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IMRE BANGHA*

The Emergence of Hindi Literature: From Transregional Maru-Gurjar to Madhyadeśī Narratives

The emergence of written literature in a particular language intrigued scholars for centuries, and recently the question has received renewed attention with regard to India.[1] This was all the more necessary since earlier, nationalist attempts to locate the origins of several particular languages lacked methodological consistency in delineating boundaries and systematic philological research.[2] A particularly mystifying aspect of such research was the lack of early manuscript evidence. This has also been the case with Hindi, which most twentieth-century literary historians claimed originated sometime between the seventh and twelfth centuries, either by forcing Apabhramsha, as well as purportedly oral or non-literary works, to be accepted as early Hindi literature or by assigning early dates to absent or much later compositions. Especially with regard to the non-Apabhramsha works, their arguments were based on much later manuscript material; however, manuscripts of purported early works are also often manipulated. For example, compositions may have been assigned to early authors, such as Gorakhnāth or Amīr Khusraw, and the text and the language of early compositions may have been

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updated through an initial oral transmission, as may have been the case with the Nāth songs.[3] Further, the absence of early manuscripts in the Jain collections of Gujarat and Rajasthan, where many later works are preserved, strongly suggests that the lack of early evidence is not merely a matter of the vicissitudes of the Indian climate.[4]

In this chapter I argue that the earliest vernacular literary tradition in north India preserved in manuscript is that of Old Gujarati, also called Maru-Gurjar, composed predominantly by Jains from its inception in the late twelfth century in Gujarat till its explosion in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries into a supra-regional vernacular also cultivated in the so-called Hindi belt. Through its interaction with spoken dialects, Maru-Gurjar then began to diversify and regionalize into several new literary traditions. The earliest 'Hindī' language works in what I call the Madhyadeśī idiom grew out of the Maru-Gurjar tradition, both grammatically and poetically. Thus, Maru-Gurjar literature is where scholars may fruitfully look for an *ādikāl*, or 'initial era', of 'Hindī' literature. However, because this literature was produced by Jains, Hindi nationalist historiography has largely ignored it, relegating the scholarship on this early vernacular tradition to Gujarati and Jain scholars.

Nomenclature

A major methodological problem in addressing the emergence of a literary culture is that of the nomenclature of literary traditions. Though it is impossible to give generally acceptable definitions for all the terms used in this chapter, I will make an attempt to clarify the most important ones as I use them. First, I will consider 'literature' to be the written culture that Indians would perceive as leading to aesthetic enjoyment, that is, *rasa*.[5] For pre-colonial literary 'languages' in north India, I will use the term 'literary idioms', which avoids both the compartmentalized labelling of a modern *language*, such as Hindi or Gujarati, and identification with a spoken regional *dialect* or *patois*. Thus, the often highly stylized literary idiom of Brajbhasha is not identified with the Braj dialect of Hindi as described, for example, in *The Linguistic Survey of India*. One should also bear in mind that vernacular literary idioms often show composite regional features and that until the nineteenth century they lacked standardization. Old Hindi literary idioms shared a high number of linguistic features and most of their differences would be minor morphological ones. Many terms used for literary

idioms are modern constructs projected back upon earlier times.[6] Terms often overlapped or lacked a fixed meaning not only during early modern times but also in modern scholarship. Therefore, the language of a composition may not easily be put into one or another category and, for example, the same work may be designated as Apabhramsha, Rajasthani, Hindi, or Maru-Gurjar by different scholars. Literary idioms in the first half of the second millennium CE are among the best examples of the fact that languages 'never exist as pure, self-identical, thinglike isolates but are instead processes, in fact mutually constitutive processes'.[7] Such processes are determined by literary traditions that continuously reinvent themselves in dialogue with other traditions and with the society that produces them.

The most problematic term in this chapter is 'Hindi' itself, which in early modern times often referred to what has come to be known as Urdu from the late eighteenth century. Its more archaic form, Hindavi, could initially refer to any Indian language, and later to the idiom of Sufi compositions. Hindi as an umbrella term for a range of spoken dialects and literary idioms owes its present scope of meaning to colonial and nationalist scholarship. Readers and listeners from early modern times have identified these literary idioms, namely Avadhi, Brajbhasha, Sadhukkari, and Khari Boli (used initially in Persian-mixed Rekhta compositions), in the Hindi belt (that is, Madhyadeśa) through a bunch of dialectal markers; for example, the dialectical markers of Braj *kahaiṁ* '(we/they) say' and *kahyau* '(said)' versus the Avadhi *kahahiṁ*, *kahĕu* and the Khari Boli *kahate* (*haiṁ*) and *kahā*, respectively. Moreover, tradition more often than not determined works along roughly literary dialectal lines since later compositions linguistically modelled themselves on successful earlier compositions in the same genre. Therefore, we have Sufi narratives in Avadhi, Krishna and *rīti* poetry in Brajbhasha, early Sant songs in Sadhukkari, and Rekhta compositions in Khari Boli. Early modern authors were more interested in aligning themselves with literary traditions earmarked by a literary idiom than in establishing linguistic identities in the modern sense of the term. I would, however, like to underline here that these idioms long lacked clear boundaries and are relatively late constructions with relatively late referents (see note 6). These traditions were mutually intelligible, shared their poetic forms, and were often anthologized together.[8] Many authors easily moved between one tradition and another.[9] Moreover, the idiom of certain works may have been switched during transmission.[10] All this

suggests that the grouping together of works in Avadhi, Brajbhasha, Sadhukkari, and Khari Boli Rekhta is not just a modern phenomenon. These traditions intensively fed into each other and can be perceived as forming a 'super-tradition', which with a modern, heuristic term is called Old Hindi. As we are going to see, most of these idioms also form a linguistic and poetic continuum with the earlier Maru-Gurjar and Madhyadeśī works.

The language that Tessitori labelled as 'Old Western Rajasthanī' may be referred to as Jain Gurjar, especially by modern Jain scholars, or as Old Gujarati, especially by Gujaratis.[11] Their Rajasthani colleagues prefer to call it Maru-Gurjar, a term that includes a reference to western Rajasthan as *maru* 'desert'.[12] While this designation seems to be appropriate for the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it may not be so fitting for earlier times when no literary work in it seems to have come from the regions of present-day Rajasthan. Nevertheless, I use the term 'Maru-Gurjar' here because many early works in this language did indeed circulate in Rajasthan during the period under review.

The initially Jain Madhyadeśī literature was cultivated east of Rajasthan. 'Madhyadeśī' is a modern term employed by one of the most outstanding scholars of early Hindi, Harihar Nivas Dvivedi, to refer to what he understood to be early Brajbhasha. I am using it in a slightly different sense to refer to the developing literary vernacular of the central Hindi regions between the mid-fourteenth and mid-fifteenth centuries, in which several features of the great literary dialects of the slightly later period, Braj and Avadhi, were not yet separated. Madhyadeśī was never standardized and in its initial form can be perceived as an extension of Maru-Gurjar into central north India. Over the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries it became regionalized, absorbing local linguistic features. By the end of this period it assumed forms that could be considered to be archaic manifestations of the major literary dialects of Hindi. In contrast with the abundance of compositions in Maru-Gurjar, there is only a limited corpus of compositions in it.

It should also be reiterated that the geographic regions discussed above do not correspond to their modern linguistic counterparts. The spoken languages of Lāṭa (southern Gujarat), Gurjara, and Maru (Marwar and the Thar) were perceived as three distinct languages out of eighteen spoken in India in the eighth century.[13] In most of the second half of the first millennium, these regions were part of one political entity under the Gurjara-Pratihāras, and they maintained

their cultural continuity until the establishment of Ahmadabad as the capital of Gujarat in the fifteenth century.[14] The linguistic boundaries have, however, remained permeable for long. Gujarati was, for example, widely used in southern Rajasthan even in modern times.[15]

Theorizing the Emergence of Hindi Literature

As we are going to see, the case of Maru-Gurjar and Madhyadeśī forces us to rethink theories on the genesis of literatures and of literary languages, especially in light of the recent work of Sheldon Pollock and Francesca Orsini. The most influential modern idea about the emergence of literature was posited by German Romanticism and especially by J.G. von Herder (1744–1803), who in his *Fragments on Recent German Literature* (1767–68) and *Treatise on the Origin of Language* (1772) considered written literature as a continuation of oral 'folk' literature. While Herder held the view that 'poetry is the mother tongue of mankind'—referring of course to oral poetry—in literary historiography, the beginnings of a literature have tended to remain lost in a distant haze. Herder's view is formulated from a nationalist framework concerned with the emergence of national literature as a development from within the national language, independent of other peoples' literary achievements.

Hindi nationalist historiography, while also tracing the emergence of Hindi literature in orality, never neglected the South Asian multilingual environment in which this literature grew. The most widely accepted paradigm is that Hindi as a language is the final point of development in the Sanskrit–Shauraseni Prakrit–Shauraseni Apabhramsha lineage. The corresponding view of literary development, however, is only a modification on the Herderian concept since it presents Hindi as interacting mostly with its linguistic predecessors in this literary heritage, and assumes that much of Hindi's early corpus was composed orally and committed to writing only later.

In sharp contrast to the Herderian view of development from orality, Sheldon Pollock has maintained that in the case of South Asia literary cultures presented something qualitatively new by comparison with folk and oral traditions. In fact, excluding oral traditions from the field of the 'literary', Pollock argues that every literary culture has a two-phase beginning: at first a language is 'literized', that is, committed to writing in inscriptions and other documents; second, it is 'literarized', that is, literary works start appearing in writing modelled on earlier literary forms.[16]

Following on Pollock's arguments, Allison Busch suggests multiple Hindi literary beginnings, the first being in 1377 with Maulānā Dāūd's *Candāyan*.[17] The multilingual environment of north India received special treatment in a recent article by Francesca Orsini, who examined early Hindi within the matrix of the vernacular Hindi/Hindavi/Urdu and the cosmopolitan languages of Persian and Sanskrit.[18] Indeed, none of the aforementioned scholars viewed the emergence of Hindi in isolation either. Pollock, for example, proposes that one of the motivating forces of vernacularization was cultural emulation—an idea borrowed from archaeology in which the achievements of a culture are emulated by another, neighbouring one. Drawing on these scholars' writings, I would like to examine in some detail the emergence of literature in Madhyadeśa in the light of another, older literary idiom, Old Gujarati, which, as we have seen above, is also called Maru-Gurjar.

