
<i>fe'lun</i>	<i>fe'lun</i>	<i>fe'lu</i>	<i>fā'ilun</i>
--	--	-∪	-∪-
16 Arabic letters (<i>mātrās</i>)			

Second half of the line

<i>jō mul -</i>	<i>kō(ñ)* mul-</i>	<i>kō(ñ) hā(ñ)-</i>	<i>ḍā hai</i>
<i>fe'lun</i>	<i>fe'lun</i>	<i>fe'lun</i>	<i>fe'lun</i>
--	--	--	--
16 Arabic letters (<i>mātrās</i>)			

*Metrically ignored sounds are enclosed in brackets.

Example 2. A line of 30 (16+14) Arabic letters (*mātrās*)

bahut liyē tasbīḥ phirē ham/ pahñā hai zunnār bahut

Mīr Taqī Mīr (1724-1810)

Scansion:^{xxii}

First half of the line

<i>bahut</i>	<i>liyē tas-</i>	<i>bīḥ(ə)*</i>	<i>p(h)irē ham</i>
<i>fa'al</i>	<i>fa'ūlun</i>	<i>fe'lu</i>	<i>fa'ūlun</i>
∪ -	∪ - -	-∪	∪ - -
16 Arabic letters (<i>mātrās</i>)			

Second half of the line

<i>pahnā</i>	<i>hai zun-</i>	<i>nār(ə)</i>	<i>bahut</i>
<i>fe'lun</i>	<i>fe'lun</i>	<i>fe'lu</i>	<i>fa'al</i>
--	--	-v	v-
14 Arabic letters (<i>mātrās</i>)			

*The sign (ə) is placed where a short vowel would be metrically expected.

Example 3. A line of 30 (16+14) Arabic letters (*mātrās*)

banī lakshmī dukh kī rānī/ dīwālī kē dīp jalē

Firāq (1896-1982)

Scansion:^{xxiii}

First half of the line

<i>banī</i>	<i>laksh(ə)mī</i>	<i>duk(h) kī</i>	<i>rānī</i>
<i>fa'al</i>	<i>fā'ilun</i>	<i>fe'lun</i>	<i>fe'lun</i>
v-	-v-	--	--
16 Arabic letters (<i>mātrās</i>)			

Second half of the line

<i>dīwā-</i>	<i>lī kē</i>	<i>dīp(ə)</i>	<i>jalē</i>
<i>fe'lun</i>	<i>fe'lun</i>	<i>fe'lu</i>	<i>fa'al</i>
--	--	-v	v-
14 Arabic letters (<i>mātrās</i>)			

Example 4. A line of 30 (16+14) Arabic letters (*mātrās*)

pūchh pūchh kē nām patā kuchh/ samajh samajh rah jātē hō

Firāq

Scansion:^{xxiv}

First half of the line

<i>pūch (h)(ə)</i>	<i>pūch(h)(ə) kē</i>	<i>nām(ə)</i>	<i>patā kuch(h)</i>
<i>fe'lu</i>	<i>fā'ilun</i>	<i>fe'lu</i>	<i>fa'ūlun</i>
-v	-v-	-v	v--
16 Arabic letters (<i>mātrās</i>)			

Second half of the line

<i>samaj(h)</i>	<i>samaj(h) rah</i>	<i>jātē</i>	<i>hō</i>
<i>fa'al</i>	<i>fā'ūlun</i>	<i>fe'lun</i>	<i>fa'</i>
v-	v--	--	-
14 Arabic letters (<i>mātrās</i>)			

A line comprising 31 Arabic letters (*mātrās*) can also be used in this metre, as shown in example 5. According to Gyān Chand, lines of 30 or 32 Arabic letters (*mātrās*) are so long that a difference of one *sabab* (a rhythmic unit having two Arabic letters, which corresponds to two *mātrās*) is not easily discernible. He observes that lines of 33 Arabic letters (*mātrās*) are rare.^{xxv}

Example 5. A combination of lines of 31 and 30 Arabic letters (*mātrās*)

The first hemistich: 31 (16+15) Arabic letters (*mātrās*)
'ahd-e jawānī rō rō kāṭā/ pīrī mēñ līñ āñkhēñ mūñd

The second hemistich: 30 (16+14) Arabic letters (*mātrās*)
ya 'nī rāt bahut jāgē thē/ ṣubḥ huī ārām kiyā

Mīr

Scansion:

First half of the first hemistich

<i>'ahd-e</i>	<i>jawānī</i>	<i>rō rō</i>	<i>kāṭā</i>
<i>fe 'lu</i>	<i>fa 'ūlun</i>	<i>fe 'lun</i>	<i>fe 'lun</i>
— ∪	∪ — —	— —	— —
16 Arabic letters (<i>mātrās</i>)			

Second half of the first hemistich

<i>Pīrī</i>	<i>mē(ñ) lī(ñ)</i>	<i>ā(ñ)k(h)ē(ñ)</i>	<i>mū(ñ)d</i>
<i>fe 'lun</i>	<i>fe 'lun</i>	<i>fe 'lun</i>	<i>fā ' </i>
— —	— —	— —	— ∪
15 Arabic letters (<i>mātrās</i>)			

First half of the second hemistich

<i>ya 'nī</i>	<i>rāt (ə)</i>	<i>bahut jā-</i>	<i>gē thē</i>
<i>fe 'lun</i>	<i>fe 'lu</i>	<i>fa 'ūlun</i>	<i>fe 'lun</i>
— —	— ∪	∪ — —	— —
16 Arabic letters (<i>mātrās</i>)			

Second half of the second hemistich

<i>ṣubḥ(ə)</i>	<i>huī ā-</i>	<i>rām (ə)</i>	<i>kiyā</i>
<i>fe 'lu</i>	<i>fa 'ūlun</i>	<i>fe 'lu</i>	<i>fa 'al</i>
— ∪	∪ — —	— ∪	∪ —
14 Arabic letters (<i>mātrās</i>)			

Although Gyān Chand claims that the rhythms of these lines are based on *sawaiyā*, he did not give any specific definition of *sawaiyā* in his book.^{xxvi}

He also refers to Hindī rhythms other than *sawaiyā*^{xxvii} and presents the following view at the end of the book:

“Efforts have been made so far as to liberate Urdū prosody from the tyrannical rule of Arabo-Persian tradition in order to bestow unreserved distinctiveness upon it. Khalīl established Arabic prosody by examining Arabic poetry. Taking Urdū poets’ efforts to bring about innovative reforms into consideration, I have made Urdū prosody match actual Urdū poetry. What is most important is that I have made the Hindī rhythms which Urdū poets have been using an inseparable component of Urdū prosody.”^{xxviii}

Samī‘ullāh Ashrafī’s View

A more comprehensive argument on Urdū and Hindī rhythms can be found in Samī'ullāh Ashrafī's book, *Urdū aur Hindī kē Jadīd Mushtarak Auzān (Revised Urdū and Hindī Common Rhythms)*, Aligarh, 1984.^{xxix}

In this work Samī'ullāh Ashrafī categorizes both Urdū and Hindī rhythms on the basis of the number of Arabic letters used in *afā'īl*, which corresponds to the number of *mātrās*. He adduces and compares many rhythms adopted by Urdū and Hindī poetry, quoting numerous examples.

Samī'ullāh Ashrafī not only points out the similarities between Urdū and Hindī rhythms, but also claims that Urdū classical poetry adopted Hindī rhythms. After describing Hindī poetic movements from the latter half of the 19th century to the first half of the 20th century, He characterizes Urdū poetry as follows:

“In Urdū poetry, efforts had been made to reduce Arabic and Persian influence. As a result, only those rhythms of the metres completely matching the character of Urdū poetry were retained, while arrhythmic Arabic and Persian metres were discarded. In Urdū poetry only those Arabic and Persian metres were regarded as dulciter the rhythms of which bore similarities to those of Hindī metres. At the same time, the rhythms of the Hindī metres used by Ja'far Zaṭallī (d.1713), Mīr (1724-1810), Saudā (1713-1781), Inshā (d.1818), and Nazīr Akbarābādī (1735-1830) were once again used in Urdū poetry. Moreover, several prominent modern Urdū poets made further attempts to adapt pleasant Hindī rhythms and popularize them in Urdū poetry. Today, many rhythms of Sanskrit and Hindī metres have been included in Urdū prosody. That is to say, Urdū prosody has been gaining an independent status.”^{xxx}

In this respect, what is particularly interesting in Samī'ullāh Ashrafī's book is the part on *lāwanī rēkhtah* in the section of 30 Arabic letters (*mātrās*).^{xxxi} *Lāwanī rēkhtah* is “an Urdū rhythm of *mutaqārib* metre consisting of 30 Arabic letters (*mātrās*) and it has similarities to *tāṭan̄k* (Sanskrit *tāṭan̄ka*) and *lāwanī* metre”.^{xxxii} In this metre a caesura appears after the 16th *mātrā* in each line, as in *tāṭan̄k* and *lāwanī* metre.^{xxxiii}

Samī'ullāh Ashrafī observes: “Bhāratēndu Harishchandra (1850-1885) and his contemporary Hindī poets often used the rhythm of *lāwanī rēkhtah* in their Khaṛī Bōlī poems in the latter half of the 19th century. However, before them this rhythm was already used by Hindvī poets involved in the Bhakti Movement”.^{xxxiv} Mīr Ja'far Zaṭallī (d. 1713) made use of *lāwanī rēkhtah* before Mīr, but it was Mīr who popularized it in Urdū poetry.^{xxxv} Mīr adopted *lāwanī rēkhtah* as his favorite metre and wrote one *marthiyah* (elegy) and 188 *ghazals* containing no less than 1100 lines in it. After him, this metre of 30 *mātrās* has become one of the most popular rhythms in Urdū poetry.^{xxxvi}

Below is a selection of examples of lines composed in *lāwanī rēkhtah* from Mīr's *ghazals*, as given by Samī'ullāh Ashrafī. (The number of *mātrās* has been added for reference.)

Example 6.

ulī hō gaiñ sab tadbīrēñ/ kuchh nah dawā nē kām kiyā
dēkhā is bīmārī-e dil nē / ākhir kām tamām kiyā

Scansion:

First half of the first line

<i>ulī</i>	<i>hō</i>	<i>gai(ñ) *</i>	<i>sab</i>	<i>tadbīrē(ñ)</i>
2 2	2	1 1	2	2 2 2
16 mātrās				

*The long vowel *ī* of *gaiñ* should be shortened to make the total number of *mātrās* in this part 16.

Second half of the first line

<i>kuch(h)</i>	<i>na(h)</i>	<i>dawā</i>	<i>nē</i>	<i>kām</i>	<i>kiyā</i>
2	1	1 2	2	2 1	1 2
14 mātrās					

First half of the second line

<i>dēk(h)ā</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>bīmārī-e</i>	<i>dil</i>	<i>ne*</i>
2 2	2	2 2 2 1	2	1
16 mātrās				

*The vowel of *nē* should be shortened to make the total number of *mātrās* in this part 16.

Second half of the second line

<i>ākhir</i>	<i>kām</i>	<i>tamām</i>	<i>kiyā</i>
2 2	2 1	1 2 1	1 2
14 mātrās			

Example 7.

'ishq hamārē khayāl paṛā hai/ khwāb gayā ārām gayā
jī kā jānā thahar rahā hai/ ṣubah gayā yā shām gayā

Scansion:

First half of the first line

<i>'ishq</i>	<i>hamārē</i>	<i>khayāl</i>	<i>paṛā</i>	<i>hai</i>
2 1	1 2 2	1 2 1	1 2	1*
16 mātrās				

*The vowel of *hai* should be shortened to make the total number of *mātrās* in this part 16.

Second half of the first line

<i>kh(w)āb</i>	<i>gayā</i>	<i>ārām</i>	<i>gayā</i>
2 1	2 1	2 2 1	1 2
14 mātrās			

First half of the second line

<i>jī</i>	<i>kā</i>	<i>jānā</i>	<i>ṭahar</i>	<i>rahā</i>	<i>hai</i>
2	2	2 2	1 2	1 2	2
16 mātrās					

Second half of the second line

<i>ṣubah</i>	<i>gayā</i>	<i>yā</i>	<i>shām</i>	<i>gayā</i>
1 2	1 2	2	2 1	1 2
14 mātrās				

Samī'ullāh Ashrafī furthermore states that Mīr's line of 30 Arabic letters (*mātrās*) such as in the examples above, which has similarities to Hindī *lāwanī* metre, can be scanned as *mutaqārib* metre.^{xxxvii}

Below are the examples, scanned as *mutaqārib* metre, given by Samī'ullāh Ashrafī. (The forms of *afā'īl* are indicated by Samī'ullāh Ashrafī himself; the number of *mātrās* has been added for reference.)

Example 8.

ẓulm saḥē haiñ dāgh huē haiñ/ ranj uṭhē haiñ dard khinchē

Scansion:

First half of the line

<i>ẓulm (ə)</i>	<i>saḥē hai(ñ)</i>	<i>dāgh (ə)</i>	<i>huē hai(ñ)</i>
<i>fā'i</i>	<i>fā'ūlun</i>	<i>fā'i</i>	<i>fā'ūlun</i>
2 1	1 2 2	2 1	1 2 2
16 mātrās			

Second half of the line

<i>ranj (ə)</i>	<i>uṭhē hai(ñ)</i>	<i>dard (ə)</i>	<i>k(h)i(ñ)chē</i>
<i>fā'i</i>	<i>fā'ūlun</i>	<i>fā'i</i>	<i>fā'al</i>
2 1	1 2 2	2 1	1 2
14 mātrās			

Example 9.

jab kahtē thē tab tum nē tō/ gōsh-e hōsh nah khōlē ṭuk

Scansion:

First half of the line

<i>jab kah-</i>	<i>tē thē</i>	<i>tab tum</i>	<i>nē tō</i>
<i>fe'lun</i>	<i>fe'lun</i>	<i>fe'lun</i>	<i>fe'lun</i>
2 2	2 2	2 2	2 2
16 mātrās			

Second half of the line

<i>gōsh-ē*</i>	<i>hōsh(ə)</i>	<i>na(h) khōlē</i>	<i>ṭuk</i>
<i>fe'lun</i>	<i>fā'i</i>	<i>fā'ūlun</i>	<i>fā'</i>
2 2	2 1	1 2 2	2
14 mātrās			

*The *izāfat e* should be long here.

Samī‘ullāh Ashrafī obseves that this rhythm was often used in Hindvī poetry and speculates that under its influence Mīr began to use various feet of *mutaqārib* metre to create his unique rhythms.

“Mīr Taqī Mīr’s *ghazals* have unique rhythms; *ulḥī hō gaīn sab tadbīrēn kuchh nah dawā nē kām kiyā ...* . Imitating his rhythms, many modern poets wrote *ghazals* and *nazms* (poems written on a specific theme), and that has caused a controversy: some call them *sawāiyā* and others regard them as ‘Mīr’s metre’. If they are sorted into rhythms of *mutadārik* or *mutaqārib* metre, they fall into a complexity of *ziḥāfāt* (the processes for producing variants from the basic foot). I have tried to prove that this rhythm was used in Hindvī poetry before Mīr used it, and that under its influence Mīr created his original metre based on various variant feet of *mutaqārib* metre.”^{xxxviii}

Samī‘ullāh Ashrafī believes that Mīr handled *mutaqārib* metre so freely that it is difficult to be sure that his rhythms are variations of *mutaqārib* metre. In his opinion, “It would not be inappropriate to call these rhythms represented by 30 Arabic letters either *lāwanī rēkhtah* or a variation of *mutaqārib* metre consisting of 16 feet in a couplet, or simply, Mīr’s *mutaqārib* metre”.^{xxxix}

Concluding remarks

After reviewing Gyān Chand’s and Samī‘ullāh Ashrafī’s views on Hindī rhythms used in Urdū poetry, we can point out that the rhythms described by D. J. Matthews, C. Shackle and F. Pritchett as the ‘Hindī’ metre are only part of the Hindī rhythms adopted by Urdū poetry. Both Gyān Chand and Samī‘ullāh Ashrafī confirm that many kinds of Hindī rhythms are found even in classical Urdū poetry which was under the overwhelming influence of Arabo-Persian prosody.^{xi}

Their research on Hindī rhythms in Urdū poetry is an attempt to regard Urdū prosody as distinct from Arabo-Persian prosody. If their conclusions are justified, Urdū prosody will have to be reorganized. Although it is not easy to evaluate the validity of Gyān Chand’s and Samī‘ullāh Ashrafī’s arguments, it seems difficult to rule out the possibility that Urdū poetry has been influenced by Hindī rhythms. As there have been few comparative studies of the metrics of Urdū and Hindī poetry, it is necessary to pursue this line of research further, taking the following points into account:

1. Important sections of Urdū works on Urdū and Hindī prosody should be translated into English.
2. The terminology used in Arabo-Persian and Hindī prosody should be clearly defined.
3. Persian, Urdū and Hindī verses cited as examples of metres should be transliterated into the Roman alphabet and preferably translated into

English.

4. Every verse cited as an example of a metre should be scanned and the rhythm must be elucidated.

It is quite important to seek opinions from scholars of Arabic, Persian and Hindī prosody when Urdū prosody is discussed in their connection. In order to establish a common ground for the discussion, it is essential that all relevant materials be provided in a common language, which will be English. It would be quite significant if a presentation of the latest research on Arabic, Persian and Hindī prosody could be realized in English. As long as different languages are used in research on Urdū, Arabic, Persian and Hindī prosody, comparative and comprehensive studies will be slow to materialize.^{xli}

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Notes

ⁱ D. J. Matthews & C. Shackle, eds. and tr., *An Anthology of Classical Urdu Love Lyrics*, London, 1972, p. 212.

The following English-language book provides a good explanation of Arabic and Persian metres used in Urdū poetry, but it does not refer to the ‘Hindī’ metre; Muhammad Abd-Al-Rahman Barker *et al.*, eds., *A Reader of Classical Urdu Poetry*, vol.1, Ithaca, New York, 1977.

ⁱⁱ *Ibid*, p. 213.

ⁱⁱⁱ *Ibid*, p. 213.

^{iv} It is natural that Urdū poets adopted the ‘Hindī’ metre when they wrote *gīts* and *dohās* in Urdū, as both of these are traditional poetic forms in India.

^v The text can be accessed on Internet at the following address:

<http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00ghalib/meterbk/00_intro.html>.

^{vi} Mīr Taqī Mīr (1724-1810) was a great Urdū *ghazal* poet, famous for his masterly use of the ‘Hindī’ metre.

^{vii} Pritchett uses the marks = and – for a long and a short syllable. I have changed them into – and ∪ .

Referring to the diagrams of this metre illustrated by Matthews and Shackle, and by herself, Pritchett adds the proviso: “However, both of the above attempts at schematization eventually break down. Mir simply uses this metre in more complex and idiosyncratic ways than can be shown in these or any diagrams”. (chapter six, section two: Mir’s “Hindī” metre; cited from the Internet edition, pages of which are not numbered.)

^{viii} Gyān Chand wrote many articles concerning Urdū prosody. His arguments are so interesting and intriguing that his articles should be collected together and published.

^{ix} This book has less than a hundred pages.

Its contents are as follows:

Part one:

1. Prosody and rhythm
2. Metrical foot
3. Rules of scansion
4. Practice of scansion

Part two:

1. Rhythm
2. *Mutaqārib* metre
3. *Mutadārik* metre
4. The Hindī metre: rhythms of 16 to 33 Arabic letters
5. Other Hindī rhythms:
 - Rhythms of 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 27 (*sarsī*), 28 (*sār*: Sanskrit *sāra*), 29, 30, 32, 31 (*ālhā*) Arabic letters and *dhā*
6. *Hazaj* metre
7. *Rubā’ī* metre
8. *Rajaz* metre
9. *Ramal* metre

10. *Kāmil* metre
11. *Muzāre* 'metre
12. *Mujtath* metre
13. *Khafīf* metre
14. *Munṣariḥ* metre
15. *Sarī* 'metre
16. Rhythm of free verse
17. Conclusion

When a rhythm is expressed by *afā'īl*, the number of Arabic letters used in *afā'īl* corresponds to that of *mātrās*. For example, one form of *afā'īl*, *fa'* has two *mātrās* because it is composed of two Arabic letters, *fē* and 'ain (Short vowels are not represented in the script).

Form of <i>afā'īl</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>a</i>	'
Arabic letters used in <i>afā'īl</i>	<i>fē</i>	/	'ain
Number of <i>mātrās</i>	2		

Another form of *afā'īl*, *fa'al* has three *mātrās*, as it consists of three Arabic letters, *fē*, 'ain and *lām*.

Form of <i>afā'īl</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>a</i>	'	<i>a</i>	<i>l</i>
Arabic letters used in <i>afā'īl</i>	<i>fē</i>	/	'ain	/	<i>lām</i>
Number of <i>mātrās</i>	3				

In this book, rhythms are expressed by the number of Arabic letters used in *afā'īl*, instead of *mātrās*. *Afā'īl* is a set of words derived from the Arabic root *f- ' -l*, expressed by the three Arabic letters *fē*, 'ain and *lām*. Derivations from this root are used in Arabic, Persian and Urdū prosody to indicate the placement of consonants and short vowels in a foot.

A consonant in *afā'īl* stands for a consonant (C) in a foot, while a short vowel stands for a short vowel (V). (The consonant letter 'ain is transliterated '.) For example,

Form of <i>afā'īl</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>a</i>	'	<i>a</i>	<i>l</i>
Sound indicated	C	V	C	V	C
Example	j	i	g	a	r

A long vowel is treated as a short vowel plus a consonant. For example, *al* in

fa'al can count as a long vowel.

Form of <i>afā'il</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>a</i>	'	<i>a</i>	<i>l</i>
Sound indicated	C	V	C	V	C
Example	m	a	z	ā	

A long vowel in *afā'il* represents a short vowel plus a consonant as well as a long vowel. For example,

Form of <i>afā'il</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>ā</i>		'	<i>i</i>	<i>l</i>
Sound indicated	C	V	C	C	V	C
Examples	m	a	n	d	i	r
	b	ā		d	a	l

^x Gyān Chand, *Urdū kā Apnā 'Arūz*, New Delhi, 1990 (hereafter referred to as *UAA*), pp. 7-8.

^{xi} *UAA*, p. 52.

Pointing out in one of his papers that even after Khalīl bin Aḥmad (d. ca.791) canonized the fifteen basic Arabic metres, some other basic metres were added, Gyān Chand criticizes intransigent conservatism of Urdū prosodists as follows:

“Did Urdū prosodists create any metre or foot, or *zihāf* (the process for producing variants from a basic foot)? They are so captivated by tradition that in their view, prosody, originated in Arabic and Persian, is a kind of heavenly book for Urdū, and not a single word in it is allowed to be altered. Or they are not competent enough to free themselves from imitation and to exhibit originality of imagination.” “Poets are interpretaters of the emotions of their nation. Just as a river is not subordinate to its banks, but keeps changing its path of flow by breaking them, poetry also is not a captive of petrified rules.” (“Urdū ‘arūz kī tashkīl-e jadīd”, pp. 158-159.)

^{xii} *UAA*, pp. 52-53.

^{xiii} The marks – and ∪ after this part are added for reference. There is a case in which Hindī prosody has a different notion for long and short syllables. For example, in the case of the word *badan*, Hindī prosody divides it into three parts, *ba* (∪), *da* (∪) and *na* (∪). As this research note does not take into account the latent vowel at the end of a word, the word *badan* is divided here into two parts, *ba* (∪) and *dan* (–).

^{xiv} *UAA*, p. 53.

^{xv} *UAA*, p. 53.

Gyān Chand does not specifically mention the rhythms *caupāī* and *pādākulak* in this book. He explains them in his paper “Urdū kī Hindī baḥr mēn tauṣī‘ aur iẓāfē” as follows:

“In *pādākulak*, four *mātrās* appear four times to yield 16 *mātrās* in total,

which are various combinations of *fā'il* and *fa'ilun*." (p. 536)

"A *charaṇ* (Sanskrit *charaṇa*. 'a line') of *caupāī* also has 16 *mātrās*. Two *mātrās* come after two *mātrās*, and three *mātrās* come after three *mātrās*. A word of four *mātrās* is not theoretically allowed, but in fact it is used. A word of three *mātrās* may be *fa'al* or *fā'i*; the latter is not allowed to appear at the end of a line." (p. 536)

^{xvi} UAA, p. 53.

The basic foot of *mutaqārib* metre is *fa'ūlun*, with the variants *fa'ūlu*, *fa'ūl*, *fa'al*, *fe'lu* (= *fā'i*), *fe'lun*, *fa'ūlān*, *fe'lān*, *fa'* and so on.

The basic foot of *mutadārik* metre is *fā'ilun*, with the variants *fa'ilun*, *fe'lun*, *fā'ilān*, *fa'ilān*, *fe'lān*, *fa'* and so on. (Some variants are common to both of these metres.)

Samī'ullāh Ashrafī writes: "It is obvious that Urdū did not touch some of the Arabio-Persian metres and rhythms, because they were not fully up to our poetic standards. Urdū modified and made additions to *mutaqārib* and *mutadārik* metre. Although these alterations are not mentioned in books on prosody, when poets' works are examined, it is found that all Urdū poets from the early days to modern times have enriched these metres. This was done under the influence of Hindī prosody". (Samī'ullāh Ashrafī, *Urdū aur Hindī kē Jadīd Mushtarak Auzān*, Aligarh, 1984, p. 17. This book is reviewed in the latter half of this research note.)

^{xvii} According to Gyan Chand's explanation (UAA, pp. 60-64), rhythms of four feet and 14, 15 and 17 Arabic letters (*mātrās*) are obtained as follows:

Rhythm of	Procedure	Example shown in the form of <i>afā'il</i>
14 Arabic letters (<i>mātrās</i>)	Subtract one <i>sabab</i> (a rhythmic unit of two Arabic letters, which corresponds to two <i>mātrās</i>) from the end of the last foot of a rhythm of 16 Arabic letters (<i>mātrās</i>)	<i>fa'ūlun</i> (υ --) → <i>fa'al</i> (υ -)
15 Arabic letters (<i>mātrās</i>)	Add one <i>sākin ḥarf</i> (literally 'quiescent letter'. an Arabic letter which does not have a short vowel) to the end of the last foot of a rhythm of 14 Arabic letters (<i>mātrās</i>)	<i>fa'al</i> (υ -) → <i>fa'ūl</i> (υ - υ)
17 Arabic letters (<i>mātrās</i>)	Add one <i>sākin ḥarf</i> to the end of the last foot of a rhythm of 16 Arabic letters (<i>mātrās</i>)	<i>fa'ūlun</i> (υ --) → <i>fa'ūlān</i> (υ -- υ)

Rhythms of eight feet and 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 and 33 Arabic letters (*mātrās*) are obtained by combining units of 14, 15, 16 and 17 Arabic letters (*mātrās*) as follows:

14 Arabic letters (*mātrās*) + 14 Arabic letters (*mātrās*) = 28 Arabic letters (*mātrās*)

14 Arabic letters (*mātrās*) + 15 Arabic letters (*mātrās*) = 29 Arabic letters (*mātrās*)

*Lines of 28 and 29 Arabic letters (*mātrās*) can coexist in a verse.

16 Arabic letters (*mātrās*) + 14 Arabic letters (*mātrās*) = 30 Arabic letters (*mātrās*)

16 Arabic letters (*mātrās*) + 15 Arabic letters (*mātrās*) = 31 Arabic letters (*mātrās*)

16 Arabic letters (*mātrās*) + 16 Arabic letters (*mātrās*) = 32 Arabic letters (*mātrās*)

*Line of 30, 31 and 32 Arabic letters (*mātrās*) can coexist in a verse.

16 Arabic letters (*mātrās*) + 17 Arabic letters (*mātrās*) = 33 Arabic letters (*mātrās*)

*A line of 33 Arabic letters (*mātrās*) is rarely found.

^{xviii} UAA, p. 65.

Concerning *sawaiyā*, Gyān Chand writes in one of his papers: “In the early days, many Hindī rhythms were used in Dakinī poetry. Against this background, *caupāī* and *sawaiyā* were also taken into Urdū. These rhythms were respectively equivalent to the rhythm of *muthamman* (‘of eight feet’. A couplet of *muthamman* comprises eight feet, each hemistich having four feet) and that of *shānzdah-ruknī* (‘of sixteen feet’. A couplet of *shānzdah-ruknī* comprises 16 feet, each hemistich having eight feet), which we are dealing with now. In Hindī these rhythms have a large degree of flexibility. This flexibility was enjoyed in Urdū as well. In the latter days, when Urdū adopted Arabo-Persian prosody, these rhythms were considered to be based on the rhythms of *mutaqārib* or *mutadārik* metre.” (“Urdū kī Hindī baḥr meḥ taūṣī‘ aur iẓāfē”, p. 536.)

According to another of his papers, “Urdū aur Hindī ‘arūz kē mushtarak maqāmāt”, Arabo-Persian prosody was introduced into Urdū in the eras of the Qaṭb Shāhī dynasty (1512-1687) and the ‘Ādil Shāhī dynasty (1489-1686) (p. 572).

^{xix} UAA, p. 65.

^{xx} The birth and death years of poets have been added in this research note for reference.

^{xxi} Various forms of *afā‘il* shown by Gyān Chand have been added to the chart.

^{xxii} Samī‘ullāh Ashrafī scans this line as follows (*op. cit.*, p. 203):

<i>bahut li-</i>	<i>yē tas-</i>	<i>bīḥ(ə)</i>	<i>p(h)irē ham</i>
<i>fā‘ūlu</i>	<i>fē‘lun</i>	<i>fā‘i</i>	<i>fā‘ulūn</i>
∪ - ∪	- -	- ∪	∪ - -
16 Arabic letters (<i>mātrās</i>)			

<i>pahnā</i>	<i>hai zun-</i>	<i>nār(ə)</i>	<i>bahut</i>
<i>fe'ilun</i>	<i>fe'ilun</i>	<i>fā'i</i>	<i>fa'al</i>
--	--	- ∪	∪ -
14 Arabic letters (<i>mātrās</i>)			

According to a valuable comment by Professor Junko Sakamoto-Goto of Miyagi Gakuin Women's University, an expert on Sanskrit prosody, the rhythm used in this line resembles the Sanskrit metre called *gaṇachhandas*, one of the basic rhythmic patterns of which is seven *gaṇas* (feet) plus one *guru* (long syllable). Because one *gaṇa* in this metre consists of four *mātrās*, the total number of *mātrās* in a line is 30.

1	2	3	4
<i>bahut li-</i>	<i>yē tas-</i>	<i>bīh(ə) p(h)i-</i>	<i>rē ham</i>
∪ - ∪	--	- ∪ ∪	--
4 <i>mātrās</i>	4 <i>mātrās</i>	4 <i>mātrās</i>	4 <i>mātrās</i>

5	6	7	8
<i>pahnā</i>	<i>hai zun-</i>	<i>nār(ə) ba-</i>	<i>hut</i>
--	--	- ∪ ∪	-
4 <i>mātrās</i>	4 <i>mātrās</i>	4 <i>mātrās</i>	2 <i>mātrās</i>

^{xxiii} Gyān Chand states that this line cannot be in *mutaqārib* metre because it has the foot *fā'ilun*, nor is it in *mutadārik* metre because it has the foot *fa'al* (UAA, p. 53). *Fā'ilun* is not used in *mutaqārib* metre, and *fa'al* is not used in *mutadārik* metre.

^{xxiv} According to Gyān Chand, Firāq added a note saying that this *ghazal* was written in *sawaiyā*, when the *ghazal* containing this couplet was published in the August 1958 issue of *Māh-e Nau* ("Firāq kī bē-'arūziyān", pp. 251-252).

In this line, two basic feet, *fa'ulūn* (the basic foot of *mutaqārib* metre) and *fā'ilun* (the basic foot of *mutadārik* metre) are used at the same time. Concerning this line, Gyān Chand, quoting lines by Saudā (1713-1781), Ḥālī (1837-1914), Yās (1884-1956), and Sīmāb (1880-1952), states: "The rhythm of *fa'al fa'ulūn* is not mentioned as a variant of *mutaqārib* metre in any Arabic, Persian or Urdū prosody books, because using both *fā'ilun* and *fa'ulūn* together in the same line is a deadly sin. All of these sinful lines, however, are rhythmical. Why on earth did prosodists like Yās or Sīmāb make the mistake of writing these sinful lines? The answer is this; these lines are prosodically correct from the viewpoint of Hindī prosody. These lines have 16, 30 or 32 *mātrās*, based on *mātrik* metres such as *caupāī*, *pādākulak* and *sawaiyā*. That is why these are called Hindī metres. Therefore, it can be assumed that Hindī prosody is close to our taste" ("Urdū kē liē mauzūn-tarīn niḡām-e 'arūz", pp. 365-366).

Samī'ullāh Ashrafī writes that the metre used in this line of Firāq's is *tāṭānk* (Sanskrit *tāṭāṅka*). According to his explanation, when a line has 30

mātrās comprising two parts, one of 16 *mātrās* and another of 14 *mātrās*, and it ends in *magaṇ* (Sanskrit *magaṇa*, a *mātrik* composition of 2 + 2 + 2 *mātrās*), its metre is *tāṭaṅk* (Samī‘ullāh Ashrafī, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-189).

This line of Firāq’s is the first hemistich. The second hemistich is as follows:

ham bhī firāq nagaṛ jāṭē haiṇī/ bōlō tum bhī āṭē hō

If the long syllable of *haiṇī* in the first half of the line is changed into a short syllable, the line becomes one of 30 *mātrās*: the first half has 16 *mātrās* and the second 14 *mātrās*. The end of the line is *magaṇ*: ā (2 *mātrās*) + ṭē (2 *mātrās*) + hō (2 *mātrās*).

<i>ham bhī firāq nagaṛ jāṭē haiṇī</i>	<i>bōlō tum bhī āṭē hō</i>
2 2 1 2 1 1 2 2 2 1	2 2 2 2 2 2 2
16 <i>mātrās</i>	14 <i>mātrās</i>

^{xxv} UAA, pp. 64-65.

^{xxvi} Gyān Chand does not indicate the specific features of *sawaiyā* in this book. His definition of *sawaiyā* may be understood from his paper “Urdū aur Hindī ‘arūḷ kē mushtarak maqāmāt”, in which he explains that there are two kinds of *sawaiyā*, one in *mātrik* metre and the other *ajzāī auzān* (a rhythm composed of a combination of metrical feet). However, his argument does not seem convincing, because he gives no clear explanation for how *sawaiyā* was used in classical Urdū poetry.

^{xxvii} Gyān Chand refers to the following metres in chapter five, “Other Hindī rhythms”:

Rhythm of 18 Arabic letters (*mātrās*): *tāṛak* (Sanskrit *tāṛaka*).

Rhythms of 22 Arabic letters (*mātrās*): *mālī*, *bhūmisutā*, *nīl* (Sanskrit *nīla*), etc.

Rhythms of 24 Arabic letters (*mātrās*): *rōlā*, *sāras* (Sanskrit *sārasa*), *vidyādhārī*, etc.

Rhythms of 26 Arabic letters (*mātrās*): *vishnupad* (Sanskrit *viṣṇupada*), etc.

Rhythm of 27 Arabic letters (*mātrās*): *sarsī* (Sanskrit *sarasī*).

Rhythms of 28 Arabic letters (*mātrās*): *sār* (Sanskrit *sāra*), *lalitapad* (Sanskrit *lalitapada*), etc.

Rhythms of 29 Arabic letters (*mātrās*): *marhaṭṭā* (Sanskrit *marahaṭṭhā*), *mādhvī* (Sanskrit *mādhavī*).

Rhythm of 31 Arabic letters (*mātrās*): *ālhā*.

Rhythm of 24 Arabic letters (*mātrās*): *dohā*

According to Gyān Chand, the most frequently used Hindī rhythm in Urdū poetry in the past was *dohā*, whereas nowadays *sarsī* is the most popular. *Sarsī* is a metre of 27 Arabic letters (*mātrās*), comprising two parts of 16 and 11 Arabic letters (*mātrās*). The line ends in *guru* (–) plus *laghu* (◡); the form

of *afā'īl* is *fā'*. Gyān Chand quotes the following lines by Iqbāl (1877-1938) as an example of *sarsī* ("Urdū aur Hindī 'arūz kē mushtarak maqāmāt", pp. 585-586 and *UAA*, p. 69).

rūmī badlē shāmī badlē badlā hindustān
tū bhī ae farzand-e kohistānī apnī khudī pahchān

The scansion of these lines is as follows (forms of *afā'īl* are indicated by Gyān Chand; numbers of *mātrās* are added for reference):

<i>rūmī</i>	<i>badlē</i>	<i>shāmī</i>	<i>badlē</i>	<i>badlā</i>	<i>hindus-</i>	<i>tān</i>
<i>fe'lun</i>	<i>fe'lun</i>	<i>fe'lun</i>	<i>fe'lun</i>	<i>fe'lun</i>	<i>fe'lun</i>	<i>fā'</i>
2 2	2 2	2 2	2 2	2 2	2 2	2 1
16 mātrās				11 mātrās		

<i>tū b(h)ī</i>	<i>ae far-</i>	<i>zand-e</i>	<i>kohistā(nī)</i>	<i>apnī*</i>	<i>khudī pah-</i>	<i>chān</i>
<i>fe'lun</i>	<i>fe'lun</i>	<i>fe'lu</i>	<i>fa'ūlun</i>	<i>fe'lu</i>	<i>fa'ūlun</i>	<i>fā'</i>
2 2	2 2	2 1	1 2 2	2 1	1 2 2	2 1
16 mātrās				11 mātrās		

*The long vowel at the end of the word *apnī* has to be shortened in order to match the foot *fe'lu*.

These lines are found in the poem "Mihrāb Gul Afghān kē Afkār" in Iqbāl's third collection of Urdū verse, *Zarb-e Kalīm (The Blow of Moses' Staff)*, published in 1936. These lines form part of a stanza and precede the following two lines:

apnī khudī pahchān
ō ghāfil afghān

Samī'ullāh observes that both of these lines have 11 *mātrās* and that the rhythm of the first line is *fe'lun fa'ilun fā'*, and of the second *fe'lun fe'lun fā'* (Samī'ullāh Ashrafī, *op. cit.*, p. 57). The scansion is as follows (numbers of *mātrās* are added for reference).

<i>apnī</i>	<i>khudī* pah-</i>	<i>chān</i>
<i>fe'lun</i>	<i>fa'ilun</i>	<i>fā'</i>
2 2	1 1 2	2 1
11 mātrās		

*The long vowel at the end of the word *khudī* has to be shortened in order to match the foot *fa'ilun*.

<i>ō ghā-</i>	<i>fil af-</i>	<i>ghān</i>
<i>fe'lun</i>	<i>fe'lun</i>	<i>fā'</i>
2 2	2 2	2 1
11 mātrās		

Abu'l I'jāz Ḥafīz Ṣiddīqī points out that this is the only poem Iqbāl wrote

in a rhythm derived from Hindī (Abu'l I'jāz Ḥafīz Ṣiddīqī, *Auzān-e Iqbāl (Iqbāl's Rhythms)*, Lahore, 1983. pp. 273-274).

'Abd al-Salām Nadvī states that this poem was written according to the melody of a famous Pashtō song ('Abd al-Salām Nadvī, *Iqbāl-e Kāmil (Perfect Iqbāl)*, Azamgarh, 1964 (second impression), p.132). The question then arises; why is the Pashtō melody similar to the Hindī rhythm?

^{xxviii} UAA, p. 94.

Gyān Chand, in his paper "Urdū aur Hindī 'arūz kē mushtarak maqāmāt", opposes the dichotomy between Urdū and Hindī prosody: "It is not necessary for Urdū, antagonizing Persian and Hindī prosody, to become a believer of either of the two and stop asking the other for a helping hand. Urdū has adopted only those rhythms that sounded rhythmical out of many Arabic and Persian ones. Only those Hindī rhythms which were well-matched to the character of Urdū have been taken as its asset" (p. 573); "It has been found through observation that Urdū prosody has no flexibility, while Hindī prosody enjoys more flexibility than is required. Despite this partial difference, Urdū and Hindī literatī have a common sense of music. Therefore, Urdū and Hindī prosody have much in common—much greater similarities than is generally thought. Many Urdū verses can be analyzed in terms of Hindī prosody and vice versa. Some popular Urdū rhythms have entered Hindī poetry in the shape of Hindī metres, and some Hindī rhythms have come into Urdū poems, whether putting on a mask of Urdū metres or not" (p. 576).

Gyān Chand goes on to propose the integration of Urdū and Hindī prosody in his paper "Urdū kē liē mauzūn-tarīn nizām-e 'arūz" as follows: "It is not necessary for us to choose either Arabic prosody or Hindī prosody. Our poets have made use of both of them and they will do so in the future as well. They have much in common. Urdū rhythms are so intact and rhythmical that we cannot part with them; on the other hand, Hindī rhythms represent our popular tradition and folk songs. It is necessary to integrate them and establish a prosody which is not difficult to understand. What is the use of such prosody that poets cannot understand? This prosody should adopt all Urdū and Hindī rhythms that are used in Urdū.... This common prosody should be established on one principle. It must not be the case that some rhythms would be expressed in Arabic and some rhythms, such as *dohā* and *sarsī*, by *mātrās*. That would be far from an integrated system. The two kinds of rhythms should be dealt with based on one principle" (p. 369).

^{xxix} The contents of this book are as follows:

1. Movement for new rhythms
2. Introduction to Hindī prosody
3. Urdū and Hindī metres
4. New form of Hindī metres
5. Urdū and Hindī blank verse
6. Urdū and Hindī free verse
7. Conclusion

^{xxx} Samī'ullāh Ashrafī, *op. cit.*, pp. 343-344.

Samī'ullāh Ashrafī, observing that Hindī poetry has also adopted Urdū rhythms, writes: "The Khaṛī Bōlī Hindī Movement which began in the fourth quarter of the 19th century is a milestone in the development of modern Hindī poetry. The rivalry between Braj Bhāshā and Khaṛī Bōlī produced a favorable outcome for Hindī poetry. An attempt was made to go away from the old rhythms used in Braj Bhāshā and to adopt new rhythms in modern Hindī poetry. It was obvious that the rhythms used in Braj Bhāshā poetry were very difficult to use in Khaṛī Bōlī poetry. This led modern Hindī poets to pay attention to the rhythms used in Urdū poetry and choose the same kind of metres for Khaṛī Bōlī poetry. It can be proved that every rhythm of the metres found in Urdū poetry is similar to the rhythms of *vārnīk vṛtt* (Sanskrit *vārnīk vṛtta* 'syllabic metre') of Sanskrit or the *mātrīk* metres of Hindī poetry. However, what actually happened was that modern Hindī poets directly borrowed some rhythms from Urdū metres and created new rhythms in *mātrīk* metre similar to the rhythms of Urdū metres" (p. 343).

^{xxxii} This part is titled "*lāwanī rēkhtah* or *baḥr-e mutaqārib muzāḥaf sōlah-rukṇī*". *Baḥr-e mutaqārib muzāḥaf sōlah rukṇī* means a variant form of *mutaqārib* metre, a couplet of which consists of 16 feet, with hemistichs of eight feet. *Rēkhtah* refers to Urdū.

^{xxxiii} Samī'ullāh Ashrafī, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

^{xxxiii} Samī'ullāh Ashrafī, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

According to Samī'ullāh Ashrafī, a line of *taṭānīk* has 30 *mātrās*. A caesura comes after the sixteenth *mātrā*. The end of the line should be *magaṇ*, that is, a rhythm unit of three sets of two *mātrās* (2 + 2 + 2 *mātrās*). A line of *lāwanī* also has 30 *mātrās* and a caesura after the sixteenth *mātrā*, but *magaṇ* is not required at the end of the line. Concerning *taṭānīk* and *lāwanī*, he remarks: "It was understood that every end of a line should be *magaṇ* (*maf'ūlun*). If this rule is not obeyed, the rhythm is called *lāwanī*, not *taṭānīk*. However, *lāwanī* and *taṭānīk* are not considered different these days" (Samī'ullāh Ashrafī, *op. cit.*, p. 195).

^{xxxiv} Samī'ullāh Ashrafī, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

^{xxxv} Samī'ullāh Ashrafī, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

^{xxxvi} Samī'ullāh Ashrafī states that in some lines of Mīr's *ghazals* a caesura comes after the fourteenth *mātrā*, instead of the sixteenth *mātrā*. He gives the following example (Samī'ullāh Ashrafī, *op. cit.*, p. 201).

'ishq nē khwār-o-dhalīl kiyā / ham sar kō bakhērē phirtē hain

The scansion of this line is as follows (numbers of *mātrās* are added for reference).

First half of the line

<i>'ishq ne*</i>	<i>kh(w)ār-o-</i>	<i>dhalīl</i>	<i>kiyā</i>
2 1 1	2 1 2 1	1 2 1	1 2
14 <i>mātrās</i>			

*The vowel of *nē* is shortened to make the total number of *mātrās* in this part

14.

Second half of the line

<i>ham</i>	<i>sar</i>	<i>kō</i>	<i>bak(h)ērē</i>	<i>p(h)irtē</i>	<i>hai(n)</i>
2	2	2	2 2	2 2	2
16 mātrās					

Samī'ullāh Ashrafī also gives an example of a line containing two parts of 16 and 15 mātrās (Samī'ullāh Ashrafī, *op. cit.*, p. 204).

Arz-o-samā mēn' 'ishq hai sārī/ chārōn aur phirā hai 'ishq

The scansion of this line is given below (numbers of mātrās are added for reference).

First half of the line

<i>Arz-o-</i>	<i>samā</i>	<i>mē(n)</i>	<i>'ishq</i>	<i>hai</i>	<i>sārī</i>
2 1	1 2	2	2 1	1*	2 2
16 mātrās					

*The vowel of *hai* is shortened to make the total number of mātrās in this part 16.

Second half of the line

<i>chārō(n)</i>	<i>aur</i>	<i>p(h)irā</i>	<i>hai</i>	<i>'ishq</i>
2 2	2 1	1 2	2	2 1
15 mātrās				

Samī'ullāh Ashrafī points out that there are couplets in Mīr's *ghazals* which are composed of a hemistich of 30 (16 + 14) mātrās and one of 31 (16 + 15) mātrās (Samī'ullāh Ashrafī, *op. cit.*, p. 201). An example is given below, with its scansion (numbers of mātrās are added for reference):

mīr kharē ek sā'at hī mēn'/ ghash tum karnē lagtē hō
tāb nahīn kyā zo 'f hai dil mēn'/ jī bē-tāqat kiyā hai āj

Scansion:

First half of the first line

<i>mīr</i>	<i>k(h)arē</i>	<i>ek</i>	<i>sā'at</i>	<i>hī</i>	<i>mē(n)</i>
2 1	1 2	2	2 2	2	2
16 mātrās					

Second half of the first line

<i>ghash</i>	<i>tum</i>	<i>karnē</i>	<i>lagtē</i>	<i>hō</i>
2	2	2 2	2 2	2
14 mātrās				

First half of the second line

<i>tāb</i>	<i>nahī(n)</i>	<i>k(y)ā</i>	<i>zo'f</i>	<i>hai</i>	<i>dil</i>	<i>mē(n)</i>
2 1	1 2	2	2 1	1*	2	2
16 mātrās						

*The vowel of *hai* is shortened to make the total number of *mātrās* in this part 16.

Second half of the second line

<i>jī</i>	<i>bē-</i>	<i>ṭāqat</i>	<i>kiyā</i>	<i>hai</i>	<i>āj</i>
2	2	2 2	1 2	1*	2 1
15 mātrās					

*The vowel of *hai* is shortened to make the total number of *mātrās* in this part 15.

^{xxxvii} Samī'ullāh Ashrafī, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

^{xxxviii} Samī'ullāh Ashrafī, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

^{xxxix} Samī'ullāh Ashrafī, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

Shams-ur-Raḥmān Fārūqī classifies Urdū metres into the following four groups in chapter six, "Baḥrēn aur ziḥāfāt (Metres and the processes for producing valiant feet)" of *Dars-e Balāghat (Introduction to Prosody)*, compiled by Shams-ur-Raḥmān Fārūqī, published in New Delhi in 2007 (fifth and revised edition; first edition 1981):

1. Metres, the number and order of *afā'īl* of which are rigidly fixed. (In other words, metres which are based on Arabic and Persian prosody and whose form, number and order of feet are strictly fixed.)
2. *Rubā'ī* (quatrain) metre
3. Mīr's metre
4. Metres borrowed from or modeled on Hindī poetry

As for Mīr's metre, he notes the following, without explaining why Mīr began to use his unique metre : "There are two types. In both of them the number of the foot is fixed, but the form of *afā'īl* is not. Every form of *afā'īl* should derive from *fa'ūlun* (the basic foot of *mutaqārib* metre) or *fā'ilun* (the basic foot of *mutadārik* metre). However, it is up to the poet's considerable discretion which form of *afā'īl* is placed where. The metre which Mīr propagated is scanned as *mutaqārib* metre, and the other type of this metre is scanned as *mutadārik* metre.... Mīr's metre is mentioned in the section on *mutaqārib* metre, but I think that it should be considered an independent metre and called Mīr's metre" (Shams-ur-Raḥmān Fārūqī, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 103-104).

According to Fārūqī, one line of Mīr's metre has eight feet and 30 *mātrās*. In general, the first half of the line has 16 *mātrās* and the second half 14 *mātrās*. (Interestingly, Fārūqī includes Mīr's metre under *mutaqārib* metre, but he explains it using the word "*mātrā*".)

He illustrates Mīr's metre using *afā'īl* as follows (Shams-ur-Raḥmān Fārūqī, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 114-115; the marks ∪ and – are added for reference).

(a) <i>fe'lun fe'lun fe'lun fe'lun</i>	(-- -- -- --)
(b) <i>fe'lun fe'lun fe'lu fa'ulun</i>	(-- -- -- v v--)
(c) <i>fe'lun fe'lu fa'ulun fe'lun</i>	(-- -- v v-- --)
(d) <i>fe'lun fe'lu fa'ulu fa'ulun</i>	(-- -- v v-v v--)
(e) <i>fe'lu fa'ulun fe'lun fe'lun</i>	(-v v-- -- --)
(f) <i>fe'lu fa'ulun fe'lu fa'ulun</i>	(-v v-- -- v v--)
(g) <i>fe'lu fa'ulu fa'ulun fe'lun</i>	(-v v-v v-- --)
(h) <i>fe'lu fa'ulu fa'ulu fa'ulun</i>	(-v v-v v-v v--)
(i) <i>fa'ulu fe'lun fe'lu fa'ulun</i>	(v-v -- -- v v--)

The rhythmic patterns from (a) to (h) are the same as the ones Pritchett illustrates. Fārūqī adds one more rhythmic pattern (i), in which a short syllable appears alone in the first foot, which contradicts the view that a short syllable does not appear alone, but that two short syllables appear to substitute for a long syllable in a line.

^{xi} Gyān Chand seems to apply the term 'Hindī' metre to all kinds of Hindī rhythms adopted in Urdū poetry. Samī'ullāh Ashrafī, on the other hand, does not use this term. In any case, this vague term should be carefully defined and used.

^{xii} After reviewing part of this research note, Dr. Zari Taheri, former Visiting Professor of Persian at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, kindly informed me that the metre used in lines of eight feet does not sound familiar in Persian poetry. If I had not written this research note in English, I could not have obtained this information.

Dual Trends of Urdu and Punjabi Prosody

So Yamane

This chapter aims to study the characteristics of Urdu prosody and Punjabi *qawwālī*, a form of devotional popular music by Sufis and Muslim saints, which have gradually developed and changed with the expansion of Islamic culture in the northern part of South Asia.

1. Islam in Northern India

Islam was introduced to South Asia in the early 8th century through sea-borne trade, when some Arabs and Persians began to settle in the western areas of the Indus River valley. Relatively little Islamic culture was introduced to India at that time, however, since those immigrants established their own communities, separate from the local peoples. Only after the 11th century, when Muslim conquerors came to South Asia from Central Asia and established independent kingdoms, did the vernacular culture begin to be influenced by that of their new rulers. This Perso-Islamic culture was fundamentally the culture of those who ruled [Robinson:10]. The elites of India increasingly came to share in this high culture, which we shall term Perso-Islamic culture, which evolved among the Iranian- and Turkic-speaking peoples of Central and Western Asia. Men in Lahore and Delhi, in Jawnpur and Bijapur, came to speak the same languages, read the same books, delight in the same verses, follow the same laws and cherish the same values as men in Herat and Samarqand, Shiraz and even Istanbul [Robinson:9]. Not surprisingly, then, “Persian poetry written on Indian soil was remarkable for a complete rejection of Indian life and landscape as acceptable poetic resources, which in part explains the success of Bedil elsewhere in the Perso-Islamic world” [Robinson:17].ⁱ

Poets living under Muslim rule in South Asia incorporated

numerous vernacular words into their Persian poetry which did not fit the rules of Persian prosody, so poets had to adjust them in accordance with Persian prosodic patterns. Through the adaptation of vernacular words to Persian prosodic rhythms, Persian poetry became localized in South Asia and began to be called *sabuk-e Hindi*, a process which was followed by the creation of new metres. Thus, prosody in Islamic South Asia followed dual trends, one of strict Persian prosody, the other a 'flexible' one combining features of both Persian and vernacular prosodies. The latter phenomenon can be regarded as one of the typical examples of Indo-Islamic culture.ⁱⁱ

Another outstanding example of Indo-Islamic cultural syncretism is Sufism, which originated in the Middle East in the 9th century and was introduced to South Asia in the 11th century. Many studies argue that Sufism was one of the most important means for peaceful conversion to Islam in South Asia [Aquil 2009]. In the *tadhkiras* or biographies of the Sufi saints, their miracles or recitations of poetry influenced the local people so much that many converted to Islam. An example of such Sufi poetry is *qawwālī*, which has remained popular to the present day.

Alongside metaphysical Sufism, discussed at the court or schools by Sufis and scholars, there was a popular version exemplified by *qawwālī*, which was practiced mostly by ordinary people with no background in metaphysics or philosophy. The former developed in and around the royal court and was heavily influenced by Persian models. Khwāja Mīr Dard, the famous Sufi poet in Urdu literature of the 18th century, wrote not only poetry in Urdu, but also philosophical works on Sufism in Persian. On the other hand, popular Urdu developed outside of court culture and reflects vernacular influences. For instance, many Sufis in Punjab were said to be illiterate, but recited excellent poetry regarding Sufismⁱⁱⁱ in the style of *kāfī*, a kind of Punjabi poetry.

By studying these characteristics of Urdu prosody of *qawwālī*, we would like to determine how elements of Persian prosody were introduced into Urdu poetry. This study will examine the development of Urdu poetry under the influence of Persian poetry and thus, it is hoped, shed some light on the development of Indo-Islamic culture.

2. The tradition of Urdu prosody

It is controversial when and where Urdu poetry began, but books of Urdu literature^{iv} widely mentions the verse in 11th-century Punjab, under the Ghaznavi period, even which was almost Persian poetry with some words taken from the vernacular. However, this implies that a tradition of Persian poetry at the court in Punjab has already started, which was brought from an area of the rulers.^v As early Sufis in Punjab came from the Persian world or studied there, they used Persian for literary expression, and consequently it was quite natural for them to adopt Persian prosody.

For missionary work, however, composing poetry only in

Persian would have been of limited use in South Asia. The Sufis began to use vernacular vocabulary in their texts. We observe different means of expression in Sufi poetry, from adoption of Persian prosody by poets who use the vernacular language for their expression, to incorporating Persian vocabulary in vernacular poetry.^{vi} But we have little documentation of poems written in such language, and must wait almost four centuries until the Dakkanī poetry of the 15th century.^{vii}

As already noted, we may distinguish between two kinds of prosody in the Mughal period, that is to say, Persian prosody and vernacular prosody. Persian poetry is based on the Arabic prosodic system and was localized in South Asia with varieties of poetry such as *ghazals*, *mukhammas*, *musaddas*, and *qasidas*.

Since then, Urdu poets have written many Urdu poems in Persian prosody, but since not every vernacular word can be employed in the traditional Persian metres, poets also created new patterns of prosody. In other words, Urdu poetry did not develop only by adapting Persian prosody, but also by creating new metres that correspond to the linguistic reality of the vernacular language. The main reason why Urdu poets had to create new prosodic patterns is that there are obvious differences in syllable structure between Persian and Urdu, which included numerous Sanskrit loanwords.

Thus, Urdu poetry developed both by adapting Persian prosody and by creating new prosodic patterns. Perhaps the most interesting phenomenon is that when an Urdu poem is scanned, a word can be syllabified, and the boundary of a foot of Persian prosody does not always coincide with the word break. That is to say, Urdu poets write poems solely based on the prosodic rhythms without caring about the boundaries of words and sentences.

Another flexibility of poetic scansion is that even vowels may be lengthened or shortened in order to adjust the metre. For instance, Muhammad Iqbal's (1877-1938) famous poem *Tarāna-e Hindī* (Songs of the Indians) is scanned as follows: maf'ūl fā'ilātun maf'ū l fā'ilātun (_ _ ˘, _ ˘ _ _ , _ _ ˘, _ ˘ _ _)

sā rē ja hā se ac chā hin dū s(i) tān ha mā rā
ham bul bu len hā us kī yeh gul s(i) tā ha mā rā
- - ˘, - ˘ - -, - - ˘, - ˘ - -

In this couplet, 'hā' of the second line should be scanned as light. And we pronounce 'Hin-dū-s(i)-tān' - - ˘ - instead of 'Hin-dus-tān' - - - in ordinal pronunciation to fit the desired metre.^{viii} And in the next line, 'gulstā' is pronounced 'gul-s(i)-tān' - ˘ - instead of 'gu-lis-tān' ˘ - - as usual pronunciation.^{ix}

3. Vernacular influences on Urdu prosody: the case of Punjabi Sufi popular songs

We have seen that Urdu prosody has developed in a flexible fashion, even if its poetry generally adheres to the metres of traditional Persian prosody. Punjabi poetry, however, is marked by prosodic flexibility even greater than that of Urdu.

Punjabi poems have flexibility which can consist of several different metres, as in the following examples of *qawwālī*. Another characteristic feature of Punjabi poem is the influence of Indian indigenous prosody such as *Kaḥīyan*, a Punjabi poetry based on *mātrās* and deeply connected with *rāgas* of Indian classical music. Most of the Sufīs in Punjab employed this vernacular prosody, but interestingly it has numerous similarities with the Persian prosody. When we examine the prosodic rhythm patterns *kaḥīyan* by Bullhe Shah (b.1539), we discover some interesting features.

(1) ikko alif tere darkar ‘ilmon bas karen ao yar
fe‘lun fe‘lun fe‘lun fā‘ fe‘lun fe‘lun fe‘lun fā‘

(2)jad main sabaq ‘ishq da parhiya darya dekh wahdat da variya
fe‘lun fe‘lun fe‘lun fe‘lun fe‘lun fe‘lun fe‘lun fe‘lun

ghuman ghera de vic uriya shah ‘inayat laya par
fe‘lun fe‘lun fe‘lun fe‘lun fe‘lun fe‘lun fe‘lun fe‘lun

This is the typical type of *kaḥīyan*, as (1) has 15 *mātrās* and (2) has 16 *mātrās*. Interestingly, this *kaḥīyan* can be scanned according to the rules of Persian foot, as (1) is ‘*baḥr-e mutadārik muthaman makḥbūn meḥzūf ul ākhir*’ of fe‘lun fe‘lun fe‘lun fā‘, and (2) is ‘*baḥr-e mutadārik muthaman makḥbūn*’ of fe‘lun fe‘lun fe‘lun fe‘lun.

Interestingly, most of Bullhe Shah’s poetry is based on the same prosodic pattern, that is to say, fe‘lun fe‘lun fe‘lun fe‘lun, and fe‘lun fe‘lun fe‘lun fā‘. These metres simply consist of repetitions of feet, fe‘lun, which at the same time can be scanned as a vernacular rhythm.

As Thesen [209] remarks, Urdu poets occasionally employ more or less adapted *hindī* or “native Indian” rhythms. It seems that the similarity of the metres between *kaḥīyan* and Persian prosody brought about increased employment of vernacular rhythms. We have seen that the prosodies of Urdu and Punjabi poetry bear significant resemblances in their prosodic patterns. In the following lines, we will analyze the prosodic structure of one *qawwālī*.

Qawwālī^x is said to have originated at the Sufī tomb of Mu‘in al-Din Chishti of Ajmer. This is basically a musical song of Sufism. The *qawwāls*, or singers of *qawwālī* can choose any song or poetry, mostly couplets at random for the audience’s enjoyment and devotion; they can also include different phrases from different poems in one song. Its language is generally vernacular, and often employs literary tropes drawn from popular Indic devotionalism (*bhakti*). The linguistic register may

vary from standard Urdu to a more colloquial Hindi/Urdu/Dakani/Purabi. Such code switching is common in *qawwālīs*, where didactic purposes are served by lines in Persian and/or Arabic, while vernacular verses encourage emotional, experiential contemplation of the Divine [Hyder and Petievich: 96]. For example, a famous song of Nuṣrat Fateḥ ‘Alī Khān includes couplets of several different prosodic rhythms.

Let us see the following *qawwālī*, that is his most popular song.

shā h mar dā n-e‘a lī lā fa tā il ā‘a lī shē r yaz dā n-e‘a lī
 -
 fā‘i lā tun fā‘i lun fā‘i lā tun fā‘i lun fā‘i lā tun fā‘i lun

tan par‘a lī‘a līh(o) za bā par‘a lī‘a lī
 -
 maf‘ū l fā‘i lāt fa‘ū lun ma fā‘i lun

mar jā un to-ka han pe bh(i) likh nā ‘a lī‘a lī
 -
 maf‘ū l fā‘i lā t fa‘ū lun ma fā‘i lun

ba ghai r hub b‘a lī mud d‘ā na hīn mil tā
 -
 ma fā‘i lun fa‘i lā tun ma fā‘i lun fa‘ lun

‘i bā da ton ka bhi har giz si lah na hīn mil tā
 -
 ma fā‘i lun fa‘i lā tun ma fā‘i lun fa‘ lun

khu dā ke ban do su nō ghō r sē khu dā kiq(a) sam
 -
 ma fā‘i lun fa‘i lā tun ma fā‘i lun fa‘ lun

haq ‘al(i) ‘al(i) ‘al(i) mō lā ‘al(i) ‘al(i)
 lam ar ar ar lam lam ar ar

As mentioned above, a *qawwālī* may contain phrases from different languages, based on different prosodic patterns. The above example includes three distinct prosodic patterns and one chant. The last phrase is not based on any Persian metre, but is simply an interjected Arabic-language chant. *Qawwālīs* are often said to bring together phrases in different prosodic rhythms from different poems, as their purpose is not to create songs on a strict prosodic basis, but simply to excite the audience. They often combine different phrases in a single song according to the situation. This kind of mixture or improvisation seems to be related to the flexibility and acceptance of different prosodic patterns in Urdu prosody.

1. Some characteristics of Urdu prosody

The preceding sections have reviewed several characteristics of Urdu prosody. The main points may be summarized here:

- (1) Poetry in South Asia is characterized by a dual trend in its prosody, that is to say, vernacular prosody based on *matrās* as well as Persian prosody. The former was influenced by *bhakti* and other local ritual or religious practices, whereas the latter originated in Persian poetry and was introduced into South Asia along with other aspects of Islamic civilization. Soon after Islamic culture was introduced into South Asia, along with other aspect of Islamic culture. As a result of this syncretism with elements of vernacular culture, its poetry took on dual trends: one being the philosophical Sufism taught at the court or among the nobles, with poems strictly adhering to Persian prosodic patterns; the other being Sufism as a kind of popular culture recited at Sufi tombs. Sufis in Punjab recited Punjabi *kafīyan* poetry, with prosody based on *mātrās*, but at the same time their *mātrās* can be scanned according to the rules of Persian prosody as well. Even some *kafīyan* can also be considered *ghazals* from the viewpoint of prosody. The audiences of these *kafīyan* seem to be indifferent as to whether a poem is composed in a Persian or a vernacular metre.
- (2) Such trends had their own domains and prosodies, but influenced each other, the more so as some Persian rhythms were similar to those of the vernacular languages. In South Asia, poets began to incorporate vernacular words into Persian poetry, adapting them to the rules of Persian prosody. It was a natural step for poets to apply foreign prosody to vernacular poetry, as both prosodies were similar in many of their patterns.
- (3) This resemblance of Persian and vernacular prosodies and deliberate “carelessness” in using different metres in the same poem helped to bring about a mixture or kind of syncretism in Urdu poetry. We cannot definitely determine who first did so and when, but at least we can say that neither poets nor audiences in South Asia felt any incompatibility in this combination of Persian and native prosodies.

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ⁱ [Robinson: 18] further explains that "Perso-Islamic culture somehow floated above the world of Hindustan, but there had been fruitful interactions. From the thirteenth century, Persian musical traditions, for instance, has harmonized closely with those of Hindus, being fostered in the process both by the Chishtis, for whom music as ecstasy were inextricably intertwined, and by Muslim courts like those at Jawnpur and Bijapur. As time passed, the Persian traditions came increasingly to be absorbed amongst those of the Hindus...Likewise, the Sufi world, for all the Persian or ashraf quality of the high Sufi culture, mixed most intimately in the workings of Indian society, finding local functions, adopting local forms of expression." [Usborne: 59] notes that "even the rose garden and the bulbul, which are characteristics of Persian verse, were unhesitatingly borrowed."

ⁱⁱ At the same time in Bihar and Bengal, the famous Sufi Nizam al-Din Auliya (d. 1325) stated that he used the Awadi dialect for conversation with God, while his students wrote *premakhyanas* modeled after *mathnavis* in the Awadi dialect. The latter also preferred local stories rather than those of Arabic or Persian origin. It is thus very important to study the poetry of northeastern South Asia of the 11th century, in comparison with that of the northwestern area.

ⁱⁱⁱ Usborne considers the Sufi saint Bullah Shah to be one of the greatest Sufis of the world, claiming that his thought rivals that of Jalāl ad-Dīn Rūmī and Shamsī Tabrīz of Persia [Usborne: 37].

^{iv} Shīrānī, Mahmūd, Muhammad Ikrām Cughṭā'ī (ed.), *Panjāb men Urdū*, Lahore: Sang-e Meel Publications, 2005 (1st ed. 1928) refers that the first Urdu poetry began in 11th-century Punjab, under the Ghaznavi period.

^v Shiblī, Nu‘mānī, “Shi‘r al-‘Ajam” Shiblī states that Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi promoted the Persian language in Lahore.

^{vi} In a sense, we may say that the fact that some Persian words were included in Jāysī’s *Padmāvat* is an interesting example of this phenomenon.

^{vii} Tabassum supposes that there must have been a tradition of Hindavi poetry [Tabassum: 28-29].

^{viii} Dr. Goto-Sakamoto Junko [p.c] mentioned that the lengthening of the vowel ‘du’ in ‘Hindustān’ is an interesting phenomenon, because according to the regulation of mātrā which is applied to indigenous Indian metre, a light syllable followed by a consonant cluster is already heavy. ‘du’ and ‘dū’ have the same syllabic weight here, therefore it is possible that the poet considered this syllable to be heavy.

^{ix} Frances Pritchett, 2004. “Taraanah-i Hindii” Columbia University, Department of South Asian Studies.

<http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00urdu/taranahs/hindi_text.html>

^x It must be noted that *qawwālīs* are usually sung on the occasion of ‘urs, the death anniversary of a Sufi saint. Although the date of ‘urs follows the Islamic lunar calendar, i.e. changes every year, some ‘urs in South Asia are celebrated according to the Hindu solar calendar. This phenomenon can be regarded as a typical instance of syncretism in Indo-Islamic culture.

PART ONE

NEW INDO-ARYAN METRES
HINDI

Hindi Metre: Origins and Development

Hiroko Nagasaki

Introduction

1. Hindi metre: its origins and major categories
2. Changes in the definition of metrical categories in Hindi poetics
 - 2.1 Important books and manuscripts on Hindi poetics and the definition of the metrical categories
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 - 3.3 Combination-verse (Ullālā)
 - 3.4 Adoption of styles (Kaḍavaka vs. Caupāī+ Dohā/Soraṭhā)
 - 3.5 Change of verse forms from Varṇa Vṛtta to Mātrā Vṛtta
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4. Similarity between Hindi metre and the Perso-Arabic metre employed for Urdu
5. Mutual influence of Hindu and Muslim poets on their poetic compositions in the Bhakti period

Conclusion

Note: In this paper, Hindi citation is transliterated by the Library of Congress method except for some well-known names.

