A Vedic Grammar for Students by Arthur Anthony Macdonell

[Ed: I have added in the metrical markings wherever they were lacking in Macdonell's text, reformatted part of the text, and added some notes to clarify matters. All additions are placed in square brackets]

Appendix II: Vedic Metre

1. The main principle governing Vedic metre the source of all later Indian versification) is measurement by number of syllables.² The metrical unit here is not the foot in the sense of Greek prosody, but the foot (pāda) or quarter³ in the sense of the verse or line which is a constituent of the stanza. Such verses consist of eight, eleven, twelve, or (much less commonly) five syllables. The verse is further more or less regulated by a quantitative rhythm (unaffected by the musical accent) in which short and long syllables alternate. Nearly all metres have a general iambic rhythm inasmuch as they show a preference for the even syllables (second, fourth, and so on) in a verse being long rather than short. In every metre the rhythm of the latter part of the verse (the last four or five syllables), called the cadence, is more rigidly regulated than that of the earlier part. Verses of eleven and twelve syllables are characterized not only by their cadence, but by a cæsura after the fourth or the fifth syllable. While verses of five and eight syllables have no such metrical pause.

Verses combine to form a stanza or rc, the unit of the hymn, which generally consists of not less than three or more than fifteen such units. The stanzas of common occurrence in the RV.⁴ range, by increments of four syllables, from twenty syllables (4 x 5) to forty-

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¹ Called chándas in the RV, itself.

² Except the two metres Aryā and Vaitālīya which are measured by moræ. This seems to have been the only metrical principle in the Indo-Iranian period, because in the Avesta the character of a verse depends solely on the number of syllables it contains, there being no quantitative restriction in any part of it.

A figurative sense (derived from *foot* = *quarter* of a quadruped) applicable because the typical stanza has four lines.

^{4 [}I.e. Rg Veda.]

eight (4 x12) syllables in length. A stanza may consist of a combination of metrically identical or of metrically different verses; and either two or three stanzas may further be combined to form a strophe.

- a. The following general rules of prosody are to be noted.
- 1. The end of a verse regularly coincides with the end of a word² because each verse in a stanza is independent of the rest in structure.
- 2. The quantity of the first and last syllables of a verse is indifferent.
- 3. A vowel becomes long by position if followed by two consonants. One or both of these consonants may belong to the following word. The palatal aspirate ch and the cerebral aspirate !h (dh) count as double consonants.
- 4. One vowel is shortened before another; e and o are also pronounced e and o before a.
- 5. The semivowels y and v, both within a word and in Sandhi, have often to be pronounced as i and u; e. g. siāma for syāma; súar for svár; ví uṣāḥ for vy uṣāḥ; vidátheṣu añján for vidátheṣv añján.
- 6. Contracted vowels (especially ī and ū) must often be restored; e. g. ca agnáye for cāgnáye; ví índraḥ for vīndraḥ; ávatu ūtáye for ávatūtáye; á indra for éndra.
- 7. Initial a when dropped after e and o must nearly always be restored.

² No infringement of this rule occurs in any metre of the RV. but the comparatively rare Dvipadā Virāj (4 x 5), in which three exceptions are met with.

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¹ There are also several longer stanzas formed by adding more verses and consisting of 52, 56, 60, 64, 68, and 72 syllables; but all these are rare: only two stanzas of 68 and one of 72 are found in the RV.

³ The vowels ī, ū, e when Pragṛhya (25, 26), however, remain long before vowels. When a final long vowel is the result of Sandhi, it also remains long; tásmā adāt for tásmai adāt.

- 8. The long vowel of the genetive plural ending ām, and of such words as dāsa, śūra, and e (as jyá-iṣṭha for jyéṣṭha) or ai (as á-ichas for áichas) must often be pronounced as equivalent to two short syllables.
- 9. The spelling of a few words regularly misrepresents their metrical value; thus pāvaká must always be pronounced as pavāká, mrlaya as mṛļaya, and suvāná nearly always as svāná.

I. Simple Stanzas.

- 2. The Vedic hymns consist chiefly of simple stanzas, that is, of such as are formed of verses which are all metrically identical. Different stanzas are formed by combining three, four, five, or six identical verses. The following is an account of the various types of verse and of the different simple stanzas formed by them.
- A. Verse of eight syllables. This is a dimeter verse consisting of two equal members of four syllables each, the opening and the cadence. In the opening the first and third syllable are indifferent, while the second and fourth are preferably long. When the second is short, the third is almost invariably long. In the cadence the rhythm is typically iambic $[\smile -]$, the first and third syllables being almost always short, while the second is usually long (though it is not infrequently short also). Thus the prevailing scheme of the whole verse is $\succeq \succeq -|\smile \smile \succeq|$.
- a. Even after every admissible vowel restoration a good many verses of this type exhibit the anomaly (which cannot be removed without doing violence to the text) of having one syllable too few; e. g.

