JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. XI.—*Early Kannaḍa Authors.* By LEWIS RICE,
Director of Public Instruction, Bangalore.

THAT an extensive old literature exists in the Kannaḍa (or so-called Canarese) language is admitted by more than one eminent writer on Oriental subjects, but of the nature and history of that literature little or nothing is known, beyond the fact that it was of Jaina origin. The sectarian titles of many of the works, taken as being a sufficient key to their probable contents, may perhaps have stopped inquirers—if any there have been—from going further. Following up the clue obtained from the writings of Pampa,¹ further researches have enabled me to throw some light on this hitherto virtually unexplored subject.

A knowledge of Sakkada, as Sanskrit was called in Kannaḍa—considered to be a *tadbhava* formed from the word Samskr̥ita—was the necessary mark of a scholar, but, by the best poets, it was used apart from the native tongue. Naya Sena lays down the just canon in the following lines, and he may be admitted as a high authority, for he is specially quoted by Nāga Varma, and that in a *sūtra* of his grammar.

Posa-Kannaḍadim vyāva |
rṇṇisuvem sat-kritiyan endu Kannaḍamam chin |
tisi kūḍalāṇḍa akkaṭa |
misukada Sakkadaman ikkuv avanum kaviyē ||
Sakkadamam pēḷvare nēre |
Sakkadamam pēḷge śuddha Kannaḍadoḷu tan |
d ikku-ud ī Sakkadaṅgaḷa |
takkude berasalke gṛṇṇitamumam tailamumam ||

¹ See article on “The Poet Pampa,” in the Journ. R.A.S. Jan. 1882.

“Is he a poet, who, saying I will write a good poem in Hosa Kannaḍa, being unable to think of Kannaḍa words, uses incongruous Sanskrit that will not squeeze in? If he write Sanskrit, let him write entirely in Sanskrit: but to bring these Sanskritisms and thrust them into pure Kannaḍa—is it possible to mix *ghi* and oil?”

Nāga Varmma too, in an example quoted also by Keśi Rājā, says:—

Paḷe-Gannaḍada padangoḷe |
koḷe-Sakkadamam taguḷchi jāṇ eḍam uttum |
meḷasam gôḍ ant ire pê |
ḷv aḷi-gavigaḷa kavite budharan erdeg oḷisugume ||

“If into Haḷe Kannaḍa verses they stick in corrupt Sanskrit, which a clever deaf man would discern—as if pepper were like wheat—can the poetry of such ruination poets please the heart of the wise?”

So also Ponna, whose real name was Savaṇa, prides himself on the ability to write in both Sakkada and Kannaḍa, whence his cognomen of *Ubhaya-kavi-chakravartti*.

Yeraḍ eḍege vappanam ma,
chcharisuvanum nuḍige Sakkadam Kannaḍam em |
b eraḍum kaviteya balmige |
beraḷ ettidan iḷeyoḷ i Kuruḷgaḷa Savaṇam ||

“Lest any should bear malice for his precision in language of two kinds, by his ability in both Sakkada and Kannaḍa poetry, he caused the finger to be raised (indicating him as number one, without a second) throughout the world this Kuruḷgaḷa Savaṇa.”

Likewise Aggaḷa calls himself *Ubhaya-kavitā-viśāradan*, skilled in both kinds of poetry.

In those old inscriptions, moreover, which display the most literary skill, separate verses in Sanskrit and in Kannaḍa are interspersed with one another according to the opportunities afforded by the theme, in such a way as greatly to heighten the general effect.

It will be observed that the poets of this early period, though writing in what is to us Haḷe Kannaḍa or Old Canarese, call the language they use Hosa Kannaḍa, meaning New Canarese, the present current form, while they

refer to a Hale Kannaḍa as existing in their day.¹ We have thus to distinguish three stages of the language—Pûrvada Hale Kannaḍa, the former or Primitive Old Canarese,² Hale Kannaḍa or Old Canarese, and Hosa Kannaḍa, the new or modern Canarese, now current. Speaking in a very general way, the first period may be said to terminate about the end of the seventh century; the second extends from the eighth to the fourteenth century; when the third commences. Or, the final establishment of the Chālukya and Vijayanagar empires respectively correspond with the rise of Hale Kannaḍa and Hosa Kannaḍa. But these dates are not to be taken absolutely, and the periods in different parts of the Kannaḍa region may be found to overlap or run into one another. The limits above assigned, however, seem also borne out by the characters used in inscriptions, which indicate a marked transition about the ninth and fifteenth centuries respectively in the shape of those letters which have undergone change.

It would also appear that the chief impulse under which the language attracted the special attention of scholars to its systematic study and culture was coincident with the break up of the Ganga power that resulted from the capture of Talakāḍu by the Chôlas, who thence extended their conquests till possessed of Vengi, whence several of the most prominent Kannaḍa authors derive their origin. The centre of literary activity, too, was apparently the Ganga principality formed under Chālukya supremacy, lying along the Tungabhadra to its union with the Krishna, of which Kurugôḍ, still bearing that name, and Puligere or Huligere, the modern Lakshmeśvar, were the chief cities, and embracing the present Dharwad and Bellary districts as far as Karnul.

The earliest notices that have come to light of local authorship are contained in the inscriptions of the Ganga kings, who ruled over the south of the Mysore country and adjacent

¹ The different forms of these names are Pale Kannaḍa or, by euphony, Pale Gannaḍa, Hale Kannaḍa or Hale Gannaḍa, and Posa Kannaḍa or Posa Gannaḍa, Hosa Kannaḍa or Hosa Gannaḍa.

