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HISTORY OF
KANNADA LITERATURE

UNIVERSITY OF MYSORE

HISTORY OF KANNADA LITERATURE

(READERSHIP LECTURES)

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FOREWORD

These lectures on the History of Kannada Literature were delivered, as part of his Readership Lectures, by the late Mr. R. Narasimhachar in Mysore in March, 1928 and were repeated in Bangalore in August of the same year.

They contain the great scholar's latest views on the subject, after careful consideration of certain criticisms on his *Kavi-charite* and are now published as a companion volume to his *History of Kannada Language*.

B.M.S.

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CHAPTER I

ANTIQUITY OF KANNADA LITERATURE

*As compared with that of the Sister Languages
of Southern India*

SOME scholars have suggested that there may have been a Buddhist period in Kannada literature before the Jaina period. The same suggestion has also been made by some Telugu scholars with regard to their literature and it has been said that Buddhist works have been completely lost in Telugu, though a very few Jaina works have survived. The Tamils do not divide their literature into Buddhist, Jaina and other periods, because their literature contains works by Buddhist and Jaina authors at different times. With regard to Buddhist works in Tamil, it may be said that they are very few; and they occur along with works of Jainas and others at different periods till the 11th century. As instances there may be mentioned *Manimekhalai* and *Kundalakesi*, two of the five great *kavyas* in Tamil, which go back to the Sangam period, and the grammar *Virasoliyam* of the 11th century.

Whether there was a Buddhist period in Kannada or no, its literature, such as it is, is of considerable antiquity, though no sages like Agastya and Kanva, as in Tamil and Telugu respectively, are associated with its origin. The earliest work extant is a treatise on poetics called *Kavirajamdruga* by Nripatunga or Amoghavarsha, the Rastrakuta king who ruled from 815 to 877. This king was a great scholar both in Kannada and Sanskrit and a great patron of literary merit. He has written in Sanskrit a small work called *Prasnottararatnamdld*, of which the concluding verse tells us that he voluntarily retired from the throne.¹ It may be of some interest to learn that

¹ ವಿವೇಕಾತ್ಮಕ ರಾಜ್ಯೇನ ರಾಜ್ಯೇಯಂ ರತ್ನಮಾಲಿಕಾ |
ರಚಿತಾನೋಭವರ್ಷೇಣ ಸುಧಿಯಾ ಸದಲಂಕೃತಿ ||

Ugraditya, the Jaina author of *Kalydnakaraka*, a Sanskrit work on medicine, says at the close of the work that at the instance of this king he delivered at his court, in the presence of many physicians and doctors, a discourse on the evils of a flesh diet and on its avoidance in the treatment of disease. Nripatunga was a Jaina king, a disciple of Jinasena, the author of *Adipurdna*. His work on poetics presupposes the existence of previous Kannada works, and accordingly we find references in it which enable us to place the rise of Kannada literature much farther back. He mentions several Kannada authors that preceded him: Vimala, Udaya, Nagarjuna, Jayabandhu and Durvinita as the best writers of Kannada prose; and Srivijaya, Kavivara, Pandita, Chandra and Lokapala as the best writers of Kannada poetry. Durvinita, mentioned as a Kannada prose writer, was evidently the Ganga king of that name. The name Durvinita, being rare and unusual, may safely be taken to refer to the Ganga king, the only inscription in which the name occurs outside Ganga grants being Magadi 75, of 966, about a century after Nripatunga's time. Durvinita was a remarkable personage with many-sided scholarship.¹

The *Avantisundarikathdsara*, discovered some years ago by the Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library, gives a valuable clue to the period of Durvinita. In the introductory chapter it says that Bharavi stayed for some time at the court of Durvinita and that he was a contemporary of Vishnuvardhana, evidently the first Eastern Chalukya king, and of Simhavishnu, the Pallava king of Kanchi. Briefly, the account given of Bharavi runs thus:—In the

¹ His Nallala plates (*Mysore Archaeological Report for 1924*, p. 70), describe his scholarship thus:

ಅನೇಕ ಕಾವ್ಯ ಕಥಾ ನಾಟಕ ಪ್ರಣಯನ ವ್ಯರೂಢ ಪಾಟವೇನ, ನೀತಿಶಾಸ್ತ್ರ ಗ್ರಂಥಾರ್ಥ ಪ್ರಯೋಗ ಪ್ರತಿಪಾದನಂ ಪ್ರತಿ ಪ್ರತ್ಯಕ್ಷ ವಿಷ್ಣು ಗುಪ್ತೇನ, ಗಾಂಧರ್ವ ನಾಟ್ಯ ಶಾಸ್ತ್ರ ವ್ಯಾಖ್ಯಾನ ವಿನಯೋಗಂ ಪ್ರತಿ ಸಮತಿಶಯಿತ ತುಂಬರು ನಾರದ ಭರತ ಕಂಬಳಾಚಾರ್ಯೇಣ, ಹಸ್ತಿಶಿಕ್ಷಾ ಶ್ಲಶಿಕ್ಷಾ ವಿಜ್ಞಾನ ವಿನಯೋಜನಂ ಪ್ರತಿ ಸಮತುಲಿತ ರಾಜಭೃತ ಶಾಲಿಹೋತ್ರೇಣ, ಅಸೋದ್ರಿ ವಾಸ್ತ ವಿಪ್ರಹರಣ ವಿದ್ಯಾಭಿಯೋಗಂ ಪ್ರತಿ ಸಮಕ್ಷೀಕೃತ ಪರಶುರಾಮೇಣ, ಪುರುಷ ಲಕ್ಷಣ ಶಾಸ್ತ್ರ ವಿಧೀ೯ ಪ್ರತಿ ಸಾಕ್ಷಾತ್ ನಮುದ್ರಿಸೂರಿಣಾ, ಆಯುರ್ವೇದ ವಿಜ್ಞಾನಂ ಪ್ರತಿ ಸದೃಶಾತ್ರೇಯ ಧನ್ವಂತರೇ ಚರಕೇನ, ಅರಿ ನರಪತಿ ಶ್ರೀ ದುರ್ವಿನೀತ ನಾಮಧೇಯೇನ.

city of Kanchi in the south of India ruled a king of the Pallavas named Simhavishnu who was a great patron of learning. One day a stranger appeared before him and recited a Sanskrit verse in praise of the Narasimha incarnation of Vishnu. On hearing the lofty sentiments expressed in the verse the king enquired of the stranger who the author of the verse was. He replied thus: 'In the north-west there is a town named Anandapura, the crest-jewel of Aryadesa, from which a family of Brahmanas of the Kausika-gotra migrated and settled at Achalapura. Narayanasvami, a member of this family, had a son named Damodara, who became a great scholar and was known as Bharavi. He became a friend of king Vishnuvardhana. On one occasion he accompanied the king on a hunting expedition and while in the forest had to eat animal flesh. To expiate this sin he set out on a pilgrimage and finally settled in the court of Durvinita. He is the author of this verse.' On hearing this account the king, desirous of seeing the poet, invited him to his court. The poet caused great joy to the king by reciting his poems. The king gave him a respectable dwelling to live in and supplied all his wants.

This extract establishes the contemporaneity of the Pallava king Simhavishnu (c. 575-600), the Ganga king Durvinita and the Eastern Chalukya king Vishnuvardhana (I). This association of Durvinita with Bharavi affords a clear explanation of the statement in most of the Ganga grants that Durvinita was the author of a commentary on the fifteenth Sarga of Bharavi's *Kiratarjuniya*. When Bharavi was with him, Durvinita might have exercised his skill in commenting on the fifteenth Sarga of his work, which is full of alliteration and other forms of *sabdalankdra* or verbal ornaments and is consequently difficult of comprehension without a commentary. The period of Durvinita according to the newly discovered work will thus be about 600.

As stated before, Durvinita was a great Sanskrit scholar. He wrote, according to the Ganga grants, a grammatical work named *Sabadvatara*, a commentary on Panini's Grammar, and translated into Sanskrit the

Paisachi Vaddakatha or *Brihatkatha* of Gunadhya as the epithet applied to him in the Ganga grants, viz., *Devabhadrati-nibaddha-Brihatkathah*, clearly shows. This epithet was not properly read and understood by some scholars who read it *Devabharati-nibaddha-Brihatpathah* and interpreted it as meaning that Durvinita was a disciple of Deva or Devanandi, a name of Pujoyapada. It is to be regretted that his translation has not come down to us. It happens to be the earliest Sanskrit translation of Gunadhya's work. There are three later translations of this work, namely, *Brihatkathdslokasangraha* by Budhasvami, of about the '8th century; *Brihatkathamanjari* by Kshemendra, and *Kathasaritsagara* by Somadeva, both of the 11th century. Budhasvami's work has been published in Paris by Professor Felix Lacote, Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Lyon. The period we have already arrived at for Durvinita is corroborated by an inscription at Aihole (*Epigraphia Indica*, VI, 1-12). This epigraph was composed in 634 A.D. by a Jaina poet named Ravikirti, who speaks of himself as having acquired the fame of Kalidasa and Bharavi in poetical skill.¹ (Kavitasrita-Kalidasa-Bharavi-Kirtih.) For the fame of Bharavi as a great poet to spread to the south we have to postulate a period of about half a century, and this fact, too, confirms the period of Durvinita as about 600.

Kannada inscriptions make their appearance from about the 5th century, which indicate an older stage of the language, as will be shown later on, than that found in *Kavirdjamarga*. Besides the authors named by Nripatunga, Syamakundacharya appears, according to Indranandi's *Srutdvatdra*,² to have written *Prabhrita* in Kannada.

When speaking of the greatness of the Kannada language in his *Sabdanusasana*, Bhattakalanka (1604) says: 'Nor is Karnataka a language unused for scientific

purposes. For, in it was written the great work called *Chudamani*, 96,000 verse-measures in extent, a commentary on the *Tattvarthamahasastra*¹ And from Indranandi's *Srutavatara*² and Devachandra's *Rajavali-kathe*, we learn that the author of this voluminous Kannada commentary was Tumbaluracharya, who, judging from the pedigree of Jaina gurus given at the end of *Chamundarayapurdna* (978), appears to have lived along with the above-mentioned Syamakundacharya in about the middle of the 7th century. This voluminous work of the 7th century presupposes the existence of an earlier literature and a widespread cultivation of the language.

From the Sravana Belgola inscription 67, of 1129, we learn that Srivardhadeva, a crest-jewel of poets, was the author of a great poem named *Chuldmani* and that he was thus praised by Dandi.³ Siva bore the Ganga on the tip of his matted hair. O Srivardhadeva! you bear Sarasvati on the tip of your tongue! From the similarity of the name *Chudamani*, Srivardhadeva has been identified with umbuluracharya. But this, I am inclined to think, is a mistake. The great poem *Chulamani* and the commentary *Chudamani* cannot be the same. I venture to think that the reference is to the Tamil poem *Chulamani* attributed to Tolamolidevar, otherwise known as Srivardhadevar. *Chuldmani* is a classical Jaina poem in Tamil, considered as one of the five well-known minor poems in that language, written during the rule of the Karveti king Vijaya, whose period is not definitely known.

1 ನ ಚೈವಾ (ಕರ್ಣಾಟಭಾಷಾ) ಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಾನುಪಯೋಗಿನೀ ; ತತ್ತಾರ್ಥ ಮಹಾಶಾಸ್ತ್ರ ವ್ಯಾಖ್ಯಾನಸ್ಯ ಷಣ್ಣ ವತಿಸಹಸ್ರ ಪ್ರಮಿತ ಗ್ರಂಥಸಂದರ್ಭರೂಪಸ್ಯ ಚೂಡಾಮಣ್ಯಭಿಧಾನಸ್ಯ ಮಹಾ ಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಸ್ಯ . . . ಉಪಲಭ್ಯಮಾನತಾತ್.

2 ಕರ್ಣಾಟಭಾಷಯಾ ಕೃತ ಮಹತೀಂ ಚೂಡಾಮಣಿಂ ವ್ಯಾಖ್ಯಾಂ.

3 ಚೂಳಾಮಣಿಃ ಕವೀನಾಂ ಚೂಳಾಮಣಿನಾಮಸೇವ್ಯಕಾವ್ಯಕವಿಃ | ಶ್ರೀವರ್ಧದೇವ ಏವಹಿ ಕೃತಫುಣ್ಯಃ ಕೀರ್ತಿಮಾಹರ್ತುಃ ||

ಯ ಏವಮುಪಶೋಕಿತೋ ದಂಡಿನಾ :-

ಜಹ್ನೋಃ ಕನ್ಯಾಂ ಜಬಾಂಗ್ರೇಣ ಬಭಾರ ಪರಮೇಶ್ವರಃ |

ಶ್ರೀವರ್ಧದೇವ ಸಂಧತೇ ಜಿಹ್ವಾಗ್ರೇಣ ಸರಸ್ವತೀಂ ||

It has been stated above that Kannada inscriptions of an earlier period than *Kavirajamarga* show an older stage of the language. To illustrate this statement I give below some extracts from early inscriptions:

Early Inscriptions prior to Nripatunga's Period

1. CHIKMAGALUR 50 (c. 500).

ನಿರ್ವ್ವಿನೀತರಾ ಕಿಷಿಯಾ ಮಗನ್ನಿರಾ ಪಟ್ಟಸೂಡಿದೊರಾ.

2. SRAVANA BELGOLA 27 (c. 700).

ಮಾಸೇನರಾ ಪರಮಪ್ರಭಾವರುಷಿಯರಾ ಕಟ್ಟಪ್ಪಿನಾ ವೆಟ್ಟದುಳಾ
ಶ್ರೀ ಸಂಘಂಗಳ ಪೇಟ್ಟ ಸಿದ್ಧ ಸಮಯಂ ತಪ್ಪಾದೆ ಸೋಂತಿಂಜಿನೀ |
ಪ್ರಾಸಾದಾಂತರಮಾಣ್ ವಿಚಿತ್ರ ಕನಕಪ್ರಜ್ವಲ್ಯದಿಣ್ ಮಿಕ್ಕುದಾಣ್
ಸಾಸಿರ್ವರಾ ವರವೂಜೆದುಂದುಯೆ ಅಪರಾ ಸ್ವರ್ಗಾಗ್ರಮಾಸೇಷಿದಾರಾ ||

3. CHIKMAGALUR 92 (c. 750).

ಇದಾಣ್ ನಾಡಾಳ್ಪೊನಾಸುಂ ಊರಾಳ್ಪೊನಾಸುಂ ಊರಾ ಬಕ್ಕ
ಲಾಸುಂ ಅಲಿದೋರಾ ಪಜ್ಜಾ ಮಹಾಪಾತಕಯುಕ್ತರಾ.

4. KADUR 45 (c. 750).

ಬರ್ವಳ್ಳನೆಮ್ಮಿಷಿಸಿದಾಣ್ ಕಿಡಿಸಿದೋಸುಂ ಬಾರಣಾಸಿಯುಳಾ ಪಾತಕಂ
ಗೆಯ್ದೋಸ ಸಂದ ಗತಿಗೆ ಸಲ್ಪೋಣ್.

In these extracts we find many archaic forms not found in *Kavirajamarga* and works that followed it. In fact the language of Nripatunga scarcely differs from that of the later authors of the 10th and 11th centuries. The inscriptions show:

1. A general use of the lengthened form of the vowel of the genitive:

ನಿರ್ವ್ವಿನೀತರಾ, ಕಟ್ಟಪ್ಪಿನಾ, ಊರಾ.

2. The use of the locative suffix *ul* for the later *oh* ವೆಟ್ಟದುಳಾ, ಬಾರಣಾಸಿಯುಳಾ.

3. A general use of the lengthened form of the vowel of the accusative, even when followed by a consonant:

ಪ್ರಾಸಾದಾಂತರಮಾಣ್, ಮಿಕ್ಕುದಾಣ್, ಸ್ವರ್ಗಾಗ್ರಮಾಣ್, ಇದಾಣ್.

4. The use of *n* for the later *bindu*: ಇಂಜಿನೀ, ಪ್ರಜ್ವಲ್ಯದಿಣ್; see also examples under (3).

5. The use of the long vowel instead of the later short vowel in ತನ್ವಾದಿ and ಕಿಷ್ಕಿಯಾ.

6. The general use of the lengthened form of the vowel of the conjugational suffixes:

ಏಷುದಾರ್, ಅಠಿದೋರ್, ನಿಷಿಸದಾಃ, ಕಿಡಿಸಿದೋಃ, ಆಕ್ಯೋಃ
ಗೆಯ್ದೋಃ, ಸಲ್ಪೋಃ.

Tamil Literature

No one entertains a doubt about the antiquity of Tamil literature, but this antiquity depends to a great extent on the period assigned to the authors and works of the third Sangam.

According to tradition there were three Tamil Sangams or Academies at long intervals in different places. The following particulars are given about them in Nakkirar's commentary on Iraiyanar's *Agapporul*:—

The first academy was established at Southern Madura, now submerged in the Indian ocean. Its members were 549 in number, including among others Agastya, its president, and the gods Siva and Subrahmanya; and the number of authors who obtained its approval for their works was 4,449. It was patronised by 89 Pandya kings, of whom 7 were also poets, and lasted for 4,440 years.

The second academy had its seat at Kapatapuram, also submerged in the ocean. Its members, including Agastya, his disciple Tolkappiya and others, were 59 in number, the number of poets whose works were passed by it being 3,700. It received the patronage of 59 Pandya kings, 5 of whom were also learned scholars, and continued for 3,700 years.

The third academy was founded at Northern Madura. Its members were 49 in number, including Nakkirar, its president, Kapilar, Paranar, Sittalai Sattanar and others, the number of authors who obtained its approval for their writings being 449. It was patronised by 49 Pandya kings, 3 of whom were also poets, and lasted for 1,850 years.

If the facts stated above be subjected to strict historical criticism, most of them will have to be rejected

as pure myths. The number of members of the academies and of the kings who patronised them, as also of the poets whose works were passed by them, and the long periods during which they are said to have existed, look incredible. Some scholars are therefore inclined to think that the account given above is a later fabrication foisted on the early author Nakkirar. Kavatapuram of the Pandyas is, however, mentioned in *Valmiki-Ramayana* as full of gold and adorned with pearls¹ and must therefore be an ancient city. The existence of the academies may be a fact, though the details given about them may not be credible. They exercised a great authority over Tamil literature and were something like literary associations including among its members the best poets and learned men of the age. Any work not approved of by them was looked upon as a very inferior production. The members of these learned corporations maintained a strict monopoly of literary reputation so that it was not an easy matter to have works, however excellent, recognised by them. According to some scholars the accounts of the first two academies contain much legendary matter so that it is difficult to admit them within the pale of real history. Such, however, does not seem to them to be the case with the third academy. The third academy was by far the most important, almost all the classical works of Tamil literature that have come down to us, including a good number by Jaina authors, being productions which received the *imprimatur* of this Sangam.

Opinion is divided among scholars about the period of the third Sangam, some assigning to it the second century A.D., some the 5th century and others the 8th century. The 2nd century is arrived at by the fact that Gajabahu, a king of Ceylon who ruled in the middle of the 2nd century, was, according to the poem *Silappadikram* present at the installation of the Goddess

¹ ಕತೋ ಹೇಮಮಯಂ ದಿವ್ಯಂ ಮುಕ್ತಾ ಮಣಿವಿಭೂಷಿತಂ |
ಯುಕ್ತಂ ಕವಾಟಂ ಪಾಂಡ್ಯಾನಾಂ ಗತಾ ದ್ರಕ್ಷ್ಯಥ ವಾನರಾಃ ||

Pattini conducted by the Chera king Senguttuvan. The 8th century is objected to on the ground that Nakkirar, a poet of the third Sangam, is referred to in his *Devaram* by Appar, a contemporary of Siruttondar who fought at the battle of Vatapi which took place in 642. The balance of opinion among Tamil scholars appears to be in favour of the Gajabahu synchronism, which will carry back the antiquity of Tamil literature to the earliest centuries of the Christian era.

But Sittalai Sattanar, author of the Tamil epic *Manimekhalai*, which is considered to be a work of the third Sangam, and has been assigned by several Tamil scholars to the 2nd century, has regularly translated Dinnaga's *Nydyapravesa* in lines 110 to 474 of the chapter known as *Tavattirampundu tarumam Ketta Kadai* of his work. So he must be posterior to Dinnaga who is supposed to be not earlier than the 4th century. But Tamil scholars may say that both the authors may have derived the information from an earlier common source. This is not, however, likely, as the following extracts from the Tamil and Sanskrit works will show the only difference being a few additional explanatory words in the Tamil passage:

I. 11. 122-24.

ಏತು

ಮೂನಾಯ್ ತೋಸ್ತುನೊಡಿಸ್ತ ಪಕ್ಕ
 ತ್ತೊನ್ನಿ ನಿಟ್ಟಿಲುಜ್ಜ ಪಕ್ಕತ್ತುಣ್ಣಾದಲುಂ
 ಪಕ್ಕಪ್ಪೋಲಿಯೊನ್ನೆದು ವಕ್ಕಪ್ಪಡುಮ್
 ಪಿರತ್ತಿಯಕ್ಕ ವಿರುತ್ತಮನುಮಾನ
 ವಿರುತ್ತಜ್ಜು ವಶನವಿರುತ್ತಮುಲೋಕ
 ವಿರುತ್ತಮಾಗಮವಿರುತ್ತಮಪ್ಪಿರ
 ಶಿತ್ತವಿಶೇಡಣಮಪ್ಪಿರಶಿತ್ತ
 ವಿಶೇಡಿಯಮಪಿರಶಿತ್ತವುಬಯ

ಪೇತುಸ್ತುರೂಪಃ | ಕಿಂಪುನಸ್ತೈರೂಪ್ಯಂ |
 ಪಕ್ಷಧರ್ಮತ್ವಂ ಸಪಕ್ಷೇಸತ್ವಂ ವಿಪಕ್ಷೇ
 ಚಾಸತ್ವಮಿತಿ |

ಪಕ್ಷಾ ಭಾಸಾಃ ನವ | ತದ್ಯಥಾ—
 ಪೃತ್ಯಕ್ಷ ವಿರುದ್ಧಃ, ಅನುಮಾನವಿರುದ್ಧಃ,
 ಆಗಮವಿರುದ್ಧಃ, ಸ್ವವಚನವಿರುದ್ಧಃ,
 ಲೋಕವಿರುದ್ಧಃ, ಅಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧವಿಶೇಷಣಃ,
 ಅಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧವಿಶೇಷ್ಯಃ, ಅಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧೋ
 ವಯಃ.