[----] tám tuā vayám pito.

There are also here a very few instances of one or even two syllables too many; e. g.

3. a. The **Gāyatrī**² stanza consists of three³ octosyllabic verses;⁴ e.g.

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¹ [I follow Macdonell in always marking the end syllable according to its natural weight. When placed in square brackets the metrical markings have been added in for clarity's sake.]

Next to the Tristubh this is the commonest metre in the RV., nearly one-fourth of that Samhitā being composed in it; yet it has entirely disappeared in Classical Sanskrit. The Avesta has a parallel stanza of 8 × 8 syllables.

The first two Pādas of the Gāyatrī are treated as a hemistich in the Samhitā text, probably in imitation of the hemistich of the Anuṣṭubh and the Triṣṭubh; but there is no reason to believe that in the original text the second verse was more sharply divided from the third than from the first.

By far the commonest variation from the normal type is that in which the second syllable of the cadence is short (>>>>). This occurs about as often in the first verse of Gāyatrīs as in the second and third combined.

a. A comparatively rare but sufficiently definite variety of Gāyatrī¹ differs from the normal type by having a decided trochaic rhythm in the cadence,² while the iambic rhythm of the opening is more pronounced than usual; e. g.

b. The **Anuştubh**⁴ stanza consists of four octosyllabic verses, divided into two hemistichs; e. g.

a. In the latest hymns of the RV, there begins a tendency to differentiate the first from the second verse of an Anustubh hemistich by making the end of the former trochaic $[-\cup]$, while the cadence of the latter becomes more strictly iambic $[\cup]$.

² The trochtaic Gāyatrī is commonest in Maṇḍalas i and viii, which taken together contain about two-thirds of the total number of examples in the RV.

¹ The only long series of such trochaic Gāyatrīs occurs in RV. viii. 2, 1-39.

³ [In Vedic visarjanīya (ḥ), counts as does one consonant, therefore if there is a short vowel preceding it, and no consonant following it, the syllable is light/short. Cf. also the 3rd line in the next verse.]

The frequency of this metre is about one-third that of Gāyatrī in the RV., but in the post-Vedic period it has become the predominant metre. The Avesta has a parallel stanza of 4 x 8 syllables.

Although in these hymns the iambic cadence of the first verse is still the most frequent (25 per cent.) of all varieties, it is already very nearly equalled by the next commonest (23 per cent.), which is identical with the normal and characteristic cadence of the first verse in the epic Anuṣṭubh¹ (ś1oka). The scheme of the whole hemistich according to this innovation² then is:

c. The **Pankti** stanza consists of five octosyllabic verses³ divided into two hemistichs of two and of three verses respectively. In origin it seems to be an extension of the Anustubh by the addition of a fifth verse. This is indicated by the fact that in hymns consisting entirely of Panktis the fifth verse of every stanza is (except in i. 81) regularly a refrain (e. g. in i. 80). The following is an example of a Pankti stanza:—

```
[----|----|----||
itthấ hí sóma in máde | brahmấ cakấra várdhanam ||
[----|----|----|----||
śáviṣṭha vajrinn ójasā | pṛthivyấ níḥ śaśā áhim | árcann ánu svarấjiam ||
```

- d. In about fifty stanzas of the RV. the number of octosyllabic verses is increased to six and in about twenty others to seven, generally by adding a refrain of two verses to an Anustubh (e.g. viii. 47) or to a Pańkti (e.g. x. 133, 1-3). The former is called **Mahāpańkti** (48 [syllables]), the latter **Śakvarī** (56 [syllables]).
- 4. B. Verses of eleven syllables differ from those of eight in consisting of three members (the opening, the break, and the cadence). They also contrast with the latter in two other respects:

Where the iambic cadence in the first verse has entirely disappeared.

² This is the regular type of the Anustubh in the AV.