Introduction

Metrical texts accounted for the vast majority of Hindi literature until prose literature and freestyle poems became predominant in the modern period. Historically, the Bhakti period (1375-1700) is the golden age of Hindi poetic literature, followed by the Rīti period (1700-1900), the era in which the literary conventions were fully developed. In other words, the

history of Hindi literature is closely bound with the development of verse forms. Therefore, understanding the metrical structure of Hindi poetry is crucial. However, metre itself has not drawn much attention from researchers, and even today most of the manuscripts on Hindi poetics have not seen the light of day and are languishing unedited in libraries and archives.

This paper attempts to survey how Hindi prosodists developed and refined the definition of metrical categories, how the major verse forms of Hindi were used, especially in the first stage, the Bhakti period, and how the use of verse forms changed. I will then point out the common features of Hindi and Perso-Arabic metres by investigating the mutual influence of Hindu saints and Muslim sufi poets.

1. Hindi metre: its origins and major categories

Hindi metre is divided into two major categories, Varṇa Vṛtta and Mātrā Vṛtta. The Varṇa Vṛtta is of Sanskrit origin and is defined by the number and the order of syllables, while the Mātrā Vṛtta is mostly of Prakrit-Apabhramśa origin and is defined by the number of moras (*mātrā*) composing each strophe (*pāda*) and the end rhyme. The Varṇa Vṛtta and the Mātrā Vṛtta are further divided into the subdivisions *Sama* (equal), *Ardhasama* (half-equal), and *Viśama* (unequal) according to the balance of the pādas.

With respect to the Varṇa Vṛtta, the verse forms actually used by Hindi poets are limited in number. On the other hand, moraic metre was popular among Hindi poets, and Hindi poets created many new verse forms based on mora counting. Therefore it can be said that moraic metre practically represents Hindi metre.

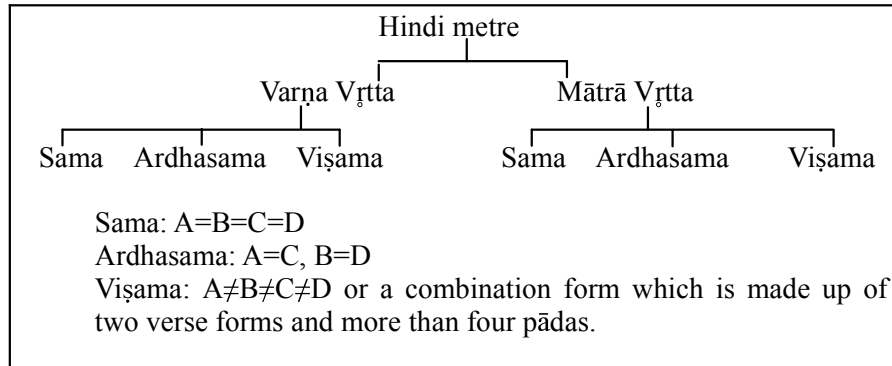
The Hindi prosodists borrowed most of their poetic terminology from Sanskrit and Prakrit metre. In moraic metre, the sequence CV projects one mora (*mātrā*) and is called *laghu* (L) 'light', and CVV and CVC have two moras and are called *guru* (G) 'heavy'. This means that syllables are primarily considered to have weight, instead of length (i.e. long vs. short). The temporal duration of a bimoraic syllable is not exactly twice that of a monomoraic one, but its pronunciation does take a longer time, so in the convention of modern poetics the terms *dīrgha* 'long' and *hrasva* 'short' are substituted for heavy and light syllables respectively.

A *gana* is a unit containing a certain number and order of syllables or moras, which is used when defining a metrical form. A moraic *gaṇa*, for example *caukala* (a unit of four moras), always coincides with a word break, but syllabic *gaṇas* need not. In Hindi metre, *Sama* (balanced) verse forms with 16 to 32 moras and *Ardhasama* with 19 to 29 moras have traditionally been preferred¹. Each verse (*pāda*) has one or several pauses (*yati*), which generally fall at word boundaries. Hindi verse forms of *Ardhasama* are usually written in two lines, each line (*pañkti*) containing two pādas. A strophe of four pādas is divided into two lines; in this case also, one line contains two pādas. Hindi verse forms consisting of an odd

number of pādas are rare, and many Hindi verse forms fall under those of four pādas. *Viṣama* verse forms are defined as having pādas of unequal length, but in practice such forms are rare, and *Viṣama* is understood to include verse forms of more than four pādas which are composed of two different verse forms, which prosodists consider unbalanced.

End rhyme does not occur in Sanskrit metre except in the later texts, such as the *Gīta-govinda* (12th c.). In the mora-based metrical forms which derive from Prakrit/Apabhraṃśa, however, end rhyme is almost mandatory. As for Hindi metre, end rhyme (*tuka*) is a characteristic feature, and in many cases of Ardhasama verses, the last two syllables of the two even pādas (B, D) rhyme. In many Sama verse forms, the final two syllables of the pādas AB and CD rhyme, but some that have a few internal pauses show complicated rhyming patterns which are illustrated in the following section.

Basic structure of Hindi verse	
The verse form of Ardhasama	
Ex.: ducite kī dui thūni girānī, mohu baledā <u>tūtā</u> .	
Odd pāda: A	Even pāda: B 16+12 moras
tisanā chāni parī dhara ūpari, duramati bhāṇḍā ph <u>ūtā</u> .	
Odd pāda: C	Even pāda: D 16+12 moras (Kabīr ⁱⁱ)
The verse form of Sama	
Ex.: sāvarau ādi eka karat <u>arū</u> .	jeī jiu dīnha kīnha sam <u>arū</u> .
Odd pāda: A	Even pāda: B 16, 16 moras
kīnhesi prathama joti parag <u>āsū</u> . kīnhesi tehīm pirīti kabil <u>āsū</u> .	
Odd pāda: C	Even pāda: D 16, 16 moras (Jāysī ⁱⁱⁱ)
The pattern of the rhyme: AB, CD / BD / AAAA etc.	



2. Changes in the definition of metrical categories in Hindi poetics

The first *Chanda-śāstra* (poetics) of Hindi was allegedly composed by Keśavdās (Keśavadāsa, 1555-1617), i.e. the *Chandamālā* in 1602. After an interval of more than a century, several works on Hindi poetics were composed one after another. In the beginning stage, they were practically copies of earlier works on the poetics of Sanskrit or Prakrit, and follow the Prākṛta-Paiṅgalam (14th c.) especially closely.

According to Śivanandana Prasāda, Hindi poetics defined metrical categories based on the following criteria:^{iv}

1. origin
2. language
3. number of pādas
4. pāda balance
5. length of pādas
6. regularity or irregularity of mātrās

Among these criteria, however, regularity or irregularity of mātrās is given only by Vṛndāvanadāsa and is not followed by later prosodists. In addition, some works on poetics cover not only metre but also *Ras* ‘taste of sentiments’, *Nāyikā Bheda* ‘definition of heroine’, *Alaṅkāra* ‘rhetoric’ etc. As this paper treats only metre, I will not discuss these topics here.

Let us now consider the actual classification of metres in Hindi poetics in more detail.

2.1 Important books and manuscripts on Hindi poetics and the definition of the metrical categories

The following are some of the most important works on Hindi poetics before the 20th century.^v

1. Keśavdās, *Chandamālā* (1602)^{vi}
2. Muralīdhara Kavibhūṣaṇa, *Chandohṛdaya-Prakāśa* (1666)^{vii}
3. Cintāmaṇi, *Chandavicāra* and *Piṅgala*
4. Sukhadeva Miśra^{viii}, *Piṅgala* (18th c.)
5. Deva, *Bhāvavilāsa* (s.v. 1764) and *Kāvya-rasāyana* (s.v. 1760)
6. Mākhana, *Chandavilāsa* (18th c.)
7. Somanātha, *Rasapīyūṣanidhi* (s.v. 1794)
8. Bhikhārī Dāsa, *Chandornava Piṅgala* (s.v. 1799)^{ix}
9. Daśaratha, *Vṛttavicāra* (s.v. 1856)
10. Rāmasahāya, *Vṛttatarāṅginī* (s.v. 1873)
11. Ayodhyā Prasāda, *Chandānanda Piṅgala* (s.v. 1900)
12. Jānībihārī Lāla, *Chandaprabhākara Piṅgala* (s.v. 1946)

The manner and methods of metrical classification have developed gradually over the history of Hindi poetics. For instance, the verse forms were not originally regulated according to the division or number of moras. Early prosodists such as Kavibhūṣaṇa and Sukhadeva Miśra essentially followed the order and style applied in the Prākṛta-Paiṅgalam.

In the poetics of Rāmasahāya, *Sama* verses made up of more than 32 moras each were classified under another subdivision, namely *Danḍaka*. For the first time, the moraic metres were arranged by the number of moras in ascending order. Bhikhārī Dāsa followed the same order, but in his poetics the verse forms of *Varṇa Vṛtta* and moraic metre are not distinguished.^x

Following the practice of Sanskrit poetics, Jānībihārī Lāla made a threefold division of moraic metre into *sama*, *ardhasama* and *asama* (or *viṣama*), and further divided *sama* into *sama* and *danḍaka* according to whether the length of each pāda does or does not exceed 32 moras. His arrangement or division was mostly favored by subsequent prosodists and was taken over by Jagannātha Prasāda Bhānu in the beginning of the 20th century. Bhānu's *Chandaḥ Prabhākara* (1894) and *Kāvya Prabhākara* (1909) are admired as the definitive works of Hindi poetics, though the former lists more verse forms than the latter. While basing himself on traditional poetics, Bhānu added some verse forms which had never been mentioned by former prosodists and gave original definitions for other verse forms. In the *Chandaḥ Prabhākara*, Bhānu amazingly provides the definitions in the very verse forms, while most other Hindi prosodists simply use Dohā in their definitions.

Although there are few significant books on poetics after Bhānu,^{xi} academic research on Hindi metre and poetics emerged around this time. The study on the use of metres in prominent works in the history of Hindi literature by Hazārīprasād Dvivedī gives stimulating ideas about the development of Hindi metre.^{xii} Maheshwari Sinha Mahesh and Śivanandana Prasāda's researches mark a new criticism of poetics. Mahesh proposed a category of *Tāla Vṛtta* (beat metre) along with *Varṇa Vṛtta* and *Mātrā Vṛtta*, and Śivanandana Prasāda also argued for the influence of *Tāla Vṛtta* on Apabhramśa, Prakrit and Hindi metres. Rupert Snell agrees that the *Tāla* metre is applied to pāda in recitation. Aside from these academic studies, however, prosodists do not recognize *Tāla Vṛtta* as a separate metrical category. Therefore, it is safe to say that Hindi metre has two major categories, *Varṇa Vṛtta* and *Mātrā Vṛtta*, as already mentioned.

In his detailed survey of Hindi moraic metre, Śivanandana Prasāda traces the verse forms back to their Prakrit- Apabhramśa origin based on an elaborate study of manuscripts. The studies of Puttūlāla Śukla and Jānakīnātha Siṃha 'Manoja' are also worth noting for their unique views.

3. Changes in the usage and forms of Hindi moraic metre

As already mentioned, Hindi metre is in most cases based on Prakrit/Apabhramśa metre. Over time, some verse forms became popular, while others passed out of use. With respect to these changes in popularity, Śivanandana Prasāda gives the periods during which major verse forms are used; Gāthā (Aryā): 2nd-20th c., Duvaī: 9th-21st c., Ullālā: 12th-20th c., Ghattā: 12th-20th c., Caupāī: 2nd-20th c., Paddhaḍiyā (Paddhari):

9th-20th c., Kāvya (Rolā): 9th-20th c., Caupaiyā: 14th-20th c., Dohā: 8th-20th c., Pragātha (Chappaya-Kuṇḍaliyā): 8th-20th c.^{xiii} Based on his argument, we will examine how each verse form is used in Hindi, especially in the Bhakti period.

3.1 Āryā (Gāthā) / Duvaī

Āryā (Gāthā) is one of the oldest verse forms used in Hindi. It originates from Gaṇacchandās of Middle Indo-Aryan (which was brought into Sanskrit)^{xiv} and survived until Hindi. It was still popular in the Apabhraṃśa period, but its popularity had decreased by the Bhakti period, and it is not used much in Hindi poetry, except for a few stanzas found in the early Hindi epic poem, the *Pr̥thvīrāja Rāso* (12th c.) of Canda Baradāī, Nandandās and Keśavdās^{xv}.

The structure of Āryā in Hindi is 4+4+4+4+4+4+4+ – =30 moras in the first line and 4+4+4+4+4+ – +4+ – =27 moras in the second line; the 6th gaṇa of the second line is irregular with only one laghu. The following is an example from the *Pr̥thvīrāja Rāso* :

paya sakkarī subhattau ekattau kanaya rāya bhoyaṃsī.
 ∪ ∪ – | ∪ – ∪ | – – | – – | – ∪ ∪ | ∪ – ∪ | – – | –
 kara kaṃsī gujjarīya ravvariyaṃ naiva jīvantī. 43.16^{xvi}
 ∪ ∪ – | – – | ∪ – ∪ | – ∪ ∪ | – – | ∪ | – – | –

*‘While ladies make royal repast with milk, sugar and rice mixed,
 why don’t Gūjarī women live on the thickened milk of pebbles
 and bran?’*

This is a regular Āryā form according to the definition, but most verse forms in the *Pr̥thvīrāja Rāso* which are given the name Āryā show irregular scansion.

In any case, Āryā is not much preferred by Hindi poets, but the similar verse form Duvaī (Sāra) of two pādas of 6+4+4+4+4+6=28 moras, derived from Apabhraṃśa, enjoyed and continues to enjoy popularity. Śivanandana Prasāda considers Āryā to be difficult to recite based on the Tāla (beat) rhythm. On the other hand, Duvaī is supposed to be a variation of Gaṇa Chandas with 4× 8 moras, with perfect beat rhythm. To apply Duvaī to the Tāla rhythm, a musicological bar needs to contain 4 or 8 moras; therefore, two additional moras at the beginning and two at the end of the line are required. These two moras can be made up of pauses, or obtained by lengthening the final syllable. An example is quoted from the Duvaī of Sūrdās (Sūradāsa, 16th c.); the double bar marks a unit of eight moras.

||**tā| dina taiṃ|| mere | ina nai||nani, dukha|sukha saba ||bisare|rī **| |
 ||**mo|hana aṃ||ga gupā||la lāla|| ke pre|mapiyū||ṣa bhare| rī**||^{xvii}

*‘From that day, these eyes of mine forgot all happiness and sorrow.
[My heart]is filled with the body of Krishna, a boy of cowherd, love
nectar of mortality.’*

It is obvious that Duvaī is based on quadruple time, but in keeping with the theory of Śivanandana Prasāda, Āryā can be recited with the Tāla rhythm. However, in such cases, the characteristic feature of Gāthā, i.e. the syncopated rhythm of the 6th gaṇa in the second line, cannot be retained, and the metre becomes a featureless quadruple rhythm.

In general, Hindi poets do not prefer verse forms which consist of many moras. If such long verse forms are used, an internal *yati* tends to be inserted. Some forms which consisted of two pādas in Prakrit or Apabhraṁśa have become forms of four pādas in Hindi. Duvaī is one such verse form, which is defined as having four pādas in Hindi, but was originally of two pādas. However, if an internal pause is inserted in Āryā, the balance of the pāda will be lost, and such a viṣama form is strongly disfavored in Hindi prosody. For these two reasons, it appears that Āryā is not a popular metre in Hindi.

3.2 Verse with several pauses (Caupaiyā-Tribhaṅgi)

Consequently, one may suppose that Hindi poets tend to prefer rhythmic verse forms. The verse forms which have multiple internal rhyming pauses are popular and show the influence of the *Tāla* (beat). The following is an example of Caupaiyā from the *Rāmacaritamāsa* (16th c.), which is made up of $(10+8+12) \times 4$ moras and ends in two *gurus*.

mātā puni bolī, so mati dolī, tajahu yaha rūpā.
 --- 00 ---, --- 00 ---, 000 00 ---.
 kījai sisulīlā, ati priyasīlā, yaha mukha parama anūpā.
 suni bacana sujānā, rodana ṭhānā, hoi bālaka surabhūpā.
 yaha carita je gāvahī, haripada pāvahī, te na parahī bhava kūpā.

1.192.

*‘But hurriedly she cried, -“ My soul is terrified by these marvels,
disperse them from my sight; Let me see thee as a child, disporting
free and wild, for in this is my greatest delight.” She spoke and he
obeyed, and at once in fashion made as an infant began to cry.
Know that all who sing this lay, and in faith to Hari pray, shall in
peace rest for ever when they die.’ (tr. by F. S. Growse)*

In this passage, there are two internal rhyming pauses within a line: ‘-olī-’ in the first line, ‘-īlā-’ in the second line, ‘-ānā-’ in the third line, and ‘-ahī-’ in the fourth line. And at the end of the even pādas, which in this case are also the line ends, all four lines have the same rhyme ‘-ūpā-’.

Tribhaṅgī has three pauses inside a line, e.g. $(10+8+8+6) \times 4$, and ends in a *guru*. The following is an example from the *Kavipriyā* of Keśavdās.

sigare naranāika, asura bināika, rākasapati hiya, hāri gae.
 kāhū na uṭhāyo, thala na churāyo, ṭaryo na ṭāryo, bhīta bhae.
 ina rājakumārana, ati sukumārana, lai āe haiṃ, paija karai.
 bratabhaṅga hamāro, bhayo tumhārā, riṣi tapa-teja na, jāni parai.
 60.

*‘All kings, demons, Gaṇeśa, lord of demon, lost heart.
 They could not lift anything, could not save the place, and could
 not move away, frightened. Having promised, this prince, who is
 very beautiful, brought that.
 Breaking my vow, I have become yours and do not know meditation
 and fire of energy of the Ṛṣis.’*

This kind of verse forms with its several rhyming *yatis* shows that beats were used in the Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa periods and remained popular among the Hindi poets.

3.3 Combination- verse (Ullālā)

As in the case of Duvaī, Ullālā is also a couplet (=two pādas) derived from Apabhraṃśa that is made up of 28 moras, but it differs from Duvaī in having an internal pause after the 15th mora. Also unlike Duvaī, Ullālā in many cases is not used by itself, but follows Rolā (11+13, with light 11th mora) in a combination verse, namely Chappaya. The following example is from Nābhādās (Nābhādāsa, c. 1600 CE^{xviii}), who is famous for composing the *Bhaktamāla* in Chappaya.

1 sadṛśa gopiko prema pragāṭa kaliyugahī dikhāyo.
 2 niraan̄kuśa ati niḍara rasika yaśa rasanā gāyo..
 3 duṣṭani doṣa vicāra mṛtyuko udyama kīyo.
 4 bāra na bāṃko bhayo garala amṛtajyoṃ pīyo.
 5 bhaktiniśāna bajāyakai, kāhūtaiṃ nāhina lajī.
 - - - - - 13 + 13
 6 lokalājakulaśṛṅghalā, taji mīrā giridhara bhajī
 - - - - - 13 + 13

*‘Like a latter-day gopī, she showed the meaning of devotion in our
 devastated age. She had no fear. Her impervious tongue intoned
 the triumphs of her artful Lord. Villains thought it vile. They set out
 to kill her; but not even a hair on her head was harmed. For the
 poison she took turned elixir in her throat. She cinged before noe:
 she beat love’s drum. Mīrā unraveled the fetters of family; she
 sundered the chains of shame to sing of her mountain-lifting Lover
 and Lord.’ (tr. by John S. Hawley)^{xix}*

In this passage, the opening four lines are Rolā and the following two lines are Ullālā, more precisely Śyāma Ullālā, with 13+13 = 26 moras. This and many other variations of Ullālā are found in the *Bhaktamāla*.^{xx}

As mentioned above, combination verse forms such as Chappaya are classified in Hindi poetics as Viṣama or “unequal”. As verse forms with unbalanced pādas are rare, Hindi prosodists define combination verse forms made up of more than four pādas as Viṣama. In the *Chandaḥ Prabhākara*, the verse forms of the Viṣama are Lakṣmī or Buddhi (30, 27; no rule for *yati*), Gāhinī (12+18, 12+20; one ja-gaṇa after the 20th mora; rhyme is one *guru* at *pāda* end), Siṃhajī (opposite pāda construction of Gāhinī), Manohara (13+13, 13+28), Amṛtadhuni (one Dohā + 24 moras of 4 pādas), Kuṇḍaliyā (one Dohā + one Rolā), and Chappaya. Of these, the last three are combination forms.

3.4 Adoption of styles (Kaḍavaka vs. Cuapāi+ Dohā/Soraṭhā)

Ghattā, which is made up of $10 + 8 + 13 = 31$ *mātrās*, is a couplet which is first mentioned in the 9th century by the Apabhraṃśa prosodist Svayambhū and is not used after the 14th century.^{xxi} In the *Kaḍavaka*, a unit of verse forms, four Paddhaḍikā or metres which have eight *Yamakas* (rhyming distiches), each of which is made up of two pādas of 16 moras^{xxii}, are followed by a Ghattā, Gāthā or Ullālā. This usage of Ghattā in the *Kaḍavaka*, frequent in earlier times, gives way to Dohā and Soraṭhā. Dohā,^{xxiii} which derived from Apabhraṃśa and is one of the most popular verse forms in Hindi prosody, is four pādas long, with odd pādas of 13 and 11 moras and a rhyme – ∪ at the end of the two even pādas. Beside its role in the *Kaḍavaka*, Dohā carries out many functions in medieval Hindi prosody such as *Muktaka* (independent verse), the refrain of a pāda, and participation in a composite strophe (*Pragāṭha*), for example the Kuṇḍaliyā, made up of one Rolā + one Dohā.

Furthermore the role of Paddhaḍikā is also taken over by Caupāi in Hindi verse. The Caupāi is a verse form with 4 pādas of 16 moras, in which ∪ – ∪ or – – ∪ is prohibited at the end of a pāda, and which is not divided into four-moraic gaṇas.^{xxiv} Similar forms of four pādas, such as the Pādākulaka (4+4+4+4) and the Arilla or Aḍilla (16 moras, with – ∪ ∪ or ∪ ∪ at the end of a pāda), are mentioned in the poetics of Apabhraṃśa, but the name of Caupāi began to be used only after the 14th century, even though many examples which can be recognized as Caupāi are found before that.

Another interesting phenomenon is that the stanza structures of the *Paumacariu* (8th c.) and the *Rāmacaritamānasa* are similar to each other. The following is an example of the Kaḍavaka in the *Paumacariu* 22Sandhi.9.

ahavai bharaḥu vi āsaṇṇa-bhavvu.
gharu pariyaṇu jīviu sarīru vittu.
taī muēvi tāu jaī diṇṇu rajju.
ṇa vi haū ṇa vi bharaḥu ṇa kekkayā vi.
tā ṇisunēvi papphulliya-maheṇa.
puttahō puttattaṇu ettiū je.

jā ṇiya-jaṇṇahō āṇā viheu.
kī puttē puṇu payayūraṇeṇa.
so cintaī athiru asāru savvu.1.
acchaī tavacaraṇa-ṇihitta-cittu.2.
to lakkhaṇu lakkhaī haṇaī aju.3.
sattuhaṇ kumāru ṇa suppahā vi.4.

vollijjai dasaraha-taṇuruheṇa.5. jā karaī vivakkhahō pāṇa-cheu.7.
 jaṃ kula ṇa caḍāi vasaṇa-puñjē.6. guṇa-hiṇē hiyaya-visūraṇeṇa.8.
 lakkhaṇu ṇa vi haṇaī tavu, bhāvahō saccu payāsahō.
 bhuñjau bharaḥu mahi haū, jāi tāya vaṇa-vāsahō.

‘...Otherwise, Bharata is near to salvation. He thinks all world, family, life, body and wealth useless. His mind is to practice penance. If I abandon you and give him the throne, today Lakṣmaṇa will finish up everything. Then, neither I, Bharata, Kaikeyī, Prince Śatrughna nor Suprabhā can escape it.’ Having heard this, Rāma said with radiant face, ‘The duty of a son is not to make his family suffer in difficulty, not to avoid the order of the father but to destroy enemies. Otherwise, what is the profit of a son, who is in name only, an oppressor of heart, without virtues? Oh, father! Lakṣmaṇa will not place an obstacle. Please carry out ascetic practices and bring the truth to light. Make Bharata govern the earth. I will take to the forest life.’

Compare the following stanza from the *Rāmacaritamānasa* 2.45.

ajasu hou jaga sujasu nasāū. naraka paraṃṃ baru surapuru jāū.1.
 saba dukha dusaha sahāvahu mohiṃ. locana oṭa rāmu jani hohiṃ.2.
 asa mana gunaī rāu nahi bolā. pīparapāta sarisa manu ḍolā.3
 raghupati pitahi premabasa jānī. puni kachu kahihi mātu anumānī.4.
 desa kāla avasara anusārī. bole bacana binīta bicārī.5.
 tāta kahaū kachu karaū dhiṭhāī. anucita chamaba jāni larikāī.6.
 ati laghu bāta lāgi dukhu pāvā. kāhu na mohi kahi prathama janāvā.7.
 dekhi gosāīhi pūchiū mātā. suni prasamgu bhaye sītala gātā.8.
 maṅgala samaya sanehabasa socu pariharia tāta.
 āyesu deia haraṣi hiya kahi pulake prabhugāta.

“Welcome disgrace and perish my good name; may I sink into hell rather than mount to heaven; be it mine to support the most intolerable pain rather than have Rāma taken from my sight.” Thinking thus to himself, the king spoke not a word, while his soul quivered like a fig-tree’s leaf. Perceiving his father to be thus overpowered with love, Raghupati spoke again to his mother in modest and thoughtful phrase, as the place, the time, and the circumstances demanded, “Father, if I speak a little willfully, forgive the offence by reason of my childish years. You are grieving for a very little matter; why did you not speak and let me know of this at the first? After seeing you, sire, I questioned my mother, and on hearing her explanation my fear subsided. Put away, father, the anxiety which at this time of rejoicing your affection has caused you, and give me your commands!” So spoke the Lord with heartfelt joy and a body quivering with emotion.” (tr.

by F. S. Growse)

Obviously, the Kaḍavaka of the *Paumacariu* is quite similar to the stanza of the *Rāmacaritamānasa* (16th c.), called Dohā in Hindi. The stanzas of the *Paumacariu* and the *Rāmacaritamānasa* are made up of four verse forms with 16 moras in each pāda, followed by a Soraṭhā or a Dohā. The *Paumacariu*, also known as the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Svayambhū, is a Jain version of the Rāma epic. It is said that Tulsīdās (Tulasīdāsa, 1532 – 1623) took over this style from a composition of Sufi poets, made up of 7 lines of Caupāī (a half-unit of verse form is called *Ardhārī*) plus one Dohā. This mutual influence between Sufi and Hindu poets will be discussed below in detail, but it can be assumed that the style was borrowed by Ramaite Hindi poets from Apabhraṁśa beyond the interval of time, as the similarity between the *Paumacariu* and the *Rāmacaritamānasa* suggests. It is worth noting that in both of these poems the number of *Ardhārī* is eight, not seven as in the works of Sufi poets.

3.5 Change of verse forms from Varṇa Vṛtta to Mātrā Vṛtta

Some verse forms which were defined as Varṇa Vṛtta came to be classified as moraic metre in Hindi. Tomara is an example of this kind, which was Varṇa Vṛtta in Sanskrit; Sa-Ja-Ja, e.g. ॐ ॐ – ॐ – ॐ ॐ – ॐ. The following is the Tomara of the *Rāmacaritamānasa*:

ripu parama kope jānī.	prabhu dhanuṣa sara saṁdhānī..	
ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ – – – ॐ	ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ – – ॐ	
chāre bipula nārāca.	lage kaṭana bikaṭa pisāca..	3.20
– – ॐ ॐ – – ॐ	ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ	

‘The Lord, perceiving that the enemy was exceedingly furious, fitted an arrow to his bow. He left fly the huge bolts; the dread demons were cut to pieces.’ (tr. by F. S. Growse)

In this example, each pāda is made up of 12 moras and the end rhyme is – ॐ, but the metre as a whole does not agree with any definition of Sanskrit Varṇa Vṛtta. Here, it can be observed that the definition of Tomara in Hindi metre is simplified into one of the total number of moras in each pāda, i.e. 12 moras, which are summed up with Sa-Ja-Ja and end rhyme – ॐ. This rule was taken over by Bhānu. In addition, Hīraka or Hīra (6+6+11 × 4; beginning –; ending – ॐ –), a verse form which was defined as Varṇa Vṛtta in Prākṛta-Paiṅgalam, came to be reinterpreted as Mātrā Vṛtta in Hindi.

3.6 Verse forms of Hindi origin

In observing the history of moraic metre in Hindi, it becomes clear that many Hindi verse forms derive from Prakrit/Apabhraṁśa metre. Now let us turn to the question of which verse forms are of Hindi origin. The

forms which are first mentioned by Hindi prosodists are naturally supposed to be of Hindi origin. If we compare the Prākṛta-Paiṅgalam to the *Kāvya Prabhākara* of Bhānu, we find the following verse forms of moraic metre which are not mentioned in the Prākṛta-Paiṅgalam (E: end rhyme, A: alliteration).

Sama of 4 pādas

Moras per pāda	
7	Suragatī (E; -)
8	Chabi (E; ∪ - ∪)
9	Gaṅga: (E; - -), Nidhi (E; ∪)
11	Śiva (E; ∪ ∪ - or - ∪ - or ∪ ∪ ∪), Bhava (E; - or ∪ - -)
12	Tāṇḍava(A; ∪, E ∪), Līlā (E; ∪ - ∪), Nita (E; ∪ - or ∪ ∪ ∪)
13	Ullālā ^{xxv} (the 11th mora ∪), Caṇḍikā (E; - ∪ -)
14	Kajjala (E - ∪), Sakhī (- - -), Vijāta (A; ∪), Hākali (E; -), Madhumālatī (7+7, E; - ∪ -), Sulakṣaṇa (7+7, E; - ∪), Manamohana (8+6, E ∪ ∪ ∪), Sarasa or Mohana (7+7), Manorama (A; -, E; - ∪ ∪ or ∪ - -)
15 ^{xxvi}	Gopī (A; 3 moras, E; -), Caupāī or Jayakarī (E; - ∪), Gupāla or Bhujāṅginī (E; ∪ - ∪), Ujvalā Mātrika (E; - ∪ -), Punīta (E; - - ∪)
16 ^{xxvii}	Ḍillā (E; - ∪ ∪), Siṃha (A; ∪ ∪, E; ∪ ∪ -), Caupāī (E; - ∪ is prohibited), Śṛṅgāra (A; 3+2, E; - ∪)
17	Rāma (9+8, E; ∪ - -), Candra (10+7)
18	Rājīvagaṇa or Mālī (9+9), Śakti (A; ∪, E; ∪ ∪ - or - ∪ - or ∪ ∪ ∪), Bandana (E; - ∪), Purāri (7 + 11, E -)
19	Pīyūṣavaṛṣa (10 + 9, E; ∪ -), Sumeru (12+7 or 10+9, A; ∪, E; ∪ - -), Tamāla (E; - ∪), Sagaṇa (A; ∪, E; ∪ - ∪), Naraharī (14 + 5, E; ∪ ∪ ∪ -), Piṇḍī (9 + 10, E; - -)
20	Yoga (12+8, E; ∪ - -), Śāstra (E; - ∪), Haṃsagatī (11+9), Mañjutilakā (12+8; E; ∪ - ∪), Aruṇa (5+5+10, E; - ∪ -)
21	Cāṇḍāyaṇa(11+10, rhyme at internal pause; ∪ - ∪, E; - ∪ -), Sindhu (7+7+7, the 1st, 8th and 15th mora; ∪), Santa (3+6+6+6, E; ∪ ∪ -), Bhānu (6+15, E; - ∪)
22	Rāsa (8+8+6, E; ∪ ∪ -), Rādhikā (13+9), Bihārī(14+8), Kuṇḍala (12+10, E; - -), Sukhadā (12+10, E; -)
23	Upamāna or Dṛṣhapata (13+10, E - -), Jaga (10+8+5, E; - ∪), Sampadā (11+12, E; ∪ - ∪), Avatāra (13+10, E; - ∪ -), Sujāna (14+9, E; - ∪), Niścala (16+7, E; - ∪), Mohana (5+6+6+6)
24	Dīpāla or Mṛdugati (12+12), Rūpamālā or Madana (14+10, E; - ∪), Śobhana or Siṃhikā (14 + 10, E; ∪ - ∪), Līlā (7+7+10, E; ∪ ∪ -), Sumitra or Rasāla (10+14, A; ∪ - ∪, E; ∪ - ∪), Sārasa (12+12, A; -)
25	Muktāmaṇi (13+12, E; - -), Sugūtikā (15+10, A; ∪, E; - ∪), Madanāga (17+8), Nāga (10+8+7, E; - ∪)

26	Śaṅkara (16+10, E; - √), Viṣṇupada (16+10, E; -), Kāmarūpa (9+7+10, E; - √), Jhūlanā ^{xxviii} (7+7+7+5, E; - √), Gītikā (14+12, E; √ -), Gītā (14+12, - √)
27	Sarasī or Kabīra or Sumandara (16+11, E; - √), Śubhagītā (15+12, E; - √ -), Śuddhagītā (14+13, E; - √)
28	Vidhātā (14+14), Vidyā (14+14, E; √ - -)
29	Dhārā (15+14, E; -)
30	Tāṭaṅka (16+14, E; - - -), Kukubha (16+14, E; - -), Rucirā (14+16, E; -), Śokahara (8+8+8+6, E -), Karṇa (13+17, E; - -)
31	Bīra or Mātrika Savaiyā (16+15, E; - √)
32	Śuddhadvani (10+8+8+6, E; -), Samāna Savaiyā or Savāī (16+16, E; - √ √), Mattasavaiyā (16+16, E; - -), Kamanda (15+17, E; - -), Kharārī (8+6+8+10)
37	Karakhā (8+12+8+9, E; √ - -), Haṃsāla (20+17, E; √ - -)
40	Uddhata (10+10+10+10, E; - √), Śubhaga (10+10+10+10, - - √), Vijayā (10+10+10+10, E; - √ -)
46	Haripriyā (12+12+12+10, E; -)

Arddhasama

Moras in AB/CD	
19	Baravai (12, 7), Mohinī (12, 7; E; √ √ -)
21	Atībaravai (12, 9) ^{xxix}
27	Haripada (16, 11; E; - √)
30	Rucirā (16, 14; E; - -)

Viṣama

Lakṣmī or Buddhi (total number of moras of 4 pādas; 30+27=57, inner pause is placed anywhere except following the 12th mora)
Manohara or Daura or Daurā (13+13+13+28=67; E; AABB)
Amṛtadhuni ^{xxx} (one Dohā + 4 pādas of 24 (8+8+8) moras; E; AABCC)

Among these metres which were first mentioned by Hindi prosodists, some might have their origins in pre-Hindi metre, but further investigation would be needed for the history of each metre.

4. Similarity between Hindi metre and the Perso-Arabic metre employed for Urdu

While Hindi shows a remarkable preference for moraic metre, Urdu has incorporated Perso-Arabic metre into the rhythm of its poetry. Of course, Hindi and Urdu have a common origin, and in the Bhakti period they were not clearly distinct from each other. But by the time Bhānu composed his poetics in the 20th century, Urdu literature had long since established its own style, and it was Bhānu who first pointed out the resemblances in some verse forms of Hindi moraic metre to Perso-Arabic metre. Moraic

metre and Perso-Arabic metre have different scanning systems and constructions, but we shall discover how carefully Urdu poets applied Perso-Arabic metre to the Hindustani language. In my opinion, the resemblances are not coincidental, but suggest that Urdu poets selected the metres to which their own language could easily be applied.

To the natural question of how the resemblances came about, the following reasons may be given.

1. The languages are similar to each other.
2. Both in moraic metre and in Perso-Arabic metre, each line has a fixed number of moras.
3. Moraic metre as applied to Hindi and Perso-Arabic metre have the common characteristic of end rhyme.

A defining characteristic of Perso-Arabic metre is that the character constitutes a foot, while moraic metre is based on moras, but this is not an essential difference because the letters of Perso-Arabic metre represent accurately syllabic weight. The Perso-Arabic metre as applied to New Indo-Aryan (NIA) languages has two kinds of syllables CV or CVV/CVC. All letters except for initial *alif* are treated as consonants. The short vowels ‘a’, ‘i’, ‘u’ are not written, but whether the consonant is followed by a vowel or not is decided by the position of each character in the word. Yet because Urdu adopted the Perso-Arabic writing system, unnatural scansion can be found, and in some cases more than one way of scanning is possible. Perso-Arabic metre itself has systematic rules, which Urdu poets must observe, even though Persian and Urdu are different languages. Therefore, Perso-Arabic metre as applied to NIA is modified by various repair mechanisms.

In my paper ‘Mātrā in Bhakti Poetry and Perso-Arabic Metres’^{xxxii}, I tried to show the resemblance between moraic metre and Perso-Arabic metre as applied to the Midland group of NIA languages. However, the similarities are more obvious between some verse forms of Gaṇa Chandas which are common to Hindi and Perso-Arabic metre. In the remainder of this paper, I would like to point out the resemblances between them.

First, I will summarize the main points of resemblance and discrepancy between moraic metre and Perso-Arabic metre. The following is an example of Harigītikā, quoted from the *Kāvya Prabhākara* which Bhānu claims to be similar to Mutafā‘ilun × 4 of Perso-Arabic metre. Harigītikā contains 16 + 12 = 28 *mātrās*, and the 5th, 12th, 19th, and 26th *mātrās* are ∪. The end rhyme is ∪ –.

pada kamala dhoi caṛhāi nāva na nātha utarāi cahaum|
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ –
 möhi rāma rāuri āna dasaratha sapha saba sācī kahaum||
 ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪ –
 baru tīra mārāhuṃ lakhanu pai jaba lagi na pāya pakhārihaum|
 ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ –
 taba lagi na tulasīdāsa nātha kṛpāla pārū utārihaum||^{xxxii}

o o o o o o o o - - - o - - o o - o - - o o - - o - -

Note the resemblance to the following Perso-Arabic verse, quoted from the *Kāvya Prabhākara*.

vo jo| ham|meṃ tum|meṃ qa|rā|r t^hā| tumheṃ| yā|d ho| ke na| yā|d ho^{xxxiii}
 o o - o - | o o - o - | o o - o - | o o - o -
 Mutafā‘ilun Mutafā‘ilun Mutafā‘ilun Mutafā‘ilun

This verse is Kāmil, that is Mutafā‘ilun × 4. Although there are scanning differences such as meṃ o, tum o and heṃ o, this verse has 28 moras, the 5th, 12th, 19th, and 26th *mātrās* are o, and the end rhyme is o — which agrees perfectly with the definition of Harigītikā. However, from the viewpoint of Perso-Arabic metre, Harigītikā cannot be called Kāmil. The latter is Mutafā‘ilun (o o - o) × 4, which does not fit Harigītikā except in the points mentioned above. In other words, the rules of moraic metre are not as rigid as those of Perso-Arabic metre.

On the other hand, Gaṇa Chandas, a metre derived from Sanskrit, is based on feet like Perso-Arabic metre, so it is possible that Gaṇa Chandas is in perfect accord with the rules of Perso-Arabic metre. The following is an example from the *Rāmacaritamānasa* of Bhujāṅgaprayāta which consists of four ya-gaṇa o —.

namāmīsamīśānanirvāṇarūpaṃ.
 o - - o - - o - - o - -
 vibhuṃ vyāpakam brahmavedasvarūpaṃ.
 nijaṃ nirguṇam nirvikalpaṃ nirīhaṃ.
 cidākāśasamākāśavāsaṃ bhajehaṃ.7.108

‘I reverence the sovereign Lord, the embodiment of salvation, the omnipotent and all-pervading Absolute, manifest in the form of the Vedas! I worship the self-contained, unqualified, undifferentiated, desireless, intelligence, the heavens themselves, wearing the heavens as his garment!’ (tr. by R. C. Prasad)

Ya-gaṇa is the same as the foot called Fa‘ūlun in Perso-Arabic metre, therefore Bhujāṅgaprayāta can be treated as Mutaqārib in Perso-Arabic metre, i.e. Fa‘ūlun × 4. Tulsīdās’s example is written in Sanskrit, but this verse form was preferred until the modern period.

The following is a stanza in the *Sāketa* by Maithilī Śaraṇa Gupta (1886-1964).

banātī rasoī, sabhīko khiātī. isī kām meṃ āj maiṃ tṛpti pātī. ^{xxxiv}
 o - - o - - o - - o - -

‘I prepare food and serve all. I got satisfaction from this work today.’

This stanza is written in Khaṛī Bolī Hindī whose basic features are common to Urdu, and we find here a typical Mutaqārib. In Hindi, Varṇa Vṛtta is in limited use, but Savaiyās, classified as Varṇa Vṛtta, were and are popular. According to Śāstrī, Savaiyā is a verse form with 22 to 26 syllables, most of which contain eight trisyllabic gaṇas. This structure is considered a doubled form of Mutaqārib, Mutadārik or their variants, i.e. a foot of three syllables × 4. A Savaiyā consisting of eight Ya-gaṇa is called Mahābhujāṅgaprayāta,^{xxxv} and this may be of Hindi origin because there is no description of it in Sanskrit poetics.

Bhānu mentions Savaiyā with moraic metre and Varṇa metre, respectively Mātrik Savaiyā also known as Ālhā or Vīra Savaiyā, with four pādas of 16 + 15 = 31 moras each, and a derivative of Moda Savaiyā of Varṇa Vṛtta, with five Bha-gaṇa (– ∪ ∪) + one Ma-gaṇa (– – –) + one Sa-gaṇa (∪ ∪ –) + one *laghu* ∪ = 31 moras. There are further types of more Mātrik Savaiyā such as Samāna Savaiyā and Matta Savaiyā consisting of 32 moras, as described by Bhānu. However, Mātrik Savaiyā is less used in Hindi than Savaiyā of Varṇa Vṛtta.

Significantly, the structure of original Savaiyā is defined by Varṇa Vṛtta which we can find for example in the appendix of Apte, but in Hindi doubled forms are created and given the general name Savaiyā, including forms inherited from Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa. Why did Savaiyā emerge as a category in Hindi prosody, and why was it preferred by poets? A possible answer to this question is its resemblance to the Perso-Arabic metre applied to Urdu.

5. Mutual influence of Hindu and Muslim poets on their poetical composition in the Bhakti period

According to Manojā, the Savaiyā of Varṇa Vṛtta lost their original features over time and acquired characteristics of Urdu metre.^{xxxvi} His claim implies that the usage of Savaiyā in Hindi has been influenced by Perso-Arabic metre. The following two points might bear on this question. Firstly, end rhyme is mandatory in Savaiyā unlike in Sanskrit Varṇa Vṛtta. During the Bhakti period, many poets such as Tulsīdās, Sūrdās, Keśavdas, Raskhān etc. employed Savaiyā with end rhyme. Manojā considers the usage of end rhyme in Savaiyā of Varṇa Vṛtta to be due to influence from Perso-Arabic metre.

Secondly, the Savaiyā allow for flexibility in scanning. The following famous Savaiyā by Raskhān (Saiyid Ibrahīm ‘Rasakhān’, 17th c.), a Muslim-born Krishnaite poet, is an example of such flexibility.

mānuṣa haum̐ to vahī rasakhāni basaum̐ braja gokula gāṁva ke gvārana.
 – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪
 jo paśu haum̐ tau kahā basa mero caraum̐ nita naṁda ki dhenu mājhārana.
 – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪
 pāhana haum̐ tau vahī giri ko jo dharyau kara chatra puraṁdara dhārana.
 jo khaga haum̐ tau basero karam̐ mili kālim̐dī kūla kadamba ki ḍārana.

*‘Be I a man [in my next life], then [let me be] that same Raskhān
 And dwell in Braj with the cowherds of Gokul village;
 if I am a beast, then what power do I have [to alter my fate] ?—
 let me graze eternally amongst Nanda’s cows.
 If I am a stone, then [let it be] of that very [Govardhan] mountain
 which [Kṛṣṇa] held in his hand as an umbrella against
 Indra’s torrents;
 If I am a bird, then let me make my abode
 In the boughs a kadamba tree on Yamuna’s bank.’*
 [tr. by Rupert Snell]^{xxxvii}

In this Savaiyā, there are eight instances of – ॐ ॐ, but ‘tau’, ‘ke’, ‘mero’, jo’ ‘basero’ and ‘kāliṃdi’ should be scanned as ‘tō’, ‘kē’, ‘merō’, ‘mājhāraṇa’ ‘jō’ ‘baserō’ ‘kālīdi’. These are considered deviations from the regular rules of mora counting. To be sure, even in Hindi moraic metre there are additional rules for scanning, e.g. ‘tehi’ ॐ ॐ and ‘tohi’ ॐ ॐ and nasality of a short vowel can be scanned as light if necessary. Still, it is obvious that there are many scanning repairs in the Savaiyā quoted above. One might consider that the Muslim poet Raskhān did not care much about strict observance of Sanskrit poetic tradition, and more importantly, such scanning is not prohibited by the rules of Perso-Arabic metre applied to Urdu; -e- and -o- as light. But significantly, the Hindu sant poet Tulsidās was not strict in following Savaiyā metre either.

Interestingly, and contrary to Manoja’s claim of the influence from Perso-Arabic metre, there was originally no verse form like Savaiyā in Perso-Arabic metre, and only at a later time did a New Indo-Aryan language that can be called Urdu introduce verse forms.^{xxxviii} Hindi poets of the Bhakti period started composing verses in Savaiyā, and Sufi poets also made use of it. In the following period, Urdu established its literary style and adopted Savaiyā, which is of Indian origin. It is supposed that because of its popularity in the Bhakti period, Urdu poets applied it to Perso-Arabic metre^{xxxix}.

One more point should be observed. The end rhyme is a characteristic feature of Savaiyā, but what is its origin? Perso-Arabic metre shows extensive use of end rhyme just as in Savaiyā, and Manoja considers the end rhyme in Savaiyā a Perso-Arabic influence. However, Perso-Arabic metre as applied to New Indo-Aryan was not yet in widespread use except among the court poets of the Mughal Dynasty during the Bhakti period in which Savaiyā gained popularity. Furthermore, by the Bhakti period end rhyme had become a characteristic feature of moraic metre and was no longer limited to Savaiyā. The application of end rhyme to moraic metre and Varṇa metre is probably not by Perso-Arabic influence. On the other hand, there is a possibility of Urdu influence on Hindi metre in the modern era, as Manoja points out: Urdu poets prefer to use Savaiyā, and Hindi poets might be imitating Urdu Savaiyā when they

compose Savaiyā with end rhyme. Then our next question would be: Where did end rhyme in New Indo-Aryan come from? With respect to this question, Mahesh argues that Tāla Vṛtta, which is characterized by end rhyme, was a by-product of popular singing practices.^{xi}

During the Bhakti period, mutual influence between Hindu sant poets and Sufi poets was common. At that time, Sufi poets such as Jāysī, Qutuban etc. used moraic metre in their usual compositions, their favorite verse forms being Caupāī, Dohā and Sorathā. This stanza style of Sufi romance in Avadh, combining several Caupāīs plus one Dohā, was adopted by Tulsīdās. Throughout his life, Tulsīdās traveled from one pilgrimage site to another, and his style of Caupāīs plus one Dohā also seems to have traveled from Avadh to Kāśī and Braj, and inspired Sūrdās to adopt it in his *Sūrasāgara*. On the other hand, Tulsīdās is also said to have composed the *Baravai Rāmāyaṇa* in Baravai metre under the influence of Abdul Rahīm Khān-e Khānā (1556-1627), and also adopted Savaiyā from Raskhān and *pada* ‘stanza’ from Sūrdās. This phenomenon is called “migration of metres” by Mahesh.^{xii} These three were famous poets in the Braj region, and many legends tell of their meeting Tulsīdās. Even if Tulsīdās did not actually meet them in person, the mutual influences are confirmed by the transfer of verse forms of moraic metre. In addition to moraic metre, Savaiyā of Varṇa Vṛtta is a typical instance of adaptation as already mentioned, which is indicative of mutual influence.

Conclusion

Hindi metre shows multilayered aspects which can be traced back to several different origins. Sanskrit Varṇa metre and Prakrit-Apabhraṃśa moraic metre form the basis of Hindi metre. Although Hindi poets rigidly adopted these old metres, it is worth noting that they also introduced new verse forms as the importance of the Tāla Vṛtta increased in the Hindi Bhakti era. Most of the new verse forms are of moraic metre, but Hindi poets developed some Varṇa Vṛtta too, that is the Savaiyā class. While there were original forms in Sanskrit texts which served as the basis for the Savaiyā class, it can be said that the development and popularity of Savaiyā is due to its double compatibility with Perso-Arabic metre in Urdu and Varṇa Vṛtta in Hindi.

After the establishment of the Mughal dynasty in North India, court poets who migrated from Iran brought Perso-Arabic metre to India. As already mentioned, Perso-Arabic metre is foot-based syllabic metre partly similar to the Varṇa Vṛtta of Sanskrit, and even some Hindi moraic metres can be scanned in Perso-Arabic metre as well. It was not until a later stage that ordinary Muslim poets started to compose poetry in Perso-Arabic metre. During the Bhakti period, poets such as Keśavdās and Tulsīdās admired Savaiyā as an indigenous Sanskrit Varṇa Vṛtta, and so composed Savaiyās full of *tatsama* words, although it is said that Tulsīdās adopted Savaiyā from the Muslim poet Raskhān. On the other hand, later Savaiyās which are composed in modern standard Hindi show striking

resemblances with Urdu Savaiyā, as Manojā points out. The careful choice of language and vocabulary which Bhakti poets had shown in traditional Varṇa Vṛtta has disappeared. Today, modern Hindi poetics even give examples of Varṇa Vṛtta in Khaṛī Bolī Hindī. This development can be considered a new trend in Hindi metre.

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ⁱ Śivanandana Prasāda, *Mātrika chandoṃ kā vikāsa*, Patnā: Bihāra Rāṣṭrabhāṣā Pariṣad, 1964, p. 254.

ⁱⁱ Winand M. Callewaert, *The millennium Kabīr vānī : a collection of Pad-s*, New Dekhi: Manohar, 2000, p. 338.

ⁱⁱⁱ *Padmāvata*, 1 (Vāsudeva Śaraṇa Agravāla, ed., *Padmāvata*, Jhāmsī: Sāhitya-Sadana, 2000 [first edn. 1955?]).

^{iv} Śivanandana Prasāda, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

^v The important Hindi poetics are listed in the *Mātrika chandoṃ kā vikāsa* of Śivanandana Prasāda and the *Hindī kavīyoṃ kā chandaśāstra ko yogadāna* of J. Singh ‘Manoja’. I checked manuscripts mostly in the library of Nāgarīpracārīṇī Sabhā and one manuscript in the library of Gaya University. I am greatly indebted to Dr. Kiśorī Lāla, retired professor of Allahabad University and Vinoda Kumāra Miśra, Lucknow who is a descendant of Sukhadeva Miśra for showing me their private manuscripts. Manoja mentioned the *Piṅgala Prakāśa* of Nandakiśora, but this is incomplete and I did not include it in the list. Bholāśaṅkara Vyāsa mentions other Hindi poetics,

some of which are not presently accessible (Bholāśaṅkara Vyāsa, *Prākṛta Paiṅgalam*, vol. 2, Vārāṇasī: Prākṛta Grantha Pariṣad, 1962, pp. 391-399), and Bhagīratha Miśra also notes the importance of the *Kāvyaśiddhānta* (18th c.) of Sūratimīśra, currently in a private collection (Bhagīratha Miśra, *Hindī Kāvyaśāstra kā itihāsa*, *Lakhanaū*, *Lakhanaū* Viśvaviyālaya Hindī Prakāśana, 3rd ed., 1965, 92).

^{vi} The *Chandamālā* is edited by Viśvanātha Prasāda Miśra and published in the *Keśava Granthāvalī*, vol. 2, Illahabad: Hindustānī Ekeḍemī, 1954.

^{vii} Viśvanātha Prasāda ed., *Muralīdhara Kavibhūṣaṇa kṛta Chandohṛdayaprakāśa*, Āgarā: K. M. Hindī tathā Bhāṣāvijñāna Vidyāpīṭha Āgarā Viśvavidyālaya, 1959.

^{viii} The poetics of Sukhadeva Miśra remains unpublished, but a descendant of Sukhadeva Miśra edited and financed the publication of his own book, *Sukhadeva racanāvalī*, in which some of poetics by Sukhadeva Miśra are included (Durgā Śaṅkara Miśra ed., *Sukhadeva racanāvalī*, Lakhanaū: Sukhadeva Prakāśana, 2005).

^{ix} The *Chandorṇava Piṅgala* is edited by Viśvanātha Prasāda Miśra and published in the *Bhikhārīdāsa Granthāvalī*, vol. 1, Kāśī: Nāgarīpracāriṇī Sabhā, 1956.

^x Some verse forms of Bhikhārīdāsa's moraic metre are actually of the Varṇa Vṛtta. They retain end rhyme and he seems to believe that end rhyme is a characteristic feature of moraic metre and so classifies all the verse forms with end rhyme under the category of moraic metre.

^{xi} For Hindi poetics in the 20th century, see Laghunandana Śāstrī, *Hindī Chandaḥ Prakāśa*, Delhi: Rājapāla and sons, 1952, pp. 32-34.

^{xii} Hazārī Prasāda Dvivedī, *Hindī Sāhitya kā ādikāla*, New Delhi: Vāṇī Prakāśana, 1994.

^{xiii} Śivanandana Prasāda, *op. cit.*, pp. 257-259.

^{xiv} In Sanskrit prosody, Āryā is the commonly used name of this metre. In Middle Indo-Aryan literature, especially in Jaina texts, it was a very popular metre, and was called Gāthā or Gāhā in Prakrit prosody. I acknowledge Dr. Junko Sakamoto-Goto (p.c.) for clarification.

^{xv} Śivanandana Prasāda, *op. cit.*, pp.278-281.

^{xvi} This example of Āryā is quoted by Hazārī Prasāda Dvivedī and Śivanandana Prasāda in their books. I tried to find further examples of typical Āryā in the *Prthvīrājarāso*, however there are many derivatives and it seems that typical Āryā such as this example is scarce.

^{xvii} *Sūrasāgara* 2483 (Ayodhyāsiṃha Upādhyāya eds., *Sūrasāgara*, vol. 2, Vārāṇasī: Nāgarīpracāriṇī Sabhā, 5th ed., 1976, pp. 26-27).

^{xviii} The era of Nābhādāsa is a subject of controversy, but most scholars place the time of the *Bhaktamāla* around 1600 A.D.

^{xix} John S. Hawley, *Saints and Virtues*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987, p. 56.

^{xx} The Rolā of Chappaya is made up of 26 or 28 moras in general, and according to Bhānu, there are 71 variations of the Chappaya.

^{xxi} A rare example of Ghattā in Hindi used by Keśvadāsa in the

Rāmacandrikā corresponds to the rule of Prākṛta-Paiṅgalam (Śivanandana Prasāda, *op. cit.*, p. 321).

^{xxii} Harivallabha Bhāyāṇī, *Paumacariu of Kavirāja Svayambhūdeva*, Bombay: Singh Jain Shastra Shikshapith, 1953, p. 95.

^{xxiii} From the beginning, various interpretations of the balance of Dohā's pādas have been advanced; some authors of poetics such as Virahāṅka consider it to be a form of two pādas. According to such authors, it is a verse form of two equal pādas, each of which consists of 13+11=24 mātrās. But in Hindi prosody, Dohā is defined as a form of four half-equal pādas. Following the definition of the Prākṛta-Paiṅgalam, the early prosodist Sukhadeva Miśra describes 23 variations of Dohā based on the number and arrangement of *guru* – and *laghu* ∪ as follows; —

1. Bhrāmara Dohā, 2. Bhrāmara, 3. Sarabha, 4. Śena, 5. Maṇḍūka, 6. Markaṭa, 7. karabha, 8. Nara, 9. Marāla, 10. Madakala, 11. Payodhara, 12. Cala, 13. Bānara, 14. Trikala, 15. Kakṣa, 16. Maccha, 17. Sārdūla, 18. Ahivara, 19. Vyāghra, 20. Biḍāla, 21. Sunaka, 22. Indura, 23. Sarpa.

Following this tradition, Bhānu recognizes 23 variations of Dohā, but some his names are different.

^{xxiv} Allegedly, it does not have any relation to Catuṣpada, but rather to mātrāsamaka, which is derived from Sanskrit Varṇa Vṛtta.

^{xxv} There are two kinds of Ullālā, that is Ullālā of sama and of ardhasama (15,13, 15,13). Ullālā of ardhasama is described in the Prākṛta-Paiṅgalam as having two pādas, but Ullālā of sama is not mentioned, and is thus considered to be of Hindi origin.

^{xxvi} The Caubolā is mentioned not in the Prākṛta-Paiṅgalam but in the poetics of Bhānu. However, the definition in the Prākṛta-Paiṅgalam is half-balanced 16, 14, 16, 14. Śivanandana Prasāda analyzes its transformation as follows: having undergone a process that is 8, 8, 7, 7, 8, 8, 7, 7, Caubolā finally becomes 8+7, 8+7, 8+7, 8+7 which coincides with the definition of Bhānu (Śivanandana Prasāda: *op. cit.*, p. 230). Therefore Caubolā cannot be considered to be of Hindi origin, and accordingly I did not list it in the table.

^{xxvii} As for verse forms of 16 moras, Paddhari, Upaśloka and Citrā are not mentioned in the Prākṛta-Paiṅgalam, but they are found in Sanskrit and Prakrit literature. Therefore, I did not list them in the table.

^{xxviii} There is a metre of the same name, Jhūlanā, in the Prākṛta-Paiṅgalam, but confusingly, the definition of it is different from that of the Hindi one. The two metres do not seem to be related to each other.

^{xxix} Some prosodists consider Baravai, Mohinī and Atibaravai to be variations of Dohā.

^{xxx} Amṛtadhuni is commonly called Amṛtadhvani.

^{xxxi} This article will be published in the proceedings of the 10th International Bhakti Conference edited by Imre Bangha (Delhi: Manohar).

^{xxxii} *Rāmacaritamānasa* 2.100: “After washing your lotus feet, I will take you on board but I will not accept any toll. I tell you the truth, O Rāma, swearing by yourself and Daśaratha-Lakṣmaṇa may shoot me with his arrow, but I will

not take you across, gracious lord of Tulasī Dāsa, until I have bathed your feet!” (tr. by F. S. Growse).

^{xxxiii} Bhānu did not mention the author, but the poet of this Urdu verse is Momin (1800-51?): “*Do you remember or not the promise between you and me?*”

^{xxxiv} Maithilīśaraṇa Gupta, *Sāketa*, Ciraḡāṃva (Jhāṃsī): Sāhitya Sadana, S.V.2025 [1968], p.271.

^{xxxv} *Chandaḥ Prabhākara*, *Chandaḥ prabhākara*, Bilāsapura: Jagannātha Press, 1939, p. 148.

^{xxxvi} Jānakīnātha Siṃha ‘Manoja’, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-171.

^{xxxvii} Rupert Snell, *The Hindi Classical Tradition: A Braj Bhāṣā Reader*, New Delhi: Heritage Publishers, 1992, pp. 110-111.

^{xxxviii} We should be careful in using the term Urdu, because Urdu is a modern name, and in the Bhakti period which is the focus of this paper, Urdu and Hindi were not distinct languages and these terms were not yet been invented.

^{xxxix} In his contribution to this volume, Matsumura argues from another point of view that the Savaiyā class applied to Urdu is not of Perso-Arabic origin, but of Indian origin.

^{xl} Maheshwari Sinha Mahesh, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

^{xli} *Ibid.*, pp. 124-134.

The Prosody of Keśav Dās

Yoshifumi Mizuno

Keśav Dās (1555-1617), an accomplished court poet famous for the complexity of his technically perfect poetry, was also a scholar of poetics and, as such, expert in Hindi (Braj Bhāṣā) metres. Accordingly, he deals with Hindi prosody in his study of poetics, the *Kavi-priyā*, and in his treatise of prosody, the *Chand-mālā*. In addition to these two works, he composed an epic, the *Rām-candrikā*, in amazingly diverse metres. In this paper, I would like to investigate not only his prosody but also his practical usage of metres and highlight certain peculiarities of his prosody.

Gaṇa in the *Kavi-priyā*

Keśav presents the traditional Sanskrit *gaṇa* system that originated in Piṅgala sūtra [Shastri: 3-5], in the third chapter of the *Kavi-priyā*. In this chapter on the faults (*doṣa*)¹ of poetry, he first defines five categories of faults: *aṃdha* (faults in style), *badhira* (faults in word choice), *paṅgu* (faults in metres), *nagna* (faults in rhetoric) and *mṛtaka* (faults in meaning). He then states thirteen types of real fault: *agaṇa* (misusage of *gaṇa*), *hīna-rasa* (lack of aesthetic), *yati-bhaṅga* (faults in making a caesura), *vyartha* (contradiction), *apārtha* (ambiguity), *hīna-krama* (poor order), *karṇakaṭu* (bad sound), *punarukti* (arbitrary repetition), *deśa virodha* (misconception about a locaiton), *kāla virodha* (contradiction of time), *loka virodha* (situational mistake), *nyāya virodha* (illegal), and *āgama (śāstra) virodha* (disobedience to custom). Of these faults, Keśav precisely explains the *gaṇa* system in the section on *agaṇa*.

Keśav divides the eight *gaṇas* into two groups: *śubha* and *aśubha* [KP.III, v.19]. He then introduces a deity, virtue or fault of each *gaṇa* and the relation of the four pairs of *gaṇa*. Keśav frankly admits that he has depended and expanded on preceding works of prosody. [KP.III, v.22-26]

<deity>	:	<virtue/fault>	<relation>
śubha = ma-gaṇa:	— — —	mahī(earth): giving happiness	mitra (friend)
na-gaṇa:	○○○	nāga (snake): giving intelligence	mitra (friend)
bha-gaṇa:	—○○	chanda(the moon): providing welfare	dāsa (servant)
ya-gaṇa:	○—○	jala (water): satisfier	dāsa (servant)
aśubha = ja-gaṇa:	○—○	sūraj (the sun): drying up happiness	udāsīn (pessimist)
ra-gaṇa:	—○—	śikhīmaya (fire): every day burning	ripu (enemy)
sa-gaṇa:	○○—	vāyu (wind): indifferent to position	ripu (enemy)
ta-gaṇa:	— — ○	ākāśa (air): not effective	udāsīn (pessimist)

According to Bhaṭṭanagar's citation from the commentary by Nārāyaṇ (date unknown) on Kedārabhaṭṭa's *Vṛttaratnākara* (14th c.), we can notice some differences in the descriptions, that is, the deity and the virtue of *na-gaṇa* in the commentary by Nārāyaṇ are *svarga* (heaven) and long life, instead of *nāga* and intelligence. Moreover, *mṛtyu* (death) is used instead of *dāsa* (servant) [Bhaṭṭanagar: 156]. I discovered a list with similar content on the first page of the edited *Śrutabodha*, attributed to Kālidāsa [Miśra 2004]. This list must have been compiled by the commentator on the *Śrutabodha*, Kanakalāla Thakkura (date unknown). Consequently, the preceding work of poetics on which Keśav depended has not yet been ascertained.

Keśav furthermore presents the results of permutational usages of the four groups of *gaṇas* : for example, *mitra* + *dāsa* = *vijaya* (victory), *dāsa* + *mitra* = *kāryasiddha* (completion) [KP.III,v.29]. In all, he describes $4 \times 4 = 16$ such patterns. Nevertheless we are unable to prove the validity of this argument, even though Keśav provides samples of poetry [KP.III, v.30-32].

The *Chand-mālā* and The *Rām-candrikā*

Keśav Dās composed the *Chand-mālā*, a work on prosody in Braj bhāṣā, in AD1602. This work consists of two chapters. In the first chapter, 77 *akṣara chandas* are illustrated with sample verses, and in the second, 26 types of *mātrā chandas*ⁱⁱ are explained. Prior to this work, Keśav had composed the *Rām-candrikā* (AD 1600), a version of the Rāma epic [Datta: 2060-2061]. This work made use of 135 types of metres, more than the total number of metres described in the *Chand-mālā*.

In order to examine the correlation between the metres prescribed in the *Chand-mālā* and those employed in the *Rām-candrikā*, I will compile lists of metres in the *Chand-mālā* with references to the metres of the same name in Mahesh's study [Mahesh] and in preceding Sanskrit prosodies according to Velankar's study [Velankar], as well as the verse number of the same metre in the *Rām-candrikā*. The following abbreviations will be used:

ChM: *Chand-mālā*. Round brackets () enclose the pattern of the

metre as prescribed in the ChM.

RC : *Rām-candrikā*. The numeral following the colon denotes the frequency of the metre as used in RC, with verse numbers.

Aquare branckets [] enclose the name of the metre in Mahesh's study.

Verse number of the same titled metre in preceding works are listed following the slash / .

Pointed branckets < > enclose a metre with the same composition but a different title, or of one with the same title but a different composition.

Chapters re given in Roman numerals verses in Arabic numerals.

Author comments are enclosed in braces { }.

Preceding works:

Bh.: *Nāṭya-śāstra* of Bharata (BC)

H.: *Chandonuśāsana* of Hemacandra (12th c.)

Hc.: foot note to the above

Jd.: *Jayadeva-chandas* of Jayadeva (4th c.)

Jk.: *Chandonuśāsana* of Jayakīrti (11th c.)

P.: *Chandas-śāstra* of Piṅgala (c.1 AD.)

Pp.: *Prākṛta-paiṅgalam* (14th c.)

Rm.: *Ratnamanjūṣā* of a Jaina (17th c.)

Sb.: *Svayambhū-chandas* of Svayambhū (10th c.)

Vjs.: *Vṛttajāṭisamuccaya* of Virāhaṅka (6-7th c.)

Vr.: *Vṛttaratnākara* of Kedāra Bhatta (10th c.)

●akṣara-chandas

○1 syllable in each pāda [ukthā]

1. ChM: śrī (-), [do.] / H.II,6, Pp.II,1, <gau:Vjs.V,1>

RC: 1 : I-8.

○2 syllables in each pāda [atyukthā]

2. ChM: nārāyaṇa (v-), [no] / <mahī:Pp.II,3, sukham:H.II,9, Jk.II,6>

RC: no

○3 syllables in each pāda [madhyā]

3. ChM: ramaṇa (vv-), [do.] / Pp.II,17. <pravara:Jk.II,11, madana :H.II,14, rajanī: Bh.XXXII,54. >

RC: 1: I-11.