ಶುಭಶನವಿರುತ್ತಸ್ತು ಶೂನ್ಯಾಣುಮು
ಯಮ್ಬ
ಲೆನಾಯ್ ಮಲಡಿಯೆಸೇಯಿಯಮ್ಬಲ್
ಆಗಮವಿರುತ್ತಸ್ತು ಸ್ಮಾನ್ಯಾಣುಮು
ಲನಿತ್ತವಾದಿಯಾಯುಳ್ಳ ವೈಶೇಷಿಕ
ಸನಿತ್ತಿಯತ್ತೈ ನಿತ್ತಿಯಮೆನ ನುವಣಿ
ಲಪ್ಪಿರತಿತ್ತ ವಿಶೇಷಣಮಾವದು
ತತ್ತಮೆದಿರುಕ್ಕುಚ್ಚಾತ್ತಿಯನೆರಿ
ಯಾಮೈ
ಪೌತ್ತಮಾಣಾಯನಿ ನ ಶಾಬ್ಜಿಯನೈ
ಕ್ಕುಣುತ್ತುಚ್ಚತ್ತಮ್ ವಿನಾಶಿಯೆನಾಲ

ಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧ ಸಂಬಂಧಶ್ಲೋಕಿ
ತತ್ರ ಪ್ರತ್ಯಕ್ಷವಿರುದೋ ಯಥಾ—
ಅಶ್ರಾವಣಃ ಶಬ್ದ ಇತಿ |
ಅನುಮಾನವಿರುದೋ ಯಥಾ—
ನಿತ್ಯೋಘಟ ಇತಿ |
ಸ್ವವಚನವಿರುದೋ ಯಥಾ—
ಮಾತಾ ಮೇ ವಂಧ್ಯಾ |
ಆಗಮವಿರುದೋ ಯಥಾ—ವೈಶೇಷಿಕಸ್ಯ
ನಿತ್ಯಶಬ್ದ ಇತಿ ಸಾಧಯತಃ |
ಅಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧವಿಶೇಷಣೋ ಯಥಾ—ಬೌದ್ಧಸ್ಯ
ಸಾಂಖ್ಯಂ ಪ್ರತಿವಿನಾಶೀ ಶಬ್ದ ಇತಿ |

If the period assigned to Dirinaga is correct, the period of *Manimekhali* and consequently the period of the third Sangam will probably be the 5th century.

Telugu Literature

The earliest work extant in Telugu is the *Bhadrata* of Nannayya-bhatta, the court poet of the Eastern Chalukya king Rajaraja (1023-63). He is generally considered to be the first poet in that language.³ But, as in the case of Kannada, poetical inscriptions of an earlier period have been found such as those of the Eastern Chalukya king Gunaga-Vijayaditya (844-88) in Ongole

¹ I am told that some Tibetan manuscripts have the reading ಅಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧ.

² I am indebted to Mr. H. R. Rangaswamiengar, M.A., of the Oriental Library, for the Sanskrit extracts.

³ ವಾಚಾಪಾನಂಧ್ರಮಯೇನಾಂ ಯಃ ಪ್ರವಕ್ತಾ ಪ್ರಥಮೋ ಭವತ್ |
ಆಚಾರ್ಯಂ ತಂ ಕವೀಂದ್ರಾಣಾಂ ವಂದೇ ವಾಗನುಶಾಸನಂ ||

Taluk (Madras *Epigraphical Report* for 1923) and the pillar inscription at Bezwada of the Eastern Chalukya King Yuddhamalla who ruled in the early part of the 10th century. Nannayya-bhatta also happens to be the first grammarian of the Telugu language, and grammar presupposes the existence of previous literature.

Malayalam Literature

With regard to Malayalam literature, the scholars of that language say that up to the 10th century the language of Kerala was Sendamil, i.e., pure Tamil. Omitting *manipravalam* works, *Ramacharitam* by Sri-Rama, a Travancore king of the 13th century, is the earliest work in Malayalam literature. In Malayalam *manipravalam* works not only Sanskrit words but also Sanskrit case endings were freely combined with Malayalam words.¹ The real secret of *manipravalam* according to Malayalam scholars lay in the blending of Malayalam and Sanskrit words in such a manner as to make the latter indistinguishable from the former, exactly as the intermingling of the ruby and the coral in one and the same necklace. Tunjattu Eluttachchan of the 16th century is considered as the father of modern Malayalam (classical) literature. I may add that there are *manipravalam* works in Tamil also.

It will thus be seen that the literature of Kannada is of far greater antiquity than that of any other South Indian, or for that matter, any other Indian, vernacular, except perhaps that of Tamil.

ಅತ್ಯಂತರೇ ತತ್ರ ಸಮಾಪವಾಸೀ ಸತ್ಯಾಜಿತಾಖ್ಯಾಕಲ ಯಾದವೇಂದ್ರೇ |

ನುತ್ತಪ್ರಸಾದೇನ ಮದಾಲಭಿಚ್ಛಾಕ್ ಮಿತ್ರಪ್ರಕಾರೋಪಮಮೇಕರತ್ನಂ ||

ವೈಕುಂಠದೇವ ನಿರಗೋಕ್ತಃ ಕೇಮೇವ ದಿನಾಯ್ ವೋಕುನ್ತ ದಿನ್ನ ಬಹು ಸಂಕಟಮಂಗನಾನಾಂ |

ಕೃಷ್ಣೇ ವರುನ್ವ ವಯಿನೋಕ್ತಿ ವಸಿಷ್ಠಮೇಷ್ಟಿಂ ತೃಷ್ಣಾ ವಶೇನ ವಿವಶಾ ದಿವಕಾವನಾಸೇ ||

CHAPTER II

POETS AND POETRY

NRIPATUNGA (815-77) in his *Kavirdjamarga* gives the uses of Kavya in the following verse (I, 18):

ನಾಸಮಿದು ವೃಣ್ಯಮಿದು ಹಿತ! ರೂಪಮಿದಹಿತಸ್ರಕಾರಮಿದು ಸುಖಮಿದು ದುಃ |
ಚೋನಾತ್ರಮಿದಂದಜುಪುಗು | ಮಾ ಪರಸುಕವಿಸ್ಪ್ರಧಾನರಾ ಕಾವ್ಯಂಗಳ್ ||

He mentions two kinds of composition (I, 32, 34 and 35), *bedande* and *chattana*, with the remark that they were recognised by early poets. The former is defined as a composition consisting of alternate *kandas* and *vrittas*, and the latter as one consisting of many *kandas* along with *vrittas*, *akkara*, *chaupadi*, *gitika* and *tivadi*. He states (I, 50) that Hala-Gannada is quite appropriate in ancient poems, but insipid in works of the present time like association with an old woman. According to him mixture of Kannada with Sanskrit is harsh to the ear (I, 52), but mixture of Kannada with Sama-Sanskrita is pleasant to the ear like music (I, 54), while mixture of Kannada and Sanskrit in compounds is disagreeable like mixing drops of buttermilk with boiling milk (I, 57). He condemns unnecessary use of expletives such as *ante*, *matte*, *gadam*, etc., in the following verse (II, 12):

ಇನ್ನಂಕೆ ಮತ್ತೆ ಒಟಿ ಮಿಗೆ | ಮುಂ ನಿಲೆ ತಾಂ ಮೇಣ್ ವೆಂಟಿಂ ಗಡಂ ಗಳಮಾದಂ |
ಕೆನ್ನಂ ನಿಲ್ಲೆಂದಿವನೆಂ | ದುಂ ನಿಣಿಸಲ್ಕಲ್ಲದೆಡೆಗಳೊಳ್ ಕಲ್ಲದಿರಿಂ ||

We may now consider the several species of composition which Nagavarma names and defines at the close of his *Kavyavalokana*. He begins with the statement that composition is of three kinds—prose, poetry and both combined, and tells us that a work written in prose is called *Katha* (or tale) or *Akhyayika* (or narrative), that when composed in verse and continued in a number of cantos (*Sarga*) it is styled a great poem, and that when written in prose and verse it is termed *Champu*. Again,

a piece of poetry, complete in a single stanza, is called *Idukungabbam*; where complete in a number of stanzas (usually five), it is known as *Kulaka*; and when it consists of a number of independent stanzas, it is termed *Kosa*. Further, a poem which may extend to twelve stanzas, some of which are in the *kanda* metre interspersed with some in the metre of one of the well-known *vrittis*, is styled *melvadu*; that which consists of 15 or 25 stanzas is called *padu*; that which is made up of a number of *padus* is known as *padugabbam*, to which class likewise *melvadu* and *bedande-gabbam* belonged; and lastly, that which consists of stanzas composed in a variety of metres is termed *bajane-gabbam*. Of the above, *melvadu*, *bejane-gabbam* and *ST Sajane-gabbam*, which are peculiar to Kan-
nada, appear to have been sung with or without the accompaniment of a musical instrument, as is evident from the words *padu* (song) and *bajane* (playing upon a musical instrument). As stated above, Nripaturiga mentions two kinds of composition styled *bedande* and *chattana*. As Nagavarma's definition of *bajane-gabbam* nearly agrees with that of *chattana*, it may be concluded that they are identical. Besides, a comparison of Nagavarma's definition of *melvadu* with that of *bedande* leads one to think that the latter is probably another name, for the former. Most of the above kinds of composition have not survived to our times. Among the extant Kannada works, Janna's *Yasodharacharita* (1209) is perhaps the only one that seems to answer to the description of *melvadu*.

Some of Nagavarma's observations on poets and poetry deserve notice. Though men may reach the farther shore of the sea of learning, it is only the fortunate among them that become possessors of the world-famed gem of poetical power (v. 425). A poet ought to exercise as great care in the selection and use of words and expressions as a garland-maker in the selection and use of flowers (v. 498).¹ However slight the blemish in the

¹ ಇದು ಸಾಂದರ್ಭಗುಣಪ್ರಕಾಶಮಿದು ತಾನಗ್ರಾಮ್ಯತಾಧಾನಮಿಂ |
ತಿದು ಭಾಸ್ವತ್ಪರಭಾಗರಮ್ಯಮಿದು ಬಂಧಾಶ್ಲೇಷವಿಚ್ಛಿತ್ತಿಗಾ ||
ಸ್ತದಮಂದಂತುಚಿತ ಪ್ರಯೋಗವಿಧಿಯಂ ಸಯ್ತುಪ್ಪಿನ್ವಂ ತದ್ವಿ ಸೇ |

body of the woman, poetry, the fame acquired through her will also become sullied, just as a mirror is obscured by a shadow (v. 428). Consequently, he who is desirous of acquiring unsullied fame cannot be too scrupulous in avoiding blemishes in his composition (v. 429).

Verses 55, 65, 209 and 299, which are quoted by Nagavarma from earlier works, also contain interesting observations on poets and poetry. Verse 55 condemns the combination of Kannada and Sanskrit words in composition, comparing it to the stringing together of pearls and pepper-corns. We have already seen that Nripatunga compares it to the mixing of drops of butter-milk with boiling milk; Nayasena (1112) characterises it as a mixing together of clarified butter and oil. According to verse 65, there is as much difference between good and bad poetry as there is between a lute and a wooden stool. Verse 209 states that the heart which is not captivated by elegant poetry is a stony heart which it is impossible even for the arrow of the god of Love to pierce. Verse 299 asks, 'Is he to be reckoned a poet whose obscure effusions require for their comprehension a number of glossaries and commentaries?'

In connection with the simile of a garland-maker to a poet mentioned above, the following observation of Janna is worthy of note :

'Just as a garland, beautifully prepared, must fade in the absence of worthy wearers, even so must a work,

ಛಿವ್ವದು ಘೂಮಾಲೆಯನಿಂಬಿನಿಂ ಸಮವಘೋಲ್ ಸತ್ಕಾವ್ಯಮಂ ಕಬ್ಬಿಗಂ ||

Cp. Nemichandra :

ವಿಟ್ಟಿಗೆ ಬಂದ ಕೋಮಲಗುಣಂ ಗೆಡೆಗೊಂಡಿರೆ ಘೂವಿನಂತಿರಾ |
ಯಿಟ್ಟು ಪದಂ ವೆಡಂಗೆನಿಸೆ ಬಣ್ಣ ಸರಂ ಪೊಸತಾಗೆ ನುಣ್ಣೊಡಂ ||
ಬಟ್ಟರೆ ಬಂಧಮೊಂದೆ ಚತುರಾಳಿ ಕರಂ ಬಸಮಾಗೆ ಬಾಸಿಗಂ |
ಗೆಟ್ಟುವನಂತೆ ಕಟ್ಟುವುದು ಕಬ್ಬಮನುಬ್ಬಣಮಾಗೆ ಕಬ್ಬಿಗಂ ||

Cp. also Bhamaha :

ಏತದ್ವಾಹ್ಯಂ ಸುರಭಿಕುಸುಮಂ ಗ್ರಾಮ್ಯಮೇತನ್ವಧೇಯಂ |
ಧತ್ತೇ ಶೋಭಾಂ ವಿರಚಿತಮಿದಂ ಸ್ಥಾನಮಸ್ಯೈತದಸ್ಯ ||
ಮಾಲಾಕಾರೋ ರಚಯತಿ ಯಥಾ ಸಾಧು ವಿಜ್ಞಾಯ ಮಾಲಾಂ |
ಯೋಜ್ಯಂ ಕಾವ್ಯೇಷ್ವವಹಿತಧಿಯಾ ತದ್ವದೇವಾಭಿಧಾನಂ ||

(Kavyalankara, I, 59).

excellently composed, prove useless in the absence of worthy scholars to appreciate it.'¹

A few words may be said here about the Poetical conventions (Kavi-samaya) dealt with in four sections in the fifth chapter of *Kavyavalokana*. The first section treats of those conceits which, though they have no foundation in fact, are still embodied in poetry as if they were true, e.g., the Chakora bird drinking the moonlight, lotuses growing in rivers, swans and other birds haunting all receptacles of water. The second section deals with those things which, though they undoubtedly exist, are considered as non-existent for practical purposes, e.g., the fruit in the Asoka tree, the Jati flower in spring, the blooming of lilies during the day. The third section speaks of the limitation with regard to time or place which the convention of the poet imposes upon certain things, though no such limitation exists in nature. For example, the sandal tree is described as growing only in the Malaya Mountain; and the cuckoo is supposed to cry only in spring. The last section refers to the identity assumed by poets between things which are different from each other. For instance, identity is assumed between the hare and the antelope in the description of the moon's spot; and between the fish and the *makara* in describing the crest of the God of Love.

A great poem has to treat of the following 18 subjects, which are styled its *angas* or limbs or constituents:

ಉದಧಿ ಪುರಾಧಿಪ ಸುತ ಮುಂ | ತ್ರ ದೂತ ಗಮನಾಜಿ ವಿರಹ ಪರಿಣಯ ಸುರತ |
ತು ದಿನೇಶ ಚಂದ್ರ ಮಧು ಕುಪ್ಪ | ದುಡಕ ವಸಸ್ಪ ತಿಯೆ ಕೃತಿಗೆ ಪದಿನೆಂಟಂಗಂ ||

(*Udayaditydlankara*).

The following verse which states the subjects more

1 ಎನತನೊಡಿಲ್ಲ ಪೇಟ್ಟ ಕವಿಯೇ ವನದಂ ಪೆಸರಿಟ್ಟು ಮೆಚ್ಚ ಬ |
ಲ ನನಹಿಸಲ್ಗೆ ವೇಟ್ಟು ದವನಂ ಜಗದೊಳ್ ಪಡೆಯಲ್ಗೆ ಬಾರದಾ ||
ತನ ಮುಖದಿಂದಮಲ್ಲ ದೆದು ಸಲ್ಲದು ಕಟ್ಟಿಯುಮೇನೊ ಮಾಲೆಗಾ |
ಹಿನ ಪೊಸಬಾಸಿಗಂ ಮುಡಿವ ಭೋಗಿಗಳಲ್ಲದೆ ಬಾಡಿಪೋಗದೇ ||

Cp. ಪರಿಹೇತರಿ ನಷ್ಟಲೋಚನೇ ಸಫಲಃ ಕಿಂನು ಕಳತ್ರವಿಭ್ರಮಃ ||

Cp. also ಅಪರಿಶೋಷಾದ್ಧಿವಾಂ ನ ಸಾಧು ಮನ್ಯೇ ಪ್ರಯೋಗವಿಜ್ಞಾನಂ ||

clearly is taken from Mallikarjuna's *Suktisudharnava*, an anthology consisting of verses from earlier poets relating to each one of the above mentioned 18 *angas*.

ಸಾರಧಿ ಪರ್ವತಂ ಪುರಮಧೀಶ್ವರಸುದ್ವಹನಂ ಕುಮಾರನಂ |
 ಭೋರುಹವೈರಿಮಿತ್ರರುದಯಂ ಋತು ಸಂದನಮಂಜು ಸೀದು ಕಾಂ ||
 ಶಾರತಿ ಚಿಂಕೆ ನುಂತ್ರ ಚರ ಯಾನ ವಿರೋಧಿಜಯಂಗಳೆಂಬಂ |
 ಸೂರಿಗಳೆಂಬೆಂದು ಕೃತಿಯೊಳ್ ಪದಿಸೆಂಬುಮನೆಯ್ ಬಣ್ಣಿ ಪರ್ ||

The sea, mountain, city, king, marriage, prince, sunrise, moonrise, seasons, pleasure-garden, sport in water, drinking, amorous intercourse, separation from the beloved, deliberation, messenger, journey and defeat of the enemy.

The terms *marga* and *desi* /frequently occur in Kannada literature. They seem to indicate Sanskrit and vernacular usages respectively as may be inferred from the following stanzas from *Sangitaratnakara*:

I may close this section by giving the peculiar characteristics of the Kannada Language as stated by Kesiraja in his *Sabdamanidarpana*. He says:

Is not Kannada difficult by reason of its Gamaka-compounds, its distinction between ಏ, ಳ, and the Sanskrit *v* or ^pA its agreeable euphony, its appropriate use of the locative-infinitive, its employment of words common to Sanskrit and Kannada, its distinction between *va* and *ma* and *ha* and *pa*, its use of Sanskrit themes excluding particles, its fleeting consonants, and its violation of *yati* or pause in verses?¹

¹ ಗಮಕಸಮಾಸದಿಂ ಟಿಬಕುಳಕ್ಕೆ ಆದಿಂ ಶ್ರುತಿಸಹ್ಯಸಂಧಿಯಿಂ |
 ಸಮುಚಿತವಾಗಿ ಬರ್ಪ ಸತಿಪವಮಿಯಿಂ ಸಮಸಂಸ್ಕೃತೋಕ್ತಿಯಿಂ ||
 ವಮಹನಭೇದದಿಂ ವಿರಹಿತಾವ್ಯಯಸಂಸ್ಕೃತಲಿಂಗದಿಂ ಪದೋ |
 ತ್ತಮಶಿಥಿಲತ್ವದಿಂ ಯತಿವಿಬಂಧಾನದಿಂದೆದಲಿ ಕನ್ನಡಂ ||

Classes of Poets

Kannada poets may be roughly classed as Jainas, Virasaivas and Brahmanas. There are also authors of other sects, but their number is comparatively small. The earliest cultivators of the language for literary purposes were the Jainas and down to the 12th century, we have, with very few exceptions, only Jaina authors. For about three centuries after that period, we have along with them a few Brahmana writers and a pretty large number of Virasaiva authors, and from about the 15th century date numerous Brahmanical and Virasaiva works. There were, however, during these later periods, some compositions by the Jainas, but most of the literature of later times originated with the other sects. The leading characteristic of the Jaina earlier works is that they are *champu-kavyas* or poems in a variety of composite metres interspersed with paragraphs in prose. The Jainas also wrote particular compositions such as *chattana*, *bedande* and *melvadu* which have not come down to us. In Jaina works of a later period the *sangatya* and *shatpadi* metres are largely used as in Brahmanical and Virasaiva works. The earlier Virasaiva works are mostly in the form of *vachanas* or poetical prose, and occasionally in the *ragale* and *tripadi* metres. The *vachanas* are written in simple, lucid, vigorous prose with the object of popularising religious and philosophical truths. The most recent compositions of all the sects are mostly in the form of *Yakshaganas* or rustic dramas interspersed with songs, and some in prose only. There were also some female authors in all the sects.

A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF KANNADA LITERATURE

We shall now take a bird's-eye view of Kannada literature century by century, from the 9th to the 18th.

Authors of the 9th Century

We have already spoken of Nripatunga as the author of *Kavirajamarga*. He evidently took a great interest in the Kannada country, people and language. Of the poets named by him, Srivijaya, who is mentioned as the author

of *Chandraprabha-purana* by Mangarasa III and Doddaiya and highly praised by Durgasimha (c. 1025)¹, and who appears to be named in *Kavirajamarga* itself, may belong to the early part of this century. Gunavarma I, the author of *Siidrakā*, *Harivamsa* and other works which are quoted from by later writers, was patronised by the Ganga King Ereyappa (886-913) whom he has identified with the ancient King Sudraka in his work of that name.