³ The Avesta has a parallel stanza of 5 x 8 syllables.

their cadence is trochaic (----) and they have a cæsura, which follows either the fourth or the fifth syllable. The rhythm of the syllables preceding the cæsura is prevailingly iambic, being ---- or ------. The rhythm of the break between the cæsura and the cadence is regularly ---- or ----- Thus the scheme of the whole normal verse of eleven syllables is:

a. Apart from corruptions or only seeming irregularities (removable by restoration of vowels) several verses of this type have one syllable too many or too few; 6 e.g.

```
[----,---]
tá no vidvámsā, mánma vo ¦ cetam adyá<sup>7</sup> (12);
[-----]
tam īm gíro, jána ¦ yo ná pátnīḥ<sup>8</sup> (10).
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The only irregularity here is that time first syllable of the cadence may be short when it coincides with the end of a word.

² This appears to have been the original position of the cæsura because the parallel verse of the Avesta has it there and never after the fifth syllable.

Identical with the opening of the octosyllabic verse.

The fourth syllable here is sometimes short: the fifth is then always long.

The first of those two syllables is sometimes, but rarely, long in the old hymns of the RV., still more rarely in the later hymns, and hardly ever in B.

⁶ This anomaly also appears in the metre of later Vedic texts and of Pāli poetry.

The extra syllable in such cases is perhaps due to the verse being inadvertently continued after a fifth syllable cæsura as if it were a fourth syllable cæsura.

The deficiency of a syllable in such cases may have been partly due to the similarity of the decasyllabic Dvipadā Virāj (8) with which Triṣṭubh verses not infrequently interchange.

Occasionally two syllables are wanting after the cæsura or the verse is too long by a trochee added at the end; e. g.

```
[ - - - [ ..] - | - - - ]

tá ū sú ņo, [ ..] ma | hó yajatrāḥ (9);
[ - - - - [ - - - ] yó dvijánmā. (9);
[ - - - - - - | - - - - - - - - ]

ráthebhir yāta, ṛṣṭi | mádbhir áśva | parṇaiḥ (13).
```

5. The **Tristubh** stanza, the commonest in the RV., consists of four verses of eleven syllables divided into two hemistichs. The following are hemistichs of each type:

```
[O---,OO-|-OO-||O---,OO-|-O--]
(a) anāgāstvé, aditi | tvé turāsaḥ || imám yajñám, dadhatu |
śróṣamāṇāḥ ||
[-----,OO|-O--||O----||O----||O|
(b) asmākam santu, bhúva | nasya gópāḥ || pibantu sómam, áva | se
nŏ adyá ||
```

a. A few Triṣṭubh stanzas of only two verses (dvipadā) occur (e.g. vii. 17). Much commoner are those of three verses (virāj), the first two of which (as in the Gāyatrī stanza) are treated in the Saṁhitā text as a hemistich; the whole of some hymns is composed in this three-line metre (e. g. iii. 25). Fairly frequent are also Triṣṭubh stanzas of five verses³ divided into two hemistichs of two and three three verses respectively. They are always of isolated occurrence, appearing generally at the end of (Triṣṭubh) hymns, but never forming an entire hymn.

About two-fifths of the RV. are composed in this metre.

² The Avesta has a parallel stanza of 4 x 11 syllables with cæsura after the fourth syllable.

These are accounted Atijagatī (52) or Śakvarī stanzas by the ancient metricians when the fifth verse is a repetition of the fourth. If it is not a repetition it is treated in the Samhitā text as a separate verse (as v. 41, 20; vi. 63, 11) and is called an ekapadā by the metricians.

6. C. The verse of twelve syllables is probably an extension of the Tristubh verse by one syllable which gives the trochaic [--] cadence of the latter an iambic [--] character. The rhythm of the last five syllables is therefore [---]. The added syllable being the only point of difference, the scheme of the whole verse is:

a. Several examples occur of this type of verse (like the Tristubh) having one, and occasionally two, syllables too many or too few; e.g.

```
[----, ----]
mấ no mártāya, ripáve vājinīvasū (13);
[---, ---]
ródasī ấ, vada ¦ tā gaṇaśriyaḥ (11);
[----, -----]
sá dṛḷḥé cit, abhí tṛ ¦ ṇatti vấjam ár ¦ vatā (14);
[----, ------]
píbā sómam, [---] e ¦ nấ śatakrato (10).
```

7. The **Jagatī** stanza, the third in order of frequency in the RV., consists of four verses of twelve syllables divided into two hemistichs. The following hemistich gives an example of each of the two types of verse:

```
anānudó, vṛṣabhó ¦ dódhato vadháḥ ¦
[----,---]
gambhīrá ṛṣvó, ásam ¦ aṣṭakāviaḥ ¦|
```

¹ It is probably not Indo-Iranian, because though a verse of 12 syllables occurs in the Avesta, it is there differently divided (7 +5).

As the Gayatrī verse is never normally found in combination with the Triṣṭubh, but often with the Jagatī verse, it seems likely that the iambic influence of the Gāyatrī led to the creation of the Jagatī, with which it could form a homogeneous combination.

a. There is an eleven syllable variety of the Jagatī verse which is sufficiently definite in type to form entire stanzas in two hymns of the RV. (x. 77, 78). It has a cæsura after both the fifth and the seventh syllable, its scheme being $\forall \neg \forall \neg \neg, \neg \neg \neg \forall \exists$. The following hemistich is an example:

```
[----,--,--]

abhraprúṣo ná, vācấ, pruṣā vásu |
[----,--,--]

havísmanto ná, yajñấ, vijānúsah ||
```

8. D. The **verse of five syllables** resembles the last five syllables of the Tristubh verse in rhythm, its commonest form being $\smile -\smile - \succeq$, and the one next to it in frequency $-\smile - \succeq \mid^2$

The **Dvipadā Virāj** stanza³ consists of four such verses divided into two hemistichs; ⁴ e.g.

```
pári prá dhanva | indrāya soma |
[----|
svādúr mitráya | pūsné bhágāya ||
```

a. Owing to the identity of the cadence a Dvipadā hemistich⁵ not infrequently interchanges in the same stanza with a Triṣṭubh verse;⁶ e.g.

This stanza is somewhat rare, occurring in the RV. not much more than a hundred times.

¹ [This further supports the theory that in verses with replacement, the light/short syllables that are replaced are the ones following the cæsura; see The Prosody of the Dhammapada for more on this phenomena.]

² That is, its first syllable is less often long than short.

⁴ The otherwise universal rule that the end of a verse must coincide with the end of a word is three times ignored in this metre (at this end of the first and third verses).

With this metre compare the defective Tristubh verse of ten syllables (4 a).

⁶ This interchange occurs especially in RV. vii. 34 and 56.

```
[ v - - v | v - v - Dvipadā]

priyá vo náma | huve turáṇām |

[ - v - v - | - v - Triṣṭubh]

á yát tṛpán, maruto | vāvasānáḥ ||
```

b. The mixture of Dvipadā hemistichs with Triṣṭubh verses led to an entire hymn (iv. 10) being composed in a peculiar metre consisting of three pentasyllabic verses² followed by a Triṣṭubh; e.g.

II. Mixed Stanzas.

- 9. The only different verses normally used in combination to form a stanza are the Gāyatrī and the Jagatī. The principal metres thus formed are the following:
- a. Stanzas of **28 syllables** consisting of three verses, the first two of which are treated as a hemistich:

Here the verb, though the first word of the verse (App. III, 19 b), is unaccented. This is because the end of the first and the third verse in this metre has a tendency to be treated like a cæsura rather than a division of the stanza. Cp. note 2.

These three verses are treated as a hemistich, in the Samhitā text.

³ The verb is accented because in the Samhitā text it is treated as the first word of a separate verse.

```
I. Uşņih: 8 8 12; e.g.
  [----|----]
ágne vája | sya gómatah |
  [----]
ī́sānah sa¦haso yaho #
  [----,---|----]
asmé dhehi, jātave | do máhi śrávah ||
2. Puraușņiḥ: 12 8 8; e.g.
  [-0-0,000|-0-00]
apsú antár, amrtam l apsú bhesajám
  [U-U-|U-U-]
apấm utá | prásastaye ||
  [------]
dévā bhava ¦ ta vājínaḥ #
3. Kakubh: 8 12 8; e.g.
  [---|----]
ádhā hi in ¦ dra girvaņaḥ ¦
  [0---,00]0-0-]^{1}
úpa tvā kāmān, maháh | sasrjmáhe ||
  [----
udéva yán ¦ ta udábhih #
```

b. Stanzas of **36 syllables** consisting of four verses divided into two hemistichs:

¹ [This appears to be a Tristubh line, rather than the required Jagatī.]

Brhatī 8 8 12 8; e. g.

```
[ --- | --- | sácībhir naḥ | sacīvasū | [ --- | --- | ]
dévā náktaṁ | dasasyatam || [ --- | --- | | ]
mấ vāṁ rātir, úpa da | sat kádā caná | [ --- | --- | | ]
asmád rātih | kádā caná ||
```

c. Stanzas of **40 syllables** consisting of four verses divided into two hemistichs: **Satobṛhatī** 12 8 12 8; e. g.

- 10. There are besides two much longer mixed stanzas of seven verses, each of which is split up into three divisions of three, two, and two verses respectively in the Samhita text.
- a. Stanzas of **60 syllables** consisting of six Gāyatrī verses and one Jagatī:

These are the compositions of a very few individual poets.

Atiśakvarī 8 8 8, 8 8, 12 8; ¹ e. g.

b. Stanzas of **68 syllables** consisting of four Gāyatrī and three Jagatī verses:

Only about ten examples of this metre occur in the RV.

² [Presumably we should read $\dot{\mathbf{u}}$ but $\dot{\mathbf{u}}$ is written.]

This is the only comparatively common long metre (of more than 48 syllables) in the RV., where more than 80 Atyasti stanzas occur.