○4 syllables in each pāda [pratiṣṭhā]

4. ChM: taraṇijā (vvv-) [do., or nagasatī] / <madhu: Jk.II,3, mṛgavadhū : H.II,19, Vjs.V,4.>

RC: 1: I-12

5. ChM:madana (vvv) [no] / <dhārī:Pp.II,29, vartma:Jk.II,26.> <H.II,14: vvv->

RC: no

- 5 syllables each pāda [supraṭiṣṭhā]
6. ChM: māyā (~~ ~-~)[<priyā or rati>] / <ramā :JkII,38 >
 <Pp.II,141:ma-ta-ya-sa-ga: ----, ~~~~~~>
 RC: no
- 6 syllables each pāda [gāyatrī]
7. ChM: mālatī (~~~~ ~-~) [<do.: ja-ja>] / na-ja;no in any previous text
 <Pp.II,112:----- ~~, H.II,180, Vr.III,63: ~~~~~~>
 RC: 3: II-2, IV-8, XI-8.
8. ChM:somarājī (~~~ ~-~) [<do.:ya-ya>] / <sumālatī: Pp.II,54.><H.II,38, Vr.III,9,5: ya-ya: ~~~~~>
 RC: 3: I-14, X-11, XXI-1.
9. ChM:śaṃkara (~~~ ~-~) [no] / ra-ja; no in any previous text
 RC: no
10. ChM: bijjohā (~~~ ~-~) [do. or vimohā, vijohā, johā, dviyodhā] /
 <dviyodhī:Pp.II,45, sragviṇī: Vr.III,9,7, haṃsamālā:Jk.II,51>
 RC: no
11. ChM: maṃthāna(ka) (~~~ ~-~) [do. or manthanā] / Pp.II,50(called
 kāmāvatāra also)
 RC: 1: IV-7.
12. ChM:sukhadā (~~ ~-~) [no] / <tanumadhyā: Bh.16,2;32,76,
 H.2,36, Jd.6,1, Jk.2,44, P.6,2, Rm.5,5, Vjs.5,6, Vr.3,7.>
 RC: 2: VI-17(bha-ma-bha-ta-la-la) {it must be a mistake}, X-32.
- 7 syllables in each pāda [uṣṇik]
13. kumāralalitā (~~~ ~-~ ~) [do.] / H.II,54, Jd.VI,2, Jk.II,56, P.VI,3,
 Rm.V,10,Vr.III,11.
 RC: 2: I-15, X-12.
14. ChM:pramāṇikā (- ~~~ ~-~) [samāṇikā] / <uṣṇih:H.II,53,
 kāmīnī:Bh.XXXII,105, khetāka:Vjs.IV,76, gomīnī:Jk.II,58, raktā:
 Vjs.III,7, śikhā:Hc.II,53, samāṇikā: Pp.II,58.> <H.II,82, Jd.V,4,
 Jk.II,65, P.V,7, Vr.III,18:ja-ra-la-ga (~~~ ~-~ ~-~)>
 RC: 2: XXXIV-55 (ja-ra-la-ga (~~~ ~-~ ~-~)),56(ja-ra-la-ga (~~~ ~-~ ~-~ ~-~)). {these must be ‘nagasvarūpiṇī’ in Hindi.}
- 8 syllables in each pāda [anuṣṭubh]
15. ChM: mallikā (- ~~~ ~-~ ~) [do. or samānī] / <ra-ja-ga-la:
 samānī:H.II,83, Jd.V,3, Jk.II,66, P.V,6, Rm.V,1, Vr.III,17>
 RC: 4: XI-39, XXIII-1, 2, XXXIII-13.
16. ChM: nagasvarūpiṇī (~~~~ ~-~ ~) [do. or paramāṇikā, pramāṇī] /
 <ja-ra-la-ga: nārācaka:Vjs.IV,53, pramāṇikā:H.II,82, Jd.V,4, Jk.II,65,
 P.V,7, Vr.III,18, mattaceṣṭita: Bh.XVI,14;XXXII,36.>
 RC: 4: I-16, XXXIII-48, 49, 50.
17. ChM: madanamohanī (~~~ ~-~ ~) [no] / <ta-ja-ga-la: no>
 RC: no
18. ChM: bodhaka (~~ ~~~~~ ~) [no] / <ta-na-ga-ga: no>
 RC: no
19. ChM: turāṅgama (~~~~ ~-~ ~) [do. or tuṅga] / <na-na-ga-ga:
 tuṅga:Pp.II,72, madhukarasadrśākhyā: Bh.XXXII,135,

ratimālā:H.II,86.>

RC: 1: IV-10.

○9 syllables in each pāda [pañkti]

20. ChM:nāgasurūpiṇī (~ ~ ~ ~ ~) [no] / ja-ra-ja: no

RC: no

21. ChM:tomara (~ ~ ~ ~ ~) [no but one of mātrā chandas, 12m] / sa-ja-ja: Pp.II,86.

RC: 54: II-12,13, IV-14, V-15,39,45, VI-47(na-na-na-ga-la)?, VII-17,18,27, IX-11,12, X-30, XI-36,40, XIII-8, <66,67,68,69,70,71,72=12m?>, <XIV-15,17=12m>,18,19, 20,<33,34,35,36=12m>, XXI-6,7,57, XXIII-12,13, <XXV-28,29,30,31, 32ab,38=12m>, XXVIII-17, XXX-16cd, XXXI-2,3, XXXIII-7,8ab, <8cd,9=13m> XXXIV-14, XXXVI-5,6.

○10 syllables in each pāda [no]

22. ChM:hariṇī (~ ~ ~ ~ ~) [sarasvatī] / < bha-bha-bha-ga: citragati:H.II,113, Jk.II,89, dodhaka:Bh.XVI,24, vṛtta:Bh.XXXII,217, sāravatī:Pp.II,94.> <H.II,293, Jd.VII,16, Jk.II,211, P.VII,16, Rm.VI,35, Vjs.V,37, Vr.III,90, Sb.I,69>

RC: 5: XXX-41, 42, 43, 44ab, XXXVI-21.

23. ChM: amṛtagati (~ ~ ~ ~ ~) [do. or tvaritagati] / na-ja-na-ga:

Pp.II,98. < tvaritagati: H.II,112, Jk.II,94, Vjs.V,17, Vr.III,28,1.>

RC: 5: II-14, IX-13, XI-25, XXIV-1,2.

24. ChM: tomara (~ ~ ~ ~ ~) [no] / na-sa-sa-la: no <Pp.II,86:sa-ja-ja : ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ >

RC: no {cf. no.21. The title of 'tomara' gets complicated.}

25. ChM: saṃyuktā (~ ~ ~ ~ ~) [do. or saṃyuta, saṃyutā] / sa-ja-ja-ga: saṃyutā: Pp.II,90.

RC: 10: IV-17, VII-9, XII-23, 24, XIV-13,16,22, XIX-19, XXXIII,27,29.

○11 syllables in each pāda [trṣṭubh]

26. ChM: anukūlā (~ ~ ~ ~ ~) [do. or mauktikamālā] / <prativabodha: H.II,132, mauktikamālā:Vr.III,43,1, śrī:>

RC: 3: VI-9, XIII-34, XIX-5.

27. ChM: suparṇaprayāta (~ ~ ~ ~ ~) [no] / ta-ta-ta-ga-ga <layagrāhi:H.II,129, Jk.II,108, vidhyaṅgamālā:Vr.III,43,4.>

RC: no

28. ChM: indravajirā (~ ~ ~ ~ ~) [do.] / ta-ta-ja-ga-ga:Bh.XVI,28, H.II,154, Jd.VI,16, Jk.II,115, Vjs.V,19, P.VI,15, Pp.II,114, Rm.V,25, Vr.III,29.

RC: 6: X-39, XVI-20, 21, XVII-15,16,17.

29. ChM: upendravajrā (~ ~ ~ ~ ~) [do.] / ja-ta-ja-ga-ga:Bh.XVI,28, H.II,155, Jd.VI,16, Jk.II,115, P.VI,16, Rm.V,26, Pp.II,116, Vjs.V,20, Vr.III,30.

RC: 9: X-40,41,42, XVII-18,19,20, XXI-15,16,20.

○12 syllables in each pāda [jagatī]

30. ChM: mauktikadāma (~ ~ ~ ~ ~) [do. or motiyadāma] / ja-ja-ja-ja: H.II,172, Jk.II,122, Pp.II,138, Vr.III,64,1

- RC: 3: XXXVI-17,18,19.
31. ChM: toṭaka (~~~~ ~~~~ ~~~~) [do.] /
 sa-sa-sa-sa:Bh.XVI,38;32,323, H.II,162, Jd.II,121, P.VI,31, Pp.II,129,
 Rm.VI,3, Vr.3,47, Vjs.V,27. <chittaka:Vjs.IV, 54, nandinī:Vjs.III,20,
 bhramarāvali:Vjs. IV,61.>
 RC: 64: II-16,17, IV-29, V-3,11, VI-1, VII-29,32, VIII-13,15, IX-2,3,4
 X-3,6,13,19,21,23, XI-28,29,30, XII-1,32,33,38,39,40,47,48,
 XV-27,29,30,31,32,33, XXI-9,10(bha-bha-bha-ga-ga){this must be
 ‘dodhaka’}, 11,12,21,40,41, XXII-10, XXIV-16,
 XXIX-33,38,39,40,41ac, XXX-28,29,30, XXXII-9,19,23,
 XXXIII-2,43, XXXV-4,5, XXXVII-20,21, XXXVIII-2, XXXIX-28.
32. ChM: suṃdarī (~~~ ~~~ ~~~ ~~~) [do. or modaka] /
 <Pp.II,139:na-bha-bha-ra, Pp.II,206:sa-sa-bha-sa-ta-ja-ja-la-ga>
 bha-bha-bha-bha:<bhāminī:Mm.IX,5, modaka:Pp.II,135.>
 RC: 50: II-19,20,21,22, III-33, VI-53,54,VIII-9,10, IX-37,38,
 XII-10,12?, XV-18,19,20,21, XVII-47,48, XIX-40,41, XX-49,50,51,
 XXI-52,53, XXII-1, XXIV-25,27,28, XXVI-23,25,26, XXX-11,12,
 XXXII-1,2,3,4, XXXIV-18, XXXV-16,30,
 XXXVI-26,27,28,29,30,31, XXXVII-16, XXXIX-6.
33. ChM: modaka (~~~ ~~~ ~~~ ~~~) [toṭaka] <cf.31> / <toṭaka:
 Bh.XVI,38;32,323, H.II,162, Jd.II,121, P.VI,31, Pp.II,129,
 Rm.VI,3, Vr.3,47, Vjs.V,27, chittaka:Vjs.IV, 54, nandinī:Vjs.III,20,
 bhramarāvali:Vjs. IV,61.>
 RC: 6: IV-30{sundarī?}, XIX-15{sundarī?}, XXXIII=20{sundarī?},
 21{sundarī?}, 23{sundarī?}, 25{sundarī?} {These 6 may be
 mistaken.}
34. ChM: bhujṃgaprayāta (~~~ ~~~ ~~~ ~~~: ya-ya-ya-ya) [do.] / H.II,170,
 Jd.VI,34, Jk.II,118, P.VI,37, Rm.VI,2, Vr.III,53, Pp.II,124.
 <Bh.XVI,52:aprameyā>
 RC: 87: VI-12,13,14, XIII-50,51,52,53,54,55,56,57,58,59,60,
 XIV-6,7,8,9,10, XVI-22,23,25,27,
 XVII-21,22,37,38,39,50,51,52,53,54, XVIII-23,24,25,26,27,28,
 XIX-7,8,26,27,28,29,30,31,32,33,
 XX-4,5,6,7,8,34,35,36,37,38,39,41,43,45, XXVI-5,6,7,
 XXVIII-1,2,3,4,5,6,7, XXXIV-30,31,32,34,44,45,46,49,50,51,
 XXXIX-23,32,33,34.
35. ChM: tāmarasa (~~~~ ~~~ ~~~ ~) [do.] / na-ja-ja-ya: H.II,183,
 Vr.III,64, <Hc.II,183:kamalavilāsini, Jk.II,135,Utpala,v.29:lalitāpadā>
 RC: 12: VI-22,24,41,42, VIII-7, XIII-45,46,47,48,49, XIX-6, XXVI-8.
36. ChM: drutavilāmbita (~~~~ ~~~ ~~~ ~~~: na-bha-bha-ra) [do. or sundarī]
 / H.II,163, Jd.VI,30, Jk.II,123, P.VI,30, Rm.VI,9, Vjs.5,28, Vr.III,48,
 <Pp.II,139:sundarī, Bh.XVI,48: hariṇapluta>
 RC: 1: IX-29.
37. ChM: kusumavicitrā (~~~~ ~~~ ~~~ ~) [do.] / na-ya-na-ya:
 H.II,168, P.VI,35, Vr.III,51. <JK.II,134>
 RC: 8: V-6, VIII-6, X-27, XII-52,53,54, XVII-8, XXX-13.

38. ChM: candrabrahma (--- --- --- ---: ra-na-bha-sa) [candravartma] / <H.II,161, Jd.VI,43, Jk.II,131, Vr.III,44: candravartma, Rm.V,3: vitāna>
RC: no
39. ChM: mālātī (----- --- --- ---) [no] cf.No.8. / na-ja-ja-sa: no <na-ja-ja-ra: H.II,180, Vr.III,63, ma-ma-ma-ga-ga = 11 long syllables: Pp.II,112.>
RC: 3: II-2, IV-8, XI-8.
40. ChM: vaṃśasvanita (--- --- --- ---: ja-ta-ja-ra) [vaṃśastha or vaṃśasthavilam] / <Hc.II,159: avabhraṃśa, Vr.III,64,2(b), Vjs.V,26: vasantamañjarī, Bh.XVI,46, H.II,159, Jd.VI,28, Jk.II,143, P.VI,28, Rm.VI,4, Vr.III,45 : vaṃśastha, Cka.II,61: vaṃśasthavila, Vr.III,64,2(a): śuddhvirāṭa >
RC: no
41. ChM: pramitākṣarā (--- --- --- ---: sa-ja-sa-sa) [do.] / Bh.XVI,44 ;XXXII,317, H.II,176, Jd.VI,36, Jk.II,125, P.VI,39, Rm.VI,7, Vr.III,58.
RC: 3: pratimatāksarā XI-6, XVII-6,29.
42. ChM: sragviṇī (--- --- --- ---: ra-ra-ra-ra) [do. or kāminīmohana, lakṣmīdhara, lakṣmīdharā śṛṅgārīṇī] / H.II,171, Jd.VI,35, Jk.II,120, P.VI,38, Vr.III,54, <Bh.XVI,54: padminī, Pp.II,127: lakṣmīdhara>
RC: 2: XI-7, XVII-41.
○13 syllables in each pāda [ati jagatī]
43. ChM: paṃkajavāṭikā (- --- --- --- ---) [do. bha-na-ja-ja-la] / bha-na-na-bha-ga: no
RC: 7: II-27, IX-17, XVIII-8, XX-24, XXI-55, XXXI-12,13.
44. ChM: tāraḱa (--- --- --- ---: sa-sa-sa-sa-ga) [do.] / Pp.II,143.
RC: 66: V-1,23,34, VI-4,19,20,21, X-7,8,9,17,20,33, XII-61,66,69, XIII-15,16,17,18,20,41,42,43,44, XIV-25,26,27,28, XV-34,36,37,38, XIX-4,55, XX-1,2,3,17,18,19,20,21,22,23,29,30, XXII-5,6, XXV-24,26, XXXII-12,13,14,21,22, XXXIV-7,8,10,35, XXXV-17,20, XXXVII-5,7,8,15.
45. ChM: kalahaṃsa (--- --- --- ---: sa-ja-sa-sa-ga) [no] / <H.II,212, Jk.II,152, Vr.III,7,13(b): kuṭaja, Vr.III,7,13(a): nandinī & navanandinī, Jk.II,157: bhramarā, Ram.(on bhāratacampū)V,87: sumāṅgalikā >
RC: 5: V-7, VIII-4, XV-13,14, XVIII-36.
○14 syllables in each pāda [sarkarī]
46. ChM: harilīlā (- --- --- --- ---) [<do. or mukunda: ta-bha-ja-ja-ga-la>] / no
RC: 6: IX-6, XV-26, XXX-32,33,34, XXXIII-36.
47. ChM: vasaṃtatīlakā (- --- --- --- ---: bha-bha-ja-ja-ga-ga) [<do.: ta-bha-ja-ja-ga-ga>] / no <Bh.16,64, H.2,231,, Jd.7,7, Jk.2,169, P.7,8, Pp.2,150, Rm.6,18, Vr.3,74, Sb.1,5: ta-bha-ja-ja-ga-ga>
RC: 19: XI-10,11, XII-21,22, XVII-32,33,34,35,36, XIX-9,10,11,12,13, XX-13,14, XXXIV-27,28,29.
48. ChM: manoramā (--- --- --- ---: sa-sa-sa-sa-la-la) [do.] / no

<H.II,119, Vr.III,27 : na-ra-ja-ga, 10syllables>

RC: 10: XI-34,35, XII-2,6, XVIII-7, XXXIII-4,5,14, XXXIV-48, XXXV-29.

○15 syllables in each pāda [sarkārī]

49. ChM: mālatī* {this must be misprinted for 'mālinī' in Miśra's edition}
(~~~~~ --- ~-- ~--: na-na-ma-ya-ya) [mālinī or mañjumālinī]? ?

cf.8. &39 / <H.II,246, Jd.VII,11, Jk.II,183, P.VII,14, Pp.II,164,

Rm.VI,27,Vjs.V,32, Vr.III,81, Sb.I,27: mālinī, Bh.XVI,70:

nāndīmukhī> <Pp.II,112:ma-ma-ma-ga-ga> <H.II,180, Vr.III,63:

na-ja-ja-ra>

RC: 9: VI-27, XIII-61,62,63, XIX-22,23, XX-42, XXI-27,28.

50. ChM: supriya (~~~~~ ~~~~~~ -: na-na-na-na-sa) [no] / various titles but not 'supriya'.

RC: 2: III-2, IX-25.

51. ChM: niśipālikā (-~ ~ ~ ~ ~ -: bha-ja-sa-na-ra) [do. or niśipāla] / Pp.II,160.:niśipāla

RC: 14: II-29, VI-51,66, IX-18,19, XII-15,16, XIII-77, XVI-19,

XVIII-11, XX-25, XXV-3, XXXIV-16, XXXV-19.

52. ChM: cāmara (-~ ~ ~ ~ ~ -:ra-ja-ra-ja-ra) [do. or somavallārī, tūṇa] / Pp.II,158, <Jk.VI,30:utsava or utsāha, H.II,254, Sb.I,33:tūṇaka, Jk.II,190:mahotsava>

RC: 24: II-28, VI-29,63,64, XII-13,18,19, XIII-65, XIV-2,3,4, XVIII-20,

XIX-24,25,36, XXI-29,49, XXIV-29,30, XXIX-28, XXXIV-23,

XXXV-2,18, XXXIX-29.

○16 syllables in each pāda [aṣṭī]

53. ChM: narāca (-~ ~ ~ ~ ~ -:ja-ra-ja-ra-ja-ga) [do. or nagarāja, pañcacāmara] / Pp.II,168:narāca, <H.II,278, Jk.II,203, Sb.I,41,

Vr.III,86,1:pañcacāmara, Jk.VI,31: mahotsava> <Vjs.IV,58:ja-ra-laga,

H.II,78, Jk.II,70, Vr.III,19,2:ta-ra-laga>

RC: 21: III-3, VI-38, VII-16,23, IX-24, XII-42, XVI-2, XVIII-4,5,6,21,

XXIII-6,10, XXIX-26, XXXI-33,34, XXXIII-52, XXXVI-16,24,

XXXIX-30,31.

54. ChM: manaharaṇa daṇḍaka (-~ ~ ~ ~ ~ -:

bha-bha-bha-bha-bha-ga) [aśvagati, nīlā, līlā, viśeṣaka] /

<Vr.III,86,4:aśvagati, Vjs.III,32:aśvākrāntā, Pp.II,170:nīla,

Jk.II,199:padmamukhī, H.II,265:samgata>

RC: 3: IX-41,42, X-25.

55. ChM: brahmarūpaka (-~ ~ ~ ~ ~ -: ra-ja-ra-ja-ra-la) [do. or canacalā, citrā] / <Pp.II,172:cañcalā, Sb.I,43:citraśobhā>

<Pp.II,174:ma-ma-ma-ma-ma-ga:brahma>

RC: 2: IX-9, XIX-45.

○17 syllables in each pāda [atyaṣṭī]

56. ChM: rūpamālā (-~ ~ ~ ~ ~ -: ra-sa-ja-ja-bha-ga-la) [no] / no <Pp.II,88: ma-ma-ma,9syllables>

RC: 40: XXIII-7,8,

XXVII-10,11,12,13,14,15,16,17,18,19,20,21,22,23,24, XXIX-42,43,

metre. The metres *dhattā*, *marahaṭhā* and *soraṭhā* generally do not belong to the category of *akṣara chandas*, but to *mātrā chandas*. The *rolā* and the *siṃhāvalokana* are each used only once in the *Rām-candrikā*, in verses - I-22 and I-44 respectively. Neither the *jamuna* nor the *halanā* appear in the *Chand-mālā* or the *Rām-candrikā*.

©mātrā-chandas

1. ChM: gā(t)hā (12m., 18m., 12m., 15m.) [do. or kukubha: 30m. in each 4 pāda ended with ga-ga, yati after the 16th m.] / H.VII,73, Jd.VII,36, Rm.VII,34, Vr.V,12, ? <Jk.II,83:ma-sa-sa(akṣara)>
RC:1: I-19.
2. ChM: biggāhā (12m,15m, 12m,18m) [no] / no
RC: no
3. ChM: dohā (13m., 11m., 13m.,11m.) [do.] / no
RC: 332: I-5,6,7,18,21,29,40,49,51, II-3,6,7,8,11,23,26,30, III-9,11,14,16,18,20,22,24,26,28,32, IV-,1,3,11,16,18,28,31, V-4,8,14,16,25,30,37,40,44,46,VI-2,5,7,15,23,28,43,44,46,48,49, 52,55,58,65, VII-1,3,4,5,11,25,30,38,44,50,52, VIII-3,5,14, IX-1,20,21,28,30,39,46, X-5,15,22,24,26,35,38,43,45, XI-4,9,16,26,31,41, XII-3,4,11,14,25,26,35,36,37,46,51, 56,60, XIII-6,10,21,23,27,29,32,37,39,40,64,78,83,84,85,87,90,91,92,93,94, XIV-12,14,21,23,30,31,40, XV-8,15,23,28,35, XVI-1,16,17,28,34, XVII-1,7,13,23,24,26, XVIII-9,12,13,17,19,29,31,37, XIX-14,18,34,47,52, XX-12,27,44,48, XXI-2,8,13,14,31,32,35,42,44,48,50,51,54,56,58, XXII-7,9,13,14,19,24, XXIII-3,4,5,9,11,22,25,33,38, XXIV-14,15,19,20,23,24, XXV-4,7,9,10,15,18,20,27,33,35,36,37,40,41, XXVI-9,10,11,13,15,24,27,28,29,32,35,36, XXVII-25, XXVIII-12,16,19,20, XXIX-11,25,27,45, XXX-7,8,10,15,17,23,25,31,40,45,47, XXXI-21,23,30,32,35,37,41, XXXII-5,8,20,25,27,28,31,32,38,43,49, XXXIII-3,6,11,12,22,24,28,30,31,34,35,39,41,42,44,51,57, XXXIV-5,9,11,15,17,24,25,26,33,40,42,43,47,52,57, XXXV-1,3,11,24,26,28,31, XXXVI-7, XXXVII-4,6,9,18,19,22,23, XXXVIII-1, XXXIX-2,5,10,17,19,20,21,22,24,25,26,27,36,37.
4. ChM: kavitta (24m. ×4) [kāvya: yati after 11th m. which always ga.] / no
RC: kāvya 1: I-48.
5. ChM: catuṣpadī (or caupaiyā, 30m. ended with ga. ×4) [copaiyā or cavapaiyā: yati after 10th and 18th] / no
RC: 13: I-20,34,35, VII-45,51, XI-5, XV-5,XXI-22,23, XXX-1,2,XXVI-8.
6. ChM: dhattā ((31m. ended with la-la-la)×2) [(18m.+13m. ended with la-la-la) ×2] / no
RC: 1 :I-23.
7. ChM: nanda ((11m.7m.13m.)×2) [no] / no
RC: no

8. ChM: ullāla (15m.13m. 15m.13m.) [do.] / no
RC: no
9. ChM: ṣaṭpada (kavitta :24m. ×4 + ullāla: 28m. ×2) [do. or chappaya: rolā + ullāla ×2] / no
RC: 7; I-17,24, II-18,24, III-1, V-10, XVII-49.
10. ChM: jāti [no] / no
RC: no
11. ChM: paddhatikā (4×3+~) [paddharī, paddhatikā or pajjhatikā] / <paddhati:16matra odd: ~-~jagaṇa:H.III,73>
RC: 65; I-25,26,27, IV-27, V-35, VI-39,40,50,56, VII-40,46,47, IX-5,22,23, XI-12,13, XII-43,44,45, XIII-1,2,3,4,5,73,74,79,80,81,82,86, XVII-2,3,4,5, XX-52,53,54,55, XXI-24,25,26,36,37,38,39, XXII-12, XXV-1,2,21,22,23, XXVI-17,18,19,20,21,22, XXX-3,4,5, XXXI-14,15,16.
12. ChM: arilla ((12m.+ ~)×4) [do.] / no
RC: 2: I-30,31.
13. ChM: pādākulika ((12m.+ ~)×4) [pādākulaka or śaśivadana] / <pādākulaka:H.III,70, Jd.IV,29, Jk.V,31, P.IV,47, Rm.III,16, Vr.II,37: 4×4mātra, 5varieties>
RC: 2: I-32,33.
14. ChM: rājasaina kī navapadī (3m.×5, 12m, 3m×5, 12m, 3m×5 + dohā(13/11/13/11)) [no] /no
RC: 1: navapadī:I-28.
15. ChM: padmāvati (18m.+14m.) [do. or kamalavati: yati after 10th & 18th, each pāda ended with ga-ga] / no
RC: 2: XI-15, XXII-11.
16. ChM: sorathā (11m,13m, 11m,13m) [do.] / no
RC: 28: I-46,50, II-9, III-6,17,19,21,23,25,27,30, V-5,13,20,32, VI-11,37,62, VII-7,13,24,39, VIII-20,IX-45, XII-68, XXII-15,20, XXVIII-18.
17. ChM: kuṃḍaliyā (dohā(13,11,13,11)/ kabita(half24,24) / sorathā(11,13,11,13))[do.: dohā+rolā] / no
RC: 5: I-47, III-8, VII-20, IX-16, XIII-28.
18. ChM: cūrāmaṇi (13,11,5 /13,11,5) [no] / <Vr.III,12,1: ta-bha-ga> <Jk.III,25: 11akṣara(bha-bha-ja-ga-ga), 14akṣara(ta-bha-ja-ja-ga-ga)>
RD : no
19. ChM: hākalikā(sorathā) (~) (bha),-~,-~, - :14m.) [do. or caubolā: bha-bha-bha-la-ga] / no
RC: 7: I-36, XI-19,20, XXXII-39,40,41,42.
20. ChM: madhubhāra(dohā) (8m×4) [no] / no
RC: 4: I-37, IV-24,25, VII-53.
21. ChM: ābhīra (11m. (...~) ×4) [do. or ābhīra, ahīra]
RC: 5: I-38, VIII-17,18, XXI-33,34.
22. ChM: harigīti (27m. (~ 20 ~) ×4) [gītikā, harigīta or harigītikā] / no
RC: 13: I-39, VI-30,31,32,33,34,35,36, VII-26, XIII-95,96, XVIII34,35.
23. ChM: tribhaṅgī (10, 8, 14(18-4(~))) [32m.with yati after 10th, 18th &

- 26th] / <Jk.II,268: na-sa-bha-na-ta-ja-ta-sa-ya, 7-7-13akṣara>
 RC: 12: I-41,42, V-38, VI-6, VII-10, VIII-19, XI-17,27, XIII-7,31,
 XIX-49, XXXIII-1.
24. ChM: hīra (---×3 + ---) [do. or hīraka: yati after 6th & 12th] / no
 RC: 6: I-43, VIII-8, XIII-33, XV-40,41, XIX-44.
25. ChM: madanamanohara {cf. 25 syllable akṣara chandas} (total: 160
 m<40×4?>) [madanahara or madanagrha: 40m each pāda, yati after
 10th, 18th and 32nd, begins with la-la, ends with ga-ga] / no
 RC: madanamanohara daṇḍaka, 1: XXI-30.
26. ChM: marahaṭhā (10m, 8m, 11m (... --)) [marahaṭṭā: yati after 10th
 & 18th ended with ga-ga] / no
 RC: 11: I-45, III-10, VIII-16, XI-32, XVII-42, XXX-24,26, XXXII-34,
 XXXIII-10, XXXIV-39, XXXVI-9.

©Metres used in the *Rām-candrikā* without mention in the
Chand-mālā

1. bandhu [do. or dodhaka, madhu] / <Pp.II,100>
 RC: 1: IV-22 {same as dodhaka and madhu, see no.11 & no.27 in this
 section}
2. caṃcalā [caṃcalā or citrā, brahmarūpaka :ra-ja-ra-ja-ra-la(16syllables)] /
 pp.II,,172.
 RC: 10: III-5, IX-31, XII-17, XV-42,43, XVIII-14,15, XX-26, XXXI-1,
 XXXIII-26.
3. candravartma [--- -- --ra-na-bha-sa(12syllables)] / H.II,161,
 Jd.VI,43, Jk.II,131, Vr.III,44, <vitāna: Rm.V,3><na-na-na-na-sa:
 Rm.VI,24>
 RC: 3: XI-2, XVII-27,28.
4. citrapadā [--- -- -- bha-bha-ga-ga(8 syllables)] / H.II,75, Jd.VI,3,
 Jk.II,68, P.VI,5, Rm.V,14, Vr.III,14, <vitāna: Kj.II,67, Vjs.V,11>
 RC: 4: V-47, IX-32, XVI-3, XXXI-38.
5. caupāī [16m. not end with -- or --] / no
 RC: 31: V-9,29,
 XV-16,17,XXIII-14,15,16,17,18,19,20,21,23,24,26,27,28,29,30,31,3
 2,34,35,36, 37,39,40, XXIX-34,35,36,37.
6. caupahī [caupaī or jayakarī :15m ends with ga-la] / no
 RC: 48:XXVIII-8,9,10, XXIX-1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10,12,14,15,16,17,18,19,
 XXX-14, XXXI-6,7, 8,9,10,11,17,18,19,20,25,26,27,28,29,31,36,40,
 XXXII-10,11,16,24,33,35,36,44,45,46,47.
7. chappaya [do. or ṣoṭpada: rolā(24m) + 2 pādas of ullālā(15m+13m)] / no
 RC: 4: VI-8, VII-42, XVII-25, XIX-51.
8. daṇḍaka [more than 32m.] / 33 kinds
 RC: 46: I-1,2,3, IV-9,23, V-36,43, VI-59, VII-14, IX-26, XII-5,20,62,
 XIII-36,38,88, XIV-32,37,38, XVI-29, XVIII-10, XIX-3,20,46,
 XX-33,40, XXII-21, XXV-25, XXVII-2,3,4,5,6,7,8,
 XXVIII-11,13,15, XXIX-13, XXX-9,27,46, XXXI-22, XXXII-37,
 XXXV-10, XXXIX-9.

9. ḍilla [ḍillā: 16m yati after 8th] / no
RC: 1: IV-2.
10. dhīra (ta-ta-ta-ga-ga) [no] / no
RC: 1: XXXV-15.
11. dodhaka [dodhaka or bandhu, madhu - - - - -
--bha-bha-bha-ga-ga(11 syllables)] / H.II,130, Jd.VI,19, Jk.II,97,
P.VI,18, Pp.II,104, Rm.V,28, Vjs.V,24, Vr.III,33, <taraṅga:Vjs.IV,22,
bandhu: Pp.II,100, bhittaka:Vjs.IV,55>
<bha-bha-bha-ga:Bh.XVI,24>
RC: 115: II-15, V-18,28, VII-28,X-(dodha:1,2,) 28,29,31,34,
XI-21,22,24,37,38, XII-7,8,9,28,31,57,58,59, XIII-30, XIV-24,
XVII-9,10,43,44,45,46, XVIII-1,2,3, XX-15,16, XXI-4, XXII-3,4,
XXIV-3,4,5,6,7, XXV-5,6,8,11,12,13,14,16,17,19, XXVI-12,14,
XXIX-29,30,31,32, XXXII-6,7,26,29,
XXXIII-15,16,17,18,19,37,38,45,46,47, XXXIV-1,2,3,4,6,
19,20,21,22,38,41, XXXV-12,14,15ab,
XXXVI-10,11,12,13,14,20,32,33?, XXXVII-10,11,12,17,
XXXVIII-6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14,15,17, XXXIX-3,4,11,16. {same as
bandhu and madhu, see no.1 & no.27 in this section}
12. durmilā [do.:sa-sa-sa-sa-sa-sa-sa] / Pp.II,28, <ghoṭaka:
MmXIX,24.>
RC: 4:XI-18, XII-27,50, XXXVI-15.
13. ghanākṣarī (43m.) [title of a rāga] / no
RC: 5 :II-10, III-29, V-31, XIII-19, XIV-29.
14. gopāla (- - - - - - - - - - - :bha-bha-bha-ga-la) [no] / no
RC: 1:XXI-5.
15. gaurī (- - - - - - - - - - - :ta-ja-ja-ya) [do.] / <Vr.III,64,9:na-na-ra-ra,
H.II,213:na-na-ta-sa-ga, P.VII,4: na-na-na-sa-ga>
RC: 3: XXI-19, XXXVII-14, XXXIX-7.
16. haṃsa [do.- - - - -] / do.:Pp.II,37, <Hc.II,25:akṣaropapadā,
kuntalatanvī, Vjs.V,5: akṣarapaṅkti, Jk.II,33: kāñcanamālā, H.II,25,
Vr.III,6: : paṅkti, Bh.XXXII, 65 :bhūtalayanvī>
RC: 1: II-1.
17. hanumāna (16m) [no] / no
RC: 3: XIII-35,75,76.
18. hariṣriyā (46m.) [do.: yati after 12th, 24th. 26th m. & end of pāda must
be long)] / no
RC: 10:XXIX-20,21,22,23,24, XXX-18,19,20,21,22.
19. janamohana daṇḍaka (mixture ?) [no] / no
RC: 1: IX-34.
20. jhūlanā (26m.×4) [do.: yati after 14th, ends with - - - or la-ga] / no
RC: 7:XXV-34, XXVII-1,26, XXXIII-32,33, XXXV-23,25.
21. kamala (13syllables, - - - - - - - - - - - :sa-sa-sa-na-ga) [kamalā,
<kamala: 8syllables, na-sa-la-ga>] / no
RC: 3: XXXII-17,18, XXXV-8 {kirīta ?}.
22. kamalā (- - - - - - - - - - - :na-sa-la-ga) [do. or kamala, padma] / Pp.II,74.

- <mahī:BhXXXII,133>
 RC: 1: IV-13.
23. kirīṭa (bha×8) [do.] / <Pp.II,210, H.II,368>
 RC: 1: VII-12. {see the no. 69, amalakamala in the section of akṣara chandas}
24. līlāvātī (32m ends with -vv) [no] / no
 RC: 1: XIX-50.
25. madanaharā (40m ends with la-ga) [madanahara or madanagrha: 40m begins with la-la and ends with ga-ga] / no
 RC: 1: XXII-16.
26. madanamallikā (-vvvvvvvv) [mallikā or samānī] / ra-ja-ga-la:<samānī: H.II,83, Jd.V,3, Jk.II,66, P.V,6, Rm.V,1, Vr.III,17.>
 RC: 1: II-5.
27. madhu (-vvvvvvvvvv) [do. or bandhu, dodhaka] / <dodhaka:H.II,130, Jd.VI,19, Jk.II,97, P.VI,18, Pp.II,104, Rm.V,28, Vjs.V,24, Vr.III,33, taramga:Vjs.IV,22, bandhu: Pp.II,100> bhittaka:Vjs.IV,55>
 RC: 1: IV-20. {same as dodhaka and badhu, see no.1 & no.11 in this section}
28. madhutilaka (-vvvvvvvvvv :ta-bha-ya-ja-la-ga) [no] / no
 RC: 1: XXXVIII-3.
29. mattagayanda (bha bha×7-ga-ga) [do. or Indava] / < mayūragati: Vr.III,12,1 >
 RC: 2: X-18, XI-33. {same as vijaya, see no.64 in the} section of akṣara chandas}
30. mattamātaṅgalīlākara daṇḍaka (ra-vv×8) [gaṅgādhara, gaṅgodaka, khañjana or lakṣmī] / <Mm.XIX,25:svairiṅikrīḍana>
 RC: 1: IX-35. {see the no. 71 in the section of akṣara chandas}
31. mohana (-vvvvvvvvvv:bha-na-ja-ya) [no] / no
 RC: 3: V-2,21, X-16.
32. moṭa(na)ka (-vvvvvvvvvv :ta-ja-ja-la-ga) [do.] / Pp.II,147, <moṭaka: Bh.XVI,28, Jk.II,110.>
 RC: 30: VI-3, VII-48, VIII-2, XII-34, XIII-13,14,24,25,26, XV-9,10,11,12, XVII-55,56, XIX-1,2,42,43, XXI-17,18, XXII-22,23, XXVI-1,2, XXX-6, XXXIV-53,54, XXXV-21,22.
33. motiyadāma (vvvvvvvvvv :ja-ja-ja-ja) [do. or mauktikadāma] / H.II,172, Jk.II,122, Pp.II,138, Vr.III,64,1
 RC: 5: IX-7,8, XXX-36,37,38,39.
34. prakarṣa daṇḍaka (46m.) [no] / no
 RC: 1: IX-40.
35. priyā (vvvvvvvvvv :sa-ja-ja-ga×2) [no] / <kamalā: Mm.XIII,10, saṃyutā:Pp.II,90>
 RC: 1: I-13. {see the no. 25 in the section of akṣara chandas}
36. rathoddhatā (-vvvvvvvvvv : ra-na-ra-la-ga) [do.] / Bh.XVI,32, XXXII,107, H.II,141, Jd.VI,23, Jk.II,99, P.VI,22, Rm.V,29, Vr.III,38.
 RC: 1: XI-1.
37. rolā (24m) [do. yati after 11th which should be la.] / no

- RC: 1: I-22.
38. rūpakrāntā (~~~~~)[do.:la-ga-la-ga-la-ga-la-ga-la-ga-la-ga-la-ga-la-ga-la-ga-la] / no
RC: 1:XXXIX-39.
39. sāra (~~~×2) [do.] / <dhārī:Pp.II,29, vartma:Jk.II,26>
RC: 2: I-9,10. {see the no.5 in the section of akṣara chandas}
40. sāravatī (~~~~~:bha-bha-bha-ga) [do.] / Pp.II,94,
<citragati:H.II,113, Jk.II,89, dodhaka: Bh.XVI,24, vṛtta: XXXII,217>
RC: 1: IX-10. {same as dodhaka, see the no.11 in this section}
41. samānikā (~~~~~:ra-ja-ga) [do.] / Pp.II,58, <uṣṇih:H.II,53,
kāmīnī:Bh.XXXII,105, khetāka:Vjs.IV,76, gominī:Jk.II,58, raktā: Vjs.III,7,
śikhā:Hc.II,53.>
RC: 1:II-4. {see the no. 14 in the section of akṣara chandas}
42. savaiyā (~~~~~:bha×7+ga-ga) [indava or
mattagayanda] / <Vr.III,12,1:mayūragati>
RC: 12: III-15, IV-12,15,19,21,26, V-17,19,26,42, VI-18,45. {same as
'vijaya'? see the no.64 in the section of akṣara chandas}
43. śārdūla-vikrīḍita (~~~~~: ma-sa-ja-sa-ta-ta-ga) [do. yati
after 12th] / Bh.XVI-88,89, H.II,321, Jd.VII,21, Jk.II,228, P.VII,22,
Rm.VII,5,Sb.I,95, Vjs.V,40, Vr.III,96.
RC: 1: III-13.
44. śaśivadanā (~~~~~: na-ya) [no] / H.II,39, Vr.III,8, <kanakalatā:Jk.II,46,
caturamśā: Pp.II,47, makaraśīrṣā: Bh.XVI,4,XXXII,80, mukulitā:
Rm.V,6.>
RC: 3: III-7, IV-5, VII-49.
45. śobhanā (24m) [do. yati after 14th, ends with ~~~] / no
RC: 1: VI-16.
46. śiṃhaviлокita (~~~~~:na-na-na-ja-la-ga)
[do.:na-na-na-na-la-ga] / no
RC: 1: I-44ab.
47. sugīta (~~~~~:ja-bha-ra-sa-ja-ja) [do.] / no
RC: 1: I-4.
48. sumukhī (~~~~~:na-ja-ja-la-la) [no] / H.II,145, Pp.II,102,
Vr.III,32, <drutapādagati:Bh.XXXII,229.>
RC: 1: VIII-1.
49. svāgatā (~~~~~: ra-na-bha-ga-ga) [svagatā] / Bh.XVI,34,
H.II,142, Jd.VI,24, Jk.II,98, P.VI,23, Rm.V,30, Vr.III,39,
Vjs.IV,19,V,25.
RC: 37: V-33,41, VI-10, VII-43, IX-14,15, X-36,37, XII-63,64,65,
XIII-9,11,12, XV-2,3,4, XVII-11,12,14, XXII-17,18, XXVI-3,4ab,
XXIX-44, XXXI-4,5, XXXII-30, XXXIV-12,13, XXXVI-2,3,4,22,23,
XXXVII-13, XXXIX-13.
50. taraṅgīnī (~~~~~:ta-bha-ga-la) [no] / no
RC: 1: XXII-2.
51. upajāti (mixture of toṭaka and manoramā) [11syllable, combination of

indravajrā and upendravajrā] / mixutre:HII,157, < combination of
indravajrā and upendravajrā: H.II,156, Jd.VI,18, P.VI,17, Vr.III,31,
indramālā:Jk.II,117, Rm.V,27.>

RC: 1:XXXIX-8

52. upajāti-vajrā (mixture) [no] /no

RC: 2: XX-9,10.

53. vāridhara (-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o: ra-na-bha-bha) [no] / no

RC: 1: XIII-89.

54. vaṃśastha (o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o: ja-ta-ja-ra) [do. or vaṃśasthavila] /

Bh.XVI,46, H.II,159, Jd.VI,28, Jk.II,143, P.VI,28, Rm.VI,4, Vr.III,45,
<avabhraṃśā: Hc.II,159, vasanthamañjarī: VrIII,64,2b, Vjs.V,26,
śuddhavirāṭa: Vr.III,64,2a>

RC: 3: XVI-30, XVII-30,31.

55. vaṃśasthavila (o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o: ja-ta-ja-ra) [do. or vaṃśastha] /

<vaṃśastha: Bh.XVI,46, H.II,159, Jd.VI,28, Jk.II,143, P.VI,28,
Rm.VI,4, Vr.III,45, avabhraṃśā: Hc.II,159, vasanthamañjarī:
VrIII,64,2b, Vjs.V,26, śuddhavirāṭa: Vr.III,64,2a>

RC: 1: XI-3. {same as vaṃśasta, see above}

56. vijohā (-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o: ra-ra) [do. or vimohā, johā, dviyodhā, vijjohā] /

<dviyodhā: Pp.II,45, sragviṇī: Vr.III,9,7, haṃsamālā: Jk.II,51.>

RC: 1: IV-4. {same as bijjohā. see the no.1 in the section of akṣara
chandas}

57. viśeṣaka (-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o: bha-bha-bha-bha-bha-ga) [do. or
aśvagati, nīla, līlā] / <aśvagati: Vr.III,86,4, aśvākrāntā: Vjs.III,32, nīla:
Pp.II,170, padmamukhī: Jk.II,199, saṃgata: HII,265.>

RC: 9: III-4, VI-57, VII-34,35, VIII-11,12, IX-27 XXVI-16, XXXI-24.

Intentional and unconventional style in the *Chand-mālā*

Because of our complete dependence on Miśra's edition, we cannot analyse the text critically. There appear to be many misreadings in the printed text of both the *Chand-mālā* and the *Rām-candrikā*. In this paper, however, only the verses stipulating a metre, 'harilīlā', will be examined.

ragana ragana raci nagana puni jagana aṃta laghu āni /
caudaha akṣara ādiguru harilīlā ura āni // 47 //

'After setting two *ra-gaṇas*, you should insert *na-gaṇa* and *ja-gaṇa*. Furthermore, a short vowel should occur at the end. *Harilīlā* is considered to have 14 syllables, beginning with another long vowel.'

The above verse can be symbolized as follows:

-/-o-/- / -o-/- / ooo / o-o / o. (ga-ra-ra-na-ja-la)

We typically count *gaṇas* from the beginning of a verse, like this:

- -o/- -o/-oo / oo- / oo. (ta-ta-bha-sa-la-la)

However, the *gaṇa* pattern of Keśav's sample verse is different:

— — ∪ / — — ∪ / — ∪ ∪ / ∪ — ∪ / — ∪. (ta-ta-bha-ja-ga-la)

Both of the above patterns differ from the general pattern of *harilīlā* (ta-bha-ja-ja-ga-la) [Mahesh: 29]. Even though Keśav exhibited originality in his manner of description and in the innovative pattern of *gaṇa* for *harilīlā*, the inconsistency between his prescription and the sample verse is unacceptable.

Leaving aside this inconsistency, Keśav's method of description arouses our interest in the transmission of traditional prosody. Often, and not only in the case of the above metre, he describes the structure of a metre without following the conventional practice of counting *gaṇas* from the beginning of a verse. Most poets and scholars must have memorized and transmitted the metres following this practice. If the *Chand-mālā* was also intended to entertain the royal family, Keśav might have dared to flout the established formulae of prosody for the audience's enjoyment, without any concern for the future transmission of his prosody. Even if so, another question arises in the intended meaning of his discourse in the *Kavi-priyā* on the effectiveness of combination of *gaṇas*. When counting *gaṇas* in a verse, if we slur one or two syllables, the combination of *gaṇas* will be counted quite differently. It is thus difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain his intended scansion in many cases. Keśav's discourse on the combination of *gaṇas* might also then have been meant merely for the entertainment of his patrons.

Whether these features are idiosyncratic to Keśav will become clear only after an extensive investigation of the other scholars and poets.

Conclusion

From the above examination, we can make the following observations.

1) Even though Keśav uses the *dohā*, a typical Braj bhāṣā metre, most frequently (in 332 verses out of a total of 1,667 verses in the *Rām-candrikā*), he attempts to apply the traditional Sanskrit and Prakrit metres, particularly *akṣara chandas*, to Braj bhāṣā poetry as much as possible. This can be quantitatively verified: 55 of the 77 types of *akṣara chandas* in the *Chand-mālā* are traditional metres, and of the 135 types of metres used in the *Rām-candrikā*, 91 originate in traditional prosody.

This finding is substantiated by the fact that the number of *akṣara chandas* prescribed in the *Chand-mālā* and used in the *Rām-candrikā* is more than that of *mātrā chandas* in each work: the ratio of *akṣara chandas* to *mātrā chandas* is 77 to 26 in the *Chand-mālā*, and 104 to 31 in the *Rām-candrikā*.

Keśav declared his conversion to a vernacular poet in the *Kavi-priyā* (II, v.17), but because his father and brothers were Sanskrit poets, his main poetic training was most probably in Sanskrit.

2) However, among the preceding works on prosody, the

Prākṛta-paiṅgalam has the largest number of metres whose title or construction matches to that of the one known to Keśav.ⁱⁱⁱ In this work as well, *akṣara chandas* are described one and a half times more than *mātrā chandas*. Although we cannot assert with certainty that Keśav depended mainly on the *Prākṛta-paiṅgalam*, there is no doubt that these two, Keśav and the author of the *Prākṛta-paiṅgalam*, shared fairly similar poetic backgrounds.

3) Many metres used in the *Rām-candrikā*, 57 out of a total of 135, are not described in the *Chand-mālā*, which was composed two years later. Naturally, Keśav does not describe the 29 types of metres that are each used only once in the *Rām-candrikā*. On the other hand, it remains unclear why Keśav does not mention metres such as *dodhaka* in the *Chand-mālā*, despite employing this metre no less than 115 times in the *Rām-candrikā*. This fact suggests that Keśav did not compose the *Chand-mālā* as a compilation of his knowledge of prosody. Thus, we may infer either that the *Chand-mālā* is incomplete, or that he depended on some other existing works.

4) Clearly, the *Rām-candrikā* is intended as a Braj bhāṣā version of the Rāma epic. Considering the contemporary tendency for Rāma stories to be composed in the Awadhī dialect and Kṛṣṇa legends in Braj bhāṣā, it is significant that Keśav composed his Rāma story in Braj bhāṣā. He most likely intended to create a work that presents various examples of metres through the most popular of traditional Hindu stories. Keśav's attempt appears to be a sort of second advent of the *Bhaṭṭi-kāvya* (6th-7th c.), which aimed to explain Sanskrit grammar through the Rāma story and acquired currency even in Southeast Asia. Is it sheer coincidence that the *Bhaṭṭi-kāvya* has 1650 verses and the *Rām-candrikā* 1667 verses ?

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ⁱ Krishnamoorty summarizes the descriptions of *doṣa* by Bharata, Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Vāmana, Rudraṭa, Ānandavardhana, Kuntaka, Mahimabhaṭṭa, Bhoja, and Mammaṭa [Krishnamoorty]. This study is more informative than the introduction by Kane [Kane:392]. Keśav demonstrably follows previous Sanskrit poetic theories of *doṣa* [Bhṭnāgar: 151-152], but his style of description must be original.

Keśav treats the *doṣa* of *rasa (ana-rasa)* in the last (16th) chapter of his *Rasik-priyā* [Miśra 1954].

ⁱⁱ Keśav subdivides the *gāthā* metre into 27 types [ChM, v.12-14] and the

dohā metre into 23 types [ChM, v.18-20] on the basis of partial differences of syllabic length.

ⁱⁱⁱ Bhaṭṭnāgar investigates similarities of the description of more than 70 metres in the *Chand-mālā* to those in preceding works on prosody, such as Kālidāsa's *Srutabodha*, Varāhamihira's *Vṛhat-saṃhitā*, Kṣemendra's *Suṛttatilaka* and so on. Her study has the advantage of treating more pre-Keśav works than in this paper, but it is unfortunately not comprehensive.

Marriage Ceremony Scenes and Metrical Forms in the 16th Century Hindi Narratives *Padmāvat* and *Rāmcaritmānas*

Teiji Sakata

Introduction

Padmāvat and *Rāmcaritmānas* have been narrated in the Avadhī dialect of eastern Hindi from the 16th century to the present day. They were later written down, and many manuscripts have been found, on the basis of which we now have various published versions of the works.

Padmāvat was composed by the Sufi poet Malik Muhammad Jāysī around 1540. Jāysī adopted the local romance of Princess Padminī and King Ratnasen to create an allegorical romance for popularizing the Islamic mystical teaching that one should try at any cost to become united with the Supreme Being, who appears in this world as a beautiful maiden.

Rāmcaritmānas was probably begun in 1574 by one Vaishnava Brahman Tulsīdās and was completed after several years. It was composed according to the traditions of the Rāma story, traditions including the ancient *Rāmāyaṇa* attributed to Vālmīki and the 15th-16th century Vedantic *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*, both narrated and written in Sanskrit.

This short contribution is organized in the following way. First, the marriage ceremony scenes of *Padmāvat* and *Rāmcaritmānas* will be presented in English translation. We will then examine the metrical forms and narrative devices adopted for narrating the marriage scenes of *Padmāvat* and *Rāmcaritmānas*.

[I] The Marriage Ceremony Scenes of and Padminī and Ratnasen in *Padmāvat*

Padmāvat consists of two portions. In the first, King Ratnasen of Chittor tries and succeeds in marrying Princess Padminī of Siṃhala; then in the second, Sultan Alāuddīn of Delhi demands that Padminī be handed over to him. This leads to a fierce battle between the armies of Ratnasen and Alāuddīn, in which Ratnasen is finally killed. Thus *Padmāvat* is an integrated work of romance and war.

This integration results in “a long poem of some six thousand lines in a regular stanza pattern of seven *caupāī* lines followed by a *dohā*” [McGregor 1984:67]. The term *caupāī* (quatrain) ideally refers to a two-line unit containing four equal parts. Each line, known as an *ardhālī*, consists of 32 beats, the final beats of the former and latter portions must rhyme [Lutgendorf 1991:14]. But Lutgendorf notes that “in practice the term *caupāī* refers to any single line in this meter, and a person requested to recite ‘a *caupāī*’...will usually quote an *ardhālī*” [ibid.]. Counting the beats of *Padmāvat*, it is apparent that McGregor here refers to an *ardhālī* by the term *caupāī*. Thus the description by McGregor quoted above should read “a regular stanza pattern of seven *ardhālī* lines followed by a *dohā*.” A *dohā* (couplet) has two lines, each line of which consists of unequal parts, usually of 13 and 11 beats respectively, with the rhyme falling at the end of each line [Lutgendorf 1991:14, 15].

The text chosen here has been edited and translated into modern Hindi by Mātāprasād Gupt. Each *ardhālī* of 32 beats will be written as two lines, whereas each line of a *dohā* will be written as a single line. As a result, the seven *ardhālī* lines of the original passage will be rendered as 14 lines, and the two *dohā* lines as two lines in the author’s translation. Thus one stanza of the original work, consisting of seven *ardhālīs* and two lines of a *dohās*, corresponds below to 14 plus two lines, for a total of 16 lines.

The numbers given in blackest are those of *dohās*.

A. Preparations for the Marriage Ceremony of Padminī and Ratnasen

King Ratnasen of Chittor, informed by a parrot that a beautiful princess named Padminī or a lotus lady is living on Siṃhala Island, went to the island to be united with the celestial being appearing as a princess, and obtained permission from the King of Siṃhala to marry her. Stanza No. 285 narrates how the ceremony is prepared.

*The banquet for the guests is over, and sugar-water is whirled round,
Saffron-colored perfume is also whirled round.
All the guests enjoyed betel leaves enough,
and were ready to attend the marriage ceremony.
The golden pavilion for the ceremony stands high in the sky,
festoons of flowers hang from the pavilion like brilliant stars.
The seats are arranged under the umbrella,*

*the squire corner for the couple is decorated with jewels.
 The golden pot full of water is prepared,
 the bridegroom approaches the angel-like bride.
 The ends of their clothes are firmly knotted,
 not to be separated in this world or the world next.
 Priests read out the sacred Vedic verses,
 and call out the names of Padmini and Ratnasen with their zodiacs.
 The couple of the pure Moon and the Sun are now united,
 the Sun is fascinated by the Moon and the Moon by the Sun.
 [285]*

When the banquet for the guests is over, the corner for the couple is ready at the marriage pavilion. The clothes of the bride and bridegroom are firmly knotted and the priests read out the sacred Vedic verses. All these customs, described in seven *ardhālīs*, are traditional preparations for a Hindu marriage ceremony. At the end, the *dohā* concludes that the bride and the bridegroom are fascinated by each other.

B. The Marriage Ceremony of Padminī and Ratnasen

Thus prepared, the marriage ceremony of Padminī and Ratnasen is performed in complete accordance with Hindu tradition, as narrated below.

*The names of the two and their family lineages were pronounced,
 beautiful ladies are singing marriage songs.
 Handed to the Moon-like bride was the Garland,
 around the neck of the Sun-like bridegroom it was placed.
 And the Sun, receiving a garland from the ladies surrounding them,
 places a garland round the neck of the Moon,
 Then the bride offered the bridegroom water in her horrowed hands,
 swearing an oath that to sacrifice her youth and life to him.
 The bridegroom receives the water of oath from the hands of the bride,
 their clothes knotted at the ends to show they are united.
 The moon and the Sun circumambulate the marriage fire god,
 to them the star-like ladies offers many precious pearls.
 The couple perambulate the fire god seven times,
 with their clothes knotted and united tightly.
 Circumambulation completed, gifts offered suitably,
 the marriage gifts offered to the bride are
 beyond description. [286]*

The family lineages of both sides are pronounced, and the bride places the marriage garland around the neck of the bridegroom. After the bridegroom receives sacred water from the bride, the couple circumambulate the marriage fire god seven times. This minute description is followed by a *dohā*, confirming that the circumambulation is now complete and the

whole ceremony has been properly and successfully performed.

[III] The Marriage Ceremony Scenes of Rāma and Sītā in *Rāmcaritmānas*
Rāmcaritmānas was composed by Vaishinava Brahman Tulsīdās in the popular language or dialect of Avadhi, and is the representative work of *bhakti* or devotion on the way for establishment in Hindi language area of the 15th -16th centuries. This Rāma story was probably begun in 1574 and was completed over several years, some thirty years after than Jāysī's romance *Padmāvat*.

Mānas narrates the whole life of prince Rāma: his birth in Ayodhyā, marriage to Princess Sītā, exile of the newly-wed couple to a deep forest where Sītā was kidnapped by the Demon Rāvaṇa, fierce battle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa in Rāvaṇa's territory of Laṅkā, Rāma's victory over Rāvaṇa, rescue of Sītā by Rāma and their triumphant return to Ayodhyā.

At some 10,000 lines, *Rāmcaritmānas* is substantially longer than any of the Avadhi romances which it resembles in language and *caupāi-dohā* stanza pattern [McGregor 1984:111]. This Rāma story in seven books is basically narrated in *caupāi-dohā* stanzas as McGregor observed. But it also employs other metrical forms, including *harigītikā chand* which is inserted at moments of heightened emotion, *soraṭhā* which is a variation of *dohā*, and Sanskrit couplets or *ślokas* to open each Book [Lutgendorf 1991:13-17].

In *Mānas*, a *caupāi* (quatrain) is a two-line unit containing four equal parts. A *harigītikā chand* (often referred to by its shortened name *chand*) comprises four equal lines of 26 to 30 beats, and the final syllables in each line rhyme. A *soraṭhā* is a variant of *dohā*, each line of which consists of two unequal parts, usually of 11 and 13 beats respectively, with rhymes falling at the end of the first segment. Finally a Sanskrit *śloka* consists of lines of 16 syllables [Lutgendorf 1991: 13-17].

The basic source for the marriage ceremony scenes of Rāma and Sītā is the widely accepted version edited and translated into modern Hindi by Hanumānprasād Poddār, and its English translation by R. C. Prasad, that is *Tulasīdāsa's Śrī Rāmācaritamānasa*, to which some additions and changes have been made by the present author. In this case also, the original two-line *caupāis* and *chands* will be rendered as four lines, and the two *dohā* lines in the original correspond to two lines in the translation. All passages presented here are from Book One, i.e. the book of Rāma's childhood. The numbers in round brackets (parentheses) refer to *caupāis*, the letters in round brackets to *chands*, and the numbers in square brackets to *dohās*.

A. Preparations for the Marriage Ceremony of Rāma and Sītā

Rāma, breaking the huge bow, was authorized to marry Princess Sītā. After the banquet for the guests, the bride and the bridegroom arrived at the ceremony pavilion.

*In the golden vases and trays beautifully jewelled,
fragrant holy water is filled.
With their own hands the rejoicing king and queen,
in front of Rāma they placed the holy water. (3)
The sages recited the Vedas in propitious tones,
and from the sky fell flowers at the favourable hour.
The royal couple were enraptured to behold the bridegroom,
and began to wash his holy feet. (4)*

The passage above contains two of the four *caupāīs*, which are followed by four *chands* to describe the heightened emotion of this scene:

*With their whole frame trembling with rapturous love,
the royal couple began to wash Rāma's lotus feet.
The sky, the city and the four quarters of the world were swept over,
by the sounds of singing and kettledrums and shouts of victory.
(first half of A)*

*Reciting the family genealogy of bride and bridegroom,
priests of the both sides joined the hands of the couple.
Seeing the bridegroom accepting the bride's hand,
Brahma and the other gods, men and sages were filled with joy.
(first half of C)*

*When oblations had been offered to the sacred fire and
the garments knotted,
the bride and the bridegroom began to circumambulate
the fire god.
(last line of D)*

This is summarized and confirmed in the following *dohā*:

*At the voice of huzza, praises by the bards, the recitation of
Vedas and the songs,
the all-wise immortals rejoiced and rained down blossoms
from the tree of paradise. [324]*

We find here that the preparations for the marriage ceremony of Rāma and Sītā in *Rāmcaritmānas* are quite similar to those of Ratnasen and Padminī in *Padmāvat*:- fragrant holy water is offered, the clothes of the bride and bridegroom are firmly knotted, and the priests read out the sacred Veda verses. Yet although the translation given above includes only about half of the original, the manner of describing the marriage preparations is much more detailed and extended than the description of the same procedure in *Padmāvat*, which was quoted in full in section I.A.

B. The Marriage Ceremony of Rāma and Sītā

After the preparations have been properly carried out, the marriage ceremony of Rāma and Sītā proceeds as follows.

*The bride and the bridegroom elegantly circled the fire,
all present there feasted their admiring eyes upon the spectacle.
The enchanting pair cannot be described,
nor can any simile be employed.* (1)

*The sages bade the bride and the bridegroom pace around the fire,
and performed every rite, followed by offering of ceremonial gifts.
Rāma applied vermilion to Sītā's head,
the scene is unexpressably charming.* (4)

*Rāma's arms look like fragrant lotuses,
Sītā's face is so bright like the Moon.
Then sage Vasishtha gave the direction,
and the bride and the bridegroom sat together on one seat.* (5)

We observe that five *caupāīs*, not the usual four, elaborately depict the process of the marriage ceremony.

These are followed by four *chands* describing the rejoicing of King Dasharatha and King Janaka, as well as the weddings of Rāma's younger brothers with another of Janaka's daughters and his nieces.

*Rāma and Janaka's daughter sat together on a excellent high throne,
and as Rāma's father, King Dasharatha fixed his gaze upon
them, he rejoiced.* (first quarter of A)

*Then at Vasisitha's order Janaka provided all things
necessary for the marriage ceremonials
and sent for the other three princesses,
Mandavi, Shrutakirti and Urmila.
Mandavi, the eldest daughter of his younger brother Kushaketu,
was an embodiment of gentleness, virtue, joy and beauty.
The king gave her in marriage to Rāma's younger brother Bharata,
after affectionately performing every rite.* (B)

The following two *chands* relate how King Janaka gave Urmila to Lakshmana and Shrutakirti to Shatrughna (C) and how, when each pair of bride and bridegroom saw that they were well-matched with each other, they felt shy, but were glad (D).

Then, concluding *dohā* (no. 325) alludes that the four married couples symbolize the four ends of life obtained.

*The Lord of Avadh was delighted to see his four sons with their brides.
As though the jewels of monarchs had realized the four ends of life.** [325]

* Worldly riches, religious merit, sensual enjoyment and liberation.

Once again, we observe that the description of the scene of the marriage ceremony of Rāma and Sītā is lengthy and elaborate, even in the abridged version given here.

[III] Conclusion: Metrical Forms and Narrative Devices

We have examined the narration of marriage ceremonies in the English translations of two major works of 16th-century Hindi poetry: the marriage ceremony of Ratnasen and Padminī in *Padmāvat*; and that of Rāma and Sītā in *Rāmcaritmānas*. I assume that these two works were composed with different intentions: *Padmāvat* was narrated to popularize Sufism, or Islamic mysticism, while *Rāmcaritmānas* was written to promote the establishment of Hindu Vaishnavism. But the descriptions of the preparations for marriage and of the marriage ceremony itself are quite similar in the two works, and probably reflect Hindu marriage customs of the period, which are largely the same as those practiced today.

The metrical forms employed in the two works are basically *caupāīs* and *dohās*. In *Padmāvat*, three and a half *caupāīs* or seven *ardhālīs* are followed by one *dohā*. This scheme is regularly maintained for the scenes analyzed above, without any exception. In *Rāmcaritmānas*, on the other hand, stanzas are usually made up of four *caupāīs* and one *dohā*, but some contain five *caupāīs*, such as the stanza which concludes with *dohā* 325. Moreover, *Mānas* very often employs *hariḡītikā chands* or *chands* between the *caupāīs* and *dohā*. This metrical form is employed at moments of heightened emotion and elaborates upon the preceding description. Thus the metrical construction of *Rāmcaritmānas* is rather complex compared to that of *Padmāvat*.

Rhyming plays a crucial role in contributing to the flow of narration, which is especially important for narrative poems or epics as extensive as *Padmāvat* and *Rāmcaritmānas*. Within each *ardhālī*, the final syllables of the former and latter portions usually rhyme. Consider for instance the first two *ardhālīs* in stanza 286 of *Padmāvat* (transcriptions from the original are given in round brackets, next to the English translation).

*The names of the two and their family lineages were
pronounced (ucārā),
beautiful ladies are singing marriage songs (maṅgalcārā).
Handed to the Moon-like bride was the Garland (jaymālā),*

around the neck of the Sun-like bridegroom it was placed(ghālā).

It is obvious that the first two lines rhyme with **-cārā** and following two lines with **-ālā**. Similarly, the third *caupāī* of stanza 324 of *Rāmcaritmānas* runs as follows:

*In the golden vases and trays beautifully jewelled (rūre),
fragrant holy water is filled (pūre).
With their own hands the rejoicing king and queen (rānī),
in front of Rāma they placed the holy water (ānī).*

Here the first two lines rhyme with **-ūre** and following two lines with **-ānī**. In both cases, rhyming gives rhythm to the narration of the marriage scene and so contributes to the flow of the story.

In closing, let us briefly examine the narrative devices adopted in the marriage ceremony scenes of the two works. Observers may have noticed that the viewpoint in *Padmāvat* is confined to the golden pavilion and the characters in and around it. It can be said that the narrative is composed of on-the-spot observations of the people concerned: the bridegroom and the bride, the invited guests and priests. In contrast, *Rāmcaritmānas* is narrated from various viewpoints: for example, “*The royal couple began to wash Rāma’s lotus feet*” is an on-the-spot observation under the marriage pavilion, while the next line provides a wider perspective: “*The sky, the city and the four quarters of the world were swept over*” (first half of A in [324]).

To conclude, both works, composed in a language based on the Avadhi dialect of 16th-century Hindi, have basically employed *caupāī* and *dohā* metrical forms suitable for extended narratives. The forms appear in *Padmāvat* in a regular pattern, with three and a half *caupāīs* or seven *ardhālīs* followed by one *dohā*. By comparison, the metrical forms in *Rāmcaritmānas* are rather more complex: the numbers of *caupāīs* allow for some exceptions, and *harigītikā chands* or *chands* are often inserted between the *caupāīs* and the concluding *dohā*. As for the narrative devices adopted in the two works, *Padmāvat* is rather straightforward in concentrating on one point of observation, whereas *Rāmcaritmānas* is described from various viewpoints: on-the-spot descriptions are followed by a wide view.

Although only two stanzas of these works are examined in this short paper, the tendencies noted here may be observed throughout *Padmāvat* and *Rāmcaritmānas*. Judging from the metrical forms and narrative devices presented and discussed above, we may conclude that the allegorical story of *Padmāvat* is an excellent example of narrative poetry, and the *bhakti* or devotion-oriented *Rāmcaritmānas* a complex, finely crafted narrative drama of the first rank.

Texts

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Kabīr's *dohā*: its History and Conceptsⁱ

Taigen Hashimoto

In the poetry collection of Kabīr (ca.1398-1448) and others Sants, *dohā* is called *sākhī*. The *sākhī*, judging from a description in the original text, *Bījāk* ("the Key to Concealed Truth", BI) of Kabīr, is a word derived from Sanskrit (Skt.) *sākṣin*; meaning "(a phrase of) the testimony".

Dohā is a couplet, the meaning of which is complete itself, and would be classified in "muktaka" (independent verse) according to tradition of the classical Indian literature. To simply describe the *dohā* as a couplet is insufficient. Because there are many kinds of couplets and each has a characteristic of the poetic form.ⁱⁱ

I quote one of Kabīr's *dohās* for an illustration out of very few verses which are common both to *Pañcavāṇī* (PV)ⁱⁱⁱ and BI^{iv}.

hridayā bhītara ārasī, mukha dekhā nahim jāya |
mukha to tabahim dekhiho, jaba dila kī duvidhā jāya ||
(PV *sākhī* 13. 8; BI *sākhī* 29)

In a heart there is a mirror,
though one cannot see one's own face.
One can see one's own face,
when the doubt of the heart fades away.

The first point to be noticed is that the verse has extremely short form. According to the rule of *Prākṛtapaiṅgalam*^v, which is a poetic treatise on poetic meters used in Apabhraṃśa and the old forms of the New Indo-Aryans, edited in 14 century, a standard form of *dohā* is as blow.

teraha mattā paḍhama paä, puṇu eāraha deha |
puṇu teraha eārahaï, dohā lakkāṇa eha || 78 ||

Give 13 *mātrās* into the first quarter [of *pādas*],
 then 11 *mātrās* into the next quarter.
 Then [give] 13, 11 *mātrās* [respectively into the third,
 four quarter], this is a characteristic of *dohā*.

This means that each line of *dohā* has 24 *mātrās*, and it is one of the shortest quantitative meters of Hindi poetry. Furthermore, each line forms a complete sentence as could be seen in the above *dohā*. In other words, *dohā* needs extremely concise expression and can express only quintessence of a thought, and elaborate expression in *dohā* is nearly impossible.

A *dohā* has following characteristics as a whole.

1. The last two syllables of each line rhyme.
2. In the middle of each line, there is a caesura (*yati*) after 13 *mātrās*, and it marks the semantic break in the sentence.
 Although it is not clear in the above illustration,
3. There is a slight rhythmic pause after the first six *mātrās* within each half-line (*pāda*), and it shows the pause of the phrase within the sentence.