² Wilks describes Pûrvada Hale Kannaḍa as the language of Banavasi, the ancient capital of the Kadamba Kings.

regions from about the end of the second century to the end of the ninth. From this source we get the following particulars:

c. A.D. 240. MÂDHAVA RÂJÂ wrote a treatise on the law of adoption (*dattaka-sûtra-vṛttech-praṇetâ*, *dattaka-sûtra-vyâkhyâ-praṇetâ*).

c. 470. AVINÎTA wrote a commentary on 15 cantos of the *Kirâtârjuniya* (*Kirâtârjuniya-pañchadaśa-sargga-ṭikākāro*). This celebrated poem by Bhâravi is in 18 cantos, and in support of the above date there is independent testimony that he was already famous in the sixth century.

Next, in an inscription of the Châḷukya kings, we have mention of

634. RAVIKÎRTTI, a poet whose fame equalled that of Kâlidâsa and Bhâravi (*kavitâśrita-Kâlidâsa-Bhâravi-kîrttiḥ*).

Resorting now to the evidence derived from literature, we glean the following information. Where actual or approximate dates are given, it is believed that they may be relied on, but the time and place of those authors to whom no dates are assigned may require readjustment as our knowledge of the subject increases. A special difficulty in these investigations has arisen from the variety of names which one author assumes or by which he was known.

? 650. SAMANTA BHADRA, named together with Kaviparimeshṭi and Pûjyapâda, invariably in this order, by Pampa, Ponna, Naya Sena, and several other old poets, as forming the earliest and most distinguished trio among the authors who preceded them. A Châḷukya inscription of the eleventh century speaks of Samanta Bhadra as famous for his practical skill. The following works are ascribed to him:—*Devâgama-stotra*, *Nyâya-niścaya-vârttikâlaṅkāra*, *Uktyânusâsana*, *Bhâshâ-mañjarî*, *Chintâmaṇi-tippaṇi*, *Ashtasahasra-tippaṇi*.

? 670. KAVIPARIMESHṬI, always, as above stated, mentioned between Samanta Bhadra and Pûjyapâda. The name is no doubt a *nom de plume*, and we shall find that the assumption of such names became a regular fashion among poets, and was carried to extravagant lengths. His real name has not been discovered, nor any account of his works.

c. 690. PŪJYAPĀDA is specially known for his skill in *śabda śāstra*, or as a grammarian; but he is referred to as a poet along with the two preceding, as above described. A Châlukya inscription records a grant made in A.D. 729 to a paṇḍit who had been his house-disciple. On this ground Pūjyapāda may be placed at the end of the seventh century. The following works are attributed to him:—*Jainendra-nyāsa*, *Pāṇini-śabdāvatāra*, *Kārikā-vṛitti*, *Surasa-saṅgraha*, *Sarvavārtha-siddhi*.

788. AKALAṆKA, *Akalaṅka Chandra*, is mentioned by Pampa, Ponna, and others, and is named in an old inscription as excelling in *tarka śāstra*. According to Wilson, he was a Jain from Śravaṇa Belgola, who, at the date given, disputed with the Buddhists in the presence of Hemaśītala, king of Kāñchī, and defeating them, procured their banishment to Kandy in Ceylon. Ponna styles him the *jaya-vādi*, and Nāgachandra states that “at the radiance of the moonlight of his speech the Digambara *chakora* rejoiced, and the lotus of opponent speakers shut up.”¹ Kamalabhava, describing the effect of his eloquence, says *itara-mata-vādi-mano-nāyanam mugidudu*. The following are said to be works by him:—*Devāgama-stotra-nyāsa*, *Pramāṇa-ratna-pradīpa*.

— VIDYĀNANDA, *Vādi Vidyānanda*, is mentioned by Naya Sena. His period is not known. The following works bear his name: *S’lokavārttikālaṅkāra*, *Āpta-mīmāṃsā-nyāsa*.

941. PAMPA, *Hampa*, *Kavitāguṇārṇava*, *Guru Hampa*, *Purāṇa Kavi*, *Sukavijānamanomanasottama* *Haṃsa*, *Sujanot-tama* *Haṃsa Rājā*. By these and other names is this distinguished poet referred to, with whose publications a great impulse seems to have been given to the study of Kannada. As seen in my former account of him, he was born in A.D. 902, and was descended from a Brahman family of the Vengi country. But his father, from religious conviction, became

¹ Akalanka-chandra vāk-chan |
drikeyin dhavalise Digambara-srī-bhavya |
prakara-chakoram nalidudu |
mukūṭitav āyt anyavādi-vadanāmbhōjam ||

a Jaina. Pampa wrote in what he calls "the pith of the Kannada of Puligere" (*Puligereya tirula Kannadaḍol*), under the patronage of Ari Kesari, a prince of the Châlukya family, ruling over a $1\frac{1}{4}$ lakh country called Jôla. For his works the king rewarded him with a *śāsana-agrahāram* in Dharma-uram,¹ which he named Sāram. His first work was the *Ādi Purāṇa*, which he completed in A.D. 941 in three months. But his next and most celebrated work was the *Pampa Bhārata* or *Vikramārjuna-vijaya*, which he wrote the same year in six months. There are also said to be by him *Laghu Purāṇa*, *Pārśvanātha Purāṇa*, *Paramāgama*.