Authors of the 70th Century

It is not possible to do more than briefly name some of the principal Kannada authors who followed and their chief works, with dates where they are known. Pampa I, deservedly regarded as the greatest of Kannada poets, wrote *Adipurana* and *Vikramarjunavijaya* in 941. The latter work is also known as *Pampa-Bharata* in which the author has identified his patron, a Chalukya prince named Arikesari, with Arjuna and made him the hero. He states that his *Bharata* and *Adipurana* put all former poems under their feet and that he completed the one in six months and the other in three months. He was the descendant of a Jaina from the Vengi country. Ponna, who wrote *Santipurana*, claims to be superior to all other poets in command of both Kannada and Sanskrit. He received the title, Kavichakravarti, from the Rashtrakuta King Krishna III (939-68). In 978, we have Chavundaraya, the author of *Chavundaraya-purana*, an excellent specimen of prose composition of that period. It gives an account of the 24 Tirthankaras. Next came Ranna, the author of *Ajitapurana* (993) and of *Sahasabhimavijaya*, also known as *Gaddyuddha*, the hero of which is the Chalukya prince Satyasraya. Ranna received the title Kavichakravarti from the Chalukya King Tailapa (973-97). At the same time as the two preceding we have Nagavarma I, who was the author of *Chhandombudhi*, the first work extant on prosody, and probably also of *Kadambari*, a close metrical version of Bana's Sanskrit

¹ ಶ್ರೀವಿಜಯರ ಕವಿಮಾರ್ಗಂ | ಭಾವಿವ ಕವಿಜನದ ಮನಕೆ ಕನ್ನಡಿಯುಂ ಕೆ |
ಯು ರವಿಗೈಯುಮಾದುದು.

work. To the close of the same century may be assigned Gajankusa, Manasija and Chandrabhatta, who, though their works have not come down to us, are honorably mentioned as eminent poets by later writers. All the authors mentioned were Jains.

Authors of the 77th Century

In the 11th century have to be placed Sridhara-charya, who wrote *Jatakatilaka*, the first work on astrology in the language, in 1049, during the rule of the Chalukya King Ahavamalla or Trailokyamalla (1042-68); and Santinatha, who completed his poem *Sukumdracharita* in 1068 during the reign of the Chalukya King Bhuvanaikamalla (1068-76). These two were Jaina poets. Among the Brahman authors of the century may be mentioned Durgasimha, the author of *Panchatantra*, who was the minister for peace and war of the Chalukya King Jayasimha-Jagadekamalla I (1018-42); and Chandraraja, who wrote *Madanatilaka*, under the patronage of Machiraja, a feudatory of the same king. Chandraraja seems to have been a versatile scholar who wrote on a variety of subjects. There are not many names in this century, owing probably to the check caused by the Chola invasions.

Authors of the 72th Century

The 12th century, when Mysore was restored to Kannada rule under the Hoysalas, seems to have been specially prolific in Kannada works of high excellence. Nagachandra or Abhinava-Pampa, author of *Ramachandracharitapurana*, also known as *Pampa Ramayana*, and of *Mallinatha-purana*; Rajaditya, author of *Vyavaharaganita* and other mathematical works; Kirtivarma, a Chalukya prince, author of *Govaidya*, the earliest veterinary work in the language; Nagavarma II, the Katakacharya (poet-laureate) of the Chalukya king Jagadekamalla II and author of several important works on the language, namely, *Kavyavalokana*, a comprehensive work on poetics, *Karnataka-Bhashabhushana*, a grammar in Sanskrit sutras, and *Vastukosa*, lexicon giving Kannada equivalents of Sanskrit words; Jagaddala-

somanatha, author of the medical work *Karnataka-Kalydnakaraka*, the earliest work on medicine; Nemi-chandra, author of a romance called *Lilavati* and a Purana named *Arahanemi* from its being only half-finished; and Aggala, author of *Chandraprabha-purana*—were all Jainas, as well as the poetess Kanti.

Among writers of other faiths at this time, may be mentioned the Brahmana poets Rudrabhatta, author of *Jagandtha-vijaya*, who wrote under the patronage of Chandramauli, minister of the Hoysala King Ballala II, Kama, author of *Sririgara-ratndkara*, a work on poetics; and Deva, author of the romance *Kusumavali*. The Chola Prince Udayaditya, author of a small work on rhetoric named after him, also comes here. Among the Virasaiva writers of this century are Basava, Chennabasava, Prabhudeva, Siddharama, Kondaguli-Kesiraja and a host of others including a pretty large number of women, who have mostly written *vachanas*; Harisvara, author of *Girija-kalyana* and other works; Raghavanka, his nephew, author of *Harischandra-Kavya* and other works in the *shatpadi* metre; Kereya-Padmarasa, author of *Diksha-bodhe* in the *ragaale* metre; and Palkurike-Somanatha, author of *Silasampadane* and other works, who has also written in Telugu.

Authors of the 73th Century

In the 13th century, we find a group of excellent Jaina poets, all closely related to one another, patronised by the Hoysala kings. Janna, author of *Yasodhara-charita* (1209) and *Anantanathapurana* (1230), who received the title Kavichakravarti from Ballala II, was the son of Sumanobana, the poet-laureate of Narasimha I I; his sister's husband, Mallikarjuna, wrote the anthology *Sukti-sudharnava* for the recreation of King Somesvara; and his son, Kesiraja, was the author of the standard Kannada grammar *Sabdamanidarpana*. Other Jaina poets of this period were Parsva-pandita, author of *Parsvana-thapurana*; Gunavarma II, author of *Pushpadanta-purana*; Andayya, author of *Kabbigara-kava*, a work of special interest from its being written in pure Kannada without

the admixture of Sanskrit words as such, though *tadbhavas* are largely used;¹ Kumudendu, author of *Kumudendu-Rdmayana* in the *shatpadi* metre; Rattakavi, author of *Rattamata*, a work on meteorology and omens; and Sisu-Mayana, author of *Tripura-dahana* and *Anjana-charite*, works written for the first time in the *sangatya* metre, intended to be sung to the accompaniment of some musical instrument.

Of other writers of this period may be named Polal-vadandanatha, author of *Hari-charitra*, who was successively the minister of Ballala II and Narasimha II, and built the Hariharesvara temple at Harihar (1224); and Chaundarasa, author of *Abhinava-Dasakurndra-charite*, a metrical version of Dandi's Sanskrit work, *Nalacharite* and other works. The only Virasaiva writer of importance in this century was Somaraja, author of *Udbhatakavya* (1222).

Authors of the 14th Century

The 14th century produced, among others, the Jaina poets Nagaraja, author of *Punyasrava* (1331); Bahubali-pandita, author of *Dharmanatha-purana* (1352); Mangaraja I, author of *Khagendramanidarpana*, a work on toxicology; Madhura, author of *Dharmanatha-purana*, who was patronised by Mudda-dandanatha, minister of Harihara II and Lakshmidhara, minister of Devaraya I; and Vrittavilasa, author of *Dharmaparikshe* and *Sastra-sara*; the Brahmana poets, Mangaraja II; author of *Mangardja-nighantu* (1398), a metrical lexicon giving Kannada meanings of Sanskrit words; Abhinava-Chandra, author of the veterinary work *Asva-vaidyā*; Kavi Malla, author of *Manmathavijaya*; and the Virasaiva poets Bhlmakavi, author of *Basava-purana* (1969) and Padmananka, author of *Padmaraja-purana*.

Authors of the 15th Century

From the 15th century, the authors become too numerous to allow of more than a few of the principal

¹ Cp: the Telugu *Yayaticharitre* of the sixteenth century by Ponnaganti Teluganna and the *Achcha-Tenugu Ramayana* of the 18th century by Kuchimanchi Timmakavi.

ones being named. Among the Jaina poets, who are rarely met with from this century onwards, may be mentioned as belonging to this time, Bhaskara, author of *Jivandhara-charite* (1424); Kalyanakirti, author of *Jnana-chandrabyudaya* (1439); Vijayanna, author of *Dvd-dasanuprekshe* (1448); Bommarasa of Terakanambi, author of *Sanatkumaracharite*; and Srdharadeva, author of the medical work, *Vaidyamrita*. Among the Brahmans were Kumara-Vyasa, author of *Karnata-Bharata*; Kumara-Valmiki, author of *Torave-Ramayana*; Madhava, author of *Madhavalankara*; a translation of Dandi's *Kavyaarsa*; and Isvara-kavi, also known as Bana-kavi, author of *Kavijihva-bandhana*, a work on prosody.

Among the Virasaiva poets may be named Deeparaja, author of a collection of romances called *Sobagina-sone*; Chamarasa, author of *Prabhulingalile*; Guru-Basava, author of *Sivayoganga-bhushana* and other works; Chandra-kavi; author of *Virupakshdsthdna*; Bommarasa, author of *Saundara-purana*; Kallarasa, author of *Jana-vasya*, also called *Madanatilaka*; Nilakanthacharya, author of *Aradhya-charitra*; Chaturmukha-Bommarasa, author of *Revanasiddhesvara-purdna*; Singiraja, author of *Malabasavaraja-charitra*; Nijaguna-Sivayogi, author of *Anubhavasdra* and other works; and Suranga-kavi, author of *Trisashthi-puratanara-Charitre*, giving an account of the sixty-three devotees of Siva.

Authors of the 76th Century

The 16th century saw a prolific production of works of the Virasaivas, though authors of other sects were not idle. Among the Virasaivas were Mallanarya of Gubbi, author of *Bhavachintaratna* (1513) and *Virasaivamritapurana* (1530); Nanjunda, author of *Kumarama-charite*; Cheramanka, author of *Cheramakavya*; Lingamantri, author of the lexicon, *Kabbigarakaipidi*; Virabhadraraja, author of *Virabhadra-vijaya* and other works; Chennabasavanka, author of *Mahadeviyakkana-purdna*; Nanjunda of Kikkeri, author of *Bhairaveivara-Kavya*; Sadasiva-Yogi, author of *Ramanatha-vilasa*; Virakta Tontadarya, author of *Siddhesvara-purdna*, the

lexicon *Karnatakasabdamanjari* and other works; and Virupakshapandita (1584), author of *Chennabasvapurana*.

Among the Jainas were Mangarasa III, author of *Jayanripa-kavya* and other works; Abhinava-Vadividyananda, author of the anthology *Kavyasara*; Salva, author of *Bharata*, *Rasaratnakara* and other works; Ratnakaravarni, author of *Bharatesvara Charite* and other works; Devottama, author of the lexicon, *Nanartharatnakara*; and Santarasa, author of *Yogaratnakara*; and among Brahmanas, Timmanna-kavi, author of the latter portion of *Bharata*; Sadananda-yogi, author of portions of *Bhagavata* and *Bharata*; Purandaradasa, author of numerous songs in praise of Vishnu; Tirumala-Bhatta, author of *Siva-gite*; and Timma, author of *Navarasa-lankdra*; among others Ramendra, author of *Saundarya-Kathratna*, a metrical version in the *tripadi* metre of *Battisaputtalikathe*; and Kanakadasa, author of *oiMohana-tarangini* and other works as well as songs.

Authors of the 77th Century

In the 17th century the literary output of the Brahmanas was greater than that of the writers of other religious denominations. A remarkable development of Kannada literature also took place in the latter part of the century during the rule of Chikkadevaraja Odeyar (1672-1704), one of the most distinguished kings of Mysore, who was not only a great patron of literary merit, but also an author himself. Two of the ministers, Tirumalarya and Chikkupadhyaya, have not only written works of great excellence but have also encouraged others to write good works. Among Tirumalarya's works may be mentioned *Apratimavira-charite*, a rhetorical work in praise of the king, *Chikkadevardja-vijaya*, a *Champu* work describing the king's conquests, and *Chikkadevaraja-vamsavali*, a prose work giving an account of the king's ancestors. Chikkupadhyaya may be said to be the most voluminous writer in Kannada, his works being more than thirty in number. Among the more important were *Vishnu-purdna* (1691), *Kamalachalamahatmya* (1680), *Hastigiri-mahatmya* (1679), *Rukmangada-*

charite (1681) and *Satvikabrahmavidyavildsa*, a work on Visishtadvaita philosophy. Singararya, brother of Tirumalarya, wrote a drama called *Mitravindagovinda*. Among other poets that were patronised by the king or his ministers were Timmakavi, author of *Yadavagiri-mahatmya* (1677) and other works; Mallikarjuna, author of *Sriranga-mahatmya* (1678); Mallarasa, author of *Dasavatara Charite*, and the poetess, Srirangamma, who wrote *Padmini Kalyana*. There was likewise at the court an Okkaliga poetess, Honnamma, who composed *Hadibadeya Dharma*, a work on the duties of a faithful wife. Among the remaining Brahmana poets of this century were Ramachandra, author of *Asvasastra*; Tirumalevaiddya, author of *Uttara Ramayana*; Nagarasa, author of *Bhagavadgite*; Timmarasa, author of *Kshetra-ganita* or Geometry and Lakshmisa author of *Jaitnini Bharata*, which is probably the most popular poem in the language.

Among the Jainas were Bhattakalanka, author of *Karnataka Sabddnusasana* (1604), an exhaustive grammar of the language in Sanskrit sutras, with an extensive Sanskrit commentary; Padmana-pandita, author of *Hayasarasamuchchaya*; Chidananda, author of *Munivamidbhuyadaya*; and Chandrasekhara, author of *Ramachandra-charitra*. The Virasaiva poets of note of the century were Harisvara, author of *Prabhudeva-purana*; Siddhananjesa, author of *Raghavanka-Charitra* and *Gururaja Charitra*; Pemmiseti or Prasabhushana, author of *Gurubhaktdndara Charitre*; Mummadi Tamma, author of *Sankara Samhita*; Parvatesvara, author of *Chaturachdryapurdna*; Shadaksharadeva, author of *Rajasekhara-Vildsa* (1655), a poem which appears to divide with the *Jaitnini Bharata* the honour of being the most popular work in Kannada, *Vrishabhendra-vijaya* and *Saharaiankara-vildsa*; and Sejjeya Siddhalingarya, author of *Malayardja-charite*. Sarvajna, author of the popular *tripadi* verses going by his name, may also be assigned to this century.

Authors of the 18th Century

The 18th century witnessed the rise of a popular kind of literature, Yakshaganas, though there is evidence to show that one or two of them were written in the latter part of the previous century. These are opera pieces or rude forms of dramatic representation suited to rustic audiences. As a rule, they are characterised neither by dramatic skill nor by literary merit. The works are mostly based on some incident or other of that inexhaustible store-house of old stories, the Puranas, and are generally acted in villages to the immense joy of the masses. It is not to be understood that there were no other kinds of literature during this period, though the number of Jaina and Virasaiva authors of any merit was very small. Among the Brahmana writers were Lakshmakavi, author of *Bharata* and *Rukmangada-charite*; Venkatesa, author of the Champu work, *Halasya-mahatmya*; Konayya, author of *Krishndrjuna Sangara*; Timmamatyā, author of a Ramayana called *Ramabhyudaya-Kathakusumamanjari*; Balavaidyada Cheluva, author of Kannada *Lildvati* and *Ratnasastra*, a treatise on precious stones; and the poetess, Helavanakatte Giryamma, who wrote *Chandrasahana-kathe* and other works.

Among the Virasaivas may be mentioned Sankarakavi, author of *Chorabasava-charitre* and Nuronda, author of *Saundara-kavya*: among the Jainas, Pavanna, author of *Ahimsacharite*, Padmaraja, author of *Pujyapada-charite* (1792); Padmanabha, author of *Ra.rnachandra-charitre*; and Surala, author of *Padmavati-charitre*; and among others Kalale-Nanjaraja, author of *Kakudgiri-mahatmya* and other works; Jayendra, author of *Karnataka-Kuvalayananda*; and the poetess Cheluvambe, Queen of the Mysore King, Krishnaraja Odeyar I, who composed *Varanandikalyana* and other works. The century was also remarkable for the number of popular devotional songs known as *Dasara-padagalu* composed by devotees of Vishnu, especially of the Madhava sect.

The Modern Period

In the 19th century, a great impetus was given to the advancement of Kannada literature during the rule of the Mysore King, Krishnaraja Odeyar III, who was a munificent patron of all kinds of literary merit and afforded special encouragement to the production of Kannada versions of all the more important Sanskrit works. He was himself a voluminous writer, about forty Kannada works being attributed to him, of which may be mentioned a poetical romance named *Saagandhikaparinaya*. Under his patronage, the number of *Yakshaganas* increased and gained popularity. Aliya-Lirigaraja has written nearly thirty *Yakshaganas* besides a few poems, such as the *Prabhavatparinaya*, which are of considerable literary merit. The Jaina author, Devachandra, wrote in 1838 the *Rajamlikathe*, a cyclopaedia of Jaina traditional history and chronology, at the instance of Devirammani, a Queen of the Mysore Royal Family. Chandrasagara-vari, author of the *Kadambapurana* and other works, was a voluminous Jaina writer. The last quarter of the century may be said to have witnessed a revival of Kannada learning. Under the late Chamarajendra Odeyar of Mysore, encouragement was given to the production of dramatic works of a high order, which were put on the stage. Educated men have begun in earnest to enrich Kannada literature by writing original works, translations or adaptations. Among modern poets who have made valuable additions to the stock of works in the language may be mentioned Basappa Sastri, S. G. Narasimhacharya, Nandalige Lakshminaranappa, Dhondo Narasimha Mulabagilu and Santa Kavi or Balacharya Sakkari. B. Venkatacharya has added many useful prose works to Kannada literature which afford healthy reading to the public.

This survey of Kannada literature, though necessarily brief, is enough to bring to view its vast extent which does not at all compare unfavourably with that of any other vernacular of the South.

CHAPTER III

CONNECTION OF KANNADA LITERATURE WITH THOSE OF TELUGU, TAMIL AND SANSKRIT

Connection of Kannada and Telugu Literatures

THE connection between Kannada and Telugu literatures appears to be much closer than that between Kannada and Tamil literatures. One of the reasons for this may be that the Chalukyas ruled over both the Karnata and Andhra countries and patronised both the languages. Several Telugu authors have also written in Kannada and vice versa. The metre *Akkara* which seems to be peculiar to Kannada is found in early Telugu works and Inscriptions such as Nannayya-Bhatta's *Bhadrata* and the Bezwada Pillar inscription of Yuddhamalla. Two of the early Kannada poets, viz., Pampa I (941) and Nagavarma I (c. 990) were descendants of men who belonged to Vengimandala. We learn from an inscription which records the grant of a village in 1053 by the Eastern Chalukya King Rajaraja to Narayana-Bhatta, who helped Nannayya-Bhatta in the composition of the Telugu *Bhadrata*, that Narayana-Bhatta was also a Kannada poet.¹ Palkurike Somanatha and Vemulavada Bhima-Kavi, who were great Telugu poets, have written Kannada works also: the former *Silasampadane*, etc., and the latter, *Basavapurana*. Piduparti Somanatha has translated into Telugu the Kannada *Prabhulingalle* of Chamarasa. The fact of the matter is that Telugu scholars of that period were also well-versed in Sanskrit and Kannada and it is on account of this familiarity with Kannada that the poet Srinatha describes his Telugu as Kannada.² He calls

¹ ಯುಃ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ಕರ್ಣಾಟ ಪ್ರಾಕೃತ ವೈಶಾಚಿಕಾಂಧ್ರಭಾಷಾಸು |
ಕವಿರಾಜಶೇಖರ ಇತಿ ಪ್ರಥಿತಃ ಸುಕವಿತ್ವವಿಭವೇನ ||

² ಪ್ರಾಧೀಬರಿಕಿಂಪ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ಭಾಷಯಂಧ್ರು | ಪಲುಕು ನುಡಿಶಾರಮುನನಾಂಧ್ರಭಾಷ
ಯಂದು | ರೆವ ರೇಮನ್ನನಂದು, ನಾಕೇಲ ಕೊಪಿತ | ನಾ ಕವಿತ್ವಂಬು ನಿಜಮು ಕರ್ಣಾಟಭಾಷ ||

himself Karnatadesakataka-padmavana-keli. Nannechoda, Piduparti Basava, Dhurjati, and other Telugu poets knew Kannada also, as can be inferred from their works. In his *Sringdra Naishadha*, Srinatha applies the Kannada title Svamidroharaganda to the minister Namamatya. Nannechoda (c. 1150) uses in his *Kumarasambhava* several Kannada words. He was a Chola Chief, son of Cholaballi, perhaps identical with Mallideva Chola named in Challakere 43, of 1108, and Challakere 21, of 1147. The Kannada words used by him are *Nayi* (dog), *desi* (beauty),¹ *venchalu* (pond, cp. *benche*) and *Kolavelu* for *Kolaver* (cuscus grass).² The chief Baddena (c. 1260), who wrote *Nltisastramuktavali*, had the Kannada title *Annanagandhavarana*.