It may be concluded that *dohā* is the poetic form that has all the requirements for oral reciting and memorization, namely strict end rhyme, division into smaller rhythmic units and a close relationship between rhythmic units and units of meaning. Because *dohā* has these elements, it is not only a concise form, but also seems easy to remember.

Furthermore, general characteristics of *dohā* are the correspondence or the antagonism between the first line and the second line, and also between the first and second half-line in the each rhythmical pattern and meaning. This kind of poetic structure is typical of the proverbs, and, in fact, is one of the favorite meters of Hindi proverbial sayings.^{vi} Thus *dohā* is not only concise and easy to memorize, but also has highly persuasive and aphoristic contents, carrying wisdom and universal truth refined by tradition.

The oldest instance of a *dohā* is, as widely known, used in the fourth act of the Northern recension of Kālidāsa's Sanskrit drama *Vikramorvaśīya* (“Uruvasī acquired by bravery”).^{vii} Though many opinions were given on the authenticity of this *dohā*, scholarly opinion agrees that there was some form of Apabhraṃśa literature by the sixth century A.D., and that the *dohā* was from the beginning the major poetic form.^{viii}

The *dohā* appears indeed as a new poetic form closely associated with the rise of Apabhraṃśa. Whereas the meters of Skt. and the Prakrit (Pkt.) are rigidly

syllable-counting with a fixed order of feet (*pādas*) within each line, the *dohā*, as having been mentioned above, has a considerably flexible structure based on *mātrā* or moraic count alone. Furthermore, while in most Skt. and Pkt. meters end-rhyme is optional, this end-rhyme is fundamental feature of the *dohā* and other meters of Apabhraṃśa origin. And the *dohā* apparently differs from Skt. and Pkt. meters in that its form suggests oral composition and reciting.

The etymology of *dohā* is, according to the Skt. commentary of *Prākṛtapaiṅgalam* is *dvipathā*^x, and *dodhaka*, *dvipadī* or *dvipathaka* (which mean Skt. couplets) can be assumed^x, but perhaps the poetic form itself will be a non-Sanskritic popular origin. A theory propounded by Hermann G. Jacobi (1850-1937), still generally approved, is that there may have been some relations between the end-rhyming poetic forms as well as *dohā* and foreign peoples who invaded from northwest India just after A.D. In this connection, Ābhīra (Skt.) > Ahīr clan are specially suggested because of its rule over the large domain, its role in development of the Kṛṣṇa cult, and its undoubted influence on the development of Apabhraṃśa.

Whatever the exact origin of the *dohās*, it became the dominant poetic meter of Apabhraṃśa, just as the *gāthā* was the main meter of Pkt. and the *śloka* of Skt. According to Hazārīprasād Dvivedī, *dūhāvidyā* (the science of *dohā*), found in some texts was practically a synonym of the Apabhraṃśa literature.

Dohā, indeed, is a prominent vehicle in all of the different kinds of Apabhraṃśa literature that have come down to us: grammars and works on meters, Jaina didactic anthologies, secular love narratives, collections of utterances of Sahajayāna and of Nāth Yogīs and, finally, *rāso* literature of Rājasthān in praise of kings.

Between the didactic *dohās* of the Sants like Kabīr etc., and those of their Jaina and Buddhist predecessors in the medieval north India, the remarkable similarities are pointed out in the basic tone and contents. For example, *Pāhuradohā* ("Gift of couplets")^{xi}, written by Jaina ascetic Rāmasiṃha (about 1000 A.D.) criticizes that the knowledge got from books is religiously empty, and its utterances extremely resembles the sayings of Kabīr.

bahuyaim padhiyaim mūrha para, tālū sukkai jeṇa |
ekku ji akkharu taṃ paṛhahu, sivapuri jammai jeṇa ||
(Pāhuradohā 97)

You have read a lot and become fool,
 even if your tongue gets dry.
 If you read only that one letter,
 you will be borne in Śiva's abode.

pothī paṛhi paṛhi jaga muvā, paṇḍita bhayā na koi |

ekai ākhara prema kā, paṛhai so paṇḍita hoi ||
(PV *sākhī* 19.4)

While reading books, the world died,
and no one became Paṇḍit (learned).
Just one letter of word 'love',
if one read it and then will be a Paṇḍit.

The similarity in tone and contents between the *dohā* collection (*dohākoṣa*) of Siddhas of Buddhist Sahajayāna (about 8-11 centuries A.D.) and of Sants is more remarkable. The strong continuity in the subject is seen in the doctrine of Siddhas and Sants, and the attitudes and central concepts of the Siddhas were carried into the religion of Sants.^{xii} The Siddhas had a very critical attitude towards established religions and their representatives, particularly Brahman priests. This is the same of Sants.

This critical attitude is frequently described in their *dohās*. In the *Dohākoṣa* of Saraha^{xiii}, the following verse could easily have been uttered by Kabīr.

bamhaṇehi ma jānanta hi bheu | evai paṛhiaū e ccau beu || 1 ||
maṭṭī pāṇī kusa lai paṛhanta | gharahim̐ baīsī āggi huṇanta ||
kajje birahia huabaha homem̐ | akkhi dahābia karuem̐ dhumem̐ || 2 ||

Brahmans do not know the truth, but they recite four Vedas.
They chant the mantras over soil, water,
kuśa grass and sit at home and burn their fire.
Even if one gives offerings to the fire
of *homa* without a purpose, smoky smoke roasts one's eyes.

The Siddhas mistrust the written word, seeking mystical experience beyond the limit of the language in the same way as Sants. Saraha expresses this motif, appearing quite frequently in the utterance of Kabīr in another *dohā* as follows.

akkhara bādhā saāla jagu, nāhi nirakkhara koi |
tāba se akkhara gholiā, jāba nirakkhara hoi || 88 ||

The whole world is bound by words,
there is no one free from words.
Only then one can understand words,
when one becomes free from words.^{xiv}

The doctrine of Siddhas was a form of Tantric Yoga. Their aim was a true experience of the state of *sahaja*, the Ultimate Reality in the inside of the self. The method includes control of the functions of the

mind by Yogic training. Though Sants tended to reinterpret this goal symbolically, Sant *dohās* expressing the direct experience of the Ultimate state are slightly different from those of Siddhas.

jahi maṇa pavaṇa ṇa sañcarai, ravi sasi ṇāha pavesa |
tahi baḍha citta visāma karu, saraheṃ kahia uesa || 25 ||^{xv}

Where mind and vital breath do not change,
and the sun and the moon do not go in and out of.
Oh fool, rest your heart there, thus Saraha teaches.

jihī bani sīha na sañcarai, pañkhi ure nahim jāi |
raimni divasa kā gami nahīm, tahām kabīra rahyā lyau lāi ||
(PV *sākhī* 10.1)

In the forest where a lion does not get to,
and a bird cannot fly in.
There, day and night does not extend to, Kabīr lives absorbedly.

Elements of the yoga accepted in the doctrine of Sants had spread out in all India in about ten centuries, and they were brought by Yogic ascetics of the Nāth sect which had considerable influence to the people at the lower stratum of the society.^{xvi} The Nāth sect succeeded both to asceticism of Śaiva tradition and to the esoteric practices of Buddhist Siddhas of Sahajayāna.

The teachings of the Nāths have many commonalities with those of the Siddhas, though they emphasize control of the breathing and physical methods to get psychological stages and reject erotic ritual of the Siddhas. Their influence on the Sants was less in their practice method, but Nāths transmitted to the Sants their heterodox attitudes against established religions and their emphasis on values of bodily purification and self-control. Furthermore, the Sants inherited the technical vocabulary and mystical symbolism of the Nāths and tried to give them new meanings.

Most of literatures of Gorakhnāth, the founder of the Nāth panth, were written in Sanskrit and are technical treatises on Haṭha-yoga. However, his philosophical and ethical teachings for the people are compiled as a collection of aphorisms in a very similar form of hybrid language, in which Sants of Northern India used to teach.^{xvii} The collection of these aphorisms is called *sabdīs* (<Skt. śabda), and though most of them are in meters other than *dohā*, almost of them are couplets, and function like *dohās*.

Thematically, as well as their imagery and vocabulary, they seem to be a link in the tradition of didactic *dohā*. Some of these *sabdīs* are found only slightly changed, in the later *dohās* of Sants.

hindū ākhaiṃ rāmma kauṃ, musalamāna khudāi |
jogī ākhaiṃ alakha kauṃ, tahām rāma acchai na khudāi ||
 (Gorakha-bānī sabdī 69)

The Hindū calls on Rām, and the Muslim calls on Khudā.
 The Yogī calls on the Invisible,
 in whom there is neither Rām nor Khudā.

hindū mūā rāmma kahi, musalamāmna khudāi |
kahai kabīra so jīvatām, jo duhuṃ kai nikaṭi na jāi ||
 (PV sākhi 31.7)

The Hindū dies saying Rām, the Muslim Khudā.
 Says Kabīr, one survives who goes near to neither.

Gorakhnāth describes the ultimate state of *sahaja* which he got
 by the practice of Haṭha-yoga as follows.

nīmjhara jharaṇaiṃ amīrasa pīvaṇām, ṣaṭa dala bedhyā jāi |
canda bihūṃnām cāṃḍinām tahām, dekhyā śrī gorakharāi ||
 (Gorakha-bānī sabdī 171)

The spring has burst forth and I have drunk the amṛta,
 by penetrating six lotus flowers.
 Where there is moonlight without moon,
 there I saw Lord Gorakhnāth.

The same *dohā* is found in Kabīr, which has little technical
 vocabulary of the Haṭha-yoga.

mana lāgā unamanna sauṃ, gagana pahūṃcā jāi |
cāṃḍa bihūṃnām cāṃḍinām, tahām alakha nirañjana rāi ||
 (PV sākhi 5.15)

Mind has entered the state of the reversal,
 and climbed the vault of sky.
 Where there is moonlight without moon,
 there reigns the Invisible, Immaculate King.

By the end of fourteen century, when earliest Sants of North
 India had begun to preach their teaching of the devotional love to the
 god without any attribute (nirguṇa bhakti), the *dohā* was already
 established itself in tradition of the Hindī literature. *Dohā* is most
 popular poetic meter, not only in the Apabhraṃśa, but also in medieval
 Hindī, a situation which it has retained today.

As we have seen above, *dohā* had been used for both secular

and religious literary expression, but as an independent aphoristic verse, it was primarily used for religious expressions. As the Bhakti movement developed in various forms over North India during the 15th century and subsequent centuries, inspiring the creativities of medieval literary dialects of Hindī, and although it might have been expected that all the bhakti poets would make use of *dohā* for expression of their own thoughts, however, it remained as expression means of nirguṇa bhakti of Sants. And it never became an important genre to express devotional love to Lord God (saguṇa bhakti) with attributes, Rāma and Kṛṣṇa.

At first, an explanation of this situation might be suggested; as slightly cleared in the historical development, the *dohā* as expression means of religious thoughts had been primarily associated with heterodox religious traditions. For Sants as spiritual heirs of these traditions, continued use of the *dohā* was only natural. In contrast, the devotee (bhakt <Skt. bhakta) of the orthodox Vaiṣṇava may have had some uneasiness in using a mode of expression associated with heterodox teachings. Tulsidās (1532-1623) states, in a *dohā* which criticizes the heterodoxy of Sants, that *dohā* (*sākhī*) is a poetic form associated with it.

sākhī śabdī doharā, kahi kahanī upakhāna |
bhagati nirūpahi adhama kavi, nindahi veda purāṇa ||
(Dohāvalī dohā 554)^{xviii}

By reciting *sākhī, śabdī, dohā*, tales and the stories,
 Vulgar poets expound bhakti,
 while scorning *Vedas* and the *Purāṇas*.

Another factor relates to the poetic form. The difference between *Saguṇa bhakti* and *Nirugūṇa bhakti* has a literary as well as a theological aspect. Whereas *Saguṇa* poetry is based on myths of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, generally speaking on stories, the only base of the poetry of *Nirugūṇa* is religious experiences of the poets. Therefore, the poets of *Saguṇa* can present a story or a drama, the poets of *Nirugūṇa* can present moments of direct realization of the truth existence. Thus, because *dohā* form has the concise nature and strength of the expression, it was suitable for poetry of *Nirugūṇa bhakti* and was too short for the poetry of *Saguṇa bhakti*.^{xix}

By the way, *dohās* of Sants are called almost referred to as *sākhī*. However, like the *dohā* form itself, the term *sākhī* predates the Sants. The Siddhas of Sahajayāna used this word, derived from Skt. *sākṣin* (a meaning of "an eyewitness, evidence, a testimony") in its primary sense. In other words, this term refers to a person who has directly experienced enlightenment and can therefore talk about religious truth with authority. Gradually, especially in the literature of

Nāth panthī, it came to mean the words of the enlightened person. Thus if the words (*śabda*) is the inner revelation of the True Guru (*sadguru*), *sākhī* may be said the authoritative utterance that testifies the inner revelation and instructs to lead others towards to it. Kabīr says this idea as follows.

sākhī āṅkhī gyāṁna kī, samujhi dekhū mana māhīm |
binu sākhī saṁsāra kā, jhagarā chuṭata nāhīm || (BI *sākhī* 353)

Sākhīs are the eyes of wisdom; try to understand in your heart.
 Without *sākhīs* there is no end to struggles of this mundane world.

In the place where the term *sākhī* reached the Sants, it had become so closely associated with the *dohā* that the two words became practically synonymous. Thus *sākhīs* come, it was with one form of two main genres of the collection of sayings (*sant bānī*) of Sants of north India, and, as for the other, it was in a Buddhist chant to be called *sabad* <Skt. śabda or *pad* <Skt. pada in this way.

Notes

ⁱ This paper is a revised version of the author's previous paper "Kabīr's dohā: its History and Doctrine," *Bulletin of Orientology*, Vol. 21 (in Japanese) (*Bulletin of the Faculty of Letters*, Toyo University, Vol. 42.)

ⁱⁱ Dhīrendra Varmā *et al.* (eds.), *Hindī sāhitya koś* (2 bhāg, Vārāṅasī: Jñānmaṇḍal, 1963 (dviṭīya saṁ.)), Bhāg 1, pp. 649-653.

ⁱⁱⁱ The PV refers to a collection of sayings by the five Sants (Dādū, Kabīr, Nāmdev, Raidās, and Haridās) compiled by members of Dadū-panth, probably in the late seventeenth century. This collection has a most famous Rajasthan recension, which was edited and published by the first modern Hindi scholar Śyām

Sundar Dās as the *Kaīr-ganthāvalī* (Vārāṅasī: Nāgarīpracāriṇī Sabhā, 1928). It has recently been republished in Winand M. Callewaert and Op de Beeck (eds.) *Nirguṇ Bhakti Sāgar, Devotional Hindi Literature* (2 vols., Delhi: Manohar, 1991).

In this paper, the author will be referring to Mātāprasād Gupta (ed.)

Kaīr-ganthāvalī (Ilāhābād: Sāhitya Bhavan, 1985; first ed. 1969).

^{iv} This is a sacred book of Kabīr-panth, compiled in eastern Uttar Pradesh and western Bihār, probably in the late seventeenth century. The author of this paper has presented a critical recension in his own book, *A Study of Popular Thought in Mediaeval India* (in Japanese, Tokyo: Nombre-sha, 2006), based on the *Kabīr-caurā-maṭh* recension, the published edition of which is Gaṅgāśaraṇ Śāstrī, Śukdev Siṃh (sompādīt), *Bījak (Kabīrcaurā pāṭh)* (Vārāṇasī: Kabīrvāṇī Prakāśan Kendra, 1982).

^v Bholāśaṅkar Vyās (ed.) *Prākṛtapaiṅgalam* (2 bhāg, Vārāṇasī: Prakrit Text Society, 1959), Bhāg 1, pp. 70-71.

^{vi} Mahendra, *Kabīr kī bhāṣā* (Dillī: Śabd-kār, 1969), Pariśiṣṭ 1 contains a collection of the proverbs which the author assumed were used in the *sākhīs* of Kabīr. In the Hindī modern proverb collection of Bholanāth Tivārī *et al.* (eds.), *Bṛhad hindī lokokti koś* (Dillī: Śabd-kār, 1985), pp. 25-6, there is also a list of the verses of Kabīr.

^{vii} Cf. Tsuji Naoshiro (transl.), *The Princess Śakuntalā* (in Japanese, Tokyo: Iwanami Library, 1977), pp. 186-7.

^{viii} The following study is based on Hazārīprasād Divedī, *Hindī sāhitya kī bhūmikā* (Mumbaī: Hindī Granth Ratnākar, 1959 (pratham sam. 1940)); its Japanese translation by Sakata Teiji, Miyamoto Keichi and the present author, *The Praise of Indian Earth: Mediaeval Popular Culture and Hindi Literature* (Tokyo: Shunjū-sha, 1992); Hazārīprasād Divedī, *Hindī sāhitya kā ādikāl* (Paṭnā: Bihār Rāṣṭrabhāṣā Pariṣad, 1961 (pratham sam. 1952)); and Rāmsiṃh Tomar, *Prākṛt aur Apabhraṃśa sāhitya tathā unkā hindī sāhitya par prabhāv* (Ilāhābād: Hindī Pariṣad Prakāśan, 1963).

^{ix} Vyās 1959, Bhāg 1, p. 341.

^x Kṛṣṇa Bihārī Sahal, *Ḍholā-mārū rā dūhā: ek vivecan* (Dillī: Ātmarām eṇḍ sanz, 1965), pp. 210-14.

^{xi} Hiralal Jain (ed. and transl.), *Pāhudadohā of Ramasimha Muni, Karanja* (Berar: Karanja Jaina Publication Society, 1938), dohā 97; quoted by Karine Schomer, "The Dohā as a Vehicle of Sant Teachings," in Karine Schomer and W. H. McLeod (eds.), *The Sants: Studies in a Devotional Tradition of India* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1987). Cf. Devendra Śāstrī, *Pāhuṛadohā: Apabhraṃśa kā rahasyavādī kāvya: muni rāmasiṃha* (Naī Dillī: Bhāratīy Jñānpīṭh, 1998).

^{xii} S. B. Dasgupta, *Obscure Religious Cults* (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyaya, 1976 (third ed.)), pp. 354-366.

^{xiii} Prabodhchandra Bagchi, *Dohakoṣa with Notes and Translation* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta Press, 1935), p. 7.

^{xiv} Bagchi 1935, p. 21. The term *akkhara* < Skt. *akṣara* of the originals usually has the meaning "letters", but here the author has adopted the translation of D. L. Snellgrove, "Saraha's Treasury of Songs," in E. Conze (ed.) *Buddhist Texts through the Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1954).

^{xv} Bagchi 1935, p. 12.

^{xvi} Cf. George W. Briggs, *Gorakhnāth and Kānphaṭa Yogīs* (Delhi:

Motilal Banarsidass, 1973 (repr. ed.) and Hazārīprasād Dvivedī, *Nāth saṃpradāy* (Vārāṇasī: Naivedya Niketan, 1950).

^{xvii} Pītāmbardatt Baṛthvāl (ed.), *Gorakh-bānī* (Prayāg: Hindī Sāhitya Sammelan, 1960 (tīsrā saṃ.)).

^{xviii} Rāmcandra Śukla *et al.* (eds.), *Tulsī-granthāvalī* (4 bhāg, Vārāṇasī: Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā, 1973-74 (punarāvṛtti), dūsra bhāg).

^{xix} Kenneth E. Bryant, "Sant and Vaiṣṇava Poetry: Some Observations on Method," in Mark Juergensmeyer and Gerald Barrier (eds.), *Sikh Studies: Comparative Perspectives on a Changing Tradition* (Berkeley: Religious Studies Series, 1979), pp. 65-74.

Metre and Rhythm in Hindu Devotional songs

A musicological analysis of Kabīr's *bhajan*

Takako Tanaka

1. Purpose, object and method of study

From a musicological point of view, I have been studying and collecting recordings of *bhajans*, Hindi devotional songs sung by Hindus of North India, my special interest being aspects of singing forms.¹ In this article, based on further analysis of the *bhajan* performance recordings, I focus on aspects of the relationship between verbal rhythm and musical rhythm in the devotional songs, that is, between the prosodic metre of the text and the rhythmic structure of the songs. The study examines two performances of one *bhajan* with a typical *caupāī* metre very popular in medieval Hindi prosodies, sung by two different soloists on different occasions. We will see how much freedom the singers have, when they sing the prosody, in changing the original metre according to their musical desires. In this way, I will try to determine the correlation between the prosodic and musical metres.

Before delving into the discussion, some general explanation of *bhajans* is necessary. *Bhakti*, the essential core of Hinduism today, literally means “to share with the gods”. With this as the spiritual grounding of *bhakti*, Hindu devotees are to express their deep emotion for the gods through different manners of prayer. Uttering and singing words of devotion in intimacy with the gods is the most popular form of *bhakti*, and in the daily lives of Hindus — be they talented musicians, singers or poets, or not — there are many kinds of chant and singing performances to be heard on various occasions. It is most important for Hindus that they express their emotional passion to the gods, i.e. *bhakti*. They can sing any

prosody and melody, and need not concern themselves with whether the prosody and melody are composed by themselves, famous poets, famous musicians, or are anonymous pieces, nor whether the texts are academically or theoretically “correct”. All the various forms and styles of Hindu devotional song can thus be generically called *bhajan*.

Nevertheless, it can be said that there are more “popular” repertoires of *bhajan*. Historically, the *bhakti* movement is said to have originated in South India in the seventh or eighth century, and by the fifteenth century had been spread by saint singers to North India. Among the most famous spiritual leaders and saints of North India are Kabīr (1398?-1448?), Nānak (1469-1539?), Sūrdās (1478-1584?), Mīrābāī (1499-1546) and Tulsīdās (1532-1623) etc. They composed numerous *bhajans* to express their deep and intense devotion and passion for the gods, and most of their compositions were sung before common people as vehicles for expounding religious thought. These *bhajans* are still being sung today and are popular among Hindus in general.

There have been some highly educated and literate composers of *bhajans*, such as Tulsīdās, who by himself wrote the immortal work *Rāmacaritmānas* in medieval Hindi (Avadhī); but most *bhajans* were transmitted through the oral tradition of singing and chanting what one felt. Sometimes it was impossible to write independently — Kabīr was said to be illiterate, and Sūrdās, blind. Today there are many published texts or anthologies of *bhajans* ostensibly by famous poets, but with varying degrees of academic authenticity. Sometimes, even when a composer’s name appears in the text, it is very difficult to tell whether that poet himself composed the *bhajan* or not. One can find many kinds of *bhajanāvali* (anthologies of *bhajans*) being sold even on the street, and with many *bhajans* still being composed, the number of *bhajan* repertoires continues to increase.

Devotees can sing any favorite *bhajan* of a famous poet, and can sing it to any favorite tune, which in turn may be a tune popular among the singers, one of their own composition, or a product of on-the-spot improvisation. Even when we are able to find authorized texts of *bhajans*, very limited information about the music is given for each *bhajan* — the *rāga* (modal instruction) and *tāla* (rhythmic cycle) name, for example — and we cannot tell when and by whom those musical instructions were given for the text. But text authenticity or music theory is of little concern. What is most important in *bhajan* singing is the devotion of the singers. It is not a question of literary composition nor of musical composition, but more the devotion of the singers when they sing the *bhajan*. Generally speaking, in terms of musical form, most *bhajans* are sung by solo singers in a strophic form (with repeating verses) and consist of two or three melodic lines repeated many times. The simplest forms may be analyzed as “A A’ A’...” or “A B A C A”, but there are no formal rules for Hindus to follow when singing *bhajans*. It is thus necessary for musicologists to analyze examples from performances in

order to understand the correlative phenomena taking place between text and music in the *bhajan* being sung. Recorded performances are the only material and evidence for revealing these connections.

In this article, I will attempt a comparative analysis of recordings of *bhajan* performances to discover the fundamental principle involved in singing one metrical text as a song — the flexibility of and interaction between verbal metre and musical metre in performance.

2. Textual analysis of the construction and metre of the performances

As mentioned above, singers can sing any *bhajan* text set to any favorite tune or melody. I happened to record two samples of the same *bhajan*, composed by Kabīr, with the first line beginning “*bīta gaye dina*”. The samples, recorded by me, were sung by two solo singers on different occasions in 1983. Answering my request for their favorite *bhajan*, it was by chance that they sang the same text, but with totally different musical expressions.

Music Sample 1 was sung by Mr. Prem Singh Kinot, a professional male singer teaching vocal music at the Bhātkhande College of Music in Lucknow, the capital city of Uttar Pradesh District. It was not sung as a complete performance in one session; the complete rendering of the song came through over several lessons that Prof. Kinot gave me as his student. There is variability from one recording to another in the number of repetitions and the melodic outlines, with improvisational factors playing a role.

Music Sample 2 was sung by Ms. Asha Pandey, a female student studying music at the same college. Though at the same college, no connection can be traced between the two singers as far as this song is concerned; the tune was realized musically in completely different ways.

Songs are sometimes accompanied by musical instruments — e.g. *tāmpūrā* (a string instrument for drone), *tablā-bāyām* (a pair of one-headed drums), an Indian harmonium (a portable reed organ) and so on — but in this article I do not attempt to deal with the instrumental part, only with the singing of the performance.

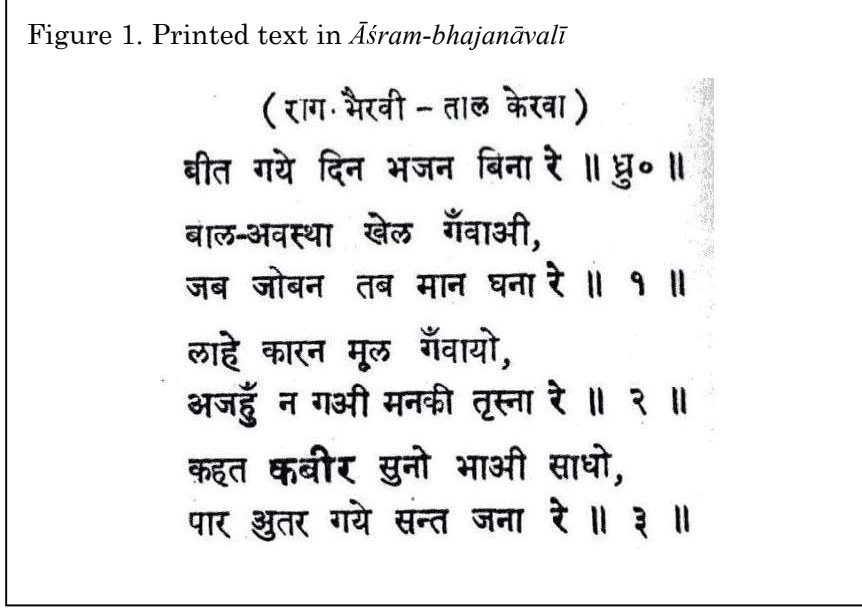
In my attempt to transcribe the text sung, I found a similar prosody, in *Devanāgarī* characters, in one of the *bhajan* anthologies (*bhajanāvalī*),ⁱⁱ reproduced here as Figure 1. The names of the *rāga* (*bhairavī*) and the *tāla* (*keravā*, that is *kaharavā-tāla*) are mentioned at the top of the text. Figure 2 gives the transliteration into the Roman alphabet of the printed texts shown in Figure 1. Even though there are some differences between the printed and performed texts in square brackets, e.g. “*jobana*” vs. “*javānī*”, they can without doubt be regarded as the same prosody.

The English translation of the prosody is as follows:

Days have gone without devotion. (refrain)
Childhood has passed away in play.
Youth was filled with arrogance, [1]

*Seeking only profit, ignoring truth,
Still feeling thirsty in the heart. [2]
Kabīr says, "Listen, devotees,
People of truth have crossed the river." [3]*

Figure 1. Printed text in *Āsram-bhajanāvālī*



Indicators of the prosodic metre — the number of *mātrās* — and the metrical analysis are also shown in Figure 2. In accordance with Hindi poetic metre, “L” represents a *laghu* (a light or short syllable of one *mātrā*), and “G” a *guru* (a heavy or long syllable of two *mātrās*). Numbers in round brackets give the total number of *mātrās* in each line. From this, this *bhajan* is regarded as a prosody with a *caupāī* metre.

A typical *caupāī* consists of four *pādas* (a quarter) of 16 *mātrās* each, with 64 *mātrās* in total. Two *pādas* form an *ardhālī* (half of a metre; here, a couplet). I notated each line and *pāda* with numbers in square brackets, e.g. [1-2]; the first number is the couplet number, and the latter gives the *pāda* number of each couplet (‘-1’ or ‘-2’ respectively). In a *caupāī* stanza, each *pāda* of 16 *mātrās* is ordinarily divided into 6+4+4+2, and the even-numbered *pādas* are rhymed (foot end). This *bhajan*, as shown in Figure 2, is not typical, due to the shortage of one *pāda* in line [d], but is still regarded as a *caupāī*; every *pāda* has 16 *mātrās*, and the rhymes “ā re” occur in every even-numbered *pāda*.

Figure 2. Transliteration of the printed text

rāga bhairavī, tāla keravā

bīta gaye dina bhajana binā re ||dhru o|| [d]
 GL LG LL LLL LG G (16)

bāla-avasthā khela gāvāī, [gāvāyo] [1-1]
 GL LGG GL LGG (16)

jaba jobana[javānī] taba māna ghanā re ||1|| [1-2]
 LL GLL[LGL] LL GL LG G(16)

lāhe kārana[lāhe ke kārana] mūla gāvāyo, [2-1]
 GGGLL [GL L GLL]GL LGG(16)

ajahū na gaī manakī ṭṛsnā re ||2|| [2-2]
 LLL L LG LLG LG G(16)

kahata kabīra suno bhāī sādho, [3-1]
 LLL LGL LG LL GG(16)

pāra utara gaye santa janā re ||3|| [3-2]
 GL LLL LL GL LG G(16)

(G; guru, L; laghu)

Also noted in Figure 2 are differences between the printed and performed texts: “*gāvāī*” vs. “*gāvāyo*” in [1-1], “*jobana*” vs. “*javānī*” in [1-2], and “*lāhe kārana*” vs. “*lāhe ke kārana*” in [2-1], but these do not significantly influence the basic metrical structure as a *caupāī*.

3. Musical analysis of the performances

3-1. Musical metre, rhythm and description

Music can be analyzed according to many differing dimensions and factors: melody and scale, mode, rhythm, musical form, texture, timber and so on. In this section, I focus mainly on the rhythmic factor of the music samples. In particular, I examine and compare the way in which the *caupāī* prosody is set to the musical rhythms in the two performances.

The word “rhythm” in musicology denotes the durational relationship between the tones in music. In Western music, the durational value of each tone is ordinary measured by “beats”, which refer to the duration from one instance of utterance of the voice to the next instance of

utterance. By representing the basic unit of one beat as “♩” and calling it “a quarter note”, we manage to measure the rhythms of different musical pieces, i.e. the durational relation of each tone relative to one beat (a half beat or eighth note “♩”, two half beats “♪”, and so on). The metre of music thus refers to “the regular succession of rhythmic impulses or beats.” According to one dictionary of music, “Rhythm is no longer accepted as a sufficiently precise definition, metre being considered as the basic pulse and rhythm as the actual time-patterns of the notes within a measure. E.g., in 3/4 the 3 beats strong, weak, weak are metrical, while the time-value of the notes actually heard are the rhythm.”ⁱⁱⁱ

But there is also music in which we never feel the basic pulse, metrical regularity, or durational relationship between the tones through the concept of “beat”, even when we are able to recognize the difference between long and short tones. Thus all music is rhythmically divided into two categories: metrical rhythm and non-metrical rhythm. If there is no metrical regulation in the music measured with beats, it is regarded as “non-metrical” or as having “free rhythm”. Music of both categories is not uncommon everywhere in the world, including India. For example, Music Sample 1 is sung metrically, and Music Sample 2 non-metrically. Consequently, it is impossible to transcribe non-metrical music into Western-style notation correctly. Still, as that notation system is one of the most familiar to us, musicologists sometimes attempt a transcription in order to sketch an outline of the music.

Figure 3 Metrical structure of rhythmic cycle of Indian music (*tāla*)

<i>Dādrā-tāla</i>		<i>dhā</i>	<i>dhin</i>	<i>dhā</i>		<i>dhā</i>	<i>tin</i>	<i>nā</i>													
Meter 6 (3+3)		1(<i>sam</i>)	2	3		4(<i>tālī</i>)	5	6													
 <i>Kaharavā-tāla</i>	 	 <i>dhā</i>	 <i>ge</i>	 <i>nā</i>	 <i>ti</i>	 	 <i>nā</i>	 <i>ka</i>	 <i>dhi</i>	 <i>nā</i>	 										
Meter 8 (4+4)		1(<i>sam</i>)	2	3	4		5(<i>tālī</i>)	6	7(<i>tālī</i>)	8											
 <i>Tīn-tāla</i>	 Meter 16 (4+4+4+4)																				
		<i>dhā</i>	<i>dhin</i>	<i>dhin</i>	<i>dhā</i>		<i>dhā</i>	<i>dhin</i>	<i>dhin</i>	<i>dhā</i>		<i>nā</i>	<i>tin</i>	<i>tin</i>	<i>nā</i>		<i>dhā</i>	<i>dhin</i>	<i>dhin</i>	<i>dhā</i>	
		1(<i>sam</i>)	2	3	4		5(<i>tālī</i>)	6	7	8		9(<i>khālī</i>)	10	11	12		13(<i>tālī</i>)	14	15	16	

As for Indian metrical music, it is complicated linguistically by the fact that the mora (minimal quantitative unit of metrical time) of each tone in music is also called *mātrā*, as in the mora of prosodic metre in

mātrāvṛtta.^{iv} To avoid such confusion, in this article I use the term “beat” for the *mātrā* of Indian music. Rhythmic metre of Indian music is defined by the number of beats and the combinations of segments of beats in one basic cycle of the rhythm-pattern repeated during a song or piece of music. Such a basic rhythm-pattern is called a *tāla* — each *tāla* consisting of a few beat-segments — and can be recognized as the “metrical structure” or musical metre. For north Indian music, however, there are more than ten kinds of *tāla* heard today in daily performances. For example, the *Kaharvā-tāla* consists of eight beats divided into two segments of four beats (4+4); the *Rūpak-tāla* consists of seven beats (3+2+2); the *Tīn-tāla* of 16 beats (4+4+4+4), and so on. One cycle of each *tāla* — 16 beats (4+4+4+4) for the *Tīn-tāla* and seven beats (3+2+2) for the *Rūpak-tāla*, for example — is called an *āvarta*. For many *āvarta*, the same rhythmic cycle construction is repeated during the performance. Musically speaking, the strongest beat in an *āvarta* is on the first beat, called *sam*, and the next strongest, called *tālī*, are the first beats of subsequent beat segments: the fifth beat of the *Kaharvā-tāla*; the fifth, ninth and thirteenth of the *Tīn-tāla*; and the fourth and sixth of the *Rūpak-tāla*. *Khālī*, meaning ‘empty’, is the weakest beat, and is prohibited from being stressed and is kept empty in some *tāla*, like the *Tīn-tāla*. The remaining beats are all classified as “weak” beats. Figure 3 shows the basic structure of several representative *tāla* in North India, with onomatopoeic basic drumming-patterns. From analyzing the hundreds of recordings in my possession, it can be said that the most popular *tāla* used for singing *bhajans* are the *Kararavā-tāla* of eight beats (4+4), the *Dādrā-tāla* of six beats (3+3), and the *Tīn-tāla* of 16 beats (4+4+4+4) and “free rhythm”.

The Indian traditional system of music notation basically uses one character for one beat. Usually these characters are abbreviated forms of Indian pitch names; for instance S for *śadja*, R for *ṛṣabha*, G for *gāndhāra*, M for *madhyam*, P for *pañcama*, D for *dhaibata*, N for *niṣāda*, which can be generally thought of as the Western equivalents of Do, Re, Mi, Fa, So, La and Ti. The biggest difference between musical *mātrās* (beats) and poetic *mātrās* is that several poetic *mātrās* or syllables can be sung in one musical *mātrā* (beat). In this case, several characters or notes are sung in one beat; these are listed between angled brackets.

I have thus transcribed the musical material with the text of the complete performance of Music Sample 1 (Figure 4-1) and Music Sample 2 (Figure 5-1) using my own, original system of notation, inspired by that of Bhātkhande.^v Each pair of two lines is to be read together: the upper line gives the melodic line, and the lower the sung text. I have also transcribed both performances into Western staff notation, as in Figures 4-2 and 5-2. But as Music Sample 1 was sung in fast *Kaharavā-tāla*, I transcribed two beats for one character, so that every line equals four *āvartas* of *Kaharavā-tāla*, i.e. 32 beats. As already mentioned, Music Sample 2 was sung in free rhythm, so Figure 5-2 shows only the outline of the song.

Figure 4 Notation of Music Sample 1

4 - 1 Indic Style

Upper line indicates melody.
Lower line indicates texts.

[1] - <- G> <- M> <P Sh> | N <- D> <P m> P | <P G> <- G> <M P> <- M> | G R S - |
[d] - - bī - - ta ga ye - - di - na - - - bha ja na - bi nā - re -

[2] - <- G> <- M> <P N> | Sh <N N> Sh - | Sh <- N> <- D> <- P> | <D N> Sh N - |
[1-1] - - bā - - la a va -(a)s thā - - - khe - la - gā vā - - yo -

[3] - <N N> N Sh | N D <P m> P | - <- G> <M P> <- M> | G R S - |
[1-2] - ja - ba ja vā nī ta - ba - - mā - na - gha nā - re -
[2-2] - a ja hū na ga ī ma - na - - kī - tṛ - (i)s nā - re -
[3-2] - pā - ra u ta ra ga - ye - - sa (a)n ta - ja nā - re -

[4] - <- G> <- M> <P N> | Sh N Sh Sh | - <- P> <N Sh> <- Rh> | Gh Rh Sh - |
[2-1] - - lā - - he ke kā - ra na - - mū - la - gā vā - yo -
[3-1] - - ka - ha ta ka bī - ra - - - su no bhā - ī sā - dho -

4 - 2 Western Style

♩ = Ca. 100

[1]
[d] bī - - ta ga ye - di - na - - bha ja na bi nā - re

[2]
[1-1] bā - - la a va -(a)s thā - - khe - la gā vā - - yo

[3]
[1-2] ja - ba ja vā nī ta - ba - mā - na gha nā - re
[2-2] a ja hū na ga ī ma - na - kī - tṛ - (i)s nā - re
[3-2] pā - ra u ta ra ga - ye - sa (a)n ta - ja nā - re


[4]
[2-1] lā - - he ke kā - ra na - mū - la gā vā - yo
[3-1] ka - ha ta ka bī - ra - - su no bhā ī sā - dho

Figure 5-1 Indic Style

- [1] S - - r - S <- S> M - - G - - - n l n l g - - <- r> S - - S - [a] M P d Sh - -
 [d] bī - - ta - - - ga ye - - din - - bhajana - - - bi nā - - re - a - - - -
- [2] <Sh n><d n> - d M - - - <- GP> M - M - - - M - <GM P>P - G - - - <-S>G - M P d
 [1-1] bā - - - la -
 [2-1] lā - - - he -
 [3-1] ka - - - ha ta -
- [3] M P - <-P><ndP> - <Pn> - <-n>n <-P> - - P d <nShrhSh> - Sh Sh - - - d M r S S - -
 -
 [1-2] ja ba - - ja vā - - - nī -
 [2-2] a ja - - - hu -
 [3-2] pā ra - - u ta -

Figure 5-2 Western Style


$\text{♩} = \text{ca. } 96$ [a]

[1] 

[d] bī ta - ga ye din bha ja na - bi nā re ā - - -

[2] 

[1-1] bā - - - la - - - a va - - - sthā khe - - - - - la gā vā yo - - -
 [2-1] lā - - - he - - - kā - rana mū - - - - - la gā vā yo - - -
 [3-1] ka - - - ha ta ka bī - ra suno - - - - - bhā ī sā dho - - -

[3] 

[1-2] ja ba ja vā - - - nī taba - mā - na - - - - ghanā re - - - - -
 [2-2] a ja hu - - - - nagaī mana - kī - ṭṛ - - - - snā - re - - - - -
 [3-2] pā ra u ta - - - - ra gaye - san ta - - - - ja nā re - - - - -

3-2. General observations on prosodic metre in musical performance

In general, the number of *mātrās* in the prosodic metre of the sung text has no relationship to the number of beats of the song's *tāla* musical cycle, because it is rarely the case that each individual syllable is sung according to one beat of the song in performance. Several syllables can be sung in one beat, or one *mātrā* syllable may be sustained for a few beats, and it will be natural for the singer to introduce variations: e.g., to sing several syllables in one or two beats, keep one *mātrā* syllable for more or fewer beats, repeat the same syllables or word as a refrain, add meaningless syllables such as “ā” to complete the melody, and so on. In performance, many kinds of changes to prosodic metre can occur for musical purposes.

Rupert Snell, a linguistic expert on *Apabhraṃśa*, is probably the only scholar to attempt a precise and detailed study of the devotional singing of North India in terms of the correlation between textual metre and musical *tāla*. He has shared with us a discussion on metre in a section of chapter VI (“The Metre of the CP in Musical Performance”) of his book *The Eighty Four-Hymns of Hita Harivamśa: An Edition of the Caurāsī Pada*, published in 1991.^{vi} Here he attempted a rhythmic analysis of tape recordings of ten stanzas of *Caurāsī pada* (an anthology of 80 *padas* written by Hita Harivamśa), identifying the common ground between textual metre and musical *tāla*. He pointed out a correlation with the number of *mātrās* in the textual line, and that the number of *tāla mātrās* in the rhythmic cycle (*āvarta*) is clearly maintained in the performance of *samāj-gāyan* held in the temples belonging to the *Rādhāvallabha* school^{vii} in *Braj* district.^{viii} Though I have also studied *samāj-gāyan* performances at several temples belonging to other sects and tried to analyze them in the same way as Snell, the results were so complicated that, unlike him, I was unable to come to any clear conclusion.

Most of those prosodies sung in the temples in *Braj* are called *pada*, which has a larger and more complicated structure of metre. Thus my treatment in this article is limited to one of the simplest *bhajans* in performance.

3-3. Further analysis of Music Sample 1

Music Sample 1 is sung in *Kaharvā-tāla*, consisting of 8 (4+4) *mātrās* in one *āvarta*. It is clear from Figure 4-1 and 4-2 that one *pāda* of 16 *mātrās* is set in the recorded performance to four *āvartas* of the eight-beat *Kaharvā-tāla*, giving in total 32 *mātrās*.^{ix} The bar line divides each *āvarta* (8 *mātrās*) in Figures 4-1 and 4-2. I used an eighth note instead of a quarter note for one beat (musical *mātrā*) of *Kaharvā-tāla*, because I felt that the basic tempo of the performance was too fast (♩ = ca.200) to use a quarter note as one beat in Western staff notation. The basic tempo of this music sample is thus shown as ♪ = ca.100.

The first *pāda* indicated as “*dhru*” is noted as [d]. Each upper melodic unit and lower textual unit go together, and each lower textual

unit is sung with its upper melodic unit. As shown in Figures 4-1 and 4-2, the whole melody of Music Sample 1 consists of four melodic units ([1]-[4]). The textual units [1-2][2-2][3-2], which are the even-numbered *pāda* of each line, are always sung to melodic unit [3], while the odd-numbered *pāda* of the textual unit [1-1] is sung to melodic unit [2], and [2-1] and [3-1] are sung to melodic unit [4]. The rhythmic structures of melodic units [2] and [4] are regarded as variants.

Every textual unit of the *pāda* of 16 *mātrās* is set to one melodic unit of 32 musical *mātrās*, but there are similarities and difference in the ways the text is distributed across the melodic units in each line. The melody connected with the first half line [d] starts on the weak beat of the quarter notes of the first *āvarta* of *Kaharavā-tāla*.

The first *pāda* of 16 *mātrās* (textual unit [d]) is always sung to melodic unit [1] and repeated again and again whenever each line of 32 *mātrās* ([1-1]+[1-2], [2-1]+[2-2] or [3-1]+[3-2]) is completed. Although this line has only one *pāda* of 16 *mātrās* and is half the length of the other 32-*mātrā* lines consisting of two *pādas*, this *pāda* is always repeated at least twice in the song, which compensates for its shortness. The words “*dhru o*” seems to be an abbreviation of the Hindi adjective *dhruva*, literally meaning “fixed, immovable, stable” or “constant.”^x As in most Indian songs, the first line of the texts, also called *theka*, is sung “constantly”, so it performs a special function as a kind of “motive” or “theme” of the song. As a result, we are able to easily remember the melody with its text and identify the song textually, as well as musically. Sometimes the first line is used to identify the songs, much like a title, because most Indian songs have no titles. *Caupāī* is regarded as a suitable form for narrative content, but with the *theka* “*bīta gaye dina*” in this *bhajan* being repeated over and over again with the familiar melody, it gives the impression that this song is more philosophical for its listeners. The idea and image of “Oh, days have gone!” permeates this *bhajan*.

Both melodic lines [2] and [3] consist of eight *āvartas* of *Kaharavā-tāla* (in total 64 beats), and the melodic line [1] of four *āvartas* (32 *mātrās*). Each of the 16-*mātrā* verbal *pādas* occupies four *āvartas* of *Kaharavā-tāla*, or 32 musical beats. The singer himself explained the melodic units of [2]-[3] as the “*sthāī*” (primary motif) and the melodic units of [4]-[3] as the “*antarā*” (sub-motif) according to Indian classical music theory.

As already noted, portions of the prosodic metre are not always fixed to the musical rhythm or duration. For example, in melodic unit [3], the first phrase “*jaba javāni taba*” of [1-2] consists of three short, two long, and two short syllables (LL LGG LL), but every seventh syllable is similarly sung for one beat and there is no difference in music duration between those syllables. There are cases of corruption of the prosodic metre in the performance, when short *mātrā* are postponed more than long vowels, long vowels are sung shorter than short vowels, or when there is no difference between short and long vowels in the performance.

It is noteworthy that in the last three *mātrās* of each *pāda*, the rhymes “*ā o” of odd-numbered *pādas* and “ā re” of even-numbered *pādas* always occupy the fourth *āvarta* of eight beats. Accordingly, the final (long) syllable is protracted over one extra beat to fill it out, and the rhymes sound most impressive in the performance. The texts of rhymes of every line are sung set to the same rhythm, impressively stressed by the simple and long note on the first beat, “sam”, of each fourth *āvarta* of the *tāla*. As every line begins on an “off” or weak beat, subsequent melodic lines avoid stressing the textual “on beat” except in the last *āvarta*. The rhymes are uttered on *sam* in the last *āvarta* and kept for a long tone of two beats, before the singer pauses with a breath in the beginning of the first *āvarta*. These dynamic factors make the rhymes sound highly affective and each line sound more impressive.

3-4. Further analysis of Music Sample 2

It is especially difficult to precisely transcribe free rhythmic music as in Sample 2 using metric-based notation symbols, as the symbols must have some beat or measurable duration. Though Figure 5-1 and 5-2 are merely rough sketches, or melodic outlines, of the whole song, we are nonetheless able to discern something of the relationship between the music and the text — for instance, the timing of the utterances in the performance.

As in Figures 5-1 and 5-2, the whole melody of Music Sample 2 consists of three melodic units [1], [2] and [3]. The textual unit [d] is always sung to melodic unit [1]. As for the textual units, the odd-numbered *pādas* of lines [1-1], [2-1] and [3-1] are always sung to melodic unit [2], while the even-numbered *pādas* [1-2], [2-2] and [3-3] are sung to melodic unit [3]. It can be said that every musical unit, even though uncountable by beats, fits the prosodic units of 16-*mātrā pādas*.

It often happens in non-metrical music that singers add non-textual and extra vocatives, like the “a” in Music Sample 2. Generally speaking, when singing in non-metrical rhythm, it is easier for the singer to reflect the proportions of the verbal metre over the rhythmic factor of the music. In other words, non-metrical melody takes priority to the verbal metre in singing.

As Music Sample 2 is non-metrical, it is impossible to analyze it in a way similar to Music Sample 1. I found that not only rhythmic factors, but also melodic factors were important and effective in analyzing the relationship between music and prosody in this case. As for melodic shape, it can be said that melodic unit [d] is sung in the lowest octave as compared with melodic units [2] and [3]. Melodic unit [2] starts at the highest pitch and proceeds downward, so the first long syllables of each *pāda*, like “*bā*” in [1-1] and “*lā*” in [2-1], are given significant emphasis, yet the other short vowel “*ka*” of [3-1] is not so treated. Melodic line [3], in turn, starts at a lower pitch and climbs gradually to the highest point in the music, which gives the later (even-numbered) *pāda* of every line

greater impact. In particular, the repeated rhyme of “*nāre*” in the dramatic melody, moving from the highest pitch to the lowest at the end of the song, remains most memorable for the listeners.

In comparing Figures 4-1 and 4-2 with Figures 5-1 and 5-2, we see that most long syllables are kept longer than the short vowels, and in Figure 5-1 and 5-2, that the long vowels are generally held longer than the short ones. However, there are some exceptions. The verbal portion of the latter half of “*kī ṭṣnāre*” — even-numbered *pāda* [2-2], consisting of long, short, long, long vowels (GLGG) — is changed musically. The preceding words of the last line “*pāra utara gaye*” (GL LLL LG) [3-2] consist of one long, four short and one long syllable, and are sung ignoring the proportion of those verbal metres in the music. Musically, the long vowel “*pā*” is sung shorter than the short vowel “*ra*”, and other short syllables, “*ra*”, “*u*”, “*ta*”, “*ra*” and “*ga*”, are sung for varying durations.

3-5. Comparative analysis of Music Samples 1 and 2

Figures 6 and 7 give the complete structure of the music and sung text of Music Sample 1 and Music Sample 2. Each pair of two lines (upper and lower) go together, the upper line showing the number of the melody in Figures 4-1 and 4-2 and Figures 5-1 and 5-2.

Figure 6 represents the whole melody of Music Sample 1 as [1][1][2][3][1][1][4][3][1][1][4][3][1][1]. In terms of the performance structure, it can be said that the singer sings the melodic unit [1][1][2][3] once, then its variant [1][1][4][3] twice, and ends with the familiar *theka* [1][1]. Another interpretation is that after beginning the melody with [1][1], he sings the melodic unit [2][3][1][1] once and its variants [4][3][1][1] twice. But I myself have another explanation: the whole melodic structure can be regarded as “A-B-A-B’-A-B’-A”, if we name the melodic unit [1][1] as “A”, [2][3] as “B”, and [4][3] as its variant “B’”. Such a musical form is popular and is called “rondo form” in Western music.

On the other hand, the complete structure of the text of the song can be understood as [d][d] - [1-1][1-2] - [d][d] - [2-1][2-2] - [d][d] - [3-1][3-2] - [d][d]. The first half-line is always sung twice, giving it the same 32 *mātrās* as each of the other lines made up of two *pādas*. In this way, the whole text consists of seven times 32 = 224 *mātrās* in total. Ordinary *caupāī* metre contains two sets of couplets (32 + 32), or 128 *mātrās* in total. When we count *mātrā* using the written text, this *bhajan* has 16 + 32 + 32 + 32, totaling 112 *mātrās*, which is only one and a half couplets. However, when it is sung in the way I referred to above, with the refrains of line [d] (*theka*) between the couplets of the text, these make up for the shortage of *mātrās*. As mentioned above, Indian *bhajans* were sung from the very earliest times and belonged to an oral tradition; we must think of the number of *mātrās* of an entire performance and observe the practical metre in the performance.

Figure 6 Whole structure of the performance of Music Sample 1

Melody: [1] [1]

Sung text: [d] [d]

[2] [3] [1] [1]

[1-1] [1-2] [d] [d]

[4] [3] [1] [1]

[2-1] [2-2] [d] [d]

[4] [3] [1] [1]

[3-1] [3-2] [d] [d]

Figure 7 Whole structure of the performance of Music Sample 2

Melody : [1] [1] [1]

Sung text: [d] [d] [d]

* improvisation using vowel 'a'

[2] [3] [1] [1] [1]

[1-1] [1-1] [1-2] [d] [d]

[2] [3] [1] [1] [1]

[2-1] [2-1] [2-2] [d] [d]

[2] [2] [3] [1] [1] [1] [1] [1]'

[3-1] [3-1] [3-2] [d] [d] [d] [d] [d]

This *bhajan* has two kinds of rhymes: “*ā o” (b) in odd-numbered *pādas*,

and “*āre*” (a) in even-numbered *pādas*. The rhymes of the whole performance go like “a a / b a / a a / b a / a a / b a / a a a a”, because the first *pāda* with its rhyme (a) is repeated so many times. Thus we obtain a different structure of rhyme in the performance from that in the original prosody. The underlined sections mark the metre of [d], and only the odd-numbered *pādas* of each line, [1-1], [2-1] and [3-1] have the rhyme of (b).

If nothing else, textual units, like *pādas* and lines, partner with melodic and rhythmic units, like *āvartas*. In comparing Figures 6 and 7, it is clear that the synchronization between melody and certain lines is almost identical in both. Each textual unit in [d][1-1][1-2][2-1][2-2][3-1][3-2] joins its partner of [1], [2], [3] or [4], which means that the *pāda* of 16 *mātrās* is an important unit to be matched with a musical unit. There is therefore some relationship between rhythmic units and prosodic units in musical performance. The singers, recognizing both the units of text and rhythm, choose and combine the appropriate units in their performances. The shortage or leftover of the prosodic metre is adjusted musically by means of repetition or filling in with rhythmic metre.

This kind of basic structure and principle can, as far as I have studied, be seen not only in other *bhajans*, but in other kinds of folk and popular songs in North India.

In both cases, the existence of the line [d] is remarkable. The line [d] has the same rhythmic value as each *pāda*, as in [1-1][1-2] etc.; it always repeats at least twice, being sung at the beginning and the end, as well as when each full line [1-1][1-2], [2-1][2-2], [3-1][3-2] is completed; and it goes with the same melodic unit [1].

4. Conclusion

From the results of the analysis of two recorded performances of *Kabīr*'s *bhajan* “*Bīta gaye dina*”, I would like to point out the following observations.

- 1) The number of prosodic *mātrās* of the sung text is not directly related to the musical *mātrā* (beat) of the *tāla*. However, the general weight of long and short syllables of the original prosodic metre is generally kept when they are put into musical expression.
- 2) The rhymes of *caupāī* metre are stressed musically, both in melody and in rhythm.
- 3) The first short line called “*dhruva*” or “*theka*” carries many functions in the music: as a beautiful melody easily memorized, as the theme of the *bhajan*, as a compensation for shortness in the original prosodic metre, and as a punctuator of each full line.
- 4) The whole performance consists of several melodic units, which coincide with the verbal segments of the prosodic metre when they are

sung. The same prosody can be sung as different musical expressions, but the general structure and combination of musical units and prosodic units remain almost the same.

Beyond all the analyses presented here, we are reminded of a fundamental fact in the nature of music: excellent music regards regular repetition as tedious in performance. Whenever singers sing the same song — the same texts or words — in the same metre as the melody and *tāla*, they avoid singing it identically so as to make their performances more musically dynamic. Every detail can easily be changed whenever the same texts are sung in performance. Such improvisational factors, and freedom to select melodic as well as rhythmic details, reflect the basic character of solo singing around the world.

ⁱ Takako Tanaka, “*Hindu Kyouto no Shudan Kayou: Kami to Hitotono Rensa Kouzou (Congregational Singing of the Hindus: The Chain-like System Connecting People with God)*”, Kyoto, Japan: Sekai Shisousha Pvt. Ltd., 2008, 450 pp. (in Japanese).

“The *Samāj-gāyan* Tradition: Transmitting A Musico-Religious System in North India”, in *Music and Society in South Asia: Perspectives from Japan* (Senri Ethnological Studies 71), Osaka, Japan: National Museum of Ethnology, 2008, pp. 87-101.

ⁱⁱ Kākā Kālelakara, ed., *Aśrama-bhajanāvali*, Ahmadābād: Navajīvaṇa Mudraṇālay, 1950, p.104.

ⁱⁱⁱ “Metre” in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Music*, Oxford University Press, 2004 (1996), p. 475.

^{iv} For *mātrāvṛtta*, see Goto-Sakamoto’s and Nagasaki’s papers in this volume.

^v V. N. Bhatkhande (1860-1936), one of the leading musicologists of India, wrote many books on the history and theory of Indian music. He also invented a notation system by designating *Devanāgarī* characters as tone names for the purpose of recording the precious music tradition of India, and for music education. I use the Roman characters instead, and add some further devices. Capitalized roman characters denote the natural tones: “S” for *sajja*, “R” for *ṛṣabha* and so on, while small roman characters denote the accidentals: “r” for *komal ṛṣabha*, “m” for *tīvra madhyama*, etc.

^{vi} Rupert Snell, *The Eighty Four-Hymns of Hita Harivamśa: An Edition of the Caurāsī Pada*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass; London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1991.

^{vii} Rupert Snell, *ibid.*, pp. 283-284.

^{viii} Braj district is located on the border area of the Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, and Haryana districts and, as home to numerous temples and holy places, is a much-revered place of pilgrimage for all Hindus. It is not a geographic place-name, but is well known as a sacred place connected with God Krishna

and for the cultural language Braj-bhāṣā, a dialect of Hindi.

^{ix}The term “*āvarta*” is the standard measure of the length of one cycle of certain *tālas* (musical metres consisting of several *mātrās*) in Indian music. In *Tīn-tāla*, consisting of 4+4+4+4 *mātrās*, for example, one *āvarta* contains 16 *mātrās*.

^x“*dhruva*” in *The Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary* (ed. by R. S. McGregor), 1993, p. 536.

PART ONE

NEW INDO-ARYAN METRES
BENGALI

***Cacā* Songs: The Oral Tradition in**

Kathmandu

Makoto Kitada

Note

The abbreviation R (Ratnakaji) stands for RATNAKĀJĪ VAJRCĀRYA (Vol. 1, 1996; and Vol. 2, 1999), the collection of *cacā* song-texts published in Kathmandu. The *cacā* songs contained in this work are referred to as e.g. R 1, p. 23, which stands for RATNAKĀJĪ VAJRCĀRYA Vol. 1 (1996), p. 23.

§1. Introduction

The songs called *caryāpada* or *caryāgīti*ⁱ are well known as the earliest specimens of the eastern dialects of New Indo-Aryan such as Bengali, Maithili, Oriya, Assamese, etc. The manuscript of the work titled *Caryāgītikosavṛtti*ⁱⁱ, in which the *caryāpada* songs are recorded, was discovered in Kathmandu by Haraprasad Shastri in 1907 and has since been intensively studied.ⁱⁱⁱ

In contrast, less scholarly attention has been given to another important discovery of the second half of the 20th century. During the 1960s, Shashibhushan Dasgupta became aware that songs bearing a striking resemblance to the *Caryāpada* in language and content were still being recited by *Vajrācāryas*, i.e. Newar Buddhist Priests, in the Kathmandu Valley. These songs were called *cacā* by the Newars. Dasgupta undertook a trip to Kathmandu, and after numerous hardships succeeded in making copies of the manuscripts handed down by the priests over several generations. Some of the texts collected by him turned out in fact to be extremely old:

1. The fourth song *Tiaddā Cāpī* contained in the *Caryāgītikoṣavṛtti* composed in an early form of a NIA language;
2. The three *vajragītis* or “diamond songs” contained in the *Hevajratantra*, composed in Apabhraṃśa and Sanskrit; and
3. The *dohā* verses composed in Apabhraṃśa, attributed to Saraha, one of the 84 great Siddhas of Vajrayāna tradition.

Dasgupta also found that the texts of the songs were composed at various periods, showing the characteristics of various stages of linguistic development, and that some *cacās* resemble these old songs in language and content, i.e. the *cacās* seem to be as old as them. This fact suggests that the tradition of composing and reciting *caryāgītis* and *vajragītis* did not entirely die out, but rather has been kept alive for centuries.

Unfortunately, Dasgupta died before he was able to publish a critical edition of the *cacā* songs. In 1989, this edition was published by Calcutta University with arrangements and additions by his pupils under the title of “*Naba Caryāpad*”, or “The New *Caryāpada*”.^{iv} However, this edition remained incomplete, and is currently out of print and not easily available. Meanwhile, the tradition of *cacā* recitation in the Kathmandu Valley survives even today, and these songs are still performed with the accompaniment of a dance called *Caryā Nr̥t̥ya* or “Charya Dance”.

In this article, I report my ongoing field research on the *cacā* songs in Kathmandu city from August 2008 onward. Since the aim of this collection of papers is to elucidate the character of NIA prosody, I deal here with a topic which is closely connected to prosody, namely: the relation between verse and music. The following lines thus focus on the musical aspect of the *cacās*.

§2. *Cacā* and Newar Buddhist oral tradition

The *cacā* songs are the ritual songs recited during the *gaṇacakra* ceremony, or the secret ritual meeting of Buddhist Tantra (Vajrayāna).^v Newar scholars derive the term *cacā* from Skt. *caryā* (‘religious practice’) or *carcā* (‘philosophical argument’).^{vi}

The *cacā* songs are not homogenous, but form an assortment of songs of various types. As mentioned above, the oldest layer consists of very old ritual songs in Apabhraṃśa and early forms of Eastern NIA languages. The contents of these old songs are directly associated with the esotericism of the *Gaṇacakra* ceremony.

However, the contents of the songs which seem to have been composed in later periods cover a vast range of topics. Many are praise hymns dedicated to various deities. In some songs, the figure of the worshipped deity is visually described: e.g. in the *cacā* song *Abalokiteśvara*^{vii}, the skin color, number of the eyes and arms, respective objects held in the (more than two) hands, etc. of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva are listed. The songs which seem to have been composed in later periods adopt a more and more Sanskritized language. In several

songs, all the words are Sanskrit, but without flexional or conjugational endings.^{viii} Some are composed entirely in Sanskrit^{ix}, which does not however necessarily guarantee the antiquity of the song.

Many *cacā* songs contain the so-called *bhaṇitā* verse, i.e. a verse mentioning the name of the author, which is one of the typical characteristics of NIA poetry. The *bhaṇitā* verse is usually placed at the end of a song. Some of the legendary 84 Siddhas of Vajrayāna Buddhism are mentioned in the *bhaṇitā* verses of the *cacā* songs, such as Sarahapā, Kaṇhapā, Nāropā, Tilopā, Jālandharapā, Dārikapā, Nāgārjunapā, Guḍḍaripā etc.

The melodies of the *cacā* songs are composed according to *rāga* and *tāla*, i.e. the two most important principles of South Asian classical music. In the manuscripts of the *cacā* songs which are used as a support for recitation by the singers, the names of the *rāga* and *tāla* in which the song should be sung are prescribed at the beginning of the text of each song. These melodies are fixed compositions and do not include improvised elements. My informant does not conceive the *rāgas* analytically. He knows neither the respective ascending scales (*ārohaṇa*) nor the descending scales (*avarohaṇa*) of the *rāgas*; He simply knows these melodies by heart. This is an essential difference from the practice of Hindustani music today, in which the structure of the *rāga* is consciously taught by the teacher, who analyzes its ascending and descending scales.

Another very important aspect of the *cacā* tradition is that these songs are accompanied by dance. This dance is today called *Caryā Nr̥tya* or “Charya Dance”. The dancer dresses up as the worshipped deity and represents the contents of the song with various gestures (*mudrā*). The *Caryā Nr̥tya* is thus a dynamic representation of the iconology of the worshipped deity. At the same time, it is based on the classical dance tradition of Bharata’s *Nāṭyaśāstra*.^x

As stated above, the *cacā* songs and dances are performed during the *Gaṇacakra* ceremony of Newar Buddhists. The *Gaṇacakra* and the recitation of the *cacā* songs are considered highly secret, and belong to the core of the esoteric system of Vajrayāna. Therefore, they were hidden from the public for a long time, until, in the 1980s, reformist priests and dancers began to perform the Charya Dance in public. These reformists formed the organization *Kalāmandapa* (“the Arbor of Art”). The eminent scholar and performer Ratnakājī Vajrācārya was an active figure at the center of this movement. Thanks to the reformist movement, some beautiful items of the Charya Dance came to be recognized as among the outstanding performing arts of Nepal and are now performed on various cultural occasions. Some famous items, such as *Mañjuśrī* are even taught to high school students. As far as I know, there are at least two organizations for the propagation of *Caryā Nr̥tya* today: one is the Kala Mandapa, under the direction of Rajendra Shrestha in Kathmandu city,^{xi} and the other is the Dance Mandal, under the direction of Prajwal Ratna

Vajracharya in the United States.^{xii}

On the other hand, many items, including the very old songs dealt with in this paper, remain secret even today and are in danger of extinction, as the number of those responsible for their transmission decreases. My informant, Mr. Narendramuṇi Vajrācārya, states that the caretakers of these songs are becoming older and older, and he is the youngest among them. He was 48 years old as of March 2010, and does not have any disciples at the moment.

§3. Studies of *cacā*

The publication of Shashibhushan Dasgupta's "*Naba Caryāpada*" or "the New *Caryāpada*" [ŚAŚIBHŪṢAṆ' DAS'GUPTA 1989] seems so far to have scarcely attracted the attention of Indologists in the West. In contrast, this topic has preoccupied not a few Bengali scholars and those who are engaged in Bengali studies. SEN 1973 (pp. 41-42) mentions it.^{xiii} DAS 1996 calls our attention to the fact that the first *cacā* song in the *Naba Caryāpada* is identical to the song No. 4 in the *Caryāgītikoṣavṛtti*.

The English translation of the *Caryāgītikoṣavṛtti* by MOUDUD (1992) contains the photos of several folios from the manuscripts of *cacā* in the possession of the Asha Archives in Kathmandu city. The Asha Archives possess a large number of *cacā* manuscripts which are now easily accessible in digital format. In addition, the National Archive in Nepal also possesses many manuscripts of *cacā*.

Ratnakājī Vajrācārya, the above-mentioned eminent Newar scholar and one of the central figures in the Kalāmaṇḍapa movement, published a collection of *cacā* songs [RATNAKĀJĪ VAJRCĀRYA 1996, 1999]. This exhaustive collection in two volumes contains the song-texts of more than 200 *cacās* which were originally written in manuscripts in the possession of the *cacā* transmitters in the Kathmandu Valley. With respect to number of songs collected, it by far surpasses DĀS'GUPTA 1989, although it is not free of numerous problems with regard to philological methodology. Its value is further heightened by the fact that it was written by a transmitter of *cacās* himself: Ratnakājī Vajrācārya was not only a scholar who mastered Sanskrit philology but also a performer of *cacā* chanting and *Caryā Nr̥tya*. This work contains a detailed introduction to *cacā* chanting in the Newari language, including an explanation of the historical and philological background based on preceding studies of the *Caryāpada*. In addition, the musicological aspects of *cacā* chanting are elucidated. From these pages, we come to know the viewpoint of this leading Newari scholar concerning these and other matters. In my lessons of *cacā* chanting, my teacher, Mr. Narendramuṇi Vajrācārya, used this work as a textbook. Therefore, in this paper, I give references to *cacā* songs mainly according to this work, whose two volumes are respectively abbreviated for convenience as R1 and R2.

In addition, Ratnakājī Vajrācārya wrote a small book on *Caryā Nr̥tya* in English.^{xiv} This contains the song-text of 14 representative *cacā*

songs performed in accompaniment with dance, and their English translations with musical notations.

BARUA 2003 is a survey of DĀŚ'GUPTA 1989. In this article, BARUA, a Bengali scholar, states that Dulalendu Chattopadhyay submitted in 1994 a dissertation under his supervision titled *Tantric Buddhism in Early Bengali Literature: A Critical Study*, based on DĀŚ'GUPTA 1989. Unfortunately, I was not able to obtain a copy of this dissertation. According to BARUA's description, it appears to analyze the songs contained in Shashibhushan Dasgupta's posthumous edition, without dealing with the *cacā* manuscripts in Kathmandu.