— ASAGA is named by Ponna and Keśi Rājā, the former of whom claims to be a hundredfold better as a Kannada poet (*Kannada-kaviteyol Asagangam nūrmmaḍi*). Asaga and Agasa denote a washerman. There is said to be a *Varddhamāna-svāmi-kāvya* by him.

c. 950. JINACHANDRA is mentioned by Ponna as a contemporary and the author of *Pūjyapāda-charita*. He is described as the equal of Akalanka and a new Samanta Bhadra.

c. 950. PONNA, *Honna*, *Ponniga*, *Ponnimayya*, *Kavi-chakravartti*, *Ubhaya-kavi-chakravartti*, ? *S'ānti-varmmā*. Such are the names by which he is referred to in literature, but his real name was *Savaṇa*, *Kurulgaḷa Savaṇa*, *Sarvea Deva*, ? *Sarvea-varmmā*, as given by himself in the *S'ānti Purāṇa*. From this and from Raṇṇa's work the following particulars have been obtained regarding him. In Pangunūru, a town of the Kamme deśa,² in the Vengi maṇḍala, dwelt a Brahman named Nāgamayya, of the Kaundinya gotra. "In his heart was born the Jina mata," that is, he became a Jain. His

¹ If this be modern Dharmavaram in the Bellary district, it would indicate the direction in which the Jôla territory lay. General Cunningham, too, in attempting to allocate the kingdom of this name mentioned by Hwen Tsang, has pointed out the existence of an old Jôḷa near Karnul.

² There is a large class of Smārta and Mādhva Brahmans in Mysore called Kamme, but they seem to have no knowledge of the origin of their name. They all speak Kannada, except a few who use Telugu. The *Kannada Kamme* are found chiefly in the eastern division; the *Uṭṭa* or *Uṛṭa Kamme* in the south and east; the *Babbūru Kamme* in the south and west.

Pangunūr might be the modern Punganūr, capital of a Zamindāri of the same name in North Arcot, just over the eastern border of Mysore; but this would bring the limits of Vengi farther south than is generally supposed.

wife was Nāgiyabbe, and they had two sons Mallapa and Ponnamayya, who became distinguished as ministers and generals under the Chālukya king Tailapa (reigned A.D. 973–997). But before this, on the *paroksha* (or death) of their guru Jinachandra Deva, these two, in commemoration of the event, caused Ponniga to write a purāṇa, which they published through all the world. This was the *Śānti Purāṇa*, which its author styles the *Purāṇa-chūdāmaṇi*. For his superiority over all other poets in command of both Kannada and Sakkada, he received the title of Ubhaya-kavi-chakravartti from the king Krishṇa¹ (perhaps, though this is uncertain, the Raṭṭa or Rāshṭrakūṭa king also known as Nirupama and Akālavārsha, ruling in A.D. 945). In Kannada poetry he was a hundredfold of Asaga, and in Sanskrit poetry a hundredfold of Kālidāsa of old, while in arrangement (*rachana*) he was fourfold both combined.² He denounces the poets of the day as merely copying old works and proclaiming them as their own. Though they professed to write in three languages and a half,³ everything was stolen from others; but throughout the realm of letters (*akkarada rājya*) not a child could say this even in play of the Kavi-chakravartti.⁴ From these unstinted praises and the notices of him in other poets, there must be further writings by this author. But with regard to the Śānti Purāṇa, it appears that on the death of Mallapa, his daughter Attiyabbe, in commemoration of the event, and

¹ Bhuvanada Kannada Sakkada |
kavigal sale sālē sōlē Savaṇang ittam |
savivekam Ubhaya-kavi-cha |
kravartti-vesaram nijāhitoshṇam Krishṇam ||

² Kannada-kaviteyo! Asagan |
gan nūrmmaḍi-rēkheg-aggaḷam Sakkadodo! |
munulla Kālidāsangam nūrmma |
di nālmaḍi rachaneyo! Kurulgaḷa Savaṇam ||

³ The reference probably is to the three and a half languages from which, according to Nāga Varma, all the other languages of the fifty-six countries of India are derived, namely, Samskrita, Prākṛita, Apabhraṃśa and Paisāchika.

⁴ Yeseyade pūḍu keṭṭa paḷe-gabbaman āvagam emmav endu bā |
jisi perargg ittud allade bahu-śrutam embinam ekkalāvaṇam |
posayipa kammayippa samakattuva binṇaṇam ill adakke ran |
jisav erdegolav iḡaḍina kabbiga-vandigaḷ ondavindigaḷ ||
Nōdire pēḷva mūru vare bhāshegaḷam perar-atthamam perar |
māḍida-dēsiyam perara-binṇaṇamam perar-ōjeyam tadam |
māḍuva kaḷva koḷva khalar ikkema kabbiga-gaḷḷar endu kū |
s āḍisal āgaḍ akkarada rājyado! i kavi-chakravarttiyā ||

that the work he had caused to be written might not be lost to the world, had a thousand copies made at her own expense. Mallapa for his filial piety had been called *ammana-bhakta*, and she by this act perpetuated in the family the name of *tande-bhakta*.

— CHÂMUNḌA RÂYA, author of the *Châmunḍa-râya-purâṇa*. Raṇṇa's patron bore this name, but whether he was the same person is not known.

983. RAṆṆA, *Kavi Ratna*, *Abhinava Kavi-chakravartti*, is named by Nâgachandra and Maṅgarasa. He was the author of the *Ajita Tīrthakara Purâṇa*, in which he gives many particulars regarding himself and Ponna, who was a generation before him. Raṇṇa was of the Baḷegâra kula, that of the bangle-sellers, and was born in the year Saumya (A.D. 949) in Muduvaḷalu, a village of the Jambu-khaṇḍi Seventy, in the Beḷugare Five Hundred. This Beḷugare- (or Beḷugaḷe) nâḍ was to the north of a stream flowing into the "big river" at Arekegaṭṭa, to the south of Taddavaḍi (most likely the reference is to Mudhol and the Jamkhaṇḍi jaghir in the Belgaum district, where the Gutparba flows to the Krishna). His mother was Abbalabbe, his father Janavallabhendra, and he had three elder brothers. His guru was Ajitasenâchârya, and his lord was Châunḍa Râya. His wives were Jakki and Śânti, by whom he had a son Râya and a daughter Attiyabbe.