Jain Literature in Maru-Gurjar

Maru-Gurjar (or Mārū-Gūrjar) literature flourished between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries mostly in Gujarat and Rajasthan.[19] Today we know of a relatively large corpus of texts in Maru-Gurjar. Its most extensive survey, Mohanlal Dalichand Desai's *Jain gurjar kavio* (1925), lists (with samples) 899 compositions attributed to 437 authors, dating between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries.[20] Harivallabh Bhayani, in his historical grammar of the Gujarati language (1996), gives a not completely overlapping list of about 150 published items.[21] Independent of Gujarati scholars, Hindi literary historians also laid claim to the Maru-Gurjar tradition although they gained access to much less material. Karunapati Tripathi, in the most comprehensive history of Hindi literature, the *Hindi sāhitya kā bṛhat itihās*, lists only 31 Jain compositions from between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries, and mentions that about 500 works belong to this tradition and that they are mostly unknown and unpublished.[22]

The overwhelming majority of these works are Jain narratives and hymns composed initially by poets working in Gujarat (for instance, Vastig in Shatrunjay, Ambadevsūri in Vijapur, and so on) or in unknown locations, but that are equally popular in Rajasthan as attested by the profusion of manuscripts in Rajasthani archives. While the premodern Jain–Hindu interface must have been permeable, most Maru-Gurjar works are by Jain authors, as is clear from the texts' invocations.

They may draw on explicitly Jain themes or on any subject matter borrowed from Hindu scriptures or epics and reworked in a Jain fashion, in which the protagonist(s) become Jains at the end. Recent scholarship[23] claims that the earliest works of Maru-Gurjar literature were composed in the late twelfth century: Vajrasensūrī's undated *Bharahesur-bāhubali-ghor*,[24] Śālibhadrasūrī's *Bharateśvar-bāhubali-rās* (1185),[25] and his undated *Buddhi-rās*.[26]

From the thirteenth century onwards, many other works appear in an array of metres and genres: *sandhi, rās, carcarī, phāg, catuṣpadikā, caupāī, bārāmāsā, bhās, vivāhlā, dhaval, bolī, kalaś, janmābhiṣek, saṁvād*, and so on.[27] These works, produced mostly for singing, retain to a smaller or larger extent Apabhramsha elements; however, while some genres, such as rās, were already current in Apabhramsha, others, such as phāg, gained currency only in Maru-Gurjar works.[28] Moreover, certain genres, such as sandhi, were composed primarily on an Apabhramsha grammatical template, but contained vernacular linguistic elements, while others, such as the *vastu* or the *madanāvatār* metres, were composed primarily in the vernacular, but contained an abundance of Apabhramsha.[29] Some individual works composed mostly in the caupāī metre, such as Jinprabhsūrī's *Padmāvatī-copāi*, are primarily in Apabhramsha.[30] Others such as Vastig's *Cihuṁgati-copāī* (before 1405), the anonymously authored *Karmagati-copāī*, Devsundarsūriśiṣya's *Kākbandhi-caüppaī* (between 1363 and 1383), Sādhuhaṁsa's popular *Śālibhadra-rās* (1398) and *Gautampcchā-copāī*, and Jayaśekharsūrī's popular *Tribhuvandīpak-prabandh* (also called the *Paramahaṁsa-prabandh* or *Prabodhcintāmani-copāī*) are primarily in Maru-Gurjar.[31] According to H.C. Bhayani, the variation in register is due to the freedom of the authors to rely more heavily on either a literary or a colloquial style.[32]

Maru-Gurjar works were part of a dynamic literary world. The high number of manuscripts of Vinayprabh Upādhyāy's *Gautam-svāmī-rās* (1355)[33] and the fact that even today the work forms part of the standing repertoire of the recitation pieces of Shvetambara ascetics attests to the popularity of this literature.[34] It is recited by laypeople on the Gujarati New Year, one day after Diwali, and on the *Gotamsvāmī kā kevalgyān din*, the day on which it was composed. Since Gautamsvāmī himself is *labdhinidhāna*, or treasury of wealth, and the work is believed to be auspicious for obtaining wealth, many people sing it daily.

It was not only Jain monks who were on the move but also manuscripts and, sometimes, entire libraries.[35] Literary activities were

not carried out in isolation from non-Jains. Many of the Jain *granth bhaṇḍār*s (literally, 'book warehouses', that is, libraries) collected non-Jain works, and in earlier times seem to have served as more 'public' institutions.[36] From the late thirteenth century, secular works also started to appear in Maru-Gurjar.

Much of Maru-Gurjar literature is available in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts in Jain collections. The oldest manuscripts include one from 1296 containing Vinaycand's (fl. 1268–81) *Neminātha Catuṣpadikā*;[37] another one, found by Agarchand Nahta, is from Jaisalmer dating to 1327.[38] The *Bharahesur-bāhubali-ghor* is preserved in one single manuscript dating from 1381, more than 200 years after its purported composition.[39] Observations on these works, including those of Bhayani in his history of the Gujarati language, therefore, relate not necessarily to the language of their composition but to the still very early extant texts.[40] Due to the care paid to the written texts by their Jain keepers, one would expect less variation in the texts than in the primarily oral genres. As has been mentioned, it can be observed that in their extant forms these initial works are in some passages closer to Apabhramsha, and in others to later usages.

This Jain literary idiom first grew into a transregional tradition and then developed into regional literary languages. According to Agarchand Nahta, one of the foremost experts of literature in Rajasthan, substantial regional differences within Maru-Gurjar emerged in the fifteenth century, and from the sixteenth century onwards Marwari and Gujarati can be considered separate literary traditions.[41] H.C. Bhayani presents a slightly more complex picture, suggesting that from the fourteenth century Maru-Gurjar developed into two branches: Jaipuri and Gujarati-Marwari-Malwi, and that the latter three emerged as three separate vernaculars in the fifteenth century.[42] The appearance of literary Marwari by the fifteenth century can be corroborated by John Smith's study of the language of the reconstructed *Vīsāḷdevrās* (c.1450),[43] which is substantially different from Old Gujarati.[44]

The linguistic development of Maru-Gurjar into Middle Gujarati can be glimpsed from Table 1.1 that shows the phonetic changes between the fourteenth and the eighteenth centuries.

There is a scholarly consensus that the principal successor of the Maru-Gurjar tradition outside Gujarat was literary Marwari. I argue that one further successor was Madhyadeśī. Although literary Marwari, later called Ḍiṅgal,[45] represents a linguistic shift from Maru-Gurjar, it reflects continuity in its abundant poetic forms. In contrast to Marwari

Table 1.1 Phonetic Changes in Maru-Gurjar and Middle Gujarati Literary Works between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries

1300	1350	1400	1450	1500	1550	1600	1650	1700
-C*u*			-C*a*					
-C*i*								-C*(a)ya*/-C*a*
-aü				-*u* (for long ū)			-*o*	
-aüṁ				-*ūṁ*	> -*uṁ*			
-aï					-*i* (for ī)			
-iu			-*yaü*	>	-*yu* (for yū)	>	-*o*/-*yo*	
-iuṁ			*yūṁ*	>	-*yuṁ*			
-iyā			-*iā*/-*iyāṁ*		> -*yā* -*yāṁ*			
-iya	-*i*							
-iï		> *yaï*		> *ye*				

Source: Based on Bhayani, *Gujarātī bhāṣānuṁ aitihāsik vyākaraṇ*, 422–4.

compositions, which used a variety of metres, Madhayadeśī, as we are going to see, only produced works in caupāī (and occasionally *dohā*) metres for several centuries. This has also been observed by Narayan Singh Bhati, who stated that the literary tradition of Piṅgal, linked to Madhyadeśa and Braj, had a preference for caupāīs and dohās, as contrasted with the metrical profusion of Ḍiṅgal.[46]

Modern Hindi scholarship has incorporated Marwari and Madhyadeśī (perceived as early Braj) into the array of premodern Hindi, which directed the attention of some scholars to these idioms' predecessor, Maru-Gurjar. Several Hindi literary historians, therefore, include an appreciative survey of Maru-Gurjar literature into their histories, such as Chandradhar Sharma 'Guleri' (*Purāṇī Hindī*, 1948), Kamtaprasad Jain (*Hindī Jain sāhitya kā saṁkṣipt itihās*, 1947) Nathuram Premi (*Jain sāhitya aur itihās*, 1942–56), Ganpatichandra Gupta (*Hindī sāhitya kā vaijñānik itihās*, 1965), Shitikanth Mishra (*Hindī jain sāhitya kā bṛhat itihās*, 1989), and Agarchand Nahta in his various publications. Mainstream, that is, non-Jain, Hindi and Rajasthani histories, however, were generally ambivalent towards Maru-Gurjar.[47] Ramchandra Shukla does not appear to know about it and considers early Jain literature to be only in Apabhramsha.[48] The *Hindī sāhitya kā bṛhat itihās* treats it within the mass of later Hindi *rāso*s (heroic epic) and *muktaka*s (independent verse). In his survey of Rajasthani literature,

Motilal Menariya states that 'this vast literature of Jain scholars is interesting from a linguistic and not so much from a literary point of view, although here and there one may even find literary beauty in it'.[49] In contrast with Hindi, Gujarati literary historians accept Maru-Gurjar as part of their tradition and identify it with Old Gujarati, which developed into Middle Gujarati in the sixteenth century.

A recurring observation of Hindi scholars made in the face of the substantial corpus of Maru-Gurjar is that, lacking institutional background similar to the Jain archives, Hindī's old literature has not been preserved;[50] however, the absence of any trace of handwritten books with purported early Hindi works in the Jain collections of Gujarat and Rajasthan, where later non-Jain Hindi works are found in abundance, suggests that non-Maru-Gurjar Hindi compositions became part of written circulation at a later stage. Perhaps as a consequence of this, non-Jain Hindi manuscript production can at present only be documented from the Mughal Era.