BARUA 2003 [ibid.] is a very useful introduction to the *Naba Caryāpada*'. Very problematically, however, he seems to presuppose that all the *cacā* songs contained in Shashibhushan's edition were composed in India. For instance, he states that these songs

“revealed that through the Nava Caryāpada the sweet and melodious vowel-sounds of the Maithili and Vrajabulī had been imported in the early Bengali poetry. [...] This new set of the *Caryāpada* was probably the forerunner of Vidyāpati and Vrajabulī in linguistic treatment. [...] Thus the gap between the *Caryāpada* of the first discovery and the Vrajabulī could be explained in the light of these newly discovered verses of the *Nava Caryāpada*.” [ibid., p. 535]

The matter could be more complicated than he admits. A considerable portion of the *cacā* songs might not be of Indian origin, but could have been composed in the Kathmandu Valley. According to BRINKHAUS 2003, during the Malla Dynasty in the Kathmandu Valley, poetic and dramatic works were first composed in Bengali and Maithili by Newar authors. The composition of works in the Newari language began only later. Therefore, it is not impossible that some *cacā* songs, especially those composed in later periods, were produced in the Kathmandu Valley, by immigrant Indians or even by Newar authors. We also should not forget that the Newars were engaged in the trade between India and Tibet. Besides the Newari language, i.e., their mother tongue, many of them must have been conversant with at least one New Indo-Aryan language. In fact, the Talai Plain adjacent to the Kathmandu Valley belongs to the area where Maithili is spoken today, and it is not difficult to imagine that human exchange between the two areas has been promoted very much since those days. Ratnakaji Vajracharya, the Newari scholar who was the first to study the tradition of the *cacā* songs, thus adopts a different view from that of BARUA, arguing that a considerable number of *cacā* songs were composed in the Kathmandu Valley.^{xv} For Newar scholars, *cacā* and *Caryā Nṛtya* have great value as monuments of their own cultural heritage. For them, these songs are not merely remains of Early NIA, but a symbol of the cultural identity of Newar.^{xvi}

Indeed, some *cacā* songs obviously have their origin in the

Kathmandu Valley. For example, the song given in R 1, p. 50 is ascribed to Manjuśrī Bodhisattva, the creator of Nepal (*nepāla nirmātā*). The first stanza of this song runs: *śrī mahā mañju śrī mahāvīnā^{xvii} vijayā | nepāla maṇḍala mājhe padyagiri^{xviii} nivāsītā* | “The great Manjuśrī, the great hero, the victori[ous], abiding (lit. “having abode”) in the Nepal Mandala.”

TULĀDHAR' 2008, pp. 20-26, gives a list of 26 Nepali (= Newar) authors of *cacā* songs. Among them are e.g. Vākvajra Vajrācārya, the author of “*Namāmi namāmi jina dharmadhātu*,” the first *cacā* composed in the Kathmandu Valley, in AD 998^{xix}, as well as, Līlāvajra Vajrācārya, Suratavajra Vajrācārya, and others. The *cacā* songs composed by Nepalis, which describe the iconology of various deities, were not exclusively intended for Vajrayānic ceremonies.^{xx}

R1, pp. 215-222, contains *cacā* songs composed in the Newari language. These songs cannot but be of relatively later date. In fact, the tradition of composing *cacā* songs did not cease until recent times, and some were even composed in the 20th century. Badrīnāth' Vajrācārya, one of the influential persons in the Buddhist society of Kathmandu today, is known as the author of several *cacā* songs.^{xxi}

Thus, the genre of the songs called *cacā* today is a mixture of songs of various kinds, and it is not easy to distinguish between songs of Indian origin and those of Nepali origin. Indian, (especially Bengali) scholars tend to favor the Indian-origin theory, while Nepali scholars naturally prefer a Nepali origin. Whether or not they are valid, the arguments of Nepali scholars are thought-provoking, and help us to reexamine the existing theories of the *Caryāpada*, and see the matter from another angle. For instance, the Early NIA dialect adopted in many *cacā* songs can no longer be properly called “Old Bengali”, if these songs indeed originated in the Kathmandu Valley. In this case, the dialect in question would be an eastern dialect of NIA which was also current in and around the Kathmandu Valley as a lingua franca.

The musicological aspect of *cacā* songs is dealt with by WIDDESS 2004, in an article based on his interview with the late Ratnakaji Vajracharya in 1991-2. It contains the musical notation of three *cacā* songs, *Śrī Mahāmanjuśrī* (in Rāga Naṭ', Tāla Jati), *Madhyameru* (in Rāga Bhairavī, Tāla Jhapa) and *Rāg' Kāyegu^{xxii}* (in Rāga Naṭ').^{xxiii} WIDDESS compares the structural peculiarities of these *cacās* with the musical notations contained in the *Saṅgītaratnākara*, i.e. the Sanskrit musicological work written in the 13th century. As the result of his analysis, he proposes that the melodies of the *cacā* songs can be traced back to the 13th century.

WIDDESS' hypothesis is certainly a very attractive one, and the melodies of *cacā* songs seem in fact to preserve an earlier stage of Indian classical music in a fossilized form, but he does not provide sufficient evidence for this view, and his hypothesis must for now be considered unproven. The prescription of *rāga* in the manuscript of the *Caryāpada*

(*Caryāgītikoṣavṛtti*) might offer some clues as regards this matter. Observing the script adopted in the manuscript, SEN [1977, xviii] states that this manuscript was copied in the late 13th or early 14th century. As already mentioned, the *cacā* song *Trihaṇḍā* is the same song as No. 4 contained in the *Caryāgītikoṣavṛtti*. The melody of *Trihaṇḍā* handed down to us orally might thus be the same melody as that sung at the time of the *Caryāgītikoṣavṛtti*. Unfortunately, this is the sole instance in which a *caryāpada* song in the *Caryāgītikoṣavṛtti* is recited in modern times as a *cacā*, so this example can not suffice as decisive evidence for our argument here.^{xxiv}

The most recent study on *cacā* that I know of is TULĀDHAR' 2008, a small survey written in the Newari language and published in Patan city in the Kathmandu Valley. The practical aspects and present situation of *cacā* chanting are the focus of this book.

§4. My informant and his lessons

I was very fortunate to make the acquaintance of Mr. Sarvajñaratna Vajrācārya, the son of the late Mr. Ratnakājī Vajrācārya. He very kindly introduced me to my teacher Mr. Narendramuni Vajrācārya of the Musumbāhā monastery, Kathmandu city. Without their help, I would not have been able to obtain access to these old songs of wonderful beauty.

Mr. Narendramuni Vajrācārya, 48 years old^{xxv}, lives in the Musumbāhā monastery, which is situated in the southern part of Kathmandu city. Since August 2007, I have regularly visited him and learned to chant *cacā* songs.

So far, I have collected eleven *cacā* songs from my studies with Mr. Narendramuni Vajrācārya. These are: *Abalokiteśvara (Śitavarṇa)*, *Trihaṇḍā* (R 2, p. 118; Rāga Padmañjarī, Tāla Mātha)^{xxvi}, *Kolāi* (R 1, p. 26; Rāga Todī, Tāla Mātha), *Paramarato, Śūnyanirañjana Paramapau*^{xxvii}, *Madhuripu* (R 2, p. 81)^{xxviii}, *Koirevaṃśā/Koyarīvaṃśā* (R 2, p. 45), *Gajajina* (R 1, p. 39; Rāga Bhairaba, Tāla Ekatāla), *Akhayanirañjana* (R 2, p. 24; Rāga Vinoda, Tāla Mātha), *Ye Mahimaṇḍala* (R 2, p. 101; Rāga Bhairavī, Tāla Śani), *Bāma Dahina* (R 2, p. 93, Rāga Mālaśrī, Tāla Mātha).

All the lines constituting a *cacā* song are usually recited to one and the same melody.^{xxix} My teacher is not very conscious of the musicological structure of the songs, either its scale, or its rhythmic pattern. To my inquiries with regard to the structure of the songs, he very often simply answered that he sings in the same manner as he learned from his teacher. Nevertheless, my structural analysis reveals that the *cacā* songs have very systematic structures, as I shall demonstrate below.

In the following sessions, I choose the songs which seem to be the oldest among the *cacās* and investigate their structure. The musical notations of these *cacā* songs are given in the appendix.

§5. *Caryāpada* No. 4 and the *cacā* song *Trihaṇḍā*

The fourth song of the *Caryāgītikoṣavṛtti* is sung as a *cacā* song even today in Kathmandu. This *cacā* song is contained in Shashibhushan Dasgupta's *Naba Caryāpad'*.^{xxx}

First, I give the original text below as contained in the *Caryāgītikoṣavṛtti*. I follow the reading by Per Kværne and quote his English translation for the sake of convenience.

tiaḍḍā cāpi joini de aṅkabālī |
 kamala kuliśa ghāṅṭe karahū biālī ||1||
 joini tāi binu khanahī na jībami |
 to muha cumbī kamala rasa pībami ||2||
 khepahu joini lepa na jāa |
 maṅikule bahiā oriāne samāa ||3||
 sāsu gharē ghāli koñcā tāla |
 cānda suja beṇi pakhā phāla ||4||
 bhaṇai guḍarī ahme kundure bīrā |
 naraa nārī mājhē ubhila cīrā ||5||

“1. Pressing the triangle, give o Yoginī, an embrace.
 In the rubbing of Lotus and Vajra, bring on the evening.
 2. O Yoginī, without you I cannot live for a moment.
 Having kissed your mouth, I drink the juice of the Lotus.
 3. Even for a moment the Yoginī is not besmeared.
 Carried from Maṅikula she enters Oriāṇa.
 4. Having placed her in the house of the mother-in-law, the key is in the lock.
 The door of Sun and Moon has a bolt.
 5. Guḍarī says: by union I am a hero.
 Among men and women, the banner has been raised.”

Next, I give the *cacā* which I learned from my teacher. As a matter of fact, the song-text cannot be easily standardized under a single version, for the reading varies from one manuscript to another. In teaching, my teacher used the text given in R 2, i.e. Ratnakājī Vajrācārya, Vol. 2 (1999), but added modifications almost arbitrarily in consulting the manuscript in his personal possession.

trihaṇḍā cāpayi yoginī deha kavāḍī |
 kamalakuliśa ghaṅṭha karahuṃ huṃna biyāre ||dhul
 yoginī tuhma vinukhana huṃna huṃ jīvayī |
 tvarāmukha cuṃviyāre kamalasaṃpīvayī ||
 khepahuṃ yoginī lepana yāyī |
 maṅikula vahiyāre vaṃḍiyāna samāne ||
 sāśvaha ghareghore kuṃciyatāre |

candrasūrya dvayi pakṣa nabharāṇḍo ||
 bhanayi godāri hama kunduru vīrā |
 narayanārī mājhe ubhayana uvīrā ||

All the verses are sung to the same melody; during recitation, the same melody is sung repeatedly.

The verse called *dhuā* (< Skt. *dhruvā*) is marked with the abbreviation ‘*dhu*’. The *dhuā* is repeated at the end of chanting; in this case, it is sung again after the last line *narayanārī mājhe ubhayana uvīrā*, indicating the conclusion of the chanting.

§5.2. Relation between text and melody

The melodies of several old songs such as *Kolāi* seem to be individually memorized; these are melodies unique to the respective songs. Thus there exists no other song which is sung to the same melody as *Kolāi*.

Each composition is sung according to a rhythmic pattern (*tāla*). This is indicated by striking the cymbal at the prescribed positions. The musical notation of the song *Trihaṇḍā* given in the appendix shows that its rhythmic pattern is a seven-beat cycle with the division 3 + 2 + 2. Interestingly, it may be observed that the division of the rhythmic units (3, 2, 2) very often coincides with the division of the words. This fact suggests that the composer^{xxxii} of this melody understood the meaning of the text, and tried to adjust the melody to the text rhythmically.^{xxxiii}

§5.2. SEN’s [1973] analysis of the metre of *Tiaḍḍā*

The metrical structure of *Caryāpada* No. 4 is analyzed by SEN 1973 as follows:

“Sixteen moric, tetra rhythmic, dicaesuric (4,4 – 4,4) pattern. The third and fourth *śloka*s are short of one or two final instants. The first line is longer, 12-8-moric *dvipadī*. The words with closed nasals like, *aṅka* (1) *ghāṅṅa* (2), *cānda* (8), *kundure* (9) might have been pronounced as, *āka*, *ghāṅṅa*, *cāda*, *kūndure*. There are 3-3-2-moric sequences in the caesuric units: *kamala kuliśa ghāṅṅa* (2), *sā-su ghare- ghāli* (7), *cānda su-ja beṇi* (8), *bhaṅai guṇḍarī amhe*^{xxxiii} (9), *naraa nā-ri majhe* (10). Compact pronunciation may be noticed in the words, *tiaḍḍā* (1), *guḍḍarī* (9) and *amhe* (9).^{xxxiv}”

[SEN 1973, p. 48f.]

SEN further states that, in the fourth verse, the consonant-ending rhyme and the dropping of two final instants from the sixteen-mora Pādākulaka metre are indicative of the early advent of Paṅār’ metre. In particular, he proposes to read the rhyming pair *tāl* and *phāl*, instead of *tāla* and *phāla*. But his hypothesis does not seem to have convincing support. In his reading of the manuscript, he remarks: “[...] the word *tāl* is written with a sign of consonantal ending (*halanta*), which is unusual” [SEN 1977, p. 14,

note 20].^{xxxv} The letter (i.e. *akṣara*) LA of this word *tāla/tāl* in the manuscript indeed has a sign resembling the *halanta* mark, but I doubt if it really is a *halanta*. SEN himself admits that this sign is “unusual”. From a phonological point of view, I am skeptical that the short vowel *a* could already have disappeared at this stage of the language. In my opinion, the correct reading would be *tāla* and *phāla*.

Whatever the case, I on the whole agree with SEN’s observation that the dropping of two final instants from the sixteen-mora Pādākulaka metre signals the early onset of Paṅār’ metre, the representative metre of Bengali prosody.

§6. Apabhraṃśa: Kolāi

The *Hevajratāntra* contains at least two ritual songs called *vajragīti*. The first is composed in Apabhraṃśa, and is contained in *Hevajratāntra* II, iv, 6-8 [SNELLGROVE 1959, Part 2, p. 62]. The text given there reads as follows:

kollaire ṭṭhia bolā mummuṅire kakkolā |
ghaṇa kibīḍa ho vājjai karuṇe kiai na rolā ||6||
tahi baru khājjai gāḍe maanā pijjai |
hale kāliṅjara paṅiai dunduru tahi vajjai |
causama kacchuri sihlā kappura lāiai |
mālaindhana śāliṅja tahi bharu khāiai ||7||
preṃkhaṇa kheṭa karante śuddhāśuddha na muṅiai |
niraṃsua aṃga caḍābī tahiṃja sarāba paṅiai |
malayaje kunduru bāṭai ḍiṅḍima tahiṃ ṅa vajjai ||8||

SNELLGROVE 1959, Part 1, p. 101f. translates this song thus:

“The *yogin* stays Kollagiri, the *yoginī* at Mummuni.
Loudly the drum sounds forth. Love is our business and not dissension.
There we eat meat and drink wine in great quantity.
Hey there, the true followers are come together, but frauds are kept far
away.
We take the fourfold preparation and musk and frankincense and
camphor,
Herbs and special meat we eat with relish.
Going this way and that in the dance, we give no thought to what is chaste
and unchaste,
Adorning our limbs with bone-ornaments, we place the corpse in position.
Union takes place at that meeting, for *ḍombī* is not there rejected.”

To be honest, I cannot agree with all of his interpretations, for this song, containing sacral codes (*sandhyābhāṣā*), can be interpreted on more than one level of meaning. But I will not dwell further on this troublesome matter here, because the aim of this paper is not to elucidate the contents

of this kind of enigmatic song. I confine myself to the observation that the codes adopted in this song also occur in some *caryāpadas* contained in the *Caryāgītikoṣavṛtti*. This fact suggests that this *vajragīti* (lit. ‘diamond song’) can be considered as a precursor of the *caryāpadas*.^{xxxvi}

The *cacā* song, the chanting of which I learned is the following^{xxxvii}:

kolāyi le thiyā bolā mumuni re kanakolā |
ghana kapithoi bajaī karuṇe kriyāyi na lolā |
malayaṃja kunduru bajaī ḍiṇḍima tāhi na bajayi ||
tahī bharu khājana gādhe maenā pibaī na yāi |
hāle kāliṅjana paṇayayi duṃduru bajja na yāyi |
caū sama kasturi śilhā karpūra lāo khāyi ||
malayaṃjayidhana śāliṃja tahī bharu khāja na yāi |
prekhū nakhatra karante śuddhāśuddha na muṇāi |
nilaṃsuha aṅga candrāvayiyā tahī surā pānayāyi ||

R 1, p. 26f. contains two versions which diverge significantly from each other: one is close to the version given above, while the other is considerably corrupted.^{xxxviii} The prescription of *rāga* and *tāla* is: Rāga Todī^{xxxix}, Tāla Mātha. Somewhat peculiarly, Karṇapāḥ (sic) is mentioned as its composer.^{xl} The scale adopted in this melody is completely different from the scale adopted in the Rāga Toḍī played in Hindustani music. In the *cacā Kolāi*, it is a scale with komal' Ga and komal' Ni. It is not clear whether this fact reflects the ancient form of the Rāga Toḍī, or is due to a secondary modification.

§7. Paramarato

Another Diamond Song (*vajragīti*) contained in *Hevajratantra*, I. x. 33-34, is also sung as a *cacā*. Its language is Sanskrit.

paramaratau na ca bhāva na bhāvaka | na ca vighraha na ca grāhya na
grāhaka |
māṃsa na śoṇita viṣṭa na mūtram | na charda na moha na śaucapavitram
||33||
rāga na dveṣa na moha na īrṣyā | na ca paiśunya na ca māna na śatru |
nistaraṅga sahaṅkhyavicitram ||34||

Kvaerne's translation:

“Nothing is mentally produced in the highest bliss, and no one produces it,
There is no bodily form, neither object nor subject,
Neither flesh nor blood, neither dung nor urine,
No sickness, no delusion, no purification,
No passion, no wrath, no delusion, no envy,
No malignity, no conceit of self, no visible object,

Nothing mentally produced and no producer,
No friend is there, no enemy,
Calm is the Innate and undifferentiated.”

This text is not contained in our textbook, RATNAKĀJĪ VAJRĀCĀRYA (1996, 1999), but is included in DĀŚ'GUPTA 1989, p. 25 as song No. 19. Below, I give the version contained in the manuscript of my teacher, i.e. the version which I learned.

paramarato ra na ca bhāva na bhāvaka | na ca vighraha na ca grāhaka |
māṃsa na śoṇita mutra na viṣṭā | na ghṛṇa moha na sauca na pavitra |
rāga dveṣa na moha na īrṣyā | na ca paiśūnya samāna darpa | nistaraṃga
sahajana viśuddhi |
bhāva na abhāva na mitra na śatru | yena tu varddhati lokā |
tena tu vandhana mucye | loka mujyati veti na tattva |
tattva vivarjita siddhi na lapsyo | tasmāt gandha na śabda na rūpa |
naiva rase na ca citta na viśuddhi | sparśa na dharma na sayela na viśuddhi |
śuddha svabhāva na jaṅga jagu jaṅga |

This *cacā* is very interesting in a musicological respect: it is sung in two different melodies (*rāga*) by turns. The first verse is sung in Rāga Vibhāsa, and the second, in Rāga Desāra. In the same manner, Vibhāsa and Desāra alternate in the following verses, creating an effect comparable to the changing of keys in Western music. My teacher stated that Rāga Desāra is a sorrowful melody: people shed drops of tears when they listen to this song recited. This *cacā* is chanted on the *Śraddhā*, i.e. the ceremony for the consolation of the dead.

Beside these two Diamond Songs, DĀŚ'GUPTA 1989 contains one more song from the *Hevajratāntra*.^{xli} It was identified as the *vajragīti* contained in *Hevajratāntra* II, v, 20-23.^{xlii} However, the song is found neither in RATNAKĀJĪ VAJRĀCĀRYA (1996, 1999), nor in my teacher's manuscript, and my teacher stated that he did not know it. This song might have once existed as a *cacā*, but is unfortunately now obsolete.

§8. Saraha's Dohā

The song No. 4 of DĀŚ'GUPTA 1989 may be identified as a composition by Sarahapā, one of the 84 legendary masters of Vajrayāna.^{xliii} This song, a set of couplets in Dohā metre, was originally included in a manuscript discovered by Rāhul' Sāṃkṛtyāyan' during his travels to Kathmandu, and is contained in Sāṃkṛtyāyan's edition of Sarahapā's Dohās.^{xliv}

138cd suṇṇa nirañjaṇa parama paū, suiṇo māa sahāva |
139ab bhāvahu citta sahāvatā, jāu ṇāsijjaī jāva ||
140cd ṇaūbhava ṇaū ṇibbāṇe diṭṭhiaū, mahāsuha bājja |
141ab jo bhāvaī maṇu bhāvaṇe, so para sāhaī kājja |

- 141cd akkhara-vaṇṇa-vivajjia, ṇāu so vindu ṇa citta |
 142ab ehu so parama mahāsuha, ṇāu pheḍia ṇāu khitta ||
 142cd jima paḍibimba-sahāvatā, tima bhāvijjāi bhāva |
 143ab suṇṇa nirañjaṇa paramapaū, ṇa tahiṃ puṇṇa ṇa(u) pāva ||

Translation^{xlv}

“Void, stainless, the supreme state, dream, whose nature is illusion.
 Observe the nature of consciousness until existence is destroyed.
 Neither in existence nor in extinction (Nirvāna) is the diamond of the
 great joy.
 Who observes the mind in meditation completes the best work.
 Undestroyable, deprived of color, neither point/drop (bindu) nor
 consciousness.
 This is that supreme great joy. Neither [exists] the farmer nor the [arable]
 land.
 Existence should be conceived just as the nature of reflection.
 Void, stainless, the supreme state. In that is neither virtue nor sin.”

118ab jima jala-māḷheṃ candaḍā, ṇau so sācca ṇa miccha |
 tima so maṇḍalacakkaḍā, ṇau heḍai ṇau khitta ||
 [SĀṂKṚTYĀYAN' 1957, p. 26]

“That is neither truth nor falsity like the moon in water.
 In that manner is the wheel of the circle neither downward nor upward.”

This *cacā* is not included in RATNAKĀJĪ VAJRĀCĀRYA's textbook, but
 it appears in my teacher's manuscript as follows:

śūnya niraṃjana parama prabhū | śūnya māyā saṃhāu |
 bhāvaha cīya saṃhāvadā | no nāsi mayi jāmvū |
 nau bhava nau nirvāṇa tahi | ehu so mahāsuha vajra |
 yo bhāvayi mana bhāvata | ī so para sāhayi karjī |
 akṣaru mantra vivarjayo | no so vindu na citta |
 ehū so parama mahāsuho | no bhedi na citta |
 jima pari vindu saṃhāvaḍā | timi bhāvayi mana bhāve |
 śūnya niraṃjana paramaprabhū | no tayi puṇya na pāu |
 jima jala māḷhe candra sahi | no so svaccha na miccha |
 timi so maṇḍala cakraḍā | tana yana saṃhāve svaccha |

The five Dohās, or five couplets, are put together in an order
 different from that given in SĀṂKṚTYĀYAN' 1957, p. 30. My teacher
 explained to me why this song consists of five Dohās. The song is
 accompanied by a dance, performed by four Yoginīs (actually male
 dancers dressed up as females.^{xlvi}) In the beginning of each Dohā, there
 appears a new Yoginī. In this manner, the number of the dancing Yoginīs

increases one by one, until in the fifth Dohā, all four dancers are dancing together. The prescribed *rāga* and *tāla* are respectively Rāga Rāmakarī and Tāla Mātha.

§9. *Koire Vaṃśā*, a song with Haṭhayogic contents

The collection of *cacā* songs seems to include the very old songs which have remained unknown to us until now. A good example is *Koire Vaṃśā* (R 2, p. 45). The language of this song shows several typical characteristics of Eastern NIA.

koire^{xlvii} vaṃśā vājire vīṇā | anuhata sarvadeva tribhuvana ṛnā ||dhull
 anupama pūjire dārakalaiyā | bharī re ṛddhi siddhi rohiprasāde ||
 gaṃgā jamunā eduyi tanti | sva śire raviśaśigagana duvāre ||
 udiṃgera candrā ravi aṣṭāṃge | gagana śekhara mājhe pavana hiṇḍore ||
 pavana saṃcāre ekūke bandhā | viparīta karame dāraśiddhā ||

In view of the fact that the classical Newari language very often confuses the two consonants R/L, the original form of the first line would be reconstructed as **koile vaṃśā vājile vīṇā*. I take **koile* (*koire*) and **vājile* (*vājire*) to be past participles with the ending -L-, which is typical for Eastern NIA languages.^{xlviii} Below I give my provisional construction, which may of course not be totally free of mistakes and is therefore open to criticism.

koile vaṃśā bājile vīṇā | anāhata sarvadeva tribhuvana līnā ||
 anupama pūjile dāraka raiyā^{xlix} | bharile ṛddhi siddhi rohi-prasāde |
 gaṃgā jamunā e dui tānti | sośile^l ravi śaśi gagana duvāre |
 uḍi gela candrā ravi aṣṭāṅge | gagana śekhara mājhe pavana hiṇḍole |
 pavana saṃcāre ekūke bandhā | viparīta karame dāraka siddhā ||

Translation:

“The flute cooed. The lute sounded. / In the not-stroke sound (*anāhata-nāda*), all the deities [and] the three worlds are dissolved (or: have taken resort).

[They] worshipped the matchless King Dāraka. / [Worldly] prosperity and [sacral] perfection were filled due to the favor of Rohi.^{li}

Ganges and Yamuna: these are the two strings. / The sun and moon dried out at the door of the sky.

The moon and sun flew up in the Aṣṭāṅga Yoga.^{lii} / In the summit of the sky, the wind swings.

[There is] blockade in every single movement of the wind. / Dāraka is [someone] perfected in the inverted practice.”

§9.1. Comparison of *Koire Vaṃśā* with the *Caryāpada* by Vīṇāpāda

The first half of the third verse “Ganges and Yamuna: these are the two

strings” suggests the notion of the body-lute, in which the body of a Yogin is compared to the stringed instrument: the three main *nāḍīs* are its three strings, and its sound is *anāhata nāda*. The same topic is also dealt with in the seventeenth song of the *Caryāgītikoṣavṛtti*, i.e. the song by Vīṇāpāda. Thus, *Koire Vaṃśā* seems to have arisen from the same ideological background that produced the *Caryāgītikoṣavṛtti*. This background was presumably the precursor of the thought of Nātha cult.

§9.2. Recycling of one and the same melody for several texts

As for the melody of *Koire Vaṃśā*, it shares the same melody with another *cacā Madhuripu* (R2, p.45). My teacher states that, on occasions when *Koire Vaṃśā* is sung, one first sings *Madhuripu*, then shifts to *Koire Vaṃśā*. Although it belongs to the *cacās*, *Madhuripu*, is not kept secret, and it is permitted to sing this song in public, e.g. at the meetings of old people; it is also sung on occasions when Bhajans are sung in the worship of Maitrī Bodhisattva. In contrast, *Koire Vaṃśā* is not sung in public.

It often occurs that several songs share one and the same melody, i.e. the same *rāga* and *tāla*. For instance, when I learned *Bāma Dahina* (R 2, p. 93, Rāga Mālaśrī, Tāla Māṭha), my teacher commented that *Bajrayoginī* (R 2, p. 12) is also sung on the same melody of Rāga Mālaśrī. In other words, “Rāga Mālaśrī” in this context rather denotes a fixed composition than a melodic pattern. Thus the concept of *rāga* in the *cacā* tradition differs from the well-known notion of the *rāga* in Hindustani musical tradition. In the *cacā* tradition, the *rāga* is a musical piece whose melodic line is fixed: i.e., the name of the *rāga* is rather equivalent to the title of a musical piece. As a result, the number of musical compositions which the transmitter has to learn by heart is less than the number of *cacā* song-texts, which is in excess of 200. He has a limited stock of musical compositions, and recycles them according to the prescriptions of *rāga* and *tāla* in the manuscript. In reality, the transmission of *cacās* is not a purely oral one which depends entirely on the memory of the transmitter, but is also supported by written transmission. The transmitter memorizes the melodies, but during his chanting he also looks at the song-text in the manuscript.

If this was also the case for the performance of the *caryāpadas* contained in the *Caryāgītikoṣavṛtti*, in which each single song follows the prescription of the *rāga*, this kind of prescription must have had a practical meaning. Most likely, the prescription of the *rāga* reminded the transmitter of a certain fixed melodic line which he chose from his stock of memorized musical pieces.

§10. Conclusion

In this paper, I have reported the oral tradition of *cacā* chanting in the Kathmandu Valley, Nepal. Very old hymns in Apabhraṃśa or early NIA languages called *cacā* are even now chanted by Newar Buddhists. These songs include a song from the *Caryāpada/Caryāgīti*, two Diamond Songs

(*vajragīti*) from the *Hevajratantra*, and Saraha's Dohās. The tradition of *cacā* chanting may thus be counted among the most valuable forms of human cultural heritage in the world today.

In addition, new *cacā* songs seem to have continued to be productively composed in the Kathmandu Valley, after the practice of *cacā* chanting was imported from eastern India into this area. In this respect, the *cacā* tradition can be considered one of the earliest literate activities which flourished in the Kathmandu Valley. The Caryā Dance accompanying the *cacā* chanting has recently been recognized as one of the outstanding performing arts of Nepal.

The original purpose of this paper was to elucidate the phonology and prosody of Apabhraṃśa and Early NIA in the light of the evidence gained from the *cacā* chanting of today. But the actual matter turned out to be far more complicated than expected. The phonetics of these songs are very often distorted under the phonetic influence of the Newari language. Furthermore, the original metrical structure of the poem undergoes a considerable degree of modification in order to be adjusted to the fixed melody. As a result, it is extremely difficult to judge how far the original metre is retained in the chanting. In order to arrive at a more definite conclusion, further and more intensive investigation of the *cacā* tradition is needed.

Appendix 1

Explanation of the metrics of the *Caryāpada* by SEN (1977)

Nilratan Sen gives a short explanation of the metrics of the *Caryāpada* in the introduction to the facsimile edition of the *Caryāgītikoṣavṛtti*.^{liii} For reference, I summarize his explanation below, adding my own remarks on his theory.

SEN's explanation

The verse metre in the *Caryāpada* songs seems to be rather loose. As in Apabhraṃśa Dohā songs, the prosodic style is basically moraic: open, short vowels are usually counted as single moras, while closed syllables count as two moras. But in the use of long open syllables, the composers had the option of counting them either as double or as single.

SEN [1977, xxxvi] adds:

“The three major “prosodical forms” or metres adopted in the *c.* [= *Caryāpada*] songs are: (a) the sixteen moric (4-4-4-4 or 8-8)^{liv} *pādākulaka*, (b) the twenty moric (13-11) *dohā*, (c) the thirty moric (10-8-12) *caupaiā*; they may be considered as the precursors of (a) the fourteen moric (8-6) *payār*, (b) the twenty moric (6-6-8) *laghu tripadī* and (c) the twenty-six moric (8-8-10) *dīrgha tripadī*, respectively. These three modified forms, particularly the fourteen moric *payār* became the main vehicle for Middle and Modern E.NIA. verse.” I did not correct

Sen's English here, for it is a citation.

SEN [ibid.] gives *Caryāpada* No. 2 as an instance of the Pādākulaka metre:

āṅgaṇa | gharapaṇa || suna bho | biātī^{lv}
 kāṇeṭa | caurī^{lvi} || nila adha | rātī
 susurā | nid^{lvii} gela || bahuḍi | jāḡaa
 kāṇeṭa | core nila || kāḡai | māḡaa

The final unit of the line^{lviii} (*biātī, rātī, jāḡaa, māḡaa*), which originally had four moras, was gradually reduced first to three and then to two. This fact results in the development in later periods of a new prosodic form with 16 moras, i.e., the Paṅār' metre (4-4-4-2 or 8-6)

Next, SEN [1977, xxxvi] gives *Caryāpada* No. 39 as an instance of the Dohā metre (13-11). The verse in question runs as follows in his manuscript transcription [ibid., p. 102f]^{lix}:

suiṅā hatha bidārama re || ṅiamaṅa tohorē dosē
 gurubaṅa bihārē re || thākiba tai ghuṅḍa kaisē

On this page, however, he adds some interpretations of his own^{lx}, and gives the following text:

suiṅā hatha bidārama re || niamana tohorē dose
 gurubaana biharē re || thākiba tai ghuṅḍa kaise.

SEN here states that in this instance, the first line has the usual 13-11 morac pattern^{lxi}, while the second line reverses this arrangement as 11-13.^{lxii} He remarks that the Dohā pattern, although very popular in Eastern Apabhraṃśa verses, had practically no impact on Bengali, Assamese or Oriya poems. The Laghu Tripadī metre (6-6-8), a light tri-caesuric^{lxiii} pattern popular in these three NIA languages, might have evolved from the Dohā form.

Finally, Sen [1977, xxxvi] gives *Caryāpada* No. 28 as an instance of the Caupaiā metre (10-8-12).

tia dhāu khāṭa || paḍilā sabaro || mahāsuhe seji chāilī
 sabaro bhujāṅga || nairāmaṅi^{lxiv} dārī || pemma^{lxv} rāti pohāilī

However, this example has a pattern of 8-8-12; the first unit^{lxvi} is short by two moras. Sen considers this to be the precursor of the Dīrgha Tripadī, one of the most popular metres in Bengali lyrics. The standard moraic pattern of the Dīrgha Tripadī is 8-8-10^{lxvii}, but in the Vaishnava lyrics of

Jayadeva, Vidyāpati and Baṛu Caṇḍīdāsa, the 8-8-12 moraic pattern was in vogue.^{lxviii} Then the final two moras dropped from this 8-8-12 pattern, which developed into the standard Dīrgha Tripadī with its 8-8-10 pattern. The standard Dīrgha Tripadī became very popular from the 15th century onwards.

These three, Pādākulaka, Dohā and Caupaiā, are the major metres in the *Caryāpada* songs. However, 11 songs have some sort of mixture of these three major metres and various other Prakrit metres [SEN 1977, xxxvi].

The looseness of the *Caryāpada* prosody

However, SEN 1977 himself admits that there is great flexibility in the *Caryāpada* prosody. Thus we can find many cases in which the prosodic condition of the line compels us to count short syllables as long in the actual pronunciation; they seem to have been pronounced as long during the recitation of the songs. However, the criteria with regard to which syllable is lengthened are not clear.

SEN 1977 deals with an example of this kind, although his analysis unfortunately does not seem entirely free of arbitrariness. In the following, I first summarize his analysis, before offering some critical remarks on his argument. Of course my intention is not to devalue the work of this great scholar, but to regard the matter more precisely and make it clear where the problem lies.

Caryāpada No. 1

kā tarubara pañca biḍāla
cañcala cīe paiṭho kāla
diḍha karia mahāsuha parimāṇa
lui bhaṇai guru pucchia jāṇa

kā- ā- | taru bara || pañ cabi | ḍā- la- ||
cañ cala | cī- e- || pai ṭho- | kā- la- ||
di- dha ka ria mahā || suha pari mā- ṇa-
lu-i bha ṇai guru || puc chia jā- ṇa-

[Open syllables without hyphen should be read as single moras; closed syllables and open syllables with hyphen should be read as two moras.]

This example shows the sixteen-moraic form (4-4-4-4 or 8-8), i.e. the Pādākulaka metre.

In his structural analysis, SEN 1977 considers the two words marked in italics, *di-dha* and *lu-i*, to be exceptions to the prosodic rules mentioned above. Namely, he proposes that the first syllables of these words (*di-* and *lu-*) should be counted as two moras. Thus the two words should have been pronounced as [dīḍha/di:rha] and [lūi/lu:i], respectively.^{lxix} His inference can be justified through the observation that,

in the language of the *Caryāpada*, the accent tends to be placed on the first syllable of a word: as a result, the first syllable is pronounced as long under the accent. In fact, the modern Bengali language still has the same tendency.

SEN [1977, xxxvi] states that in the third and fourth lines of this verse, the first caesuric units^{lxx} are composed of a 3-3-2 mora word sequence, instead of 4-4. The rhythmic structure 3-3-2 is a new prosodic pattern, which would become popular in Eastern NIA dialects in later periods. The two units in question, which in his opinion should be pronounced as [dīḍha karia mahā/di:ṛha karia maha] and [lūi bhaṇai guru/lu:i bhaṇai guru], mark the earliest appearance of this new prosodic pattern.

However, if we were to read *diḍha* as [dīḍha/di:ṛha], we would have to shorten *mahā* into [maha] in the same line as compensation; otherwise, there would be an excess of one mora. Thus I wonder whether it is really necessary to modify *diḍha* into [dīḍha/di:ṛha]. Even without SEN's modification, the segment *diḍha karia mahā* already contains exactly eight moras!^{lxxi}

Thus SEN's theory seems to be not entirely above objection. Rather, his proposal is simply one of several possibilities.

Appendix 2

Metrical analysis of Saraha's Dohā by SHAHIDULLAH

SHAHIDULLAH [1928, p. 55ff] deals with the prosody and metrics of the Dohākoṣa. I summarize his statement in the following paragraphs.

- In general, the quantity of vowels is the same as in Sanskrit. But there are some particularities: short *e* and *o* are sometimes found, generally at the end of the word.^{lxxii} This includes the instrumental/locative ending *-ē*.
- The major metre adopted in Kāṇha's and Saraha's Dohākoṣas is the Dohā. In contrast to M. Jacobi's theory that the Dohā metre is derived from the Vaitālīya metre, SHAHIDULLAH [ibid., p. 62] sees the origin of the Dohā metre in the Dodhaka metre. Unfortunately, I am not in a position to judge his theory.
- The Soratṭhā metre (6-4-1 | 6-4-3), whose structure is the converse of the Dohā, is found in the two songs (No. 2, No. 3) by Kāṇha and the two songs (No. 50, No. 52) by Saraha.
- The metre whose frequency is next higher after that of the Dohā is the Pādākulaka metre.
- As for the Rolā metre. SHAHIDULLAH mentions the definition of this metre in the work on prosody, the *Vāṇībhūṣaṇa*: the metre contains 24 moras, with a caesura occurring after the 11th mora. However, Kāṇha's song No. 22 in the Rolā metre has the caesura after the 13th mora and so deviates from this definition.

On the other hand, Saraha's songs No. 51 and No. 53 contain strophes in the Rolā metre with the caesura after the 11th mora, i.e. in accord with the definition.

- Other adopted metres are the Ullāha metre (Saraha No. 100), the Dvipadī metre (Kāṇha No. 15), the Mahānubhava metre (Saraha No. 49), the Marahaṭṭhā metre (Saraha No. 87), etc.

Abbreviations

C. = *Caryāpada*

Nw. = Newari

R = Ratnakāṅī Vajrāchārya

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ⁱ The term *caryāpada* literally means ‘the word of religious practice’, and *caryāgīti* ‘the song of religious practice’. Both are common nouns denoting a certain genre of religious songs. However, the *Caryāpada* and *Caryāgīti* with capital letters are customarily used as proper nouns, i.e. as appellations for the songs contained in the specific work titled *Caryāgītikōṣa*. In this paper, I too follow this custom, except for in cases where I write the terms in small letters, i.e. *caryāpada* or *caryāgīti*, as common nouns.

ⁱⁱ This work was falsely referred to under the title *Caryācaryaviniścaya* by Haraprasad Shastri. The title of Munidatta’s Skt. commentary on these *caryāpada* songs is *Caryāgītikōṣavṛtti*. From this, SEN 1977 restores the title of the anthology of *caryāpada* songs as *Caryāgītikōṣa*. Cf. SEN 1977, pp. xv-xvi, and see also KVÆRNE 1986, p.3.

ⁱⁱⁱ I do not go into the details of the history of research on the *Caryāpada*, as this is already dealt with by KVÆRNE 1986, SEN 1977 etc.

^{iv} I.e. ŚAŚĪBHUṢAṄ’ DAŚ’GUPTA 1989.

^v For *Gaṇacakra*, see SHIZUKA 2007.

However, the *Gaṇacakra* ceremony performed in Newar society today has underwent considerable changes. The sexual rituals and other procedures of a transgressive character which used to form the essential part of this ceremony are only performed in a symbolic manner, so as not to disturb the public order. Only Vajrācāryas, i.e. the members of the highest caste of Newar Buddhists are allowed to participate in this ceremony. Furthermore, even someone who belongs to the Vajrācārya caste is not permitted to enter the place of ritual without a special consecration (*dīkṣā*).

^{vi} Cf. RATNAKĀJĪ VAJRĀCĀRYA Vol. 1 (1996), p. 3 of the introduction (*bhūmikā*). See also TULĀDHAR’ 2008, p. 12.

^{vii} This song is contained in RATNAKĀJĪ 1986, pp. 20f.

^{viii} E.g. the *cacā* song titled *Mahālakṣmīdevī* in R1, p.86. Its first verse runs: iśāne (sic!) mahālakṣmī debī saṃkārajātā (sic!) sītā | eka vakra (sic! = vaktra) trinayanā catura bāhu ||.

^{ix} E.g. *Madhyameru* (R1, p.1). The first verse runs: madhyameru mahāmaṇikanakarājita, pūrvavideha ca jambudvīpaṃ | aparagoḍāyanī (sic!) uttarakurubhuvane paṃcavarṇa pañcajina (sic!) vyāpiyāre ||. However, *vyāpiyāre* is obviously not Sanskrit; it seems to be Apabhraṃśa or NIA *vyāpiyā* (< Skt. *vyāpita*) + the interjection *re*.

^x Cf. TULĀDHAR’ 2008, pp. 1ff.

^{xi} <http://www.kalamandapa.com/>

^{xii} <http://www.dancemandal.com/> Prajwal Ratna Vajracharya (Prajval’ratna Vajrācārya) is one of the sons of Ratnakājī Vajrācārya.

^{xiii} SEN 1973, pp. 41-42; DAS 1996; etc. SEN [1973, p. 41] states: “About ten years ago, Arnold Bake and Sashibhushan Dasgupta collected more than a hundred *cacā* songs from the Buddhist monasteries of Nepal.” On the same

page, SEN analyzes the metrical structure of the *cacā* song *E Mahi Maṇḍala*.

^{xiv} RATNAKAJI VAJRACHARYA 1986.

^{xv} RATNAKĀJĪ VAJRĀCĀRYA Vol. 1(1996), p. 5f. of the introduction (*bhūmikā*).

^{xvi} This is comparable to Bengali scholars' attitude to the *Caryāpada* which has considerable cultural importance for them.

^{xvii} Mistake for *mahāvīra*?

^{xviii} This seems to be a mistake for *padmagiri*.

^{xix} This chronology is considerably early and needs to be reexamined.

The *cacā* song titled *Bāma dahina* (R2, p.93), which is also ascribed to Vākvajra Vajrācārya shows the linguistic characteristics of Early NIA, and is included by Shashibhushan Dasgupta in the oldest group of the songs from the 10th to 12th century.

The composition of the *Caryāpadas* (i.e. the *Caryāgītikoṣa*) is usually dated to around the 9th to 12th century, and these songs are usually considered to be of Indian origin. This wide-spread assumption is contradicted by TULĀDHAR' [2008]'s theory that Vākvajra's songs were composed in Nepal. If the chronology of proposed by TULĀDHAR' is right, we would have to revise the chronology of the songs of the *Caryāpada* and the prevailing theory that the the songs of the *Caryāpada* were composed in the eastern areas of India.

^{xx} TULĀDHAR' 2008, p. 20: “thvahe kramay pūjākriyāyāta mvāḥgu caryāgīta naṃ cinegu yāta. thujāgu gīta vajrayānī vibhinna deva-devīpinigu varṇana yānāḥ cinātaḥgu khaḥ.”

^{xxi} According to personal response to my answer from Mr. Kazumi Yoshizaki.

^{xxii} The Newari expression *rāg' kāyegu* means “taking hold of the *rāga*”: a short prelude displaying the characteristics of the *rāga*, similar to an *ālāp'* in Hindustani music, but shorter, and memorized rather than improvised. Cf. WIDDESS 2004.

My teacher actually called this type of recitation *ālāp'*. During my third visit to Kathmandu in August 2009, my teacher demonstrated for me the *ālāp'* of the *cacā* song *Gajajina*. *Gajajina* is given in R1, p.39, in which Rāga Bhairaba and Tāla Ekatāla are prescribed for this song.

In my teacher's recitation of the *ālāp'*, he recited a melody resembling *Gajajina*, characterized by an abundance of melismatic ornamentations without a text.

In contrast, at a meeting in February 2010 in which he taught me the *cacā* song *Paramapau*, he demonstrated the melodic line of Rāga Desāra in the form of *ālāp'*. He sang it without a text, freely from a rhythmic pattern, before we began to practice the recitation of the song text in this melody. Thus, an *ālāp'* can also be a short demonstrative example of the melody, through which the structure or the melodic line of the song is demonstrated in a simplified form without the text, ornamentations and repetitions.

^{xxiii} Besides these three, he also gives the beginning part of the *cacā* song *Raktavarṇa* on p. 20.

^{xxiv} Even worse, the prescription of the Rāga Aru for the song No. 4 in the *Caryāgītikoṣavṛtti* differs from the modern prescription for the *cacā* song *Trihaṇḍā*.

^{xxv} As of February 2010.

^{xxvi} *Trihanda* is also given in R 2, p. 9, too, but there the prescribed melody is Rāga Karṇādi, and Tāla Jhapa.

^{xxvii} *Paramarato* and *Śūnyanirāñjana Paramapau* are not included in R (= Ratnakāṇḍī Vajrācārya 1996 and 1999). They are contained in DĀŚ'GUPTA 1989 with their respective philological source. For more details, see the respective sections of this paper.

^{xxviii} My teacher stated that *Madhuripu* and *Koirevaṃśā* are sung to the same melody. He showed me a short instruction in the margin of the page of his manuscript on which *Koirevaṃśā* is written: this instructed this song to be sung together with *Madhuripu* in sequence and to the same melody (*rāga*). But in the book R 2, Rāga Vasanta is prescribed for *Madhuripu*, and Rāga Varādi for *Koyarī vaṃśā*, while in the book R 1, p. 43, the *rāga* and *tāla* prescribed for *Madhuripu* are Rāga Kausika Vasanta and Tāla Khaṭkaṃkāra (Khaṭkaṃkāra?). The matter is made more complicated, for *Koire vaṃśā* is also given in R 1, p. 114, too, where the prescribed *rāga* and *tāla* are respectively Kahu and Jhapa. Ratnakāṇḍī Vajrācārya (R 1, p. 96) states that this prescription is according to the tradition of Patan (Nw. Yela) city. Ratnakāṇḍī Vajrācārya, whose tradition was that of Kathmandu city explains that the traditions in the two cities deviate from each other.

In fact, the *cacā* tradition seems to have been once divided into many branches. The singing style of my teacher, Narendramuni Vajrācārya of the Musumbāhāḥ, is different from the recording of the late Ratnakāṇḍī Vajrācārya. Thus, there seem to have been differences of style even within the tradition of Kathmandu city.

^{xxix} Except for cases in which the line called *dhuā* (< Skt. *dhruvā*), i.e. a kind of refrain, is sung to a melody different from the main melody.

^{xxx} Song No.1 in DĀŚ'GUPTA 1989.

^{xxxi} The composer of the melody is not necessarily the same person as the author of the text.

^{xxxii} This observation of mine is perhaps false, for the melody of *Trihaṇḍā* is shared with other song-texts.

^{xxxiii} SEN proposes to read the closed syllable *am* as short.

^{xxxiv} I.e. the closed syllable should be read as short.

^{xxxv} Here he reads *hāl* instead of *phāl*.

^{xxxvi} For the relation and affinity between *caryāgītis* and *vajragītis*, cf. CAKRABARTĪ 1975, pp. 208ff., 232-235.

^{xxxvii} This text is given in DĀŚ'GUPTA 1989, p. 5.

^{xxxviii} This version runs as follows: “kollāi re ṭhina bolla mummuṇi (?) re kkālo | malaaja kuṃḍurū bāpai ḍiṇḍima taḥiṇa vajrajaia ||dhull dharāi kiyṭaha vajjai karuṇo kikaī ṇā rolā ||dhull taḥiṇpala khājaī gāḍhe maṇjaṇa pijjai | hale kaliṇjara pāṇiaī dundurū taḥaṃ vajrijaai || kaliṇjara pāṇiaī dundurū taḥaṃ vajrijaai || caūsama katyurisihala kappura lāiaī | malaai ghaṇasāliai tahi bhalu

khāiaī || pēkhaṇa kheṭa karanta suddhā suddha ṇā maṇiaī | niraṃśu eṅga
caḍāviaī tahi asa rāva paṇiaī ||.”

^{xxxix} The term *todi* is the same as *toḍi*, as the classical Newari language often confuses dental and retroflex.

^{xi} This might be the same person as Karṇaripā, one of the 84 great masters of Vajrayāna. For Karṇaripā, see SUGIKI 2000, pp. 90ff. In the *Hevajratantra*, the name of the composer is not mentioned.

^{xli} DĀŚ'GUPTA 1989, p. 7, No. 3. His reading of this song is as follows: “uṭṭha bharāro karuṇamaṇḍa pukkasī mahumṇ paritāhiṇ | mahāsuaḷoe kāma mahumṇ chaḍḍahi suṇṇasamāhi || tojjhā bihuṇṇe marami haumṇ uṭṭhehiṇ tuhumṇ hebajja | chaḍḍahi suṇṇasabhābarā śabaria sijjhāu kajja || loa nimantia suraapahu suṇṇe acchasi kīsa | haumṇ caṇḍālī biṇṇanami taiṇ biṇṇa ḍahami na dīsa || indiālī uṭṭha tuhumṇ haumṇ jānāmi tuha citta | ambhe ḍombī cheamaṇḍa mā kara karuṇabicitta ||”

^{xlii} SNELLGROVE 1959, part 2, pp. 78f.

^{xliii} DĀŚ'GUPTA 1989, p. 8-9, No. 4.

^{xliv} SĀMKRṬYĀYAN' 1957, p. 30.

^{xlvi} Translation by the author, referring to SĀMKRṬYĀYAN''s modern Hindi translation.

^{xlvii} The situation has changed nowadays in the performances open to the public for purposes of tourism. On such occasions, female dancers are often seen participating in the performance.

^{xlviii} Variant *phoire*. If *pho-* can be connected with Modern Bengali *phu/phū* (< Skt. *phūtkāra*), **phoile vaṃśā* would mean “[one] blew the flute” or “the flute was blown”.

^{xlviii} Another possibility is to interpret *koi* and *vāji* as Apabhraṃśa absolutes ending in *-i*, and *re* as an interjection.

^{xlix} I interpret *laiyā* as **raiṇyā* or **rāyā*, and consider it to be derivative from Skt. *rājā*. The unamended reading *laiyā* would be translated as an absolute meaning ‘taking’, in which case I cannot find any suitable interpretation.

^l I would like to interpret *soṣile* as **soṣile/*sokhile* (< Skt. *śūṣ* ‘to dry out’). However, the retroflex *ṣ* is usually not confused with the palatal *ś* in classical Newari writing. The unamended *sva śire* would mean “in [one’s] own head”.

^{li} The meaning of *rohi* is unclear.

^{lii} I cannot help feeling tempted to interpret *aṣṭāṅga* as having the double meaning of Aṣṭāṅga Yoga and *astam-ga* lit. ‘going to the Mount Asta’, i.e. setting in the sky. Under such an interpretation, this line has the suggestion that the sun and moon paradoxically rose in the west. However, since the confusion of retroflex and dental in *aṣṭa* vs. *asta* is usually not observed among the historical changes affecting NIA, my theory cannot be substantiated, unless this text was composed by a Newar author who did not strictly observe the distinction between the two consonants.

^{liii} SEN 1973, pp. xxxv-xxxvi.

^{liv} The orthodox definition of the Paṇḍar' meter divides it into two units, 8|6. However, CHATTERJI 1970, p.286, states that this 8|6 structure is based on a 4-4|4-2 division.

^{lv} In pronunciation, *ā* or *ī* must be shortened to retain four morae, although SEN does not mention this.

^{lvi} SEN proposes to read the diphthong *au* as three morae.

^{lvii} SEN originally read *nida gela* in his Roman transcription of the manuscript [SEN 1977, p.8]. However, here [ibid., pp. xxvi] and on p. 129 he unnecessarily corrects it into *nid gela*. I wonder whether *nida gela* better suits the phonetic state of the language at this time. The facsimile copy of the manuscript scarcely offers us a clue, for the part in which this expression occurs is almost illegible. Whichever it is, it does not change the moraic total.

^{lviii} SEN adopts the expression ‘the final tetra-moric unit of the line’.

^{lix} The reading contained in his Appendix A [SEN 1977, p.142, “Corrected Caryā text with translation”] is also the same.

^{lx} I hope that this text reflects SEN’s interpretation, and does not contain misprints!

^{lxi} SEN adopts the term ‘13-11 moric dicaesuric pattern’.

^{lxii} However, if we adopt the original text without considering SEN’s interpretation, the units *ṇīamaṇa tohorē dosē* and *gurubaaṇa bihārē re*, although considered as having 11-morae by SEN, both contain 12 morae. On the other hand, the units *suiṇā hatha bidārama re* and *thākiba tai ghuṇḍa kaisē*, although considered as 13-moraic by SEN, could be counted as having 11 morae, if long vowels are pronounced as short (= single morae), as often happens. SEN’s criteria as to which long vowels are shortened in pronunciation, are not clear to me.

SEN’s shortening of the long vowel at the end of the verse can be justified by the following fact: Dr. Junko Sakamoto has very kindly informed me of her observation that Apabhraṃśa meters tend to avoid final long syllables.

^{lxiii} I.e. the line consists of three caesuric units.

^{lxiv} In his transcription of the manuscript (p. 75), *ṇairāmaṇi* with two *ṇ*’s.

^{lxv} In his transcription of the manuscript (p. 75), originally *pemha*.

^{lxvi} SEN adopts the term ‘pause unit’.

^{lxvii} The term *tripadī* means “that [meter] which has three units”. Therefore, two different patterns, i.e. 8-8-10 and 6-6-8, both have the name of Tripadī. The two are distinguished in that the former (8-8-2) is called Dīrgha Tripadī (“the long Tripadī”), and the latter (6-6-8) Laghu Tripadī (“the light Tripadī”). In the following, I quote the respective instances of these two patterns given in SEN’ 1995:

Dīrgha Tripadī (8|8|10):

tohme rādhā candrābalī || āhme deba banamālī ||

āhmā parihara ākāraṇe |

[tomhe radha cāndraboli || amhe debo bōnomali || amha porihoro akarone]

(SEN’ 1995, p. 12; taken from the *Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtana* by Baṛu Caṇḍīdāsa)

In this case, the long vowel and the short vowel are both counted as single morae. A closed syllable such as *can-* in *candrābalī* is counted as a single mora as well.

Laghu Tripadī (6|6|8|)

mano ucāṭana || niśbāsa saghana || kadambakānane cāye |

[mono ucaṭono || niʃʃaʃo ʃəghono || kədombokanone cae |]

(SEN' 1995, p.17, an instance taken from the *Vaiṣṇava Padāvalī*; phonetic symbols added by the present author)

gharera bāhire || daṅḍe śatabāra || tile tile āise yāya |

[ghərero bahire || dəṅḍe ʃətobaro || tile tile aiʃe jael]

(SEN' 1995, p. 17; taken from the *Vaiṣṇava Padāvalī*)

In this case, the diphthong *āi* of *āise* [aiʃe] is counted as a single mora, if *āise* was not already pronounced as [eʃe] at that time.

sāsurī nananda || khurera dhāra || sāmī baṛa durubāra |

[ʃaʃurī nənondo || khurero dha:ro || ʃami bəro duruba:ro]

(SEN' 1995, p. 12)

This instance is taken from the *Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtana* by Baṛu Caṅḍīdāsa, and belongs to an early stage of the Bengali language in the 15th century. Therefore, *dhāra* and *durubāra* must be pronounced respectively as [dha:ro] and [duruba:ro] according to SEN' 1995.

In his discussion of the relation between *Caryāpada* prosody and Bengali prosody (SEN 1977, xxxvi), SEN deals with Dīrgha Tripadī.

^{lxviii} SEN 1977's argument here is not completely unproblematic. We have to remind that the three poets mentioned here, Jayadeva, Vidyāpati and Baṛu Caṅḍīdāsa, composed in different languages, respectively Skt., Maithili and Bengali. (Vidyāpati in both Apabhraṃśa and Maithilī). Skt. and Maithili retain the distinction between short and long syllables, so long vowels and closed syllables are treated as bi-moraic in prosody; while Middle Bengali lost this distinction, with the result that long and short vowels are both counted as mono-moraic, except for rare cases in which the prosodic conditions demand that they be counted as long.

^{lxix} Indeed, the Sanskritised form of *lui* is *lūyīpāda* with long *lū*.

^{lxx} I.e. *diḍha karia mahā* and *lui bhaṇai guru*.

^{lxxi} Sen might have done his modification in view of the fact that Apabhraṃśa meter tends to avoid long syllables or shorten them at the end of the unit.

^{lxxii} This fact seems to be related to the tendency of Apabhraṃśa metrer to avoid long syllables at the end of the metrical unit. The latter might in turn be correlated with the stress falling on the first syllable of the word.

Explanation on the musical notations

Only the basic line of the melody is given. In chanting, ornamentations are applied to the melody. These ornamentations vary in every time of performance, and it is actually not easy to distinguish the basic melodic line from ornamentations. Therefore, these notations are results of certain compromises.

The pitch is not fixed. In these notations, the intervals of the scale are noted, but which one is the keynote is not clear.

Every *cacā* begins with a meaningless utterance such as *a haṃ ya haṃ haṃ*. In the conjunction from a line to the next line, similar utterances such as *a haṃ a he a haṃ ya haṃ* etc. are sung.

Trihaṇḍā The rhythmic cycle is $3+2+2 = 7$

Kolāi

The rhythmic cycle seems $6+4+4 = 14$

In this *cacā*, the third line (*malayaṃja kunduru ...*) is the *dhuā* (refrain). For the *dhuā*, a melody different from the main melody is adopted. I show the main melody and the melody for the *dhuā* separately. The order of chanting is:

1. The first line and the second line
2. The third line which is the *dhuā*
3. The fourth to the last line
4. Again the third line (*dhuā*)

The four question marks [? ? ? ?] in the first line (*kolāi le...*) are actually the part which was omitted by my informant. I added them in view of the rhythmic cycle with 7 beats.

Paramarato

The rhythmic cycle seems to be 7.

As remarked in my paper, this song is sung on the two different *rāgas* alternately. I show the two melodies separately.

Saraha's Dohā: *Śūnyaniramjana*

The rhythmic cycle seems to be 4.

Madhuripu/Koire Vaṃśā

The rhythmic cycle seems to be 4.

The two *cacā* share one and the same melody. In the song-texts, the first is that of *Madhuripu*, and the second, *Koire Vaṃśā*.

Trihaṇḍā

The Cacā song equivalent to Caryāpada No. 4 <Tiaddā cāpī joini>

$\text{♩} = 50$

a haṃ ya haṃ haṃ tri i ha a a a ṃ da a a a a
 yo o o o o o o gi i i i i

5
 cā ā pa a yi i i i yo gi ni i i i
 ni i tu u mha a a a vi i nu u u u

9
 de e e e e ha a a ka a bā ā ā ā ā
 kha na a a a haṃ haṃ na ji i va a a a a

13
 di a he a haṃ ya haṃ haṃ ka a ma a a a la a a a a
 yi a he a haṃ ya haṃ haṃ tva a ra a mu u kha a a a a

18
 ku u li i i i i śa a a a a gha m ṭha ka ra a a a a
 cu ṃ vi i i i i i i i i i yā ā re ka ma a a a a

22
 haṃ na bi ya ā ā re
 la a haṃ a asaṃ pi va a a a yl

Kolāi

♩ = 50

a haṃ ya haṃ haṃ ko o lā ā ā ā i i
gha na ka a a a pi i

3
le e e ? ? ? ? thi i i i ya a a a
thi i i i i i i ho o o yi i i i

5
bo o o o lā ā ā a he a haṃ ya haṃ a haṃ a haṃ
ba jra a a yi i i a he a haṃ ya haṃ a haṃ a haṃ

7
e e he a haṃ ya haṃ mu u u u mu u ni
e e he a haṃ ya haṃ ka ru u u na a kri

9
re e e e e ka a a na a
ya ā ā ā ā i i i na a

11
ko o o o lā a haṃ a he a haṃ ya haṃ a haṃ a he
lo o o o lā a haṃ a he a haṃ ya haṃ a haṃ a he

13
a haṃ ya haṃ he a haṃ ya haṃ
a haṃ ya haṃ he a haṃ ya haṃ

Kolāi (dhuā)

j = 50

a ham a he a ham ya ham a ham a he

j = 50

3

a ham ya ham he a ham ya ham ma la a ye e em ja a a

5

ku u n du u u u ru u a he a ham ya ham

7

ba a a a jra a a yi a he a ham ya ham a ham a ham

9

e e he a ham ya ham di i i i di i ma

11

ta a a a a yi i i na a

13

ba jra a a yi i hi a he a ham ya ham a ham a he

Kolai (ॐ)



Paramarato 1 (Rāga Vibhās)

$\text{♩} = 50$

a ham ya ham ham

2
pa a a ra ma a a ra a a

3
to o o ra a a a a a

4
na ca a bhā ā va a na a a

5
bhā ā ā kam a he a ham ya ham ham

Detailed description: Five lines of musical notation in treble clef, 7/4 time. Each line is numbered 1 through 5. Line 1: a ham ya ham ham. Line 2: pa a a ra ma a a ra a a. Line 3: to o o ra a a a a a. Line 4: na ca a bhā ā va a na a a. Line 5: bhā ā ā kam a he a ham ya ham ham. The lyrics are written below the notes.

Paramarato 2 (Rāga Desār¹)

♩ = 50



Musical staff 1: Treble clef, 7/4 time signature. The melody consists of seven notes: a quarter note, a quarter note, a quarter note, a quarter note, a quarter note, a quarter note, and a quarter note. The lyrics are: a he a haṃ ya haṃ haṃ



Musical staff 2: Treble clef. The melody consists of eight notes: a quarter note, a quarter note, a quarter note, a quarter note, a quarter note, a quarter note, a quarter note, and a quarter note. The lyrics are: na a a a ca a a a vi i i i i i



Musical staff 3: Treble clef. The melody consists of ten notes: a quarter note, a quarter note, a quarter note, a quarter note, a quarter note, a quarter note, a quarter note, a quarter note, a quarter note, and a quarter note. The lyrics are: i gra a a a ha a a a ha a a na a a a ca a a a a a



Musical staff 4: Treble clef. The melody consists of seven notes: a quarter note, a quarter note, a quarter note, a quarter note, a quarter note, a quarter note, and a quarter note. The lyrics are: grā ha a a kaṃ a he a haṃ ya haṃ haṃ

Śūnyani rañjana

Saraha

♩ = 50

a haṃ ya haṃ haṃ śū u u u ne e e e
 śū u u u ne e e e
 bha ā va a ha a a a
 no o o o nā ā ā ā
 na a a a u u u u u

4
 ni i i ra an ja a na a ha pa ra ma a pra a
 ma ā ā ya ā ā ā a ha sam hā va a a a
 ci i i i i i ye e e e he sam hā vā a a a
 si i i i i i i i i i mā i jā ā ā am

7
 bhu a he e a a haṃ ya haṃ haṃ
 da a he e a a haṃ ya haṃ haṃ
 vu a he e a a haṃ ya haṃ haṃ
 hi a he e a a haṃ ya haṃ haṃ

Madhuripu/Koire Vaṃśā

♩ = 50

a haṃ ma du (sic) ri pu u tri pu u ra
a haṃ ko o yi re e vaṃ sā ā ā

4
du ya ni ke e chu rā lā a haṃ sa a
vā ā ji re e vi i nā a haṃ a nu

7
ka la a de va ga na va n di ta
ha ta a sarva de e va trī bhu va na

10
ca ri ra ne
ri i nā

The Development of Metre in Modern Bengali Poetry

Kyoko Niwa

Introduction

Bengal is a land of poetry, whose overflowing abundance and rich variety have long dazzled lovers and devotees of world literature. However, this abundance or variety might at times dismay readers who are not familiar with the methods for decoding, interpreting or appreciating the true sense and beauty of Bengali poetry. In order to not just read poems, but also to appreciate them, one must know some basic rules that apply exclusively to poetry. Metre is certainly one major rule that does not exist in ordinary prose writing, though poets today can also compose poems without using any specific metre.

In this short paper, I will not pursue the historical development or linguistic analysis of Bengali poetry in detail. Instead, as a first step in studying the specific structure of Bengali poetry, I intend to give a clear representation of the basic principles of Bengali metre and will also try to determine the role played by these metres in the process of poetic composition. Hence, the paper is an attempt to survey mainly the metres (*chanda* or *chander riti* in the Bengali language) of modern Bengali poetry, along with references in verse form (*chandobandha*) or rhyme (*mil*) whenever necessary.

1. The idea of Bengali metre

There has been confusion about Bengali metre throughout most of the last century, and the existence of various terms for nearly the same type of metre has only complicated the situation further. Two leading scholars of Bengali metre and their followers have argued over not only the technical

terms, but also the concept of meter itself and its application in this or that particular poem. There are also many scholars and poets who stand between the two camps or have their own ideas, but we will leave them aside here and trace the representative views of the two leading schools of thought.

The two scholars in question, Amulyadhan Mukhopadhyayⁱ and Prabodhachandra Senⁱⁱ, both classified the metres of Bengali poetry into three types (*riti*), and their classifications are quite similar to each other. Amulyadhan named these types *aksharbritta*, *matrabritta* and *svarbritta*, whereas Prabodhachandra Sen, who first agreed with the naming of these three terms, later changed them into *mishrabritta*, *kalabritta* and *dalbritta* respectively.

The naming of *aksharbritta* and *matrabritta* apparently comes from the description of Sanskrit or Prakrit metres, which in fact are not the same as Bengali metres. It appears likely that Prabodhachandra could not accept this kind of ambiguity and so came to strongly criticize Amulyadhan's terminology. For example, Amulyadhan used the term *akshar* for 'syllable', and *matra* for 'mora'. Prabodhachandra applied the term *dal* for syllables, arguing that *akshar* in Bengali usually means 'letter' and so could easily be confused with that meaning. He also preferred *kala* for moras, noting that *matra* means not only a mora but any kind of measure of time. In fact, Bengali metre today is based on the natural pronunciation of the language and not on the orthography as was previously the case, so it is reasonable to avoid the term *akshar*. *Matra* is also a confusing word, which has been used in various ways. Here again, we would do best to apply Prabodhachandra's term *dal*, since *matra* is indeed sometimes used in the sense of a measure of time, as in terms like *dalmatra* (counting syllables as a unit of measure) or *kalamatra* (counting moras as a unit of measure). On the whole, Prabodhachandra's definitions seem to be more accurate, and in order to avoid further confusion with any other metrical system, we adopt his terms here: *dal* for syllable, *kala* for mora, and *matra* for a unit of measure. The three types of metre will henceforth be referred to as *mishrabritta*, *kalabritta*, and *dalbritta* respectively.

These three types differ from each other on the specific point of how to count closed syllables. Prabodhachandra defines two kinds of *dals*, *muktadal*, 'open syllable' and *ruddhadal*, 'closed syllable', whereby an open syllable ends in a vowel and a closed syllable ends in a consonant or semivowel. Open syllables are always counted as one *matra*, since there is no longer a contrast between long and short vowels in the modern Bengali language. On the other hand, closed syllables may be counted as one or two *matras* according to the metre. In *kalabritta* or moraic metre, every *ruddhadal* is counted as two *matras*, whereas in *dalbritta* or syllabic metre, every *ruddhadal* is counted as one *matra*. In *mishrabritta*, formally *mishrakalabritta*, only *ruddhadals* at the end of a word are counted as two; this type can thus be called mixed moraic metre or composite metre

in English.

The differences between the two scholars are not only limited to terminology. Amulyadhan connected these three types of metre with tempo (*lay*) of recitation and also with certain verse forms, whereas Prabodhachandra did not admit any of those specific connections. For example, according to the ideas of Amulyadhan, *Payar*, the most famous and most frequently used verse form in Bengali, is always composed in *aksharbritta*, and all *aksharbritta* poems should be recited in a slow tempo (*dhir lay*). In contrast, Prabodhachandra claimed that *Payar* can be composed in any of the three types of metre, and he also made it clear that any of those types can be recited in any tempo. On this specific point, what we need to take into account is the fact that there was a difference in approach between the two, rather than trying to decide which of the two conceptions is correct. It is said that Amulyadhan's approach is "musical" whereas Prabodhachandra's is "mathematical", since Amulyadhan's explanations depend on the mood or tone of the poem, whereas Prabodhachandra analyzes the poem mathematically. The controversy over *Payar* is rather complicated, and so will be discussed later.