The circumstances under which his work was written may be thus summarized. Of Mallapa and Ponnimayya (previously mentioned in the account of Ponna), the latter was treacherously attacked by Gômindira; but, without so much as disturbing the scarf he wore, he smote the invader and put an end to his pride. The victor then retired to the banks of the Kâvêrî, and there went to *Sura-loka*. This looks as if he must have been seriously wounded. Mallapa, on the other hand, "Apratima Malla, the protected by the Châḷukyas," lived to become a chief minister under Âhava Malla Deva (Satyâśraya, who ruled A.D. 997-1008). He took to wife Kabbe, the daughter of Nâgiyabbe and Nâgamayya (these are also the names of his own father and mother), and

they had five sons and two daughters. The eldest son, Guṇḍa, gained a victory over Gónara, and thus did credit to his father. The two daughters, Attiyabbe and Guṇḍamabbe, were given in marriage to Nāga Deva, the son of Dalla, a favourite minister of the king's; and Attiyabbe bore a son called Paḍuṇḍa Taila-Nāga Deva, surnamed "Haivatsa Rājā, Mōraṭa Malla, bee at the lotus-feet of Âhava Malla Deva," distinguished himself in the Komara war (or war with the Komaras), rushing like a lion upon these people of another faith (*anya mata*). The King, who was a witness of his bravery, made him a *chamupati*, and in a subsequent battle he defeated the army of Panchala; and also, by command of Ballaha, pursued after Mallama from Karahāṭa. Thus, having gained great glory, he went to *Sura-loka*.

Then Guṇḍamabbe, thinking within herself that the fate of a woman is either to follow her lord or to take *Jina-dikṣhe*, came to Attiyabbe, and with folded hands said, "You have a brave and distinguished son. You remain. I beg leave to go with Nāga Deva." Thus having besought her, she embraced her husband and was consumed in his funeral fire.¹ This, her faithfulness, is worthy of celebration, and her observance of the rite was a glory to the Mahāsatī Guṇḍamabbe. The Apsaras were filled with disappointment to lose so handsome a man, and the pair were in *nirvāṇa loka*.

Attiyabbe then said to herself, "My younger sister in one moment passed through the fire to her lord. I, being the elder, must for many days consume in the fire of hardship and fasting." Thus fasting, the protection of her offspring, and giving of charity preserved her alive, and she acquired the fame that no one in the world was equal to the mother of Paḍuṇḍa Tailapa, the Nūrmmaḍi Taila. She made 1500 Jina images of gold and jewels, and for

¹ I am not aware that the practice of *satī* among the Jains has been noticed before, though religious suicide, *sallēkhana* as it was called, was common enough, as shown in the inscriptions at Śravaṇa Belgōla I published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. ii. pp. 265, 322.

each of them bells, shrines, golden lamps, splendid robes, and rich triumphal arches. Her son Paḍavaḷa Taila, also called Anniga Deva, was instructed in all wisdom by Nemi-chandra Muni, his disciple Kânûrggaṇa Tilaka, and the learned Ayyanayya; and rose to be a commander of the Emperor's army.

It was by desire of Attiyabbe, whom he calls Dâna-chin-tâmaṇi, that Raṇṇa wrote this poem, which he styles the *Purâṇa-tilaka*, his ambition being that it should endure as long as the Âdi Purâṇa and the Śânti Purâṇa. As among kings, Taila was a help to the independent emperor Raṇa Jaya, so among poets was Kavi Ratna a help to poetry. Being an emperor in the empire of poetry, he received the name of Kavi-chakravartti Raṇṇa. Among numerous other praises of Pampa and of Ponniga, he says :—"Through the fortunate poet Pampa was the glory of the language spread abroad, and shining with his qualities none are superior to Ubhaya-kavi-chakravartti and Abhinava Kavi-chakravartti. Among poets the two former are the most meritorious, the two latter the most successful; two of them only are fortunate—Kavitâguṇârṇava and Kavi Ratna. The Âdi Purâṇa and the Ajita Purâṇa being composed by them, the flag of the Dvija-vaiśa (Brahmans) and the flag of the Vaiśyas were Pampa and Ratna. As Pampa and Ponniga were honoured in the . . . Râjya,¹ so was Kavi Ratna, the Ubhaya-kavi, in the Châṇûkya Râjya. Like the accepted dictum of the *Jainendra* and the dictum of the *Śabdânusâsana*, being well versed in both grammars, were the words of Kavi Ratna celebrated. The three histories he wrote were like the three jewels, namely, *Paraśurâma-charita*, *Chakreśvara-charita*, and *Ajita-tirtheśvara-charita*." The latter concludes with the announcement that it was finished in Śaka 919, the year Vijaya.

c. 990. NEMICHANDRA, *Kavirâja-kunjara*. The exact date

¹ It is a great disappointment that I cannot supply this name, which it would have been of the highest interest to clearly know. The word in the MS. occurs at the end of a leaf, and is unfortunately broken off. Every endeavour to get another copy has been unsuccessful.

of this author is not known, but he is probably to be identified with the tutor of Taila, mentioned above by Raṇṇa. Man-garasa calls him *Angika Nemi*, and mentions his poem—the *Lilāvati*, a *Śringāra Kāvya*. The poetry is of a high order, but the work fully maintains the profession of its erotic character. The author praises Samanta Bhadra, Akalanka, Pūjyapāda¹ and Raṇṇa. The hero and the heroine of his romance are prince Kandarpa Deva and the princess Lilāvati. The former belonged to Jayantipura, an old name of Banavasi.