Narratives in Madhyadeśa

In all probability, the earliest known vernacular literary work in the Hindi belt is the 'Rāula-vela', a poem preserved not in manuscript but as a stone inscription from the twelfth century in Dhar, the capital of the Paramāras, including king Bhoja.[51] It contains the head-to-toe descriptions of heroines from six regions sprinkled with features of the heroines' respective dialects, that is, Mālvā, Ṭakka (south-east Panjab), Gauḍa (eastern region), Golla (the Godavari River region), Kānoḍa (Kannauj), and what is probably Maru-Gurjar.[52] This work, composed in the form of a single-actor play called *bhāṇa*, can be perceived as a variation on the favourite genre of inscriptions, the *praśasti*, inasmuch as it presents the beauty of heroines that possibly represent the Rājyalakṣmīs, or royal fortunes, of neighbouring countries as being inferior to that of Malwa.[53] Notwithstanding its connections to Sanskrit plays and to the much later Hindi rīti tradition, the 'Rāula-vela' stands out as a unique attempt with only a meagre oral or cosmopolitan link to the subsequent vernacular traditions that were upheld by manuscript culture and that operated in a single literary idiom or in some vernacular-Apabhramsha combination. Since the inscription was unmoveable and remained in a place that lost its importance after the Paramāras, the 'Rāula-vela' was excluded from the circulation of literature.

To what extent then can we stipulate the existence of pre-Mughal vernacular literary culture from the Hindi belt in the light of later manuscript evidence? Given the monsoon climate of the region, manuscripts tend to decay within a few centuries. The earliest literary manuscripts produced in the region appear only as early as the mid-sixteenth century.[54] Nevertheless, several works explicitly claim to have been created in locations in the Hindi belt, and their date of composition is either stated in the manuscript or can be inferred by the dates of a patron.[55] More and more such works were produced from the late fifteenth century onwards, attesting to a fledgling literary culture. Parallel to this, a primarily oral poetic culture was also in existence in late Sultanate times, which in its metres and aesthetics represented continuity with written literature. Poets such as Kabīr composed orally and their poetry has been in oral circulation since. Yet the majority of the early Kabīr corpus, all the *sākhī*s (distichs) and the *ramainī*s (a mixed form of distichs and quatrains) along with more than half of the *pad*s (as published in *The Millennium Kabir Vāṇī*), was composed in dohās and caupāīs, the favourite poetic forms of literary Madhyadeśī. Nevertheless, the situation before 1450 needs more historical and philological investigation. Historicizing prosody or examining the earliest forms of language can be of particular help here.

Narratives in the caupāī metre and genre were produced in Madhyadeśa from the mid-fourteenth century onwards. In their surveys of early Brajbhasha works, Shiv Prasad Singh and Harihar Nivas Dvivedi made reference to several vernacular works composed between the mid-fourteenth and early fifteenth-centuries.[56] Although in the light of more recent research many of them cannot be considered to be as early as these scholars claimed, the dates of at least two narratives have not since been questioned seriously—the Jain Sadhāru's *Pradyumna-Carit* from 1354 and Jākhū Maniyār's (Jāṁkho Maṇihār) *Haricand Purāṇ* from 1396.[57] To these one can add Viddhaṇū's *Jñānpañcamī* (or *Siyapañcamī*) *Caupāī* from 1367 and Raïdhū's *Bārah Bhāvanā*.[58] H.N. Dvivedi also mentions another narrative, Lakhansenī's partially available *Haricarit* (*Virāṭparv*) written in 1424, and quotes four lines from it.[59] These works are the most outstanding products of a fledgling vernacular literary culture in the Hindi belt east of Rajasthan, and one may suspect that there were many similar works in circulation but, due to the limited scope of initial Hindi manuscript culture and to changing tastes, have been

lost over time. Works such as Mualānā Dāūd's *Candāyan* (1379), Viṣṇudās's epics (*Pāṇḍav-Carit* and *Rāmāyan*) and the *Vīsāḷdev-rās* (c. 1450) have been perceived to be at the fountainheads of Avadhi, Brajbhasha, and Rajasthani literary traditions respectively; however, they may also be connected to the Maru-Gurjar idiom.

Literary works in Madhyadeśa were produced at important administrative, military, or commercial centres indicating that the emergence of new works was somehow linked to the circulation of people and, eventually, of ideas. Sadhāru wrote his *Pradyumna-Carit* in Erach on the river Betwa in Bundelkhand. Although in 2001 this small town in Jhansi district had only 9,531 inhabitants,[60] Erach, the alleged birthplace of Prahlāda, was already an urban centre with rulers and a mint during the Maurya–Gupta interlude.[61] In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it was the seat of local governors from Delhi, Jaunpur, and then from Malwa, and it even had its spell of independence.[62] Viddhaṇū wrote his *Jñānpañcamī Caupāī* in 'Bihār-nagar', a designation he used for Rajgir in Bihar, and Lakhansenī produced his *Haricarit* (*Virāṭparv*) in Jaunpur-Chausa, which in modern terms would belong to the Avadhi-speaking area. The Jain poet Raïdhū, better known for his Apabhramsha compositions, was active in Gwalior in the mid- and late-fifteenth century. This may also account for the fact that just like other Maru-Gurjar compositions, some of these works had a relatively widespread circulation.

The choice of a literary idiom also suited the requirements of a particular genre or metre. It is well illustrated in the case of Jākhū Maniyār's *Haricand Purān*. This narrative is composed mostly in caupāīs; however, on the pattern of Apabhramsha and Maru-Gurjar works, the caupāīs are interspersed with *vastu*s (a strophic metre associated with Apabhramsha). While the caupāīs in the extant text can be perceived to be in archaic Brajbhasha, that is, Madhyadeśī, the vastus' language may be marked by Apabhramsha features:

Caupāī:
baiṣampāyana śiṣya haṁkāri, kisna dīpāyana kahai bicāri;
janmejaya bhārata sunāva, brahma hatyā ko phere pāva. (26)
bhārata suṇāyō paraba aṭhāra, miṭī hatyā bhayo jayajayakāra. (27)

Vastu:
jāī pātika sayala asesa, hoi dharama bahu dukkhe hāṇijjaï;
devapriyā rana raṁbhāvato eka līha kema thūṇijjaï.
kṛṣṇa dīpāyana uccarai je yahi chanda suṇantu;
manasā vācā karmaṇā ghora pāpa phīṭantu.[63]

Caupāī:
Vyasa called out to his disciple, Vaiṣampāyana
and after reflecting he said,
Janamejaya, listen to the Bhārata,
which removes even the sin of killing a Brahmin.
I am telling you the Bhārata in eighteen *parva*s—
the sin of killing is (thus) removed and celebration arises.

Vastu:
All the sins without exception disappear;
exceeding dharma arises and removes sorrow.
The beloved of the gods roars in the battle,[64]
how can he follow the same way (of his ancestors)?[65]
Whoever listens to these verses
pronounced by Vyāsa,
His sins of thought, word and action
will be erased.

Three out of the five works mentioned above are *caritkāvya*s, that is, reworkings of epic and puranic themes, and four are composed primarily in rhyming sixteen-mora caupāī couplets. Although the rhyming sixteen-mora metre called *pādākulak* (or *vadanak*, *aḍill*, or *maḍillā*)[66] was already popular in Apabhramsha, its use for epic purposes in Hindi indicates that in Madhyadesha, unlike in Bengal in the east or Rajasthan in the west, there existed a tradition of composing epic poetry primarily in caupāīs in literary vernaculars, that is, in the language of the place.

At present, out of the pre-1450 Hindi works, only Sadhāru's *Pradyumna-Carit*, the *Candāyan*, the *Vīsāḷdev-Rās*, and Viṣṇudās's *Pāṇḍav-Carit* have critical editions. The *Pradyumna-Carit* was edited on the basis of four manuscripts—three of which date back to the sixteenth century, a unique occurrence in Hindi editing history.[67] Despite the claim that the *Pradyumna-Carit* is in Brajbhasha,[68] with its retained Rajasthani and Apabhramsha phonology, morphology, and vocabulary, Sadhāru's language represents continuity with Maru-Gurjar, and with its preference for vowel clusters over diphthongs it foreshadows Avadhi. The language of the *Haricand Purāṇ* also retains vowel clusters and Apabhramsha elements.[69] In contrast, the idiom of the *Haricarit* (*Virāṭparv*), at least from what can be assessed in the four-line excerpt published by Dvivedi, differs from that of the other works and agrees with later Brajbhasha usage.[70] This could be the result of a serious reworking. Although Raïdhū's *Bārah Bhāvanā*, a short work in thirty-nine stanzas, dates

probably from the decades after 1450, its language is very close to that of the *Pradyumna-Carit*, using both archaisms and wider regional features.

* * *

Viddhaṇū's *Jñānpañcamī* (or *Siyapañcamī*) *Caupāī* (1367) is one of the earliest dateable vernacular works in Madhyadeśa that has not been discussed by non-Jain Hindi literary historians. The little that is known about Viddhaṇū's life and the circulation of his work illustrates the link between Madhyadeśī and Maru-Gurjar, and importantly between the emergence of literary works and the movement of ideas. Viddhaṇū was the son of Ṭhakkar Mālhe and a disciple of Jinodaysūri (1318–75). Jinodaysūri, the author of works that have been labelled as Apabhramsha, Prakrit, and Rajasthani compositions,[71] lived very much in the peripatetic mode moving between Palanpur (north Gujarat), Jaisalmer, Khambat, and Patan.[72] Viddhaṇū, on the other hand, became involved with the Jains in a remote area of Bihar. An inscription in thirty-eight shlokas in the Pārśvanāth temple of Rājgṛh (Rajgir, Bihar) dating from 1355 states that it was made by the Jain *śrāvak* (layman) scholar, Vīdhā, son of Ṭhakkar Mālhe.[73]