Of the Kannada poets who were also Telugu scholars or authors may be mentioned Nilakanthacharya (c. 1485), who has translated into Kannada *Shatpadi*, the Telugu *Panditaradhyacharite* in *dvipadi* of Palkurike Somanatha; Pemmissetti (c. 1650), who has likewise translated the Telugu *Gurubhaktandara Charite* in *dvipadi* of Palkurike Somanatha into Kannada *shatpadi*; Chakrapani Ranganatha (c. 1195), who wrote *Srlgirindthavikrama* in Telugu; Tirumalabhata (c. 1600), whose metrical translation of *Sivagite* is based on Harihararadhya's Telugu commentary on the work; and Mummadi Tamma (c. 1665), a chief of Sugatur who wrote the Telugu works *Rajendracholacharite*, *Kumararjuniya*, *Saundaresacharite*. There are, further, Hubballi Sangayya (c. 1700), Viraraja (c. 1720), Kalale Nanjaraja (c.1740) and Salyada Krishnaraja, among others, who were likewise Telugu scholars. Among modern authors may be named Venkataramanaiya (1857), who wrote *Gayopakhyana* in Kannada and *Adhydtma-Ramayana* in Telugu.

¹ ಭಾಸುರಾಂಗಮುಲಿಂಕ ದೇಸಿಯಗುನೇ.

² It is ವಟ್ಟವೇಳ್ಳು in Telugu. Mr. Viresalingam Pantalu took *Kandavadam* used by Nannechoda also for a Kannada word, but it is a *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit *Kandapata*

Connection of Kannada and Tamil Literatures

Such interchanges between Kannada and Tamil literatures are, however, very few. Amritasagara, a Jaina Tamil poet, who flourished before the 11th century, states in his *Yapparungalakkarigai*, a work on prosody, that there existed in the Kannada Language a work on prosody named *Guna-gankiyam* and that the Tamil work adopted some of its characteristics, one of which was addressing the rules to a woman.¹ Unfortunately, the name of the author is not given, nor has the work come down to us. It is very probable that this author dedicated his work to the Eastern Chalukya King, Vijayaditya III (844-88), who had the distinctive epithets, Gunaga, Gunaganka, and Gunakenalla. This would be the earliest work on prosody in Kannada. Mallanarya of Gubbi (1513) says that his poem *Bhavachintdratna* is a Kannada rendering of the Tamil account of King Satyendrachola, narrated by Tirujnanasambandha to Kulachcharaiya after confuting Jainism. And Sivaprakasasvami of the 17th century has written metrical translations of the Kannada works, the *Prabhulingalile* of Chamarasa and the *Vivekachintdmani* (only the *Vedanta-parichcheda*) of Nijagunasivayogi. The latter version is styled *Vedantachuldmani*.

It may be added here that every one of the South-Indian languages has numerous translations of Sanskrit works. In Kannada the Jainas and Brahmanas have translated more Sanskrit works than the Virasaivas. This can be verified by a mere glance at the list of works given in the volumes of the *Karnataka Kavicharite*. In these circumstances it is interesting to note some instances of Kannada works having been translated into Sanskrit.

Nirvana-Mantri (c. 1725), the minister of the Keladi chief, Somasekhara Nayaka (1714-39), translated into Sanskrit portions of Nijagunasivayogi's *Vivekachintdmani*; and Srimat-Paramahansa Balakrishna Brahmananda-Rajayogi translated into Sanskrit Ranganatha's *Anubhavamnta* in 1813.

Criticisms

It gives me much pleasure to see that several scholars have now begun to take interest in Kannada literature, though at the time when I began to write the *Kavi-charite* there were very few people interested in the study of this subject. I am also glad to see in journals and newspapers criticisms made by some scholars with regard to my work. In a work of this magnitude, involving a great deal of study and investigation, it is but natural that there should be found mistakes here and there; and I shall only be too grateful to scholars who help me in rectifying them and thus making the work more useful. Of these critics, Dr. A. Venkatasubbaia, M.A., Ph.D., LL.B., has to be given the first place as he has paid the greatest possible attention to my work, especially the first volume, his criticisms extending over nearly 280 printed pages. These criticisms are published in the issues of the *Prabuddha karnataka*. They have also been collected together and issued in the form of a book. Some of the Doctor's criticisms, such as those relating to the age of the poets, Durgasimha, Chandraraja, Rajaditya and Vrittavilasa, as also those regarding my identification of some Jaina gurus, are perfectly reasonable. There are others, however, which are based on very weak grounds due to a misunderstanding of the points at issue, while there are others still which, I am constrained to say, are nothing but the outcome of a prejudiced mentality solely intent on fault-finding. Though many of the criticisms are not thus of much value, I have still to thank the Doctor for having given me an opportunity of re-examining my position. The Doctor has called in question the accuracy of my accounts of about 35 authors on the whole. It is not possible for me in to-day's lecture to say all that I have to say with regard to his criticisms and those of other scholars. I shall examine only a few important points among them to-day. But before beginning this work I should like to quote two Sanskrit stanzas in this connection:

ಗಚ್ಚತಃ ಸ್ವಲನಂ ಕ್ವಾಪಿ ಭವತ್ಸೇವ ಪ್ರಮಾದತಃ |
ಹಸಂತಿ ದುರ್ಜನಾಸ್ತತ್ರ ಸಮಾದಧತಿ ಸಜ್ಜನಾಃ ||
ದೋಷಾನುತ್ಸೃಚ್ಛ ದೋಷಜ್ಞಾಸ್ತುಷ್ಯಂತಿ ಗುಣಲೇಶತಃ |
ಹಂಸಾ ಇವಾಂಬುಪಯಸೋರ್ಮೇಳಸೇ ದುಗ್ಧಪಾಯಿನಃ ||

From this it is not to be understood that I want my mistakes to be overlooked or ignored. What I mean is that sympathy must form a factor in offering criticism if it is intended that it should bear fruit. But in the case of the Doctor I regret to say that it is accompanied very often with ridicule and derision without any cause whatsoever. I shall now begin to answer briefly some of the more important of the criticisms:

1. Nagachandra, pp. 33-56.
2. Karnaparya, pp. 71-86.
3. Rudrabhatta, pp. 94-115.
4. Sumanobana, pp. 124-49.

Nagachandra

The period assigned to Nagachandra by the Doctor, namely, the close of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century, is evidently due to a misconception. He thinks that Durgasimha, whom he assigns to the period 1024-42, has praised Nagachandra. This is not so, the poet praised by Durgasimha being Pampa, who is doubtless the author of *Adipurdna* and not Abhinava-Pampa. Having once made this assumption the Doctor has been at considerable pains to find arguments for supporting it and for demolishing my position that Nagachandra lived at about 1100. I give below a few facts which strengthen the position taken up by me:

(1) According to the Doctor, Nagachandra lived before 1024, either at the close of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century. Nagachandra, however, praises *Ajitapurana* which Ranna wrote in 993, and the way in which he praises it, namely, as *the jewel of a poem* (*Kritiratna*), clearly shows that it could not be the work of a contemporary. For the work to attain to such celebrity some reasonable period, say at least half a

century, has to be postulated. This makes it impossible for Nagachandra to have lived before 1024. Again, Durgasimha, who lived at about 1024, does not mention Ranna, evidently because he was then too recent a poet to deserve mention. Such being the case, is it conceivable that Nagachandra, who preceded Durgasimha (c. 1024), would praise Ranna's work in such flattering terms? We are thus led to the conclusion that the assumption of the Doctor is untenable.

(2) There is an important statement made by Karnaparya, the author of *Neminathapurana* (I, 101), about Nagachandra which affords decisive evidence about his period, namely, that though Nagachandra was a *modern* (*adyatana*) poet, he was equal to ancient poets. The word *modern* can only mean that Nagachandra lived very recently, say about a generation *before* Karnaparya. The period I have assigned to Karnaparya being c. 1140 (I, 139), the period of Nagachandra may be taken to be roughly 1100. But according to the Doctor, who assigns 1174 as the date of Karnaparya (p. 85), the date of Nagachandra would be about half a century later than that assigned to him by me. Such being the case, is it reasonable to suppose that Karnaparya would call Nagachandra who, according to the Doctor, lived before 1024, a *modern* poet?

(3) Nagachandra praises a Jaina Guru named Meghachandra-traividya in I, 20 of his *Ramayana*, and we learn from Sravana Belgola inscription 127, of about 1115, that the same guru died in 1115. There can be no manner of doubt about the identity of the guru, since the verse in which Nagachandra praises him also occurs in connection with the guru in the inscription. If Nagachandra had lived before 1024, would it have been possible for him to praise a man who died nearly a century after that period? The Doctor tries to get over the difficulty by making the curious statement that the composers of the inscriptions kept quiet for a full century and then began to use the verses of Nagachandra in connection with other gurus of the same name (p. 47). This is simply ridiculous and a gratuitous insult to Jaina writers. The

natural inference is that Nagachandra lived at about 1100. This will easily explain the instance of Srutakirti given by the Doctor (p. 45).

(4) An author named Meghachandra is stated to have written in 1148 an easy Kannada commentary on Pujyapada's *Samadhi-sataka* for the use of the son of the celebrated Pampa (*ind. Ant.*, XII. 20). The reference here is clearly to Nagachandra and the statement fixes his period as about 1100. This Meghachandra is most probably identical with the one mentioned in Sravana Belgola 66 as the oldest disciple of Nayaklirti and as a colleague of Adhyatmi-Balachandra. The doctor's statement that Adhyatmi-Balachandra lived in 1231 has no basis to stand upon.

(5) Finally, as already stated by me (I, 449), there is every probability of the inscription of Vikramaditya VI (1076-1126), No. A. 23, kept in the Bijapur Museum, having been written by Nagachandra, judging from the close similarity in idea and expression of several verses of the inscription to those in *Pampa-Ramayana* (see p. 36 below.) This fact, too, leads us to the inference that Nagachandra should have flourished at about 1100.

There are also a few more points dealt with by the Doctor incidentally in his article on Nagachandra (pp. 36-42 and 52-56), which have now to be briefly noticed. He rightly criticises my identification of some of the Jaina Gurus with others of the same name, such as that of Meghachandra-traividya of S.B. 127, who died in 1115, with his namesakes mentioned in S.B. 69 and 66, and that of Balachandra of Vakra-gachchha with Subhakirti's father Balachandra of S.B. 140 (I, 102-3). My chief object in this connection has been to show that there were two Balachandras, one of Vakra-gachchha who was the guru of Nagachandra and lived at about 1100, and the other of Pustaka-gachchha who lived at about 1180. The Doctor, however, makes the assumption that these two gurus were contemporaries and tries to adjust facts to this preconceived notion of his. He begins by stating (p. 36) that the date of S.B. 69, given by me as about 1100, must be about 1180. This inscription is not

dated. It tells us that Balachandra of Vakra-gachchha was a colleague of Gauladeva, who was a disciple of Gopanandi, though at the close it likewise says that he was a colleague of Triratnanandi, a disciple of Maghanandi who was a colleague of Gopanandi. In either case it is clear that Balachandra of Vakra-gachchha came immediately after Gopanandi and was not removed from him by a long interval of time. Now, Chennarayapatna 148 records a grant to this same Gopanandi by the Hoysala King Ereyanga, son of Vinayaditya, in 1094. Consequently the period of Balachandra of Vakra-gachchha may safely be taken to be about 1100 which is exactly the date that I have assigned to S.B. 69. And this must also be the approximate period of his disciple Nagachandra.

The Doctor quotes three inscriptions in support of his assumption that Vakra-gachchha Balachandra was a contemporary of Adhyatmi Balachandra who lived in about 1180. But from what has been stated above, it is clear that his assumption is wrong. Let us see what these inscriptions have to say in the matter. The first is an inscription at Kalasapura, published on pp. 36-39 of the *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1923, which records a grant to a Jaina guru named Balachandra in 1176 by Kavadamayya's Devisetti, on behalf of the Viraballala-Jinalaya erected by himself. After giving the spiritual pedigree of Vakra-gachchha Balachandra just like S.B. 69, the inscription proceeds to say that his lay disciple was Kavadamayya's Anuvantayya and that four generations after the latter (details partly gone) came Kavadamayya's Devisetti, the donor. It will thus be seen that Vakra-gachchha Balachandra, who was the guru of Kavadamayya's Anuvantayya, an ancestor of Kavadamayya's Devisetti, cannot be identical with Balachandra, the contemporary of the donor. This Balachandra was evidently Adhyatmi Balachandra who, as we know from S.B. 234, of about 1180, was a contemporary of Kavadamayya's Devisetti. The second inscription is Belur 129 of 1196. This records a grant by certain persons for the God Mallinatha set up by them in the enclosure of the

Santinatha-basti erected by Kavadamayya's Devisetti. This grant may have been made after Devisetti's time. The inscription begins with a verse in praise of Vakra-gachchha Balachandra and states that some land was purchased by the donors from Ramachandra, disciple of Balachandra of Mandavi. The Doctor hastily concludes from this that Vakra-gachchha Balachandra lived at the time of the record, i.e., in 1196 and that he was identical with Balachandra of Mandavi. Such is not at all the case. The verse in praise of Vakra-gachchha Balachandra occurs at the beginning because he was, as we saw in the Kalasapur inscription, the *Kula-guru* of Kavadamayya's Devisetti. I need not say that Balachandra of Mandavi has nothing to do with his namesake of Vakra-gachchha; nor has he anything to do with Adhyatmi Balachandra; he appears to be a different man altogether. The third inscription, S.B. 186, registers a grant in 1231 by Gommata-Setti, son of Paduma Setti who was a lay disciple of Adhyatmi Balachandra. It will be seen that this grant was made two generations after Adhyatmi Balachandra and consequently there is no ground to suppose, as the Doctor has done, that he lived in 1231.

The Doctor takes me to task for using the word *nuta* in the sense, as he thinks, of *Nutna* and writes two pages (53-54) on the matter for my edification. Any one who had paid some attention to the synonym *abhinava* given by me for *nuta* and to the distinction that I make between *nuta* and *vinilta*, which are but synonyms (I, 100), would at once see that *nuta* was but a printer's mistake for *nutna*. The Doctor may have had the charity of crediting me with a little knowledge of Sanskrit though not with as high a proficiency in it as his own.

He also asserts (pp. 55-56) that we have to believe that Nagachandra was himself the author of *Jinamunitanaya* till satisfactory evidence to the contrary is forthcoming. He argues thus: 'Though there is no similarity between the style of Ponna's *Santipurana* and that of *Jinaksharamale*, the latter work is believed to be his. Similarly, Nagachandra's authorship of *Jinamunitanaya* has to be believed though the styles of his other works

and this are not similar.' Any Kannada scholar who is sufficiently familiar with classical poems in that language will at once see that there is perfect similarity in the styles of Ponna's two works, whereas the styles of Nagachandra's other works and *Jinamunitanaya* are as dissimilar as anything can be. He will never do the injustice of attributing such modern forms as *Keluva*, *peluva chinumaya* and *koluvam* to Nagachandra, besides grammatical errors of various kinds. I am constrained to say that in this matter the Doctor is not competent to pronounce an opinion.

Comparison of a few verses of the Bijapur inscription with those of Patnpa-Ramayana.

ಪಿರಿದಾಯಾಸದಿಸ್ತೆ ಗಂ ಶಳದ ಧಾತ್ರೀಭಾರಮಂ ಏಕ್ರಮಾ |
 ಭರಣಂಗೊಪ್ಪಿಸಿ ಬೇಬ್ಬುದಂ ಪಡೆದುವಂತಾಸುಂ ದಿಶಾದಂತಿ ದಿ ||
 BIJAPUR ಕ್ಕುರಿಣೀಪೇಚಕ ಚುಂಬಸ್ಥಕ ಸುಖಮಂ ಶೇಷೋರಗಂ ಭೋಗಿಸೀ |
 ಪರಂಭೋತ್ಸವಮಂ ಪುರಾಣಕಮಠಂ ನಿದ್ರಾಂಗನಾಸಂಗಮಂ ||

PAMPA-RAMAYANA, VI, 84

ಭರೆಯಂ ದ್ವಾದಶಚಕ್ರವರ್ತಿಗಳಿಸತ್ತಲ ದೇವ ನಿಮ್ಮೀ ಭುಜಾ |
 ಪರಘುಕ್ಕೊಪ್ಪಿಸಿ ಬೇಬ್ಬುದಂ ಪಡೆದುವೆತ್ತಾಸುಂ ದಿಶಾದಂತಿ ದಿ ||
 ಕ್ಕುರಿಣೀಪೇಚಕ ಚುಂಬಸ್ಥಕ ಸುಖಮಂ ಶೇಷೋರಗಂ ಭೋಗಿಸೀ |
 ಪರಂಭೋತ್ಸವಮಂ ಪುರಾಣಕಮಠಂ ನಿದ್ರಾಂಗನಾಸಂಗಮಂ ||

PAMPA-RAMAYANA, I, 45-46

BIJAPUR ಲಕ್ಕೋಣೀಧರವಲ್ಲಭ | ದಕ್ಷಿಣಾದಿಬ್ಬು ಖಡೋಳೆಸೆದು ಶಶಿಖಂಡದವೋ | |
 ಲೀಕ್ಷಣಸುಖಮಯಮಿವುರ್ವದು | ದಕ್ಷಿಣಭರತ ತ್ರಿಖಂಡದಾರ್ಯಾಖಂಡಂ | |

BIJAPUR INSCRIPTION, verse 1

ಶ್ರೀಮಂಚ್ಚಕುಕ್ಯವಂಶಲ | ಲಾಮಂ ಚತುರುದಧಿಮೇಖಲಾಖಂಕೃತ ಧಾ |
 ಶ್ರೀಮಂಡಲಮಂ ಏಕ್ರಮ | ಧಾಮಂ ನಿಜಭುಜಕ್ಯಪಾಣದಿಂ ರಕ್ಷಿಸಿದಂ

PAMPA-RAMAYANA, X, 77

ಚತುರುದಧಿಮೇಖಲಾಲಂ | ಕೃತವಸುಧೆಯನಾಳ್ ಪಡೆದು ಸುತರಿನ್ನ ರನಾ |
ಜಿತಶತ್ರು ವಿಜಯಸಾಗರ | ರತಕರ್ಣಭುಜವೀರ್ಧ್ಯರಸುಗೆಯ್ಯುತ್ತಿದರ್ | ||

PAMP

ಚತುರುದಧಿಮೇಖಲಾಲಂ | ಕೃತವಸುಧಾ ದೇವಿಗಜ್ಜ ಗಾಸಿನವರ್ ದಿ |
ಕೃತಿಗಳೆನೆ ಸಾರ್ವಭೌಮೋ | ನ್ನ ತಿಯಂ ತಳೆದಂ ಸುಕೌಶಲಕ್ಕಿ ತಿನಾಥಂ ||

Karnaparya

As regards Karnaparya, I may state at once that my identification of some of the gurus mentioned by him with their namesakes in the Sravana Belgola inscriptions is not quite correct. My statement that the Silahara King Gandaraditya had the other names Govardhana, Gopana and Sribhushana and that he had four sons, namely, Vijayaditya, Lakshmana, Vardhamana and Santa must have been made on the authority of some manuscript that I have used, though the two manuscripts A. 52 and 4 of *Nerninathapurana*, now available in the Mysore Oriental Library, which are identical with each other, do not give this information. I have been trying to procure another manuscript of the work for the last six months, but without success. In the meanwhile, I may mention, however, that the Eksambi inscription of Vijayaditya, of 1165 (*Mysore Archceological Report* for 1916, 48-50), which has been referred to by the Doctor (p. 85), states that Vijayaditya was the eldest son of Gandaraditya, thus showing that the former had a younger brother or brothers. Farther, the title Rupanarayana of Gandaraditya and Vijayaditya was also borne by Lakshmana (p. 80, verse 27), though he did not succeed to the throne. Again, my statement that both Karnaparya and Nemichandra were patronised by the Ratta King Lakshmidewa of Saundatti (I, Kannada Introduction, 17, *Mysore Archceological Report* for 1916, 50) as also the statement that the two poets wrote their works under the patronage of the Silaharas (II, English and Kannada Introductions, 10 and 16 respectively) requires correction. Karnaparya was patronised by Lakshmana or Lakshmidewa during the rule of the Silahara king

Vijayaditya and Nemichandra by King Lakshmidēva, son of the Ratta King of Saundatti, Kartavirya III. The cause of the confusion can easily be realised when one thinks of the identity of the names (Lakshmidēva) of the two chiefs, as also of the identity of the names (Chandrika-devi) of their wives.

With regard to the period of Karnaparya, as stated before, he wrote his work during the reign of Vijayaditya. We learn from inscriptions that Vijayaditya ruled in the years 1143, 1153 (*Dynasties of Kanarese Districts*, 545) and 1165 (Eksambi inscription, mentioned above). But as Karnaparya says that he wrote his work at the instance of Sribhushana (Gandaraditya), it is likely that the composition of his work was begun sometime before 1143. I have therefore given c.1140 as the poet's date. There is no ground for the date 1174, given by the Doctor.

The Doctor thinks that the titles, Paramajinamata-kshiravarasichandra and Bhavyavanajavana-martanda, do not belong to the poet but to his patron, Lakshmana; but I do not think that Kannada scholars who are familiar with the ways of Jaina poets will agree with him.

The period of Karnaparya mentioned by Durgasimha (c.1025) as the author of *Malavimadhava* may be taken to be about 1000.

Rudrabhatta

With regard to the period of Rudrabhatta (I, 269), the Doctor has come, step by step, to the conclusion that the poet wrote his work in about 1218-19 (pp. 95-115) and not in about 1180, as stated by me. Briefly his arguments may be stated thus:

(1) The earliest available inscription naming Uma-devi, the Queen of Ballala II, is dated 1185. She could not have been his queen in 1180. So Rudrabhatta who mentions her must have written his work after 1185 (p. 101).

(2) The attribute, Paramaisvaryaspadam, applied to Ballala II by the poet in the second of the invocatory verses of his *Jagannathavijaya*, indicates that the king had the paramount title Paramesvara when the poet

wrote. Ballala II began to assume paramount titles in 1190 after defeating the Sevuna king Bhillama. Consequently the poet must have written after 1190 (p. 102).