— GAJĀNKUŚA, named by Naya Sena, and *Gajaga*, named by Keśi Rājā, may be the same.

1060–88. BILHAṆA was *vidyapati* at Kalyāṇa to the Chāḷukya king Vikrama, who reigned A.D. 1076–1127. He wrote the *Vikramāṅka Deva Charita* or *Vikramāṅka Kāvya*,² a poem recounting the adventures of his patron, finished about A.D. 1085. The following are also said to be works of this author: *Pañchāsikhā*, *Rāmācharita* or *Rāmastuti*, and *Ālankāraśāstra*.

— GUṆABHADRA is mentioned by Nāga Varṃmā. He was the author of *Uttara Purāṇa*.

c. 1070. GUṆACHANDRA is mentioned by Naya Sena, who says that his feet were worshipped by the King Bhuvanaika Malla (reigned A.D. 1069–1076). The works said to be his are, *Pārśvabhyaudaya* and *Māghanandīśvara*.

— GUṆANANDI referred to by Keśi Rājā may be the same as one of the preceding.

— HARIPĀLA is quoted by Nāga Varṃmā and Bhaṭṭākalanka. Nothing more is known of him.

c. 1070. GUṆA VARṂMĀ, is praised by Naya Sena; Nāga Varṃmā styles him *Bhuvanaika Vīra*, a name befitting a warrior rather than a poet; Keśi Rājā describes him as the author of a *Harivaṃśa*. The title Bhuvanaika Vīra seems to identify him with *Udayāditya* (also the name of an author), the Ganga prince who was the chief minister and a successful

¹ This is the only instance in which Kaviparimeshtī is not named between Samanta Bhadra and Pūjyapāda.

² Published at Bombay.

general under the Châlukya king Bhuvanaika Malla (A.D. 1069–1076), and subsequently governor of the Banavase Twelve Thousand. The celebrated Jain temple of the Gangas at Lakshmeśvar was probably erected by him. Other works by this author are *Pushpadanta Purāṇa*, and *Devachandra-prabha-stotra*.

1115. NAYA SENA is named by Nāga Varmma in one of his sūtras. He describes himself as *Digambara dāsa*, and was the author of *Dharmmāmṛita*, which he styles the *Kāvya-ratna*. He wrote it at Muḷugunda (perhaps the present Mulgund in the Dhârward district), and finished it in Śaka 1037, the year Nandana. Extracts have already been given from him showing that he was an advocate for purism in the use of Kannada. The following is the testimony he bears to his predecessors :

Asagana dēsi Ponnana mahōnnati-vetta beḍangu Pampan ond |
 aśadṛiśamapp apūrvva rasa-bhāva Gajāṅkuśan oḷpu-vettu-ran |
 jisuva sad-arttha-dṛiṣṭi Guṇa-varmmana jāṇ Kavi Ratnan oje śo |
 bhise nelas ikke dhârūṇi manam goḷe mat-kṛityoḷ niranṭaram ||

Asaga's style, Ponna's majestic skill, Pampa's unequalled taste, Gajāṅkuśa's depth of meaning, Guṇa Varmma's knowledge, Kavi Ratna's manner—may all these be ever united in my poem.

— ŚAMBA VARMMĀ mentioned in Nāga Varmma, and ŚANKHA VARMMĀ mentioned elsewhere, are probably the same person, the letters *kh* and *b* being easily mistaken for one another. Beyond the names nothing more is known.

c. 1070–1120. *Nāga Varmma*, *Kavi Rājā*, *Kavirāja-Hansa*, is the earliest grammarian of the Kannada language whose works have come down to us. He was descended from a Brahman family of the Kaundinya gotra, residing at the city of Vengi in the Vengi country, and was the first-born son of Venṇamayya and Pōlakabbe or Pōtikabbe. He was evidently a Jaina, but would seem to have written under some Śaiva influence. From his quotations he was probably contemporary with Guṇa Varmma and Naya Sena, and the date of the latter we know. Shortly before this period, or in A.D. 1063, Rājendra Chōḷa had obtained possession of the Eastern

Châlukya kingdom of Vengi. But the word Chôla is only once used by Nâga Varmma. On the other hand, his sympathies seem to be with the Western Châlukya and Ganga kings, whose names he freely introduces into the examples under his rules. He may therefore have left Vengi on becoming a Jain, and gone to the Western Châlukya territories, in which, as we have seen, there was great literary activity in the Kannada language, especially in the Ganga principality connected with Puligere; but there is no certain information as to his movements.