The *Jñānpañcamī Caupāī* is a composition of 548 stanzas about the importance of the fast on the day of Jñānpañcamī or Śrutpañcamī illustrated by the adventurous story of Bhaviṣyadatta. Jñānpañcamī is the fifth day of the month of Kārtik, on which Jains worship both the knowledge contained in the books and the physical manuscripts themselves.[74] The only manuscript of Viddhaṇū's work, called *Siyapañcamī* in the text and *Ṇānapañcamī* in the colophon, is preserved in Patan.[75] While the Gujarati cataloguers and lexicographers designated its language as Apabhramsha[76] or Rajasthani,[77] Hindi scholars interested in its linguistic features found it to be closer to Hindi. Premsagar Jain took it as an early Hindi work and noted that already Nathuram Premi had drawn attention to the fact that this work is more Hindi than Gujarati when compared to the works of the Maru-Gurjar tradition.[78] The sample text below shows that the Maru-Gurjar of the poem is indeed close to Brajbhasha and Avadhi:

jiṇavara sāsaṇi āchaï sāru; jasu na lambhaï anta apāru;
paḍhahu guṇahu pūjahu ni sunehu; siya-pañcami phalu kahiyaü ehu. (1)

siya-pañcami phalu jānaü loi; jo naru karaï [so] duhiyaü na hoi;
saṁjama mana dhari jo naru karaï; so naru niścaï duttaru taraï. (2)

The teachings of the Jina are the best of all things;
they are infinite in extent; one never exhausts them.
Read them, recite them, worship them and listen to them.
The fruit of carrying out the vow of worshiping the Jain teachings is told here;
Let everyone know it.
The person who carries out these rituals will never suffer;
The one who, restrained in mind, carries out these rituals,
will surely cross over that which is difficult to cross over.
(Translated by Phyllis Granoff)[79]

ūṁva-kāraṁ jiṇahaṁ caübīsa, śārada sāmini karaüṁ jagīsa;
vāhaṇa haṁsa bahnī kara vīṇa, so jiṇa sāsaṇi achaï līṇa. (3)
aṭhadala kamala upanī nāri, jeṇi payāsiya vejaï cāri;
sasiharaviṁvu amia rasu pharaï, namaskāra tasu viddhanu karaï. (4)

The goddess Śāradā, goddess of the universe,
utters the sound *oṁ*, in which dwell the twenty-four Jinas
Her vehicle is the wild goose, she holds a *vina* in her left hand
and is immersed in the Jina's teaching.
The lady who arose from the eight-petalled lotus,
who made apprehensible the four Vedas,
and whose moon-like face sheds nectar—
Viddhaṇu salutes her.

cintā sāyara jaṁvi naru paraï, ghara dhandhali sayalaī vīsaraï;
kohu mānu māyā māya mohu, jara phajhaṁpe pariyaü sandehu. (5)[80]
dānu na dinnaü munivara jogu, nā tapu tapiü na bhogeu bhogu; (6)

When a man plummets into a sea of troubles,
he forgets all the household works,
Covered in pride, illusion, intoxication
and senselessness he falls into doubt,
Does not give appropriate donation to the excellent ascetics,
neither does he undertake asceticism nor does he enjoy delights.

sāvaya gharahiṁ liaü avatāru, anadinu mani cintahu navakāru.
tinni rayaṇa jo jhāṇahaṁ ṭhāiṁ, tisu jiu naraya ṇa kavahūṁ jāi. (7)
bhayi yaha munivara kahaü sanehu, siya-paṁcami phalu kahiyaü ehu.
caüdaha saï teīsā sāra, maṇḍala magadha nayara bīhāra. (8)

When one took human birth in the house of a Jain
one should daily meditate on the *ṇamokāra*.

The one who remains in meditation for three nights
will never go to hell.
As the best of *muni*s told it with affection
I will explain the fruit of carrying out the vow of worshiping the Jain teachings.
It is in fourteen twenty-three
in the country of Magadha in the town of Rajgir.[81]

* * *

Viṣṇudās has sometimes been presented as the founder of Brajbhasha.[82] In the form in which it has come to us, Viṣṇudās's language is Brajbhasha with a slight touch of archaisms.[83] The presence of these non-Braj forms puzzled some modern scholars and it must have baffled earlier scribes as well. An analysis of the linguistic layers of Viṣṇudās's works, often preserved in the variant readings of his editions, shows that his language has been subjected to a 'modernizing process'.[84] (A similar 'Brajifying drive' in the eighteenth century has been documented in the case of Svāmī Haridās's rekhta quatrain and of an Awadhi *chappay* metre of Tulsīdās's *Kavitāvalī*).[85] For example, we know that Caturbhuj Caube, the scribe of 'manuscript *ka*' of the *Pāṇḍav-Carit* copied in 1728 in Datiya, has reworked its language.[86] To quote just a few examples, in Caube's manuscript the *tadbhava* Apabhramsha *suravai* becomes the *tatsama* Braj *surapati*; similarly *dobai* becomes *draupatī* and *bairāre* is changed into *birāṭa*.[87] He also changes the words to be more in line with Brajbhasha, whereas the other manuscript of the *Pāṇḍav-Carit*, copied in 1757, keeps the language closer to Apabhramsha or Avadhi by separating the diphthongs into two syllables. In Caube's version *akāsaha* becomes *akāsaĩ*; *dīsahi* becomes *dīsaĩ*; *kahahu* becomes *kahau*.[88] Similarly, as McGregor has already noted, one of the two *Rāmāyan* manuscripts retains and the other eschews tadbhava archaisms.[89] The retained Apabhramsha elements as well as the use of tadbhava rather than *ardha-tatsama* words, such as *bhuvāra* (Sanskrit: *bhūpāla*); *pasāu* (Sanskrit: *prasāda*); *sāyara* (Sanskrit: *sāgara*); *dinayara* (Sanskrit: *dinakara*); *ruharu* (Sanskrit: *rudhira*); *paisār* (Sanskrit: *praveśamārga*); *tivaī* (Sanskrit: *strī*) still link Viṣṇudās's language diachronically to that of Sadhāru and, eventually, to Maru-Gurjar. Geographically, McGregor presents a complex picture by observing the closeness of Viṣṇudās's 'archaisms' to both early Rajasthani and Gujarati (that is, Maru-Gurjar and Marwari) on the one hand and to Bundelkhandi and Avadhi on the other.

Tables 1.2 and 1.3 show some prominent linguistic features of Maru-Gurjar and of early vernacular works of which we possess critical editions. As can be seen, none of the editions are based on manuscripts contemporaneous with the compositions themselves. If the editions are based on early manuscript material, the likelihood of the work having been reworked into later literary idioms is somewhat reduced. The two most problematic authors from this point of view are Viṣṇudās and Dāūd. (Elements that Viṣṇudās shares with Maru-Gurjar and with Sadhāru are in bold. The sign '+' indicates the presence and the sign '–' of the absence of a specific feature.)

It is the language of the two Jain works at Madhyadeśa, the *Pradyumna-Carit* as well as Raïdhū's *Bārah Bhāvanā* (a short work not listed in the table), and the earlier Maru-Gurjar works that share the most linguistic peculiarities with the archaisms of Viṣṇudās. His use of postpositions links him even more markedly to Sadhāru and to Maru-Gurjar than to later Brajbhasha (see Table 1.3).

While the poetic and linguistic features clearly indicate a diachronic continuity between early Maru-Gurjar, the language of Sadhāru, of Viṣṇudās, and Brajbhasha, what about the archaisms Sadhāru and Viṣṇudās share with Marwari and Avadhi? A few of Viṣṇudās's archaisms may also bring his language closer sometimes to the language of the *Candāyan*, written in Dalmau in the Avadhi area in 1379, and sometimes to the reconstructed language of the *Vīsāḷdev-rās*, composed in Rajasthan. It can also be observed that Dāūd's Avadhi shares more features with Viṣṇudās than it does with Marwari. The shared poetic form of the caupāī suggests continuity with Madhyadeśī, and there might even have been more linguistic overlap between Madhyadeśī works and the idiom used by Dāūd in earlier stages of transmission than is reflected in the critical editions. That is why one of the editors of the *Candāyan*, Parameshvarilal Gupta, could stress with some exaggeration that the *Cāndāyan* participated in literary circulation from its inception,

> *Cāndāyan* was neither composed in an Awadhi environment nor was it initially recited for the benefit of the Awadhi speaking public.... *Cāndāyan*, as it is clearly stated by Abdul Qadir Badayuni, was composed in honour of Jauna Shah, the prime minister of Delhi.... Obviously, *Cāndāyan* was composed in a language which could be understood by the prime minister as well as by the local population.[90]

Table 1.2 Comparison of Some Prominent Phonological, Morphological, and Lexical Features of Representative Works of Maru-Gurjar, Madhyadeśī, Old Marwari, Old Avadhi, and Later Braj

	Maru-Gurjar		Madhyadeśī		Old Marwari	Old Avadhi	Later Braj
	Aitihāsik vyākaraṇ[91]	*Gurjara-rāsāvalī*[92]	Sadhāru: *Pradyumna-Carit*	Viṣṇudās: *Rāmāyan*	Nālha: *Vīsāḷdev-rās*	Dāūd: *Candāyan*	
Date of the works (CE)	1150–1550	1353–1428	1354	1442	c.1450	1379	
earliest manuscripts	1273–c.1600	1493–1547	1548	1728	1576	1616	
vowel clusters	+	+	+	+ –	–	+	–
(use of the retroflex '*ṇa*')	+	+	+	–	+	–	–
Cases apart from nom., and voc.	loc/instr.; gen.		loc./instr.	obl.	loc/instr.	loc.; instr.	obl.
Apabhramsha names	+	+	+	+	n/a	n/a	–
abundance of tadbhavas	+	+	+	+	n/a	n/a	–
obl. dem. pron.	*teh*		*tihi*	*t*ām	*tihi, tahi*	*teiṁ, tehiṁ*	*tihi*
'then'		*pachaï*	*phuni*	*phuni*	*pachai*		*puni*
'speech', 'matter'		*sār*	*sār*	*sār*	*vāta*	*bāta*	*bāta, kathā*
'woman'		–	tivaī, *tiriya*	tivaī	*tirī, trī, trīyā, astir*	*tiriyā*	*tiya*

Source: Author.