Before proceeding further to our topic of discussion, which is the structure of modern Bengali poetry, let us first trace briefly the history of Bengali metre.

Caryapada, the oldest text of Bengali literature dating to the 10th or 11th century, is considered to be composed in *kalabritta*, as are the older texts of *Vaishnava Padabali* written in Brajbuli and following the patterns of Sanskrit or Prakrit. This *kalabritta*, which is sometimes also called old *kalabritta*, is different from *kalabritta* of today, since the difference between long (*guru*) and short (*laghu*) open syllables was still observed at that time. Therefore, open syllables, which now are always counted as one, are sometimes counted as two *matras* in old *kalabritta*.

After *Caryapada* there is a long absence of Bengali texts for about two or three centuries, and it is presumed that the pronunciation of Bengali changed during this period. Three important changes in pronunciation should be noted: the difference between long and short vowels disappeared; the vowel *a* at the end of a word was dropped; and the pronunciation of closed syllables in the middle of a word was shortened. After this period, Bengali metre showed a tendency to follow contemporary pronunciation, and *mishrabritta* became a dominant poetic form, as in the case of *Srikrishnakirtan* (15th century) and other *Vaishnava* poetry or Krittibas's *Ramayana*. On the other hand, folk songs such as *Shyama sangit* and folk rhymes, called *chara*, have always been composed in *dalbritta*, perhaps because those verses, which are usually not written, reflect Bengali pronunciation more directly. Such oral poetry sometimes influenced written texts as well.

This is a general explanation of medieval Bengali metre; in short, it began with *kalabritta* imitating the ideal of Sanskrit metre, and then

gradually transformed into *mishrabritta* influenced by the actual pronunciation. This passage has also been influenced by *dalbritta* which comes from oral verse. Still, we can find many different opinions of the details, since there always exist some difficulties in the precise interpretation of old texts.

We also should not forget that these old texts are generally supposed to have been composed for singing. Since songs do not usually employ the same measures as poems, we have to be careful in dealing with those texts. It also should be pointed out that there was no authentic study of Bengali metre before the 19th century, as any study of metre in those days meant a study of Sanskrit metre. The idea of three types of metre in Bengali was developed only in modern times.

With or without consideration of its own metrical system, Bengali metre has followed its own path of development, diverging from Sanskrit and Prakrit metre throughout the medieval period, and culminating in one specific kind of accomplished style of Bengali poetry in the pre-modern age. This was *Payar* in *mishrabritta*, of which we can find a good example in the 18th-century poetry of Bharatchandra Ray. Traditional *Payar* consists of couplets of units with 8 and 6 *matra* feet each, and was always written in *mishrabritta*. This style retained its predominance in Bengali poetry well into the 19th century, until the time of Rabindranath Tagore.ⁱⁱⁱ

2. The contribution of Rabindranath Tagore to modern Bengali metres.

Rabindranath was not only a great poet, but it is impossible to even imagine Bengali poetry today without his contribution. He cultivated almost all the stages of poetry-making by himself, and in the realm of metre too, the basic principles, followed even today by the most modern poets, ultimately derive from his thinking.

Before Rabindranath, there had been no clear classification of Bengali metre, though there were a number of studies on the topic by his predecessors. Rabindranath was not a scholar in any way, but with extremely sensitive ears and earnest concern for the best possible composition, the poet tried to understand and establish the metrical system of modern Bengali on the basis of “proper” pronunciation. As a result, he arrived at a system quite similar to the three types of metre which became the basis for the studies of the two major scholars mentioned above. Rabindranath called these three types *Payar-jatiy*, *Brajbuli-bhanga* and *Prakrit-bangla* respectively. He also used different names from time to time, but these terms reflect his ideas effectively.

What is called by Rabindranath *Payar-jatiy*, meaning *Payar-kind*, is almost the same type as *mishrabritta* in Prabodhachandra’s terminology. His naming of this type of metre was based on the fact that *Payar* as a verse form had been very dominant, and this *Payar* at the time was always

written in *mishrabritta*. This is one reason why *Payar* was often considered to be a metre, rather than a verse form. The Bengali word *chanda*, which is generally applied to metre, can also be misleading, since it has a broader sense. In addition to metre, *chanda* can at the same time denote rhythm, and even sometimes verse form as well. Consequently, one used to pose ambiguous questions like “Is *Payar* a *chanda*?” If we define *Payar* to be “a verse form which consists of feet of 8 and 6 *matras*”, as is the ordinary rule today, then it *cannot* be defined as a kind of metre, so in that sense, the name *Payar-jatiy* is rather misleading. In any case, what matters most is that Rabindranath perceived this to be one of the three kinds of metre, and also observed, not scientifically or logically but rather intuitively or through his own experiences, that the treatment of closed syllables is the key to the classification of these three metres. *Mishrabritta* itself is a kind of traditional metre and had been used extensively by all Bengali poets from medieval times onward. However, Rabindranath’s discovery made it possible to produce various patterns of poetry in *mishrabritta*, as we will see below.

The second type of metre, called *Brajbuli-bhanga* or ‘broken Brajbuli’ by Rabindranath, is almost the same type as *kalabritta* in Prabodhachandra’s terminology. Since Rabindranath also called this type *Sanskrit-bhanga* or ‘broken Sanskrit’, he apparently considered it to be of non-Bengali origin. As he sensed, Brajbuli or Sanskrit metre is obviously the source of this type, but at the same time, Rabindranath introduced a kind of new style of *kalabritta*, and it can be said to be his own invention. What the poet suggested is that, all open syllables should be counted as one according to modern Bengali pronunciation, whereas all closed syllables are to be counted as two. As a result, this *kalabritta* opened up new possibilities of poetry-making in modern Bengali. This metre is sometimes called *naba-kalabritta* or *adhunik kalabritta*, meaning new or modern *kalabritta*, when we have to distinguish it from the old type of *kalabritta*. Rabindranath began to use this metre in the *Manasi* period^{iv}, and thereafter composed many of his poems in this style.

It is not surprising that Rabindranath could handle old *kalabritta* also, as we can see in the case of *Bhanusingha Thakurer Padabali*^v. Another good example is the national anthem of India, the *Jana-Gana-Mana* song. Only Rabindranath used this old type of *kalabritta* in his limited works.

Rabindranath also called these two types of metre, *Payar-jatiy* and *Brajbuli-bhanga*, together *sadhubhasar chanda*, or metres of literary language. In fact, Rabindranath lived during a time when the literary language was gradually giving way to the colloquial language, and he not only did not oppose this process, but promoted it himself.

Then there was the third metre, which Rabindranath called *calitbhashar chanda* or metre of colloquial language. At the time, colloquial language and its metre were closely associated with folk literature, as in the case of *chara*, a kind of nursery rhyme or comic song.

Rabindranath was the first to pay attention to these folk rhymes, and collected them himself. He was also familiar with the folk songs of Bengal, which are usually composed in the same metre, and naturally, tried to compose many of his own poems in this metre, in his words in, *Prakrit bangla* or 'natural Bengali'. This is the type which we call *dalbritta* today, and Rabindranath indeed introduced new possibilities of composition in this kind of metre.

As already mentioned, *dalbritta* had been used for hundreds of years in Bengal, but verses in *dalbritta* had not been considered "serious literature", since they were mainly folk songs and *chara*. *Chara* have however long been very popular among the Bengali people, so much so that this type of metre is also sometimes called *charar chanda* or 'chara's metre'. Whereas earlier poets applied this style mainly in composing lighter poems, Rabindranath demonstrated that serious poetry could also be composed in this style. He began using this metre from the *Kshanika* period^{vi} onward, and left many works of *dalbritta* in his literary output.

We will now look into the details of a couple of Rabindranath's works here, in order to better understand his actual process of poetic composition. But before doing so, I would like to briefly mention the poetic circles of his times.

Madhusudan Dutta^{vii} was a leading poet at the time when Rabindranath was born. He began writing poems in English and had a thorough knowledge of English poetry. The biggest contribution of Madhusudan to modern Bengali poetry was the introduction of blank verse. Until then, poetry was always supposed to be rhymed; thus modern Bengali poetry acquired its first freedom through his innovation. He also wrote many poems in the style of *prabahaman*, 'enjambment', which also greatly influenced later poets.

It is said that young Rabindranath was not as influenced by Madhusudan as by Biharilal Chakrabarty^{viii}, who was another leading poet of the time. Even so, these two major poets before Rabindranath wrote poetry in *mishrabritta* according to Bengali tradition, and in the field of metre, there was no major innovation before Rabindranath.

Rabindranath was quite conscious of poetic metre from the very beginning of his career, and experimented with many ways of composition even in his youth. Rabindranath's originality of metre is said to have first appeared in *Sandhya sangit* (1881), but his real reconstruction of Bengali metre began when he adopted new *kalabritta*, and later when he adopted *dalbritta* in his own way.

Rabindranath first tried out his new *kalabritta* when he wrote his poems of *Manasi*, which were published in 1890. Many leading literary figures, including Buddhadeva Bose, a representative poet of the post-Tagore generation, have opined that this work alone singlehandedly brought about the creation of a new Bengali metre.^{ix} Let us examine one of Rabindranath's compositions in *kalabritta* from his famous collection

of poems, *Gitanjali*.^x This is the third poem of the book.

kata ajānāre jānāile tumi,
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ =6,6
 kata ghare dile thāi —
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ =6,2
 dūrke karile nikaṭ, bandhu,
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ =6,6
 parke karile bhāi /
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ =6,2
 purāno ābās chere yāi yabe
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ =6,6
 mane bhebe mari kī jāni kī habe,
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ =6,6
 nūtaner mājhe tumi purātan
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ =6,6
 se kathā ye bhule yāi /
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ =6,2
 dūrke karile nikaṭ, bandhu,
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ =6,6
 parke karile bhāi /
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ =6,2^{xi}

*“How many unknowns you have made known,
 How many shelters you have provided —
 You brought the far nearer and made him a friend,
 You made strangers brothers.
 When we leave our old dwellings
 We fear, not knowing what will happen.
 I always forget that
 You are old among the new.
 You brought the far nearer and made him a friend,
 You made strangers brothers.”^{xii}*

We can observe a typical composition in *kalabritta*: the basic verse form is 6,6/6/2, except for the fifth and sixth lines, which have become 6,6/6,6. *Kalabritta* usually requires the repetition of feet of the same number of *matras*, as here, and only the last foot is allowed to be different, though it should be of a smaller number. Feet of six *matras* were Rabindranath’s favorite when he composed in *kalabritta*, and this preference was followed by many other poets after him.

Anyone can notice that the poems of *Gitanjali* were written in a simple manner. They are rather short, and the compositions of stanzas and feet are also relatively uncomplicated. In this style of writing, Rabindranath used *dalbritta* the most often, in 111 poems out of 157,

whereas he used *kalabritta* in 43, and wrote only three poems in *mishrabritta*.

Dalbritta is not, of course, an invention of Rabindranath. This metre had long been in use in folk literature, but no one before Rabindranath had thought of adopting it for serious poetry. We can find an example of *dalbritta* in his poetry book *Kari o komal*, published in 1886, but he started to use this metre on a larger scale only from *Kshanika* (1902). For about a decade after this, Rabindranath worked extensively on his so-called “mystic” poems, including *Gitanjali*, and wrote many of these in *dalbritta*. Indeed, Amulyadhan once stated that “the popular stressed metre (*dalbritta*) is best suited for conveying mystic pronouncements.”^{xiii}

Here is such an example of *dalbritta*, once again from *Gitanjali*. This is the 74th poem of the work.

bajre tomār bāje bāsi,
 ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞ = 4,4
 se ki sahaj gān /
 ∞ ∞ ∞ = 4,1(4,2)^{xiv}
 sei surete jāgba āmi,
 ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞ = 4,4
 dāo more sei kān /
 ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞ = 4,1(4,2)
 bhulba nā ār sahajete,
 ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞ = 4,4
 sei prāṇe man uṭhbe mete
 ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞ = 4,4
 mṛtyumājhe ḍhākā āche
 ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞ = 4,4
 ye antahīn prāṇ /
 ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞ = 4,1 (4,2)

“Thunder sounds within your flute,
 How natural and simple a song that is.
 I will wake up by that music of yours,
 Give me the ear to listen.
 I will not forget easily,
 My mind will be overwhelmed by the touch of that life
 The eternal life remains hidden
 Covered in death.”^{xv}

Like *kalabritta*, *dalbritta* also requires serial feet of the same number. Feet of four *matras* are generally used in *dalbritta*, and this poem is a typical composition of this kind, which is 4,4/4,2. This style again allows a different number at the end of the line, as long as the number remains lower. Here again, the fifth and the sixth lines are irregular in being

4,4/4,4. This kind of composition is almost the same as that of *chara*, but Rabindranath puts a very different kind of emotion into this style.

Mishrabritta had been used for centuries before Rabindranath, and he did not, of course, abandon this traditional metre. Still, not exactly having chosen to follow in his predecessors' footsteps, he cultivated quite a number of new possibilities in this metre as well, as we can see from the fact that he experimented with as many verse forms as possible in *mishrabritta*. As mentioned above, Rabindranath called this metre *Payar-jatiy* or 'Payar-kind', but he rarely wrote ordinary *Payar* in this metre himself, perhaps because he felt that it was too monotonous or old-fashioned. *Payar*, which was traditionally composed of couplets with two feet of 8 and 6 *matras* each, has become simpler in modern poetry, where it now involves only the combination of two feet of 8 and 6 *matras*. Nevertheless, Rabindranath sought to create a rather different kind of composition. As far as *kalabritta* or *dalbritta* is concerned, there was a kind of newness or freshness in their rhythm, but *mishrabritta*, to whose rhythm poets were already so accustomed, rather demanded something new in modern poetry. Thus Rabindranath experimented with various kinds of verse forms, including irregular forms of feet or stanzas. Fortunately, *mishrabritta* was well suited to such variation, and the results are generally considered a success.

Here is an example of Rabindranath's composition in *mishrabritta*. The poem is usually called "Shah Jahan" and is included in the collection *Balaka*, which was published in 1916.

e kathā jānīte tumi, bhārat-iśvar śā-jāhān,
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ = 8,10
 kālasrote bhese yāy jīban yauban dhana mān /
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ = 8,10
 śudhu taba antarbedanā
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ = 10
 cirantan haṅge thāk samrāṭer chila e sādhanā /
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ = 8,10
 rājśakti bajra sukaṭhin
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ = 10
 sandhyāraktarāgsama tandrātale haṅge hok līn,
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ = 8,10
 kebal ekṭi dīrghaśvās
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ = 10
 nitya-ucchvasit haṅge sakaruṅ karuk ākās
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ = 8,10
 ei taba mane chila āś /
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ = 10^{xvi}

"You knew about this, Emperor of India, Shah-Jahan,

*Your life, youth, wealth and fame wash away
in the stream of time.
Only the pain in your heart will remain forever
This was the earnest desire of the Emperor.
The imperial power like a strong thunder
Will fade into the bottom of sleep like the red splendor of sunset,
Only a deep, eternal overwhelming sigh
Would make the sky woeful,
This was the wish of your heart.*” xvii

This long poem begins with a combination of 8 and 10 *matras*, generally called *Maha-Payar* as it is a variation of *Payar*. However, Rabindranath does not stay with this form for long, but soon moves to a different pattern of combinations. This kind of style, which is written in a fixed metre but with irregular verse forms, is usually called *muktabandha* in Bengali. *Muktabandha* may be translated into English as ‘free composition’.

Throughout his career, Rabindranath’s concern was to find an appropriate metre in which Bengali would sound most beautiful, as well as to devise the most appropriate composition for conveying a certain idea or image of his own. As a result, and after some experimentation, he arrived at the idea of the three basic metres of Bengali. Furthermore, Rabindranath not only reconstructed the metrical system, but also expanded the possibilities of each metre; as Buddhadeva right remarked, “He opened the door to variety.”^{xviii} These three types have become the basis for the Bengali metres of today. Yet Rabindranath’s search for new forms or styles of poetic expression continued until the very end of his life.

The question whether Rabindranath ever really wrote in free verse repeatedly has been raised. Here again, the problem of definition blocks our way. Free verse is usually called *muktachanda* in Bengali, but in fact there is no clear definition of the term. Buddhadeva Bose once defined free verse as a style in which more than two metres exist in a single poem.^{xix} But this kind of style is also known by another term, *mishrachanda*, ‘mixture of metres’, and is usually distinguished from free verse. There is another style called *gadya kabita* or ‘prose poem’, and this makes the situation more complicated. The general understanding is that a prose poem is poetry which is written in prose form, whereas free verse is poetry which is free of any kind of restrictions, including metre. However, it is not always clear how to distinguish the two with respect to the composition of a particular poem.

Setting aside the question of Rabindranath and free verse, we can at least say that he was always in search of new ways to expand the composition of poetry beyond existing restrictions. In his later works like *Balaka* or *Palataka* (1918), we often come across irregular verse forms or

lines free of any metrical conformity. Nevertheless, it appears that he did not follow the option of freeing poetry of its traditional restrictions one by one, since we can scarcely find any compositions by him in *mishrachanda*, or a mixture of metres. Instead, he wrote prose poems, as we can see from his collections like *Punashca*^{xx}. And in this style as well, he showed his unlimited talent for writing poetry.

Observing closely the accomplishments of this towering landmark of Bengali poetry, what could the next generation reclaim in poetry-making, especially in the field of metre? Was there anything new at all that they could achieve? The next section turns to the activities of this new generation, and their contributions to the development of Bengali metre.

3. Development of modern Bengali metres after Rabindranath

In this section, we will examine the poetic practice of modern Bengali poets. But before doing so, let us trace once again the path which Rabindranath traversed during his over 60 years of composing poems.

Rabindranath began writing poetry under the influence of Biharilal Chakrabarty, who was a representative lyric poet of the late 19th century. Biharilal used traditional *mishrabritta*, and Rabindranath also wrote many pieces in his youth following the same model. He subsequently reformed traditional *kalabritta* into new *kalabritta*, and also discovered new possibilities for *dalbritta*. Rabindranath would continue the process of reconstructing, varying, and experimenting with these three types of Bengali metre well into his middle years. But his path did not end there. As already mentioned, Rabindranath lived through a critical span of history, during which the language of literature itself underwent enormous changes.

After the 1920s, the traditional Bengali literary language gradually disappeared from use, as colloquial forms of the language became more and more dominant in all genres of Bengali literature, including poetry. On the whole, Rabindranath was quite positive toward the adoption of colloquial language for any type of literature, but it was not so simple to change completely the choice of words and constructions in poetry. Shankha Ghose, a representative poet of today and also a scholar of Bengali literature, has pointed out that both literary and colloquial language continued to coexist in Rabindranath's poetry, especially in *mishrabritta*, and that when he tried to make wholesale use of colloquial language, he jumped over to the style of prose poems.^{xxi} According to Rabindranath's original conception, *mishrabritta* was a metre of literary language, so it might have been difficult for him to alter his poetic language all at once.

Modern poets after Rabindranath first appeared on the Bengali literary scene in the 1930s. Each poet of this generation attempted to create his or her own version of metre, and this was reflected in the

structure of their verses as well. However, it should be noted that none of them directly followed the poetic practice of Rabindranath in that period, which consisted of simple prose poems or irregular and free composition. Rather, it seems that at the beginning, many poets of the post-Tagore generation tried to apply entirely colloquial language to any of the three metres.

As one of the leading poets of the 1930s, Buddhadeva Bose suggested that modern poets should avoid not only literary language, but also words specific to poetry. In Bengali poetry, it had been allowed to mix *sadhu* (literary) and *calit* (colloquial) language and also to use words like *mama* ‘my’ (for usual *amar*) which do not occur in ordinary speech. At the same time, Buddhadeva no doubt cherished the specific rhythm of the three types of metres, though he also wrote prose poems.

After Rabindranath, scholars of Bengali poetry, including the two already mentioned, carried out full-scale studies of metre, and many of the poets themselves thought over and interpreted metre in their own way. Within this changing poetic world, the metres of Bengali poetry did not disappear at all, even after the master-figure Rabindranath began to compose prose poems. Instead, they continued to be a fundamental element of Bengali poetry-making.

Let us now examine some examples of poems in which modern poets effectively adopted one of the three metres. First, we will look at poems composed in *mishrabritta*.

Jibanananda Das (1899-1954) was another representative poet of the 1930s. He adopted a rather traditional style of metre and verse form, yet still gained a high reputation as a modern poet. His favorite metre was *mishrabritta*, though he also wrote some poems in *dalbritta* in his later days. Below is the first stanza of his famous poem “Banalata Sen”.

hājār bachar dhare āmi path hāṭitechi pṛthibīr pathe,
 √_ √_ √ √ √ √ √ √ √ √ = 8,8,6
 sīmhal samudra theke niśīther andhakāre mālay sāgare
 √_ √ √ √ √ √ √ √ √ √ = 8,8,6
 anek ghurechi āmi ; bimbisār aśoker dhūsar jagate
 √_ √ √ √ √ √ √ √ √ √ = 8,8,6
 yekhāne chilām āmi ; āro dūr andhakāre bidarbha nagare ;
 √ √ √ √ √ √ √ √ √ √ = 8,8,6
 āmi klānta prāṅ ek, cāridike jībaner samudra saphen,
 √ √ √ √ √ √ √ √ √ √ = 8,8,6
 āmāre dudaṅḍa śānti diyechila nātorer banalatā sen /
 √ √ √ √ √ √ √ √ √ √ = 8,8,6

“For thousands of years, I have been wandering along the roads
 of this world.”

*From the ocean of Ceylon to the Malay sea in the depth of a
dark night,
I have traveled a lot, in this pale world of Ashoka,
I was there; in the further darkness of the city of Bidarbha,
I'm a tired soul surrounded by the foamy sea of life all around,
And it was Banalata Sen of Nator who had given me a moment
of peace.”^{xxii}*

As already mentioned a number of times, *Payar* in *mishrabritta* metre had been the most typical Bengali poetic composition. However, this poem is not written in *Payar* form, but has instead been composed in *Tripadi* form, which is another typical composition of Bengali poetic tradition, though not as popular as *Payar*. *Tripadi* may be further classified into short (*laghu*) *tripadi*, which consists of 6,6,8 *matra* feet, and long (*dirgha*) *tripadi*, which consists of 8,8,10 or 8,8,6 *matra* feet. The lyric poem above by Jibanananda is perfectly composed in long *tripadi* of *mishrabritta*, as we can see from its verse form, which is 8,8,6. The only difference in style is that, he wrote units of 8,8,6 on one line, whereas in the traditional form it was divided into two lines. Since he wrote *Tripadi* in this style, it may look like *Payar* at first glance, but actually is not *Payar* at all.

Readers can therefore enjoy a delicate combination of the two forms: a *Tripadi* which looks like *Payar*, composed in *mishrabritta*. Both of the elements, the verse form and the metre, come from Bengali tradition, and here again readers can enjoy the fresh combination of traditional form and very modern choice of words.

Composition in traditional styles still occurs frequently in modern Bengali poetry, and even today *Payar* in *mishrabritta*, the most typical and common such composition, has not yet been swept away. If we pick up the latest issue of a literary magazine and turn to the new poems, we may easily find examples of this kind of traditional poetic practice. This old-fashioned style has survived all the changes of the 20th century, and acquired a new vitality among the abundant variety of verse forms today.

Mishrabritta offers a sort of flexibility of structure, as we have seen in Rabindranath's poetry. Modern Bengali poets have made good use of this flexibility, creating various kinds of verse forms in *mishrabritta*. The following example is by Subhas Mukhopadhyay (1919-2003), who belongs to the younger post-Tagore generation, usually called the poets of the 1940s.

sampādak samīpeṣu,
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ = 8
 mahāśay, itastata bhūsampatti āche nimnasvākṣarkārī /
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ = 8,8,6
 e-durdaibe jamidāri rakṣā dāy / baṁsaparamparāgata
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪

kiṃkartabyabimūṛh bhubane
 ˘˘˘˘_ ˘˘˘ =8,4,8,10
 īsvar cālān cali /
 ˘_ ˘_ ˘˘ = 8
 peyādārā baśambada : prabañcak ādāyer pratyek phikir
 ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘_ ˘_ ˘_ ˘˘˘
 = 8,8,6
 tāder kaṅṭhastha ājo / athaca bakeyā khājnā prajāṛā deyni gata dui tin sane /
 ˘_ ˘˘˘ ˘˘ ˘˘˘ ˘˘˘ ˘˘ ˘˘˘ ˘_ ˘˘ ˘_ ˘˘˘
 = 8,8,6,8
 ādālate phal alpa /
 ˘˘˘˘ _ ˘˘ = 8 ^{xxiii}

“Dear editor,
 Sir, I, the undersigned own a few properties here and there.
 It’s difficult to keep the ownership of land in this uncertain time.
 In this nonplussed situation of land from the ancestors,
 I manage somehow within the range God allows me.
 Our footmen try to collect allotments prevailing by every means
 and reason.
 Yet, tenants do not pay any rent for these two or three years.
 Nothing would come of suing in court.” ^{xxiv}

This poem, titled “Atahpar”, is entirely composed in the manner of a letter written in common language. The verse form is irregular, though he uses mostly 6- or 8-*matra* feet. Not only the irregularity of verse form, but the mixture of short and long lines reflects a modern style of structure. However, this kind of style was already seen in Rabindranath’s poetry. What is really *modern* here is the theme and the choice of words. Subhas Mukhopadhyay wrote many often ironic poems on social problems, and perhaps Rabindranath did not think of this kind of writing as “poetic”. The language itself has also become almost identical to that of prose. Thus, one of the biggest differences between Rabindranath and modern poets is probably this choice of words and manner of composing phrases and sentences.

Many poets of Bengal have tried their hand at writing sonnets, and the next poem is an example of a sonnet by Shakti Chattopadhyay (1933-95). The whole piece is written in the verse form of *Maha-Payar* in *mishrabritta*, so we may consider it a fusion of European and Bengali styles of composition.

mahīner ghoṛāguli mahīner ghare phere nāi
 ˘˘_ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘_ ˘˘ ˘˘_ ˘˘ =8,10
 uhārā jebrār pārśve cariteche / bāis jebrāy,
 ˘˘˘ ˘_ ˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘_ ˘_ =8,10

ghoṛāguli andhakār utarol samudre duliche
 ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ =8,10
 kāler kātār mato, oi ghoṛāguli jebrāguli
 ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ =8,10
 ananta jyotsnār mājhe baśabartī bhūter matan
 ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ =8,10
 cariyā beṛāy orā— kathā kay — kī kathā ke jāne ?
 ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ =8,10

*“Mahin’s horses did not return to Mahin’s home,
 They keep company with zebras. With twenty-two zebras
 Horses are swinging in the dark turbulent sea
 Like a thorn of time, those horses and zebras are
 Climbing, strolling in the everlasting moon-light
 Like drunken ghosts, and talking, who knows what they talk
 about?”^{xxv}*

In fact, when Madhusudan Dutta first wrote sonnets in Bengali, he applied *Payar* in *mishrabritta*, and this style has subsequently become a kind of Bengali tradition. Even Rabindranath, who was generally not keen about this kind of “second-hand” verse form, applied *Payar* or *Maha-Payar* when he wrote sonnets. The difference here lies in rhyme. Madhusudan and those like him tried to rhyme following the practice of English sonnets, others like Rabindranath rhymed in their own way, and still others did not rhyme at all. In the poem above, a sentence sometimes ends in the middle of a line, but this style, called *prabahaman*, was also introduced long before by Madhusudan.

Next, we will look at some examples of *dalbritta*. As mentioned before, *dalbritta* has been used in Bengali folk literature for hundreds of years, and *chara*, one of the major styles of such poetry, survived in the course of modernization. The example below is by Sukumar Ray (1887-1923), a pioneer and also the foremost composer of modern *chara*.

āyre bholā kheyāl-kholā
 ˘˘ ˘˘ ˘˘ ˘˘ =4,4
 svapandolā nāciye āy,
 ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ =4,3
 āyre pāgal ābol tābol
 ˘˘ ˘˘ ˘˘ ˘˘ =4,4
 matta mādal bājiye āy /
 ˘˘ ˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ =4,3
 āy yekhāne khyāpār gāne
 ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ =4,4
 nāiko māne nāiko sur /
 ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ =4,3

āyre yethāy udhāo hāoyāy
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ =4,4
 man bhese yāy kon sudūr /
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ =4,3

*“Come, you forgetful day-dreamer
 Swing the rocking chair of your dream,
 Come, you crazy, nonsense talk
 Play your mad tom-tom drum.
 Come where a crazy sings a song
 That doesn’t have any sense or rhythm.
 Come where the wind went missing
 Your heart will be blown far away.”^{xxvi}*

We can see that this is a typical composition of *chara*, which here is 4,4/4,3. Even today, many others follow this style when they compose nursery rhymes, and children themselves usually first try to write verses in this metre and style.

One of the most important aspects of modern *dalbritta* is its adoption for serious poetry. Here we will take a closer look at two examples by modern poets. The first one is by Shakti Chattopadhyay, who is regarded by some as the greatest poet after Rabindranath writing in *dalbritta*. The second is by Shankha Ghosh (1932-), one of the leading Bengali poets today. Both of these poets belong to the same generation, known as representatives of the 1950s.

jhāuṅer ḍāke takhan haṭhāt mane āmār paṛlo kāke
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ =4,4,4,4
 rātribelā
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ =4
 upakūler saṅge cale sroter khelā
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ =4,4,4
 sātār kāṭe sroter jale cāder naram
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ =4,4,4
 dukhāni hāt
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ =4
 lāiṭ’hāus dekhāy ālo, dūr gaganer jalaprapāt
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ =4,4,4,4
 xxvii
 gatabachar esechilām, buker madhye besechilām
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ =4,4,4,4
 tomāy bhālo
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ =4

“The cry of a jackal suddenly reminded me of someone

in the depth of night

The shore of the sea keeps playing with the current

Swimming in the streams are two tender hands of the moon

The lighthouse shed light over the path of a distant sky

I came here last year, in my heart, there was a love for you. ^{xxviii}

balechilām, tomāy niye yāba anya dūrer deśe

uuu u u u u u u u =4,4,4,4

sei kathātā bhābi,

u u u u =4,2

jībaner oi sāttā māyā dūre dūre dauṛe beṛāy

uuu u u u u u u u u =4,4,4,4

sei kathātā bhābi /

u u u u =4,2

tākiye thāke pṛthibītā, tomār kāche hār mene se

uu u u uuu u u u u u u =4,4,4,4

bācbe keman kare !

uu u u u =4,2

yekhāne yāo atṛpti āṛ tṛpti duṭo jorāy jorāy

uuu u u u u u u u u =4,4,4,4

sadare-andare /

uuu u u =4,2 ^{xxix}

“I told you, I will take you somewhere to a faraway country

I am thinking of that.

Seven Mayas of life wander around faraway places, very far

I am thinking of that.

The earth keeps on watching, and if she is defeated by you

How can she survive!

Go to the place where you can find satisfaction and

disappointment pairing together

Inside and out.” ^{xxx}

The basic unit of *dalbritta* is the 4-*matra* foot, and both poems basically consist of such feet. Only the second one, by Shankha Ghosh, makes use of shorter feet of 2 *matras* from time to time. In general, *dalbritta* allows for less variety of verse form than *mishrabritta*, and for a time after Rabindranath it underwent no major changes. However, after the 1950s some innovations began to appear. Other than mixture of short and long lines as above, enjambment or mixture with prose lines has been introduced quite successfully.

Now let us turn to composition in the third metre, *kalabritta*. Here is the first stanza of the poem “Ubhcar” by Bishnu Dey (1909-82), who was once regarded as the best poet in *kalabritta* after Rabindranath.

pākhir ābeg jāgābe śarīr mane ?	
∪ _ ∪ _ ∪ ∪ ∪ _ ∪ ∪	=6,6,2
pākhār jhāptā dinrāt yāba śune?	
∪ _ ∪ _ ∪ ∪ ∪ _ ∪ ∪	=6,6,2
pākhār chanda hṛdaye ki debe bēdhe	
∪ _ ∪ _ ∪ ∪ ∪ _ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪	=6,6,2
harṣa-bihāre dūr digantakoṇe?	
_ ∪ ∪ ∪ _ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪	=6,6,2

“Will the passion of a bird awake the body in the heart?
 Shall I listen to the flapping of wings day and night?
 Will the rhythm of the flapping sound link our heart
 To the promenade of joy in the far corner of the horizon?” xxxi

Rabindranath favored 6-*matra* feet in *kalabritta*, as did later poets, though this is not the only possible foot type. Here also, the poet mainly uses 6-*matra* feet, as we can see from its verse form of 6,6,2. The poem does not depart from this form until the last stanza.

Like *dalbritta*, *kalabritta* also did not allow much room for variation. However, Bishnu Dey experimented with further adaptations of this metre, even combining *mishrabritta* and *kalabritta* in a single poem. This is another style of poetry in modern Bengali, and we will return below to this kind of mixture of metres.

Another example of *kalabritta* is, the following poem by Jay Goswami (1954-), a representative Bengali poet of the younger generation.

dam rākho, khelā ghurbe /	
_ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ _ ∪	=6,3
ei khelā tumi khelecho ki itipūrbe?	
_ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ _ ∪	=6,6,3
o bākā madan, bujhe dyākho eibār	
∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ _ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ _ _	=6,6,2
śāñṭim karā darkār, darkār	
_ _ ∪ ∪ _ _ ∪ ∪	=6,6,2
kadin ebhābe jhope mukh diye ghurbe?	
∪ _ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ _ ∪ ∪ _ ∪	=6,6,3
eibār ṭhik-rāstāy neme yāo	
_ _ _ _ _ ∪	=6,6,2
ete pāp nei, nei hāyā-lajjāo	
∪ ∪ _ _ _ ∪	=6,6,2
tubaṛi nācāle hāt to ekṭu puṛbe!	
∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ _ ∪ _ ∪ _ ∪	=6,6,3

*“Hold your breath, the game will change.
Have you ever played this game before?”*

*Oh, Madan, the god of love, try to understand this time
It is necessary to get ready
How many days are you going to play the hiding game?*

*You take the right way this time
There is no sin here, nor shame
You will burn your hand if you play with fireworks!” xxxii*

Here the 6-*matra* foot is still the basic unit of composition, but the form is rather irregular. Though it is indeed difficult to create new variations of verse forms in *kalabritta*, modern poets such as Jay Goswami use this metre more flexibly than in Rabindranath’s time.

Ever since the language of poetry became colloquial, the choice of words has been changing along with the language itself, since as we know, spoken language does not remain static. Not only Jay Goswami, but other Bengali poets of today also use current colloquial expressions quite effectively in the rhythm of different metres.

We have observed some of the later developments in Bengali poetic composition by modern poets after Rabindranath. As we have seen, each type of metre has acquired more and more variants through the creativity and experimentation of these poets. But probably the biggest innovation was the mixture of metres, because this is one of the few kinds of composition that Rabindranath could hardly take up. The example below is taken from the long poem titled “Yamunabati” by Shankha Ghosh.

nibhanta ei cullite mā	
uuu u uuu u	=4,4
ekṭu āgun de	
uu uu u	=4,1
ārekṭu kāl bēcei thāki	
uuu u uu uu	=4,4
bācār ānande !	
uu uu u	=4,1
noṭan noṭan pāyrāguli	
uu uu uuuu	=4,4
khācāte bandī	
uuu u u	=4,1
du-ek muṭho bhāt pele tā	
u u uu u uu u	=4,4
oṛāte man di /	
uuu u u	=4,1 xxxiii

hāy toke bhāt dii kī kare ye bhāt dii hāy =4,4,4,4,2
 _ ∪ ∪ _ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ _ ∪ _
 hāy toke bhāt deba kī diye ye bhāt deba hāy =4,4,4,4,2
 _ ∪ _ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ _ ∪ _

nibhanta ei culli tabe =4,4
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪
 ekṭu āgun de — =4,1
 ∪ ∪ ∪
 hāṛer śīrāy śīkhār mātan =4,4
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪
 marār ānande ! =4,1
 ∪ ∪ ∪
 du-pāre dui rui kātlār =4,4
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪
 māraṇī phandi =4,1
 ∪ ∪ ∪
 bācār āśāy hāt-hātiyār =4,4
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪
 mṛtyute man di / =4,1
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪

bargi nā ṭargi nā, yamke ke sāmlāy / =4,4,4,4
 _ ∪ ∪ _ ∪ ∪ _ ∪ ∪ _ _
 dhār-cakcake thābā dekhcha nā hāmlāy ? =4,4,4,4
 _ _ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ _ ∪ _ _
 yāsne o-hāmlāy, yāsne // =4,4,3
 _ ∪ ∪ _ _ ∪

kānnā kanyār māyer dhamanīte ākul ḍheu tole, jvale nā — =7,7,7,3
 _ ∪ _ _ ∪ _ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ _ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪
 māyer kānnāy meyer rakter uṣṇahāhākār mere nā — =7,7,7,3
 ∪ _ _ _ ∪ _ _ _ ∪ ∪ ∪

*“This oven is extinguishing, mother
 Put a little more fire
 I want to survive a few more days
 With the joy of living!
 Cooing pigeons are
 Captured in a cage
 If I get a handful of rice
 I can set them to fly.*

*Ah, I give you rice, but how should I give you
 Ah, I'll give you rice, what else more can I give you.*

*This oven is extinguishing, so
Put a little more fire
A flame is raging in the bone
With the joy of dying!
Rui fish and Katla fish of both shores
Are getting ready to catch their kills.
Hands are on knives for the sake of life
Thinking of death.*

*We are neither bandits nor anything similar;
who will stop god Yama?
Don't you see the blazing palms in the riot?
Don't go, don't join the riot.*

*Daughter's cry raises an uneasy wave in mother's vein,
it doesn't burn
Mother's cry does not calm daughter's burning lamentation of
blood." ^{xxxiv}*

The first stanza is written in *dalbritta* with the verse form 4,4,4,2, and the second stanza is written in *kalabritta* with the verse form 4,4,4,4,2. Additionally, the first stanza is a statement of a daughter and the second that of a mother; thus the text reflects the choice of metre. The third stanza is again the daughter's statement in *dalbritta*, 4,4,4,2 and the fourth stanza, again the mother's statement, is written in *kalabritta*, basically 4,4,4,4 but slightly irregular in the last line. The fifth stanza is a third person's statement and written in *kalabritta* with the verse form 7,7,7,3, which is rather rare.

In sum, the entire poem has been carefully arranged by metrical form and content. Switching of metres helps the reader to apprehend the complicated narrative structure; at the same time, the change of rhythm creates a new tone or mood as well. On the whole, the mixture of metres as well as verse forms creates larger, more complex poetic compositions. If we compare this structure with a traditional text composed exclusively in one form and metre, we can obtain some sense of what *modern* uses of metre made possible.

4. Conclusion

As mentioned, the language of Bengali poetry and that of prose writing have become the same today. However, prose poems have not become dominant in Bengali poetry, as once expected. Even today, the majority of newly written poems are so-called *chander kabita*, or poetry written in proper metre. One reason why the three principal metres are still extensively used may be that there are still possibilities for their continued

development or transformation.

The three metres of Bengali poetry used to reflect the writer's education or choice of language, or sometimes even the mood or substance of the poetry, since two were based on the literary language and required some kind of educational background, whereas the other was based on the colloquial language and expressions. But these differences have disappeared in the modern era, and only the differences of rhythm have remained. Modern poets rather enjoy this kind of situation and apply themselves closely to methods of poetic composition.

In a way, modern Bengali prosody began with the serious study of the subject itself. When Rabindranath established the system of Bengali metre and uncovered the secrets of its structure, the discovery made it possible for him to create various kinds of verse forms and styles. Subsequently, serious and continued study of Bengali metre by scholars and poets has promoted the further development of modern styles of poetry.

We can say that the path traced by modern Bengali poetry was one of ever increasing diversity. Just as the adoption of blank verse by Madhusudan did not sweep away poets' attachment to rhyme, so the introduction of the prose poem did not do away with the three basic metres. Instead, poets have acquired more extensive options, and are able to draw on old as well as new devices. A poet today can compose a poem with or without rhyme, with or without metre, with or without any kind of verse form, or even in a mixture of some of these.

Many of the questions surrounding Bengali metre are yet to be answered, and this paper is only a first step in surveying the situation of Bengali poetics today. We have observed and analyzed a number of specimens of poetry, mainly written in proper metre, but the rhythm of prose verse and the true structure of free verse have not been discussed, nor has the conflict between poems with and without metre. It is hoped that further research will contribute to our understanding of these and other topics in the rich and fascinating world of modern Bengali poetry.

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- i 1902-84. A scholar of Bengali metre and the author of *Bangla Chander Mulsutra* (1932). This book was adopted as a textbook of Bengali metres at Calcutta University and used for a considerable period.
- ii 1879-1986. A scholar of Bengali metre and the author of *Chanda Parikrama* (1965). Though adopting many of Amulyadhan's ideas in his early career, later became dissatisfied and developed his own critical survey of the topic.
- iii 1861-1941. Not only a representative and famous poet, but the most influential poet in all Bengali literature. Received the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1913.
- iv The poetry volume *Manasi* was published in 1890, including poems written from 1886 to 1890.
- v Published in 1884. The poet here wrote a kind of Vaishnava poetry imitating the style of medieval poets.
- vi The poetry book *Kshanika* was published in 1902. Most of the poems were written over just two months of the year.
- vii 1824-73. Began his career as an English poet, but soon switched to writing in Bengali. Wrote many epic poems, which were rare at the time in Bengali literature.
- viii 1835-94. One of the leading poets of pre-Tagore times, especially of lyric poems.
- ix Buddhadeva Bose, *Sahitya Carca* (Kolkata: Pashcimbanga Bangla Academy, 1997), p.76.
- x Published in 1910. Note that the English *Gitanjali* is not a complete translation of the original *Gitanjali*.
- xi The transcription here is based on the orthography of the Bengali language. However, the actual pronunciation deviates from the script; therefore, in order to count *matras* in a specific poem, marks of 1 or 2 *matras* should be recorded along with the transcription. Here v stands for 1 *matra* and _ stands for 2 *matras*.
- xii Rabindranath Tagore, *Gitanjali* (Kolkata: Visvabharati, 1910), p. 17.
- xiii Amulyadhan Mukhopadhyay, *Studies in Rabindranath's Prosody and Bengali Prose-Verse* (Kolkata: Rabindra Bharati University, 1999), p.100.
- xiv One-syllable words at the end of the line, such as "gān", "kān" and "prāṅ", are often counted as 2 *matras*, though they should be counted as 1 *matra* in *dalbritta*.

- ^{xv} Rabindranath Tagore, *Gitanjali*, p. 99.
- ^{xvi} Here, “antarbednā”, “rājsakti”, “sandhyāraktarāgsama” and “ekṭi” are in fact compounds of two or more words; therefore these should be considered as “antar-bednā”, “rāj-śakti”, “sandhyā-rakta-rāg-sama” and “ek-ṭi” respectively.
- ^{xvii} Rabindranath Tagore, *Rabindra-Racnabali 12* (Kolkata: Visvabhatari, 1942), p. 14.
- ^{xviii} Buddhadeva Bose, *Sahitya Carca*, p. 76.
- ^{xix} *Ibid.*, p.114.
- ^{xx} Published in 1932. One of the representative books of prose poems in his later years.
- ^{xxi} Shankha Ghose, *Chander Baranda* (Kolkata: Aruna Prakashini, 1971), pp. 38-9.
- ^{xxii} Jibanananda Das, *Jibanananda Daser Kabya Grantha 1* (Kolkata: Bengal Publishers, 1970), p. 8. The book of poetry in which this poem, “Banalata Sen”, is included was first published in 1942.
- ^{xxiii} Here, “nimnasvākarkārīr” and “deyṇi” are in fact compounds of two or more words; therefore these should be considered as “nimna-svākar-kārīr” and “dey-ni” respectively.
- ^{xxiv} Subhas Mukhopadhyay, *Kabya Sangraha* (Kolkata: Visvabani Prakashni, 1972), p.25. This poem, titled “Atahpar”, was originally written between 1938 and 40.
- ^{xxv} Shakti Chattopadhyay, Shakti Chattopadhyay, *Padya Samagra 1* (Kolkata: Anand Publishers, 1989), p.176. This poem was included in *Caturdashpadi Kabitabali*, the book of sonnets, which was first published in 1970 and dedicated to Madhusudan Dutta.
- ^{xxvi} Sukumar Ray, *Sukumar Sahitya Samagra 1* (Kolkata: Ananda Publishers, 1989), p.1. This is the opening verse of his book of poetry *Abol Tabol*, which was first published in 1923.
- ^{xxvii} Four *matras* may be allotted for the English word “light-house”.
- ^{xxviii} Shakti Chattopadhyay, *Padya Samagra 1*, p.87. This poem, titled “Jhayer Dake”, was included in the book of poetry *Dharme Acho Jirapheo Acho*, published in 1965.
- ^{xxix} In order to count this line as 4,2, the word “andare” has to be divided into two parts, “an-dare”. Similar situations will be observed in other poems below.
- ^{xxx} Shankha Ghosh, *Shankha Ghosher Shreshtha Kabita* (Kolkata: Dey’s Publishing, 1970), p.14. This poem, titled “Baul”, was included in the book of poetry *Dinguli Ratguli*, published in 1956.
- ^{xxxi} Bishnu Dey, *Kabitasamagra* (Kolkata: Ananda Publishers, 1989), p.62. This poem, titled “Ubhachar”, was included in the book of poetry *Corabali*, published in 1937.
- ^{xxxii} Jay Goswami, *Kabita Samagra 2* (Kolkata: Ananda Publishers, 1997), p. 230. This poem, titled “Khela Ghurbe”, was included in the book of poetry *Pakhi Hus*, published in 1995.

^{xxxiii} One-syllable words at the end of a line, such as “de” or “di”, are often counted as 2 *matras*, though they are normally counted as 1 *matra* in *dalbritta*.

^{xxxiv} Shankha Ghosh, *Shankha Ghosher Shreshta Kabita*, pp.23-4. This poem was included in the book of poetry *Dinguli Ratguli*, mentioned above in note 30.

PART TWO

SAMPLE of METRES

PERSIAN

URDU

HINDI

BENGALI

Selection of Classical Persian Poetry Metres

Ayano Sasaki

General Rules of Persian metre

In Persian language, all syllables begin with a consonant, and the combination of syllables has three patterns: 1) CV, 2) CVC, and 3) CVCC (C=consonant, V=vowel). A metrical foot in Persian prosody is consisted of two or more syllables. In Persian prosody, eight basic metrical feet have been traditionally used, based on a unit formed by the Arabic letters *fā*, *‘eyn* and *lām*. These metrical feet with their equivalents in terms of long (–) and short (v) syllables, are as follows:

1. *fa-‘ū-lon* (v – –)
2. *fā-‘e-lon* (– v –)
3. *mos-taf-‘e-lon* (– – v –)
4. *ma-fā-‘ī-lon* (v – – –)
5. *fā-‘e-lā-ton* (– v – –)
6. *maf-‘ū-lā-to* (– – – v)
7. *mo-fā-‘a-la-ton* (v – v v –)
8. *mo-ta-fā-‘e-lon* (v v – v –)

Classical Persian poetry is composed of a number of equally long verses which consist of two metrically equal half lines. This equal half line is called hemistich (*meṣrā‘*) and the line consisted of two hemistiches is called distich (*beyt*). These hemistiches are versified based on the combination of three or four metrical feet to form a distinct metrical pattern. This distinct metrical pattern is called *vazn*. The number of distinct metrical patterns is considerably about for hundreds. These patterns are classified as belonging to basic metres, called *baḥr*.

General rules of scansion

- (1) Each hemistich is ended with a long syllable.
- (2) Scansion is based on the pronunciation, not on the letter of words, therefore, *tanvīn*, the sign of a doubled short vowel occurring at the end of some Persian words, especially Persian adverbs, coming from Arabic origin, is considered as “*an*”, and *tashdīd*, the mark which indicates that the letter is the unification of two the-same letters and should be pronounced intensively, will be written twice in scansion.
- (3) When one overlong syllable is considered as two syllables, the short vowel /o/ should be added to the last consonant, in order to change it into a short syllable.

Ramal-e mosaddas-e maḥzūf

Definition: fā-‘e-lā-ton / fā-‘e-lā-ton / fā-‘e-lon

— ◡ — — / — ◡ — — / — ◡ —

A sample from Rumi’s Maḡnavi [WAV 44k](#)

besh-no-win-ney / chon-she-kā-yat / mī-ko-nad
 ’az-jo-dā-yī / hā-he-kā-yat / mī-ko-nad

Ramal-e moṣamman-e makhbūn-e maqṣūr

Definition: fā-‘e-lā-ton / fa-‘e-lā-ton / fa-‘e-lā-ton / fa-‘e-lāt

— ◡ — — / ◡◡ — — / ◡◡ — — / ◡◡ —

A sample from Ḥāfez’s lyrics [WAV 44k](#)

shar-ba-tī-yaz / la-be-la‘-lash / na-che-shī-dī / mo-be-raft
 rū-ye-mah-pey / ka-re-’ū-sī / r(o)-na-dī-dī / mo-be-raft

Ramal-e moṣamman-e makhbūn-e aṣlam

Definition: fā-‘e-lā-ton / fa-‘e-lā-ton / fa-‘e-lā-ton / fa‘-lon

— ◡ — — / ◡ ◡ — — / ◡ ◡ — — / — —

A sample from Ḥāfeẓ’s lyrics [WAV 44k](#)

sā-qi-’ar-bā / de-’a-zīn-das / t(o)-be-jā-man / dā-zad

’ā-re-fān-rā / ha-me-dar-shor / be-mo-dā-man / dā-zad

Ramal-e moṣamman-e makhbūn-e aṣlam-e mosbagh

Definition: fā-‘e-lā-ton / fa-‘e-lā-ton / fa-‘e-lā-ton / fa‘-lān

— ◡ — — / ◡ ◡ — — / ◡ ◡ — — / — —

A sample from Ḥāfeẓ’s lyrics [WAV 44k](#)

khā-be-’ān-nar / ge-se-fat-tā / ne-to-bī-chī / zī-nīs(t)

tā-be-’ān-zol / fe-pa-rī-shā / ne-to-bī-chī / zī-nīs(t)

Ramal-e moṣamman-e makhbūn-e maḥzūf

Definition: fā-‘e-lā-ton / fa-‘e-lā-ton / fa-‘e-lā-ton / fa-‘e-lon

— ◡ — — / ◡ ◡ — — / ◡ ◡ — — / ◡ ◡ —

A sample from Ḥāfeẓ’s lyrics [WAV 44k](#)

har-ge-zam-naq / she-to-’az-low / he-de-lō-jān / na-ra-vad

har-ge-zaz-yā / de-ma-nān-sar/ ve-kha-rā-mān / na-ra-vad

Ramal-e moṣamman-e mashkūl

Definition: fa-‘e-lā-to / fā-‘e-lā-ton / fa-‘e-lā-to / fā-‘e-lā-ton

◡ ◡ ◡ / - ◡ - - / ◡ ◡ ◡ / - ◡ - -

A sample from Sa‘dī’s lyrics [WAV 44k](#)

sa-re-’ān-na / dā-ra-dem-shab / ke-ba-rā-ya / dā-f(e)-tā-bī
che-khi-yā-l(o) / hā-go-zar-kar / do-go-zar-na / kar-d(o)-khā-bī

Hazaj-e moṣamman-e sālem

Definition: ma-fā-‘ī-lon / ma-fā-‘ī-lon / ma-fā-‘ī-lon / ma-fā-‘ī-lon

◡ - - - / ◡ - - - / ◡ - - - / ◡ - - - /

A sample from Ḥāfez’s lyrics [WAV 44k](#)

’a-gar-’ān-tor / ke-shī-rā-zī / be-das-tā-rad / de-lē-mā-rā
be-khā-lē-hen / du-yash-bakh-sham / sa-mar-qan-dō / bo-khā-rā-rā

Hazaj-e mosaddas-e maḥzūf

Definition: ma-fā-‘ī-lon / ma-fā-‘ī-lon / fa-ū-lon

◡ - - - / ◡ - - - / ◡ - -

A sample from Baba Ṭāher’s “do-beyti” [WAV 44k](#)

che-khosh-bī-meh / ra-bū-nī-har / do-sar-bī
ke-yek-sar-meh / ra-bū-nī-dar / de-sar-bī

A sample from ‘Aṭṭār’s Elāhīnāmeḥ [WAV 44k](#)

za-nī-bū-das / t(o)-bā-hos-nō / ja-mā-lī
sha-bō-rū-zaz / ro-khō-zol-fash / me-sā-lī

*This metre is the same as *fahlaviyāt*.

Motaqāreb-e maḥzūf

Definition: fa-‘ū-lon / fa-‘ū-lon / fa-‘ū-lon / fa-‘al

◡ – – / ◡ – – / ◡ – – / ◡ –

A sample from Ferdowsī’s Shāhnāmeḥ (The Book of kings)

[WAV 44k](#)

be-nā-mē / kho-dā-van / de-jā-nō / khe-rad

kaz-’īn-bar / ta-ran-dī / she-bar-nag / za-rad

Motaqāreb-e maqṣūr

Definition: fa-‘ū-lon / fa-‘ū-lon / fa-‘ū-lon / fa-‘ūl

◡ – – / ◡ – – / ◡ – – / ◡ –

A sample from Sa‘dī’s Golestān [WAV 44k](#)

ba-nī-’ā / da-ma‘-zā / ye-yek-pey / ka-rand

ke-dar-’ā / fa-rī-nesh / ze-yek-gow / ha-rand

Mozāre‘-e moṣamman-e akhrab

Definition: maf-‘ū-lo / fā-‘e-lā-ton / maf-‘ū-lo / fā-‘e-lā-ton

– – ◡ / – ◡ – – / – – ◡ / – ◡ – –

A sample from Sa‘dī’s lyrics [WAV 44k](#)

bog-zā-r(o) / tā-be-ger-yam / chon-ab-r(o) / dar-ba-hā-rān

kaz-san-g(o) / nā-le-khī-zad / rū-zē-ve / dā-‘e-yā-rān

A sample from Rūmī’s lyrics [WAV 44k](#)

’īn-jā-ka / sī-s(o)-pen-hān / dā-mā-ne / man-ge-ref-tē

khod-rā-se / pas-ke-shī-dē / pī-shā-ne / man-ge-ref-tē

Mozāre‘-e moṣamman-e akhrab-e makfūf-e maqṣūr

Definition: maf-‘ū-lo / fā-‘e-lā-to / ma-fā-‘ī-lo / fā-‘e-lāt

— — ∪ / — ∪ — ∪ / ∪ — — ∪ / — ∪ —

A sample from Ḥāfez’s lyrics [WAV 44k](#)

sā-qī-bi / yā-r(o)-bā-de / ke-mā-hē-si / yā-m(o)-raft

dar-deh-qa / dah-ke-mow-se / me-nā-mū-so / nā-m(o)-raft

Mozāre‘-e moṣamman-e akhrab-e makfūf-e maḥzūf

Definition: maf-‘ū-lo / fā-‘e-lā-to / ma-fā-‘ī-lo / fā-‘e-lon

— — ∪ / — ∪ — ∪ / ∪ — — ∪ / — ∪ —

A sample from Ḥāfez’s lyrics [WAV 44k](#)

sū-fī-bi / yā-ke-‘ā-ye / ne-sā-fī-so / jā-m(o)-rā

tā-ben-ga / rī-sa-fā-ye / me-yē-la‘-lo / fā-m(o)-rā

Mojtaṣ-e moṣamman-e makhbūn-e aṣlam

Definition: ma-fā-‘e-lon / fa-‘e-lā-ton / ma-fā-‘e-lon / fa‘-lon

∪ — ∪ — / ∪ ∪ — — / ∪ — ∪ — / — —

A sample from Ḥāfez’s lyrics [WAV 44k](#)

ze-hī-kho-jas / te-za-mā-nī / ke-yā-r(o)-bā / zā-yad

be-kā-me-gham / za-de-gān-gham / go-sā-r(o)-bā / zā-yad

Mojtaṣ-e moṣamman-e makhbūn-e aṣlam-e mosbagh

Definition: ma-fā-‘e-lon / fa-‘e-lā-ton / ma-fā-‘e-lon / fa-‘lān

◡ - ◡ - / ◡ ◡ - - / ◡ - ◡ - / - -

A sample from Ḥāfez’s lyrics [WAV 44k](#)

he-zā-r(o)-shok / r(o)-ke-dī-dam / be-kā-me-khī / shat-bāz

ze-rū-ye-sed / qo-sa-fā-gash / te-bā-de-lam / dam-sāz

Mojtaṣ-e moṣamman-e makhbūn-e maḥzūf

Definition: ma-fā-‘e-lon / fa-‘e-lā-ton / ma-fā-‘e-lon / fa-e-‘-lon

◡ - ◡ - / ◡ ◡ - - / ◡ - ◡ - / ◡ ◡ -

A sample from Ḥāfez’s lyrics [WAV 44k](#)

’a-gar-na-bā / de-gha-mē-del / ze-yā-de-mā / be-ba-rad

na-hī-be-hā / de-se-bon-yā / de-mā-ze-jā / be-ba-rad

Robā’ī

Definition: mos-taf-‘e-lo / fā-‘e-lā-to / mos-taf-‘e-lo / fa-‘

- - ◡ ◡ / - ◡ - ◡ / - - ◡ ◡ / -

A sample from Robā’iyāt (Khayyām) [WAV 44k](#)

chon-dar-go-za / ram-be-bā-de / shū-‘ī-d(o)-ma / rā

tal-qīn-ze-sha / rā-be-nā-b(o) / gū-‘ī-d(o)-ma / rā

Samples of Urdu Metre

Suhail Abbas Khan

Hazaj [WAV 44k](#)

Definition: mafā-‘ī-lun(◡ ---)×4

Rajaz [WAV 44k](#)

Definition: mus-taf-‘ilun(- - ◡ -) ×4

Ramal [WAV 44k](#)

Definition: fā-‘ilā-tun(- ◡ - -) ×4

Munṣariḥ [WAV 44k](#)

Definition: (mus-taf-‘ilun + maf-‘ū-lātu)×2 *The basic version is never used.

Variation: (muf-ta-‘ilun(- ◡ ◡ -) + fā-‘ilātu(- ◡ - ◡))×2

Muzare‘ [WAV 44k](#)

Definition: mafā-‘ī-lun + fā-‘ilā-tun)×2 *The basic version is never used.

Variation: (maf-‘ū-l(- - ◡) + fā-‘ilā-tun(- ◡ - -))×2

Muqtazab [WAV 44k](#)

(maf-‘ū-lātu + mus-taf-‘ilun) ×2 *The basic version is never used.

Variation1: fā-‘ilā-tu(– ∪ – ∪) + maf-‘ū-lun(– – –) + fā-‘ilā-tu + maf-‘ū-lun

Variation2: fā-‘ilā-tu(– ∪ – ∪) + maf-‘ū-lun(– – –) + fā-‘ilā-tu + maf-‘ū-lān(– – – ∪)

Mujtas [WAV 44k](#)

Definition: mus-taf-‘ilun(– – ∪ –) + fā-‘ilā-tun(– ∪ – –)) ×2 *The basic version is never used.

Variation1: mafā-‘i-lun(∪ – ∪ –) + fā-‘ilā-tun(∪ ∪ – –) + mafā-‘i-lun + fā-‘ilun(∪ ∪ –)

Variation2: mafā-‘i-lun(∪ – ∪ –) + fā-‘ilā-tun(∪ ∪ – –) + mafā-‘i-lun + fā-‘ū-lun(∪ – –)

Sarī‘ [WAV 44k](#)

Definition: mus-taf-‘iln+ mus-taf-‘iln+ maf-‘ū-lātu(– – – ∪) *The basic version is never used.

Variation1: muf-ta-‘ilun(– ∪ ∪ –) + muf-ta-‘ilun + fā-‘ilun(– ∪ –)

Variation2: muf-ta-‘ilun(– ∪ ∪ –) + muf-ta-‘ilun + fā-‘ilān(– ∪ –)

Khafīf [WAV 44k](#)

Definition: fā-‘ilā-tun(– ∪ – –) + mus-taf-‘iln(– – ∪ –) + fā-‘ilā-tun *The basic version is never used.

Variation1: fā-‘ilā-tun(– ∪ – –) + mafā-‘ilun(∪ – ∪ –) + fe-‘lun(– –)

Variation2: fā-‘ilā-tun(– ∪ – –) + mafā-‘ilun(∪ – ∪ –) + fe-‘lān(– – ∪)

Mutaqārib [WAV 44k](#)

Definition: fa'ū-lun(◡ - -)×4

Mutadārik [WAV 44k](#)

Definition: fā-'ilun(- ◡ -)×4

Kāmil [WAV 44k](#)

Definition: muta-fā-'ilun(◡ ◡ - ◡ -)×4

Selected Metres of Urdu Prosody

From its Beginning to the Twentieth Century

Selected & Recorded by Suhail Abbas Khan

1 Muslim singing in vernacular metres

The early examples of Urdu prosody are found in the vernacular couplets by the mystic poets of Northern Hindustan. But in the poetry of Khusrau (1253-1325) and other contemporary poets, Persian prosody is also used. As there was little poetical composition in Urdu, early Urdu had practically no variation of verse rhythm. Mystic poets composed their poetry by using traditional Hindu couplets such as Doha, while other poets tried to apply Persian verse rhythm.

Mora Metre dohā chand

Sample 1 from Bū ‘Alī Qalandar (14c.)’s works [WAV 44k](#)

Definition: fe‘-l fa-‘ū-lun fe‘-lun fā / fe‘-lun fā-‘ū-lun fā‘i
fe‘-lun fe‘-lun fe‘-l fa‘ / fā‘i fa-‘ū-lun fā‘i

sajan sikārē jāēngē aur nain marēngē rōē
badhnā aisī rain kar bhōr kadī nah hōē

Sample 2 from Amīr Khusrau’s works [WAV 44k](#)

Definition: fe‘-lun fe‘-lun fe‘-l fa‘ / fe‘-lun fe‘-lun fā‘
fe‘-lun fe‘-lun fe‘-l fa‘ / fā‘i fa‘ū-lun fā‘i

gōrī sōī sēj par aur mukh par ḍārē kēs
cal khusrau ghar āpnē aur sānjh bhaī caudēs

Persian Verse rhythm

mutaqārib muthaman maqbūz āthlam muzā‘af

Definition: fā-‘ū-l fe‘-lun fā-‘ū-l fe‘-lun fā-‘ū-l fe‘-lun fā-‘ū-l fe‘-lun

A sample from Amīr Khusrau’s works [WAV 44k](#)

ze ḥāl-e miskīn ma-kun taghāful daurārē nainān banaē battiyān
cō tāb-e hijrān na-dāram aē jān nā leho hāhe lagāē chattiyān

ramal muthamman maḥzūf / maqṣūr

Definition: fā-‘i-lā-tun fā-‘i-lā-tun fā-‘i-lā-tun fā-‘i-lun

A sample from Shaikh Jamālī Kanboh (1535)’s works [WAV 44k](#)

ān parī rukhsār cūn shānah bah cōṭī mē kunad
jān darāz-e ‘āshiqān rā ‘umr chōṭī mē kunad

sarī‘ mutwī makshūf

Definition : muf-ta-‘i-lun muf-ta-‘i-lun fā-‘i-lun

A sample from Bābā Farīd Shakar Ganj (d. 1265)’s works [WAV 44k](#)

pand-e shakar ganj ba- dil jān shunū
zāī ma-kun ‘umr keh hēhāt hai

hazaj musaddas maḥdhūf maqṣūr

Definition: ma-fā-‘ī-lun ma-fā-‘ī-lun fā-‘ū-lun

A sample from Afzal (d. 1625)’s works [WAV 44k](#)

sunō sakhiyō! bikaṭ mērī kahanī
bhaī hūn ‘ishq kē gham sōn diwānī

hazaj muṭhamman sālim

Definiyion:ma-fā-‘ī-lun ma-fā-‘ī-lun ma-fā-‘ī-lun ma-fā-‘ī-lun

A sample from Panḍit Candar Bhān Brahman (1574-1662)’s works

[WAV 44k](#)

khudā nē kis shahr andar haman kō lāē ḍālā hai
nah dil-bar hai nah sāqī hai nah shīshāh hai nah piyālāh hai

rajaz muṭhamman sālim

Definition:mus-taf-‘i-lun mus-taf-‘i-lun mus-taf-‘i-lun

mus-taf-‘i-lun

A sample from Amīr Sajzī (1254?-1337?)’s works [WAV 44k](#)

har laḥẓah āyad dar dil-am dēkhūn usē ṭuk jāē kar
gōyam ḥikāyat-e hijr-e khud bā ān ṣanam jīv lāē kar

mutaqārib muṭhamman athram

Definition:fe‘-l fa-‘ū-lun fe‘-l fa-‘ū-lun fe‘-l fa-‘ū-lun fe‘-lun fa‘/

fā‘i fa-‘ū-lun / fe‘-lun fe‘-lun [WAV 44k](#)

māī nah hōtī bāp nah hōtā karam nah hōtā kāyā
ham nahīn hōtē tum nahīn hōtē kaun kahān tē āyā

2 Mixture of Persian and Vernacular prosody**Dakani Era: 15-16c.**

In the early period of the Deccan sultanates, mora metre was in vogue and like in Northern Hindusthan, poetry begins with the works of mystic poets such as Shaikh Bahāudin Bājan (15c.), Qāzī Mahmūd Daryāī (1419-1534), Shaikh ‘Alī Ghiu Jivgām Dhanī (d. 1515) and Khūb Muḥammad Chishtī (d. 1614). The form of their poetry is totally indigenous. During ‘Ādil

Shāhī dynasty, this tradition reached its climax in the poems of Jānam and Jagat Guru. This tradition was succeeded by Mīrān Jī (d.1496) and Ashraf Bayābānī (1459-1528).