His works, so far as known, are the following :—*Kâvyâvalôkana*, *Chhando'mbudhi*, *Karnâṭaka Bhâshâ Bhûshana*, *Vastu Kôsa*, and *Kâdambari*. The first is a work on rhetoric and Kannada metrical composition. It is written in Kannada verse and consists of five *adhikaraṇas*. Unfortunately all efforts have hitherto proved unavailing to procure a complete MS. of this interesting and important work.¹ The *Chhando'mbudhi* is the only work there is on Kannada *chhandas* or prosody.² It is also written in Kannada, in the form of verses addressed by Nâga Varmma to his wife, the verses being so composed as themselves to furnish examples of the rules to be illustrated. The author professes to have taken as his guide the sūtras of Pingala, who is an authority for Sanskrit prosody. He appears, however, also to have followed another Pingala, the author of sūtras for Prâkrit prosody. But though these formed his guides, the arrangement and much of the nomenclature of his work is his own, which also, unlike theirs, is metrical. The *Bhâshâ Bhûshana* is a Karnâṭaka vyâkaraṇa or grammar, the oldest extant.³ It is in Sanskrit sūtras, accompanied with a vṛitti or commentary by the author, with examples. The *Vastu Kôsa* is a Saṃskṛita-Karnâṭa nighaṇṭu or dictionary, composed in many artificial metres. In its compilation he states that he has made use of Vararuchi, Halâyudha, Śâś-

¹ The *Arthâṭankâram*, the 3rd *prakaraṇa* of the 3rd *adhikaraṇa*, has been published at Mysore.

² Published at Mangalore.

³ I have this in the press, nearly ready for issue.

vata, Amara Kôsa, and other works. It will be noticed that he does not name Hemachandra, who died in A.D. 1172. The *Kâdambari* is a literal rendering into Kannada of Bâṇa's celebrated romance of the same name in Sanskrit.

c. 1120. BÂṆA was the author of the *Śrī-Harsha-charita*, a life of Harsha-varddhana of Thâṇesar, who came to the throne 1088. *Sumano Bâṇa*, described as a poet, whose daughter was the mother of Keśi Râjâ, may have been the same person.

— MALLIKÂRJUNA, the father of Keśi Râjâ and a poet. He is said to be the author of *Chhōra kathe*, the adventures of two princes, Somaśêkhara and Chitraśêkhara, in the disguise of robbers.

— KUMUDÊNDU is mentioned by Devachandra as having written a *Kumudêndu Râmâyana*.

— MÂGHANANDI is stated by Kamalabhava, whose guru he was, to have been Kumudêndu's disciple, and by Devachandra to have written a story of Rama. There is a *Pa-dârtha-sâra* by an author of this name.

— BÂLACHANDRA was the guru of Nâgachandra, and a story about him in Kamalabhava is given below. His works are said to be *Tatva-ratna-dîpikâ*, *Prâbhṛitaka-traya-vyâkhyâna*.

1158. NÂCHI RÂJÂ was the author of *Nâchirâjî*, a commentary in Kannada on the Amara Kôsa. His date is based on an inscription.

c. 1170. NÂGACHANDRA, *Abhinava Pampa*, the author of the *Râmachandra-charita-purâṇa*, known as the *Pampa Râmâyana*,¹ of *Mallinâtha-purâṇa*, and of a little treatise on morals called *Jinamunitanayâ*, with which words each stanza concludes. No particulars are given by him of his personal history, but he praises Samanta Bhadra, Kavi-parimeshtî, Pûjyapâda, and Akalanka Chandra. Also Pampa, Ponna, and Raṇṇa, naming the purâṇa written by each. The main guide to his period is that his guru was Bâlachandra muni. Of a muni of this name Kamalabhava

¹ Published at Bangalore.

relates that the prince Simhāṇa, though he had Vinayēndubrati for his tutor, was as great a fool as an elephant (*hastimārkhān*) and puffed up with pride: yet he was compelled publicly to do obeisance to Bālachandra muni. Taking this Simhāṇa to be the prince of that name among the Yādava kings of Devagiri, who came to the throne in A.D. 1210, and the muni to be the one named in a grant made twenty years earlier to a disciple, the date given in the margin has been assumed. That it is not far out is further proved by Nāgachandra's mention as a contemporary of Śruta Kīrtti, who, it will be seen below, was guru to Aggaḷa. Of our author, Karṇapārya says:—"In writing poems Ponna may almost compare with Nava Pampa, and no one before or after has excelled these. Though later in date (*adyatara*), yet being praised as master (*dore*) of the oldest poets, great was the fame that Nāgachandra obtained." Devachandra says:—"Among those who have written Sanskrit and Kannaḍa poems, Nāgachandra was eminent for his skill."

c. 1170. ŚRUTA KĪRTTI was Aggaḷa's guru. Nāgachandra says that "he cut off the wings of his opponents with the *syād vāda* weapon, in the same manner as Devendra smote off the wings of the mountains." Also that he was the author of a *Rāghava-Pāṇḍavīya*.

c. 1175. VĪRANANDI is named in Nāgachandra. A work called *Chandraprabha-kāvyamālā* is ascribed to him.

1189. AGGAḶA, *Argala Deva*, was the author of *Chandraprabha Purāṇa*, which he finished in Śaka 1111, the year Saumya. He was of the Mūla-sangha, Dēśi-gaṇa, Pustakagachcha, and Kuṇḍakundānvaya. His father was Śāntīśa and his mother Vāchāmbikā. He specially invokes Śrī Chandraprabha of Niṅgaḷeśvarapura and Śruta Kīrtti muni, apparently his guru; and styles himself *Ubhaya-kavitā-viśāradhan* (skilled in both poetries). In regard to his work, which he designates the *Kṛiti-ratna*, he says:—

Nayadim Pampan oraḷdu nirmmisida Ponnam prītiyim pēḷda bha |
ktiyyim ā Ratna-kaviśvaram samedā tat-kāvya-trayakkam jaga |
trayamum mum beleyāgi poyt ene balikk ām pēḷda Chandraprabhō |
daya vistāri yenippa kāvyav id amūlyatvakke pakk āgade ||

"That which Pampa beautifully composed, and Ponna told with affection, and Ratna kavi related with devotion—those three poems beforehand absorbed the value of the three worlds: the *Chandra-prabhodaya* which I have afterwards written, must it not then remain invaluable?"