Table 1.3 Comparison of Postpositions Used in Representative Works of Maru-Gurjar, Madhyadeśī, Old Marwari, Old Avadhi, and Later Braj

	Maru-Gurjar		Madhyadeśī		Old Marwari	Avadhi	Later Braj
	Aitihāsik vyākaraṇ	*Gurjara-rāsāvalī*	Sadhāru: *Pradyumna-Carit*	Viṣṇudās: *Rāmāyan*	Nālha: *Vīsāḷdev-Rās*	Dāūd: *Candāyan*	
(instrumental postp.)	***sahū***, *saũ, siũ, syũ, śũ*	***saha***, *syaũ, siũ*	***sahu***, *siu*	***sahā***	*saũ, syaũ*	*seũ, setī, saïṁ*	*saũ*
(associative postp.)	***sarasaüṁ***, *samaüṁ*	***sarisaü***	*gohiṇa*	***sarisa***	***sarisa***	*gohana*	*saṅga, sātha*
(dative postp.)	*māṭi, bhaṇi, lagī, resi*	*naï, lagaï*	***kaha, kahū***	***kahā***	*nũ*	***kahā***, *lāgi*	*kaũ*
(ablative postp.)	*thaü, thiu, thī, thakī*	*thuṁ*			*saũ, syaũ*	*huta, seũ, setī, saïṁ*	*saũ*
(genitive postp.)	***taṇaü***, *naü, keraü*	***taṇaü/tanaï***, *naü, keraü*	***taṇaü*** (rarely *kau*)	***tanau*** (rarely *kau*)	***taṇaü***	*kara/ka, kaï, ke*	*kau*
'on' (locative postp.)	*ūpari, māthaï*	*ūpari, pāhi* (for abl.)	***pahā***	***pahā***	*ūpari*		*pai*

Source: Author.

This question needs more investigation, but the shared linguistic features in the three above-mentioned texts, at the fountainhead of subsequent literary traditions, suggest that in the fifteenth century the dividing line that existed between later literary idioms was not yet prominent.

One can even go further and assume that there existed a literary idiom in Madhyadeśa with an array of features, the particular elements of which later became peculiar to crystallized idioms. This early, composite literary language can indeed be called Madhyadeśī bhāṣā, 'the vernacular of the central region of India'. Later, it shed its Apabhramsha/Rajasthani features and formed into the separate literary dialects of Braj and Avadhi, while its non-standardized form that mixed elements from a wide region was maintained by the Sant poets and was later given the name Sadhukkaṛī, 'the idiom of the sadhus'. At the same time, courtly works in this early Madhyadeśī, such as Vishnudas's *Rāmāyan*, were gradually dragged in the direction of Braj, and perhaps Avadhi, during the centuries of their transmission, losing many of their archaic features. The view that the geographically widespread Madhyadeśī vernacular becomes more and more regionalized over the centuries is paralleled by the better-documented development of the transregional Maru-Gurjar, within which the emergence of regional usages eventually resulted in the separate Gujarati, Rajasthani, and, now we may add, Madhyadeśī literatures.[93]

Manuscripts of our early vernacular works travelled throughout Gujarat, Rajasthan, and Madhyadeśa. Modern Hindi and Gujarati can be mutually comprehensible if one listens carefully or has some informal training; one can also conjecture that the distance between some spoken dialects of these languages may have even been smaller during the time under review. A composition in a literary idiom based originally on a form of Gujarati would be accessible to most learned speakers in Rajasthan and Madhyadeśa. Yet in order to be fully comprehensible, works committed to writing had to comply with certain linguistic and poetic conventions. Local dialects played a secondary role resulting in the regionalization of Maru-Gurjar. Originally regional features may only have been used to give a local flavour to these cosmopolitan vernacular works; however, when the cosmopolitan vernacular was no longer relevant for a readership, regionalisms eclipsed many of the transregional features, which were perceived as archaisms.

A good example of the regionalization of Madhyadeśī is Viṣṇudās's language. In its later form it has been drawn towards what has subsequently been called Brajbhasha, the language of Gwalior, as exemplified in the 1405 inscription of Birammadeva, just a few years after the establishment of the Tomar dynasty. The language of the inscription is not that of Viṣṇudās; rather, with its openness towards Persian vocabulary and its use of *ko* instead of Viṣṇudās's *tanau*, it shows the direction that Brajbhasha would take later (non-Sanskrit elements are in bold):

om siddhiḥ| **saṁvatu** 1462 varṣe mārga **sudi** (15)
somadina mahārājādhirāja **srī**bīramadeva
śrī aṁbikā **kau maṁḍapu karavāyau| pradhānu** paṁ
janārdana| **phujdāru** ... sūtradhāra **haridāsu**|
māṭhāpati goviṁda **candrānyavarī**|[94]

Om. Success. In the Vikrama year of 1462 on Monday the 15th of the bright half of Mārgaśīrṣa Śrī Vīramdev, overlord of the rulers, had the mandapa of Śrī Ambikā made. The chief was pandit Janārdan, the military commander ..., the mason Haridās, the stone-carver[95] Govind Candrānyavarī.[96]

The modern locations of the two best-known fourteenth-century Hindi works, Erach and Dalmau, are small settlements with 8,000–9,000 inhabitants. Many of these inhabitants may not even know that these little towns once experienced some of the most defining events in the literary history of what is now one of the largest languages of the world. Early literary cultures were closely linked to manuscript circulation, and one of the primary aims of manuscript production was circulation. Erach on the Betwa River and Dalmau on the Ganges are found on important points in the network of Indian trade and military routes. A composition was able to participate in the literary culture when it entered into circulation, and one of the best networks of literary circulation in the early centuries of the second millennium was maintained by the Jains. In contrast, the consequences of non-participation in cultural circulation are well illustrated by the fact that the 'Rāula-vela', an inscription at a royal centre but excluded from circulation, was not able to create a subsequent literary tradition.

The period between the mid-fourteenth and mid-fifteenth centuries links Maru-Gurjar to later Braj, Avadhi, and Sadhukaṛī traditions through its dominant literary idiom, Madhyadeśī. Literature in Madhyadeśī represents continuity with Maru-Gurjar in language, themes, metres, and even in its style of relying heavily on Apabhramsha

vocabulary. Over the period, it grew into a distinct intermediary tradition, more and more distanced from Maru-Gurjar, and through its regionalization came to be considered as the immediate ancestor of Brajbhasha and of other Hindi literary idioms.

Conclusion

To what extent can we address the question of the emergence of Hindi as a literary language? Can we locate a boundary between Apabhramsha and the vernacular Maru-Gurjar when the early works of the latter seem to consist of a mixture of the two? Did Hindi literature start with the non-consequential 'Rāula-vela'?[97] Or did it start with the emergence of Maru-Gurjar, that is, Old Gujarati, in the twelfth century?[98] Can one present a continuously developing literary tradition from Maru-Gurjar via Madhyadeśī and Brajbhasha through to Modern Hindi? Or shall one consider Hindi to come about only when vernacular works emerge in Madhyadeśa in the mid-fourteenth century in Maru-Gurjar?[99] Or perhaps when the first regionalized Hindi work, the *Candāyan*, appears in 1379? Or shall each Hindi tradition be allocated a different beginning? Thus, should Brajbhasha start with Viṣṇudās's *Pāṇḍav-Carit* in 1435? There are also questions of geography: shall Hindi include early works from Rajasthan or later compositions in Marwari? The obscurity of both chronological and geographical boundaries for Hindi indicates that one cannot give uncontested answers to these questions. These are, however, primarily questions of nomenclature. If one goes beyond them, one can see the continuous development of vernacular literary idioms through geographic expansion and regionalization, beginning in the twelfth century.

Scholars in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in a true Herderian manner, tried to root the language of a particular early work of literature in the modern dialect of the region where it was composed. Yet the role of literary patterns coming from existing traditions cannot be underestimated. It was primarily these linguistic and poetic patterns that defined a work and allowed it to participate in a transregional or, to use Sheldon Pollock's term, cosmopolitan vernacular literary world beyond the confines of a (spoken) dialect. Moreover, these linguistic and poetic patterns also informed oral poetry and facilitated its wider circulation.[100]

Although hardly known today, some of the Maru-Gurjar and Madhyadeśī narratives once enjoyed widespread popularity, as attested by a considerable number of manuscripts.[101] Their archaisms, such as the presence of a case system or the use of Sanskrit-derived, that is, tadbhava, words instead of the Sanskrit ardhatatsama loanwords dominant in later poetry, underline the continuity with the rich Apabhramsha narrative tradition. While Jain narratives preserved these archaisms, non-Jain works such as Maulānā Dāūd's Sufi *Cāndāyan* and Viṣṇudās's epics seem to have lost a considerable portion of them during transmission. In early times, features that later became peculiar to Braj or Avadhi were not marked in these works. More importantly, their language and the caupāī metre were imitated and developed by subsequent Hindi authors. In fact, the overwhelming majority of Hindi narratives produced during the pre-Mughal Era were written in caupāīs. The only development on this front is that the monotony of caupāī was broken in some works by the insertion of Sanskrit *śloka*s or of Hindi couplets, usually dohās.

As their language was felt to be more and more archaic, unless their literary idiom was updated, Madhyadeśī works became marginalized. Due to the popularity of Braj from the seventeenth century onwards, processes of transmission may have reworked early narratives into a more standardized Braj. While grammatical updating during transmission obscured the origins of a tradition, it kept the early tradition alive as it helped maintain access to archaic works in a changing world. Whether modernized or not, Madhyadeśī works receded from the view of later poets and the intermediary tradition that linked Maru-Gurjar with Braj, Avadhi, and other early modern Hindi literary idioms was lost. However obscured this tradition may be today, it contains the earliest known vernacular works in the Hindi belt that can be considered to be at the fountainhead of literature in the largest language of India.

Notes

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1. Dates referring to early modern India are converted from the Vikram era (VS) by subtracting fifty-seven years. Although in Gujarat the new year

starts only at Diwali and not in the spring and the subtraction of only 56 years would be more appropriate, I consistently keep the 57-year difference since I often deal with authors who travelled throughout Gujarat and Rajasthan, and we cannot always be sure whether they used the local system or not.

2. The seminal work is Sheldon Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2007). For Hindi, see Allison Busch, 'Hindi Literary Beginnings', in *South Asian Texts in History*. ed. W. Cox, Y. Bronner, and L. McCrea (Ann Arbor: Association for South Asian Studies, 2011), 203–25.

3. Much of this has been pointed out already in 1965 in Ganapati Candra Gupta, *Hindī sāhitya kā vaijñānik itihās*, 5th revised edition, 2 vols (Allahabad: Lokbharati, 1999), vol. 1, 68–79, especially, 68–70 and 75–6. For an array of representative cases, see Imre Bangha, 'Rekhta, Poetry in Mixed Language: The Emergence of Khari Boli Literature in North India', in *Before the Divide: Hindi and Urdu Literary Culture*, ed. Francesca Orsini (New Delhi: Orient BlackSwan, 2010), 29–36, and for a discussion on how Hindi historiography saw this problem, see Busch, 'Hindi Literary Beginnings', especially 205–8.