(3) The attribute Rajarajapratishthaniratam applied to Ballala II in the second invocatory verse, refers to the establishment of the Chola King Rajaraja III (1216-46) on the throne, which he had lost, during the reign of the King, by his son Narasimha I I. This event together with the conquest of the Magara Kingdom must have taken place in 1217 as Nagamangala 29, of 1218, applies the titles, Cholarajyapratishthacharya, Magararajyadisapatta and Pandiyagajakesari, to Ballala II (p. 113). Ballala II bore these titles in consequence of the conquests made by his son Narasimha II in 1217 (p. 114). Rudrabhatta, who mentions the establishment of Rajaraja III on the throne, which took place in 1217, must have lived after that date and before the death in 1220 of Ballala II, i.e. in about 1218-19.

Here follow my answers to the Doctor's arguments:

(1) The fact that an inscription of 1185 mentions Umadevi does not preclude the possibility of her having been the queen of Ballala II some years before the date of that inscription, say, in about 1180. An inscription of an earlier date mentioning queen Umadevi may turn up at any moment. My date for Rudrabhatta is not exactly 1180, but *about* 1180, which allows a latitude of a few years on both sides.

(2) I do not believe that Rudrabhatta intended to convey the sense read into it by the Doctor by the use of the attribute, Paramaisvaryaspadam, which merely means 'the abode of power or wealth.' If it was intended to mention the distinctive paramount title Paramesvara, the poet would have used the form Paramaisvaryya, the state of being Paramesvara, with a long vowel in the first syllable. Further, paramount titles such as Chakravarti (emperor) are applied to Ballala II even in inscriptions of an earlier date than 1190, e.g., SB. 240, of about 1175; No. 35, *Mysore Archceological Report* for 1926, of 1183, No. 5, same *Report* for 1923, of 1185. There are likewise inscriptions of a later date than 1190 which apply

only the subordinate title Mahamandalesvara to the same king, e.g., Nanjangud 71 of 1192: S.B. 335, of 1195; Tirumakudalu-Narasipur 31, of 1195-96.

(3) It is not at all likely that, as stated by the Doctor, Rudrabhatta had in his mind the establishment of the Chola King, Rajaraja III (1216-46), on the throne by Ballala II's son Narasimha II in 1217 when he applied the attribute Rajarajapratishthaniratam to Ballala II. The expression simply means 'intent on establishing *great kings* (on their thrones)' and does not refer to any particular historical event. We must remember that when Rudrabhatta wrote his work Umadevi was the queen of Ballala II and Chandramauli his minister. We can approximately determine from the inscriptions the period of Umadevi to be 1185-1209. The period of Chandramauli, at whose instance *Jagannthavijaya* was written, as stated by the poet himself, is a very important point in the matter under discussion. From the available inscriptions in which Chandramauli is mentioned, namely, S.B. 327 of 1181, Chennarayapatna 150, of 1182, and Arsikere 127, of 1185, we learn that his period was about 1181-85. No inscription of a later date mentioning him has been met with. We may not therefore be far wrong in supposing that Chandramauli did not continue as minister of Ballala II much longer than the period noted above, and that the composition of *Jagannthavijaya* must consequently have taken place about the same period and not in about 1218-19, nearly 35 years after that period.

Further, as far as I know, there is no epigraphical evidence to show that either Ballala II or his son Narasimha II or any of his successors had the title Rajarajapratishthanirata, though Narasimha II deserved it by reason of his having placed Rajaraja III on the throne of his ancestors, instead of the general title Cholarajyapratishthacharya which is invariably applied to him. Another distinctive title applied to him is Magararajyanirmulana, by reason of his conquest of that kingdom. These two distinctive titles, together with the title Pandiyagandasailavajradanda or one of similar import in

some cases, are correctly applied to Narasimha II in numerous inscriptions such as Chennarayapatna 197 and 203, of 1223; Chennagiri 72, of 1221, Davangere 25, of 1224: and Gubbi 45, of 1233, though these three titles are by mistake applied to Ballala II in the solitary inscription¹ Nagamangala 29, of 1218. The Doctor says (p. 114) that Ballala II assumed these titles, namely, Cholarajyapratishthacharya, Magararajyadisapatta and Pandyagajakesari, by reason of the conquests of his son Narasimha II in 1217. The usual practice, however, is for the son to inherit the titles of the father and not vice versa. In another place (p. 110) the Doctor states that the title Pandyagandasailavajradanda or others of similar import such as Pandyagajakesari, Pandyarajadisapatta and so on, were *for the first time* borne by Ballala II and subsequently assumed by his son and grandson. This statement is wrong, since such titles had been borne by the father and grandfather of Ballala II as evidenced by inscriptions; e.g. Nagamangala 76 (1145) styles Vishnuvardhana Pandyakulapayodhibadabanalam; and Kadur 96 (1141) Pandyagandagarvaparvata-Pakasasanam; S.B. 345 (c. 1159) and Krishnarajapete 53 (1171) apply the title Pandyakulakamala-vetanda to Narasimha I. This same title of his father is applied to Ballala II in S.B. 327 (1181) and 335 (1195), Arsikere 90 and 93, of 1189, Chennarayapatna 78 (1185) and so forth.

It will thus be seen that no valid reason has been given for changing the date assigned by me to Rudrabhatta, namely, c. 1180, though I would myself change it to c. 1185 to bring it into line with the period of Umadevi and Chandramauli.

Sumanobana

About Sumanobana the Doctor has written a great deal, 26 pages (124-49), most of which is quite irrelevant to the matter on hand. He has made some guesses based on a misinterpretation of the following verse occurring in Janna's *Anantandthapurdna* (I, 162, 329):

¹ The date of Arsikere 183 is doubtful.

ಜನನಾಥಂ ಚಗದೇಕನಲ್ಲಿ ಕಟಕೋಪಾಧ್ಯಾಯನಾ ನಾಗವ|
 ಮ್ನಿನಿದಾನೀಂತನಶರ್ವಮ್ನಸಿ ಗಡಂ ಚನ್ನಂಗುಪಾಧ್ಯಾಯಸಿ||
 ದು ನ್ಯಸಿಂಹ ಕ್ಷಿ ತಿಪಾಲನಲ್ಲಿ ಕಟಕೋಪಾಧ್ಯಾಯನಾರೆಂಬ ಸೂ|
 ಕ್ಷಿ ನವೀನೋಜ್ಜಲ ಬಾಣನಪ್ಪ ಸುಮನೋಬಾಣಂ ಕವಿಶ್ರೇಷ್ಠರೋಳ್||

Any Kannada scholar will see at once that the verse consists of two sentences, one ending with Upadhyayam and the other comprising the remaining portion, and interpret it thus: 'The famous Nagavarma who was the Katakopadhyaya (poet-laureate) of King Jagadekamalla and who was verily the Sarvarvama of modern times was Janna's teacher. Do you ask who at present is the Katakopadhyaya of King Nrisimha? (He is) one of the best poets Sumanobana who is a brilliant modern Bana in speech.' There are two events mentioned here, one a past and the other a present. But the Doctor would divide the verse into two parts, one ending with Nagavarmam and the other comprising the rest of the verse, and take the verse to mean that Nagavarma was the Katakopadhyaya of King Jagadekamalla, and that Sumanobana, a Sarvavarma of modern times, the teacher of Janna, a modern Bana, was the Katakopadhyaya of King Nrisimha. No person who has any knowledge of Kannada poetry will accept this interpretation. Verse 423 of Nagavarma's *Kavyavalokana* (I, 145) applies to him the epithet Abhinava Sarvavarma by reason of his approved works on grammar, Sarvavarma being an ancient grammarian who wrote the *Katantra*. So the epithet Idamntana-Sarvavarma used by Janna, which is nothing but a synonym of the other epithet, can apply only to Nagavarma and not to Sumanobana. Consequently the expression 'Janna's teacher' has also to be taken to apply to Nagavarma alone. In his *Yasodharacharite* Janna says that he was the son of Sumanobana and in his *Anantandthapurana* that he was the son of Sankara; we have therefore to identify Sumanobana with Sankara as we know that both the works were written by one and the same poet. But the Doctor would have the two as different persons and take the word *son* in the expression, 'the son of Sumanobana,' in

the sense of a disciple, to make it accord with his assumption that 'Janna's teacher' in the above verse referred to Sumanobana. In spite of the Doctor's misinterpretation and assumption to the contrary, Janna was the son of Sumanobana and closely related to Mallikarjuna and Kesiraja who were undoubtedly Jainas, as evidenced, among other things, by the invocatory verse in *Suktisudhdranava* and the description of sound as a substance of white colour in sutra 9 of *Sabdamanidarpana*. The Jainas will never consider Saivas as members of their own community.

With regard to the period of Sumanobana, I have to state that he was the Katakopadhyaya, not of Narasimha I (I, 162), but of Narasimha II (1220-35) as indicated by the word *indu* (at present) used by Janna in the above-mentioned verse. He may have lived in the early years of this king's reign, but his period must be taken back to at least 1175, since his son Janna, who composed the inscription Chennarayapatna 179 in 1190, must have been 25 or 30 years old at that time. This shortens the interval of 95 years given by the Doctor between Sumanobana (c. 1150) and his son-in-law Mallikarjuna (c. 1245) by 25 years, and if we suppose, as we may reasonably do, that 1245 represents the 30th or 40th year after Mallikarjuna's marriage, the interval is further shortened and rendered perfectly normal. Similarly, the query of the Doctor, namely, How can Nagavarma II (c. 1145) be teacher to Janna of 1230? can be answered thus. A teacher is generally employed to instruct a boy. Will any man in his senses suppose that Nagavarma I was the teacher of Janna at the time of the composition of *Anantandthapurdna* when he was probably 70 years old? As stated before, Janna must have been 25 or 30 years old in 1190, and there is nothing to preclude the possibility of Nagavarma II having lived on 25 or 30 years after 1145. We can thus easily establish the contact between the teacher Nagavarma II and the pupil Janna.

The Doctor then proceeds to say that I am wrong in saying that because Janna was a Jaina, his parents also were Jainas, and gives a few instances of Hindus taking a

wife from the Jaina community which have no bearing on the point at issue, since a father's creed is as a rule adopted by the son. He also makes the curious statements that in the period between the 10th and 13th centuries devotees of Siva and Vishnu worshipped Jina, and devotees of Jina the deities Siva and Vishnu; there was no distinction such as followers of the Vedic path, Jainas and Buddhists; and even though people worshipped Jina or Buddha as the supreme deity, they were still considered to be followers of the Vedic path, and gives in their support a good number of examples (pp. 136-48) from inscriptions of kings and nobles making grants to men and institutions of creeds other than their own, which can only testify to their liberal-mindedness and tolerance, and not to their profession of the other creeds also.

CHAPTER IV

SOME CRITICISMS ANSWERED

(Continued)

Nagavarma

The Doctor has made the assumption, without any solid ground, that only one author of the name of Nagavarma has written all the five works, namely, *Chhandombudhi*, *Kadambari*, *Kavyavalokana*, *Karnataka-Bhashabhushana* and *Vastukosa*, and that he lived in about 1050. He makes desperate attempts to support this assumption and readily dismisses as wrong or groundless facts that militate against it. His deliberate misinterpretation of the verse *Janandtham Jagadekanalli* and of the expression, *Bhalalochanam Kavi-Swanobanana magam* has already been adverted to. The verse clearly says that Nagavarma was Janna's teacher. If this fact is accepted, the Doctor's theory that Nagavarma lived in about 1050 has to be given up. So he interprets the verse in his own peculiar way to suit his purpose and makes Sumanobana Janna's teacher. He further asserts that Jagadeka of the verse refers to Jagadekamalla I (1015-42). If this be so, it is difficult to make out the object of Janna in mentioning the fact, more than a century old, of Nagavarma having been the Katakopadhyaya of Jagadekamalla I. It is a statement not at all connected with him in any way. In composing the verse Janna's object was to show to the world that he was highly connected, such distinguished personages as Nagavarma and Sumanobana being respectively his teacher and father. So the king named in the first portion of the verse cannot be Jagadekamalla I. Again, in the expression quoted above, which contains the very words of Janna, *magam*, a son, is taken deliberately in the unusual sense of a disciple just to suit his misinterpretation that Sumahobana was Janna's teacher. It is true that the word 'son' rarely occurs in the sense of disciple in a spiritual succession of gurus,

but it can have no such sense here. We now come to a third misinterpretation in the shape of taking a son in the sense of a grandson in the expressions, *Damodarapriyasutam* and *Damodaratanayam*. This is done deliberately to support the supposed identity of Damamayya's grandson, Nagavarma, author of *Chhandombudhi*, with the author of *Kavyavalokana*, Dama being taken to be a shortened form of Damodara. The Doctor seeks, support for his queer interpretation in the commentaries on *Dharmasastras*, etc. Authors do not write in an enigmatical style to delude their readers. It is rather strange that the author of *Kavyavalokana* names, according to the Doctor, only his grandfather and not his father. It is amusing to read the statement of the Doctor (p. 162) that the reason for the author not naming his father was the necessity for the alliteration in *ma* in the two verses given at foot of the page from *Kavyavalokana* and *Vastukdsa*. This is indeed a poor estimate of the capability of the author as a poet. If the poet had really intended a grandson he could, without any detriment to prosody, very easily have expressed the idea by a slight change in the verses such as *Damodaratomajasutam* and *Damodarapautram*, without disturbing in the least the alliteration in *ma*.

I have already shown that Nagachandra lived in about 1100. The author of *Bhashabhushana*, who quotes him under *sutra* 88, must therefore be later than 1100. He also mentions in *siltra* 73 a Kannada grammarian, Nayasena, who cannot have anything to do with the Sanskrit grammarian of the same name (pp. 179-81) mentioned in a Mulgunda inscription of 1053 (*Epigraphia Indica*, XVI, 54), but must be identical with the Kannada author, Nayasena, who wrote *Dharmamrita* in 1112. Vikramanka, named in verse 284 of *Kavyavalokana*, must therefore be Vikramaditya VI (1076-1126) and not Vikramaditya IV or Vikramaditya V (pp. 178-9). Further, the author of *Kavyavalokana* quotes two verses, 185 and 547, which name a Nagavarma who cannot be the author himself, since verses in praise of the author occur only at the end of the chapters and not in illustration of the rules, but must

be an earlier author. Again, the author of *Chhandombudht* has the titles Kaviraja-hamsa, Budhabjavanakalahamsa, Kandakandarpa and Negaltegoja. He is also styled Sayyadiyahata. On the other hand, the author of *Kavyavalokana* and *Vastukosa* has the titles, Abhinava-Sarvavarma, Kavitagtinodaya, Kavikarnapura, and Kavikanthabharana. If the authors were the same, as assumed by the Doctor, it is very strange indeed that not one of the former set of titles is found in the latter works, and vice versa. The former author was a great warrior, an Arjuna in battle, while the latter had no such distinction to his credit.

In the last verse of *Kavyavalokana* Chhandovichiti is named as one of the works of its author, and the Doctor at once concludes that the work is none other than *Chhandombudht* (p. 166). He also advances the amusing argument that because the author of *Kavyavalokana* follows Dandi who has written a *Chhandovichiti*, he also must have written one (p. 168). He may have written one but it cannot be *Chandbmbudhi* for the reasons given above. If he had written this work, he could have expressed it thus : *Chhandombunidhiyalamkriti* instead of *Chandbvichityalamkriti*. The Doctor says (p. 169) that later Chamundarayas were also known as Ray as. This only shows that they imitated their distinguished predecessor. There is therefore no reason to disbelieve *Bhujabalicharita* which says that the title Raya was conferred by Rachamalla on his general for his munificence.

All these facts clearly prove that the Doctor's attempt to support his assumption is a miserable failure, though he would brush them all aside as of no value. In the light of these facts his search for other Rakkasagangas, Chamundarayas and Ajitasenas in support of the supposed period of Nagavarma, namely, 1050, cannot but prove futile. So, every one of the points urged by me (I. 52-54) for the differentiation of the two Nagavarmas and their periods stands as strong as ever.

Mallikdrjuna

About Mallikarjuna the Doctor says (pp. 182-89) that he wrote *Suktisudharnava* in about 1263 and that he was

identical with Chidananda, composer of the inscriptions, Mandya 121 and 122 (1.354). He is wrong in both these statements. The first statement is due to a misunderstanding of the expression, *Elele Mahadeva*, occurring in the verse beginning with *Hanidarn-boyyal* (p. 186), which, as any Kannada scholar would understand, does not refer to the Sevuna King Mahadeva (1260-71) but is merely an exclamation of wonder at the prowess of King Somesvara. From Nagamangala 39 we learn that the defeat of the Sevuna King Mahadeva by Somesvara's son, Narasimha III, took place in about 1271. How can Somesvara who is supposed to have died in 1264 have anything to do with this defeat of Mahadeva? It is true that Somesvara lived for the greater part of his life at Kannanur; but he was in the Kannada country in 1236 (*Bombay Archaeological Report* for 1897-98), 1237 (*Mandya* 1222) and 1252 (*Mysore Archceological Report* for 1907, p. 4), and might have been there at other periods also. It may perhaps be inferred from the statement of Mallikarjuna that Somesvara, *lord of Dorasamudra*, approved of his work, in the verse beginning with *Orante* (I. 372), that the king heard the work read out to him at Dorasamudra. Consequently, the date, c. 1245, given by me for the composition of *Suktisudh-rnava* is not at all affected in any way; it may even be a few years earlier.

The second statement about the identity of Mallikarjuna and Chidananda, composer of Mandya 121 and 122, is based on a partial similarity of the names and the fact that two of the verses occurring in the inscriptions also occur in *Suktisudharnava*. Mallikarnuja is also known as Malla, Mallapa Chidananda-Mallikarjuna. In one verse { I. 370) his name occurs in the shortened form; Chidananda. But the name of the composer of the inscriptions is merely Chidananda. Mallikarjuna's work being a compilation from various sources, the fact of his having taken two verses from the Mandya inscriptions need not at all raise the presumption that he and the composer were identical. It may be stated here that as. Nagamangala 98, of 1229, contains 16 verses found in Mandya 121 and 122,

which are of a later date, the former also may be the composition of Chidananda, its final portion being illegible. I may also add that verse 810 (I. 355) occurs in Davangere 25, of 1224, with the substitution of Narasimha for Soyideva, and verse 808 (I. 354) in Kadur 12, of 1233, with the substitution of Kali Soyiballaham for Narasimha-Bhubhujam. Chidananda seems to have adapted these two verses from the inscriptions. Again, Mallikarjuna was a Jaina as I have shown before, whereas the composer of the inscriptions was a Brahmana as indicated by his epithet, *Brahmavidyegaspadarupam*. The Doctor's surmise that Sumanobana, Mallikarjuna and Kesiraja may have been Smarta Brahmanas (p. 189) is groundless. I have already shown that they were all Jainas. Otherwise it is difficult to see how the Jaina community could claim them as their own. Sankara, Gange and Janardana (p. 149) are common enough names among the Jainas. Ranna names a Jaina prince, Sankaraganda, and says that his own patroness, Attimabbe, excelled him in liberality (I. 66). Gangiseti and Gangayi occur in S.B. 235 and 300 as the names of a Jaina man and woman. The names, Sivadevamma and Janardana, are even now borne by Jainas. Madhura mentions a Jaina, Mallikarjuna (I. 427), at whose instance he wrote *Dharmanathapurana*, and Salva names a Jaina Sankarabike (II. 244). The opinion that the names of Kesiraja's works given at the end of his *Grammar* show that he was a worshipper of Siva (pp. 148-49), is rather hasty, as it is not proper to pronounce such an opinion before an examination of those works.

Somaraja

My statement that Somaraja may have belonged to the Chauta Dynasty (I. 339) is nothing but a mere guess, and I have mentioned it to be so in clear terms. The Doctor asserts (pp. 219-27) that Somaraja was a Nuggehalli chief, and that he wrote his *Udbhatakavya* in 1522 and not in 1222 as I have stated. His chief reasons are (1) that Indusekhara, a Nuggehalli chief, mentioned as the son of Rayana and the grandson of Tirumala of the

Lunar race in Hassan 117, of 1573, must be the father of our poet, and (2) that *sasirada nurim sanda nalvattu-nalku* (1144) is an alteration made by me, the correct reading according to him being *sasirada nanur sanda nalvattu-nalku* (1444), which makes the date exactly 300 years later than the date given by me. These reasons are not at all satisfactory. We know quite well from his work that Somaraja was a staunch Virasaiva. On the other hand, the Nuggehalli chiefs who are stated in Hassan 117 to be of the Atreya-gotra, Apastamba-Sutra and Yajus-Sakha, cannot be Virasaivas, though the names are similar. Further, Hassan 117 does not name Somaraja but mentions Basavaraja as the son of Indusekhara, and gives his period as 1573. If, as asserted by the Doctor, Somaraja was the son of this Indusekhara, his period, too, ought to be about 1573 and not 1522 as assumed by him. Again, we learn from inscriptions (II. 215) that the Nuggehalli chief, Rayana, was a feudatory of the Vijayanagar King Achyuta (1530-42), and if Somaraja was this chief's grandson his period would be considerably later than 1522. With regard to the second reason, I may say that I do not at all remember having made any alteration in the verse, though I do not recollect which manuscript I had before me when writing Somaraja's life. Even taking for granted for argument's sake that I made an alteration, is not his alteration just to support a preconceived notion more blameable than mine, seeing that I had no theory at all to support? The reading proposed by the Doctor is, however, untenable as it violates grammar. No good author would use the expression, *nur sanda*, instead of the correct form, *nuru sanda*. When not compounded with another word, Nuru retains its full form as indicated by the exception, *duru puttitu*, given under sutra 82 of the *Sabdanusasana*. The same is the case with *Muru*. Compare Pampa—*aruvattumuru sandandu* (I. 13).