As an *Aggala Lilāvati* is mentioned in other works, it would appear that he must have written a poem of this name also.

— CHANDRABHAṬṬA is named by Kêśi Râjâ.

— MANASIJA mentioned in Kêśi Râjâ is perhaps identical with CHITTAJA mentioned in the following lines of the *Kavijihvâbandhana*, a work of the 16th century by *Īśvara*, who calls himself the *Abhinava Kêśi Râjâ* :—

Pampanam |

Chittaja-Nāgavarmma-sudhiyam kavi Kêśava-Raṇṇa-mukhyaram |
chittadoḷ iṭṭu pēḷve kṛtiyam vibudhar mana-mechchutirppanam ||

"Keeping in mind Pampa, Chittaja, the learned Nāga Varmma, the poet Kêśava, the distinguished Raṇṇa, I will write a poem pleasing to the wise."

— ŚRĪ VIJAYA, also mentioned by Kêśi Râjâ.

c. 1160–1200 KÊŚI RÂJÂ, *Kêśava*, author of the *Śabdama-nidarpaṇa*, the oldest grammar of the language written in Kannada itself.¹ He was a Jain and quotes from "Gajaga, Guṇanandi, Manasija, Asaga, Chandrabhaṭṭa, Guṇa-varmmâ, Śrīvijaya, Honna and Hampa." His father was Mallikârjuna, and his mother the daughter of the poet Sumano-Bâṇa. He styles himself *Yādava-kaṭak-âchârya*, âchâri of the Yādava army, or, as we might say, chaplain to the forces. The period of the Yādava kings of Devagiri extends from A.D. 1188 to A.D. 1312. On the other hand, in the Basava Purâṇa, finished in A.D. 1369, a Kêśi Râjâ is described as a devoted Śaiva at Kalyâṇa in the time of Bijjala, and of Basava the founder of the Lingâyit sect about A.D. 1165. Our author indeed is claimed by the Lingâyits and mentioned with special approval by subsequent writers of that sect. He may therefore possibly have embraced the new faith, but there

¹ Published at Mangalore and Bangalore.

is no trace of it in this work. From inscriptions we learn that there was a Kēsava or Kēsi Rājā, descended from a Brahman family of the Bharadvāja-gotra, who came to be Herggaḍe Daṇḍanāyaka of the Banavase Twelve Thousand under the King Bijjala, and held that office down to A.D. 1160 at least. Moreover, in making a gift to a temple in A.D. 1157, he was at the unusual pains of providing for *Kannaḍa-kshara-sikshe-ghaliyār*, learned men to teach Kannaḍa letters. Whether these several persons of this name were identical with the author is not clear. The *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* is in verse, and gives the following as the names of his other works:—*Chōla-pālaka-charita*, *Subhadrā-haraṇa*, *Prabodha-chandra*, *Kirāta*. No one of these has been obtained as yet.

— BANDHU VARMMĀ is mentioned by Mangarasa. He was the author of *Haricamśābhyaudaya* and *Jīva-sambodhane*.

— JANNA, *Jannuga*, *Janārdana*, is praised by Kamalabhava and by Mangarasa, the latter of whom states that he wrote the *Anantanātha-charita*.

c. 1200. KAMALABHAVA, the author of a *Sāntīśa Purāṇa*, not to be confounded with Ponna's work of like name, which is in twelve *āśvāsas*, whereas the present one is in sixteen. Kamalabhava has the appearance of being an assumed name. He was of the Dēśi-gaṇa, the Pustaka-gachcha and Koṇḍakundānvaya. His guru was Māghanandi. As he mentions Aggaḷa and also relates the story above given (under Nāga-chandra) of how the prince Simhaṇa was forced to reverence Bālachandra muni, his period would be about A.D. 1200. He praises Samanta Bhadra, Kaviparimeshṭi, and Pūjyapāda; and thus eulogizes his predecessors:

Jina-samaya-prakāśa-kṛita sat-kavi Hampana pempu-vetta Hon |
nana kavi-Nāgachandrana negalteya-Raṇṇana sanda-Bandhu-va |
rmmana budha-Nēmichandrana jagan-nuta-Jannana ranjip-Aggaḷa |
yyana kṛiti-saundarī-subhagam āvagam irkke maṭṭiya kāvyadōl ||

“Those luminaries of the Jina congregation, the true poet Hampa, the famous Honna, the poet Nāgachandra, the celebrated Raṇṇa, the great Bandhu-Varmma, the learned Nēmichandra, the world-praised Janna, the renowned Aggaḷa—may the beauties of all their poems for ever dwell in mine.”

c. 1220. KARNAPÂRYA, *Kaṇṇapa*, *Karṇama*, *Karṇa-varmmā*, was the author of *Nēminātha Purāṇa*, and is mentioned as such by Mangarasa. He wrote under the patronage of Govarddhana, king of Kilekila-durga (apparently in the Kolhapur country), and a devoted adherent of the Śrāvaka dharma, for his son Vijayāditya. The latter's younger brother Lakshmaṇa having expressed a wish that some one should relate the history of Nēmi Jinendra, our author undertook it, also including therein the Hari-varṇa and the Kuru-varṇa." His praise of Nāgachandra or Nava Pampa has already been quoted.