Mora Metre

24 moras: Doha Chand

Definition: fe'lun fe'lun fe'l fa' / fa'il fe'lun fa'
fe'lun fe'lun fe'l fa' / fā'lun fa'il fa'ūl

A sample from Shaikh Bājan (15c.) 's works [WAV 44k](#)

bhaūnrā lēwē phūl ras rasiyā lēwē mās
mālī siñcē ās kar bhaūnrā kharā udās

Mora Metre

28 moras: Sarsi/Sar Chand

Definition: fe'-l fa'ūlun fe'lun fe'lun fe'lun fā' fa'ūlun

A sample from Mīrān Jī (d. 1496) 's works [WAV 44k](#)

kabhī nah rangī mehndī rangōn phūlōn bās nah āyā
ang nah rangiyā dantō us kē bhēnī nah haldōn kāyā

Mora Metre

29 moras: 14 + 15

Definition: fe'lun fa'l fe'lun fa' fa'l fa'ūlun fe'lun fā'

A sample from Ashraf (1459-1528)'s works [WAV 44k](#)

zainab ahē us kā nām nain salōnē jūn bādām
māthā jānūn sūraj lāṭ yā kē jānūn cānd alāṭ

Mora Metre

31 moras: 15 + 16

Definition: fe‘lun fe-‘lun fe‘lun fā‘ fe‘lun fe‘lun fe‘lun fā‘
fe‘lun fe‘lun fa‘ fe‘lun fe‘lun fe‘lun fā‘ fa‘ūlun

A sample from Qāzī Mahmūd (1419-1534)’s works [WAV 44k](#)

āp nah āyā nah bhējā kōī aise pachtāwē kītā rōē
qutb-e ‘ālam tan jō mahō pā‘ūn cun cun kaliyān sēj bichāūn

Mora Metre

32 moras

Definition: fā‘ fa-‘ū-lun fe‘-lun fe‘-lun fā‘ fa-‘ū-lun fe‘-lun fe‘-lun
fā‘ fa-‘ū-lun fe‘-lun fa‘ fe‘-lun fe‘-lun fe‘-lun fe‘-lun

A sample from Shaikh ‘Alī Jīv (d. 1515)’s works [WAV 44k](#)

shāh-e shahān haiñ jē jag māhān sēwā karēñ jō tujh darbārā
ghauth qutb ‘ālam kīrē wārī jāwēñ tujh par piyārā

Mora Metre

Caupāi: 16 moras

Definition: fā‘ fa-‘ū-lun fe‘-lun fe‘-lun, fā‘ fa-‘ū-lun fe‘-lun fe‘-lun

A sample from Qāzī Mahmūd’s works [WAV 44k](#)

jāg piyārī ab kyā sōwē Rain kanī tyūñ din kyā khōwē

baḥr-e mutaḡārib muḡhamman maḡdhūf / maḡṣūr

Definition: fa-‘ūlun fa-‘ū-lun fa-‘ū-lun fa-‘-ū-l / fe‘-l

A sample from Fakharuddin Nizāmī (14c.)’s works [WAV 44k](#)

bhalā bhī tahīñ munjh burā bhī tahīñ
terē pāē hōñ chōṛ jā soñ kahīñ

baḥr-e rajaz muḡhamman sālim

Definition: mus-taf-‘i-lun mus-taf-‘i-lun mus-taf-‘i-lun
mus-taf-‘i-lun

A sample from Mushtāq’s works [WAV 44k](#)

sūraj kē gal men cānd jyūn yūn tujh galē haikal disē
qurbān us kē hāth par jin aē terī haikal ghaṛī

hazaj muthamman sālim

Definition: ma-fā-‘ī-lun ma-fā-‘ī-lun ma-fā-‘ī-lun ma-fā-‘ī-lun

A sample from Mushtāq’s works [WAV 44k](#)

ō kiswat kēsri kartan caman miyānē calī hai ā
rahē khilnē kōn tyūn distī ō canpē kī kalī hai ā

muzare‘ muthamman akhrab

Definition: maf-‘ū-l fā-‘i-lā-tun maf-‘ū-l fā-‘i-lā-tun

A sample from Luṭfī’s works [WAV 44k](#)

khalwat mēn sajan kē main mōm kī battī hūn
yak pāōn par khaṛī hūn jalnē parat pattī hūn

munsariḥ munṭavī maksūf

Definition: muf-ta-‘i-lun fā-‘i-lun muf-ta-‘i-lun fā-‘i-lun

A sample from Luṭfī’s works [WAV 44k](#)

marg kā ṭōṭī haryā mushk khaṭāī caṛiyā
rāt kā ‘anbar sariyā ṣubaḥ kī phūṭī kiran

rajaz murabba‘ sālim

Definition: mus-taf-‘i-lun mus-taf-‘i-lun [WAV 44k](#)

A sample from Shāh Ālī’s works

yeh jiū to rahtā nahīn haur man dūkh sahtā nahīn

hazaj murabba‘ sālim

Definition: ma-fā-‘ī-lun ma-fā-‘ī-lun

A sample from Shāh Ālī’s works [WAV 44k](#)

jō jiūrā piū sūn lāgā
 hae jis neh kī āgā
 tinhōn kā lōbh sab bhāgā

mutaqārib muḥamman sālim

Definition: fa-‘ū-lun fa-‘ū-lun fa-‘ū-lun fa-‘ū-lun

A sample from Khūb Muḥammad Chishtī’s works [WAV 44k](#)

taqārub muḥamman jō khūbeñ kahē hai
 chūñ jin sō miṣr‘ē muḥamman lahē hai

mutadārik muḥamman sālim

Definition: fā-‘i-lun fā-‘i-lun fā-‘i-lun fā-‘i-lun

A sample from Khūb Muḥammad Chishtī’s works [WAV 44k](#)

baḥr sun jab tadāruk mēñ āniē khūb tab fā‘ilun aṣal ōs jāniē

mutaqārib muḥamman maḥdhūf / maqsūr

Definition: fa-‘ū-lun fa-‘ū-lun fa-‘ū-lun fa-‘ū-l / fe‘-l

A sample from ‘Abdal’s *Ibrāhīm Nāma* [WAV 44k](#)

kōī bālōñ darmiyān yūñ māng cīr/
 dīsē jyūñ kasōṭī mēñ sōnē kī kīr//
 kōī mukḥ udhar par sau la‘lī dharī/
 rakhē ārsī bic kanwal pankhaṭī//

hazaj musaddas maḥdhūf

Definition: ma-fā-‘ī-lun ma-fā-‘ī-lun fa-‘ū-lun

A sample from Ibn-e Nashātī (d. 1655)’s *Phūl Bun* [WAV 44k](#)

sō dēkhā khāb mēn darvēsh kō ēk
dunyā kē ‘āqibat andēsh kō ēk

ramal muthamman makhbūn

Definition: fā-‘i-lā-tun fe‘-lā-tun fe‘-lā-tun fe‘-lun

A sample from Nuṣratī (d. 1674)’s couplets [WAV 44k](#)

rakhiyā is fataḥ kē nāmē kā ‘alī nāmāh nāōñ
jis kā har razmiyah rustam kē galē kā haikal

hazaj muthamman sālim

Definition: ma-fā-‘ī-lun ma-fā-‘ī-lun ma-fā-‘ī-lun ma-fā-‘ī-lun

A sample from Nuṣratī’s Ghazals [WAV 44k](#)

disēn dhan mukh bic nainān keh mōtī thāl mēn ḍhaltē
laṭān chaṭ tan upar yūn hai bhōnk jyūn nīr par jhaltē

rajaz muthamman sālim

Definition: mus-taf-‘i-lun mus-taf-‘i-lun mus-taf-‘i-lun
mus-taf-‘i-lun

A sample from Nuṣratī’s Ghazals [WAV 44k](#)

ṭāqat nahīn dūrī kī ab tū bēg ā mil rē piyā
tuj bin muñjē jīvnā bhūt hōtā hai mushkil rē piyā

Ābhār: Mora metre

Definition: fe‘-lun fa-‘ū-lun fa-‘ū-lun fa-‘ū-lun fa-‘ū-lun fa-‘ū-lun
fa-‘ū-lun fa-‘ū-lun

A sample from Shāh Sirāj (1715-1763)’s works [WAV 44k](#)

dīl mēn khayālāt-e rangīn guzartē haiñ
jyūn bās phūlōñ kē rangōñ mēn rahiyē

waḥshat kē jangal mēn kab lag parēshān hō
tum keh bhārōn kē sangōn mēn rahiyē

mutaqārib muṭhamman sālim muḥa‘af

Definition: fa-‘ū-lun fa-‘ū-lun fa-‘ū-lun fa-‘ū-lun fa-‘ū-lun fa-‘ū-lun
fa-‘ū-lun fa-‘ū-lun

A sample from Shāh Sirāj’s works [WAV 44k](#)

khayālāt-e nairang-e cashm-e ṣanam sēn hai
shīshē mēn dil kē parī kā tamāshā
hamēn ṣaḥn-e gulshan mēn tum mat dikhāō
gul-e nargis-e ‘abharī kā tamāshā

ramal mashkūl

Definition: fa-‘i-lā-t fā-‘i-lā-tun fa-‘i-lā-t fā-‘i-lā-tun

A sample from Nuṣratī’s work [WAV 44k](#)

jinē dhan jauvan kī mastī karē sō khajil hō ākhir
keh ae nuṣratī kisī par yo baqā mudām nain hai

hazaj muṭhamman sālim

Definition: ma-fā-‘ī-lun ma-fā-‘ī-lun ma-fā-‘ī-lun ma-fā-‘ī-lun

A sample from Walī (1667-1707)’s Ghazals [WAV 44k](#)

nikal ae dil-rubā ghar sūn keh waqt-e bē-ḥijābī hai
caman mēn cal bahār-e nastaran hai māhtābī hai

mutaqārib muṭhamman sālim

Definition: fa-‘ū-lun fa-‘ū-lun fa-‘ū-lun fa-‘ū-lun

A sample from Qulī Quṭb Shāh’s works [WAV 44k](#)

chabēlī hai ṣūrat hamārē sajan kī kyā pōtlī is kahūn ap nayan kī

khafīf musaddas makhbūn maḥdhūf

Definition: fā-‘i-lā-tun mafā-‘i-lun fe‘-lun

A sample from Walī’s works [WAV 44k](#)

khūb-rū khūb kām kartē haiñ yak nigah mēn ghulām kartē haiñ

hazaj muthamman akhrab

Definition: maf-‘ū-l ma-fā-‘ī-lun maf-‘ū-l ma-fā-‘ī-lun

A sample from Walī’s Ghazals [WAV 44k](#)

mat ghuṣṣē kē shō‘lē sūn jaltē kūn jalātī jā
ṭuk mehr kē pānī sūn yeh āg bujhātī jā

munsariḥ muṭavī maksūf

Definition: muf-ta-‘i-lun fā-‘i-lun muf-ta-‘i-lun fā-‘i-lun

A sample from Walī’s Ghazals [WAV 44k](#)

zulf tērī barhaman mukh hai terā āftāb
mukh hai terā āftāb zulf tērī barhaman

rajaz muthamman sālim

Definition: mus-taf-‘i-lun mus-taf-‘i-lun mus-taf-‘i-lun
mus-taf-‘i-lun

A sample from Nuṣratī’s works [WAV 44k](#)

khūbān manē awwal hai tū ākhir nahīn thānī hanūz
mīthāq nē tuj rūp kī duniyān hai dīwānī hanūz

hazaj musaddas maḥdhūf

Definition: ma-fā-‘ī-lun ma-fā-‘ī-lun fa-‘ū-lun / fa-‘ū-lān

A sample from Qulī Quṭb Shāh’s works [WAV 44k](#)

terē mukh par laṭān nain hain keh dō nāg
sulaimān kī angūṭhī kē hain rakhwāl

muḡare‘ muthamman akhrab makfūf maḡdhūf

Definition: maf-‘ū-l fā-‘i-lā-t ma-fā-‘ī-l fā-‘i-lun

A sample from Walī’s Ghazals [WAV 44k](#)

us sarv-e khush adā kūn hamārā salām hai
us yār-e bē-wafā kūn hamārā salām hai

muḡare‘ akhrab

Definition: maf-‘ū-l fā-‘i-lā-tun maf-‘ū-l fā-‘i-lā-tun

A sample from Walī’s Ghazals [WAV 44k](#)

bāgh-e iram sūn behtar mōhan terī galī hai
sākin terī galī kā har ān mēn walī hai

hazaj ushtar

Definition: fā-‘i-lun ma-fā-‘ī-lun fā-‘i-lun ma-fā-‘ī-lun

A sample from Walī’s Ghazals [WAV 44k](#)

mū bah mū mēn tujh ḡham sūn zo‘f-o-nā-tawānī hai
ṭuk karam karō sājan waqt-e mehrbānī hai

mutaqārib athlam shānzdah ruknī

Definition: fa-‘ū-l fe‘-lun fa-‘ū-l fe‘-lun fa-‘ū-l fe‘-lun fa-‘ū-l
fe‘-lun

A sample from Walī’s Ghazals [WAV 44k](#)

suraj hai shō‘lah terī agan kā jō jā falak par jhalak liyā hai
namak nē apnē namak kō khō kar terē namak sōn namak liyā hai

khafīf makhbūn maḡdhūf

Definition: fā-‘i-lā-tun ma-fā-‘i-lun fe‘-lun

A sample from Qazī Maḥmūd’s works [WAV 44k](#)

dēkh tērē ō rukh rangīlē lāl
phūl hōtē haiñ phūl khil khush ḥāl

ramal makhbūn maḥdhūf

Definition: fā-‘i-lā-tun fa-‘i-lā-tun fa-‘i-lā-tun fe‘-lun

A sample from Shāh Sirāj’s works [WAV 44k](#)

mujh sēñ gham dast-o-girēbāñ nah huā thā sō huā
cāk sīnē kā numāyāñ nah huā thā sō huā

ramal makhbūn maḥdhūf

Definition: fā-‘i-lā-tun fa-‘i-lā-tun fa-‘i-lā-tun fe‘-lun

A sample from Shāh Sirāj’s works [WAV 44k](#)

kyā qiyāmat hai merē dil kō lubhānāñ jāñāñ
phir taghāful kī agan bīc jalānāñ jāñāñ
shōkhī-o-nāz sēñ jāñāñ hai tūñ phir āñāñ hai
āñāñ dil hai qiyāmat hai yeh āñāñ jāñāñ

mujtath makhbūn maḥdhūf

Definition: ma-fā-‘i-lun fe‘-lā-tun ma-fā-‘i-lun fe‘-lun

A sample from Shāh Sirāj’s works [WAV 44k](#)

ṣanam hazār huā tō wohī ṣanam kā ṣanam
keh aṣl-e hastī nābūd hai ‘adam kā ‘adam

kāmil muthamman

Definition: mu-ta-fā-‘i-lun mu-ta-fā-‘i-lun mu-ta-fā-‘i-lun

mu-ta-fā-‘i-lun

A sample from Shāh Sirāj’s works [WAV 44k](#)

khabar-e taḥaiyur-e ‘ishq sun nah junūn rahā nah parī rahī
nah tō tū rahā nah tō main rahā jō rahī sō bē-khabrī rahī

baḥr-e kāmil muthamman

Definition: mu-ta-fā-‘i-lun mu-ta-fā-‘i-lun mu-ta-fā-‘i-lun
mu-ta-fā-‘i-lun

A sample from Shāh Sirāj’s works [WAV 44k](#)

calī simt-e ghaib sē ik hawā keh caman surūr kā jal gayā
magar ēk shākh-e nihāl-e gham jisē dil kahēn sō harī rahī

hazaj muthamman sālim

Definition: ma-fā-‘ī-lun ma-fā-‘ī-lun ma-fā-‘ī-lun ma-fā-‘ī-lun

A sample from Wajhī’s *Qutub Mushtarī* (1609-10) [WAV 44k](#)

piyā mukh nūr thē hai jāwidān ham-‘īd-o-ham-nau rōz
sūraj āvō ḥamal yā nah ‘ayān ham-‘īd-o-ham-nau rōz

muzare‘ muthamman akhrab makfūf maḥdhūf

Definition: maf-‘ū-l fā-‘i-lā-t ma-fā-‘ī-l fā-‘i-lun

A sample from Ghawwāshī (d. 1631)’s works [WAV 44k](#)

ḥikmat sē jē ḥakīm yūn paidā jahān kiyā
raushan phir akhtarān sō gagan kē tharrān kiyā

mujtath muthamman makhbūn maḥdhūf

Definition: ma-fā-‘i-lun fa-‘i-lā-tun ma-fā-‘i-lun fe‘-lun

A sample from Ghawwāshī’s works [WAV 44k](#)

kitāb us kī bayān-e kalām-e rabbānī
ḥadīth us kī zabān kā hai makhzan-e asrār

hazaj muthamman sālim

Definition: ma-fā-‘ī-lun ma-fā-‘ī-lun ma-fā-‘ī-lun ma-fā-‘ī-lun

A sample from Mirzā (17c.)’s works [WAV 44k](#)

ḥusain ibn-e ‘alī kā ḡham muḥibbān dil sōn karnā hai
apas jiu kē girēbān mēn janam yō dāḡh dharnā hai

rajaz muthamman sālim

Definition: mus-taf-‘i-lun mus-taf-‘i-lun mus-taf-‘i-lun
mus-taf-‘i-lun

A sample from Khushnūd’s works [WAV 44k](#)

sīnāh nabī kā cāk hai sārā mulk ḡham-nāk hai
‘ālam urātā khāk hai kyā khalq dukh pāyā ‘ajab

muzare‘ akhrab makfūf maḥdhūf

Definition: maf-‘ū-l fā-‘i-lā-t ma-fā-‘ī-l fā-‘i-lun

A sample from Mirzā’s works [WAV 44k](#)

āyā ‘ashūr jag mēn qayāmat banā huā
har shae kūn phir ḥusain kā mātam nawā huā

Rubā‘ī : A collection of Quatrains

Definition: maf-‘ū-l ma-fā-‘i-lun ma-fā-‘i-lun fa‘ / fā‘
maf-‘ū-lun fā-‘i-lun ma-fā-‘ī-lun fā‘ / fa‘

A sample from Ghawwāshī’s works [WAV 44k](#)

dēkh ‘ām yō duniyā kahē manzil sō hēc
yā khāṣ sō ‘aqbā kahē ḥaṣil sō hēc
ḥairān hūn mōlā kī ṭalab mēn pūrā
‘āshiqū sō kahē sab thē mushkil sō hēc

3 Establishment of Urdu Prosody

The Era of North India : 18th century -

The decline of Mughal empire starts with the death of Aurangzeb ‘Ālamgīr. Due to the conspiracy of Muhatas and the attacks by Nādir Shāh, it ended in 1803 upon the conquest of Delhi fort. The Persian court literature nourished by the Great Mughal lost its patronage. The scholars started to pay their attention to the local language. The Urdu movement begins under the influence of Khān-e-Ārzū, and reaches its peak in the “Golden Age” of Urdu poetry. Meanwhile, Mīr Taqī Mīr (1723-1810) and Mirzā Saudā (1713-1781) had special impacts.

Prosodic diversity is also seen with the same intensity as it was found in Urdu poetry in the previous era. Urdu prosody is shaping itself. Particularly it was developed by Mīr. Urdu poetry flourished with the activity of Ābrū (c. 1692-1747), Nājī (d. 1754), Yakraṅ (18c.), Ṭek Chand Bahār (18c.), Ḥātim (b.1699, d.1781 or 1792), Mazhar Jān-e Jānān (1699-1781), Saudā (1713-80), Khwājah Mīr Dard (1719-1785), Ghālīb (1797-1869), Maumin (1800-1851), Zauq (1789-1854), Zafar (1775-1862) etc. in that era.

(1) Delhi

muqtaḏab muḥamman muṭwī

Definition: fā-‘i-lā-t maf-‘ū-lun fā-‘i-lā-t maf-‘ū-lun

A sample from Ghālīb’s couplets [WAV 44k](#)

kahtē hō nah dēṅgē ham dil agar paṛā pāyā
dil kahān keh gum kījīyē ham nē mudd‘ā pāyā

ramal maḥdhūf murabba‘

Definition: fā-‘i-lā-tun fā-‘i-lun

A sample from Zafar’s couplets [WAV 44k](#)

cup rahā jātā nahīn kab talak cupkē rahēn

mutaqārib athlam

Definition: fā' fa-'ū-lun fe'-lun fa'

A sample from Zafar's couplets [WAV 44k](#)

pūch nah dil-bar kyā kahvēn
dard-e jigar dō din sē hai

muzare' muthamman akhrab

Definition: maf-'ū-l fā-'i-lā-tun maf-'ū-l fā-'i-lā-tun

A sample from Mīr's Ghazals [WAV 44k](#)

galiyōn mēn ab talak tō madhkūr hai hamārā/
afsānah-e muḥabbat mashfūr hai hamārā//
kaisī wafā-o-ulfat khātē 'abath hō qasmēn/
muddat huī uṭhāin tum nē yeh sārī rasmēn//
ā ham nashīn kisū kē mat 'ishq kī hawas kar/
jātī haiñ yūn hī nādān jānēn taras taras kar//

The Metre used by Mīr

Sample 1: baḥr-e Mīr [WAV 44k](#)

Definition: fe'-lun fā-'i fa-'ū-lun fe'-lun fā' fa-'ū-lun fā' fe'-l

fe'-lun fe'-lun fā-'i fa-'ū-lun fe'-lun fā-'i fa-'ū-l fe'-l

fā-'i fa-'ū-lun fe'-lun fe'-lun fe'-lun fā-'i fa-'ū-l fa-'ū-l

fe'-lun fā-'i fa-'ū-lun fe'-lun fā-'i fa-'ū-lun fā-'i fa-'ū-l

Sample 1

ulṭī hō gaīn sab tadbīrēn kuch nah dawānē kām kiyā/
dēkhā is bīmārī-e dil nē ākhir kām tamām kiyā//
āj hamārē ghar āyā tō kyā hai yān jō nithār karēn/
illā khēnc baghal mēn tujh kō dēr talak ham piyār kiyā//

Sample 2: baḥr-e rubā‘ī [WAV 44k](#)

Definition: maf-‘ū-l ma-fā-‘i-lun ma-fā-‘ī-lun fa‘ / fā‘
maf-‘ū-lun fā-‘i-lun ma-fā-‘ī-lun fā‘ / fa‘

sab sharm jabīn-e yār sē pānī hai
har cand keh gul shugftāh pēshānī hai

Sample 3: savaiyā chand 31+32 mātrās [WAV 44k](#)

hāē sitam nā-cār ma‘īshat karnī paṛī har khār kē sāth
jān-e ‘azīz gaī hōtī kāsh ab kē baras bahār kē sāth

ramal muthamman makhbūn

Definition: fā-‘i-lā-tun fa-‘i-lā-tun fa-‘i-lā-tun fe‘-lun

A sample from Saudā’s works [WAV 44k](#)

yārō mahtāb-o-gul-o-shama‘ baham cārōn ēk
maiñ katān bulbul ō parwānāh yeh baham cārōn ēk

The metre used by Nazīr

Sample 1: mutadārik makhbūn muqtū‘ muḥā‘if [WAV 44k](#)

ṭuk ḥirṣ-o-hawā kī chōṛ miyān mat dēs badēs phirē mārā
qazzāq ajal kā lūṭē hai din rāt bajā kar naqqārā

(2) Lucknow

The metre used by Inshā (1756-1818)

Sample 1: ramal makhbūn [WAV 44k](#)

Definition: fā-‘i-lā-tun fa-‘i-lā-tun fa-‘i-lā-tun fā-‘i-lun
bas nah kar duniyā kī ae ṣāhib-e idrāk hawas/

khāk hī khāk hai sab khāk kī kyā khāk hawas//
 baghiyān nūr kī taiyār kar ae bū-e saman/
 keh hawā khānē kō niklēngē jawānān-e caman//
 ṣubuḥ-dam main nē jō lī bistar-e gul par karwaṭ/
 junbish-e bād-e bahārī sē gaī nīnd ucaṭ//

Sample 2: muzāre‘ muthamman akhrab makfūf [WAV 44k](#)

Definition: maf-‘ū-l fā-‘i-lā-t ma-fā-‘ī-l fā-‘i-lun
 gālī sahī adā sahī cīn-e jabīn sahī
 yeh sab sahī par ēk nahīn kī nahīn sahī

Sample 3: jadīd musaddas [WAV 44k](#)

Definition: fa-‘i-lā-tun fa-‘i-lā-tun ma-fā-‘i-lun
 mujhē ḥāṣil hō jō ṭuk bhī farāgh-e dil
 to rahē kyōn ṭapish-o-dard-o-dāgh-e dil

Sample 4: hindī wazn (16 mātrās) [WAV 44k](#)

Definition: fe-‘-lun fe-‘-lun fā-‘i fa-‘ū-lun
 fā-‘i fa-‘ū-lun fe-‘-lun fe-‘-lun
 fe-‘-lun fā-‘i fa-‘ū-lun fe-‘-lun
 fa-‘ū-lun fā-‘i fe-‘-lun fe-‘-lun

is duniyā mēn āē haiñ jab sē
 cīn nahīn hai muṭṭlaq tab sē
 yūn tō hāth nahīn kuch ānā
 banēgā yān sē khālī jānā

hazaj musaddas akhrab

Definition: maf-‘ū-l ma-fā-‘i-lun fa-‘ū-lun

A sample from Pandit Dayā Shankar Nasīm (1811-1843)’s works
[WAV 44k](#)

zanjīr-e junūn kaṛī nah paṛiyō
dīwānē kā pāōn darmiyān hai

dohā chand

Definition: fa‘-al fā-‘i fa‘-al / fa‘-al fa-‘ū-lun fā‘

fe‘-lun fe‘-lun fā-‘i-lun / fa‘-al fa-‘ū-lun fā‘

A sample from Naz̄īr (1740-1830)’s works [WAV 44k](#)

birah āg tan mēn lagī jaran lagē sab gāt
nārī chuāt bēd kē paṛē phaphōlē pāt

Tradition and New Trends in Urdu Prosody

Modern to Contemporary Era

Poets started ambitious experiments in the 20th century. Ḥalī, Āzād and Ismā‘īl Meraṭhī established the foundations of modern poetry, tried metrical experiments, and new genres emerged. The process started shortly before 1857 and it proceeded further with the rise of the British rulers. New changes came into existence by the influence of western civilization. Literature is closely related with the society. The meeting of poets under Anjuman Punjab is the first step in this connection. The new genres such as free verse, poem, canto, sonnet and stanza are found in the Urdu composition of this period. On the other hand, a change took place in the existing prosodic system of well-established genres. Tājwar, Najīb Ābādī, Nazm Ṭabāṭabāī (1852-1933), Iqbāl and Āzmat Ullāh Khān (1887-1927) are the pioneers of the change. The main principle of their experiment was of two kinds; change in the prevalent rhythm of old genres, and metrical experiments in new genres.

muzāre‘ muthamman akhrab makfūf [WAV 44k](#)

Definition: maf-‘ū-l fā-‘i-lā-t ma-fā-‘ī-l fā-‘i-lun
 calnā voh bādālōn kā zamīn cūm cūm kar
 aur uṭhnā āsmān kī ṭaraf jhūm jhūm kar
 bijilī kō dēkhō ātī hai kyā kaundtī huī
 sabzē kō ṭhandī ṭhandī hawā raundtī huī

The metre used by ‘Azmat Ullāh Khān WAV 44k

Definition: fe‘-l fa-‘ū-lun fā‘ fa-‘ū-lun
 fe‘-l fa-‘ū-lun fe‘-lun fa-‘ū-lun
 pawan kā jhakar mēnh kā tarīrā
 pawan kā gānā voh sā’in sā’in
 bijilī nāpē thāp garaj kī
 mēnh nē chēr diyā shād

The metre used by Iqbāl (1877-1938): 27 moras WAV 44k

Definition: fe‘-lun fe‘-lun fe‘-lun fe‘-lun fe‘-lun fe‘-lun fā‘
 rūmī badlē shāmī badlē badlā hindustān
 tū bhī ae farzand-e kōhistān apnī khūdī pahcān

The metre used by Taşadduq WAV 44k

Definition: fe‘-lun fa-‘ū-lun fe‘-lun fa-‘ū-lun
 fe‘-lun fa-‘ū-lun
 fe‘-lun fa-‘ū-lun
 fe‘-lun fa-‘ū-lun

pattōn kē jhūmar phūlōn kē gahnē
 main nē bhī pahnē
 ab main hī main hūn
 ik tīr ban kar ākāsh kī simt uṛnē lagā hūn

Definition: fe‘-lun fe‘-lun fe‘-lun fe‘-lun fā‘ fa-‘ū-lun fā‘ fa-‘ū-l
 fā‘ fa-‘ū-lun fā‘ fa-‘ū-lun
 fe‘-lun fe‘-lun fe‘-lun [WAV 44k](#)

bādal kālē kālē ōj fazā mēn ṭahrē huē
 dilōn nē jaisē ḍērē ḍālē hōn
 tārikī mēn tārikī

The metre used by Dr. Tāthīr [WAV 44k](#)

Definition: fa-‘ū-lun fa-‘ū-lun fa-‘ū-lun fa-‘ū-lun
 fa-‘ū-lun fa-‘ū-lun
 fa-‘ū-lun fa-‘ū-lun
 fa-‘ū-lun fa-‘ū-lun fa-‘ū-lun

bahār āfrīnā gunahgār haiñ ham
 dhuān dhār mizh gān
 sitārāh sī ānkhēñ
 jawānī sē shādāb lab bhīgē bhīgē

A sample from Mīrājī’s works [WAV 44k](#)

Definition: fa-‘ū-lun fa-‘ū-lun
 fa-‘ū-lun fa-‘ū-lun fa-‘

yeh sargōshiyān kah rahī haiñ ab āō
 keh barsōñ sē tum kō bulātē bulātē
 merē dil peh gahrī thakan chā rahī hai

The metre used by Rāshid

Sample 1 [WAV 44k](#)

mazāmīr kē zēr-o-bam sē
 voh hangāmah barpā thā
 mahsūs hōtā thā
 ٢ehrān kī ākhirī shab yahī hai

Sample 2 [WAV 44k](#)

jahān zād
 nīcē galī mēn terē dar kē āgē
 yeh main sōkhtah sar ḥasan kūzah gar hūn
 tujhē ṣubah bāzār mēn būrhē ‘attār yūsuf
 kī dukān par main nē dēkhā
 tō tērī nigāhōn mēn voh tābnākī
 thī main jis kī ḥasrat mēn nau sāl diwānah phirtā rahā hūn

The metre used by Majīd Amjad

Definition: fā‘ fa-‘ū-lun fe‘-l fe‘-l fa-‘ū-lun

Sample 1 [WAV 44k](#)

ab aisē mēn kis kis bōjh kō sar sē jhaṭkēn
 dil mēn nēkiyān dahl dahl jāēn aur apnē gun ḍhāras nah banēn

Sample 2 [WAV 44k](#)

mērī bātēn sun kar mujh kō ṭuk ṭuk dēkhnē wālī
 caukōr ānkhōn wālī mīnā
 hān voh qātil achē thē nā ab tujh kō voh din yād ātē hain nā
 ab us wādī kī bhar pūr ghanī sabz fazā mēn ūrnā aur
 yūn rātīb cunnā kitnā mushkil hai
 ab tō ūrnē mēn tērē par dukhtē hain nā!

Sample 3 [WAV 44k](#)

Definition: fe'-lun fe'-lun fe'-lun fa'

fe'-l fa-'ū-lun fe'-lun fa'

jhōnkōñ mēñ ras ghōlē dil

pawan calē aur dōlē dil

The metre used by Jā'far ṬāhirSample 1: sarsī chand [WAV 44k](#)

ḍhaknī sē ik shahr ḍhakā aur ḍhakkā keh jis kā nām

sīs nawāē sūraj rājah rōj karē parnām

Sample 2 [WAV 44k](#)

Definition: fa-'ū-l fe'-lun fa-'ū-l fe'-lun fa-'ū-l fe'-lun fa-'ū-l

fe'-lun fa-'ū-l fe'-lun

fa-'ū-l fe'-lun fa-'ū-l fā' -lun fa-'ū-l fe'-lun fa-'ū-l fe'-lun fa-'ū-l

fe'-lun

sawād-e a'zam kē sīnāh-e sakht par sisaktī huī

siyah bünd dēkhtē hō

isī kō ab dēkhtē rahō

is kī surmāī sarsarāhaṭōñ par nigāh rakhō

The metre used by Wārith Shāh's *Hūr* [WAV 44k](#)

Definition: fe'-lun fā'i fa-'ū-lun fe'-lun fe'-lun

tērī bazm mēñ ānē sē ae jānāñ

ānē wālōñ kē bakht shitāb camkē

The metre used by Mukhtār Ṣiddiqī [WAV 44k](#)

Definition: fā-‘i-lā-tun fe‘-lun

fā-‘i-lā-tun fe‘-lun fe‘-lun fā‘

fā-‘i-lā-tun fe‘-lun fa-‘i-lā-tun fa-‘i-lā-tun

fā-‘i-lā-tun fe‘-lun fa-‘i-lā-tun fa-‘i-lā-tun fe‘-lun fā‘

fā-‘i-lā-tun fe‘-lun fa-‘i-lā-tun fa-‘i-lā-tun fe‘-lun fā‘ fa-‘i-lā-tun

raushnī tēz huī

raushnī tēz huī sham‘ōn kī

raushnī tēz huī sham‘ōn kī fānūsōn kī

raushnī tēz huī sham‘ōn kī fānūsōn kī aur shab kī dulhan

raushnī tēz huī sham‘ōn kī fānūsōn kī aur shab kī dulhan sharmā‘ī

Reference

Muhammad Aslam Ziyā, *‘Ilm-e ‘Arūz aur Urdū Shā‘irī*, Islāmābād:

National Language Authority, 1997.

* Editor’s note: In preparing this chapter, we had many questions regarding transliteration, because short vowels in Urdu are not written in the script and we could not confirm the exact pronunciation of early Urdu. However, for the convenience of scansion, we tentatively transliterated original Urdu script into alphabet with the kind help of Takamitsu Matsumura and Makoto Kitada.

Samples of Hindi metre

Hiroko Nagasaki

short vowel: a, i, u, ṛ.

long vowel: ā, ī, ū, e, ai, o, au.

Abbreviation

Ma-gaṇa: — — —

Na-gaṇa: ∪ ∪ ∪

Bha-gaṇa: — ∪ ∪

Ya-gaṇa: ∪ — —

Ja-gaṇa: ∪ — ∪

Ra-gaṇa: — ∪ —

Sa-gaṇa: ∪ ∪ —

Ta-gaṇa: — — ∪

La: ∪

Ga: -

Mora Metre (Mātrik Chand)

CV:1 mora,

CVX (X is either C or V): 2 morae. ex) ānanda --∪, hī ∪, hiṃ -.

CVC followed by a perfect participle in -yo/yau- is exceptionally ∪.

ex.) kahyo ∪-.

-e- and -o- in pronouns are ◡. ex.) tehi ◡◡, mohi ◡◡.

If it is necessary for rhyming, -e-, -o-, -ai-, -au- can be counted as ◡.
-n- or -m- followed by -h- can be scanned as a single C. ex.)
tumhāre ◡ - -.

-h- following a consonant represents aspiration and not a consonant cluster. Ex.) rachu ◡◡.

As to a compound noun, of which the first syllable of the latter member begins with a consonant cluster, the mora of the final syllable of the first member can be counted in two ways. ex.)
muktiprade - - ◡ - /- ◡◡ - (such as mukti prade).

Devanagari texts do not always distinguish vowel nasality (candrabindu) from a segmental nasal (anusvāra), but in this text they are distinguished for the convenience in scansion. ṁ or ̣ represents vowel nasality and ṁ anusvāra.

Irregular scansions are marked by italic.

Ardhasama (A=C, B=D)

Baravai [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: 12 matras in AC pāda. 7 matras in BD pāda. The end rhyme is Ja-gaṇa.

vāma aṅga śiva śobhita, śivā udāra.

śarada suvārida mem janu, taṛita vihāra.

Dohā [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: 13 matras in AC pāda. 11 matras in BD pāda. Ja-gaṇa is prohibited for the AC pāda. (The end rhyme of AC pāda is Sa-gaṇa or Ra-gaṇa or Na-gaṇa. The end rhyme of BD pāda is Ja-gaṇa or Ta-gaṇa. Ja-gaṇa is prohibited for the head rhyme of AC pāda.)

śrīraghuvara rājīvanayana, ramāramaṇa bhagavāna.
dhanuṣa bāṇa dhāraṇa kiye, basahu su mama ura āna.

Soraṭhā [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: 11 matras in AC pāda. 13 matras in BD pāda. (Ja-gaṇa is prohibited for the head rhyme of BD pāda.)

bhākhyo jākoṃ pīva, bheda na tāsom nākhiye.
jo vaha māge jīva, tanameṃ neku na rākhiye.

Ullāla [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: 15 matras in AC pāda. 13 matras in BD pāda.

kaha kavita kahā bina rucira mati, mati su kahā binahīm virati.
kaha viratiu lāla gupālake, caraṇani hoyā ju prīti ati.

Sama (A=B=C=D)

Tomara [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: 12 matras. The end rhyme is Ga-La.

taba cale bāna karāla. phuṅkarata janu bahu vyāla.
kopyo samara śrīrāma. cala viśikha niśita nikāma.

Sakhī [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: 14 matras. The end rhyme is Ma-gaṇa or Ya-gaṇa.

saba ghara ghara kī brajanārī. dadhi gorasa becanahārī.
mili juttha mato ika kīnhā. jamunātaṭa mārāga līnhā.

Caupāi [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: 15 matras. The end rhyme is Ga-La.

rāma ramāpati tuma mama deva. nahī prabhu hota tumhārī seva.
dīna dayānidhi bheda abheva. mama diśi dekho yaha yaśa leva.

Paddhari [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: 8 + 8 = 16 matras. The end rhyme is La-Ga-La.

śrīkṣṇacanda aravinda naina. dhari adhara bajāvata madhura baina.
gaṇa gvālasaṅga āge sudhaina. banatē braja āvata moda diana.

Caupāī [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: 16 matras. Ja-gaṇa and Ta-gaṇa are prohibited for the end rhyme.

rāmabhajana binu sunahu khageśā. miṭai na jīvanakera kaleśā.
harisevakahiṃ na vyāpa avidhyā. prabhuprerita tihim vyāpa suvidyā.

Śakti [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: 3+3+4+3+5=18 matras. The end rhyme is Sa-gaṇa or Ra-gaṇa or Na-gaṇa. The head rhyme is La.

śivā śambhu ke pāmva paṅkaja gahom.
vināyaka sahāyaka sadā dina cahom.
bhajauṃ rāma ānanda ke kanda ko.
diyā jina hukuma pauna ke nanda ko.

Sumerū [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: 12+7=19 matras. The first, 8th and 15th matras are always La. The end rhyme is preferably Ya-gaṇa.

siyāke nāthako nita sīsa nāvo. padāratha cārahū yahi loka pāvo.
janama yōhī sāro jāta bītā. bhajau re mīta abahūṃ rāma sītā.

Rādhikā [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: 13+9=22 matras.

saba sudhi budhi gai kyom bhūla, ga mati mārī.

māyāko cero bhayo, bhūli asurārī.
 kaṭi jaihairiṃ bhava ke phanda, pāpa nasi jāī.
 mana sadā bhajau śrīkṛṣṇa, rādhikā māī.

Kuṇḍala [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: 12+(6+4)=22 matras. The end rhyme is Ga-Ga.

mere mana rāmanāma, dūsarā na koī.
 santana ḍhiga baiṭhi-baiṭhi loka lāja khoī.
 aba *to* bāta phaila gaī, jānata saba koī.
 āsuvana jala sīñci sīñci premabeli boī.

Rolā [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: 11+13=24 matras. According to one poet the end rhyme is Ga-Ga but this rule is not always observed.

rāma kṛṣṇa govinda bhaje sukha hota ghanero.
 ihām pramoda lahanta anta baikuṇṭha basero.
 mṛgatṛṣṇā se viṣaya tuccha ati bandhana jī ke.
 tāte chāmṛi kusaṅga gaho nita pada harihīke.

Digpāla [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: 12+12=24 matras. The 5th and 17th matras are always La.

harināma eka sāñco, saba jhūṭha hai pasārā.
 māi na bāpa koī, tuva saṅga jānahārā.
 re māna bāta merī, māyāhi tyāgi dījai.
 saba kāma chāmṅi mītā, ika rāmanāma lījai.

Viṣṇupada [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: 16+10=26 matras. End rhyme is Ga.

kimi prabhu kahauṁ sahasa surapatise, sigare dṛṣṭi parai.
 dāsa śeṣa sata sahasa yoga kaha, abako kahata ḍarai.
 kahyo likhyo cāhai anadekhe, tū nija ora takai.
 hai yaha sahasa hajāra viṣṇupada, mahimā likhi na sakai.

Gītikā [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: 14+12=26 matras. The end rhyme is La-Ga. The 3rd, the 10th, the 17th, and the 24th matras are always La.

rahata jinake prema ghere, dhanya brajavāsī sabai.
 brahma eka anīha avigata, gharana ghara jinake phabai.
 dhanya śrīvasudeva devaki, putra kari nija pāiyo.
 dhanya yaśumati nanda jina paya, pyāya goda khilāiyo.

Sarasī [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: 16+11=27 matras. The end rhyme is Ga-La. Another name of this chand is Sumandara.

mopara kṛpā karahu aba svāmī, antarajāmī āpa.
 aiso hī mana mähī bicāro, kāṭo mere pāpa.
 tuma bina āna dṛṣṭi nahī āvai, kījai jāko jāpa.
 tumahī batāo dhyāūm jāko, jo jāre mama tāpa.

Sāra [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: 16+12=28 matras. The end rhyme is Ga-Ga.

ura abhirāma rāma aru lachimana, madhura manohara jorī.
 vāraūm sakala viśva kī śobhā, jo kachu kahaūm suthorī.
 pīta cautanī dhare sīsa pai, pītāmbara mana māno.
 pīta yajña upavīta virājai, mano basantī bāno.

Harigītikā [WAV 11k](#) [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: 16+12=28 matras. The end rhyme is La-Ga. The 5th, 12th, 19th and 26th meters are always La.

ye dārikā paricārikā kari, pālivī karuṇāmayī.
 aparādha chamiyo boli pathaye, bahuta haum dīṭhī daī.
 puni bhānukulabhūṣaṇa sakala sanamāna vidhi samadhī kiye.
 kahi jāta nahī vinatī paraspara, prema paripūraṇa hiye.

Caupaiyā [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: 10+8+12=30 matras. The end rhyme is Ga but is preferably Sa-gaṇa + Ga.

bhe praḡaṭa kṛpālā, dīnadayālā, kauśilyā hitakārī.
 harṣita mahatārī, munimanahārī, adbhuta rūpa nihārī.
 locana abhirāmā, tanughanaśyāmā, nija āyudha bhuja cārī.
 bhūṣaṇa banamālā, nayana viśālā, śobhāsindhu kharārī.

Tāṭaṅka WAV 11k

Definition: 16+14=30 matras. The end rhyme is Ma-gaṇa.

dīnadayāla kṛpāla suno hari, dīnānātha kaṃsārī.
 pūrana pāvana dāsa udhārana, mādhava yādava autārī.
 muṣṭika mārana vipadā ṭarana, kabjā dāsī ko tārī.
 maim aghabhāgī tuma janapāgī, tāro merī hai bārī.

Śokahara/Śubhaṅgī WAV 11k

Definition: 8+8+8+6=30 matras. The end rhyme is Ga.

maim bahu dīnā, saba guṇahīnā, kariya adhīnā nija caraṇā.
 mama mati bhorī kahaurī bahorī, laghu mama orī jagatarāṇā.
 kleśa nasaiye, muhī apanaiye, aba na ghinaiye bhaya harāṇā.
 namāmi śaṅkara, namāmi śaṅkara, namāmi śaṅkara, tava śaraṇā.

Bīra WAV 11k

Definition: 8+8+15=31 matras. The end rhyme is Ga-La.

Sumiri bhavānī jagadambākā, śrīśāradā ke carana manāya.
 ādi sarasvati tumakā dhyāvauṃ, mātā kaṇṭha virājau āya.

joti bakhānau jagadambā ke, jīnakī kalā varani nā jāya.
 śaradacanda sama ānana rājai, atichabi aṅga aṅga rahi chāya.

Tribhaṅgī [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: 10+8+8+6=32 matras. Ja-gaṇa is prohibited. The end rhyme is Ga.

surakāja sāvārana adhamaudhārana, daityavidārana, ṭeka dhare.
 pragate gokula mem, hari china china mem, nanda hiye mem, moda bhare.
 dhina tāka dhinādhina, tāka dhinādhina, tāja dhinādhina tāka dhinā.
 nācata jasudāko, lakhi mana chāko, tajata na tāko, eka chinā.

Durmila [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: 10+8+14=32 matras. The end rhyme is Sa-gaṇa+Ga+Ga. Ja-gaṇa is prohibited for the end rhyme.

jai jaya raghunandana, asura vihaṃḍana, kulamaṃḍana yaśa ke dhārī.
 janamanasukhakārī, vipinavihārī, nārī *ahilyā*hi so tārī.
 śaranāgata āyo, tāhi bacāyo, rāja bibhīṣana ko dīnom.
 daśakandhavidārī, pantha sudhārī, kāja surana jana ko kīnom.

Kharārī [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: 8+6+8+10=32 matras. There is no rule for the end rhyme.

śrīśaṅkara dina, rāta japai, dhyāna lagāī, saba kāma vihāī.
 svai nāma japo, mitta sadā, citta lagāī, cāhau ju bhalāī.

saba pāpanako, jāro bhava, sindhu taraure, sikha mori gaho re.
śrīrāma bhajau, rāma bhajau, rāma bhajau re, śrīrāma bhajau re.

Karakhā [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: 8+12+8+9=37 matras. The end rhyme is Ya-gaṇa.

namo narasiṃha, balavanta narasiṃha prabhu, santahita kāja,
 avatāra dhāro.
khambhate nikasi, bhū hiranakaśyapa paṭaka, jhaṭaka dai
 nakhanasom̐ ura vidāro.
brahma rudrādi, sira nāya jaya jaya kahata,
 bhakta prahlādako goda līno.
prītisom̐ cāṭi, dai rājasukha sāja saba, nārāyaṇa dāsako
 abhaya dīno.

Jhūlanā [WAV 11k](#)

Definiton: 10+10+10+7=37 matras. The end rhyme is Ya-gaṇa.

jaiti himabālikā, asurakulaghālikā, kālikā mālikā surasa hetū.
chamukha herambakī, amba jagadambike, prāṇa priyavallabhā,
 vṛṣabha ketū.
siddhi aura ṛddhisukha, khāni dhana dhānyakī,
 dāni śubhagāṅganā sutaniketū.
bhukti muktiprade, vāṇimahārānī, praṇata īśvarī kahā śaraṇa de tū.

Madanahara [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: $10+8+14+8=40$ matras. The head rhyme is La and the end rhyme is Ga.

sakhi lakhi yadurāi, chabi adhikāi, bhāga bhalāi jāna parai,
 phala sukṛti karai.
 atikānti sadana mukha, hotahi sanmukha,
 dāsa hiye sukha bhūri bharaī, dukha dūri karai.
 chabi morapakhanakī, pīta vasanakī, cāru bhujanakī citta arai,
 sudhi budhi bisarai.
 nava nīla kalevara, sajala bhuvanadhara,
 vara indīvara chavi nidarai, mada madana harai.

Vijayā [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: $10+10+10+10=40$ matras. The end rhyme is Ra-gaṇa.

sita kamalavaṃśasī, śītakara aṃśasī, vimala vidhihaṃsasī,
 hīravana hārasī.
 satyagaṇa satvasī, śāntarasa tatvasī, jñānagauratvasī,
 siddhivistārasī.
 kundasī kāsasī, bhāratīvāsasī, kalpataruḍārasī, sudhārasasārasī.
 gaṅgajaladhārasī, rajatake tārasī, kīrti tava vijayakī,
 śambhuāgārasī.

Haripriyā [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: $12+12+12+10=36$ matras. The end rhyme is Ga.

sohane kṛpānidhāna, devadeva rāmacandra,
 bhūmiputrikā sameta devacitta mohaim.
 māno surataru sameta, kalpaveli chabiniketa,
 śobhā śṛṅgāra kidhaum rūpa dhare sohaim.
 lachamīpata lachamīyuta, devīyuta īśa kidhaum
 chāyāyuta paramaīśa, cāruveṣa rākhaim.
 vandaum jagamāta tāta, caraṇa jugula nīrajāta,
 jāko sura siddha vidya munijana abhilākhaim.

Viṣama (A≠B≠C≠D)

Kuṇḍaliyā [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Dohā + Rolā = 6 pādas. 24 × 6 pāda = 144 matras. The head of the first pāda and the end of the last pāda is same.

lāṭhī mem guṇa bahuta hai sadā rākhiye saṅga.
 gahirau nada nārau parai turata bacāvai aṅga.
 turata bacāvai aṅga jhapati kuttā ko māre.
 duśmana dāvā vīra hove tā hūko jhāre.
 kaha giradhara kavi rāya sunāho dhura ke vāthī.
 yā mai guṇa hai bahuta sadā saṅga rakhiye lāṭhī.

Amṛtadhvani

Definition: 24 × 6 pāda = 144 matras of which first two lines are Dohā. The Pun of 8 matras with staccato rhythm is repeated three times. Vīra-rasa is employed.

prati bhāṭa udbhāṭa bikāṭa jahā larata laccha para laccha.
 śrī jatateśa nareśa tahā acchacchabi parataccha.
 acchacchavi paratacchacchaṭani bipacchacchaya kari.
 svacchacchiti ati kitti sthira suamittimbhaya hari.
 ujjhijjhahari samujjhijjhahari virujjhijjhaṭapaṭa.
 kuppappagaṭa su suppappagani vilupyappratibhāṭa.

Chappaya

Definition: Rolā + ullalā (26 or 28 matras) = 6 pādas. According to the order of Laghu Guru there are 71 variations of this chand.

ajaya vijaya bala karṇa bīra betāla bihaṅkara.
 markaṭa hari hara brahma indra candana ju śubhaṅkara.
 śvāna siṃha śārdūla kaccha kokila khara kuṅjara.
 madana matsya tāṭaṅka śeṣa sāraṅga payodhara.
 śubha kamala kanda vāraṇa śalabha bhavana ajaṅgama sara sarasa.
 gaṇi samara su sārasa meru kahi makara alī siddhihi sarasa.

Syllabic Metre (Vārṇik Chand)

Sama

Pramāṇikā (8 syllables in each pāda)

Definition: Ja-Ra-La-Ga (◡-◡ -◡- ◡-)

namāmi bhaktavatsalaṃ. kṛpālu śīlakomalaṃ
bhajāmi te padāmbujaṃ. akāmināṃ svadhāmadam.

Vidyunmālā WAV 11k

Definition: Ma-Ma-Ga-Ga (--- --- --)

mome gaṅgā thārī bhaktī. bāṛhai aisī dījai śaktī.
thārī vārī vīcījalā. dekhai lājai vidyunmālā.

Śloka Anuṣṭup WAV 11k

Definition: the 5th syllable is light and the 6th syllable is heavy in all pādas. The 7th syllable is light in the BD pādas.

varṇānāmarthasaṅghānāṃ, rasānāṃ chandasāmapi.
maṅgalānāṃ ca kartārau, vande vāṇīvināyakau.

Maṇimadhya (9 syllables in each pāda) WAV 11k

Definition: Bha-Ma-Sa (-~ ~ --- ~-)

bhānu supūjā kāraja jū. prāta gaī sītā sarajū.
kaṅṭhamaṇī madhye sujalā. ṭūṭa parī khojaim abalā.

Campakamālā (10 syllables in each pāda) WAV 11k

Definition: Bha-Ma-Sa-Ga (-~ ~ --- ~- -)

bhūmi sagī nā māna vṛthāhīm. kṛṣṇa sago hai yā jagamāhīm.
tāhi rijhaiye jyom brajabālā. ḍāri gale mem campakamālā.

Sāravatī

Definition: Bha-Bha-Bha-Ga (-ॐ -ॐ -ॐ -) [WAV 11k](#)

bhāmi bhagī rāga ḍāri kahām. yom hari pūmchata jāi tahām.
dhāi dharī vaha gopalalī. sāravatī phaguvāi bhalī.

Kīrti

Definition: Sa-Sa-Sa-Ga (ॐ- ॐ- ॐ- -) [WAV 11k](#)

sasisom̐ guniye mukha rādhā. sakhi sāmcahi āvata bādḥā.
śāśi hai sakalaṅka kharorī. akalaṅkita kīrtikiśorī.

Indravajrā (11 syllables in each pāda) [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: ta-ta-ja-ga-ga (-ॐ -ॐ ॐ- -)

goṣṭe giriṃ savyakareṇa dhṛtvā. ruṣṭendravajrāhati muktavṛṣṭau.
yo gokulaṃ gopakulaṃ ca susthaṃ.cakre sa no rakṣa tu cakrapāṇiḥ.

Upendravajrā [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Ja-Ta-Ja-Ga-Ga (ॐ- -ॐ ॐ- -)

tvameva mātā ca pitā tvameva. tvameva bandhuśca sakhā tvameva.
tvameva vidyā draviṇa tvameva. tvameva sarva mama devadeva.

Rathoddhatā [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Ra-Na-Ra-La-Ga (-ॐ ॐ- -ॐ ॐ-)

Kausalendrapadakañjamañjulī. komalāmbujamaheśavanditau.
jānakī kara saroja lālitau. cintakasya manabhṛṅgasaṅginau.

Anukūlā [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Bha-Ta-Na-Ga-Ga (- 00 - 00 00 --)

bhīti na gaṅgā jaga tuva dāyā. sevata tohīm mana vaca kāyā.
nāsahu vegī mama bhavaśūlā. hau tuma mātā jana-anukūlā.

Dodhaka [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Bha-Bha-Bha-Ga-Ga (- 00 - 00 - 00 --)

deva sadodhakadambatalastha, śrīdhara. tāvakanāmapadaṃ me.
kaṅṭhatale suvinirgamakāle. svalpamapikṣaṇameṣyati yogam.

Svāgatā [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Ra-Na-Bha-Ga-Ga (- 00 - 00 - 00 --)

rāni bhogī gahi nātha kāhāī. sātha gopajana āvata dhāī.
svāgatārtha suni ātura mātā. dhāī dekhi muda sundara gātā.

Bhujāṅgī [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Ya-Ya-Ya-La-Ga (0-- 0-- 0-- 0-)

yacau anta mem gāna kai śaṅkarā. satīnātha som nānukampākarā.
kareṃge kṛpā śīghra gaṅgādhara. bhujāṅgī kapālī trīśūlādhara.

Vaṃśasthaviḷam [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Ja-Ta-Ja-Ra (ॐ-ॐ --ॐ ॐ-ॐ --ॐ)

prasannatāṃ yā na gatābhiṣekatas. tathā na mamle
vanavāsaduḥkhataḥ.

mukhāmbujaṃ śrī raghunandanasya me. sadāstu sā
mañjulamaṅgalapradā.

Toṭaka [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Sa-Sa-Sa-Sa (ॐ- ॐ- ॐ- ॐ-)

jaya rāma sadā sukhadhāma hare. raghunāyaka sāyaka cāpadhare.
bhavavāraṇa dāruṇa siṃha prabho. guṇasāgara nāgara nāyavibho.

Sragviṇī [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Ra-Ra-Ra-Ra (ॐ- ॐ- ॐ- ॐ-)

rāra rī rādhikā śyāma som kyom karai. sīkha mom māna le māna
kāhe dharai.

citta mem sundarī krodha nā āniye. sragviṇī mūrti ko kṛṣṇa ko
dhāriye.

Bhujaṅgaprayāta [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Ya-Ya-Ya-Ya (ॐ- ॐ- ॐ- ॐ-)

namāmīśamīśānanirvāṇarūpaṃ. vibhuṃ vyāpakaṃ
brahmavedasvarūpaṃ.
ajaṃ nirguṇaṃ nirvikalpaṃ nirīhaṃ. Vidākāśavāsaṃ bhajeḥaṃ.

Sundarī /Drutavilāṃvita [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Na-Bha-Bha-Ra (◡◡ ◡◡ ◡◡ ◡◡)

nabha bharī bidhu mosana āgarī. sukhaprabhā bahubhūṣita nāgarī.
bhaja na jo sakhi bālamukunda rī. jaga na sohata yadyapi sundarī.

Kusumavicitrā [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Na-Ya-Na-Ya (◡◡ ◡-- ◡◡ ◡--)

nayana yahī tem tuma badanāmā. harichabi dekho kina vasu jāmā.
anuja sametā janakadulārī. kusumavicitrā kara phulavārī.

Mālatī [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Na-Ja-Ja-Ra (◡◡ ◡◡ ◡◡ ◡◡)

nija jara āphuhi mūrha kāṭahīm. vimukha prabhū rahi janma
nāśahīm.
adhara amī cakha kuñja rājatī. kahi kahi lāgata chanda mālatī.

Modaka [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Bha-Bha-Bha-Bha (◡◡ ◡◡ ◡◡ ◡◡)

bhā cahu pāra ju bhonidhi rāvana. tau gahu rāmapadai ati pāvana.
āya gharai prabhulai caraṇodaka. bhūkha bhagai na bhakhe manamodaka.

Navamālinī [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Na-Ja-Bha-Ya (○○○ ○-○ -○○ ○--)

nija bhaya chāmṛi cīnha hanu lījai. ahi mahinātha āju bali dījai.
kimi hanu to praveśa ihī kālā. prabhu navamālinī sumanamālā.

Candrikā [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Na-Na-Ta-Ta-Ga (○○○ ○○○ --○ --○ -)

na nita tagi kahūm ānako dhāva re. bhajahu hara gharī rāmako bāvare.
lakhana juta bhajo mātu sītā satī. vadana duti lakhi candrikā lājatī.

Kanda [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Ya-Ya-Ya-Ya-La (○-- ○-- ○-- ○-- ○)

yacaum lāikai citta ānandakandāhī. subhaktī nijā nātha dījai
anāthahī.

hare rāma! he rāma! he rāma! he rāma! basau mohiye nityake
āpano dhāma.

Rāga [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Ra-Ja-Ra-Ja-Ga (-○- ○-○ -○- ○-○ -)

re jarā jagau na nīnda gāṛha sou re. pāya deha mānuṣī na janma khou re.
hvai ananda rāga jāsu mukti pāu re. rāma rāma rāma rāma rāma gāu re.

Vasantatilakā [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Ta-Bha-Ja-Ja-Ga-Ga (--- -u -u -u -u --)

nānāpurāṇanigamāgamasammatam yadrāmāyaṇe nigaditam
kvacidanyato'pi.
svāntassukhāya tulasī raghunāthagātham
bhāshānibandhamatimañjulamātanoti.

Vāsantī [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Ma-Ta-Na-Ma-Ga-Ga (--- -u -u -u --)

mātā! nau maim gaṅga! caraṇa tore traikālā.
nāsau vegī duḥkha vipula aurau jañjālā.
jāke tīrā rāma pahira bhurjākī chālā.
bhūkanyāko deta sumana vāsantī mālā.

Induvadatā [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Bha-Ja-Sa-Na-Ga-Ga (-u -u -u -u --)

bhauji! sunu gāgari na paihahu utārī. bandhu mama nāma jaba tāi
na ucārī.
induvadana vadata jāu balihārī. jāna muhi de gharahi satvara
bihārī.

Ananda [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Ja-Ra-Ja-Ra-La-Ga (ॐ-ॐ -ॐ- ॐ-ॐ -ॐ- ॐ-)

jarā jarā lagāya citta mitta nittahīm.
 siyāpatī bhajau ajau vicāra hittahīm.
 manai lagā satai na jhāmṛi gā sabai gharī.
 sadā lahau ananda vandi pāda śrīharī.

Mālinī [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Na-Na-Ma-Ya-Ya (ॐॐ ॐॐ --- ॐ--- ॐ---)

atulitabaladhāmaṃ svarṇasailābhadehaṃ. danujavanakṛsānuṃ
 jñānināmagraṇyaṃ.
 sakalaguṇanidhānaṃ vānarāṇāmadhīśaṃ. raghupati varadūtaṃ
 vātajātaṃ namāmi.

Cāmara [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Ra-Ja-Ra-Ja-Ra (-ॐ- ॐ-ॐ -ॐ- ॐ-ॐ -ॐ-)

roja roja rādhikā sakhīna saṅga āikai.
 khela rāsa kāmha saṅga citta harṣa lāikai.
 vāmsurī samāna bola sapta gvāla gāikai.
 kṛṣṇahī rijhāvahīm sucāmarai ḍulāikai.

Sītā [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Ra-Ta-Ma-Ya-Ra (-ॐ- --- --- ॐ--- ---)

re tu m̄yā rañcahūm jānī na sītārāmakī.
 hāya kyom̄ bhūlo phirai nā sīkha merī kāna kī.
 janma bītā jagāta mītā anta rītā bāvare.
 rāma sītā rāma sītā rāma sītā gāvare.

Cañcalā [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Ra-Ja-Ra-Ja-Ra-La (-u- u-u -u- u-u -u- u)

rī jarā jurī lakho kahām gayo hamem̄ bihāya.
 kuñja bīca mohī tīya gvāla bāmsurī bajāya.
 dekhi gopikā kahaim̄ parī ju tūṭi puṣpamāla.
 cañcalā sakhī gaī livāya āju nandalāla.

Pañcacāmara [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Ja-Ra-Ja-Ra-Ja-Ga (u-u -u- u-u -u- u-u -)

ju roja roja gopa tīya kṛṣṇa saṅga dhāvātīm.
 sugīta nātha pāmvasom̄ lagāya citta gāvātīm.
 kabaum̄ khavāya ḍūdha au dahī harī rijhāvātīm.
 sudhanya chāmṛi lāja pañca cāmarai ḍulāvātīm.

Another sample:

jaṭāṭavīgalajjalpravāhapāvitasthale, gale'valam̄vya lambitām
 bhujāṅgatuṅgamālikām.
 ḍamaḍḍamaḍḍamaḍḍamanninādavaḍḍamarvayaṃ, cakāra
 caṅḍatāṅḍavaṃ tanotu naḥ śivaḥ śivam.

Acaladhṛti [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Na-Na-Na-Na-Na-La (~~~~~)

na śivavadana lakhi ḍara himagiripura.
 nara aru yuvati acala dhṛti jihī phura.
 nirakhi bhayada chabi śiva pura baṭu kaha
 dhana dhana vara lakhi nija vapu jiu raha.

Śikharanī [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Ya-Ma-Na-Sa-Bha-La-Ga (--- ~~~ ~~~ ~~~ ~~~)

kie jāne se bhī, phira phira sadā praśna tumase.
 nahīm hote jī meṁ, kupita tuma he grantha, hamase.
 tathā śikṣā dete, tuma nita binā tāṛana hamerṁ.
 ataḥ ho kyom pyāre, phira tuma hamāre na jaga meṁ.

Another sample:

yamī nā so bholā, gunata ju piye moha madirā.
 mahāpāpī pāveṁ, adhama gati jānau śrutigirā.
 yamī ko śambhūso, jina madana jītyo bhaṭa mahā.
 jabai kīnhaim dhyānā, giriśikhara nīke vaṭa chahām.

Mandākrāntā [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Ma-Bha-Na-Ta-Ta-Ga-Ga (--- ~~~ ~~~ ~~~ ~~~)

tāre ḍūbe, tama ṭala gayā, chā gaī vyoma-lālī.
 pañchī bole, tamacura jage, jyoti phailī diśā meri.
 śākhā ḍolī, sakala-taru kī, kañja phūle sarom meri.
 dhīre-dhīre, dinakara kaṛhe, tāmasī rāta bītī.

Cañcarī [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Ra-Sa-Ja-Ja-Bha-Ra (-u- u- u- u- u- u- -u-)

rī sajai ju bharī harī guṇa se rahai nita vāṇi tū.
 au sadā lahamāna santasamājameri jagamāhī tū.
 bhūlike ju bisāri rāmahī ānako guṇa gāihai.
 campakai sama nā harījana, cañcarī mana bhāi hai.

Śārdūlavikrīḍita [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Ma-Sa-Ja-Sa-Ta-Ta-Ga (--- u- u- u- u- --- -u- -)

mūlaṃ dharmatarorvivekajaladhau, pūrṇendumānandadaṃ.
 vairāgyāmbujabhāskaraṃ aghaharaṃ dhvāntāpahaṃ tāpahaṃ.
 mohāmbhodharapuñjapāṭanavidhau svaḥsambhavaṃ śaṅkaram.
 vande brahmakulaṃ kalaṃkaśamanaṃ śrīrāma bhūpapriyam.

Another sample:

prātaḥkāla apūrva yāna māgavā, au sātha le sārathī.
 ūdho gokula ko cale sadaya ho, snehāmbu se bhīgate.
 ve āe jisa kāla kānta vraja meri, dekhā mahā mugdha ho.
 śrīvṇḍāvana kī manojña madhurā, śyāmāyamānā mahī. [WAV](#)

[11k](#)

Gītikā [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Sa-Ja-Ja-Bha-Ra-Sa-La-Ga (◡- ◡◡ ◡◡ ◡◡ ◡◡ ◡◡
◡-)

saja jībha rī! su lagai muhīm suna mo kahā cita lāyake.
naya kāla lakṣmaṇa jānakī saha rāmako nita gāyake.
pada! mo śarīrahī rāmako śuci dhāmako laya dhāvahū.
kara bīna lai ati dīna hvai nita gīti kāna sunāvahū.

Sragdharā [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Ma-Ra-Bha-Na-Ya-Ya-Ya (--- ◡- ◡◡ ◡◡ ◡◡ ◡◡ ◡◡
--)

rāmaṃ kāmārisevyaṃ bhavabhayaharaṇaṃ kālamattebhasiṃhaṃ.
yogīndraṃ jñānagamyāṃ guṇanidhimajitaṃ nirguṇaṃ nirvikāraṃ.
māyātītaṃ sureśaṃ khalavadhanirataṃ brahmaṃdraikadevaṃ.
vande kundāvadātaṃ sarasijanayanaṃ devamurvīśarūpaṃ.

Ahi [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Bha-Bha-Bha-Bha-Bha-Bha-Ma (◡◡ ◡◡ ◡◡ ◡◡ ◡◡
◡◡ ---)

bhora samaim hari genda ju khelata saṅgu sakhā yamunā tīrā.
genda girī yamunā daha mem jhaṭa kūdi pare dharike dhīrā.

gvāla pukāra karī taba rovata nanda yaśomati hū dhāye.
dāu rahe samajhāya itai ahi nāthi utai dahateṁ āye.

Savaiyā of Vārṇika Sama

Madirā [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Bha-Bha-Bha-Bha-Bha-Bha-Ga (- - - - -
- - - - -)

sindhu taryo unako banarā tuma pai dhanu-rekha gaī na tarī.
bāmdhara bāmdhata so na bādhyo una bāridhi bāmdhi *kai* bāṭa karī.
śrīraghunātha-pratāpa *kī* bāta *tumhaim* dasakaṅṭha na jāni parī.
telahu tūlahu pūmchi jarī na jarī jari laṅka jarāya-rajī.

Cakora [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Bha-Bha-Bha-Bha-Bha-Bha-Ga-La (- - - - -
- - - - -)

bhāsata gvāla sakhī ganameṁ hari rājata tāranameṁ jimi canda.
nitya nayo raci rāsa mudā brajameṁ hari khelata ānādakanda.
yā chabikāja bhaye brajavāsi cakora punīta lakheṁ nādanandana.
dhanya vahī nara nāri sarāhata yā chabi kāṭata jo bhavaphanda.

Mattagayanda [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Bha-Bha-Bha-Bha-Bha-Bha-Ga-Ga (- - - - -
- - - - -)

bhāsata saṅga na to sama āna kahūm jagameṁ mama pāpa haraiyā.
 baiṭhi rahe manu deva sabai, taji topara tārana bhārahī maiyā.
 yā kali meṁ ika tūhi sadā janakī bhavapāra lagāvati naiyā.
 hai tu arī! jaga keharisī agha mattagayandahi nāsa karaiyā.

Another sample:

motina kaisi manohara māla guhai tuka acchara jori banāvai.
 prema *ko* pantha kathā hari nāma ki bāta anūḥī banāi sunāvai.
 ṭhākura so kabi bhāvata mohī *jo* rājasabhā *meṁ* baṛappana pāvai.
 paṇḍita aura prabīnana ko *joi* citta harai so kabitta
 kahāvai. [WAV 11k](#)

Sumukhī [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Ja-Ja-Ja-Ja-Ja-Ja-La-Ga (ॐ-ॐ ॐ-ॐ ॐ-ॐ ॐ-ॐ ॐ-ॐ ॐ-ॐ
 ॐ-ॐ ॐ-)

ju loka lagaim siyarāmahi sātha calaim vanamāhī phiraim na cahaim.
 hamaim prabhu āyasu dehu calaim, raure sāga yom kara jori kahaim.
 calaim kachu dūri namaim paga dhūri, bhale phala janma aneka lahairim.
 siyā sumukhī hari pheri tihem, bahu bhāntinate samujhāi kahaim.

Gaṅgodaka [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Ra-Ra-Ra-Ra-Ra-Ra-Ra-Ra (ॐ-ॐ ॐ-ॐ ॐ-ॐ ॐ-ॐ ॐ-ॐ ॐ-ॐ ॐ-ॐ
 ॐ-)

re basaum dhāikai anta kāsīhi ke, dhāma niścitta gaṅgodakai
pānakai.

koṭi bādhaiṃ kaṭaiṃ pāpa sāre ghaṭaiṃ, śambhu śambhū raṭaiṃ
nātha jo mānakai.

janma bītā sabai ceta mītā abai, kījiye kā tabai kāla le ānakai.

muṇḍamālā garai sīsa gaṅgā dharai āṭha yāmai harai dhyāya le
gānakai.

Kirīṭa [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Bha-Bha-Bha-Bha-Bha-Bha-Bha (— — — — —
— — — — —)

Bāli balī na bacyau para-khorahi kyom bacihau tuma āpani
khorahi.

jā lagi chīra-samudra mathyo kahi kaise na bāṅghihai bāridhi
thorahi.

śrīraghunātha ganau asamartha na dekhi binā ratha hāthina
ghorahi.

thoryo sarāsana saṅkara ko jehi so'ba kahā tuva laṅka na torahi.