As another ground for his assumption, the Doctor takes (p. 227) Rayasada Lingarasa, the copyist of *Udbhata-kavya*, to be identical with Lingamantri (c. 1530), minister of the Nuggehalli chief, Rayana, an author of the

Kannada lexicon, *Kabbigarakaipidi* (II. 215). Here we have only a partial similarity of names and it is not at all likely that a minister can hold the inferior position of a copyist (Rayasa). Another point mentioned by the Doctor in support of the theory that Somaraja wrote his work in 1522 is that Salva who quotes Somaraja (VIII, 43) in his *Rasaratnakara* lived, according to the Doctor, before 1529 (p. 224), many years before c. 1550, the date assigned to him by me (II. 244). I do not see how this supports the Doctor's theory. From inscriptions, however, we learn that Salvadeva, patron of Salva, ruled till 1559 (see *Panchakajjaya*, 162). Consequently the period assigned to Salva by me cannot be far wrong. The Doctor incidentally states (p. 227), relying on Sagar 163, of 1488, that Kotisvara (II, 145), who wrote *Jivandhara-Shatpadi* at the instance of the chief Sangama of Sangitapura, lived in about 1480 and not in about 1500 as I have stated. But as this chief, who has nothing to do with Sangiraja of Sagar 163, appears to have ruled after Salvadeva (*Panchakajjaya*, 161), his date would be about 1560, and consequently Kotisvara's period also has to be brought down to about 1560.

Mr. M. Govinda Pai of Manjeshvar has also published an article on Somaraja in *Svadesabhimani* (19-8-27 and 26-8-27) and *Kannada Parishatpatrike* (XII, 48-66), stating that the poet wrote his work not in 1222 but in 1522. His main reasons are given thus:

(1) In 1222 the 11th lunar day of the bright fortnight of Asvija falls on Sunday and not on Wednesday as stated in the verse.¹ But the week-day will be correct in 1522. Therefore the reading must be *nalnur sanda* and not *nurim sanda* as I have given. *Nurtm-sanda nalvattunalku* means, according to him, not 100 plus 44 but 100—44! As I have already stated, the form *niir-sanda* violates grammar. There are numerous instances of inscriptions in which one or two of the constituents given of the date do not fit in, and no scholar thinks it justifiable to bring down the date of the record by hundreds

of years just to remedy the supposed defect. In the present case, though the 11th lunar day of the bright fortnight of Asvija does not fall on Wednesday in the year Chitrabhanu (1222), it does so in the previous year Vrisha (1221).¹ Such differences of one year are very common in the dates of inscriptions and literary works.

(2) The interval between Kumarapala or Udbhata (c. 1150), the subject of the story, and Somaraja (1222), the teller of the story, is too short for the story to spread from Gujarat to Karnataka. I think a period of three quarters of a century is quite ample for the purpose.

(3) The style looks more like that of the 16th century than that of the 13th. This is only a matter of opinion and style cannot be looked upon as a reliable guide for fixing the period of a work in the absence of other evidence.

If, as these scholars have assumed, Somaraja wrote his work in 1522, it cannot be explained why he names as his predecessors only poets who lived before 1200 and no one that lived in the three centuries from 1200 to 1500, not even Bhima (1369), the author of *Basavapurana*. In these circumstances I would prefer to retain the date 1222 for Somaraja till irrefutable evidence to the contrary is forthcoming.

Harisvara, Raghavanka and Kereya-Padmarasa

My conclusion that Harisvara, Raghavanka and Kereya-Padmarasa flourished at about 1165 (I, 222) is objected to by the Doctor on the following grounds:

(1) Somaraja, who praises Harisvara and Kereya-Padmarasa, wrote *Udbhatakavya* in 1522 and not in 1222.

(2) Quotation from Harisvara's *Girijakalyana* by Mallikarjuna (1263) only proves that the work existed before 1263, and not that Raghavanka and Kereya-Padmarasa lived before that period.

(3) The expression, Narasimha-Ballala of *Padmaraja-Purana*, means 'Narasimha's son Ballala', that is, Nara-

¹ I am obliged to Mr. R. Rama Rao, B.A., of the Archaeological Department for this piece of information.

simha III's son, Ballala III (1291-1342), and Bittideva mentioned there is Ballala IV.

(4) There was a Rudradeva in 1162 whose capital was Anumakonda and not Oragallu. There was no Prataparudra then.

(5) It is not improbable that there ruled, as Brown says, a king named Devaraja at Pampapura from 1286 to 1328 before Harihara I.

(6) As Kereya-Padmarasa's father was Basava's contemporary, Kereya-Padmarasa, must have been very young in 1165. So he could not have lived during the reign of Narasimha I (1141-73).

(7) It is stated that Harisvara was sent to Hampe by Narasimha I. But Hampe was not situated in Narasimha I's kingdom, as it was included in the Hoysala kingdom only in Ballala II's time (1173-1220). So Narasimha cannot be Narasimha I.

None of these grounds is satisfactory for the following reasons:

(1) I have already shown that *Udbhatakavya* which praises Harisvara was written in A.D. 1222 and that Mallikarjuna, who quotes from Harisvara's *Girijakalyana*, lived in about 1245. So there can be no doubt of Harisvara having lived before these dates.

(2) I have proved the contemporaneity of Harisvara, Raghavanka and Kereya-Padmarasa from Virasaiva works (I. 222). Raghavanka was the nephew of Harisvara; and Harisvara and Kereya-Padmarasa were respectively the accountant and minister of the Hoysala king, Narasimha I.

(3) The interpretation of the expression, Narasimha-Ballala, as meaning Narasimha's son Ballala is not correct. It is only in the Telugu country that the expression conveys such a meaning. Here, however, the word Ballala is used in the sense of Hoysala. In several Kannada works the Hoysalas are known as Ballalas. So Narasimha Ballala means the Hoysala king, Narasimha (I), and his son Bittideva means Ballala (II), the grandson of Bittideva or Vishnu-varadhana.

(4) In 1162 there was a Kakatiya ruler named

Prataparudra whose rule extended from 1140-96. This king, according to Telugu scholars, was the author of a Telugu work called *Nitisara*, and gave an *agrahara* to Palkurike Somanatha. He is said to have gone to Oragallu and to have heard the recital of Palkurike Somanatha's *Basavapurana* (Viresalingam Pantulu's *Telugu Poets I*, 217-22). No evidence has been produced by the Doctor for Oragallu not being the capital at that time. The ruler may have had more than one capital in his territory. The particle *iva* in the verse quoted (*Rajadhaniva*, p. 263) shows that Anumakonda was only *like* the capital which must therefore have been different.

(5) No epigraphical evidence has come to light in support of Brown's statement that there was a Devaraja in Pampapura, who ruled from 1286-1328.

(6) The contemporaneity of Kereya-Padmarasa's father and Basava does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that Padmarasa was a very young man in 1165, as his father may have been an elder contemporary of Basava.

(7) From the fact that Harlsvara was sent to Hampe by Narasimha I, it does not necessarily follow that that place must be situated within his kingdom. Nor has any evidence been produced for the place not lying within his jurisdiction.

There are a few other points mentioned by the Doctor which also require a word in reply:

He states that because Harlsvara and Raghavanka do not name Basava, they are not Virasaivas. For that matter, Nijagunasivayogi and other recognised Virasaivas have not named Basava.

As regards the Doctor's statement that Bijjala was not a Jaina as evidenced by the names, Somesvara and Sankara, borne by his sons, I have already shown that Sankara is a common enough name among the Jainas and the same appears to be the case with the other name also. With regard to the Doctor's query why Mallikarjuna does not quote from Raghavanka's *Harischandrakavya*, it has to be stated that he does not do so as that work is written in the Shatpadi metre, his *Suktisudharnava* consisting of quotations from Champu works only.

The Doctor considers that the statement in *Virasaiva* and Jaina works that Basava and Chennabasava were at the court of Bijjala is false, and quotes in support of his assertion Dr. Fleet who has said that Ekantada Ramaiya was probably the founder of the Virasaiva faith and not Basava, simply because there was no epigraphical evidence about the existence of Basava. If that be the case, how are we to believe in the existence of Sankaracharya and Ramanujacharya who are not mentioned in inscriptions? But fortunately for Basava a new inscription has just been discovered at Arjunavada in the Belgaum Taluk, dated A.D. 1259-60 (Saka 1182), referring itself to the reign of the Sevuna King Kandhara (1247-60), which mentions Basava, his father, and five generations his descendants. It thus affords incontestible proof of the existence of Basava at Bijjala's time. The epigraph is published in *Sivanubhava* III, 94.

I do not think any scholar will indulge, as the Doctor does, in such a wholesale condemnation of all Virasaiva, Jaina and Brahmana traditional works and refuse to derive any sort of help from them. Because there are some defects in a work, it is not wisdom to condemn it wholly. Even works which are professedly historical contain such defects. The Doctor is pleased to attribute credulity to me because I quote from Virasaiva and other works. Quotation from a work does not necessarily mean a belief in all that is said in it. When the date of a work is known, to say that the authors mentioned in it must have lived before that date is, I think, quite reasonable. Inconsistencies such as those pointed out by the Doctor in Virasaiva works are found even in genuine inscriptions.

It will thus be seen that the dates assigned by me to Harisvara, Raghavanka and Kereya-Padmarasa do not require any alteration.

OTHER CRITICISMS

Singiraja

Messrs. Hardekar Manjappa and Sindagi Siddappa, authors of *Sribasavacharitre* and S

respectively, are of opinion that *Singiraja-purana* is the earliest Kannada account of Basava, Singiraja, the author of this work, being, according to them, identical with his namesake included in the *Dasagana* (see I. 214 and 294) and thus a contemporary of Basava. In expressing this opinion both of them have relied on a story given by Mr. Basavalinga Sastri of Mysore in the introduction to his *Singirdjapurana-vijaya*, a prose version of *Singiraja-purana*, to the effect that Singiraja, who was a Vaishnava feudatory of Bijjala, became a convert to Virasaivism and wrote *Singirajapurana* and that he was subsequently included in the *Dasagana* by Palkurike Somanatha in his *Sahasragananama*. Mr. Basavalinga Sastri has not, however, given his authority for the story. As far as I know, there does not appear to be any evidence, literary or inscriptional, in support of the story. Mr. Hardekar Manjappa says in the introduction (p. 6) to his work that I have assigned Singiraja to 1650 in my *Kavicharite*. This statement is not correct: I have assigned this author to about 1500 (Vol. II, 148). It is the generally accepted opinion among the Virasaivas that Bhimakavi's *Basavapurana* is the earliest Kannada work on Basava, and if *Singiraja-purana* had been written before his time, it cannot be explained why Bhimakavi does not name its author and base his own work on Singiraja's instead of basing it on the Telugu *Basavapurana* of Palkurike Somanatha. No Virasaiva authors of an earlier period than the middle of the 16th century name Singiraja, though they invariably name Palkurike Somanatha or Bhimakavi. The earliest writer who mentions his name is Chennabasavanka (c. 1550), author of *Mahadeviyakkana-purana*. Further, Singiraja criticises some statements relating to Basava, thus showing that there were in existence some accounts of Basava before his time. He would not have done this if he had been the very first writer on the subject.¹ I therefore think that this author cannot be identical with his namesake of the *Dasagana* but must be a later writer

¹ When speaking of him, Virupaksha Pandita (1584) does not say that he was a poet but says merely that he was a great devotee of Siva (*Chennabasavapurana*, Kanola 5, Sandhi 2, 50).

of about 1500. Singidevaiya, another person included in the Dasagana, has, however, written *vachanas* (p. 352), just like other contemporaries of Basava.

Ratnakaravarni

Messrs. Ugran Mangesa Rao and Nyayatirtha Santiraja Sastri, the editors of *Bharatesvara-charite* and *Satakatraysi* respectively, have, relying on Devachandra's statement, stated that Ratnakaravarni was the author of *Ratnakaradhisvara sataka*, *Aparajitesvara-sataka* and *Triloka-sataka*. Though this belief is common, I have advanced some objections against it and expressed the opinion that Sringarakavi-Hamsaraja, the author of *Ratnakaradhisvara-sataka*, was different from Ratnakaravarni, the author of the remaining two satakas and *Bharatesvara-charite*, for the following reasons: namely, (1) that the praise of Aparajitesvara and Mandarasvami and the use of the epithets, Niranjanasiddha and Chidambarapurusha, found in what I consider as Ratnakaravarni's works, are not found in Hamsaraja's work; and (2) that the guru of Ratnakaravarni was Charukirti, whereas the guru of Hamsaraja was Devendrakirti (Vol. II, 274). These objections have not been satisfactorily answered by the above-mentioned editors. In order to identify the two authors, the mention of Mahendrakirti as the guru of Ratnakaravarni by Devachandra has been taken hold of as a point in their favour and they have stated that Mahendrakirti and Devendrakirti, being synonymous, refer to one and the same person. But this view is not at all tenable, since the names are found to refer to different individuals in inscriptions and literary works. Further, the editors assert without quoting any authority that Ratnakaravarni had the title Sringarakavi-Hamsaraja. Sringarakavi does occur as a title and it has been borne by a few poets, but the addition of Hamsaraja to it conveys no sense. So Hamsaraja has to be taken to be the name of a different poet.

Mr. Santiraja Sastri has caused to be printed the colophon which is found at the end of *Ratnakaradhisvara-*

sataka at the end of the other two Satakas also, for which there does not appear to be any warrant in the manuscripts I have seen. There is further the clear statement in the last verse of *Triloka-sataka* that the work was composed by Ratnakararya. As the expressions Niranjanasiddha and Chidambarapurusha are used as epithets of his *guru* by Ratnakaravarni (*Bharatesvarachorite*, I. 4), my statement that Niranjanasiddha was a title of the author (Vol. II, 274) is not correct. After all the only authority for supposing that Ratnakaravarni was the author of all the three Satakas and that he had the title Sringarakavi is Devachandra. But this authority is not quite reliable as his work abounds in mistakes. As an instance I may give a statement of his in connection with Ratnakaravarni himself, namely, that he was a contemporary of Vijayanna, the author of *Dvadasanuprekshe* (Vol. II, 276). But this is untenable—Vijayanna's time being 1448 and Ratnakaravarni's 1557.

Lakshmlsa

There has been a long controversy in Kannada journals and newspapers about the place, creed and time of Lakshmlsa, the author of *Jaimini-Bharata*. The generally accepted opinion about the place is that he belonged to Devanur of the Kadur Taluk, which he styles Surapura, Girvanapura, etc., in his work. He has also dedicated his work to the deity Lakshmiramana of the village. In the temple of this deity, it is said that first honours are shown to him and that portions of his work are recited on certain special occasions as a mark of respect to his memory. His house is even now pointed out in the village. There were until a few years ago his lineal descendants living in the place. In spite of all these facts some have boldly asserted that Surapura in Hyderabad was the place of the author. With regard to his creed, it has been stated that he was either an Advaiti or a Smarta of the Bhagavata Sect, and not a Srivaishnava. As stated before, there were his lineal descendants living in Devanur who were Srlvaishnavas and no Srivaishnava would accept a Smarta for his ancestor. The objection

advanced against the author being a Srivaishnava is that he praises Siva, Parvati and Ganapati at the beginning of his work. Instances may be given of other authors, undoubtedly Srivaishnava, who have done the same thing: (1) Lakshma Kavi, the author of *Bharata*, etc. (p. 15) was a Srivaishnava of Harugadde, Anekal Taluk, whose descendants are even now *archakas* of the Chennakeshava Temple at the village. There can be no doubt of his having been a Srivaishnava, as he states that he is a disciple of a descendant of Embar, who was a disciple of Ramanuja; and yet he praises Siva and Ganapati in his work. (2) Timmamatyā, the author of *Ananda Ramayana* (p. 74), was a Srivaishnava, whose descendants are even now conducting the duties of *archakas* at Agara, about six miles to the east of Bangalore, and he, too, praises Siva and Ganapati.

Some have observed that Devanur not being an exact equivalent of Surapura, some other place has to be looked for, and their search has led them to Surapura in Hyderabad. These will, however, be surprised when they learn that Timmamatyā has Sanskritised Sadanahalli into Sahadevapura, and Lakshma Kavi, Harugadde into Khagapura. Compared with these renderings the rendering of Devanur into Surapura may be looked upon as the nearest and most appropriate.

With regard to the period of Lakshmlsa, various opinions have been expressed, the balance of opinion being in favour of the date 1415. I have, however, expressed the opinion that Lakshmlsa lived about the close of the 17th century (II. 523). If he had lived in 1415, it cannot be explained why his name is not mentioned by any writer from the 15th to the close of the 17th century: not even by the Brahmana authors of *Bharata Ramayana* and *Bhagavata*, and by Chikkupadhyaya, a fellow Srivaishnava, who mentions even the Smarta poet Rudrabhatta. The authors that mention him belong to the 18th century. It is these facts that led me to assign him to the close of the 17th century, which is likewise the period assigned to him by tradition.

Some scholars have made much of the similarities

between his work and the *Chennabasavapurana* of Virupaksha Pandita (1584) and have concluded that Lakshmisa preceded Virupaksha Pandita. But these similarities may be interpreted in either way and do not constitute a decisive factor in determining Lakshmisa's period.

I may incidentally mention an interesting fact in Kannada literature in connection with a statement made in the Kannada *Parishatpatrike* (V. 5), with reference to Lakshmisa, that no one would translate a work which was opposed to his faith. I shall give instances of Jainas having written works for their Hindu friends as if they were Hindus and vice versa. Padmarasa, a Jaina (II. 314), wrote, apparently for a Hindu friend, the *Sringdrakathe* in 1599. At the beginning of the work he praises Sadasiva, Sarasvati and Ganesa, as if he were a Hindu. Conversely, Pattabhirama, a Hindu (III. 25) wrote for a Jaina friend, named Paduma, a Jaina work styled *Ratna-sekharacharite*, in about 1725. The work related a story about the observance of the Pushpanjali vow and the author begins the work with praise of Jina, the Siddhas, etc., as if he were a Jaina.

CHAPTER V

EXTENT AND RANGE OF KANNADA LITERATURE

KANNADA literature is of vast extent and range. It is a well-known fact that the three classes of poets in Kannada, namely, the Jainas, the Virasaivas and the Brahmanas, have, like the authors of the other sister languages of Southern India, written mostly on religion and philosophy. But there are also works, though comparatively small in number, on secular subjects. The Jainas have mostly written accounts of the *Tirthankaras* and of princes and personages such as Nagakumara, Jivandhara, Sukumara, Dhanyakumara, Jayanripa, Jnanachandra, and so on, who attained Arhantya or Arhat-hood. In Virasaiva works are to be found mostly accounts of the 63 devotees of Siva and other Saiva devotees, accounts of the 25 sports of Siva and expositions of the *Shatsthala* and *Ekottarasatasthala*. The Brahmana works mostly treat of the stories of the the *Ramayana*, the *Mahdbharata*, the *Bhagavata* and other puranas, and subjects bearing on the Vedanta. Bhattakalanka (1604) in the introduction to his *Sabdanu-sasana* remarks that in Kannada are written numerous works on *sabdagama* (grammar), *yuktyagama* (logic) and *paramagama* (philosophy) as well as numberless books of poetry, the drama, rhetoric and the fine arts.¹ A survey of Kannada secular literature brings to view not only *kavyas*, works on poetics, prosody and grammar, and lexicons, but also works bearing on biography and local history, and a respectable number of works on medicine, veterinary science, mathematics and other

¹ ಶಬ್ದಾಗಮ ಯುಕ್ತ್ಯಾಗಮ ಪರಮಾಗಮ ವಿಷಯಾಣಾಂ ತಥಾ ಕಾವ್ಯನಿರೀಕಾಲಂಕಾರ ಕಲಾಶಾಸ್ತ್ರ ವಿಷಯಾಣಾಂ ಚ ಬಹುನಾಂ ಗ್ರಂಥಾನಾಮಪಿ ಭಾಷಾಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಕಾನಾಮುಪಲಭ್ಯ ಮಾನಕೌಶ್.

sciences and arts. Besides, there are innumerable Kannada inscriptions written in excellent *Kavya* style. A few details will now be given of the secular works mentioned above in general terms.

The Drama

Bhattakalanka says that there were dramas in Kannada during his time. But no old dramas have come down to us. The *Malavi-Madhava*, said to have been written by Karnaparya, and the *Subhadraharana* and *Prabodhachandra*, stated by Kesiraja as his works, look like dramas. The only drama now extant is the *Mitravinda-govinda* of Singararya (c. 1680), which is a Kannada version of the *Ratnavali* of Sriharsha. In Telugu *Kridabhiramavidhinataka* by Vinukonda Vallabharaya of the 15th century appears to be the earliest drama. In Tamil the early dramas are said to have been lost; and Arunachalakavi of the 18th century, author of *Ramanatakam*, is looked upon as the father of modern dramatic literature in that language.

Poetics

Among works on poetics the earliest is the *Kavirajamarga*. Among subsequent works Nagavarma's *Kavyavalokana* treats of verbal ornaments and the ornaments of sense as also of poetical conventions; the *Sringararatnakara* of Kavi Kama, the *Rasaratnakara* of Salva and the *Navarasalankara* of Timma, treat of *rasa* or poetical sentiment or flavour; and the *Saradavilasa* of Salva treats of *dhvani* or suggested meaning. Besides, we have *Madhavalankara*, a translation of Dandi's *Kavyadaria*, *Apratimavira-charita* and *Narapativijaya* based on the *Chandrdloka*, a Kannada version of the *Kuvalaydnanda*, and other works.