4. I owe this idea to Steven Vose, personal communication, 17 July 2012.

5. A good example of what should not be considered Hindi literature is the Sanskrit manual *Ukti-vyakti-prakaraṇa*, composed by Dāmodara Paṇḍita in Benares in the early twelfth century, which is a treasury of translations of spoken Sanskrit sentences into a language that was termed 'Old Kosalī' or 'Old Avadhī'. The work is published and studied in Jinvijay Muni, *Uktivyaktiprakaraṇa* (Bombay: Singhi Jaina Shastra Sikshapitha, 1953). Its position within Sanskrit is discussed in Richard Salomon, 'The Ukti-Vyakti-Prakaraṇa as a Manual of Spoken Sanskrit', *Indo-Iranian Journal* 24, no. 1 (1982), 13–25.

6. The term 'rekhta' was first used to name a literary style in the 1650s (Bangha, 'Rekhta, Poetry in Mixed Language', 56, see also 24–6). Brajbhasha, or 'the language of Braj', dates back to the late seventeenth century; see Allison Busch, *Poetry of Kings: The Classical Hindi Literature of Mughal India* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 8. The word 'Avadhī' does not figure in two of its pre-eminent works, the *Padmāvat* and the *Rāmcaritmānas*, while the term 'Sadhukkarī' (sadhukkaṛī) is a term conceived by Ramchandra Shukla in his *History of Hindi Literature* (first published in 1929 as the introduction to the *Hindī śabd sāgar* of Shyamsundar Das, and later as *Hindī sāhitya kā itihās* [Kashi: Nagari Pracharini Sabha, 1942]).

7. Sheldon Pollock, *Literary Cultures in History: Reconstructions from South Asia* (New Delhi and London: Oxford University Press, 2003), 15.

8. The famous Fatehpur manuscript, for example, contains Sadhukkari poems of Kabīr along with the Brajbhasha poems of Sūrdās. A facsimile of this manuscript is published in Gopal Narayan Bahura and Kenneth E. Bryant, *The Padas of Sūrdās* (Jaipur: Sawai Mansingh II Museum, 1982).

9. In Ālam's *Mādhavānal-Kāmkandalā*, Braj-Avadhi caupāīs alternate with Braj dohās as published in the critical edition, which, interestingly, conceives the work to be in Avadhi. See Ramkumari Mishra, ed., *Ālam kṛt mādhavānal kāmkandalā: Avadhī premākhyānak* (Prayag: Ratnakumārī Svādhyāy Sansthān, 1982). All authors of Nāgarī Rekhtā produced texts in either Sadhukkari or Brajbhasha dialects (see Bangha, 'Rekhta, Poetry in Mixed Language', 53–61, 71–80).

10. A good example of dialect change is chappay 117 of the *Kavitāvalī* of Tulsīdās. In manuscripts dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, this poem has Avadhi verbal forms, such as *kīnheu* or *dīnheu*. Several manuscripts from the nineteenth century present the Braj forms *kīnhau*, *dīnhau* instead, and these variants make it into the *Tulsī Granthāvalī* and into the Gita Press editions. Cf. Imre Bangha, Dániel Balogh, Eszter Berki, and Eszter Somogyi, eds, *The Kavitāvalī of Tulsīdās: Critical Edition* (work in progress).

11. This name derives from the first description of the language; see Luigi Pio Tessitori, 'Notes on the Grammar of the Old Western Rajasthani with Special Reference to Apabhramça and to Gujarati and Marvarī', *Indian Antiquary* 43–5. John Smith, the editor of one of the earliest texts in literary Marwari, rejects this name, stating that 'Tessitori's error seems to have been to assume that, since Old Gujarati was widely used in Rajasthan, it must be a direct relative of Rajasthanī'. See John Smith, *The Vīsaḷadevarāsa: A Restoration of the Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 47n1. Gujarati scholars do not reject the term but note that this idiom is called by various names. See Harivallabh Chunilal Bhayani, 'Prācīn gujarātī phāgu', in *Śodh ane svādhyāy: prācīn madhyakālīn sāhityaviṣayak saṃśodhanparak lekhsaṅgrah* (Mumbai: R. R. Shethni Company, [1965]), 34n1.

12. The languages of Maru and Gurjara were two of the eighteen regional languages described by Udyotana Sūri in his *Prakrit Kuvalayamālā* composed in 779 (vv. 153.3–4). See Christine Chojnacki, *Kuvalayamala: Roman Jaina de 779, composé par Uddyotanasuri* (Marburg: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 2008), 449. According to Chojnacki, Maru referred to Marwar and Thar.

13. As described in Udyotana Sūrī's Prakrit *Kuvalayamālā*, vv. 153.3–4. See Chojnacki, *Kuvalayamala*, 449.

14. Cf. Harivallabh Chunilal Bhayani, *Gujarātī bhāṣānuṃ aitihāsik vyākaraṇ: ī.sa. 1150 thī 1550 sudhī* (Amdāvād: Parśva Pablikeśan, 1996), 420.

15. Many books printed in the past century by Śvetāmbar saṅghs in 'southern Rajasthan', from places such as Jalor and Sirohi, were published in Gujarati script and language (Personal communication of John Cort, 11 January 2013).

16. Pollock, *The Language of the Gods*. Pollock's idea is not an isolated case. A recent work on the origins of Latin literature, Denis C. Feeney,

Beyond Greek: The Beginnings of Latin Literature (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2016) argues that not every nation had literature. For example, the Puns and the Egyptians lacked it. In the case of others, such as the Latins, literature arose first in the language of another dominant culture and was then vernacularized. Feeney demonstrates that Latin literature started with the translations of Greek plays by Livius Andronicus for the Ludi Romani celebrations at the end of the Pun war in 240 BCE.

17. Allison Busch, 'Hindi Literary Beginnings', in *South Asian Texts in History: Critical Engagements with Sheldon Pollock*, ed. Whitney Cox, Yigal Bronner, and Lawrence McCrea (Ann Arbor: Association for Asian Studies, 2011).

18. Francesca Orsini, 'How to Do Multilingual Literary History? Lessons from Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century North India', *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 49, no. 2 (2012): 225–46.

19. The grammar of this language was first examined in detail in Tessitori, published in fifteen instalments between 1914 and 1916. Tessitori's treatment is based on a selection of relatively late texts available to the author. A more recent analysis can be found in H.C. Bhayani, *Gujarātī bhāṣānuṃ aitihāsik vyākaraṇ: ī.sa. 1150 thī 1550 sudhī* (Amadāvāda: Pārśva Pablikeśana, 1996). A brief survey of Maru-Gurjar scholarship is given in Orsini, 'How to Do Multilingual Literary History', 413–20.

20. Mohanlal Dalichand Desai and Jayant Kothari, *Jain gurjar kavio*, 2nd edition, vol. 1 (Bombay: Mahavir Jain Vidyalaya, 1986).

21. Bhayani, *Gujarātī aitihāsik vyākaraṇ*, 40–5. Forty compositions are published in Harivallabh Chunilal Bhayani and Agaracand Nahta, *Prācīn gurjar kāvyasañcay* (Amadābād: Lālabhāī Dalapatabhāī Bhāratīya Saṁskṛti Vidyāmandir, 1975). A volume with historical poetry, Agaracand Nahta and Bhamvarlal Nahta, *Aitihāsik Jain kāvyasaṅgrah* (Calcutta: Shankardas Shubhairaj Nahta, 1937), presents twenty-four compositions from between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries.

22. Karunapati Tripathi, 'Hindi sāhitya kā ādikāl', in *Hindi sāhitya kā bṛhat itihās: Hindi sāhitya kā ādikāl*, ed. Karunapati Tripathi (Benares: Nāgarīpracāriṇī Sabhā, 1983), 41–2.

23. Bhayani, *Gujarātī aitihāsik vyākaraṇ*, 40. Sitanshu Yashaschandra, 'From Hemachandra to Hind Svaraj: Region and Power in Gujarati Literary Culture', in *Literary Cultures in History*, ed. Sheldon Pollock (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 574.

24. Published in Bhayani and Nahta, *Prācīn gurjar kāvyasañcay*, 15–18. See also Tripathi, 'Hindi sāhitya kā ādikāl' 317–18. This work seems to have been unknown to Desai. The *Bharahesur-bāhubali-ghor* is undated, but scholarly consensus in India puts it in the second half of the twelfth century. See Bhayani and Nahta, *Prācīn gurjar kāvyasañcay*, 15; Jayant Kothari and J. Gadit, *Gujarati sahityakoś*, vol. 1 (madhyakāl) (Ahmadabad: Gujarati Sahitya Parishad, 1989), quoted in Yashaschandra, 'From Hemachandra to Hind Svaraj', 574.

25. Desai and Kothari, *Jain gurjar kavio*, 2nd edition, vol. 1, 4. See also Tripathi, 'Hindi sāhitya kā ādikāl', 318–20.

26. Desai and Kothari, *Jain gurjar kavio*, vol. 1, 4–5. (The commentator does not exclude the possibility of it being composed by a different Śālibhadrasūri.)

27. Harivallabh Chunilal Bhayani, 'Saṅgrahit racnāoṁ kī bhāṣā', in *Prācīn gurjar kāvyasañcay*, ed. Harivallabh Chunilal Bhayani and Agaracand Nahta (Amadābād: Lālabhāī Dalapatabhāī Bhāratīya Saṁskṛti Vidyāmandir, 1975), 6. Nahta counted 117 different genres, often based on metre. See Tripathi, 'Hindi sāhitya kā ādikāl', 40.

28. Bhayani, 'Prācīn Gujarātī phāgu', 34. See also M. Avasthi, *Hindī sāhitya kā adyatan itihās*, enlarged edition (Allahabad: Sarasvatī Pres Prakāśan, 1990), 78.