```
máhi stotrbhyo, magha | van suvíriam |

[---|---|
máthīr ugró | ná sávasā ||
```

- a. Besides the above mixed metres various other but isolated combinations of Gāyatrī and Jagatī verses occur in the RV., chiefly in single hymns. There are stanzas of this kind containing 20 syllables (12 8);² 32 syllables (12 8, 12);³ 40 syllables (12 12, 8 8);⁴ 44 syllables (12 12, 12 8)⁵ 52 syllables (12 12, 12 8 8).⁶
- b. 1. Tristubh verses are quite often interspersed in Jagatī stanzas, but never in such a way as to form a fixed type of stanza or to make it doubtful whether a hymn is a Jagatī one. This practice probably arose from the interchange of entire Tristubh and Jagatī stanzas in the same hymn bringing about a similar mixture within a single stanza.
- 2. An occasional licence is the combination of a Tristubh with a Gāyatrī verse in the same stanza. This combination appears as a regular mixed stanza (11 8, 8 8) in one entire hymn (RV. x. 22).
- 3. The combination of a Tristubh verse with a Dvipadā Yirāj hemistich has already been noted (8 a).

³ RV. ix. 110.

Should we read <u>asiái</u> in the 5th; and <u>śavasa</u> in the last line?

² RV. viii. 29.

⁴ RV. x. 98.

⁵ RV. viii. 35.

⁶ RV. v. 87.

⁷ But the intrusion of Jagatī verses in a Triṣṭubh hymn is exceptional in the RV., though very common in the AV. and later.

⁸ Except stanzas 7 and 15, which are pure Anustubh and Tristubh respectively.

III. Strophic Stanzas.

- 11. Two or three stanzas are often found strophically combined in the RV., forming couplets or triplets.
- A. Three simple stanzas (called tṛca) in the same metre are often thus connected. Gāyatrī triplets are the commonest; less usual are Uṣṇiḥ, Bṛhatī, or Paṅkti triplets; while Triṣṭubh triplets are rare. A hymn consisting of several triplets often concludes with an additional stanza in a different metre.
- a. It is a typical practice to conclude a hymn composed in one metre with a stanza in another. A Triṣṭubh stanza at the end of a Jagatī hymn is the commonest; a final Anuṣṭubh stanza in Gāyatrī hymns is much less usual; but all the commoner metres are to some extent thus employed except the Gāyatrī, which is never used in this way.
- B. Two mixed stanzas in different metres are often combined, the RV. containing about 250 such strophes. This doubly mixed strophic metre, called **Pragātha**, is of two main types:
- 1. The **Kākubha Prāgatha** is much the less common kind of strophe, occurring only slightly more than fifty times in the RV. It is formed by the combination of a Kakubh with a Satobṛhatī stanza: $8\ 12,\ 8+12\ 8,\ 12\ 8;\ e.\ g.$

```
[---|---|
ā no áśvā | vad aśvinā |
[----,--|----|
vartír yāsiṣṭaṁ, madhu | pātamā narā ||
[----|----|
gómad dasrā | hiraṇyavat ||
[----,---|-----|
suprāvargáṁ, suvīryaṁ | suṣṭhú vāriam |
[---|----|
ánādhrstaṁ | raksasvínā ||
```

2. The **Bārhata Pragātha** is a common strophe, occurring nearly two hundred times in the RV. It is formed by the combination of a Bṛhatī with a Satobṛhatī stanza: 8 8, 12 8 + 12 8, 12 8; e.g.

```
[----|----]
dyumní vām stó | mo aśvinā | l
  [----
krívir ná sé ¦ ka á gatam #
  [----|----]
mádhvah sutásya, sá di ¦ ví priyó nárā "
  [----|---]
pātám gaurāv ¦ ivérine "
  [----,---|
píbatam gharmám, mádhu ¦ mantam asvinā ¦
  [----]
ā barhíh sī ¦ datam narā #
  [----,--;---]
tā mandasānā, mánu ¦ so duroná ā ¦
  [----
ní pātam vé ¦ dasā váyah #
```

a. Of these two types there are many variations occurring in individual hymns, chiefly by the addition of one (8), two (12 8), three (12 8 8), or once (vii. 96, 1-3) even four verses (12 12 8 8).

¹ [Macdonell places the division one syllable too early in this line.]