c. 1225. MANGARASA, *Manga Rājā*, the author of a *Hari-varṇa* or *Nēmi-Jinēsa-sangati*, in which he describes himself as the son of Vijayēndra Rājā, prabhu of Kalluhalī. His notices of former authors are especially valuable from his giving names of their works. The following poets are mentioned by him as having written *Kannāḍa champu-kāvya*s, namely, Pampa, Guṇa-varmmā, Jannuga, Raṇṇa, Ponna, Nāgachandra, Kaṇṇapa, Angika Nēmi, and Bandhu-varmmā. The following works are also attributed to him: *Manmatha-charitra*, *Samyaktva-kaumudī*, and *Karṇāṭa-Śabda-manjarī*. This last may have been used by Devottama for his *Nānārtharatnākara*.

c. 1250–1300. RUDRA, *Rudra Bhaṭṭa Jagannātha-vijaya*, consisting of stories about Kṛishṇa. This appears to be one of the earliest Brahmanical compositions in the Kannāḍa language. The author names as his predecessors, Śankha-varmmā, Śānti-varmmā, Guṇa-varmmā, Manasija, Karṇama, Pampa, Chandrabhaṭṭa, Ponna-mayya and Gajāṅkuṣa. He perhaps also wrote a *Rasakālikā* and a *Viraktara-kāvya*.

— AMṚITA-NANDI was the author of *Dhanvantari-nighaṇṭu* or *Akārādi-nighaṇṭu*, a dictionary of medical terms: also of a work on composition.

c. 1300. ŚĀLVA wrote the *Rasaratnākara*, a Kannāḍa work on dramatic composition. He refers, as his authorities, to Amṛita-nandi, Rudra Bhaṭṭa, Vidyanātha, Hemachandra, Nāga Varmmā, Kavi Kāma, Udayāditya, Gaṇeśvara and others.

From this period, the Jains, who had hitherto possessed the field almost entirely to themselves, appear only now and then among Kannada authors, their place being taken by Lingâyt writers until A.D. 1508, when Brahmanical works make their appearance with the Kannada translation of the Mahâ Bhârata. It is not the object of this article to pursue the subject into these more modern times, regarding which information already exists. But to complete our survey of Jaina writers, the few who published works after this time may here be added.

1398. ABHINAVA MANGA RÂJÂ, author of the *Manga-Râjâ-nighantu* or *Kavi-Mangâbhidâna*, a valuable dictionary in Kannada verse, on the plan of the Amara Kôśa, giving the Kannada meanings of Sanskrit words commonly used in the language. It is dated Śaka 1320, the year Bahudhânya. The author seems to have been of the Kanne (? Kamme) kula and Viśvâmitra gotra. He wrote under Timmârya Râmarasa, and by the blessing of Śaśipura Someśa. He professes to copy Nâga Varmma's nighantu, and styles himself Abhinava Bâlasarasvatî Manga Râjâ, and Bâlasârade Manga Râjâ. Another work called *Chintâmani-pratipada* is said to be by him.

— ABHINAVA VÂDI VIDYÂNANDA was not an original author, but made a collection of extracts from the old poets, called *Kârya Sâra*, so arranged as to illustrate the several sentiments of poetry. His date is unknown, but he may belong to the sixteenth century.

? 1550. DEVÔTTAMA, author of *Nânârtha-ratnâkara*, a Samskrîta-Karṇâṭa vocabulary, based upon Nâga Varmma's Abhidhânârtha and (? Mangarasa's) Śabdamanjarî. He was of the dvija vaiśa.

— DEVACHANDRA, *Devachandra Dviya*, *Vibudhendu*, the author of *Râmakathâvatâra* and of *Râjâvali-kathe*. He may be identical with the preceding or a totally different person living at quite another period, whether ancient or modern. In the first work he states that he kept Abhinava Pampa's poem before him as a guide, and gives some information about former Jain writers of the Râmâyana story, among

whom he names Châmuṇḍa Râya, Nâgachandra, Mâghanandi, Kumudendu, and Naya Sena.

— VṚITTI-VILÂSA, author of *Śâstra-sâra* and *Dharmma-parîkshê*. His date is quite unknown.

1604. BHATṬÂKALANKA DEVA, author of the Kaṇṇâṭaka Śabdânusâsana, an exhaustive grammar of the language in Sanskrit after the manner of Pâṇini, with a voluminous commentary called *Bhâshâ-manjarî*, and a further commentary thereon called *Manjarî-makaranda*, the whole after the manner of the Mahâbhâshya.¹ The last commentary is dated in A.D. 1604, and both the original sûtras and the two glosses are by Bhaṭṭâkalanka, but whether all by the same person, or by writers of the same name belonging to different periods, is not yet sufficiently determined. There are not wanting reasons for assigning the sûtras to an earlier date than the twelfth century. To a Bhaṭṭâkalanka are also ascribed *Aṣṭâṣṭi*, *Pratishṭhâ-kalpa* and *Râjavârttikâlanakâra*.

This resuscitation, as it were, of long-forgotten and neglected authors, brings to notice a noble array of indigenous writers, striving in the true spirit of scholars to outvie one another in embellishing their native language and in purging it from the admixture of foreign elements, an adulteration to which the ignorance and carelessness of immature students rendered them only too prone. But while the discovery of this large body of literature cannot but raise in estimation a language so well capable from its own resources of serving as a vehicle for every variety of thought, it must not be hastily concluded that no literary effort was put forth in an earlier phase of it. For one form which the persecutions under Kumârila Bhaṭṭa, and later under Śankarâchârya in the eighth century, took, was the destruction of Buddhist and Jain literature. It was on the occasion of Śankara's casting such works into the Tungabhadra that, so the story goes, one book persisted in floating on the waters and could not be made to sink. This was the *Amara Kôṣa*, which was in consequence rescued from destruction and suffered to live.

¹ I have this great work on Kannada nearly ready for the press.