Muktaharā [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Ja-Ja-Ja-Ja-Ja-Ja-Ja (— — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
— —)

ju āṭhahū yāma bhajaiṃ śiva ko nita chāmṛi sabai chalachidra
sujāna.

suhaiṃ dhana yā jagamāhī lahaiṃ phala janma liye kara santa

samāna.

prasanna sadā śiva hoṃ turataim janapai saba bhāṣata veda
purāna.

karaim nita bhaktana ko bhava mukta haraim janake saba kleśa
mahāna.

Durmila [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Sa-Sa-Sa-Sa-Sa-Sa-Sa (◡- ◡- ◡- ◡- ◡- ◡- ◡-
◡- ◡-)

tana kī duti syāma-saroruha-locana kañja *kī* mañjulatāi haraim.

ati sundara sohata dhūri bhare, chabi bhūri anaṅga *kī* dūri dharaim.

damakaim datiyām duti-dāmini jyom, kilakaim kala bāla-binoda karaim.

avadhesa *ke* bālaka cāri sadā, tulasī-mana-mandira meri biharaim.

Vāma [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Ja-Ja-Ja-Ja-Ja-Ja-Ya (◡-◡ ◡-◡ ◡-◡ ◡-◡ ◡-◡ ◡-◡ ◡-◡
◡-)

[◡]antaradhyāna birodha bhayo, hiya sānta subhāya *ne* raṅga
jamāyo.

[◡]aiṅṭha na jānai gaī kita koṃ, aru namratā ne ati mohi navāyo.

[◡]darsana soṃ inake jhaṭa hī, yaha jāni parai basa kāu *ke* āyo.

[◡]sāñcu hi tīratha ko *so* prabhāva anūpama aisenu meri
biramāyo

Ābhāra [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Ta-Ta-Ta-Ta-Ta-Ta-Ta-Ta (--- -- -- -- -- -- --
--)

tū aṣṭa jāme japai rāmako nāma se śiṣya! de tyāgi sāre vṛthā kāma.
terī phalai kāmanā hīyakī au binā dāma tū anta pāve harīdhāma.
bolyo tabai śiṣya ābhāra tero gurū jī na bhūlom japauri āṭhahū yāma.
śrīrāma śrīrāma śrīrāma śrīrāma śrīrāma śrīrāma śrīrāma śrīrāma.

Arasāta [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Bha-Bha-Bha-Bha-Bha-Bha-Bha-Ra (--- -- -- -- --
-- -- -- --)

lāja dharau sivajū *som* larau saba saiyada sekha paṭhāna paṭhāya kai.
bhūṣaṇa hyām gaṛha-koṭana hāre, uhām tuma kyoṛi maṭha tore risāya kai.
hinduna ke pati som na bisāta satāvata hindu gaṛivana pāya kai.
lījai kalaṅka na dilli *ke* bālama ālama ālamagīra kahāya kai.

Sundarī / Mallī / Sukhadānī

Definition: Sa-Sa-Sa-Sa-Sa-Sa-Sa-Ga (--- -- -- -- -- -- --
-- -- -- --)

sabasom gahi pāni mile raghunandana, bheṅṅi kiyo sabako sukhabhāgī.
jabahīm prabhu pānva dharo nagaro mahā, tā chinateri vipadā saba bhāgī.
lakhi kai vidhu pūraṇa ānana mātu, lahyo muda jaum mṛta sovata jāgī.
tihī ausarakī hara sundari-mūrati, rākhi japairi hiya meṃ anurāgī.

Sukha

Definition: Sa-Sa-Sa-Sa-Sa-Sa-Sa-Sa-La-La (ㄨ- ㄨ- ㄨ- ㄨ- ㄨ
ㄨ- ㄨ- ㄨ- ㄨ- ㄨ)

sabasoṃ laluvā milike rahiye mama jīvana mūri! suno manamohana.
imi bodhi khavāya pivāya sakhā sāga jāhu kahaiṃ lalanā! bana johana.
dhari mātu rajāyasu śīsa harī nita yāmuna kaccha phiraiṃ saha gopana.
ihī bhānti harī yasudā upadeśahī bhāṣata neha lahaiṃ sukhasodha na.

Aśokapuṣpamañjarī [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: The number of Syllables is more than 28 which is the same in all pādas. The repetition of Ga-La is required.

satya dharma nitya dhāri vyartha kāma sarba ḍāri bhūlikai karau
kadā na nindya kāma.
dharma artha kāma mokṣa prāpta hohī mīta tohi satya satya anta
pāo rāmadhāma.
janma bāra bāra mānuṣī na pāiye japau lagāya citta aṣṭa yāma
satya nāma.
rāma rāma rāma rāma rāma rāma rāma rāma rāma rāma rāma
rāma rāma rāma rāma.

Anaṅgaśekhara or Dvivarācikā or Mahānārāca

[WAV 11k](#)

Definition: The repetition of La-Ga is required.

garajji siṃha bādaloṃ nināda meghanāda vīra, kruddhamāna
sānasoṃ kṛśānubāna chaṇḍiyaṃ.

lakhī apāra tejadhāra lakkhanau kumāra vāri, bānasom apāra
dhāra varṣi jvāla khaṇḍiyaṃ.

uṛāya meghamālako utāla racchapāla bāla, paunavāna atra ghāla
kīśajāla daṇḍiyaṃ.

bhayo na hota hoyago na jyom amāna indrajīta, rāmacandra
bandhu so karāla yuddha maṇḍiyaṃ.

Daṇḍaka of Syllabic Metre (Vārṇika Chand) (Muktaka)

Manahara or Kavitta or Ghanākṣarī [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: 16+15=31 syllables. The final syllables of each pāda are Ga.

ānanda ke kanda jaga jyāvana jagata vanda, daśarathananda ke
nibāheī nibahiye.

kahaim padamākara pavitrapana pālibeko, cora cakrapāṇike
caritranako cahiye.

avadhavihārīke vinodana mem bīdhi bīdhi, gīdha guha gīdheke
guṇānuvāda gahiye.

raina dina āṭhom jāma rāma rāma rāma rāma, sītārāma sītārāma
sītārāma kahiye.

Rūpaghanākṣarī [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: 16+16=32 syllables. The final syllable of each pāda is La.

prabhu-rukha pāi kai bolāi bāla-gharinihi, bandi kai carana
cahūm disi baiṭhe gheri-gheri.

choṭo-so kaṭhautā bhari āni pāni gaṅgājū ko dhoi pāmya pīyata
punīta bāri pheri-pheri.

tulasī sarāhaim tāko bhāga sānurāga sura, baraṣaim sumana
jaya-jaya kahaim ṭeri-ṭeri.

bibudha-saneha-sānī bānī asayānī suni, haṃse rādho
jānakī-lakhana-tana heri-heri.

Jalaharṇa [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: 8+8+9+7=32 syllables. The end of pāda is La-La.

bharata sadāhī pūje pādukā utai sanema, itai rāma sīya bandhu
sahita sidhāre bana.

sūpanakhākai kurūpa māre khala jhuṇḍa ghane, harī dasa sīsa sītā
rāghava vikalamana.

mile hanumāna tyom sukaṅṭhaso mitāi ṭhāni, bāli hati dīnhoṃ
rāja sugrīvahiṃ jāni jana.

rashikavihārī kesarī kumārasindhu nāṅghi, laṅka jāri siya sudhi
lāyo moda bārḥo tana.

Kṛpāṇa or Kirapāna [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: 8+8+8+8=32 syllables. The end of pāda is Ga-La.

calī hvai kai vikarāla, mahākālahūkī kāla, kiye doū dṛga lāla,
dhāi rana samuhāna.

jahām krudha hvai mahāna, yuddha kari ghamasāna, lotha

lothapai ladāna, taṛapī jyom taṛitāna.
jahām jvāla koṭi bhāna, ke samāna darasāna, jīvajantu akulāna,
bhūmi lāgī thaharāna.
tahām lāge laharāna, niśīcarahū parāna, vahām kālikā risāna
jhuki jhārī kirapāna.

Vijayā [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: 8+8+8+8=32 syllables. The end of pāda is La-Ga or Na.

śrīrāma nāma dhyāibo paramadhāma pāibo, mānuṣadehī pāikai
janama na gavāmibo.
sukīrati sunāibo kahata na aghāibo, kaṭhina bhavajālahīm
chinaka meṁ nasāibo.
śrīrāmagīta gāibo sakala agha ghāibo, so pāya aisī ausara na
phera pachatāibo.
śrīrāmahim rijhāibo rāmaiso neha lāibo, na china bisarāibo na
aura dvāra jāibo.

Ardhasama of Syllabic Metre

Puṣpitāgrā [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Na-Na-Ra-Ya (◡◡ ◡◡ -- ◡◡). Na-Ja-Ja-Ra-Ga (◡◡
◡◡ ◡◡ -- ◡◡).

prabhu sama nahī anya koi dātā. sughana ju gyāvata tīna lokatrātā.
sakala asata kāmanā vihāī. hari nita sevahu mitta citta lāī.

Viṣama of Syllabic Metre

Udgatā [WAV 11k](#)

Definition: Sa-Ja-Sa-La (◡◡- ◡◡ ◡◡- ◡). Na-Sa-Ja-Ga (◡◡◡ ◡◡- ◡
-◡ -). Bha-Na-Ja-La-Ga (-◡◡ ◡◡◡ ◡◡- ◡-). Sa-Ja-Sa-Ja-Ga (◡◡- ◡◡-
◡ ◡◡- ◡◡- -).

saba tyāgiye asata kāma. śaraṇa gahiye sadā harī.

duḥkha bhavanita jāya ṭarī. bhajiye aho niśi harī harī harī.

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Middle Bengali Metresⁱ

Makoto Kitada

Note on the transcription method adopted in this paper

Modern Bengali pronunciation deviates considerably from the writing. Bengali terms are given in the form of one-to-one transliterations of its original spelling in Bengali script. Where necessary, the pronunciation is given in brackets []. Thus e.g. *namaskār'* [nəmoʃkar] denotes the term written *namaskār'* in Bengali script, but pronounced [nəmoʃkar]. The diacritic mark < ' > stands for an omitted word-final vowel A; e.g., *namaskār'* is actually written as *namaskāra*, but is pronounced in Modern Bengali as [nəmoʃkar], with the final A dropped. In my view, this is the best, if not perfect, method of transcribing the Bengali language, for it is an exact transliteration of the original script, while at the same time giving adequate information on the actual pronunciation.

Part I: The theory of Middle Bengali Metres: *Miśrabṛtta* and *Dal'brtta*

1. *Miśrabṛtta*: The basic conception of Middle Bengali prosody

Classical Bengali, or Middle Bengali language, does not have the distinction of vowel length. Although the Bengali script, originally conceived for writing Sanskrit, contains letters representing the short and long vowels of Sanskrit (i.e. A, Ā, I, Ī, U, Ū, E, AI, O, AU), the distinction between short and long is ignored in actual pronunciation. I give here the Bengali vowel letters, followed by their respective pronunciations in modern Bengali: A [ɔ/o]ⁱⁱ, Ā [a], I [i], Ī [i], U [u], Ū [u], E [e]ⁱⁱⁱ, AI [oi], O [o]^{iv}, AU [ou]. Except for the diphthongs AI [oi] and AU [ou], all the vowels, are considered to have the same length.

As a result, Middle Bengali prosody differs significantly in its structure and patterning from that of Classical Hindi. In contrast to Classical Hindi meters, which are defined as combinations of short (*laghu*) and long (*guru*) syllables, Middle Bengali meters are simply defined by the number of the syllables or beats. More precisely, a Middle

Bengali Metre consists of verse-units (B. *pad'* <Skt. *pada*); each respective verse-unit contains a fixed number of syllables. In other words, a Bengali meter is defined by

- The number of verse units (*pad'*), and
- The number of beats contained in each unit.

Therefore, in order to identify a certain meter, one simply needs first to count the units contained in the verse, and then count the number of the beats, which is equal to the number of the syllables.

For instance, the Paṅār' meter, one of the most popular Bengali meters, is defined as 8 + 6 beats, i.e. it consists of two verse-units, the first unit containing eight beats and the second six. An example of this meter is given below:

tomāre bujhāi bandhu || tomāre bujhāi ||1a|
 ḍākiyā śudhāya more || hena jana nāi ||1b|
 anukhana gṛhe mora || gañjāye sakale ||2a|
 niścaṃjā jānio muñi || bhakhimu garale ||2b|

The original pronunciation may be reconstructed for Middle Bengali^v as follows^{vi}:

- *[tomare bujhai bondhu || tomare bujhai]
- *[ḍakia fuddhayo more || hæno jono nāi]
- *[onukhono grihe moro || gāñjāyo śakole]
- *[niścaṃjā janio muñi || bhokhimu garole]

The verse is divided into two units: eight beats + six beats. At the same time, it consists of eight syllables and six syllables; at this stage of linguistic development, the number of beats equals that of syllables.

At a later period, however, a phonetic change took place in Bengali comparable to the omission of the final short vowel A in Hindi^{vii}: In Bengali, the vowel A, i.e. represented as the letter of A and normally pronounced as [o], came to be omitted word-finally in actual pronunciation due to the effect of the strong accent on the first syllable of the word: e.g. āja [*ajə] > [aj], saba [*śəbə] > [śəb], ghara [*ghəro] > [ghər]. As a result of this change, which was well established by the 15th century^{viii}, the Bengali meters can no more be defined as simply as before, as the beats and syllables contained in a verse do not always agree in number. For instance, the Paṅār' verse quoted above is pronounced differently at this stage, and the following is the pronunciation heard in Bengal today (instances of omitted final vowel A [o] are marked in italics).

- [tomare bujhai bondhu || tomare bujhai]
- [ḍakia fuddhæ more || hæno *jon* nāi]

[onukhon grihe mor || gɔñjɔe ʃɔkole]
 [niʃɔe janio muñi || bhokhimu gɔrole]

This change of pronunciation caused the decrease in the number of syllables in the verse, which consequently is no longer equal to the number of beats. For example, the verse unit “hæno *jon* nai” now contains only five syllables^{ix}, rather than six, and the unit “onukhon grihe *mor*”, with two instances of omitted word-final A, contains only six syllables vs. the expected eight beats. The number of the syllables does not equal that of the beats any more.

In order to solve this problem, a new rule was devised:

- A closed syllable at word-end is counted as two beats.

“Closed syllable at word-end” refers to those newly created by the loss of word-final A. Thus the closed syllables in the Paṅār' verse quoted above are marked in italics: *jon*, *khon*, and *mor*. By applying the new rule, this verse can still retain the original rhythmic structure of eight beats + six beats.

In conclusion, the definition of the Middle Bengali meters must be reformulated as follows:

The meter is defined by

- The number of verse-units, and
- The number of beats contained in each unit.
- In addition, each syllable is counted as one beat, except that closed syllables in word-final position are counted as two beats.

This modified definition of Middle Bengali meters is the one generally adopted in Bengal today. The meters thus defined are called “*Miśrabṛtta*”, literally meaning “mixed mode”, because closed syllables are treated differently at word-end than elsewhere, i.e. two different modes are “mixed”.

2. *Dal'brtta*: Later development of prosody

In the period after the omission of the final vowel took place, there emerged a new type of prosody: *Dal'brtta*.

The definition of *Dal'brtta* is actually nothing else than the definition given at the first of all for *Miśrabṛtta*:

- The number of verse-units (*pad'*), and
- The respective number of beats contained in each unit.

The number of beats agrees with the number of syllables. However, *Dal'brtta* is based on the actual pronunciation, in which the final vowel is

omitted.

The Paṅār' meter (8+6) in *Dal'br̥tta* thus appears as follows (an omitted final vowel is marked as *a'*)

Dal'br̥tta Paṅār' (8+6, or 4+4+4+2)^x
 āsāra/āsā | āśā kebaḷa/ || āśā mātrā | holo |1|
 citrerā/kamala/yemona/ || bhṛṅga bhūle gelo |2|
 khelabo bole | phāki diye || nābāle bhūtalo |3|
 ebāra/
 ye khelā khelāle māgo || āśā nā purilo |4|

In order to grasp the meter, it is necessary to take account of the actual pronunciation:

[aʃar aʃa | aʃa kebol || aʃa matra | holo |1|]
 [citrer kəmol jəmon || bhriṅgo bhule gəlo |2|]
 [khelbo bole | phāki die || nabale bhutolo |3|]
 [ebar]^{xi}
 [je khæla kælale mago || aʃa na phurilo |4|]

The number of syllables (= pronounced vowels) is 8 + 6, which corresponds to Paṅār'. Only the first unit of the second line [citrer kəmol jəmon] is irregular in containing six syllables.

śamana/damana/ || rābana/rājā || rāmaṇa/damana/rāma/ ||
 śamana/ bhabana/ nā haṅa/ gamana/ ye laṅa/ rāmera/ nāma/ || (Kṛttibās',
Kiskindākāṇḍa, SEN' 1995, p. 20)

[ʃəmon dəmon || rabon raja || ramon dəmon ram ||]
 [ʃəmon bhəbon || na həy gəmon || je ləy ramer nam]

In this excerpt, the two rhyming words [ram] and [nam] seem to be exceptionally counted as two beats, although vowels are usually counted as one beat in *Dal'br̥tta*.

Middle Bengali examples of *Dal'br̥tta* contain such anomalies. Although modern theoretical treatises on Bengali prosody consider *Dal'br̥tta* to be an established mode next to *Miśrabṛtta*, and although modern poets consciously adopt *Dal'br̥tta* in their works, the real situation in the period in which verses in *Dal'br̥tta* first appeared seems to have been different. In fact, Middle Bengali poets seem to have been not fully aware that they were composing in *Dal'br̥tta*. In their composition, they switch from *Miśrabṛtta* to *Dal'br̥tta*—probably unconsciously—when their expression comes nearer to colloquial styles of speech. For instance, *Dal'br̥tta* is observed in the dialogue passages in Kṛttibās' *Rāmāyana*.

Part II: List of Middle Bengali Metres

In the following, a list of classical Bengali meters is given. This list, though not exhaustive, includes various meters belonging to the three genres, *Miśrabṛtta*, *Dal'brtta* and *Kalābrtta*. The samples are taken from SEN' 1995, pp. 9—31. The recordings of these samples are contained in the audio CD. They were recited by two persons. One is Mr. Durgāpad' Datta, who recorded plain recitations without any melody; and the other is Ms. Rādhārāṇī Datta, the singer of the Śrī Śrī Mahāprabhukīrtan' Sampradāy', a Pālā Kīrtan' group from Brāhmaṇ'dihi in Bākūrā district.

The recitations by Ms. Datta, are the product of an experiment: these were recorded in the evening when we invited her group to perform in Bibar'dā village in Bākūrā district, West Bengal. Just before her performance on stage, I interviewed her. I gave her the sample verses which she saw for the first time, and let her recite these spontaneously. Ms. Datta was thus compelled to analyze the metrical structure of each verse and recite it on the spot, without any preconceived notions. My intention was to observe the state of affairs in actual practice, namely how the meters are perceived and interpreted by the performer herself at first sight, i.e., in a condition as free as possible from and as uncontaminated as possible by scholarly theories and analyses, with which her performance actually has very little to do. As a result, some recordings are “imperfect”: she sometime stuttered or hesitated to recite, when she had difficulties grasping the metrical structure. In most cases, not she, but the texts given her to recite were responsible for her stuttering, for these Middle Bengali texts very often contained anomalies in meter. Probably the state of affairs at the time when these texts were composed was not entirely unlike this. The “imperfection” in the recordings is not a defect, but I intentionally allowed the performer to make mistakes, not to do it perfectly, so as to observe the actual practice.

The four most popular meters in Middle Bengali lyrics are: *Paṅṅār'*, *Laghu Tripadī* and *Dīrgha Tripadī*.

1. *Paṅṅār'* 8 + 6 WAV11K
Miśrabṛtta Paṅṅār' (Vaishnava Padavali, Hare Kṛṣṇa, Caṅḍīdās')
tomāre bujhāi bandhu || tomāre bujhāi ||1a^{xii}
[tomare bujhāi bondhu || tomare bujhāi]

ḍākiyā juḍhāya more || hena jana nāi ||1b|
[ḍakia juḍdhae more || hæno jon nāi]

anukhana gṛhe mora || gañjāye sakale ||2a|
[onukhon grihe mor || gañjæ sākole]

niścaṅṅa jānio muṅi || bhakhimu garale ||2b|

[niʃcœ janio muñi || bhokhimu gōrole]

In this case, the word *bujhāi* [bujhai] in the first line (1a) is counted as three beats, *bu + jhā + i* [bu + jha + i].

2. Laghu Tripadī (6 + 6 + 8)

Tripadī means “that which consists of three *padas* or verse units.” There are two kinds of *Tripadī*: *Laghu* (“light”) *Tripadī* and *Dīrgha* (“long”) *Tripadī*. Both *Laghu Tripadī* and *Dīrgha Tripadī* are often simply referred to as *Tripadī*, although their structural difference is clear-cut.

I begin with *Laghu Tripadī*, literally “the light *Tripadī*”, i.e. the short version of the verse containing three units. Its structure is 6 + 6 + 8.

Miśrabṛtta Laghu Tripadī WAV11K
gharera bāhire || daṇḍe śatabāra || tile tile āise yāya ||
[ghōrer bahire || dōṇḍe śotobar || tile tile aiʃe jae]

mana ucāṭana || niśbāsa saghana || kadambakānane cāya ||
[mon ucaṭon || niʃʔaʃʔōghono || kōdombokanone cae]
(Baiṣṇaba Padābalī, Hare Kṛṣṇa, Caṇḍidās')

In the third unit of the first line, *āise* [aiʃe] is counted as two syllables, or two beats, i.e. *āi + se* [ai + ʃe].^{xiii}

Another example of *Laghu Tripadī* (6 + 6 + 8)
Vidyāpati, Mitra-Majum'dār' (SEN' 1995, p.17) WAV11K
bāli bilāsini | jatane ānali | ramana karabi rākhi ||
[bali bilaʃini jōtone anoli rōmono kōrobi rakhi]
jaise madhukara | kusuma na tola | madhu piba mukhamākhi ||

3. Dīrgha Tripadī (8 + 8 + 10)

Dīrgha Tripadī, meaning literally “the long *Tripadī*”, is the long version of the verse containing three units. Its structure is 8 + 8 + 10.

Miśrabṛtta Dīrgha Tripadī (Jñān'dās')^{xiv} WAV11K
rajanī śānana ghana || ghana deṃā garajana || rimijhimi śarade bariše ||
[rōjoni ʃānon ghōno || ghōno dea gorojon || rimijhimi ʃōrode borife]

pālaṅke śāyana raṅge || bigalita cīra aṅge || ninda yāi manera hariše ||
[paloṅke ʃōyon rōṅge || bigolito cir oṅge || nindo jai moner horife]

The closed word-final syllables (marked in italics) are each counted as two beats.

There exist other meters than the four representative meters, *Payār*,

Laghu Tripadī and *Dīrgha Tripadī*, although they occur far less frequently.

Caupadī (verse with four units, 6 + 6 + 6 + 5) WAV11K

Ex. Rasamañjarī, *pragalbhā adhīrā* (SEN' 1995, p. 23) *Miśrabṛtta*
kona phūle bādhu || pāna kare madhu || haṅe ele yadu || poṛāte more ||
[kon phule bōdhu || pan kore modhu || hae ele jodu || poṛate more]

ālatā kajjala || sindūra ujjala || jāgiyā bikala || naṅana ghore ||
[alota kōjola || sindur ujjola || jagia bikola || nōyon ghore]

Ekābalī (6+5) (*Miśrabṛtta*) WAV11K

Ex. Rasamañjarī, *Youban 'Kathan'* (SEN' 1995, p.24)
nārīra youbana || baṛa duranta ||
[narir joubon || boro duronto]

śarīrera mājhe || poṣe basanta ||
[forirer majhe || poṣe baṅfonto]

binoda bināne || bināye beṇī ||
[binod binane || binae beni]

puruṣe daṁṣite || poṣe sāpinī ||
[puruṣe doṅṣite || poṣe ṣapini]

bhārata-candrera || bhāratībhoga ||
[bharot candrer || bharotibhog]

youbanete kara || youbana bhoga ||
[joubonete koro || joubon bhog]

Another example for *Ekābalī* (6 + 5) (*Miśrabṛtta*)

Vidyāpati, *Mitra-Majum'dār'* (SEN' 1995, p.24)

cumbana naṅana | kājara gelā ||
[cumbono nōyono kajora gela]
damane adhara | khaṅḍita bhelā ||
[dōmone oḍhoro khaṅḍito bhela]
pīna paṅodhara | nakhara mandā ||
jani mahesara | sikhara candā ||
na mukha bacana | na cita thīre ||
kāpa ghana ghana | sabe sabīre ||

This verse is composed in the Maithili language and its meter is a Maithili one, but in Bengal it was reinterpreted as a Bengali meter by Bengali readers.

Ek'padī + Tripadī Miśrabandha (8, 6 + 6 + 8) (*Miśrabṛtta*) WAV11K

This verse consists of a verse/unit in 8 beats and *Laghu Tripadī*.
(Caṇḍīdās')

sai,
[foi]
ki āra baliba tore ||
[ki ar bolibo tore]
kona puṇyaphale || se hena bādhuṃyā || āsiyā milala more ||
[kon punnophale || se hæno bōdhua || aḥīa milol more]

The first word of this verse *sai* [foi] is an interjection, a kind of *Auftakt* and is not counted in the meter.

Dbipadī^{xv} + *Tripadī Stabak*' (8 + 8, 6 + 6 + 8)
Combination of *Dbipadī* (two units) and *Laghu Tripadī*.
Rhyme: A A, B B A

Ex. Annadāmaṅgal', *Mālinīmarma* (SEN' 1995, p.23) WAV11K

mālinī bujhila marma || koṭāle jānāya dharmā ||
[malini bujhilo marmo || koṭale janae dharmo]

homa-kuṇḍa bali || bujhi more chali || sundarera ei karma ||
[hom kuṇḍo boli || bujhi more choli || fundorer ei karmo]

Note that the closed syllables in word-internal position, such as the first syllables of *marma* [marmo], *dharmā* [dharmo] and *sundarera* [fundorer], are NOT long; they are counted as one beat.
On the other hand, the compound *homa-kuṇḍa* is treated as two words, and *homa-* [hom] is counted as long (i.e. as two beats).

Dīrgha Dbipadī + *Dīrgha Tripadī Miśrabandha* (10 + 10, 8 + 8 + 10)
Combination of a long (*dīrgha*) *Dbipadī* (two units) and a *Dīrgha Tripadī*.
Rhyme: A A, B B A

Miśrabṛtta. Ex. Annadāmaṅgal', *Bidyār' Ākṣep*' (SEN' 1995, p.23)
WAV11K

kāde bidyā ākula kuntale || dharā tite nayanera jale ||
[kāde bidā akul kuntale || dhara tite nayaner jale]

kapāle kaṅkaṇa hāne || adhīra rudhira bāne || ki haila ki haila ghana bale ||
[kōpale kōṅkono hane || adhir rudhir bane || ki hoilo ki hoilo ghano bale]

The diphthong [oi] of *haila* [hoilo] is counted as one beat.

Pañcakal'-parbik' Caupadī (10 + 10 + 10 + 5) WAV11K

The verse consist of four units which are based on five beats.

Miśrabṛtta. Ex. Rasamañjarī, *Pūthamarda* (SEN' 1995, p. 24)

ramanī ratna | sahenā āca || tūṭaye agni | paraśe kāca ||

[rəmoni rətno | sɔhena āc || tuṭəe ogni | pəroʃe kac]

karite māna | dibe nā sthāna || dibe nā sthāna ||

[korite man | dibe na sthan || dibe na sthan]

ki kare kṣobha | sahe rāmāra || abalā jāti | mṛdu ākāra ||

[ki kore khobh | sɔhe ramar || əbola jati | mridu akar]

jbalaye agni | nahe se māna || nahe se māna |2|

[jɔləe ogni | nəhe ʃe man || nəhe ʃe man ||]

I now give examples of *Dal'bṛtta*.

Dal'bṛtta Payār' (8 + 6, or 4 + 4 + 4 + 2)^{xvi} WAV11K

āsāra' āśā | āśā kebalā' || āśā mātrā | holo |1|

[citrerā' kamalā' yemona' || bhṛṅga bhūle gelo |2|

kheləbo bole | phāki diye || nābāle bhūtalə |3|

ebāra'

ye khelā khelāle māgo || āśā nā purilo |4|

(Omitted final vowels are marked as ə')

[aʃar aʃa | aʃa kebol || aʃa matra | holo |1|]

[citrer kəmol jəmon || bhriṅgo bhule gəlo |2|]

[khelbo bole | phāki die || nabale bhutolo |3|]

[ebar]^{xvii}

[je khəla kəlale mago || aʃa na phurilo |4|]

The first unit of the second line [citrer kəmol jəmon] irregularly contains six syllables.

śamana' damana' || rābana' rājā || rāmaṇa' damana' rāma' ||

śamana' bhabana' nā haya' gamana' ye laja' rāmera' nāma' ||

(Kṛttibās', *Kiskindākāṇḍa*, SEN' 1995, p.20)

Actual pronunciation:

[ʃəmon dəmon || rabon raja || ramon dəmon ram ||]

[ʃəmon bhəbon || na həy gəmon || je ləy ramer nam ||]

Another example of *Dal'bṛtta Payār'* (4 + 4 + 4 + 2)

Vaishnava Padavali, *Locan 'dās*. (SEN' 1995, p.19) WAV11K

āra sunyācha | ālo sai' || gorā bābhera | kathā ||

[ar sunnacho alo ʃoi gora babher kətha]

koṇera bhetara | kulabadhū || kāndyā ākula | tathā ||

[koner bhetor kulbodhu kanda akul tətha]

kisera sādhana | kisera rārhana || kisera haladi | bātā ||
 [kiʃer ʃadhon kiʃer raʃhon kiʃer holdi baʃa]
āk̄hira jale | buka bhijhila || bhyāsā gela | pātā ||
 [āk̄hir jole buk bhijhilo bhæʃa gælo paʃa]

Dal'br̄tta Dīrgha Tripadī (8 + 8 + 10) WAV11K

Locan'dās' (SEN' 1995, p.19)
 dīghala dīghala | cācara cūla ||
 tāya diyāche | cāpāra phūla ||
 kunda mālatīra | mālā berhā | jhuṭā ||1||
 [dighol dighol | cācor cul ||]
 [tay diache | cāpar phul ||]
 [kundo maltir | mala berha | jhuṭa ||1||]

candana māk̄hā | gorā gāya ||
 bāhu dolāiyā | calyā jāya ||
 lalāṭa upara | bhubana mohana | phōṭā ||2||
 [cāndon makha | gora gay ||]
 [bahu dolaiya | colla jay ||]
 [lolaṭ upor | bhubon mohon | phōṭa ||2||]

In the second verse, the unit *bāhu dolaiyā* [bahu dolaiya] contains an irregular number of syllables.^{xviii} The pair of rhyming words *gāya* [gay] and *jāya* [jay] must be exceptionally counted as two beats, as in *Miśrabr̄tta*.

Dal'br̄tta Caupadī (8 + 8 + 8 + 8) WAV11K

Rām'prasād' Sen' (SEN' 1995, p.26)
 mṛtyuñjāya | upayukta | sebāya habe | āsumukta ||
 [mrittūñjoe | upojukto | sebay hobe | afumukto ||]

ore, sakali sambhabe tāte | paramātmāya miśāibe ||
 [ore] [ʃokoli ʃambhobe tate | pəromattay | miʃaiibe ||]

prasāda bale | manabhāyā | chāra kalpa | taru chāyā ||
 proʃad bole | monobhaya | chaṛo kəlpo | toru chaya ||]

ore, kāṭā bṛkṣera | tale giye | mṛtyubhayaṭā | ki erābe ||
 [ore] [kaṭa brikkher | tole gie | mrittubhoyṭa | ki erabe ||]

Dalbr̄tta Ek'padī + Dbipadī (8 | 8 || 8) WAV11K

ebāra kālī | tomāya khāba |
 [ebar kali tomae khabo]

khāba) khāba go dīna | dayāmayī ||
[khabo khabo go din dōyamoī]^{xix}

tārā) guṇḍayoge janma āmāra |
[tara guṇḍojoge jōnmo amar]^{xx}
guṇḍayoge | janamile || se haṅe ye mā | kheko chele ||
[guṇḍojoge jōnomile | se hōe je ma kheko chele]

Part III *Kalābr̥tta*, the prosody of Vaishnava lyrics

Kalābr̥tta, the third type of prosody, is completely different from *Mīsr̥br̥tta* and *Dal'br̥tta* in nature. It refers to the meters of Brajbhāṣā and Maithili lyrics as these were imported into Bengali for Vaishnava lyrics. These are defined as combinations of *laghu* (short) and *guru* (long) syllables. Although the Bengali language does not distinguish between long and short syllables, syllables may be artificially lengthened in recitation according to the metric schema. For instance, we have,

A unit consisting of five syllables, but sung in seven beats: (SEN' 1995, p.25) WAV11K

∪∪ ∪-∪∪ ∪-∪∪ ∪-∪∪ ∪-∪
jāya) *kṛṣṇa keśaba* | *rāma rāghaba* | *kāṃsa dānaba* | *yātana* ||
[jōyo kriṣno keṣobo ramo raghobo kōṅ[so danobo jatono]
jāya) *padmalocana* | *nandanandanā* | *kuṅjakānana* | *rañjana* ||
[jōyo pōddolocono nōndononono kuṅjokanono rōñjono]
(The syllables which are pronounced as long are written in italics.)

Toṭak' (∪∪-, ∪∪-, ∪∪-, ∪∪-)
ramanī mani *nāgara-rāja* kabi |
rati-*nātha* binindita *cāruchabi* ||

Reconstructed pronunciation

*[rəmoni moni nagoro-rajo kabi]
*[roti-natho binindito caruchobi]

The syllables marked in italics are *artificially* pronounced as long in recitation. In *Kalābr̥tta*, the meters are treated purely on the level of the script. If a syllable is represented as long in the script, it is counted as long (*guru*). In other words, the method of counting Brajbhāṣā or Maithili metrics is mechanically applied to Bengali, even though this language has lost syllable length distinctions.

The following verse by Vidyāpati, which was originally composed in Maithilī meter, is recited as *Laghu Tripadī* (6 + 6 + 8) in Bengali. (SEN' 1995, p.18) WAV11K
pahili pirīti | parāṇa *ātara* | takhane aisana rīti ||

[pohili piriti p̄rano ātoro t̄khone oīfono riti]
 se ābe kabahu | heri na herāṣi | bheli nima t̄tī ||
 sājani) jibathu sae pacāsa ||
 sahasa ramani | raṣani khepathu | morāhu tanhika āsa ||

Abbreviations

B. = Bengali
 H. = Hindi
 Skt. = Sanskrit

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ⁱ The sample texts in this paper are taken from SEN' 1995, pp. 9–31.

ⁱⁱ Whether it is pronounced as [ɔ] or [o] is decided according to its position in the word.

ⁱⁱⁱ Pronounced as a short [ē].

^{iv} Pronounced as a short [ō].

^v i.e. the stage of lingual development before the 15th century.

^{vi} I reconstructed the stage of the language before the final vowel A [o] was not yet omitted in pronunciation. I must confess that this is nothing more than a pure hypothetical value which is not necessarily free from being problematic in several points. However, with this reconstructed value, the readers would grasp the original conception of Middle Bengali meter with ease.

^{vii} The short vowel A [ə] is omitted in the pronunciation of modern standard Hindi. H. āja > āj', saba > sab', ghara > ghar'.

^{viii} CHATTERJI 1970 vol. I, p. 299f (§§ 146–147).

^{ix} The word na-i is counted as two beats.

^x The Dal'br̄tta Paṣār' is sometimes analyzed as (4+4)+(4+2).

^{xi} This is not counted in the meter. A kind of *Auftakt*.

^{xii} I numbered these lines with 1a, 1b, 2a, and 2b. 1a rhymes with 1b, while 2a, with 2b.

^{xiii} Actually, it has become *ese* [eʃe] in modern standard Bengali.

^{xiv} SEN' 1995, p.18 gives the reference: Jñān'dās' o t̄hār' padābalī, Majum'dār', No.475.

^{xv} i.e. *dvipadī*

^{xvi} The Dal'br̄tta Paṣār' is sometimes analyzed as (4+4)+(4+2).

^{xvii} This is not counted in the meter. A kind of *Auftakt*.

^{xviii} This seems to be the preliminary stage of the so called *Charār' Chanda*, or

the prosody of folksongs.

^{xix} The first two syllables [khabo] are not included in the meter.

^{xx} The first two syllables [tara] are not included in the meter.

Samples of Bengali metre

Kyoko Niwa.

About texts

Texts are romanized according to the orthography of the Bengali language.

Standard actual pronunciations are as follows:

Vowels:

Spellings	Actual pronunciations
a	ɔ or o
ā	a
i	i
ī	i
u	u
ū	u
e	æ or e
ai	oi
o	o
au	ou

Noteworthy consonants:

Spellings	Actual pronunciations
j	j
y	j
ȳ	y
s	ʃ
ś	ʃ
ṣ	ʃ

Scansion

Miśrabṛtta: CV&CVC=1, CVC at the end of word=2

Kalabṛtta: CV=1, CVC=2

Dalabṛtta: CV&CVC=1

CV syllables are called *muktadal* and are always counted as 1 *matra*
CVC syllables are called *ruddhadal* and are counted as 1 or 2 *matras*
according to their *riti*. Words ending in semi-vowels are also included as *ruddhadal*.

A/1**Madhusūdan Datta / *Meghnādbadh*
miśrabṛtta****8,6****WAV 44k**

sammukh samare paṛi, bīr-cūṛāmaṇi
 √ _ √√ √ _ √√√ =8,6

bīrbāhu, cali yabe gelā yamapure
 _√√ √√ √√ √√ √√√√ =8,6 *1

akāle, kaha, he debi amṛtabhāṣiṇi,
 √√√ √√ √ √√ √√√√√ =8,6

kon bīrbare bari senāpati-pade,
 _ _√√ √√ √√√√ √√ =8,6*2

pāṭhāilā raṇe punaḥ rakṣḥhakulanidhi
 √√√√ √√ √√ √√√√√ =8,6

rāghabāri ? ki kauśale, rākṣasbharasā
 √√√√ √ √√√ √_ √√√ =8,6*3

indrajit meghnāde — ajeṃ jagate —
 √√_ √√√ √_ √√√ =8(7),6*4

ūrmilābilāsī nāsi, indre niḥśaṅkilā ?
 √√√√√ √√ √√ √√√√ =8,6

*1 Though written as one word, “bīrbāhu” is actually a compound of two words, “bīr-bāhu”.

*2 “bīrbare” is also a compound, “bīr-bare”.

*3 “rākṣasbharasā” is also a compound, “rākṣas-bharasā”.

*4 “indrajit meghnāde —”, which is short of the required 8 *matras*, will be made up by the dash, i.e. a pause.

A/2

Bihārīlāl Cakrabartī / *Sāradāmaṅgal***miśrabṛtta****8,8/8,6****WAV 44k**

dāṛāo hṛdayeśvarī,	uuu uuuuu	=8
tribhuban ālo kari,	uu_ uu uu	=8
du'naṅyan bhari bhari dekhiba tomāy /	uu_ uu uu uuu u_	=8,6
dekhiye meṭe nā sādḥ,	uuu uu u _	=8
kī jāni kī āche svād,	uuu u uu _	=8
kī jāni kī mākhā āche o śubh-ānane !	v uu u uu uu u _ uuu	=8,6
kī ek bimal bhāti	v _ v_ uu	=8
prabhāt kareche rāti	v_ uuu uu	=8
hāsiche amarābatī naṅankiraṇe /	uuu uuuuu v_ uuu	=8,6*1
eman sādher dhane	v_ v_ uu	=8
pratibādī jane jane —	uuuu uu uu	=8
dayā māyā nāi mane, keman kaṭhor /	uu uu uu uu v_ v_	=8,6

ādare gētheche bālā
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ =8

hṛdaykusum mālā,
 ∪ _ ∪ _ ∪ ∪ =8^{*2}

kṛpāṇe kāṭibe ke re sei phulḍor !
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ _ _ _ =8,6^{*3}

*1 Though written in one word, “naṅankiraṇe” is actually a compound, “naṅan-kiraṇe”.

*2 “hṛdaykusum” is also a compound, “hṛday-kusum”.

*3 “phulḍor” is also a compound, “phul-ḍor”.

A/3

Rabīndranāth Ṭhākur / *Balākā* 7

miśrabṛtta

muktabandha^{*1}

[WAV 44k](#)

e kathā jānīte tumi, bhārat-iśvar śā-jāhān,
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ _ ∪ _ ∪ ∪ _ =8,10

kālasrote bhese yāy jīban yauban dhana mān /
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ _ ∪ _ ∪ _ ∪ ∪ _ =8,10

śudhu taba antarbedanā
 ∪ ∪ ∪ _ ∪ ∪ ∪ =10^{*2}

cirantan haṅe thāk samrāṭer chila e sādhanā /
 ∪ _ ∪ ∪ _ ∪ ∪ _ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ =8,10

rājśakti bajra sukāṭhin
 _ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ _ =10^{*3}

sandhyāraktarāgsama tandrātale haṅ hok līn,
 ∪ ∪ ∪ _ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ _ _ _ =8,10^{*4}

kebal ekṭi dīrghaśvās
 ∪ _ _ ∪ ∪ _ =10^{*5}

nitya-ucchvasit haṅge sakaruṅ karuk ākāś
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ =8,10

ei taba mane chila āś /
 _ ∪ ∪ ∪ _ =10

*1 A *muktabandha* or ‘free composition’ is still written in a fixed metre, but contains irregular verse forms. This poem begins with the combination of 8 and 10 *matras*, called *Maha-Payar*, as it is a variant of *Payar*. The poet does not stay with this form for long, however, and as a result this poem turns out as a free composition.

*2 “antarbedanā” is actually a compound, “antar-bedanā”.

*3” rājśakti” is actually a compound, “rāj-śakti”.

*4” sandhyāraktarāgsama” is actually a compound of four words, “sandhyā-rakta-rāg-sama”.

*5 “ekṭi” is a compound, “ek-ṭi”

A/4

Rabīndranāth Ṭhākur / *Gītāñjali* 3

kalābr̥tta

6,6,6,2 / 6,6,6,6

WAV 44k

kata ajānāre jānāile tumi,
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ =6,6

kata ghare dile ṭhāi —
 ∪ ∪ ∪ _ =6,2

dūrke karile nikaṭ, bandhu,
 _ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ _ =6,6

parke karile bhāi /
 _ ∪ ∪ ∪ _ =6,2

purāno ābās cheṛe yāi yabe
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ _ ∪ ∪ =6,6

mane bhebe mari kī jāni kī habe,
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ =6,6

nūtaner mājhe tumi purātan
 ∪_ ∪ ∪ ∪_ =6,6

se kathā ye bhule yāi /
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ _ =6,2

dūrke karile nikaṭ, bandhu,
 _ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪_ ∪_ =6,6

parke karile bhāi /
 _ ∪ ∪ ∪ _ =6,2

A/5

Rabīndranāth Ṭhākur / *Gītāñjali* 74

dalbrtta

4,4,4,1/ 4,4,4,4

[WAV 44k](#)

bajre tomār bāje bāsi,
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ =4,4

se ki sahaj gān /
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ =4,1*¹

sei surete jāgba āmi,
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ =4,4

dāo more sei kān /
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ =4,1*¹

bhulba nā ār sahajete,
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ =4,4

sei prāṇe man uṭhbe mete
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ =4,4

mṛtyumājhe ḍhākā āche
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ =4,4

ye antahīn prāṇ /
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ =4,1*¹

*1 One-syllable words at the end of a line, such as “gān”, “kān” and “prāṇ”, are often counted as 2 *matras*, though they are normally counted as 1 *matra* in *dalbrtta*.

A/6

Jībanānanda Dāś / Banalatā Sen**miśrabṛtta****8,8,6**[WAV 44k](#)

hājār bachar dhare āmi path hāṭitechī pṛthibīr pathe,
 √_ √_ √ √ _ √ √ √_ √ =8,8,6

siṁhal samudra theke niśīther andhakāre mālay sāgare
 √_ √ √ √_ √ √ √_ √ =8,8,6

anek ghurechī āmi ; bimbisār aśoker dhūsar jagate
 √_ √ √ √_ √_ √_ √ =8,8,6

yekhāne chilām āmi ; āro dūr andhakāre bidarbha nagare ;
 √ √ √ √ _ √ √ √ =8,8,6

āmi klānta prāṅ ek, cāridike jībaner samudra saphen,
 √ √ _ _ √ √_ √ √_ =8,8,6

āmāre dudaṅḍa śānti diyechila nātorer banalatā sen /
 √ √ √ √ √_ √ √_ =8,8,6

A/7

Binaṅ Majumdār / Kalkātābāsī haba 1**miśrabṛtta****8,8,10 / 8,8,6**[WAV 44k](#)

natur praṅālī diye, ḍhuke yāy śabdaguli, ek dui tin cār pāc
 √_ √ √ √_ √ √ √_ √_ √_ √_ √_ =8,8,10

sāhityer abhyantare, ḍhuke yāy molāyem, biṣaṅṅatā niye
 √_ √ √ √_ √_ √_ √ √ =8,8,6

konodin ei paṅkti mahākāl bhulbe nā, svarṅareṅu jhare jhare jhare
 √_ _ √ √_ √ √ √ √ √ √ √ =8,7 (8), 10^{*1}

paṅbei paṅkti theke romaś hṛdaye yena hṛtpiṅḍu eṭi —
 √ √ √ √_ √ √ √ √ =7(8),8,5(6)^{*2}

esab ucchrita pañkti — raýe yābe rasagrāhī deher bhitare
 ∪_ ∪∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪∪ ∪_ ∪∪ =8,8,6

tāle tāle tār spanda śonā yāy bojhā yāy śonā bojhā yāy
 ∪ ∪ _ ∪ ∪ _ ∪ _ ∪ ∪ _ =8,8,6

coke paṛā mātra eṭi tār ei svasthānei āche bale bojhā yete thāke
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ _ _ ∪∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ =8,8,10

natur prañālī diye ḍhuke yāy śabdaguli ek dui tin cār pāc
 ∪_ ∪∪ ∪ ∪ _ ∪∪ _ _ _ _ _ =8,8,10

*1 “mahākāl bhulbe nā,” has only 7 *matras*. The last “nā” may be counted as 2 *matras*, as this is a one-syllable word followed by a comma, i.e. a pause.

*2 This line, expected to contain 8,8 and 6 *matras*, has only 7,8 and 5 *matras*. The final segment “hṛṭpiṇḍu eṭi” can be counted as 6 *matras* with a dash.

A/8

Śakti Caṭṭopādhyāy / Caturdaśpadī kabitābali *1

miśrabṛtta

8,10

[WAV 44k](#)

mahīner ghoṛāguli mahīner ghare phere nāi
 ∪_ ∪∪ ∪_ ∪ ∪ _ =8,10

uhārā jebrār pārśve cariteche / bāiś jebrāy,
 ∪∪ ∪_ ∪ ∪∪ ∪_ ∪_ =8,10

ghoṛāguli andhakār utarol samudre duliche
 ∪∪∪ ∪_ ∪_ ∪∪ ∪∪ =8,10

kāler kātār mato, oi ghoṛāguli jebrāguli
 ∪_ ∪_ ∪ _ ∪∪ ∪∪ =8,10

ananta jyotsnār mājhe baśabartī bhūter matan
 ∪∪ ∪_ ∪ ∪∪ ∪_ ∪_ =8,10

caṛiyā beṛāy orā— kathā kay — kī kathā ke jāne ?
 ∪∪ ∪_ ∪ ∪ _ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ =8,10

*1 This is the first part of a sonnet written in the form of *Maha-Payar*.

A/9
Subhāṣ Mukhopādhyāy / *Ataḥpar*
miśrabṛtta
muktabandha *1
[WAV 44k](#)

sampādak samīpeṣu,
 ∪_ ∪∪∪ =8

mahāśay, itastata bhūsampatti āche nimnasvākṣarkārīr /
 ∪_ ∪∪∪ ∪∪∪ ∪ ∪ ∪_ ∪_ =8,8,6*2

e-durdaibe jamidāri rakṣā dāy / baṁṣaparamparāgata
 ∪∪∪ ∪∪∪ ∪ _ ∪ ∪∪∪∪

kiṁkartabyabimūṛh bhubane
 ∪∪∪∪_ ∪∪ =8,4,8,10

īśvar cālān cali /
 ∪_ ∪_ ∪ =8

peyādārā baśambada : prabañcak ādāyer pratyek phikir
 ∪∪∪ ∪∪∪ ∪_ ∪_ ∪_ ∪∪ =8,8,6

tāder kaṅṭhastha ājo / athaca bakeyā khājnā prajāṛā deyni gata dui tin sane /
 ∪_ ∪∪ ∪ ∪∪ ∪∪ ∪ ∪∪ _ ∪ ∪_ _ ∪∪
 =8,8,6,8*3

ādālate phal alpa /
 ∪∪∪ _ ∪ =8

*1 This poem is written entirely in *muktabandha*, ‘free composition’, thus there is no fixed verse form.

*2 “nimnasvākṣarkārīr” is supposed to be a compound of three words, “nimna-svākṣar-kārīr”.

*3 “deyni” is actually a compound, “dey-ni”.

A/10

Biṣṇu De / Ubhacar**kalābr̥tta****6,6,2**[WAV 44k](#)

pākhir ābeg jāgābe śarīr mane ?

v_ v_ vvv v_ vv

=6,6,2

pākhār jhāptā dinrāt yāba śune?

v_ v_ _ _ vv vv

=6,6,2

pākhār chanda hṛdaye ki debe bēdhe

v_ v_ vvv v vv vv

=6,6,2

harṣa-bihāre dūr digantakoṇe?

_v vvv _ v_v vv

=6,6,2

nagarer bhiṛ, byartha diner jvalā !

vv_ _ v_ v_ vv

=6,6,2

asahāy bhīru ? śudhu tār pathe calā ?

vv_ vv vv _ _ vv

=6,6,2

bandhur bhrū-o kuṭil — ṛṇer bhīti ?

_ _ v v_v_ v_ vv

=6,6,2

agaṇan lok — tabu jvalā, śudhu jvalā /

vv_ _ vv vv vv vv

=6,6,2

A/11

Sudhīndranāth Datta / Utpākhī**kalābr̥tta****6,6,2**[WAV 44k](#)

āmār kathā ki śunte pāo nā tumi?

v_ vv v v_ _ v vv

=6,6,2

kena mukh gūje ācha tabe miche chale?

vv _ vv vv vv vv vv

=6,6,2

kothāy lukābe? dhū dhū kare marubhumi;	
υ_ υυ υ υ υ υ υ	=6,6,2
kṣaye kṣaye chāyā mare geche padatale /	
υυ υυ υ υυ υυ υυ υυ	=6,6,2
āj digante marīcikāo ye nei;	
_ υ_υ υυυυ υ _	=6,6,2
nirbāk, nīl, nirmam mahākās /	
-- _ -- υυ_	=6,6,2
niṣāder man māyāmrge maje nei;	
υυ_ _ υυυ υυ _	=6,6,2
tumi binā tār samūha sarbanās /	
υυ υυ _ υυυ _υ_	=6,6,2
kothāy palābe? chuṭbe bā ār kata?	
υ_ υυ _υ υ _υυ	=6,6,2
udāsīn bāli dhākbe nā padarekhā /	
υυ_ υυ _υ υ υυ υυ	=6,6,2
prākpurāṇik bālyabandhu yata	
υυ _υ_υ υυ	=6,6,2
bigata sabāi, tumi asahāy ekā /	
υυυ υ_ υυ υυ_ υυ	=6,6,2

A/12

Jaṅ Gosvāmī / *Khelā ghurbe*

kalābrtta

muktabandha

[WAV 44k](#)

dam rākho, khelā ghurbe /

_ υυ υυ _υ =6,3

ei khelā tumi khelecho ki itipūrbe?	=6,6,3
o bākā madan, bujhe dyākho eibār	=6,6,2
śāṅṭiṃ karā darkār, darkār	=6,6,2
kadin ebhābe jhope mukh diye ghurbe?	=6,6,3
eibār ṭhik-rāstāy neme yāo	=6,6,2
ete pāp nei, nei hāyā-lajjāo	=6,6,2
tubarī nācāle hāt to ekṭu purbe!	=6,6,3

A/13

Sukumār Rāy / *Ābol tābol*

dalbrtta

4,4,4,3

[WAV 44k](#)

āyre bholā kheyāl-kholā	=4,4
svapandolā nāciye āy,	=4,3
āyre pāgal ābol tābol	=4,4
matta mādal bājiye āy /	=4,3

āy yekhāne khyāpār gāne
 ∪ ∪∪ ∪ ∪ =4,4

nāiko māne nāiko sur /
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ =4,3

āyre yethāy udhāo hāoyāy
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ =4,4

man bhese yāy kon sudūr /
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ =4,3

A/14

Śaṅkha Ghoṣ / Bāul

dalbr̥tta

4,4,4,4 / 4,2

[WAV 44k](#)

balechilām, tomāy niye yāba anya dūrer deśe
 ∪∪∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ =4,4,4,4

sei kathāṭā bhābi,
 ∪ ∪∪ ∪ =4,2

jībaner oi sāṭṭā māyā dūre dūre daure beṛāy
 ∪∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ =4,4,4,4

sei kathāṭā bhābi /
 ∪ ∪∪ ∪ =4,2

tākiye thāke pṛthibīṭā, tomār kāche hār mene se
 ∪ ∪ ∪∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ =4,4,4,4

bācbe keman kare !
 ∪ ∪ ∪ =4,2

yekhāne yāo atṛpti āṛ tṛpti duṭo joṛāy joṛāy
 ∪∪ ∪ ∪∪ ∪∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ =4,4,4,4

sadare-andare /
 ∪∪ ∪∪ =4,2

A/15

Subhāṣ Mukhopādhyāy / *Keḍā re*

dalbr̥tta

4,4/4,5 / 4,2

[WAV 44k](#)

bāri / gāri / aḍhel ṭākā /
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ =4,4

prācurya āj diyēche ḍhākā /
 ∪∪ ∪ ∪∪ ∪ =4,5,

sābeker sei dainya /
 ∪∪ ∪ ∪ =4,2

svayaṃ yete hay nā jele /
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪∪ =4,4

phel'le kaṛi bājāre mele
 ∪ ∪ ∪∪ ∪ =4,5

laṛāi karār sainya /
 ∪ ∪ ∪ =4,2

A/16

Śakti Caṭṭopādhyāy / *Jhāuṃyer ḍāke*

dalbr̥tta

muktabandha

[WAV 44k](#)

jhāuṃyer ḍāke takhan haṭhāt mane āmār paṛlo kāke
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ =4,4,4,4

rātribelā
 ∪∪∪∪ =4

A/17

Śaṅkha Ghoṣ / Yamunābatī

1st stanza, dalbr̥tta, 4,4,4,1

2nd stanza, kalābr̥tta, 4,4,4,4,2

3rd stanza, dalbr̥tta, 4,4,4,1

4th stanza, kalābr̥tta, 4,4,4,4 / 4,4,3

5th stanza, kalābr̥tta, 7,7,7,3

WAV 44k

nibhanta ei cullite mā
 ∪∪∪ ∪ ∪∪∪ ∪ =4,4

ekṭu āgun de
 ∪∪ ∪∪ ∪ =4,1(2) *1

ārekṭu kāl bēcei thāki
 ∪∪∪ ∪ ∪∪ ∪∪ =4,4
 bācār ānande !
 ∪∪ ∪∪ ∪ =4,1

noṭan noṭan pāyrāguli
 ∪∪ ∪∪ ∪∪∪ =4,4

khācāte bandī
 ∪∪∪ ∪ ∪ =4,1

du-ek muṭho bhāt pele tā
 ∪ ∪ ∪∪ ∪ ∪∪ ∪ =4,4

oṛāte man di /
 ∪∪∪ ∪ ∪ =4,1

hāy toke bhāt dii kī kare ye bhāt dii hāy
 _ ∪∪ _ ∪∪∪∪ ∪ _ ∪∪ _ =4,4,4,4,2

hāy toke bhāt deba kī diye ye bhāt deba hāy
 _ ∪∪ _ ∪∪ ∪ ∪∪ ∪ _ ∪∪ _ =4,4,4,4,2

nibhanta ei culli tabe
 ∪∪∪ ∪ ∪∪ ∪∪ =4,4

ekṭu āgun de — <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u>	=4,1
hāṛer śirāy śikhār mātan <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u>	=4,4
marār ānande ! <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u>	=4,1
du-pāre dui rui kātlār <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u>	=4,4
māraṇī phandi <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u>	=4,1
bācār āśāy hāt-hātiyār <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u>	=4,4
mṛtyute man di / <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u>	=4,1
 bargi nā ṭargi nā, yamke ke sāmlāy / <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u>	=4,4,4,4
dhār-cakcake thābā dekhcha nā hāmlāy ? <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u>	=4,4,4,4
yāsne o-hāmlāy, yāsne // <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u>	=4,4,3
 kānnā kanyār māyēṛ dhamanīte ākul ḍheu tole, jvale nā — <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u>	=7,7,7,3
māyēṛ kānnāy meyēṛ rakter uṣṇahāhākār mere nā — <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u>	=7,7,7,3

*1 One-syllable words at the end of a line, such as “de” or “di”, are often counted as 2 *matras*, though they are normally counted as 1 *matra* in *dalbritta*.

M/1**Vidyāpati****kalābr̥tta****(2),6,4 / (2),6,4 /6,6, / 6,4*¹****WAV 44k**

jaba godhuli samay̐ beli $\sim \quad \sim \sim \quad \sim _ \quad _ _$	= (2),6,4* ²
dhani mandir bāhar bheli / $\sim \quad _ _ \quad \sim _ \quad _ _$	= (2),7,4* ³
naba jaladhara bijuri rehā $\sim \quad \sim \sim \sim \quad \sim \sim \quad \sim _$	= 6,6
danda pasāri geli // $_ \sim \quad \sim \sim \quad _ _$	= 6,4
dhani alapa bayes bālā $\sim \quad \sim \sim \quad \sim _ \quad _ _$	= (2),6,4
janu gāthni puhpa mālā / $\sim \quad _ \sim \quad _ \sim \quad _ _$	= (2),6,4
thori darśane ās na pūrla $\sim \quad _ \sim \quad _ \quad \sim \quad _ \sim$	= 6,6
bāṛhla madan jālā // $_ \sim \quad \sim _ \quad _ _$	= 6,4

*1 This verse form is considered to be 6,4/6,4/6,6/6,4 excluding the additional 2 *matras* at the beginning of some lines. This style, with its extra 2 *matras*, is said to have been introduced by Vidyapati and was later followed by many other poets. Cf. Anandamohon Basu, *Bangla Padabali Chanda* (Kolkata: Pratima Prakashan, 1968), p. 61.

*2 The last word “beli” is supposed to be pronounced longer, like “bēlī”, in order to be counted as 4 *matras*. Except for the seventh line, all other lines end in the same manner.

*3 This line is irregular, since “mandir bāhar” becomes 7 *matras*.

M/2
Vidyāpati
kalābr̥tta
4,4,3
[WAV 44k](#)

jahā jahā padajuga dharaī /
 ˘˘ ˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘ ˘˘˘ =4,4,3

tahī tahī saroruha bharaī//
 ˘˘ ˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘ =4,4,3

jahā jahā jhalakata aṅga /
 ˘˘ ˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘ =4,4,3

tahī tahī bijuri taraṅga //
 ˘˘ ˘˘ ˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ =4,4,3*1

*1 “bijuri taraṅga” is supposed to be recited as “bijuri ta/raṅga”, cf. Anandamohan Basu, *Bangla Padabalir Chanda*, p. 58.

M/3
Vidyāpati
miśrabr̥tta
8,6,
[WAV 44k](#)

gagane garaje ghana phukare mayūr /
 ˘˘˘ ˘˘˘ ˘˘ ˘˘˘ ˘˘˘ =8,6

ekali mandire hām piyā madhupur //
 ˘˘˘ ˘˘˘ ˘˘˘ ˘˘˘ ˘˘˘ =8,6

śuna sakhi hāmāri bedan /
 ˘˘ ˘˘ ˘˘˘ ˘˘˘ =6,4*1

baṛa dukha dila more dārun madan //
 ˘˘ ˘˘ ˘˘˘ ˘˘˘ ˘˘˘ =8,6

*1 This line appears to be short and irregular.

e khīr modaka cini kadalaka
 √ _ √√√ √√ √√√√ =6,6

ke tor ācare dila //
 √ _ √√√ √√ =8

*1 “prāṇnandinī” is a compound, “prāṇ-nandinī”

*2 “nī” in “prāṇnandinī” is supposed to be pronounced longer in order to be counted as 2 *matras*.

M/6

Kṛttibās / Rāmāyaṇ (normal recitation)

miśrabṛtta

8,6^{*1}

WAV 44k

golok baikunṭha-purī sabār upar /
 √ _ √√√ √√ √ _ √ _ =8,6

lakṣīsaha tathāy āchen gadādhar //
 √√√√ √ _ √ _ √√ _ =8,6 (7,7)^{*2}

tathāy adbhut bṛkṣa dekhite sucāru /
 √ _ √ _ √√ √√√ √√√ =8,6

yāhā cāi, tāhā pāi, nām kalpataru //
 √√ _ √√ _ _ √√√√ =8,6

dibā-nīsi tathā candra sūryyer prakās /
 √√√√ √√ √√ √ _ √ _ =8,6

tār tale āche dibya bicitra ābās //
 _ √√ √√ √√ √√√ √ _ =8,6

netapāt simhāsan-uparete tuli /
 √√ _ √√ _ √√√√ √√ =8,6

bīrāsane basiyā āchen banamālī //
 √√√√ √√√ √ _ √√√√ =8,6 (7,7)^{*3}

*1 This verse form, which consists of couplets of clauses with 8 and 6 *matra* feet each, is called *Payar*.

*2 Some scholars believe that the word “āchen” should be divided as “ā/chen” whereas others argue that this line may remain 7,7 as long as the whole line consists of 14 *matras*.

*3 This line is also considered to be either 8,6 or 7,7.

M/7

Kṛttibās / Rāmāyaṇ (musical recitation)

miśrabṛtta

8,6

[WAV 44k](#)

golok baikuṅṭha-purī sabār upar /
 √_ √√ √ √_ √_ =8,6

lakṣīsaha tathāy āchen gadādhar //
 √√√ √_ √_ √_ =8,6 (7,7)^{*2}

tathāy adbhut bṛkṣa dekhite sucāru /
 √_ √_ √ √√ √√ =8,6

yāhā cāi, tāhā pāi, nām kalpataru //
 √ √_ √ √_ √ √√√ =8,6

dibā-niśi tathā candra sūryyer prakāś /
 √√√ √ √ √_ √_ =8,6

tār tale āche dibya bicitra ābās //
 _ √ √ √ √√ √_ =8,6

netapāt siṃhāsan-uparete tuli /
 √_ √_ √√√ √ =8,6

bīrāsane basiṃyā āchen banamālī //
 √√√ √√ √_ √√√ =8,6 (7,7)^{*3}

śaṅkar kahen baṭe bāp-ghare yābe / nimantraṇ binā giyā apamān pābe //

∪_ ∪_ ∪∪ _ ∪∪ ∪∪ ∪∪_ ∪∪ ∪∪ ∪∪_ ∪∪
=8,6 =8,6

yajña kariyāche dakṣa śuna tār marma / āmāre nā dibe bhāg ei tār karma //

∪∪ ∪∪∪∪ ∪∪ ∪∪ _ ∪∪ ∪∪∪ ∪ ∪∪ _ _ _ ∪∪
=8,6 =8,6

satī kan mahāprabhu hena nā kahibā / bāp-ghare kanyā yete nimantraṇ kibā//

∪∪ _ ∪∪∪∪ ∪∪ ∪ ∪∪∪ _ ∪∪ ∪∪ ∪∪ ∪∪_ ∪∪
=8,6 =8,6

*1 This line is again considered to be either 8,6 or 7,7 for the same reason mentioned in M/6.

M/11

Bhāratcandra / Annadāmaṅgal (musical recitation)

miśrabṛtta

8,6

[WAV 44k](#)

nibedan śunaha ṭhākur pañcānan / yajña dekhibāre yāba bāpār bhaban //

∪∪_ ∪∪∪ ∪_ ∪∪_ ∪∪ ∪∪∪∪ ∪∪ ∪_ ∪_
=8,6 (7,7) =8,6

śaṅkar kahen baṭe bāp-ghare yābe / nimantraṇ binā giyā apamān pābe //

∪_ ∪_ ∪∪ _ ∪∪ ∪∪ ∪∪_ ∪∪ ∪∪ ∪∪_ ∪∪
=8,6 =8,6

yajña kariyāche dakṣa śuna tār marma / āmāre nā dibe bhāg ei tār karma //

∪∪ ∪∪∪∪ ∪∪ ∪∪ _ ∪∪ ∪∪∪ ∪ ∪∪ _ _ _ ∪∪
=8,6 =8,6

satī kan mahāprabhu hena nā kahibā / bāp-ghare kanyā yete nimantraṇ kibā//

∪∪ _ ∪∪∪∪ ∪∪ ∪ ∪∪∪ _ ∪∪ ∪∪ ∪∪ ∪∪_ ∪∪
=8,6 =8,6

M/12
Charā
dalbr̥tta
4,4,4,2^{*1}
[WAV 44k](#)

chāgale khāila latā-pātā
 ˘˘˘ ˘˘ ˘˘ ˘˘ =5,4

poke khāila dhān,
 ˘˘ ˘˘ ˘ =4,1 (4,2)^{*2}

māchi maśāy śeṣ karila
 ˘˘ ˘˘ ˘ ˘˘˘ =4,4

gājipurer dhān /
 ˘˘˘˘ ˘ =4,1 (4,2)

*1 Composition in 4,4,4,2 is a typical verse form of *chara*, but in *chara*, we often find a line which does not exactly fit the form. Here, the first line becomes 5,4, not 4,4. However, the verses of *dalbr̥tta*, and especially of *chara*, are recited rapidly with intonation, and that makes the verse sound almost as if it were composed in 4,4,4,2 verse form. In this case, the intonation will be:

chāgale khāila latā-pātā

poke khāila dhān,

māchi maśāy śeṣ karila

gājipurer dhān /

*2 “dhān” should be 1 *matra* in *dalbr̥tta*, but one-syllable words at the end of a line, are often counted as 2 *matras*.

M/13
Charā,
dalbr̥tta
4,4,4,2
[WAV 44k](#)

bṛṣṭi paṛe ṭapur ṭapur nadī ela bān, ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪	=4,4,4,1 (4,4,4,2)* ¹
śibṭhākurer biye hala tin kanye dān / ∪∪∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪	=4,4,3,1 (4,4,4,2)
ek kanye rādhen bāren, ek kanye khān, ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪	=3,4,3,1(4,4,4,2)
ek kanye nā kheye bāper bāri yān / ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪	=3,3,4,1(4,4,4,2)

*1 Here all the one-syllable words at the end of a line, such as “bān”, “tin”, “dān”, “ek”, “khān”, “nā” and “yān”, are usually recited longer to be counted as 2 *matras*.

M/14**Charā****dalbrtta****irregular** *¹**WAV 44k**

ulu ulu mādārer phul ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪	=4,4
bar āsche katadūr / ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪	=3,3
barer māthāy cāpār phul ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪	=4,3
kaner māthāy ṭākā ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪	=4,2
eman barke biye deba ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪	=4,4

tār gōpjoṛāṭi pākā /
 ∪ ∪∪∪ ∪ =5,2

bhāla to beṇī biniyece rāni
 ∪∪ ∪ ∪∪ ∪∪ ∪ =5,5

beṇīr āgāy sonār jhāpā
 ∪∪ ∪∪ ∪∪ ∪∪ =4,4

mājhe mājhe tār kanak cāpā /
 ∪∪ ∪∪ ∪ ∪∪ ∪ =5,4

*1 This verse can hardly be analyzed according to any regular pattern of verse form. Still, verses in *dalbrtta* have a basic rhythm of repetitions of 4 and a reader usually tries to bring it close to the pattern of *dalbrtta*, which should be either 4,4,4,2 or 4,4,4,3 or 4,4,4,4.

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