29. Bhayani, 'Saṅgrahit racnāoṁ kī bhāṣā', 10.

30. Desai and Kothari, *Jain gurjar kavio*, vol. 1, 17.

31. 1405 (VS 1462) is the date of the first extant manuscript of the *Cihuṁgati-Copāī*. See Desai and Kothari, *Jain gurjar kavio*, vol. 1, 19–20. The work is published in Balavantray Kalyanray Thakore, Mohalal Dalichand Desai, and M.C. Modi, *Gurjararāsāvalī* (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1956), 77–87. For the *Karmagati-copāī*, see Desai and Kothari, *Jain gurjar kavio*, vol. 1, 26–7. For Devsundarsūriśiṣya (that is, 'Devsundarsūrī's disciple', whose name may have been Kusamaṇḍsūri), Sādhuhaṁsa, and Jayaśekharsūri, see Desai and Kothari, *Jain gurjar kavio*, vol. 1, 39–41, 42–4, and 46–50, respectively.

32. Bhayani, *Gujarātī aitihāsik vyākaraṇ*, 421.

33. Published in Bhayani and Nahta, *Prācīn gurjar kāvyasañcay*, 41–7, on the basis of a manuscript copied in 1373. On the author, see also Premsagar Jain, *Hindī Jain bhakti-kāvya aur kavi* (Benares: Bhāratīy Jñānpīṭh Prakāśan, 1964), 37–42. He is also mentioned within the 'Uttar-prārambhik Hindī: 1348–1444' section of Ganeshbihari Mishra, Shyambihari Mishra, and Shukdevbihari Mishra, *Miśrabandhu-Vinod, athavā Hindī-sāhitya kā itihāsa tathā kavi-kīrttana*, new revised edition (Lucknow: Gaṅgā Pustakmālā, 1972), vol. 1, 92, no. 71 (but missing from earlier editions). Desai and Kothari, *Jain gurjar kavio*, vol. 1, 32–4 lists eighteen manuscripts of *Gautam-svāmī-rās* and mentions that there are many more available. I found that the Jaipur branch of the Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute alone has twenty manuscripts dating from 1522 onwards. See Omkarlal Menariya and Mahopadhyay Vinaysagar, *Rājasthānī Hindī hastalikhit granth-sūcī*, ed. Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, vol. 5 (Jodhpur: Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, 1983), 166–9.

34. Charlotte Krause, 'Ancient Jaina Hymns', in *German Jaina Śrāvikā Dr. Charlotte Krause: Her Life and Literature*, ed. Hazarimull Banthia and Luitgard Soni (Varanasi: Pārśvanātha Vidyāpītha, 1999), 313–464, 90.

35. John E. Cort, 'The Jain Knowledge Warehouses: Traditional Libraries in India', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115, no. 1 (1995): 86.

36. As can be deduced from the references to the many bhaṇḍārs established in Chalukya Gujarat by Kumārapāla, Vastupāla, and Tejaḥpāla. See Cort, 'The Jain Knowledge Warehouses', 77–87. Jain literati may have taken up positions in non-Jain institutions. The heads of the Bhuj Brajbhāṣā Pāṭhśālā, for example, were initially Jains. See Françoise Mallison, 'The Teaching of Braj, Gujarati, and Bardic Poetry at the Court of Kutch: The Bhuj Brajbhāṣā Pāṭhśālā (1749–1948)', in *Forms of Knowledge in Early Modern South Asia*, ed. Sheldon Pollock (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 175–6.

37. Desai and Kothari, *Jain gurjar kavio*, vol. 1, 13.

38. Agaracand Nahta, 'Prastāvnā', in *Prācīn gurjar kāvyasañcay*, ed. Harivallabh Chunilal Bhayani and Agaracand Nahta (Amdābād: Lālabhāī Dalapatbhāī Bhāratīya Saṁskṛti Vidyāmandir, 1975), 2.

39. Bhayani, *Gujarātī aitihāsik vyākaraṇ*, 51.

40. Bhayani, *Gujarātī aitihāsik vyākaraṇ*, 11.

41. Nahta, 'Prastāvnā', 1.

42. Bhayani, *Gujarātī aitihāsik vyākaraṇ*, 34.

43. This early date of *Vīsāḷdev-rās* is established by Smith on the basis of the culture they present and because of the existence of sixteenth-century manuscripts. See Smith, *The Vīsaḷadevarāsa*, 26.

44. Smith, *The Vīsaḷadevarāsa*, 31.

45. According to Menariya, literary western Rajasthani was first called Ḍiṅgal as late as in 1814. Motilala Menariya, *Rājasthānī bhāṣā aur sāhitya*, 4th edition (Prayag: Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, 1978), 20.

46. Narayansimh Bhati, *Prācīn ḍiṅgal gīt sāhitya* (Jodhpur: Rajasthan Granthagar, 1989), i, 1–18, 24-–6 as quoted in Yashaschandra, 'From Hemachandra to Hind Swarāj', 575. Brajbhasha in Rajasthan was often called Piṅgal. This word in more recent usage came to refer to Rajasthani-mixed Brajbhasha. Menariya, *Rājasthānī bhāṣā aur sāhitya*, 101.

47. This negligence is noted in Shitikanth Mishra, *Hindī Jain sāhitya kā bṛhat itihās*, ed. Sagarmal Jain, 4 vols (Varanasi: Parshwanath Vidyashram Shodh Sansthan, 1989), vol. 1, 16. Mishra considers Ramchandra Shukla's dismissal of this literature as merely religious teachings to be the primary reason for this general neglect. However, Shukla dismisses directly only the Siddha and Nāth texts and does not mention the Jain bhāṣā works.

48. Shukla, *Hindī sāhitya kā itihās*, 17th edition, 15–18.

49. Menariya, *Rājasthānī bhāṣā aur sāhitya*, 104.

50. Nahta, 'Prastāvnā', 1; Menariya, *Rājasthānī bhāṣā aur sāhitya*, 105.

51. Harivallabh Chunilal Bhayani, *Rāula-vela of Roḍa: A Rare Poem of C. Twelfth Century in Early Indo-Aryan* (Ahmedabad: Parshva Prakashan, 1996).

52. Timothy Lenz, 'A New Interpretation of the Rāula-Vela Inscription', in *Studies in Early Modern Indo-Aryan Languages, Literature, and Culture: Research Papers, 1992–1994*, ed. Alan W. Entwistle, Michael C. Shapiro, Heidi Pauwels, and Carol Salomon (New Delhi: Manohar, 1999), 203–5. See also

Namvar Singh, *Hindī ke vikās meṁ apabhraṁśa kā yog*, 5th revised edition (Allahabad: Lokbharati, 1971; [2006]), 83–8.

53. Lenz, 'A New Interpretation', 203–6.

54. These earliest dated manuscripts include a *Pradyumna-Carit* from 1548 (VS 1605) at the Baddhicandjī kā Digambar Jain Mandir (see Kasturcand Kashlival and Chainsukhdas, eds, *Pradyumna-Carit: ādikālik mahākāvya* [Jaipur: Di. Jain A. Kshetr Shri Mahavirji, 1960], 9–10.); a *Qutubśatak* manuscript from 1576 (VS 1633) in the Anup Sanskrit Library in Bikaner (used in the critical edition Mata Prasad Gupta, *Qutubśatak aur uskī Hinduī*, Lokodaya [Varanasi: Bhatatiya Jnanpith, 1967], 1); and the famous Fatehpur manuscript from 1582 (VS 1639) at the Sawai Mansingh II Museum, Jaipur (published in facsimile in Bahura and Bryant, *Pad Sūrdāsjī kā*). The hardly accessible manuscripts known as the *Mohan* or *Goindval pothi*s in the Gurmukhi script are claimed to date from 1570–2. See Winand M. Callewaert, Swapna Sharma, and Dieter Taillieu, *The Millennium Kabīr Vāṇī: A Collection of Pads* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2000), 10; Gurinder Singh Mann, *The Goindval Pothis* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 16–25. An attempt to question this early date is Balwant Singh Dhillon, *Early Sikh Scriptural Tradition: Myth and Reality* (Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 1999), 89–182.

55. 'Sūrpūrva', that is, pre-Mughal, Bhasha works have been surveyed in S. P. Singh, *Sūr-pūrv brajbhāṣā aur uskā sāhitya* (Banaras: Hindi Pracharak Pustakalay, 1964) and in the various works of Harihar Nivas Dvivedi.

56. Singh, *Sūr-pūrv brajbhāṣā*, 143–72; Harihar Nivas Dvivedi, *Mahābhārat: Pāṇḍav-Carit: 1435 ī viracit mahākāvya: mahākavi Viṣṇudās kṛt* (Gwalior: Vidya Mandir Prakashan, 1973), 99–103.

57. In some manuscripts the date of the *Pradyumna-Carit* is read as Samvat 1311 (1254 CE) or Samvat 1511 (1454 CE), but the most reliable manuscript evidence supports Samvat 1411 (1354 CE). See Agaracand Nahta, 'Pradyumna-Carit kā racnākāl va racayitā', *Anekānt* 14, no. 6 (1957): 170–2, and Kashlival and Chainsukhdas, *Pradyumna-Carit*, 24–5. The *Haricand Purāṇ* was first described in Shyamsundar Das, *Annual Report on the Search for Hindi Manuscripts for the Year 1900* (Allahabad: United Provinces Government Press, 1903; repr., Varanasi: Nāgarīpracāriṇī Sabhā, 1998), 76–7n89. The same manuscript seems to have been acquired by Agarchand Nahta (Singh, *Sūr-pūrv brajbhāṣā*, 148.) A manuscript copy of this work can be found at the Abhay Jain Pustakalay in Bikaner. Passages from this manuscript are published in Singh, *Sūr-pūrv brajbhāṣā*, 385–7.

58. For a description of the *Jñānpañcamī Caupāī*, see Desai and Kothari, *Jain gurjar kavio*, vol. 1, 35–7, and Jain, *Hindī Jain bhakti-kāvya*, 47–9. Viddhaṇu Jain is already mentioned in G. Mishra, S. Mishra, and S. Mishra, *Miśrabandhu-Vinod*, vol. 1, 92. The *Bārah Bhāvanā* is preserved in an undated manuscript (Digambar Jain Mandir, Godhan, Jaipur, MS 241) and published in R.R. Jain, *Raydhū sāhitya kā ālocnātmak pariśīlan* (Vaishali: Research Institute

of Prakrit, Jainology and Ahimsa, Department of Education, Governmentof Bihar, 1974), 448–52.