Prosody

The earliest Kannada work on this subject is *Gunaganiyam*, which has not, however, come down to us. Nagavarma's *Chhandombudhi* treats pretty fully of the subject. There are likewise *Kavijihvdaandhana*, *Chhan-*

dassdra and *Nandi-chhandassu* and other works dealing with prosody.

Grammar

There is reference to a grammar written by Nayasena, but this has not come down to us. Of the works extant dealing with the subject are *Sabdasmriti* and *Sabda-manidarpana* written in Kannada, and *Bhashabhushana* and *Sabdanusasana* written in Sanskrit.

Lexicons

The earliest of these is one attributed to Ranna and named *Rannakanda*. *Sabdasara*, *Karnataka-Nighantu*, *Chaturdsya-Nighantu*, *Karndtaka-Sabdamanjari*, *Kabbigara-Kaipidi*, *Kavi-Kanthahdra*, *Karndtaka-Sanjivana* and others explain the meaning of Halagannada words; while *Vastukosa*, *Mangabhidhana*, *Nanartha-Ratnakara* and other works give Kannada synonyms for Sanskrit words. Besides, there are commentaries on the Sanskrit lexicons of Amara, Halayudha, etc., and on lexicons bearing on medicine.

Medicine

The earliest work on medicine is the *Karnataka-Kalydnakdraka* of Jagaddala-Somanatha. *Khagendra-manidarpana* treats of toxicology. There are also medical works written by Sridharadeva, Salva, Chikkupadhyaya, Viraraja, Nanjaraja, Nrisimhabhatta, Brahma and others. There are likewise works on surgery and treatment of women and children. Chandraraja, Abhinavachandra, Ramachandra and Padmanapandita have written works on the treatment of horses; Klrtivarma, a Chalukya prince, on the treatment of cattle; and Virabhadraraja, a commentary on Palakapya's treatment of elephants.

Cookery

The earliest work bearing on this subject is the one written by Jayabandhunandana. Mangarasa and others have also written on the subject.

Astrology, Meteorology

The earliest work on astrology is the *Jatakatilaka* of Sridharacharya. Other works bearing on it and allied subjects are *Lokopakdra*, *Rattamata*, *Rattana-Jataka*, *Narapingaliy Markandeya-purana*, *Sakunaprapancha*, etc. There are likewise commentaries on *Suryasiddhdnta* and other Sanskrit works on Astronomy.

Mathematics

Under this head there are works treating of Arithmetic, Algebra and Geometry written by Rajaditya, Bhaskara, Timmarasa, Balavaidyada-Cheluva, and others. There are also commentaries on Mahaviracharya's *Ganitasarasangraha*, and other mathematical works. Mahaviracharya's work was translated into Telugu by Pavaluri Mallanna in about 1200.

Erotics

Under this head the earliest work is the *Madanatilaka* of Chandraraja. Other works bearing on the subject are *Smaratantra*, *Manmathavijaya*, *Janavasya*, *Angajabodhe*, etc. There are likewise commentaries on the Sanskrit works of Vatsyayana, Kakkoka and others.

Besides the works noted above, there are also treatises on precious stones, palmistry, fireworks, etc.

History, Biography

Among the works dealing with history may be mentioned *Maisururdjara-charitre*, *Maisiirarasugalapurvdbhyudaya*, *Chikkadevarajavamsavali*, *Keladinripavijaya*, *Biligiyrasara-vamsavali*, *Rajavamsaratnaprabha*, etc., and among those treating of biography may be named *Rajanripa-vijaya*, *Kanthiravanarasaraja-vijaya*, *Devardjendra-sangatya*, *Chikkadevardja-vijaya*, *Bijjalara-ya-charite*, *Bettavardhana-charite*, *Jagadevarayana-kavya* and so on.

Nagavarma IPs services to the Kannada Language

Before going to the next section, I would say here a word about Nagavarma IPs services to the Kannada

language. There are many authors in Kannada who have written excellent poems and several authors who have written on the grammar, poetics, prosody or vocabulary of the language. But it must be said to the credit of Nagavarma II that he made it his duty to write almost all his works on the language—on its grammar, poetics, prosody and vocabulary—thus proving not only his love for the language but also his solicitude for its propagation. In the whole field of Kannada literature he stands alone in this respect. His works are standard authorities and their importance for the study of the language is acknowledged by all Kannada scholars. His valuable services to the Kannada language are indicated in the following verse, probably composed by an admirer, which occurs at the end of *his Karnataka-Bhashdahushana*:

ಜೀಯಾದಸಾ ಮಹಾವೈಕೃತಾ ನಾಗವರ್ಮಒಘೋತ್ತಮಃ|
ಯತ್ಪ್ರಜಯಾಂ ಜಗತ್ಸುಚ್ಛ್ರಿಯಾರ್ಥಿ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಲಕ್ಷಣಂ||

JAINA AUTHORS IN MYSORE AND IN THE TAMIL
AND TELUGU COUNTRIES

Jaina Authors in Mysore

There is pretty good evidence to show that a Jaina colony was established at Sravana Belgola in the 3rd century B.C. So Jaina predominance began earlier and, as we know, continued longer in Mysore than in the Tamil country. Several of the early dynasties of kings in Mysore, such as the Gangas, the Rashtrakutas, the earlier Hoysalas, the Kongalvas, the Chengalvas, etc., were Jaina. The earliest cultivators of the language were Jainas. The oldest works of any extent and value that have come down to us are all from the pen of the Jainas. The period of Jaina predominance in the literary field may justly be called the Augustan Age of Kannada literature. Jaina authors in Kannada are far more numerous than in Tamil. To name only a few, we have Pampa, Ponna, Ranna, Gunavarma, Nagachandra, Nayasena, Nagavarma, Aggala, Nemichandra, Janna, Andayya, Bandhuvarma, and Madhura, authors whose works are

admired as excellent specimens of poetic composition. It is only in Kannada that we have a Ramayana, and a Bharata based on the Jaina tradition, in addition to the same works based on Brahmanical tradition. Besides *kavyas* written by Jaina authors we have numerous works by them dealing with subjects such as grammar, rhetoric, prosody, mathematics, astrology, medicine, veterinary science, cookery and so forth. Altogether the number of Jaina authors in Kannada is nearly 200. The decline of their political power, which was brought about, among other causes, by the conversion of Vishnuvardhana to Vaishnavism, the establishment of the Virasaiva faith and the final overthrow of the Kalachurya dynasty, produced a check to their literary activity, though works, comparatively inferior, continued to appear in later times.

Jaina Authors in the Tamil Country

We find Jainas in the Tamil country from the Sangam age. Some Tamil scholars are of opinion that the Jainas had immigrated into the southern Tamil districts and made a permanent home there before the first century A.D.; that the golden era of Tamil literature was mostly inspired by the Jainas, as it was also the period when they were in their hey-day of literary and proselytising rigour; that for three centuries down to the 7th century they wielded such enormous influence as to gain the active patronage of the Pandyan kings for their religion—so much so that many of the Pandyan kings embraced Jainism and held it up as the state religion; that the influence of the Jainas waned from about the middle of the 8th century on account of the rise of Agamik Saivism, and that their final fall in the Tamil districts dates from the 9th and 10th centuries, and was due to the militant preaching of the Vaishnava Alvars.

Among the Sangam works attributed to Jaina authors may be mentioned *Palamoli* by Manruraiyariyanar, *Sirupanjamulam* by Kariyasan, *Elddi* by Kanimedaviyar and *Naladiyar* by a number of Jaina sages. Ilangovadigal, author of *Silappadikaram*, was also a Jaina. According to

Digambaradarsana, a Dravidasangha was started at Madura in 470 by the Jaina guru Vajranandi, who was a disciple of Pujiyapada. Three of the five major epics and all the five minor epics are by Jainas. The most admired of the major epics, the *Chintamani*, is by the Jaina poet Tiruttakkadevar, whom the Italian missionary Beschi calls the prince of Tamil poets. Further, the grammars *Neminatham* and *Nannill*, the lexicons *Sendan Divakaram* and *Chudamani*, and the work on prosody, *Ydpparungalam* and its commentary are all by Jainas. Pavanandi, the author of *Nannul*, was patronised by Siyagangan, a feudatory of the Chola King Kulottunga III (1178-1216). Siyagangan had the Ganga titles Srimat-Kuvalalapuraparamesvaran, Gangakulodbhavan and Amarabharanan, which also occur in inscriptions in connection with the Tamil Gangas of the Kolar District.

There are some curious stories about the destruction of early Jaina works through sectarian prejudice. There is a tradition that when Sankaracharya threw Jaina works into the Tunga, one book floated and could not be made to sink. This book was found to be the *Amarakosa* which was suffered to live on account of its intrinsic merit. There is a similar tradition with regard to *Naladiyar*, a work of the Sangam period. It is said that 8,000 Jaina poets went to the court of a Pandya king and each wrote a stanza on a scroll. The Hindu poets at the court of the king prejudiced his mind against the newcomers, so much so that the latter decamped leaving their scrolls behind. These scrolls were ordered to be thrown into a river when 400 of them are said to have ascended *for the space of four feet* against the stream. These scrolls were preserved and formed into a work called *Naladiyar*.

Jaina Authors in the Telugu Country

Some Telugu scholars seem to think that there was a Jaina period in Telugu and that almost all the early Jaina works have been lost. The works that are now available are very small in number, not even half a dozen. These are *Jinendrapurana* by Padmakavi (Prabhachandra) and *Adipurana* by Sarvadevaiya. Atharvanacharya appears

to have been a Jaina, judging from his mention of the Jaina authors Hemachandra, Pujyapada and Akalanka. It is said that the work *Kavijanasraya* bears indications of Jaina authorship.

Patronage of Kannada Literature

From the earliest times Kannada literature, like those of Tamil and Telugu, has prospered under the fostering care of kings and nobles. Among the patrons may be mentioned the Gangas, the Rashtrakutas, the Western and Eastern Chalukyas, the Kakatiyas, the Hoysalas, the Rattas of Soundatti, the Silaharas of Karad, the Kongajvas, the Chengalvas, the Tuluva kings, the Chautas, and the kings of Vijayanagara and Mysore; as also the Palegars or chiefs of Ummattur, Nuggehalli, Sugatur, Piriapattana, Madinadu, Belur, Chikkanayakanahalli, Mudigere, Bijjavara, Ikkeri, and Kalale. Besides these kings and chiefs, ministers, generals and other officers subordinate to them, and many minor chiefs, have also encouraged literary men. It is also worthy of note that not a few of the above mentioned kings, chiefs and high personages have themselves written works in Kannada and have thus enriched the stock of Kannada literature. These statements will be briefly illustrated by a few examples.

Adi-Pampa (941) was the court poet of the Chalukya chief Arikesari and was presented by him with the *agrahara* Dharmapura, situated in Bachche-sasira. Ponna (c. 950) received the title Ubhayakavi-Chakravarti from the Rashtrakuta King Krishna III. Nagavarma I was presented by Bhoja with horses in appreciation of his poetical skill. Ranna got the title Kavi-Chakravarti from the Chalukya King Tailapa (973-97), along with a gold staff, an elephant, a parasol, *chauris*, etc. Brahmasiva (c. 1100) received the title Kavi-Chakravarti with honours from the Chalukya King Trailokyamalla. Nagavarma II was the Katakopadhyaya of the Chalukya King Jagadekamalla II (1138-50).

Raghavanka was honoured by Prataparudra I (1140-96) of Warangal. Palkurike Somanatha received Donkiparti and other villages from the same king. Parsva-

pandita was the court poet of the Ratta King Kartavirya IV (1202-20). Sumanobana was the Katakopadhyaya of the Hoysala King Narasimha II (1220-35). Madhura was the court poet of the Vijayanagara Kings Harihara II and Devaraya I. The latter's minister, Lakshitrithara, honoured the poet by presenting him with lands, elephants, horses and ornaments. Chamarasa (c. 1430) was honoured by the Vijayanagara King Devaraya II; and Nilakanthacharya (c. 1485) by the Ummattur chief Virananjendra. Kavilinga (c. 1490) was the court poet of Saluva Narasinga I. Timmannakavi (c. 1510) was presented with cloths and ornaments by the Vijayanagara King Krishnadevaraya. Salva (c. 1550) was the court poet of the Tuluva King Salvamalla. Ramachandra, author of *Asvasastra*, and Padmanapandita, author of *Hayasdra-samuchchaya* were patronised by the Mysore King Chamaraja (1617-37). Tirumalarya, Chikkupadhyaya and the poetesses Honnamma and Sringamma wrote under the patronage of the Mysore King Chikkadevaraja.

Those who wish to have more detailed information about this matter may refer to pp. 8-15 of the Introduction to Volume II of my *Karnataka Kavi Charite*.

I may add a few words here about the patronage of Tamil and Telugu Literatures.

Patronage of Tamil Literature

The Chera, Chola and Pandya kings, princes, potentates, ministers, military officers and zamindars gave generous patronage to poets and learned men. One or more poets formed part of the personal staff of kings and princes and were given inams which even their posterity enjoyed in perpetuity. Liberal presents in the shape of money, elephants, palanquins, chariots with horses and flowers of gold were bestowed on deserving poets. Titles of distinction like Asiriyar (Doctor), Pulavar (Pandit), Kavi-Chakravarti (Emperor of poets), etc., were also conferred upon them. Poets were honoured and respected to such a degree that even kings did not think it dishonourable to act as their palanquin bearers. To

appease the wrath of a poet, a Pandya queen is said to have borne his palanquin one whole night in the disguise of a male carrier. In the Tamil work called *Padirruppattu*, consisting of ten short poems of the Sangam period, which are in praise of some Chera kings, mention is made of the rewards got by the poets from the rulers praised by them. To mention a few instances:

The poet Kannanar of Kumattur is said to have received from the Chera King, Imayavaramban Nedunjeraladan, a grant of the Brahmadaya of 500 villages and a portion of the revenues of the southern districts for 38 years. The poet Kappiyanar of Kappiyaru obtained from the Chera King, Kalangaykkanni Narmudichcheral, a gift of 40 lakhs of *pon* and a portion of his kingdom. The poetess Kakkaiappadiniyar Nachchellaiyar was given by another Chera monarch, Adukotparttuch-Cheraladan, 9 *happen*¹ for making jewels and one lakh of gold coins.

Patronage of Telugu Literature

Here, tod, the Eastern Chalukyas, the Kakatlyas, the Reddis, the Komatis, the Vijayanagara kings, zamindars, ministers, generals and high officers have patronised Telugu poets and scholars. A few instances are given below. Telugu poets generally dedicated their works to some king or chief. King Rajaraja (1022-63) gave the *agrahara* Nandamapudi to Narayanabhatta who helped Nannaiyabhatta in the composition of the *Bharata*, Pavaturi Mallanna, the translator of Mahaviracharya's *Ganitasdrasangraha*, got the *agrahara* Navakhandavada. Tikkana Somayaji was patronised by Manumasiddhi and Errapregada was the court poet of Polaya-Vemareddi. Nachana-Soma got the village Penchukuladinna from the Vijayanagara King, Bukka I. Srinatha was the court poet of the Vijayanagara King Devaraya II, who bathed him in gold and bestowed upon him the title Kavisarvabhauma. Pillalamarri-Pinaviranna, author of *Jaimini-Bharata*, was patronised by Saluva-Narasinga I. Allasani-

¹ Each Rs. 600 weight according to some; 100 *palam* weight according to others.

Peddanna was the court poet of Krishnadevaraya and had the title Andhrakavi-Pitamaha.

Specimens from Kannada Literature

Adi-Pampa, deservedly called the best of Kannada poets, is thus praised by Nagaraja (1331) in his *Punya-srava*:

ಪಸವಿಪ ಕನ್ನಡಕೊಡೆಯನೊರ್ವನೆ ಸತ್ಕವಿಪಂಪನಾವಗಂ |
 ವಸುಧೆಗೆ ಚಕ್ರಿಯಂತಮರಭೂಮಿಗೆ ವಾಸವನಂತೆ ಸಂತತಂ ||
 ರಸೆಗುರಗೇಂದ್ರನಂತೆ ಗಗನಕ್ಕೆ ವಿಕರ್ತನನಂತೆ ಧಾತ್ರಿಯೊಳ್ |
 ಪೆಸವ್ ಡೆದಿದ್ ನೀಗಳೆಮಗೀಗೆ ತದೀಯವಚೋವಿಳಾಸಮಂ || (I. 32)

The greatness of Nemichandra and Janna is thus described by Madhura in his *Dharmandthapurana*:

ಸರ್ವರ ಸಮ್ಮತಮೆನಗಿದು | ಗರ್ವದ ಮಾತಲ್ಲ ಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಲಾಕಿಕಕಲೆಯೊಳ್ |
 ಬೇರ್ವರಿದ ನೇಮಿಜನ ಮ | ರಿವರೆ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕ್ಷತಿಗೆ ಸೀಮಾವುರುಷರ್ || (I. 256)

Chandraraaja and Achanna have shown their skill in *Sabda-chitra*, or verbal ornaments, in their works *Madanatilaka* and *Vardhamana-purana* respectively.

I shall now proceed to quote a stanza each from some of the great poets and a few *Vachanas* from some *Vachanakaras* :

Gunavarma I

DESCRIPTION OF THE MOON

ಒಡನೆ ಸುರಾಸುರರ್ ಕನಕಪರ್ವತಮಂ ಕಡೆಗೋಲಮಾಡಿ ಮೇಣ್ |
 ಪೆಡೆ ಪಲವಪ್ಪ ವಾಸುಕಿಮಹೋರಗನಂ ಕಡೆಗಣ್ಣಿ ಮಾಡಿ ವಾ ||
 ಲ್ಲ ಡಲನಸಾಯದಿದಿ ಕಡೆಯೆ ರಾಹುಗೆ ವಾಯುಪಥಾಗ್ರಮೆಂಬ ಪೆ |
 ಮ್ಲ ಡಕೆಯೊಳಿಕ್ಕಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ವೊಸಬೆಣ್ಣಿ ವೊಲಿದುಡು ಚಂದ್ರಮಂಡಲಂ ||

(Kavicharite I. 25-6)

Pampa I

DESCRIPTION OF THE RAINY SEASON

ವೊಳವಮರೇಂದ್ರಗೋಪದ ಪಸುರ್ತೆಳವುಲ್ಗಳ ತಕ್ತ ಕಾರ್ಮುಗಿ |
 ಲ್ಲಗಳ ಕಿಹುಗೊಂಕುಗೊಂಕಿದ ವೊನಲ್ಗಳ ಕೆಂವು ಪಸುರ್ವು ಕರ್ವು ಬಿ ||
 ಳ್ಲೊಳಕೊಳ ತಕ್ತಕಾರ್ಮುಕವಿಳಾಸಮನೇನೆರ್ದೆಗೊಂಡು ಬೇಟೆದ |
 ತ್ತಳಗಮನುಂಟುಮಾಡಿದುದೊ ಕಾಮನಕಾರ್ಮುಕದಂತೆ ಕಾರ್ಮುಕಂ || (I. 37-8)

Ranna

DESCRIPTION OF THE SPRING

ನವಸಹಕಾರದಂಕುರದಿಸಂಕುರಿಸಿತ್ತು ವೊದಟ್ಟು ನೀಳ್ ಪ |
 ಲ್ಲವ ತತಿಯಿಂದೆ ಪಲ್ಲವಿಸಿತುನ್ನದ ಭೃಂಗಕುಳಕ್ಕೆ ಕಂಪುನೀ ||
 ಉವ ಕುಸುಮಂಗಳಿಂ ಕುಸುಮಿಸಿತ್ತು ಶುಕವ್ರಜಮುತ್ತುಕತ್ವದಿಂ |
 ಸವಿವ ಫಲಂಗಳಿಂ ಫಲಿತಮಾಯ್ತು ಮನೋಜಮನೋರಥದ್ರವಂ || (I. 67)

Nagachandra

DESCRIPTION OF THE BEE

ಬಿರಿಮುಗುಳೊಳ್ ಮುಸುಂಬನಲೆದೊಯ್ಯನೆ ಕರ್ಣಿಕೆಯಂ ಕರ್ದುಂಕಿ ಕೇ |
 ಸರಮನೆಹಿಂಕೆಯಿಂ ಕೆದಣು ಬಂಡನುರಂಬರ ಮುಂಡು ತಲ್ಲೆಸಹ್ ||
 ವೊರೆಯೊಳಡಂಗಿ ಸುಣ್ಣ ರದಿನಾಣತಿಮಾಡಿದುದುನ್ನದಾಳಿ ತಾ |
 ವರೆಯೊಳಗಿದ್ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮಿಯ ಮನಂಬಡೆದೆಕ್ಕಲಗಾಣನೆಂಬಿನಂ || (I. 110)

Harlivara

DESCRIPTION OF PARVATI ENGAGED IN WORSHIP

ಬರೆದರೊ ಬಯ್ಯರೊ ವೊಲ್ದರೊ | ವೊರೆದರೊ ಬೆಚ್ಚರೊ ಮರಳ್ಳಿ ಕರುಪಟ್ಟರೊ ಕಂ |
 ಡಂಸಿದರೊ ಕಡೆದರೋ ಎನೆ | ಗಿರಿರಾಜತನೂಜೆ ವೊಜೆಯೊಳ್ ರಾಜೆಸುವಳ್ ||
 (I. 229)

Rudrabhatta

DESCRIPTION OF THE CHATAKA BIRD

ಮನದನುರಾಗದಿಂ ನೆಗೆದು ನೀಡಿದ ಕಂಠಮರಲ್ದ ಶುಪ್ಪುಲು |
 ಬನಿಮಿಷವಾದ ಕಣ್ ತೆಣಿದ ಚಂಚು ವಿಚ್ಯಂಭಿವೆಹಿಂಕೆ ರಂಜಿಸಿ ||
 ತ್ರೆನೆ ನಲವೇಣು ತೋರವನಿ ತಣ್ಣನಿ ಮುಂಬನಿಯೆಂಬ ಕಾರ್ಮುಗಿ |
 ಲ್ಪನಿಯನಲಂಪಿನಿಂದಮಿದಿಗೊಂಡು ಕರ್ದುಕಿದುದ್ವಚಾತಕಂ || (I. 273)

Aggala

DESCRIPTION OF A YOUNG BEE

ಕಿಱುಮಡುಗೊಂಡ ಬಂಡಿನೊಳಗೀಸಿ ವೊದಜಿಡಿ ದಿದ್ ಕುತ್ತಿಸ |
 ಟುಱುವದೊಳೆಯ್ತೆ ಮೆಯ್ಯರೆದು ಕೇಸರದೊಳ್ ಸಲವಿಂ ವೊರಕ್ಕು ನೀ ||
 ಛೆಗಿದ ಕೀದಸತ್ತಿಣಿಯೊಳೊಯ್ಯನೆ ಜಾಣು ಪರಾಗ ಪುಂಜವೊಳ್ |
 ಪಣುವಡಿಸಿತ್ತು ಭೃಂಗಶಿಶು ನೀರಜದೊಳ್ ನಿಜವಾಂಸುಕೇಳಿಯಂ || (I. 287)

Devakavi

DESCRIPTION OF THE CHAKORA BIRD

ಅರೆಮುಗಿದಕ್ಷಿಗಳ್ ತೆಪ್ಪದ ಚಂಚುವುಟಂ ನಮಸೋಂಕಿ ನೀಳ್ ಕಂ |
 ಧರಮಿರದಿರ್ಕೆಲಂಗಳೊಳೆಬಲ್ಪ ಪತ್ರವುಟಂ ಸಡಿಲ್ಪಮೆಯ್ ||
 ಸರಲತೆವೆತ್ತು ಬಿರ್ಚಿದ ನನಿರ್ ಪರಿರಂಜಿಸಲಿಂಟುತಿರ್ದುದು |
 ಬ್ಬರಿಸಿದ ಚಂದ್ರಿಕಾರಸಮಸಂಚಿತ ಚಾರು ಚಕೋರಸಂಚಯಂ || (I. 318)

Kamalabhava

DESCRIPTION OF CURDS

ಅಧರೀಕೃತ ಶಾರದ ನೀ | ರಧರದ್ಯುತಿಯೆಸಿಪ ಕೆನೆಯನೋಕೆಯ್ ಪರ್ವಾ |
 ಮಧುರಾಂಪ್ಲ ಮಪ್ಪ ದಧಿಯಂ | ಏಧುವದನೆಯರೊಸೆದು ನಿಸದಮನೆ ಬಡ್ಡಿ ಸಿದರ್ ||
 (I. 365)

Chandrakavi

DESCRIPTION OF MUSIC

ತಿಂಗಳ ಪಿಂಬಮಂ ಹಿಡಿದು ಹಿಂಡೆ ಪಳಚ್ಚನೆ ಸೋರ್ವ ಸೋನೆಯಂ |
 ತಿಂಗಳಲಿಂ ಪೊಡ್ಪ ಪರ್ವನೆತ್ತಿದೊಡೆಯ್ಯನೆ ಸೋರ್ವ ಸೋನೆಯಂ ||
 ತಂಗಳನಿಕ್ಕು ಕಾರ್ಮುಕವನೇಣಿಸೆ ಜುಮ್ಮನೆ ಸೋರ್ವ ಸೋನೆಯಂ |
 ತೇಂಗಳ ಸೀಯನುಣಿ ದುದೊ ಗೇಯದ ಮೆಲ್ಲುಲಿ ಚಾಣಗಾಣನಾ || (II. 82)

Mangarasa III

DESCRIPTION OF THE RICE FIELD

ಕಲಮೆಯ ಕದಿರ ಮೀಸಲ ಕಂಪನುಣಲೆಂ | ದಳಿಸಿಮಗಳು ಕೊನೆಯೇಣು |
 ಪೊಳೆದುವು ಪೂಗಣಿಯನ ಕುಸುರ್ಗಾವಿನ | ತೋಳಪ ನೀಲದ ಮಿಂಟಿಯಂತೆ ||
 (II. 182)

Ratnakaravarni

DESCRIPTION OF MUSIC

ಬಳಗುಣ್ಮಿದಾಸಂದರನ ತನ್ನ ತನುತುಂಬಿ | ತುಳುಕಿ ಹೊಣಿಗೆ ಸೂಸುವಂತೆ |
 ತೆಳುವನುಣಿಂದ ಬಾಯ್ಬಿಡೆಯೊಳು ಸುಸ್ಪರ | ಹೊಳೆದು ಪೋಹಿಸುತಿದ್ದು ದಾಗ ||
 (II- 279)

Shadaksharadeva

DESCRIPTION OF THE RICE FIELD

ತೂಗುತೆ ತೊನೆಯಂತೆ ಒಳ್ಳುತೆ | ಬಾಗುತೆ ಕಂಪಿಡುತೆ ಕನಕರುಚಿದಾಳುತ್ತುಂ |
 ರಾಗಿಮತೆ ರಂಜಿಸುತೆ ಸೊಂ | ಪಾಗಿದುರ್ವು ಕ್ಷಣ್ ಗಂಧಶಾಲಿವನಂಗಳ್ ||
 (11.445)

Chikkupadhydy

DESCRIPTION OF THE SUGAR-CANE

ನಳಿನಶರಂ ಸುಧಯಂ ವೊಂ | ಗೋಳವಿಗಳೊಳ್ ತೀವಿ ಬೆಳ್ಳಿಯಿಂ ಬಿಗಿದು ಶುಕಂ |
ಗಳ ಕಾಪನಿಟ್ಟವೋಲ್ ಕ | ಣ್ಣೋಳಿಕುಂ ವುಂಡೇಕ್ಕು ದಂಡತತಿ ಗರ್ವೆಗಳೊಳ್ ||

(II. 478)

VACHANAS

Devara-Ddsimayya

ಅಡಗ ತಿಂಬರು ಕಣಕದಡಿಗೆಯಿರಲ್ಕೆ ; ಸುರೆಯ ಕುಡಿವರು ಹಾಲಿರಲ್ಕೆ ;
ಮುಕ್ಕುವರು ಭಂಗಿಯ ಸಕ್ಕರೆಯಿರಲ್ಕೆ ; ಸ್ವಸ್ತ್ರೀ ಇದ್ದಂತೆ ಪರಸ್ತ್ರೀಯರಿಗೆ
ಇಳಿವುವರು ; ಸತ್ತನಾಯ ಭಕ್ತಿ ಸುವ ಹಡಕಿಗರನೇನೆಂಬಿನಯ್ಯ ರಾಮನಾಥಾ.

ಎತ್ತವ್ವೆ ಶರಣಂಗೆ ; ತೊತ್ತವ್ವೆ ಶರಣಂಗೆ ; ಭೃತ್ಯನಾಗಿ ಸದ್ಭಕ್ತರ ಮನೆಯ
ಬಾಗಿಲ ಕಾದಿರ್ಪ ಸೋಣಗನವ್ವೆ ; ಕರ್ತಾರ, ನಿನಗೆ ಕರವೆತ್ತಿ ವೊಡವಡುವ ಭಕ್ತರ
ಮನೆಯ ಹಿತ್ತಲ ಬೇಲಿಯಾಗಿವೆಸ್ವೆ ರಾಮನಾಥಾ.

(cp. ತವದಾಸ್ಯಸುಖೈಕ ಸಂಗಿನಾಂ, etc.)

ಹರ ತನ್ನ ಭಕ್ತರ ತಿರಿವಂತೆ ಮಾಡುವ ; ಒರೆದು ನೋಡುವ ಸುರ್ವಣದ ಚಿನ್ನ
ವಂತೆ ; ಅರೆದುನೋಡುವ ಚಂದನದಂತೆ ; ಅರೆದುನೋಡುವ ಕಬ್ಬಿನ ಕೋಲಿನಂತೆ ;
ಬಿದಿಡದೆ, ಬಿಚ್ಚದೆ ಇದ್ದೆ ಕರವಿಡಿದಿತ್ತಿ ಕೊಂಬ ನಮ್ಮ ರಾಮನಾಥನು.

Basava

ಹಾವು ತಿಂದವರ ನುಡಿಸಬಹುದು ; ಗ್ರಹ ಹೊಡೆದವರ ನುಡಿಸಬಹುದು ; ಸಿರಿ
ಹೊದ್ದಿದವರ ನುಡಿಸಬಾರದು ನೋಡಯ್ಯ. ಬಡತನವೆಂಬ ಮಂತ್ರವಾದಿ ಹೋಗ
ಬೊಡನೆ ತಾವೆ ನುಡಿವರಯ್ಯ, ಕೂಡಲ ಸಂಗಮದೇವ.

ವಚನದಲ್ಲಿ ನಾಮನಾಮ್ಯತತುಂಬಿ, ನಯನದಲ್ಲಿ ಮೂರುತಿತುಂಬಿ, ಮನದಲ್ಲಿ
ನಿಮ್ಮ ನೆನಹುತುಂಬಿ, ಕಿವಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ನಿಮ್ಮ ಕೀರ್ತಿತುಂಬಿ, ಕೂಡಲಸಂಗಮದೇವ,
ನಿಮ್ಮ ಚರಣಕಮಲದೊಳು ಸೋಗದ ಬಂಡನುಂಬ ತುಂಬಿಯಾಗಿರ್ಪೆನು.

Chikidasa ಕೊಂಬ ಹಸುರನೆನ್ನ ಮುಂದೆ ತಂದು ಪಸರಿಸದಿರಯ್ಯ, ಪಶುವೇನ ಬಲ್ಲುದು

ಆಸ್ತಿ ಚರ್ಮ ಮಾಂಸ ರಕ್ತಖಂಡದ ಚೀಲ ಲೆಕ್ಕಕ್ಕೆ ಬರುವುದೆ ? ಹುರುಳಿಲ್ಲ
ಸಂಸಾರ, ಎಂದಿಂಗೆ ನಾನೀ ಹೊತ್ತ ಹೊಡೆಯನಿಟ್ಟುಹುವೆನಯ್ಯಾ, ಎಂದಿಂಗೆ ನಾನಿದ
ಬಳಸಿ ಕಳೆವೆನಯ್ಯಾ, ಎಡಹಿ ಕೂಡನುದಕವ ಸಡುನೀರಲ್ಲೊಡೆವಂತೆ ಎನ್ನೊಡ
ಲೊಡೆದು ನಿಮ್ಮ ನಂದಿಂಗೆ ಬೆರಸುವೆನು ಉಳಿಯುಮೇಶ್ವರಾ.

ಗಂಡನುಳ್ಳ ಹೆಂಡಿರ ಕಂಡು ಅಳಿಪದಿರಾ ಮನವೇ! ಬಂದ ಬಸಿಹನು ಉಂಡ
ವೊಲಿಯನ್ನು ಕಂಡು ಮಱುಗದಿರಾ ಮನವೇ! ಉದ್ದುಂಡತನದಲಿ ನಡೆದ ಭಂಡರನು
ಹುಟ್ಟುಗೊಂಡದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದದೆ ಬಿಡುವನೆ ನಮ್ಮ ದೇವರಾಜ ಸೊಡ್ಡೆ.

ನಲ್ಲನೊಲೆ ನೆಂದು ಮುಸಿದು ನಾನಡಗಲು, ಅಡಗುವೆಡೆಯೆಲ್ಲಾ ತಾನೆ ನೋಡೆಲ
ಗವ್ವಾ, ನಲ್ಲ ನೀನಿಲ್ಲದೆಡೆಯಿಲ್ಲ; ಅಡಗಲಿಕ್ಕಿಂಜಿಲ್ಲ, ಮುಸಿದು ನಾನೇಗುವೆನು?
ಶರಣಗತಿ ಹೊಗುವೆನು ಉರಲಿಂಗದೇವನ.

ಒಮ್ಮೆ ಕಾಮನ ಕಾಲ ಹಿಡಿವೆ; ಮತ್ತೊಮ್ಮೆ ಚಂದ್ರಮಂಗೆ ಸರಗೊಡ್ಡಿ
ಬೀಡುವೆ; ಸುಡಲಿ ವಿರಹವ, ನಾನಾರಿಗೆ ಧೃತಿಗಡುವೆ? ಚೆನ್ನ ಮಲ್ಲಿಕಾರ್ಜುನದೇವ
ನೆನ್ನ ಸೊಲ್ಲದ ಕಾರಣ ಎಲ್ಲರಿಗೆ ಹಂಗುಗಿತ್ತಿಯಾದೆನವ್ವಾ.

ಇನಿಯಂಗೆ ತವಕವಿಲ್ಲ, ಎನಗೆ ಸ್ಮರಣೆಯಿಲ್ಲ; ಮನದಿಚ್ಚೆಯನರಿವ ಸಖಿಯರಿಲ್ಲ;
ಮನ್ಮಥ ವೈರಿಯನು ಭಾವದಲ್ಲಿ ಮನಸಿಲುಕಿ ಬಿಡದು, ಇನ್ನೇವೆನ್ನೇವೆ, ದಿನ
ವೃಥಾಹೋಯಿತು, ಯವ್ವನ ಜೀಸರ ವೋಗದನುಂನು ಖಿನಾಕಿಯ ತಂದು ನೆರಹವ್ವಾ
ಶಂಭುಜಕ್ಷೀಶ್ವರನ.

I shall conclude by giving an amusing extract from Kanakadasa's *Ramadhanyacharite*, which is in the form of a dialogue between the grains ragi and rice regarding their relative superiority; and another comical extract from Mangarasa III's *Samyaktvakaumiidi* describing a hearty dinner.

Ri ಕ್ಷಿ ತಿಯವರರಪನಯನದಲಿ ಸು | ವ್ರತ ಸುಘೋಜನಗಳಲಿ ಮಂತ್ರಾ |
ಕ್ಷಿ ತೆಗಳಲಿ ಶುಭಶೋಭನದಲರತಿಯ ಬೆಳಗುವಲಿ ||
ಕ್ರತುಗಳೆಡೆಯೊಳಗರಮನೆಗಳಲಿ | ಪ್ರತಿ ದಿನವು ರಂಜಿಸುತ ದೇವರಿ |
ಗತಿಶಯದ ಸೈವೇದ್ಯವಾಗಿಹೆನೆಂದನಾ ಪ್ರಹಿಗ ||
ಜನಪರಿಗೆ ಶಿಶುಗಳಿಗೆ ಬಾಂಧವ | ಜನರೆಡೆಗೆ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣ ಸಮಾರಾ |
ಧನೆಗೆ ವಿದ್ಯಾರಂಭ ಕಲಿಸುವ ಸಕಲ ಭೂಮರರ ||

ದೆನಿಸಿಕೊಂಬೆನು ನೀನಯೋಗ್ಯನು ಭ್ರಷ್ಟ ತೊಲಗಿಂದೆ ||
 ಹೊಸಮನೆಯ ಪುಣ್ಯಾರ್ಚನೆಗೆ | . . . ಹಸುಮಕ್ಕಳಿಗೆ ಸೇನೆಗೆ |
 ವಸುಮತೀಶರ ಗರುಡಿಯಲಿ ಶಸ್ತ್ರಾಸ್ತ್ರದರ್ಚನೆಗೆ ||
 ಎಸವೆ ವಿಪ್ರರ ಫಾಲದಲಿ ರಂ | ಜಿಮತ ಗಂಧಾಕೃತಿಯಹೆನು ಭಾ |
 ಎಸಲು ಲೋಕದೊಳಾರು ಸರಿ ತನಗಿಂದನಾ ಏರಿಗೆ ||

ಸತ್ತಹೀಸರ ಬಡವರನು ಕ | ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಿ ನೋಡೆ ಧನಾಧ್ಯರನು ಬೆಂ |
 ಬತ್ತಿ ನಡೆವೆಯುಪೇಕ್ಷೆ ನಿನ್ನದು ಪೇಟಲೇನದನು ||
 ಹೆತ್ತ ಬಾಣತಿಯರಿಗೆ ರೋಗಿಗೆ | ಪಥ್ಯಪಾಸವಿ ವೇಣದ ಬಾಯಿಗೆ |
 ತುತ್ತು ನೀನಹೆ ನಿನ್ನ ಜನ್ಮ ನಿರರ್ಥಕರವೆಂದ ||
 ಮಡದೆಗೆದು ಬೆಳೆಯಡಗಿ ಕ್ಷಮದ | ವಿಳಯಕಾಲದೊಳನ್ನೆ ವಿಲ್ಲದೆ |
 ಯಡವ ಪ್ರಾಣಿಗಳಾದರಿಸಿ ಸಲಹುವೆನು ಒಗವಣುಯೆ ||
 ಎಲವೊ ನೀನೆಲ್ಲಿಹೆಯೊ ನಿನ್ನಯ | ಬಳಗವದು ನಾನೆಲ್ಲಿಹುದೊ ಈ |
 ಹಲವು ಧಾನ್ಯಗಳನೆಗೆ ಸರಿಯಲ್ಲೆಂದ ಸರಿದಲೆಗೆ ||
Ra ಸತ್ತವರ ಪ್ರತಿಬಿಂಬರೂಪನು | ಎಸ್ತರಿಸಿ ಪಿತೃನಾಮಗಳ ನಿನ |
 ಗಿತ್ತು ಮೂವರ ಪೆಸರಿಸಲಿ ಕರೆಕರೆದು ದರ್ಭೆಯಲಿ ||
 ಸತ್ತಿ ಸತ್ತಿಯ ಬಡಿದು ಕಡೆಯಲಿ | ತುತ್ತನಿಡುವರು ತಿಶುಗಳಿಗೆ ನೀ |
 ಸತ್ತಿದೆಯಲಾ ತನುವ ಸುಡಬೇಕೆಂದ ಸರಿದಲೆಗೆ || (II. 240-241)

ದೊನ್ನೆಯಂ ಹರಹಿ ಬಾಡಲೆ ಹಾಳೆಯಂ ಹಾಕಿ |
 ಬಿನ್ನಣದೆ ಮಾಡಿದಾ ಚೌಕದೆಡೆಗಳ ಮುಂದೆ |
 ಜನ್ನಿವಾರವ ಮೇಲಕೆತ್ತಿ ಕಿಹುಸುತ್ತಮಂ ತೆಗೆದು ಸಡಿಲಿಸಿ ಧೋತ್ರಮಂ
 ಜೆನ್ನಾಗಿ ಯಾವೋಶನಮನೆತ್ತಿ ಕುಳ್ಳಿದುರ್ |
 ಭಿನ್ನರುಚಿಮಾಡಿ ಹರಿಸದೆ ಗಡ್ಡ ಮೀಸೆಗಳು |
 ಮಂ ನೀವಿಕೊಳ್ಳುತ್ತೆ ಧೋಜನವನಿಂತು ಮಾಡುತ್ತಿದರ್ ಪಾರ್ವರು ||
 ಓಗರವ ತಾ ತೊಗೆಯನಿಕ್ಕು ಹಸನಾಯ್ತು ಮೇ |
 ಲೋಗರವ ಬಡಿಸು ದೊನ್ನೆಗಳು ಹಿಡಿವಂತೆ ಯುಂ |
Des ಟಾಗಿ ಹೆರೆದುಸ್ಸವೆಷಿಯಾಪಳಿದ್ಯಮನಟ್ಟು ಕಲಸುವೋಗರವ ತೋಪಾ ||
 ಬೇಗದಿಂದೆಡೆಮಾಡಿದಿಡ್ಡಲಿಗೆ ದೋಸೆಗಳ |
 ಮೇಗೆ ಸಕ್ಕರೆ ಬಟ್ಟವಾಲ ಹೊಯ್ಯೆನುತಮಾ |
 ರೋಗಣೆಯನಾ ವೊಟ್ಟಿಯೊಡೆವ ಮರ್ಯಾದೆಯೊಳಗುಂಡು ತೇಗುತ್ತಿದರ್

ಪಾಯಸದ ಪರಗಲಂ ನೋಡಿ ಪಂಡಿತರೆ ಸವಿ |
ಯಾಯಿತೇ ಆಯ್ತುಪಾಧ್ಯಾಯರೇ ಕರಜಿಗಿಯ |
ಕಾಯ ದೋಸೆಗಳ ಹಸನಂ ಪುರೋಹಿತರೇ ಚೆನ್ನಾಗಿ ಸವಿಸವಿದು ನೋಡಿ ||
ಈ ಯೆಣ್ಣೆಯೊಂದಿಗಿಯ ವ್ಯದುತ್ತರಕೆ ಸರಿಯುಂಟೆ |
ಜೋಯಿಸರೆ ಕೇಳಿ ಸಕ್ಕರೆಬುರುಡೆಗಳ್ ನಮ್ಮ |
ಬಾಯ ಒಹಿನಂ ವಿಡಿಪುತಿವೆ ದೀಕ್ಷಿತರೆ ಎಂದು ಕೊಂಡಾಡುತ್ತಿದರಾಗ ||

(II. 188)

In conclusion I have to offer my cordial thanks to the Mysore University for giving me an opportunity to deliver these lectures.

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