59. Dvivedi, *Pāṇḍav-Carit*, 101–2. Harihar Nivas Dvivedi, *Madhyadeśīy bhāṣā: gvāliyarī* (Gwalior: Navaprabhat Press, 1955) and Singh, *Sūr-pūrv brajbhāṣā*, do not appear to know about it. Lakhansenī is mentioned in the in the *Khoj* Report 1944, 370 (Vidyabhushan Mishra, ed. *Khoj meṁ upalabdh hastalikhit Hindī granthoṁ kā aṭhārahvāṁ traivārṣik vivaraṇ: san 1941–43 Ī* [Kashi: Nāgarī Pračāriṇī Sabhā, 1958 [VS 2015]). According to Kishnadevprasad Gaur et al. eds, *Hastalikhit Hindī granthõ kā saṅkṣipt vivaraṇ*, 2 vols (Varanasi: Nāgarīpracāriṇī Sabhā, 1964), vol. 2, 338, he was possibly under the patronage of Rājā Baijaldās, and according to *Khoj* Report 09, 167 (Shyam Behari Mishra, *The Second Triennial Report on the Search for Hindi Manuscripts for the Year 1909, 1910, 1911* [Allahabad: Indian Press, 1914], 255), also composed a *Mahābhārat*, which, if indeed from the early fifteenth century, has been thoroughly reworked into more recent Brajbhāṣā with no archaism at all in the published samples. Interestingly, Dvivedi did not mention this work while talking about early Hindi.

60. Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, India, available at http://www.censusindia.gov.in/pca/SearchDetails.aspx?Id=176108, last accessed on 19 September 2017.

61. Shailendra Bhandare, 'Numismatics and History: The Maurya–Gupta Interlude in the Gangetic Plain', in *Between the Empires: Society in India 300 BCE to 400 CE*, ed. Patrick Olivelle, South Asia Research (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 89–90.

62. M. Habib and Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *The Delhi Sultanate, A Comprehensive History of India* (New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1970), 398, 716–7, 720, 802, 917, 918. According to James Sutherland Cotton and William Stevenson Meyer, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. 14 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908), 139, 'at Erach (Irich) the fragments of ancient buildings have been used in the construction of a fine mosque, which dates from 1412'.

63. Singh, *Sūr-pūrv brajbhāṣā*, 386.

64. This phrase is unclear.

65. līha thūṇijjaï—Braj: *thūr*, 'to strike' and Hindi: *lakīr pīṭnā*, 'to follow the way'.

66. Gaurishankar Mishra 'Dvijendra', *Hindī sāhitya kā chandovivecan* (Patna: Bihār Hindī Granth Akādmī, 1975), 19–20.

67. Dvivedi (*Pāṇḍav-Carit*, 101) promised an edition of the early works but it seems never to have been published. The passages he cites are very close to later Brajbhasha and are mostly devoid of the archaisms found in Viṣṇudās.

68. Singh, *Sūr-pūrv brajbhāṣā*, 143.

69. Singh, *Sūr-pūrv brajbhāṣā*, 149.

70. Dvivedi, *Pāṇḍav-Carit*, 102.

71. According to Vinaysagar in the *Khartargach sāhitya koś* (Jaipur: Prakrit Bharati, 2006), 83, 198, his *Trivikram Rās* (1368) is a rās caupaī in Apabhramsha, his *Śāśvata jina bimba stotra* is in Prakrit, and his *Yu.* [*Yugapradhāna*] *jinadattasūri chanda* is a *gīt stavan* in Rajasthani. The latter is printed in *Dādāgurubhajanāvalī* (Jaipur: Prakrit Bharati, 1993), 26–8.

72. Desai and Kothari, *Jain gurjar kavio*, 34–5.

73. 'utkīrṇāca suvarṇā ṭhakkura ṅālhāṅgajena puṇyārthaṁ; vaigyānika suśrāvakavareṇa vīdhābhidhānena'. The inscription is no. 236 in Puran Chand Nahar, *Jaina Inscriptions: Containing Index of Places, Glossary of Names of Shrāvaka Castes, and Gotras of Gachhas, and Achāryas with Dates*, vol. 1, Jaina Vividha Sahitya Shāstra Mālā (Calcutta: V. J. Joshi, 1918), 57–62.

74. On this festival, see John E. Cort, *Liberation and Wellbeing: A Study of the Śvetāmbar Mūrtipūjak Jains of North Gujarat* (Harvard University, 1989), 198–203.

75. It is called *Jñānpañcamīmāhātmya Copaībandh* and numbered as 3233 in Muni Punyavijay, *Catalogue of Manuscripts in Shri Hemachandracharya Jain Jnanamandira, Patan* (Patan: Shri Hemachandracharya Jain Jnanmandir, 1972), 151. The cataloguer conjectures that the manuscript was produced in the sixteenth century of the Vikram Era. Its first six and final five stanzas are also published in Desai and Kothari, *Jain gurjar kavio*, vol. 1, 36.

76. Punyavijay, *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, 151.

77. Vinaysagar, *Khartargach sāhitya koś*, 80.

78. Jain, *Hindī Jain Bhakti-Kāvya*, 47. (The reference that Jain gives to Premi, however, is erroneous.)

79. Personal communication (email), 23 June 2012.

80. The syllable *pha* is struck in the manuscript itself.

81. Viddhaṇū, *Siyapañcamī*, MS 3233, Shri Hemachandracharya Jain Jnanmandir. For details regarding the manuscript, see note 74.

82. Singh, *Sūr-pūrv brajbhāṣā*, 152 called him *brajbhāṣā kā saṁsthāpak* (founder of Brajbhasha). See also Pollock, *The Language of the Gods*, 394.

83. Although his language is also labelled as Madhyadeśī or Gvāliyarī (Cf. Dvivedi, *Madhyadeśīya bhāṣā*, 137–8; Dvivedi, *Pāṇḍav-Carit*, 90–123; Pollock, *The Language of the Gods*, 394), these terms are used to refer to Brajbhasha.

84. Ronald Stuart McGregor, 'An Early Hindi (Brajbhāṣā) Version of the Rāma Story', in *Devotion Divine: Bhakti Traditions from the Regions of India: Studies in Honour of Charlotte Vaudeville*, ed. Diana L. Eck and Françoise Mallison, Groningen Orientals Studies (Groningen: E. Forsten, 1991), 185.

85. For the rekhta-like verse 6 of Haridās's *Aṣṭādas Siddhānt*, see Lucy L. Rosenstein, *The Devotional Poetry of Svāmī Haridās: A Study of Early Braj Bhāṣā Verse*, Groningen Oriental Studies (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1997), 107. This poem is composed in Khari Boli, but some manuscripts give Braj variants, such as Braj *karī* for *kiyā* or Braj *bhaī* and *bhayā* for *huā*. In the *Kavitāvalī Uttarakāṇḍa*, 117 chappay words such as *niradaheu*, *kīnheu*, and

dīnheu have been Brajified in later transmission as *niradahyau*, *kīnhau*, and *dīnhau*. See Bangha et al., *The Kavitāvalī of Tulsīdās*.

86. Dvivedi, *Pāṇḍav-Carit*, 27–30.

87. The term 'tatsama' refers to words adopted from Old Indo-Aryan languages (that is, Sanskrit) without any phonetic change; 'tadbhava' refers to words derived from Old Indo-Aryan languages that have gone through phonetic changes over time.

88. Dvivedi, *Pāṇḍav-Carit*, 29.

89. Ronald Stuart McGregor, 'Viṣṇudās and His Rāmāyan-Kathā', in *Studies in Early Modern Indo-Aryan*, 245–6.

90. Parameshvarilal Gupta, *Cāndāyan* (Bombay: Hindi Granth Ratnakar, 1964), 32, translated in Nasim Hines, *Maulana Daud's Cāndāyan: A Critical Study* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2009), 54.

91. Bhayani, *Gujarātī aitihāsik vyākaraṇ*.

92. Thakore, Desai, and Modi, 'Gurjararāsāvalī'.

93. Agarchand Nahta also suggests that Hindi is a third branch of this regionalization. Nahta, 'Prastāvnā', 1. Cf. Bhayani, *Gujarātī aitihāsik vyākaraṇ*, 34.

94. Quoted in Dvivedi, *Pāṇḍav-Carit*, 51. A slightly different version is published in Gulab Khan Gauri, *Gvāliyar kā rājnaitik evaṁ sāṅskṛtik itihās: san 1392–1565 ī. tak* (New Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corporation, 1986), 55, based on the *Archeological Survey Report 1961–62*, no. 1584.

95. The meaning of this word is unclear. The most likely meaning can be derived from the Rajasthani verb *māṭhṇau* 'to shape and finish a stone' (*ghaṛāī karke patthar ko sāf kranā*); see Sitaram Lalas, *Rājasthānī sabad koś* (Chaupasni: Rajasthani Research Institute, 1962–1988).

96. The meaning of this word is unclear.

97. As suggested in Kailash Chandra Bhatiya, *Rāulavela: Prārambhik Hindī kā pahlā śilāṅkit kāvya* (New Delhi: Takṣaśilā Prakāśan, 1983).

98. This is the position of Gupta, *Hindī sāhitya kā vaijñānik itihās*, vol. 1, 89–109 and Tripathi, 'Hindi sāhitya kā ādikāl', 41–2, in regard to Rajasthani literature of Hiralal Maheshwari, *History of Rajasthani Literature* (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1980), 21, and, with some inconsistency, of Lakshmisagar Varshney, *Hindī sāhitya kā itihās*, 17th edition (Allahabad: Lokabhāratī Prakāśan, 1989), 44.

99. As seems to have been proposed by Jain, *Hindī Jain Bhakti-Kāvya*, 32–50.

100. For the argument that the primarily oral author Kabīr shared the literary forms of the written world, see Imre Bangha, 'Kabir's Prosody', in *Bhakti Beyond the Forest: Current Research on Early Modern Literatures in North India, 2003–2009* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2013).

101. Out of the five manuscripts of the *Pradyumna-Carit* inspected for the critical edition, three date from the sixteenth century. (See Kashlival and

Chainsukhdas, *Pradyumna-Carit*, 9–11.) Considering the extreme scarcity of extant manuscripts from that century, it can be judged that it was a particularly popular work at that time.

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